

China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response



THE **CHOICES** PROGRAM

Explore the Past... Shape the Future

History and Current Issues for the Classroom

WATSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
BROWN UNIVERSITY WWW.CHOICES.EDU

Copyright and Permissions

This document is licensed for single-teacher use. The purchase of this curriculum unit includes permission to make copies of the Student Text and appropriate student handouts from the Teacher Resource Book for use in your own classroom. Duplication of this document for the purpose of resale or other distribution is prohibited.

Permission is not granted to post this document for use online. Our eText Classroom Editions are designed to allow you to post individual readings, study guides, graphic organizers, and handouts to a learning management system or other password protected site. Visit <http://www.choices.edu/resources/e-text.php> for more details.

The Choices Program curriculum units are protected by copyright. If you would like to use material from a Choices unit in your own work, please contact us for permission.

www.choices.edu

CHOICES for the 21st Century Education Program

December 2012

Director
Susan Graseck

Administrative Manager
Kathleen Magiera

Communications & Marketing
Jillian McGuire Turbitt

Curriculum Development Director
Andy Blackadar

Curriculum Writer
Susannah Bechtel

Curriculum Writer
Sarah Massey

Professional Development Director
Mimi Stephens

Video & New Media Producer
Tanya Waldburger

Writing Intern
Leah Elliott

Writing Intern
Maya Lindberg

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program is a program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies and the Office of Continuing Education at Brown University.

The Choices Program develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

Acknowledgments

China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response was developed by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program with the assistance of the research staff at the Watson Institute for International Studies, scholars at Brown University, and other experts in the field. We wish to thank the following researchers for their invaluable input.

Corinna-Barbara Francis
Former Faculty Fellow, Department of Political Science, Brown University

Jerome Grieder
Professor Emeritus of History, Brown University

Robert E. Murowchick
Director, International Center for East Asian Archaeology and Cultural History,
Assistant Professor of Archaeology and Anthropology, Boston University

Ying-Mao Kau
Professor Emeritus of Political Science, Brown University

Linda B. Miller
Professor of Political Science, Emerita, Wellesley College
Visiting Fellow
Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University

Louis Putterman
Professor of Economics, Brown University

Andrea Roberts
Former Post-Doctoral Fellow
Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University

Mark Swislocki
Assistant Professor of History, Brown University

Albert Yee
Former Post-Doctoral Fellow
Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University

China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response is part of a continuing series on international public policy issues. New units are published each academic year and all units are updated regularly.

Visit us on the World Wide Web — www.choices.edu

Contents

Introduction: China in the Twenty-First Century	1
Optional Reading: The History of U.S.-China Relations	2
A Meeting of Opposites	2
The Expanding Role of the United States	4
China After World War II	8
Part I: China's Transformation	13
Economic Reform	13
Society in a Whirlwind	17
Political Uncertainty	20
Part II: The U.S.-China Agenda	22
Trade Tensions and Human Rights	22
Security Priorities	26
China's Role in its Region	27
China's Role in the World	30
Options in Brief	33
Option 1: Press for Democratic Values	34
Option 2: Promote Stability and Trade	36
Option 3: Contain China	38
Option 4: Keep Our Distance	40
Supplementary Resources	42

THE CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY EDUCATION PROGRAM is a program of the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University. CHOICES was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgement on policy issues.



The Watson Institute for International Studies was established at Brown University in 1986 to serve as a forum for students, faculty, visiting scholars, and policy practitioners who are committed to analyzing contemporary global problems and developing initiatives to address them.

© Copyright December 2012. Eleventh edition. Choices for the 21st Century Education Program. All rights reserved. ISBN 1-60123-146-6.

China Today



Introduction: China in the Twenty-First Century

In the late 1970s, China emerged from three decades of economic isolation imposed by Mao Zedong, the leader of China's communist revolution. Mao's policies had produced a society that valued equality and uniformity. China was able to feed and clothe its population, the largest in the world, but there were few opportunities for individual advancement.

At the time of Mao's death in 1976, Li Xiaohua was a peasant working on a state-run wheat farm in northern China. Like millions of his countrymen, Li closely followed the struggle for power among China's political elite that followed Mao's death. He was pleased when Deng Xiaoping emerged as the head of China's Communist Party, and he supported Deng's program of economic reform.

Today, Li is one symbol of China's transformation. He has become a multi-millionaire businessman, and drives around Beijing, China's capital, in a red Ferrari. He was the first person in China to own one. Under Mao, private cars were unheard of. As late as 1981, only twenty people in Beijing owned their own vehicles. The China that Deng and Li helped to create now has annual vehicle sales approaching twenty million.

But there are difficulties with China's growth too. Zhang Feifei used to work in a low-skilled job at a factory in a large town. She lost her job in 2011, and discovered she could not get another one without paying a bribe she could not afford.

Today's China offers some citizens opportunities for huge financial success, but many others are struggling. Although wealth is not distributed equally among China's 1.3 billion people, the pace of economic reform has turned China into an economic giant. China's economy has surpassed even Japan's, placing it second in the world. (The U.S. economy is the largest.) Since the late 1970s, China's economic growth has averaged between 8 and 9 percent annually. No major country in modern

times has grown so fast for such a long period. This speedy growth has brought many out of poverty, but threatens to increase inflation, government debt, and environmental destruction.

China's transformation is changing international relations almost as fast as it is changing the lives of the Chinese people. For much of human history, China was the richest, most powerful country in the world. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, foreign countries dominated China. Today, China is reasserting its influence in world affairs. Just as the 1900s have been referred to as the "American century," the year 2001 may have marked the beginning of the "Chinese century."

The implications for the United States are enormous. China has become the United States' second-largest trading partner just behind Canada. At the same time, disputes over China's failure to accept some international trade standards and the country's poor human rights record have strained relations with the United States.

In recent years, China has become more assertive in international politics. China has modernized its military, including its nuclear arsenal. U.S. officials worry that new generations of Chinese leaders may seek to flex China's military muscle in East Asia and beyond.

In the coming days, you will have an opportunity to reflect on the U.S. relationship with China, confronting the same questions U.S. policy makers consider. The optional reading reviews the early history of U.S. interactions with China. Part I explores the economic, social, and political transformation of China since the late 1970s. Part II introduces you to the issues that shape U.S. policy toward China today. Finally, you will have the opportunity to consider four options for the future of U.S.-China relations.

Optional Reading: The History of U.S.-China Relations

For much of its five thousand-years of history, Chinese culture was unmatched in its continuity and sophistication. The Chinese system of government was remarkable for its ability to maintain order, manage an efficient bureaucracy, and build roads, bridges, and canals over a vast empire.

The Chinese were responsible for many of the most important inventions of the modern age—the compass, printing press, and gunpowder among them. Chinese ships in the late fifteenth century were superior to those produced in Europe, and Chinese sea captains expanded trade ties throughout Asia. China’s unified empire stood in sharp contrast to the quarreling kingdoms of Europe.

A Meeting of Opposites

Led by the British and the French, European merchants began visiting China regularly in the 1700s. Chinese officials initially paid little attention to the traders. They viewed all outsiders as uncivilized barbarians and assumed that there was little the Chinese could learn from them.

Europe and the American colonies prized Chinese goods—silk, porcelain, furniture, artwork, and especially tea. The tea that American patriots dumped into the sea at the Boston Tea Party in 1773 was, in fact, from China. While the West (Europe and the United States) increased its demand for Chinese tea, China did not want most of what the Europeans had to offer in trade. Europeans spent their reserves of silver to pay for Chinese products and needed something to sell to the Chinese. In the early 1800s, they began to sell increasing amounts of opium, an addictive drug produced in British colonies on the Indian subcontinent.

How did the Opium Wars change China’s relations with the West?

Opium brought enormous profits to the European and U.S. traders. By the end of the

1830s, millions of Chinese were addicted and China had a trade deficit with the West. Chinese authorities tried to stop the opium trade by force and rejected British appeals for negotiations. In response, British merchants called on their government to support them militarily.

The Opium War of 1839-42 was a devastating defeat for China. Modern British warships leveled Chinese coastal defenses and destroyed the Chinese southern fleet. British troops occupied several major trading cities, including Shanghai. The Chinese emperor had no choice but to negotiate with the British.

Britain’s victory turned the tables on China’s relationship with the West. Under the Treaty of Nanjing (or Nanking), signed in 1842, and another treaty the following year, the British imposed a new set of rules for international commerce. The treaties forced China to lower its tariffs (taxes on imported goods) to 5 percent, so that European goods would be cheaper for the Chinese to buy. It also forced China to open five additional ports to foreign trade and hand over the island of Hong Kong to Britain. Additionally, Westerners accused of crimes in China were to be tried according to Western laws by officials from their home countries.

Like merchants of other countries, U.S. traders also benefited from the Treaty of Nanjing. A treaty between the United States and China in 1844 closely followed the terms of the Treaty of Nanjing.

How was China weakened in the nineteenth century?

The Manchu dynasty (1644-1911) came under increasing strain following China’s defeat in the Opium War. Much of the strain was due to the rapid population growth of the 1700s, a century of stability and prosperity in China. As China’s population approached 300 million in the early 1800s, millions of peasants left the countryside in search of work and

food. Local officials were often unable to maintain order.

Frequent rebellions shook China in the nineteenth century. Most significant was the Taiping Rebellion, which raged from 1850 to 1864 and claimed at least twenty million lives. The leader of the Taiping (or “Heavenly Kingdom”) movement was Hong Xiuquan. Protestant missionaries in China had influenced Hong, who believed that he was the brother of Jesus Christ. By 1853, Hong had organized an army of more than one million soldiers and established his rule over six of China’s richest provinces. The rebels sought to establish their own society and government based on their version of Christianity.

As the Taiping Rebellion continued, the Manchu dynasty entered a new round of fighting with the West. In 1856, Chinese forts along the Pearl River in southern China fired on U.S. ships without warning. U.S. naval forces responded by bombarding the Chinese defenses. A larger conflict, often known as the Second Opium War, erupted in 1857 when the Chinese refused to consider revising the Treaty of Nanjing and its other agreements with Western countries.

According to the U.S.-China treaty of 1844, the agreement was to be reviewed after twelve years. The Western powers insisted that international law was on their side. The British, French, and Russians asserted that they were entitled to the same privileges granted to the United States. Led by the British, they backed their claims with military might.

The results of the war left a deeper scar on the Chinese people than had the First Opium War. Although the Chinese put up a determined resistance, the Western forces fought



Beijing in the early twentieth century.

Charles William Bartlett. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZC4-2060.

their way to Beijing, burned and looted the Summer Palace where the emperor lived, and forced the emperor to flee. The British captured Ye Mingchen, the emperor’s adviser on foreign affairs, and exiled him to India.

“The barbarians [Westerners] are superior in three ways: firstly, warships; secondly, firearms; and thirdly, methods of military training and discipline of soldiers.”

—Imperial Commissioner Lin Zexu, served from 1811-1850

After the Second Opium War, the victorious Western countries broadened the terms of the Treaty of Nanjing to their advantage. The opium trade was legalized. Westerners were permitted to travel into China’s interior and take up residence in Beijing. In addition, China now had to tolerate the presence of Christian missionaries and their converts. Once the Chinese agreed to the new concessions, the Western powers helped the Manchu dynasty put down the fading Taiping Rebellion.

The Expanding Role of the United States

The forces of modernization and industrialization led the United States and China in opposite directions in the nineteenth century. As China fell further behind, the United States rose to the status of a world power. In the decades after the U.S. Civil War, U.S. industry grew at a breakneck speed. By the turn of the century, the United States had surpassed Britain as the world's leading economic producer.

Strengthened by its economic growth, the United States took a larger role overseas. The U.S. victory in the Spanish-American War of 1898 left the United States in control of the Philippines and the island of Guam. The U.S. foothold in East Asia focused new attention on China.

How did Japan challenge the Western powers in China?

At the same time, the Western powers' cooperation with each other on issues relating to China was breaking down. In the last years of the nineteenth century, Japan, Britain, France, Russia, and Germany scrambled for land and economic advantages in China. Each country sought to carve out a "sphere of influence" that it could control in order to regulate Chinese commerce. Although the United States wanted to make sure that it would not be shut out of trade with China, it was unwilling to commit troops and warships to join in the competition.

Japan's challenge to Britain's leadership role in China was especially critical. Like China, Japan did not previously welcome contact with the West. Four U.S. battleships under the command of Commodore Matthew Perry had forced the Japanese to open their country to foreign trade in 1853. After Perry's visit, Japan's leaders led a vast effort to catch up with the Western industrial and military technology.

The Japanese demonstrated their success at military modernization at the expense of the Chinese. In 1894, a war broke out between the two countries over their competing claims to territory on the Korean peninsula. Within

six months, the Japanese had smashed China's fleet and defeated the Chinese army.

“If we continue to drift with an army untrained, our revenues disorganized, our scholars ignorant, and our artisans without technical training, how can we possibly hope to hold our own among the nations?”

—Emperor Guangxu, ruled from 1875-1908

How did the Open Door policy shape U.S. relations with China?

Britain, France, and other imperialist powers had already claimed vast colonial empires in Asia and throughout Africa. U.S. policy makers hoped to devise a strategy that would prevent European imperial powers from excluding the United States from doing business in China. Japan's recent military success also stirred U.S. anxiety.

In 1899, U.S. Secretary of State John Hay sent a note to the foreign powers in China requesting that they maintain an "open door." The Open Door policy held that all countries doing business in China should compete on equal terms. (At the time, U.S. commerce with China amounted to about 1 percent of total U.S. trade.) Although no treaties were actually signed, the United States upheld the Open Door as the foundation of U.S. policy toward China for the next half century.

The Open Door policy signaled that the United States wanted to be more involved in China. In 1900, several thousand U.S. soldiers joined other imperialist powers in putting down the Boxer Rebellion in Beijing. The Boxers were drawn from secret societies of martial arts experts. In an effort to expel the imperial Western powers from China, the Boxers had laid siege to the area in Beijing that was set aside for foreign diplomats. They were armed and supported by China's empress dowager (the emperor's mother), Cixi.

Once the rebellion had been crushed, the foreign powers demanded that the Chinese government pay \$300 million (about \$8 billion today) in gold for the damage caused by the Boxers. The United States participated in the

negotiations, but U.S. leaders were wary of the ambitions of the other powers. The United States presented itself as a defender of China's independence and warned that the foreign powers should not use the Boxer Rebellion as an excuse to acquire more territory in China. The United States received \$25 million as compensation for the rebellion, which it invested in the Chinese educational system.

Why was the United States a source of inspiration and resentment for Chinese nationalists?

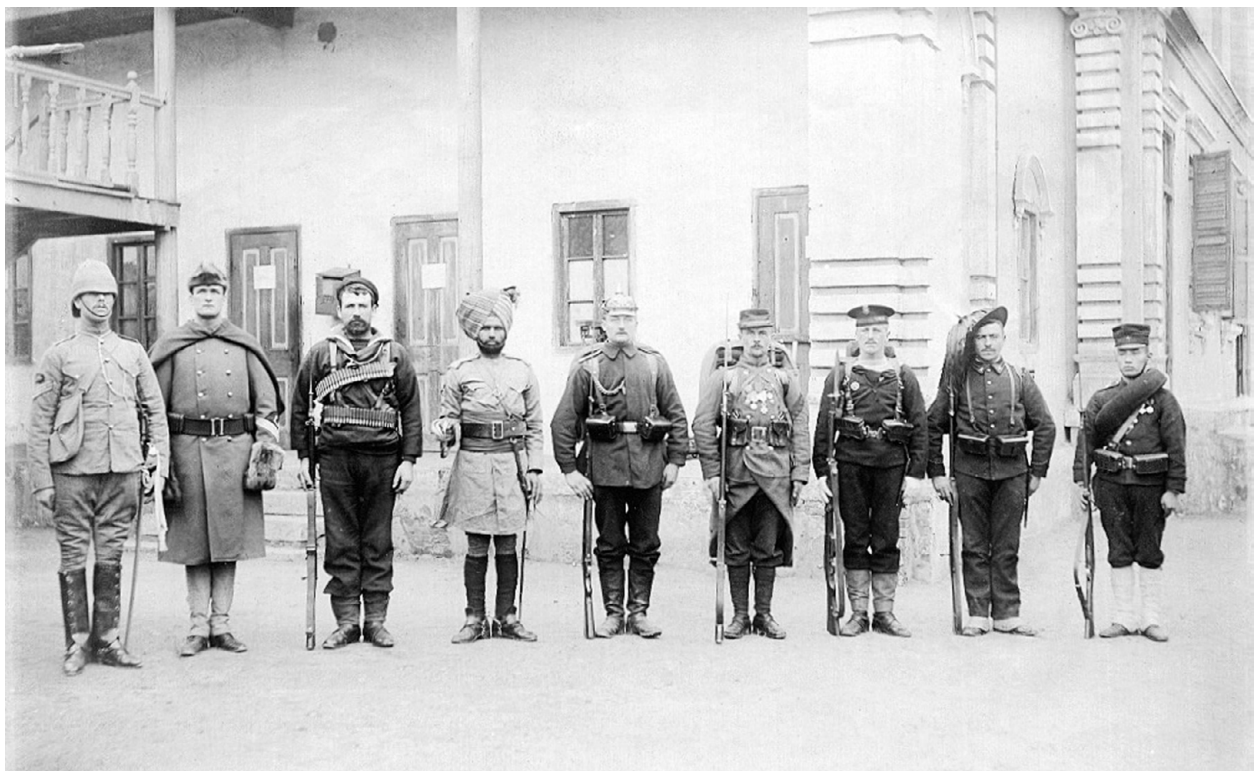
The United States was a source of both inspiration and resentment for a new generation of Chinese intellectuals who shaped the nationalist movement of the early 1900s. The chief aim of the nationalist movement was to reassert Chinese authority over China and overturn what were known as the “unequal treaties” with Western nations and companies, beginning with the 1842 Treaty of Nanjing.

Many Chinese nationalists admired the U.S. ideals of democracy and equal opportu-

nity. For example, when the Manchu-led Qing dynasty undertook educational, governmental, and military reforms after the Boxer Rebellion, the institutions of the United States served as a model.

At the same time, Chinese nationalists, who opposed the Manchu dynasty, saw that many U.S. officials viewed them as a backward and inferior race. Moreover, they regarded the bad treatment of Chinese immigrants in the United States as a reflection of U.S. attitudes.

In the mid-1800s, the United States had encouraged Chinese laborers to come to the United States to help build the railroads and work the mines of the western United States. By 1868, there were more than one hundred thousand Chinese immigrants in the United States, most of them young men intending to return to China one day. In Western frontier towns, the Chinese were often the targets of violent attacks by whites. White miners massacred twenty-eight Chinese miners in Wyoming in 1885. The Chinese presence also sparked the first significant U.S. legislation to restrict



Soldiers of the eight nations allied to put down the Boxer Rebellion 1900. Left to right: Britain, United States, Australia, British India, Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Japan.

Public domain. Wikimedia Commons.

immigration—the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. In 1904, Congress banned Chinese immigration to the United States altogether. Chinese nationalists responded by refusing to buy U.S. products in China.

How did nationalism lead to civil war in China?

Although the boycott of U.S. products fizzled, Chinese nationalism gained a sharper focus in the early 1900s. Nationalists viewed the Manchu rulers, descendents of a conquering tribe from the northeast of Manchuria, as outsiders. They also blamed the Manchus for allowing China to fall under the domination of the West and Japan.

Chinese nationalism helped spark a series of revolts that toppled the Manchu dynasty in 1911. But the nationalists lacked the strength to carry out their plans to form a constitutional republic. Instead, power revolved around the military strongman Yuan Shikai and his officers. Yuan attempted to create a new dynasty with himself as emperor, but both the nationalists and many of his generals opposed him. By the time of his death in 1916, China was sinking into the chaos of civil war.

Why did Chinese nationalists feel betrayed by President Wilson?

China’s weakness left it vulnerable to Japanese expansion during World War I (1914-18). In 1915, Japan seized the German sphere of influence in the Chinese province of Shandong and demanded new concessions from China.

Many Chinese nationalists looked with hope to U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, who offered a vision for a new international system to end the war. Wilson championed the principle of self-determination—the right of nations to govern themselves—and argued that justice and fair play should guide international

Percentage of World Manufacturing Output

	1750	1800	1830	1860	1880	1900
China	33%	33%	30%	20%	13%	6%
Britain	2%	4%	10%	20%	23%	19%
U.S.	0.10%	1%	2%	7%	15%	24%
France	4%	4%	5%	8%	8%	7%
Russia	5%	6%	6%	7%	8%	9%
Japan	4%	4%	3%	3%	2%	2%
Germany	3%	4%	4%	5%	9%	13%

Data from *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*, by Paul Kennedy.

relations. Wilson also proposed creating a new international organization, the League of Nations, to prevent future wars.

At the peace conference convened at the end of World War I, Wilson faced opposition. When he called for Japan to withdraw from Shandong, Japanese leaders threatened to walk out of the conference. The president feared that support for the League of Nations would be undermined if they left, so he withdrew his request for Japan’s withdrawal from Shandong.

In China, many of the nationalists who had admired Wilson for his advocacy of self-determination were outraged. On May 4, 1919, hundreds of thousands of Chinese students demonstrated in China’s major cities to protest the decision of the peace conference. What came to be known as the May 4th Movement prompted a boycott of Japanese goods and deepened Chinese anger toward foreign domination of China. The growing appeal of Chinese nationalism also helped fuel support for two political parties—the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists—parties that would shape Chinese politics in the coming decades.

How did the Kuomintang become the ruling party in China?

The Kuomintang (or Nationalist Party) was founded by Sun Yat-sen in 1912 and won the largest number of seats in the election for

parliament in 1912-13. But it was difficult for the party to consolidate power because of the many different political and military groups in China at the time. Until his death in 1925, Sun and the Kuomintang were caught up in a multi-sided struggle for control of China.

The Chinese Communist Party got its start in 1921 under the leadership of Mao Zedong. While the Kuomintang drew support largely from educated city dwellers, the communists sought to create a popular base among the peasants. From the outset, the communists looked to the newly formed Soviet Union for assistance.

Sun's death in 1925 brought a new leader and a new strategy to the Kuomintang. Chiang Kai-shek, a military commander, built an army capable of unifying China. Over the next three years, he defeated warlords who challenged him, turned against the communists, and forced the Soviets, who had taken over some areas of China, out of the territory under his control. By 1928, Chiang was strong enough to declare himself the ruler of China.

Why did the United States not respond to Japan's use of military force in China?

The United States recognized Chiang's government and granted China the authority to determine its own import tariffs. This action reversed a key part of the "unequal treaties" from the nineteenth century.

By the late 1920s, U.S. influence in China had grown. U.S. companies played a leading role in developing China's transportation and communications systems. Protestant missionaries operated a network of colleges that served to transmit U.S. values to China's elite.

But the bonds between the United States and China were not strong enough to withstand the general trend of U.S. foreign policy after World War I. In 1920, the Senate rejected U.S. participation in the League of Nations. For the next two decades, the United States tried to avoid becoming involved in another international conflict like World War I, which much of the U.S. public saw as a failure.

When Japan attacked China in 1931, the

world was not prepared to stand up to the aggression. Japan's leaders considered the coal and iron ore reserves of Manchuria in the northeast region of China vital to their country's industrialized economy. By 1932, the Japanese had set up a puppet government in Manchuria, renaming the region "Manchukuo."

U.S. diplomatic efforts to stop the Japanese attack failed. Although President Herbert Hoover sent a few U.S. warships and troops to China in 1932, the United States was unable to oppose Japan with a significant military force.

“If she [China] lacks the strength to protect herself from aggression and exploitation, she cannot reasonably expect the other nations to do the job for her.”

—Thomas Lamont (1870-1948),
Wall Street banker

Other world leaders expressed their outrage, yet also avoided becoming involved in the conflict. The League of Nations turned away from this crucial challenge. After he took office in 1933, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, facing the Great Depression, was even less inclined to defend China than Hoover.

How did Japan's aggression affect U.S. policy in China?

In 1937, Japan's military forces plunged deeper into China's heartland. By the end of the year, Japanese forces had taken Nanjing (also called "Nanking"), the capital of Chiang Kai-shek's government. Hundreds of foreign residents witnessed the Japanese campaign of murder, rape, and looting against the civilian population. More than two hundred thousand Chinese were massacred and much of the city was burned to the ground.

The massacre at Nanking turned the U.S. public against Japan, but U.S. policy hardly budged. Part of the reason was that U.S. officials in China were reporting that Chiang's army devoted more of its energy to fighting Mao Zedong's communists than to fighting the

Japanese. A few were even convinced that China would be better off under Japanese control.

“The Japanese imperialists attack us and even plan for our extinction. Owing to the existence of the communist bandits, we cannot offer unified, effective resistance to the aggressor.”

—Chiang Kai-shek

Over the next few years, the Japanese tightened their hold over much of coastal China. Japan’s foreign policy ultimately changed the attitude of U.S. leaders.

In September 1940, the Japanese formed an alliance with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. The United States responded by offering aid to the Chinese and restricting exports to Japan. Japan’s surprise attack against the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii on December 7, 1941 brought the United States into World War II.

Why was China a low priority for the United States in World War II?

World War II created new links between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek’s government. U.S. military advisers and equipment strengthened the Chinese army. As a sign of solidarity, the United States abandoned the remaining parts of the “unequal treaties” that were still in effect and lifted the ban against Chinese immigration to the United States.

But the military campaigns in China remained an area of low priority for U.S. military planners. The United States focused instead on defeating the Nazis in Europe and then smashing Japan’s island empire in the Pacific. The large-scale commitment of U.S.



Chinese soldiers marching in 1943.

Frank Cancellare. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-DIG-ppmsca-1333.

troops that Chiang lobbied for never arrived. Between ten and twenty million Chinese died during the war, many the victims of Japanese brutality.

China After World War II

Among the chief goals of U.S. officials in China during World War II was to prevent a civil war between Chiang’s Kuomintang forces and the communists. Many people in the United States were disgusted by the corruption and indifference of Kuomintang officials, and praised the communists for putting up a more effective battle against Japan. Nonetheless, the United States made sure that Chiang’s government had a prominent place in the international system after World War II. In addition to the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, and France, China gained a seat on the Security Council at the founding meeting of the United Nations (UN) in 1945. As one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, China gained the right to veto any Security Council decision.

How did communists come to power in China?

U.S. leaders also hoped to arrange a political compromise between the communists and the Kuomintang. Negotiations soon broke down, and Mao Zedong denounced the United States for aiding Chiang's government. In 1946, fighting in the long-simmering civil war between the Kuomintang and the communists heated up. The communists gained the upper hand. In 1948, Mao's forces swept south from their strongholds in northern China. Thousands of Kuomintang troops defected or deserted, leaving behind most of their U.S.-supplied equipment.

In early 1949, Chiang began to transfer the government's gold reserves to the island of Formosa (present-day Taiwan). What remained of Chiang's army and government soon followed. On October 1, Mao proclaimed the People's Republic of China on the mainland.

How did the Cold War affect U.S.-Chinese relations?

U.S. foreign policy underwent a dramatic shift after World War II. The United States emerged from the war as the world's foremost military and economic power. At the same time, the war had strengthened the position of the Soviet Union. In the late 1940s, the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance gave way to hostility between the two superpowers. U.S. policy makers increasingly viewed Soviet communism as a global threat, especially after the Soviets exploded their first atomic bomb in September 1949.

In response to the Soviet threat, U.S. leaders redefined the U.S. role in the world. Most people in the United States came to agree that the country would need to make a determined effort to contain the expansion of Soviet communism. The confrontation with the Soviet Union became known as the Cold War and lasted until 1989.

George Kennan, a U.S. diplomat who conceived the "containment" strategy of limiting the spread of Soviet influence, was not particularly alarmed by the communist takeover

in China. Kennan was mainly concerned with U.S. policy in Europe. According to Kennan, China was decades away from developing the industrial strength needed to mount a military challenge to the United States. In addition, most U.S. officials were convinced that a long history of conflicting interests would prevent the Soviet Union and Chinese communists from reaching an effective alliance.

As Mao's forces overran southern China in 1949, the U.S. administration of Harry Truman decided that further aid to Chiang Kai-shek was useless. Truman expected the communists would soon gain control over Formosa as well. U.S. leaders were more concerned with preventing Mao and the Soviet Union from forming an alliance.

How did the Korean War create more distrust between the United States and China?

Communist North Korea's invasion of South Korea in June 1950 changed U.S. policy in East Asia overnight. Concerned about communist expansion, President Truman sent U.S. warships to defend Formosa. The United States led a dozen other nations under the authority of the United Nations (UN) in an international effort to stop the North Koreans.

By September 1950, UN forces under U.S. General Douglas MacArthur pushed the North Korean army back to the 38th parallel, the latitude that forms the border between the two countries. MacArthur also wanted to defeat the communist regime in North Korea. When his troops advanced beyond the 38th parallel, the communist Chinese army launched a massive counter-attack. China supported North Korea's efforts in order to counter U.S. involvement in East Asia.

Although the Chinese military was no match for the United States technologically, the Chinese had the advantage of numbers. Poorly armed Chinese soldiers threw themselves at U.S. positions in human-wave assaults. Roughly 250,000 Chinese and 54,000 U.S. soldiers died in the war. UN forces retreated deep into South Korea.

MacArthur favored attacking China, even using nuclear weapons, to turn the tide of the war. But Truman feared that MacArthur's recommendations would trigger World War III, and he replaced his top general. UN forces slowly retook South Korea in the first half of 1951. Fighting continued along the 38th parallel for another two years before a truce was reached in 1953.

Why did China and the United States view each other as enemies in the 1950s and 1960s?

In the United States, people saw China as a tool of the Soviet campaign to spread communism worldwide. U.S. diplomatic recognition of China was now out of the question. Moreover, the United States viewed the Kuomintang government of Taiwan as a critical ally against communism.

Mao contributed to the antagonism in U.S.-China relations. In the early 1950s, he drove out U.S. missionaries, foundations, and colleges still operating in China. Russian replaced English as the foreign language promoted by the government. People in the United States were also appalled by Chinese attempts to brainwash U.S. prisoners of war captured in Korea.

“Power grows out of the barrel of a gun.”

—Mao Zedong, 1938

During the 1950s, U.S. policy in East Asia concentrated on “containing” China. The United States signed defense treaties with most of China’s neighbors and stationed thousands of soldiers in South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. In 1954 and 1958, the United States pledged to use force to counter Chinese threats to invade two small islands claimed by Taiwan. U.S. hostility angered China and continued even after the Chinese-Soviet alliance unraveled in the early 1960s.

For many people in the United States, Mao’s combative stance made China an even greater foreign policy concern than the Soviet

Definitions

State—A “state” is a country with a government that is recognized by its citizens and other countries. A state has sole control over its own territory and military.

Diplomatic Recognition—A formal relationship in which one state recognizes the status of another state. In the 1950s and 1960s, the United States recognized Taiwan and not China as a state.

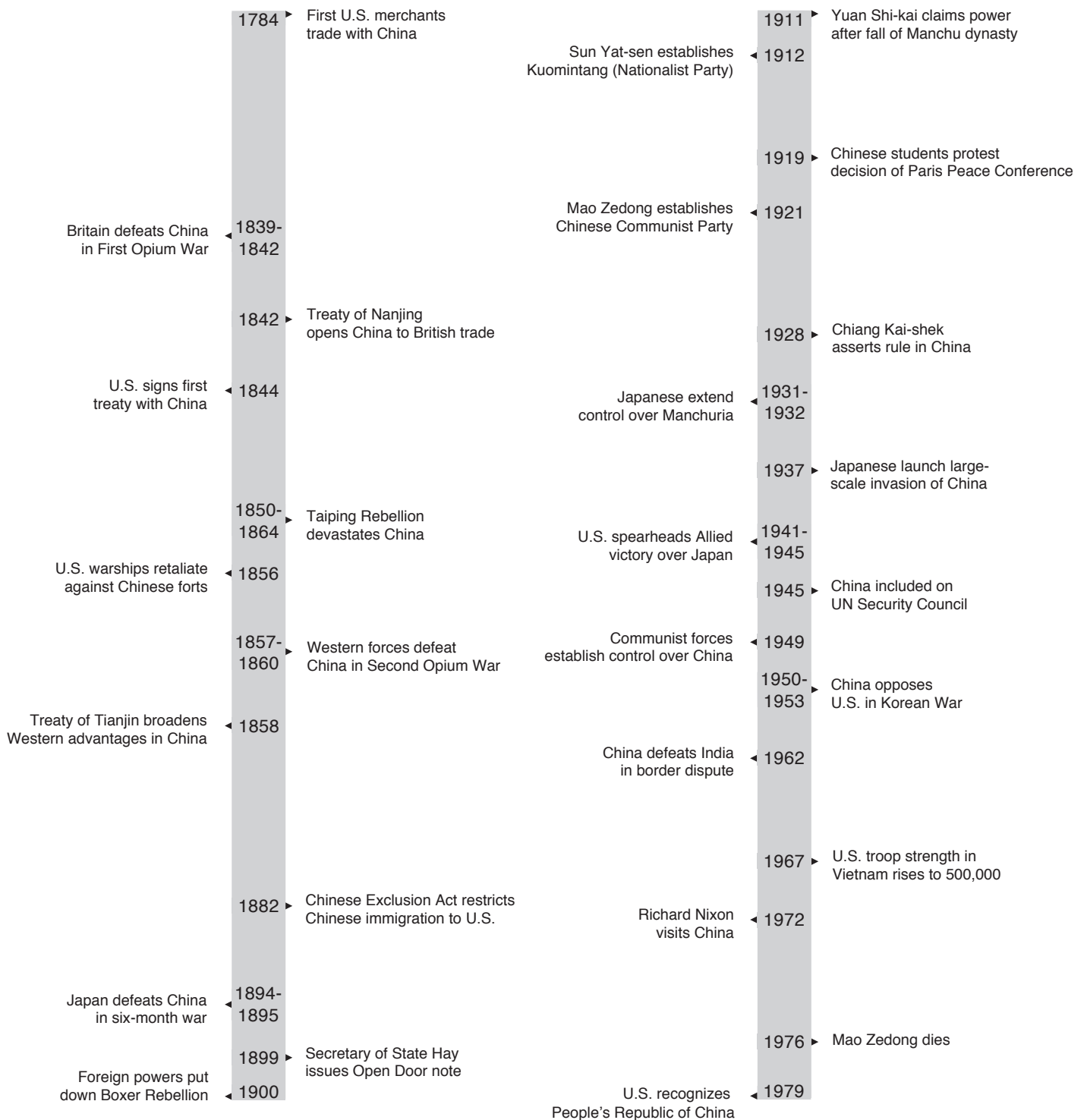
Union. In 1962, the Chinese army quickly defeated India and occupied territory that had been in dispute along the border of the two countries. Two years later, China exploded its first atomic bomb. U.S. leaders explained the United States’ growing involvement in the Vietnam War in the mid-1960s largely in terms of the threat posed by China.

As U.S. troop strength in Vietnam rose to five hundred thousand in 1967, Mao was leading his people down a radical path. Mao’s Cultural Revolution, which took place from 1966 to 1976, was designed to overturn the traditional order of Chinese society. Mao sent millions of government officials and university professors to the countryside to work in the fields. Groups of students called Red Guards were given the authority to police the Revolution by destroying anything representing foreign influences. Meanwhile, Chinese and Soviet troops engaged in two serious border clashes in 1969. The Soviet army marched into northwestern China to force the Chinese to negotiate a settlement to the dispute.

How did U.S.-China relations improve in the 1970s and 1980s?

Even as Mao enacted extreme policies, U.S. policy makers in the late 1960s were rethinking U.S.-China relations. Ironically, the initiative came from President Richard Nixon, a political figure long known for his anti-communist stance. Nixon recognized that the United States and China shared a common

Timeline of U.S.-China Relations From 1784-1979



mistrust of the Soviet Union. He was eager to realign the global balance of power at a time when Soviet influence seemed to be on the rise.

The first talks between the United States and China began in 1970. The following year, the United States lifted trade restrictions against China that dated from the Korean War. In the UN, the United States allowed a resolution that reassigned Taiwan's seats on the Security Council and in the General Assembly to China.

In 1972, Nixon visited Beijing. The president met with Mao, swapped toasts with top Chinese officials, and watched a ballet performance of *The Red Detachment of Women*. Nixon had achieved an important breakthrough in U.S. foreign policy.

For the next few years, political crises in both the United States and China prevented the relationship from developing further. The Watergate scandal forced Nixon's resignation in 1974, while in China the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 set off a struggle for power.

The emergence of Deng Xiaoping as China's next leader signaled that further progress in the U.S.-China relationship was possible. Deng was known as a moderate who wanted to open China to the outside world. In January 1979, he visited the United States, touring factories and even wearing a cowboy hat at a Texas rodeo. Behind the scenes, he assured U.S. officials that China would not use force



President Nixon met with Chinese leader Mao Zedong during his 1972 visit.

National Archives and Records Administration. ARC Identifier 194759.

against Taiwan. In return, the United States responded in March 1979 by officially recognizing China as a state—and by withdrawing recognition of Taiwan.

At the same time, Congress was concerned about the future of U.S.-Taiwan relations and passed the Taiwan Relations Act, which guaranteed continued trade and cultural relations with the island. It also provided U.S. assurances for its security. The future of Taiwan remained a sticking point in U.S.-China relations during much of the 1980s and does so to this day. At the same time, expanding trade and investment, as well as a surge in student, scientific, and cultural exchanges quickly created important links between China and the United States. China was not a U.S. ally, but a new era in U.S.-China relations was clearly underway.

Part I: China's Transformation

Like China in the twentieth century, the life of Deng Xiaoping was marked by struggle. Deng was an early member of the Chinese Communist Party and fought both Chiang Kai-shek's forces and the Japanese army during the 1930s and 1940s. In 1968, at the height of Mao's Cultural Revolution, he was forced to confess to being a counterrevolutionary and was driven out of Beijing. For six years, Deng was denied the position he had held in the Politburo, the ruling body of the Communist Party. He returned to the leadership ranks only to be attacked in 1976 for promoting economic reforms. For the next two years, Deng and his political opponents grappled for power as the fate of China hung in the balance.

Deng became the leader of mainland China in 1978 and would rule until 1992. Already seventy-four years old in 1978, Deng took on the biggest struggle of his career: reforming the Chinese economy. Deng had long been known as a realist within the Communist Party. He was especially critical of the radicals who strictly followed communist ideology. Instead, he advocated policies that would advance China's economic development.

Deng's political approach made its mark on Chinese history. China's annual economic growth rate skyrocketed, earning Deng praise for his economic reforms. The uniformity that characterized Mao's China was replaced by a focus on individuality. The changes that have occurred since Deng took power have transformed Chinese society in dramatic ways.

In this section, you will examine the economic, social, and political transformation of China that began with Deng and which his successors have continued. As you will learn in the next section of the reading, what is happening in China profoundly affects the direction of U.S. foreign policy.

Economic Reform

Deng took power in 1978 with a clear memory of the economic mistakes that were made in the previous two decades. Mao had

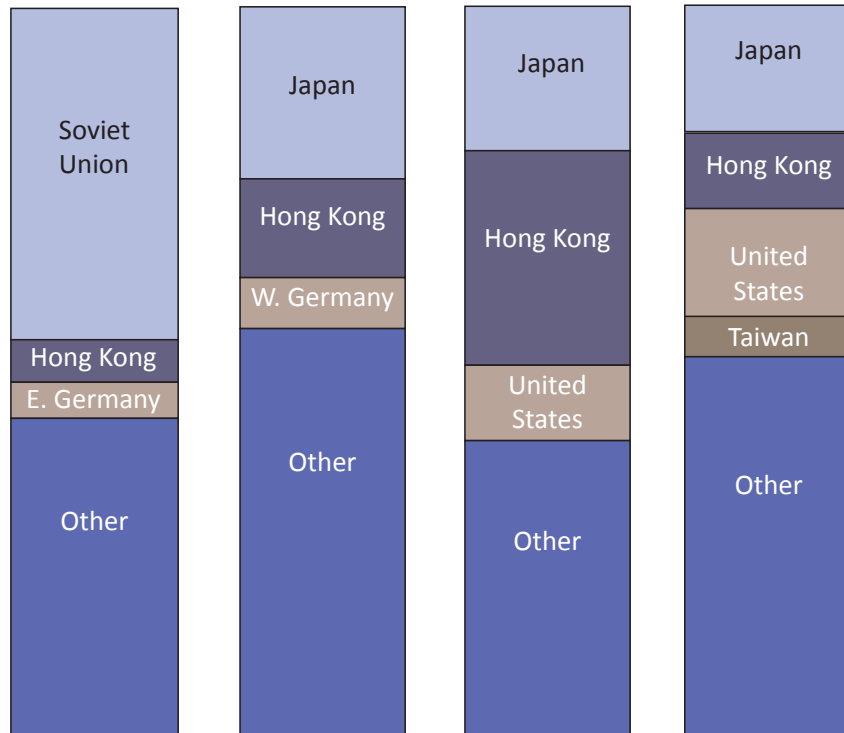
followed the path of the Soviet Union in creating a centrally planned command economy. (In a command economy, government planners decide what goods need to be produced.) Like the Soviets, communist officials in China harnessed the people and resources of their country to build roads, ports, dams, and other large-scale projects. They also committed horrendous blunders.

One mistake Mao made was implementing an economic plan called the Great Leap Forward. Introduced in the late 1950s, this plan aimed to propel China's economy forward by organizing China's peasants into huge "people's communes." Each commune contained tens of thousands of people and was designed to be self-sufficient in agriculture and industry, even to the point of producing its own steel. The experiment proved disastrous. Confusion, disorganization, and bad weather led to widespread crop failures and famine. As many as forty million Chinese people died as a result.

How did Deng Xiaoping reform China's economy?

Beginning in 1978, Deng gradually dismantled Mao's command economy. People in the countryside, who made up 70 percent of China's population, first felt the impact of his reforms. Under Deng, individual families were responsible for working the land through long-term leases. Deng lifted price controls and allowed peasants to sell most of their crops in the marketplace. He loosened the government's controls on housing, health care, education, and other necessities of life in the countryside. In addition, people in the countryside could open their own businesses outside of agriculture. Economic progress came quickly. Within seven years, economic output in rural areas had shot up by 48 percent. Deng's policies showed that the Chinese people could be productive without rigid government control. A famous quotation from Deng shows that he thought outcomes were more important than the methods used to achieve them.

China's Trading Partners in the Twentieth Century (percentage of total trade)



U.S. investors have played a leading role in China's economic boom, but in recent years investments from South Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan have grown at an even faster pace. For example, many Hong Kong manufacturers now make their products in the neighboring Chinese province of Guangdong. (Hong Kong, since being returned by Britain to China in 1997, is a "special administrative region" that has separate economic policies.)

How is China's economy a mix of socialism and capitalism?

Deng labeled his country's economic system "socialism with Chi-

"It doesn't matter if the cat is black or white, so long as it catches mice."

—Deng Xiaoping, 1962

Success in agriculture encouraged Deng to extend his reforms to industry and commerce. Deng opened China up to foreign investment and greatly expanded international trade. The government created special economic zones along the southeastern coast that allowed Chinese entrepreneurs and foreign investors to go into business with little government interference. The government promoted the export of goods. Central economic planners lost much of their authority to officials at the local and provincial levels. Across China, people established millions of new enterprises. Many were offshoots of state-run factories, universities, collective farms, and other institutions of the communist system.

The reforms went a long way toward bringing China into the global marketplace. Exports rose from \$14 billion in 1979 to \$1.9 trillion in 2011.

nese characteristics." While the government party calls itself communist, most scholars characterize the Chinese political and economic system as socialist. Communism is a philosophical ideal state where social classes, property ownership, and even government do not exist. This has never actually been achieved in China or elsewhere. Socialism, on the other hand, is a broader term used to describe systems of government ownership and management of goods. The Chinese government manages economic goods as well as social goods, such as health care and education.

In fact, China's socialist system is rapidly changing. Neither economic analysts nor government regulators have been able to keep up with China's economic transformation. In many respects, mainland China today is moving swiftly toward the free-market economic system in place in the United States, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and many other places. Producers and consumers, not government planners,

make most decisions about what goods to produce and how much they will cost.

In other ways, features of the socialist system continue in China. Most city workers, for example, obtain housing through their workplaces and pay very little rent. The government provides free health care in most cases and steps in to prevent sharp increases in food prices.

How has China's economy changed in recent years?

Most importantly, the government owns roughly 145,000 businesses, employing millions of people. Though many of the businesses are outdated and inefficient, some have seen high profits as China's economy has grown in the past few years. Although several companies have reduced their work forces, sending thousands of people into early retirement, others remain large. Many government officials have connections to these firms, which are seen as source of corruption.

Under Mao, workers in the big state-owned factories were celebrated for propelling China toward industrialization. The workers were poor, but they were guaranteed the benefits of what was known as the “iron rice bowl”—a secure job, free housing, and health care. Today, not all state-owned companies can guarantee those benefits.

The government faces a dilemma in reforming state-owned enterprises. With at least thirty-five million Chinese unemployed, officials fear that reforms that threaten the jobs of the millions of workers in the state sector would lead to widespread unrest. At the same time, they recognize that state firms need to be profitable and are working to reform the sector.



This Starbucks in the Forbidden City, Beijing exemplifies the mix between capitalism and socialism in China.

Vincelaconte. (CC BY-SA 2.0).

Unemployment would be much worse in China if not for the startling growth of the non-state sector of the economy. Most non-state enterprises fall into two categories. The privately owned sector most closely resembles businesses in the United States. It consists of enterprises under the ownership of Chinese entrepreneurs, foreign investors, or Chinese-foreign joint ventures. Most of these firms are located in southeastern China. The growth of the non-state sector has propelled millions of Chinese into the middle class.

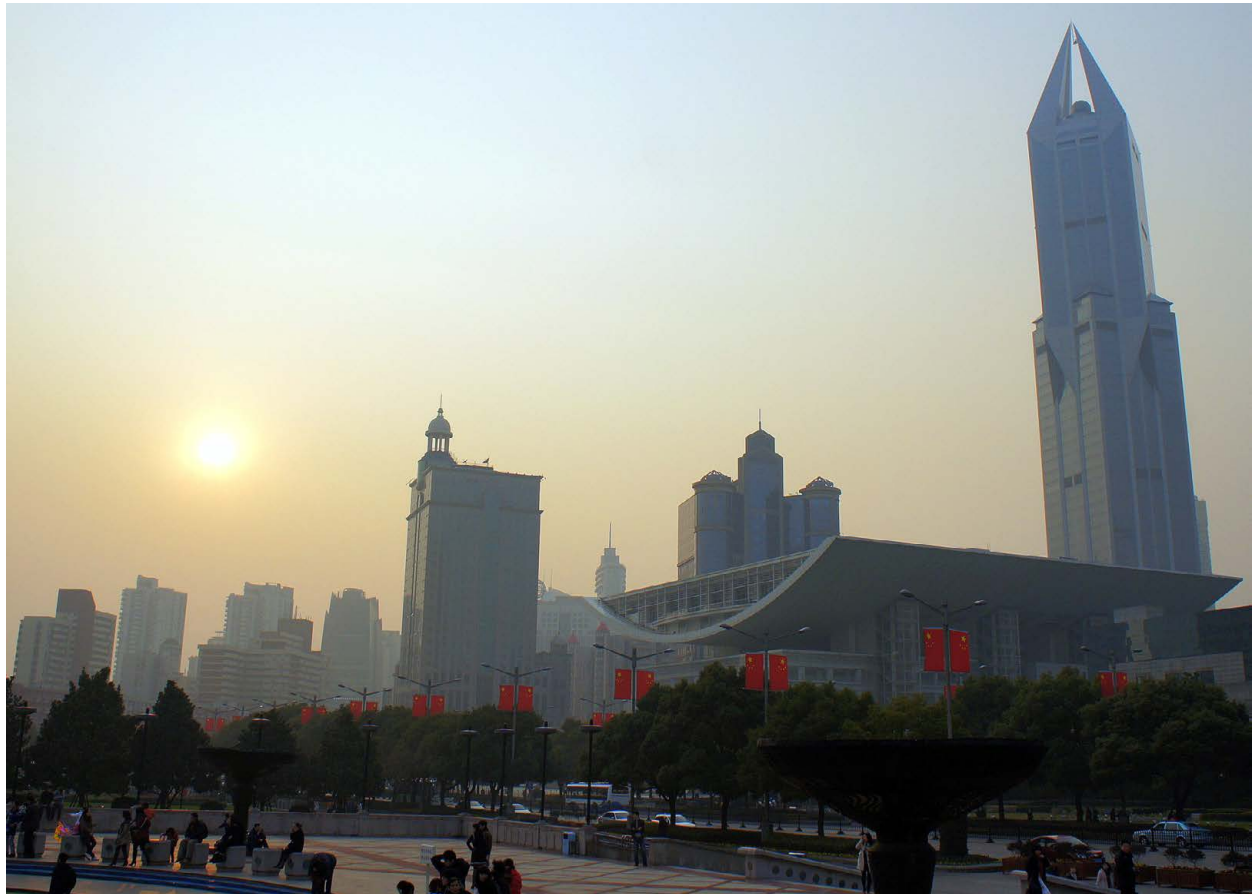
More difficult to grasp is the economic sector that belongs neither to the state nor to private entrepreneurs. For example, professors from the engineering department of a public university may decide to open a small factory producing machine parts. If their business prospers, they will likely take home profits that are many times above their university salaries. In the cities, workers at state institutions are finding similar opportunities. Although in theory they are public enterprises, they are not managed or funded by the government.

How does China's economic growth affect the global environment?

China's economic growth has become an environmental issue. China has fueled its industrial expansion mainly with coal and oil. Today, China is the second largest consumer of oil, after the United States. The country burns more coal than the United States, Europe, and Japan combined. It is the largest emitter of carbon dioxide in the world and is responsible for about 20 percent of the world's greenhouse gas emissions. Scientists believe that the build-up of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases in the atmosphere leads to climate change and will severely affect the earth's environment. Pollution in China's cities, a result primarily of increased traffic and coal-burning plants, is among the worst in the world. A World Health Organization report estimates that air pollution leads to the deaths of about 650,000 people a year in China.

Water pollution and water scarcity, other by-products of rapid growth and development, further threaten human and animal life. Half of China's population does not have access to safe drinking water. Chinese officials see these water issues as an enormous problem that is affecting agriculture and public health. In response, the government has begun some of China's (and the world's) most enormous engineering efforts, such as the "South to North Water Diversion Project." The project moves water from the Yangzi River into the increasingly dry north.

China's needs have also changed the international market for energy and food. Since the mid-1970s, China's population control program has substantially lowered the country's birth rate. Nonetheless, China's population of 1.3 billion continues to grow by more than 8 million a year. Meanwhile, China's new wealth has allowed the Chinese people to become



The city of Shanghai in southeastern China.

HeroicLife. (CC BY-SA 2.0)

more demanding consumers, turning China into a larger importer of oil and food.

Internal and external pressures have prompted Chinese officials to think about sustainable forms of economic growth. Environmentalists and ordinary citizens complain about environmental conditions to their local and national governments, and the international community is pressuring China to accept limits on its carbon dioxide emissions. At the most recent international climate conferences, China was unwilling to accept any limits on its carbon dioxide emissions that could hinder economic growth. At the same time, China invested more than \$52 billion in renewable energies in 2011, just ahead of the \$51 billion invested by the United States, the world's second largest investor. The Chinese government hopes to produce 20 percent of its energy needs from renewable sources by 2020.

The Chinese leadership knows it must do more to protect the environment, but pressure from growing businesses and local governments that do not want to lose out on the economic growth have made it difficult to develop and enforce more sustainable measures.

“We must adopt an enlightened approach to development that results in expanded production...and sound ecological...conditions. We need to correctly handle the major relationships between urban and rural development, economic and social development and man and nature.”

—Chinese President Hu Jintao, 2007

Society in a Whirlwind

Even with much of China's economy on unsteady ground, the impact of economic growth is clearly evident, especially in the cities. A generation ago, Chinese consumers aspired to own a bicycle, a wristwatch, and a radio. Today, Chinese set their sights on owning their own home, an automobile, and a smartphone.

How has economic reform changed Chinese society?

Chinese in all walks of life, from teachers to doctors to tractor drivers, have decided to go into business, or as the Chinese say, “plunge into the sea.” Chinese society has turned away from many of the guiding principles of socialism.

Under Mao, the communists strove to create a new value system. The government held up equality, self-sacrifice, and cooperation as the driving forces of the communist revolution. During the Great Leap Forward of the late 1950s, the communist authorities even tried to restructure the family in the countryside. On some huge communal farms, husbands and wives were forced to live separately, while their children were cared for in state-run nurseries.

Deng's policies marked a return to more traditional Chinese values. The family was restored to its central position in society, and Chinese were allowed to engage in business and commerce. At the same time, China's economic boom has introduced a new emphasis on individualism and materialism in Chinese society.

“To get rich is glorious.”

—Deng Xiaoping, 1984

Corruption among government officials is not uncommon. The combination of dedication, discipline, and fear that served to restrain China's bureaucrats under Mao has largely broken down. Many of the officials resent the sudden wealth of the country's new entrepreneurs and have sought a piece of the action for themselves by demanding bribes for export licenses, building permits, and other government documents. Hundreds of thousands more have taken advantage of their authority to set up their own businesses. Officials have been known to seize land, paying the original owners a fraction of the land's value and then selling the land to developers for a huge profit. A few have embezzled millions of dollars in state funds and fled overseas.

The opening of China's economy has exposed the country to the forces of the information revolution. Chinese officials are losing the battle to control the information reaching their citizens. Cell phones, television satellite dishes, internet connections, and short-wave radios link China to the outside world. In addition, the influx of foreign business executives, tourists, and students has connected millions of Chinese to life abroad. Most observers believe that Beijing's efforts to ban private satellite dishes, restrict internet access, and censor the reports of foreign news agencies have come too late to close the gates.

Why has the government banned the Falun Gong?

The government has also demonstrated its resolve to repress any group that it sees as a threat to its control of Chinese society. One example is its treatment of the Falun Gong, a religious sect that draws on the meditative tradition of Taoism and Buddhism and has followers that number in the tens of millions. Chinese officials have labeled the Falun Gong a cult. In the spring of 1999, when Falun Gong leaders asked the Chinese government for recognition during a public gathering of ten to twenty thousand in Beijing, the government banned the sect, detained thousands of its members, and issued an arrest warrant for its founder. Human rights groups claim that the Chinese government has arrested tens of thousands and killed at least two thousand in its campaign against the Falun Gong in the last decade.

What were the Tiananmen Square protests?

In 1987, the government launched the a campaign to rid China of "spiritual pollution" from abroad. The tide of the information revolution soon forced the authorities to retreat on the cultural front, but they continued to hold the line against political reform.

In the spring of 1989, a loosely organized democracy movement led by university students critical of government corruption challenged government authority. The move-

ment organized public protests that lasted for six weeks. By early June, the movement had taken the form of a mass demonstration in Tiananmen Square in the center of Beijing. Cui Jian, China's best-known rock performer at the time, played before the crowd wearing a red blindfold. Students erected a replica of the Statue of Liberty to symbolize their quest for democracy. After sustained deliberation, the government decided to call in the army to break up the protest. Troops killed dozens of people in the square and hundreds of others in nearby streets. Thousands more were arrested. Similar, but smaller crackdowns took place in other cities, but did not get worldwide attention.

The 1989 Tiananmen Square protests shocked the world and shook the confidence of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. The level of dissatisfaction among many of China's most gifted university students stunned top officials. Their order to send tanks and troops against the demonstrators left the impression that China's communist rulers could hold onto power only through force.

The current generation of students in Chinese cities is less likely to become involved in national politics. Many urban Chinese youth have embraced the technology and activities popular among urban youth around the world, such as blogging, frequent dinners out, and clubbing. Those with college degrees work in multinational firms, own their own businesses, or are otherwise participating in the economic boom that has given them far more opportunities than their parents had. Their economic success has made them less likely to criticize the government or seek change in the communist system.

At the same time, Chinese people have begun to raise their voices in recent years about issues in their communities—for example, small protests against corrupt officials or environmental problems. China's government has generally tolerated these protests as long as they remained at a local level and avoided criticizing the national government.



Rex Pe. (CC BY 2.0).

Students in a Chinese school.

What new divisions strain Chinese society?

China's generation gap is only one of the many divisions that have opened up in society since the late 1970s. More serious is the widening gulf between rich and poor. Chinese cities have stark contrasts, just as they had before the communist revolution. Homeless beggars can be found outside the storefronts of millionaire businessmen. Expensive nightclubs have opened for the new elite, while ordinary Chinese express concerns about the dramatic rise in violent crime, drug use, and prostitution.

In the countryside, many Chinese peasants look to the cities with envy. Although farmers were the first to benefit from Deng's economic reforms, agricultural modernization has slowed since the mid-1980s. In many areas, the breakup of collective farms has undercut investment in roads, irrigation canals, and grain silos. Farmers are still not allowed to own land, which discourages them from spending on long-term improvements. In addition, crop prices have not kept up with the cost of manufactured goods. The average

Chinese peasant earns only about one-third of the income of city dwellers, and this disparity is growing. Many Chinese villagers hang portraits of Mao in their homes to symbolize their discontent with the growing inequality in China.

“No one likes the old days. But under his [Mao’s] leadership at least we all lived the same kind of life. Chairman Mao put the interests of us villagers first.”

—Chinese peasant woman

Since the Chinese government gradually freed peasants from travel restrictions, millions of villagers have formed a new class of rootless migrants who either are without land to farm or are looking for opportunities. As many as 200 million of them have abandoned rural life, often floating from city to city. Downtown streets in major Chinese cities are full of “one-day mules”—young men available for day labor at low wages.

In southeastern China, the destination of most migrants from the countryside, conditions recall scenes from the sweatshops of New York or the slaughterhouses of Chicago in the late 1800s. Young people looking for a factory job can expect to work long hours on an assembly line and to sleep in a crowded dormitory above the factory floor. Wages are as low as \$1 a day. Moreover, party officials often collect under-the-table fees of \$1,000 to arrange employment.

The economic challenges facing China are large. Rapid growth of the economy has triggered price increases. Sharp divisions have opened up in society, pitting the rich against the poor, city dwellers against farmers, and the prosperous southeastern coast against the struggling interior.

Political Uncertainty

China's economic transformation has brought the country to a political crossroads. The values of Mao Zedong no longer hold China together. The generation of influential elders that led the communist revolution is dying out. The generation that grew up after Mao has discarded the vision of a strong, self-reliant communist society.

Socialism served Mao's goals well. He was able to unify China following more than a century of fragmentation. Mao reasserted China's independence from Western influence and took measures to promote modern industry. He built a strong central government around the Communist Party.



Terraces for farming rice in Longsheng, China. The terraces were built more than five hundred years ago.

Anne Percoc. (CC BY-SA 2.0).

How might economic change lead to pressure for political change in China?

Today, the goals of Maoism no longer fit Beijing's strategy for economic reform. In the coming years, China's political system will face several challenges. If the experience of China's East Asian neighbors is any indication, pressure for democracy will build as economic progress draws more Chinese into the middle class. South Korea and Taiwan, for example, emerged as economic powerhouses under the rule of one-party dictatorships, but are now democracies.

In the short term, democracy on a national scale may be less of a threat to the authority of the Chinese Communist Party than the increasing power of the provincial and local governments. For the time being, the Communist Party remains in control, but its ideology has faded and its authority at regional levels has weakened. China's wealthy southeastern provinces, such as Guangdong, hold onto almost all of their tax revenues and receive little from the central government in return. In a few cases, regional trade disputes have erupted, with provincial governments imposing tariffs on goods from neighboring provinces. Smuggling has frustrated Beijing's efforts to collect taxes.

Deng Xiaoping's death in 1997 added to the sense of political uncertainty in China. China historically has been a society ruled by individuals rather than by laws. After Deng's death, rivals for leadership in China sought to build support among top Communist Party officials, military generals, provincial leaders, and other powerful circles.

Today, competing factions within the Communist Party continue to disagree about the direction of the country. Conservatives within the military, the party bureaucracy, and state-run industries favor slowing the pace of change and reasserting the authority of the party. They face opposition from regional leaders and business tycoons who are riding the wave of China's boom as well as activists calling for human rights. While there is no clear political roadmap to guide China into the future, it seems clear that China's leaders do not plan to make any changes to one-party rule or give up their own power anytime soon.

In the next section, you will read about how these internal changes in China have influenced its relations with other countries, particularly the United States.

Part II: The U.S.-China Agenda

With about 20 percent of the world’s population, the second-largest economy, a nuclear arsenal, and an increasingly powerful military, China will most likely have the strength of a global superpower some time in this century. For policy makers in the United States and elsewhere, relations with Beijing are a top concern.

What remains to be seen is what kind of China will take shape from today’s uncertainty and what repercussions that will have for U.S.-China relations. A strong, confident China could act as a force for peace and stability in East Asia and serve as an expanding market for high-tech U.S. exports. Or China could increasingly challenge the United States around the world, seeing U.S. interests in growing opposition to its own national interests. In contrast, a weak, unstable China presents another set of threats. An economic crisis in China could send shock waves throughout the global economy, especially in East Asia. Tens of millions of economic refugees could spill beyond China’s borders, with millions of them headed for the United States. A collapse of political authority in China could create a disaster.

In the last twenty years, issues surrounding fair trade, human rights, nuclear weapons proliferation, and China’s relationship with Hong Kong and Taiwan have created tensions in U.S.-China relations. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, relations improved somewhat. The United States welcomed China’s commitment to cooperation against terrorism. Former President Jiang’s immediate offer of condolence and assistance helped to smooth the waters between the two nations. Nevertheless, many issues remain.

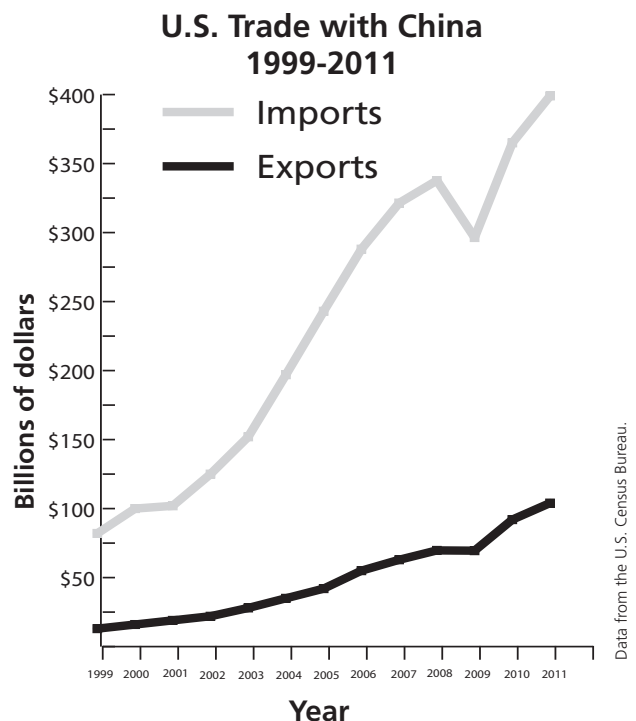
In this part of the reading, you will examine the issues that figure most prominently on the U.S.-China agenda.

Trade Tensions and Human Rights

Economic issues currently dominate the U.S.-China agenda. Since the reforms of Deng Xiaoping, the economies of China and the United States have become more closely connected, primarily through trade. This increasingly close economic relationship has raised other questions for U.S. policy, such as whether the United States should use its trade policy to influence human rights in China.

What is China’s economic relationship with the United States?

Today, the Chinese government is one of the two biggest foreign lenders to the U.S. government. (The other is Japan.) Because the U.S. government has a budget deficit—which means that it has been spending more than it earns—it must borrow money in order to fund its current level of spending. Experts estimate that China may be funding as much as 10 percent of the U.S. debt by buying U.S. treasury bills. Some worry that the United States



depends too much on money from China. They argue that China could use its position to influence U.S. policy, for example by threatening to withdraw its funding if the United States follows policies it does not agree with. Other economists argue that China's economy has too much to lose by threatening to stop buying U.S. treasury bills.

The reason that the Chinese government has so much money to lend is because of the surge in Chinese exports in recent years. Today, China is the world's largest single-country exporter. U.S. consumers in 2011 bought nearly \$400 billion in Chinese products. Without access to the U.S. market, China would have registered a trade deficit.

Most of the Chinese-made goods are low-priced manufactured items, such as clothing, toys, shoes, telephones, and consumer electronics. The United States has a trade deficit with China, which means that it buys more goods from China than it sells to China. This deficit stood at \$295.4 billion in 2011—by far the largest trade imbalance of any U.S. trading partner.

U.S. exports to China have expanded rapidly as well, though not nearly enough to diminish the gap. Boeing, McDonnell Douglas, and other aviation companies have recorded billions of dollars in aircraft sales to the Chinese in recent years. General Motors and communications giant AT&T view China—not the United States—as their fastest-growing market.

How do U.S. and Chinese approaches to international trade differ?

Even as U.S.-China trade ties multiply, the attitudes of the two countries toward international commerce remain sharply divided. Since World War II, U.S. leaders have strongly defended the principle of free trade. The United States has maintained comparatively low tariffs, or taxes on imported goods, and has opened its markets to goods from around the world. In contrast, Chinese leaders have pursued a much more closed trade policy. Like the United States in the 1800s, China, until



Robert Scoble. (CC BY-SA 2.0).

Chinese workers test laptop hard drives at a factory.

recently, imposed import tariffs averaging over 30 percent. These tariffs made imported goods more expensive and protected Chinese industries against foreign competition.

Since the late 1970s, Chinese leaders have taken steps to bring their country into the global economic mainstream. In 2001, China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO), the body that sets the ground rules for global trade and includes 157 member states.

The United States views China's membership in the WTO as beneficial to the United States not only because it advances U.S. business interests, but because it integrates China into the international system. For China, participation in the WTO helps to strengthen the internal economic reform process and China's position as an international economic competitor.

“[O]ur two nations are trying to do something that has never been done in history, which is to write a new answer to the question of what happens when an established power and a rising power meet.... the United States welcomes the rise of a strong, prosperous, and peaceful China....we are convinced that our two countries gain far more when we cooperate with one another than when we descend into an unhealthy competition. So we are committed to managing our differences effectively and expanding our cooperation wherever and whenever possible.”

—U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton
September 5, 2012

What trade conflicts have strained U.S. relations with China?

The close trade relationship between the United States and China has had its fair share of problems. For instance, the United States has put pressure on China to curb the pirating, or illegal copying, of music, film, and software products created by U.S. businesses. The U.S. government argues that pirating violates intellectual property laws that protect the rights that these businesses have over their creations.

In addition, U.S. officials have complained that Chinese clothing manufacturers frequently sell their goods below cost on the international market. The purpose of this practice—known as dumping—is to drive their international competitors out of business. The United States also accuses China of providing subsidies to some Chinese manufacturers that violate WTO regulations. These subsidies artificially lower the prices of Chinese-made goods, making them more attractive to buyers. (China has made similar complaints about U.S. government subsidies.)

Health and safety concerns have also strained relations. In 2007, a series of recalls of toys, pet food, and medicines manufactured in China frightened parents and pet owners in the United States. The recalls called into ques-

tion both safety in Chinese manufacturing and oversight in the U.S. companies that contracted with the Chinese factories. The volume of exports from China is so high and the variety of products so great that the recalls did not have an effect on the value of Chinese exports, even in the toy and food categories. Clearly, despite safety concerns, people in the United States rely heavily on products made in China.

For its part, China has voiced frustration with some U.S. policies. Many in China and around the world have expressed concern about what they believe is the United States’ inconsistent adherence to WTO regulations on tariffs and subsidies. In 2002, China and several other countries won a dispute in the WTO against the United States for its subsidies in steel production.

How have human rights affected U.S.-China trade relations?

China’s human rights record has been a central feature of the U.S.-China trade picture since 1989. After the government crackdown against protesters in Tiananmen Square, U.S. President Bush (1989-1993) stopped sales of military equipment and nuclear technology to China, as well as foreign aid.

Anger in Congress toward the Chinese leadership was much stronger than the president’s. Until 2000, Congress annually reviewed China’s most-favored-nation status (which allows countries to export goods to the United States at the lowest tariff rates) as a means of pressuring China’s leaders to change their policies at home.

In September 2000, the U.S. Congress approved permanent normal trading status for China, a policy that helped China to join the WTO. Human rights organizations, labor activists, and conservatives made the case that by enabling China to join the WTO, the United States lost an opportunity to steer China toward greater openness and freedom. Others contend that WTO regulations and free-market forces will drive the country towards democracy.

How has the relationship between Tibet and China affected U.S.-Chinese relations?

Of particular concern to many in the United States is China's policy toward the region of Tibet. The Tibetans are a people best known for their devotion to Buddhism and to their land, which lies to the north of the Himalayan Mountains in what is today southwestern China. The Tibetans enjoyed autonomy for centuries, but in 1950 Chinese troops overran their homeland. Communist officials ruthlessly attempted to erase Tibet's distinctive culture during China's Cultural Revolution. After a rebellion in 1959, hundreds of thousands of Tibetans were killed or imprisoned. Thousands of monasteries, temples, and other Tibetan architecture were also destroyed. Since the 1980s, Beijing's policies have been aimed at promoting the migration of thousands of ethnic Chinese to Tibet. The Tibetans are now a minority in the region.

Since 2001, the Chinese government has made rapid economic development, and strict control of dissidents, its policy in Tibet. The Chinese government has launched a number of "Strike Hard" campaigns that it claims are aimed at reducing crime in the region. Thousands of Tibetans have been arrested and hundreds have been killed for engaging in "separatist" activities. When the Dalai Lama, whom many Tibetans recognize as their leader, visited with President Obama in the White House in 2010, the Chinese government condemned the meeting. It believes the Dalai Lama seeks independence for Tibet from China; the Dalai Lama claims to seek only more autonomy from the central government. From March 2011 to November 2012, at least sixty Tibetans have set themselves on fire in protest of China's religious, cultural, and political repression in Tibet.

What other issues top the human rights agenda?

In addition to the situation in Tibet, the United States opposes China's treatment of political prisoners and religious and ethnic minorities. For several years the United States has been concerned by China's treatment of ethnic Uighurs in Western China. Chinese officials contend that some members of this minority Muslim group are terrorists. Many Uighurs claim that the Chinese government discriminates against them, suppresses their religious freedom, and has taken steps to destroy their culture. The government's use of prison labor, harassment of journalists, censorship of internet sites and radio and television stations, and the emigration restrictions that prevent leading Chinese political dissidents from leaving the country also find spots on the U.S. list of concerns.

Human rights groups contend that some poorly-equipped psychiatric hospitals are being used to hold and silence political and religious dissidents. For example, members of the Falun Gong spiritual movement, a banned religious organization, claim that thousands of their members have been committed to hospitals and that many have been subject to



Buddhist monks at the Sera Monastery in Tibet, 2006. Tibetan monks have participated in many protests against the Chinese government.

evanoshetrow. (CC BY-SA 2.0)

torture or have been administered unnecessary medication.

Many human rights groups criticize China's one-child policy, which places limitations on the number of children certain couples may have. For example, many couples living in cities are only permitted one child, and risk facing a steep fine for additional children. The policy has in some cases resulted in forced abortions or forced sterilization, even though these measures are officially illegal in China.

Many human rights organizations report that China is one of the world's worst human rights offenders. In 2004, the Chinese government responded to these claims by issuing their own critical report on the U.S. human rights situation, citing the treatment of civilians in the Afghanistan and Iraq wars as examples of human rights abuses. The Chinese government has also pointed to some positive steps they have taken. For example, in 2003, the Chinese government amended the Chinese constitution to include a provision on human rights.

“The Chinese Government gives top priority to the people’s life and health and basic human rights.... [The Chinese government] has made great efforts to acquaint itself with the feelings of the people, to reflect such feelings, to reduce the people’s burdens and practice democracy. These efforts have markedly improved China’s human rights conditions and won universal acknowledgment from the international community.”

—Chinese Information Office, 2004

It is clear that while human rights has become a central theme in political conversations in both countries, China and the United States emphasize different aspects of human rights. In China, physical health and material well-being are generally highlighted, while in the United States political participation receives the most attention. The State

Department’s 2011 report on human rights characterized China’s human rights record as extremely poor.

“I spoke to President Hu about America’s bedrock beliefs that all men and women possess certain fundamental human rights. We do not believe these principles are unique to America, but rather they are universal rights and that they should be available to all peoples, to all ethnic and religious minorities. And our two countries agreed to continue to move this discussion forward....”

—U.S. President Barack Obama,
November 2009

Security Priorities

Although trade and human rights issues have dominated the headlines of U.S.-China relations, U.S. policy makers also worry about China’s military. China’s defense budget has increased steadily in recent years, growing at about the same rate as the overall economy. In 2011, Beijing’s military budget was estimated to be \$143 billion. (U.S. military spending in 2011 was about \$711 billion.)

Why is China a growing military concern for the United States?

Chinese military publications state that China believes the United States is its greatest security threat, partly because of U.S. military power and partly because of U.S. support for Taiwan.

“The United States is...an arrogant country with strong ambitions for hegemonism [dominance].”

—Major General Wang Baocun,
People’s Liberation Army, 2003

Chinese leaders are committed to a long-term program of military modernization. China is a major customer of high-tech Russian military equipment. Beijing has been

especially eager to acquire Russian warplanes, submarines, and long-range missile technology. While U.S. capabilities, particularly in advanced nuclear weapons, remain far superior, China could soon challenge the balance of military power in East Asia.

Today, China has the fourth largest nuclear arsenal in the world. (China has approximately 240 nuclear warheads, compared to about 10,000 in Russia, 8,000 in the United States, and 300 in France.) China has been working to upgrade its arsenal in recent years. The Chinese government has stated that it has nuclear weapons solely for defensive purposes, in order to deter a possible nuclear attack, and has said it will never be the first to use these weapons in a conflict. Nevertheless, the fact that China is continuing to build new weapons is a point of concern for U.S. officials.

The United States is also concerned about China's role in the international arms market. Chinese weapons and military equipment exports are well-known worldwide. According to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), China is a significant source for developing countries seeking to build up arsenals and add to their capabilities, for example with trucks or communications equipment. CIA evidence also indicates that China has played a key role in helping Pakistan produce missiles capable of delivering nuclear warheads that have a range of 185 miles.

What recent security tensions have arisen between China and the United States?

As the world has become more closely connected through advances in communication, the U.S. government has raised concerns about the increase in cyber attacks, many originating in China. Cyber attacks are attacks against computer systems or networks. In recent years, companies in the United States, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere have complained that computer hackers have broken through cyber security protections and stolen program codes and secret information. In 2010, Google announced that it had been the victim of such an attack, and hackers not

only took program codes, but also broke into the email accounts of Chinese human rights activists. U.S. officials have claimed that the Chinese hackers involved in the Google attack were probably sponsored by the government. The Chinese government has denied any involvement. These cyber attacks raise new issues around future methods of warfare as well as concerns about U.S. security.

Another challenge for the two countries has been coordinating diplomatic action against North Korea. In the fall of 2002, North Korea admitted that it had been continuing work on a nuclear weapons program for years, violating a 1994 agreement not to develop the weapons. Since 2003, six countries—the United States, Russia, China, South Korea, North Korea, and Japan—have held a series of meetings to negotiate an end to North Korea's nuclear program. China has played a pivotal role in ushering North Korea to these “six-party talks” and acting as a mediator between North Korea and the United States. Many experts believe that China's leverage over North Korea and its influence as a mediator has boosted China's power and standing in the international community. Despite international pressure, North Korea has continued its nuclear weapons program and tested two nuclear devices.

China's Role in its Region

Before the arrival of Western powers in China, the sphere of influence of the Chinese empire included Korea, Vietnam, Thailand, Myanmar (Burma), and Nepal. These states were considered “tributaries” of China, and honored the emperor by regularly sending officials bearing lavish gifts to the Chinese capital.

Under Mao Zedong, China presented itself as a model for poor, developing countries. Some preferred to think of China as a country with a tradition of past greatness that would eventually return to its former status. Chinese leaders in recent years have indeed begun to reassert their country's voice in international relations, primarily in East Asia.



A perspective from Hong Kong on the threat of Chinese press censorship.

How is China extending its regional influence?

China today is seeking to extend its influence over many of the areas that historically fell under its control. China has been especially assertive in staking its claims to two chains of tiny islands in the South China Sea. The islands, known as the Spratlys and the Paracels, reportedly lie atop rich oil deposits. Five of China's neighbors—Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan, Malaysia, and Brunei—have made their own claims on the islands, but China has shown little willingness to negotiate a settlement. These countries have not yet resolved this dispute.

In addition, Beijing is strengthening its navy and increasing its presence in the South China Sea. The growth of China's naval forces has some U.S. officials worried. Since World War II, the United States has been the leading naval power in East Asia. In 2012, U.S. Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta announced that, by 2020, about 60 percent of the U.S. naval fleet will be located in the Asia-Pacific region. (Currently the fleet is split evenly between the Atlantic and Pacific.)

How does Hong Kong figure on the U.S.-China agenda?

In 1997, Great Britain returned the island of Hong Kong to China after controlling the territory for 150 years. Reunification has been complicated. The former colony of more than seven million people is an international financial and manufacturing center. Before reunification, it was the largest single foreign investor in China and the gateway for much of China's international trade. Politically, Hong Kong's residents have shown their determination to defend the democratic freedoms

they won in the last years of British rule.

China's leaders are eager to take advantage of Hong Kong's economic power and yet are worried about the former colony. Beijing officials have promised to preserve Hong Kong's uniqueness through a policy of "one country, two systems." At the same time, they have crafted election laws to ensure that Hong Kong's legislature will support Beijing.

U.S. officials have voiced concern that China may suppress Hong Kong's open society. From Beijing's perspective, the fear seems to be that Hong Kong's vibrant brand of capitalism and democracy may fuel momentum for political change in China. Indeed, most of the Chinese troops stationed in the former colony have been positioned to block mainland Chinese from flooding into Hong Kong.

Why is Taiwan a special problem?

The status of Taiwan represents a more long-term problem in East Asian affairs. Since losing its seat in the United Nations to China in 1971, Taiwan has existed in a state of international limbo of sorts. Economically, it is a powerhouse. Politically, Taiwan's status is complicated.

After 1971, Taiwan sought to strengthen its economic and cultural ties worldwide. Taiwan's economy has continued to boom, even though it has been forced out of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and other international organizations. The country is one of the top exporters in the world and its 23.2 million people enjoy a per capita income more than four times higher than that of the citizens of China.

Questions about the political status and future of Taiwan complicate its relations with China. The two countries possess distinct governments, but are officially one state. This arrangement has been a source of tension and has raised questions about the political future of Taiwan. Will Taiwan someday be an independent state or will China and Taiwan be reunified?

China firmly holds to its position that there is "one China" and sees reunification as the eventual goal. Taiwan's position has evolved over the years. In the mid-1990s, then-President of Taiwan Lee Teng-hui argued that Taiwan and China were two separate states and that Taiwan should be recognized as an independent country "just like Britain or France."

Current Taiwanese President Ma Ying-jeou has called for a "diplomatic truce" with China. He has stated that there will be no efforts towards reunification nor towards independence, at least for the time being, and that eventually it is the Taiwanese people who must decide what they want. The Taiwanese public appears ambivalent in its position towards China: many agree with the goal of independence, but some fear that an overly provocative stance may prompt a response from China that could threaten their way of life.

Since President Ma Ying-jeou took office, tensions have eased between Taiwan and China. The president has increased interaction between Taiwan and China, for example by starting direct flights and signing new trade agreements. He was re-elected in 2012.

“It is important to find a flexible method that also maintains Taiwan’s dignity to help the nation return to the international community.”

—President-elect Ma Ying-jeou, May 2008

Many in China see the possibility of Taiwanese independence as a challenge to China's sovereignty and a threat to the state as a whole. These concerns are based on a fear of China weakening: independence efforts in Taiwan and Tibet call to mind the dangers of disintegration China faced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a result of relations with the West. Likewise, many in China are apprehensive of outside involvement, particularly by the United States, in these domestic concerns.

How does the United States figure into the Taiwan issue?

Taiwan has long been a point of tension between China and the United States. After the Korean War, the United States was Taiwan's key ally, providing billions of dollars in military aid to Chiang Kai-shek's government in Taipei, Taiwan's capital. President Nixon's visit to China in 1972 changed U.S. policy toward Taiwan. In 1978, the United States broke relations with Taiwan and recognized China a few months later. Most other countries have adopted the same position. Nevertheless, concerns about the security of Taiwan led Congress in 1979 to pass the Taiwan Relations Act. The act guaranteed continued trade and cultural relations with the island and committed the United States to helping protect Taiwan's security.

Taiwan's security remains an important issue for the United States. In addition to the historical relationship between the two countries, the United States and Taiwan have strong trade ties. The United States is also concerned with maintaining peace and stability in Asia. Ultimately, the United States wants a peaceful resolution of tensions across the Taiwan Strait and is committed to the eventual reunification of China and Taiwan.

Chinese leaders have warned that they will use force to block any drive by Taiwan for full independence from the mainland. China's naval expansion and military maneuvers near Taiwan are viewed as part of a larger strategy to intimidate the Taiwanese government. For its part, Taiwan has a strong defense force equipped with sophisticated weapons, many of them from the United States. U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, which have totalled billions of dollars over the past decade, have been a constant irritant in U.S.-China relations. In recent years, the United States has increased its shipments of arms to Taiwan (and included offensive weapons as well). Nevertheless, while some consider the U.S. relationship with China and Taiwan to be the most serious security problem for the United States, most experts believe that this threat has become more manageable in recent years.

China's Role in the World

Since the 1980s, China's role in the world has steadily grown. China has not only increased its military strength but has also strengthened its economic ties around the world. Other countries are increasingly seeing China as a counterweight to Western—and especially U.S.—trade, aid, and influence.

Africa is a case in point. China's involvement on the African continent has exploded in the last decade. The Chinese government and Chinese businesses have invested billions of dollars in infrastructure projects in dozens of countries, building highways and railway lines and expanding ports in order to increase access to the continent's natural resources. China has developed strong trade ties with African countries, surpassing the United States to become Africa's largest trading partner. China has constructed oil refineries, power plants, and mines in places like Niger, Zimbabwe, and Zambia.



Al Jazeera English.

A Taiwanese F-16 fighter jet takes off from its base in 2011. The United States builds and sells Taiwan these military jets. U.S. arms sales to Taiwan are a major source of tension with China.

Some see China's new role in Africa as a threat to Western economic interests in the region. Others express concern that China is exploiting African resources and workers. For example, human rights organizations have criticized Chinese copper mining companies in Zambia for violating both national and international labor laws. Critics point to poor health and safety conditions, for example, workers are required to work shifts as long as eighteen hours and are exposed to dangerous chemicals without proper safety equipment.

What role has China played in addressing international conflicts?

China's seat on the UN Security Council gives Beijing veto power over critical decisions of the UN. The UN's expanded involvement in international peacekeeping since the 1990s makes China's position on the Security Council all the more important.

On the whole, China is a steadfast supporter of the concept of sovereignty, which is the right of a country to govern its own affairs. It is particularly wary of interfering in what it views as internal affairs of other countries, partly because it does not want outsiders like the United States interfering in China's internal issues.

In general, China has gone along with the other members of the Security Council in the UN. It has used its veto power significantly fewer times than any other permanent Security Council member. For example, the Chinese allowed the United States to form an international coalition against Iraq's Saddam Hussein before the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the UN's most significant military operation since the Korean War. But China has not been afraid to oppose the United States. China did not autho-



This 2008 photograph shows the Chinese fishing vessel FV Tian Yu 8 after it had been taken over by pirates off the coast of Somalia.

DoD photo by Mass Communication Specialist 2nd Class Jason R. Zalasky, U.S. Navy

alize the use of force against Iraq in 2003. The Chinese government later described that U.S.-led invasion as a violation of international law.

China often advocates for positions that are less severe than those pushed by other members. For example, China tends to oppose sanctions, which punish countries economically. Instead China favors other diplomatic means of pressuring countries to change their policies, such as economic aid and development support.

China's position on the civil war in Syria demonstrates its uneasiness about strict international measures. In 2011, opposition forces in Syria began fighting to end the dictatorship of President Bashar al-Assad. The conflict has claimed tens of thousands of lives and caused hundreds of thousands of Syrians to flee the country. China has historically had friendly relations with Syria—China is one of Syria's top trading partners. China, alongside Russia, has vetoed several UN resolutions that would have condemned Syria's government for its role in the conflict and imposed sanctions.

In recent years, China has begun to match its economic expansion with more active participation in the international community. For

example, China did not contribute troops to any UN peacekeeping missions until 2004, but since then, has been a major UN troop contributor. In 2009, China sent naval ships to join a multinational effort against piracy in the Gulf of Aden, near Somalia. The Gulf of Aden is an important thoroughfare for international shipping. China's participation in this campaign was significant because it was the first time in six hundred years that the Chinese navy had been deployed on a combat mission outside of China's territorial waters.

Chinese officials stressed that this did not signal a shift in its non-interventionist foreign policy. But as China's economic participation expands across the world, it seems to be more willing to cooperate in global security operations in order to protect its interests. In the coming years, U.S. policy makers will have to carefully consider how they will respond to the new role that China has taken in the world.

In the coming days, you will have an opportunity to consider four options for U.S. policy towards China. Each of the options in the next section is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs. Each takes a different perspective on the U.S. role in the world and its stake in China. You should think of the options as a way to help you better understand the contrasting strategies that people in the United States may use to craft future policy.

In the end, you will be asked to create an option that reflects your own beliefs and opinions about where U.S. policy should be heading. You may borrow heavily from one option, combine ideas from two or three options, or take a new approach altogether. You will need to weigh the risks and trade-offs of whatever you decide.

Options in Brief

Option 1: Press for Democratic Values

China and the world are at a crossroads. People in the United States must ask themselves what kind of China they want to see emerge from this period of transition. Is it a democratic China that respects human rights and shares many of the values that underpin our own society? Or is it a China that oppresses its people and sneers at democracy? The United States cannot flinch from its commitment to the values of democracy and human rights. The United States is China's largest export market. Our country holds the key to China's economic success. By applying the leverage we hold, the United States has an opportunity to promote a new generation of Chinese leaders that recognizes the necessity of creating a more open, democratic society.

Option 2: Promote Stability and Trade

China's government is walking a tight-rope. As China's economy grows rapidly in the coming decade, new political movements will emerge that will challenge the authoritarian communist government. A breakdown of political order in China could harm the U.S. economy and would increase the threat of war in the region. Our country has a large stake in China's economic health. China is already our second-largest trading partner, and the future holds the potential for more growth. The United States must take steps to ensure that China safely reaches a future of stability and prosperity. As Chinese society evolves, the government there should know that they can count on our help.

Option 3: Contain China

China and the United States are on a collision course. In the next two decades, China may overtake the United States in total economic output. It has the largest population in the world, expanding military power, and a leadership that is committed to restoring China's greatness. China has already begun flexing its muscles in the international arena. The United States must take steps to contain China's might. Our military presence and system of alliances in East Asia must be a top foreign policy priority. Trade must be monitored to ensure that it does not contribute to the further modernization of China's military. We may wish for a world of peace and harmony, but reality tells us to keep up our guard.

Option 4: Keep Our Distance

China is neither an irresistible opportunity nor a looming military threat to the United States. China is not the next frontier of democracy, a boundless market for U.S. exports, or even a hostile potential superpower. Rather, China is a country with an uncertain future that is far from our shores. As such, it should not rank as a leading concern for people in the United States. We must resist the temptation to meddle in international affairs that have scant impact on the lives of people in the United States. Greater involvement in China's affairs will ultimately drain our nation's resources, while doing little to strengthen U.S. security.

Option 1: Press for Democratic Values

China and the world are at a crossroads. The changes taking place in China today will determine the nature of international relations in the twenty-first century. People in the United States must ask themselves what kind of China they want to see emerge from this period of transition. Is it a democratic China that respects human rights and shares many of the values that underpin our own society? Or is it a China that oppresses its people and sneers at democracy? The choices are stark. They demand a clear understanding of what is at stake.

The United States cannot flinch from its commitment to the values of democracy and human rights. The leaders of China’s democratic movement are counting on us to take a firm stand against Beijing’s authoritarian dictatorship. The people of Tibet and the Uighurs of Xinjiang province are looking to us to help stop the Chinese government’s campaign to wipe out their cultures. The United States is China’s largest export market. Our country holds the key to China’s economic success. By applying the leverage we hold, the United States has an opportunity to promote a new generation of Chinese leaders that recognizes the necessity of creating a more open, democratic society. China has experienced remarkable economic progress since the late 1970s. The hard-line communists that held China back are in retreat. The country now stands ready to take on the challenge of political reform. Our responsibility is to help the people of China urge their government forward.

What policies should we pursue?

- Link China’s record on human rights to our willingness to cooperate on economic and trade issues.
- Place Beijing’s treatment of political prisoners and policies toward ethnic minorities and women at the top of the U.S.-China agenda.
- Ban imports of Chinese goods produced by prison labor.
- Require that U.S. companies operating in China take steps to protect the fundamental human and civil rights of their employees.
- Insist that Beijing honor its pledge to maintain a free press and other democratic institutions in Hong Kong.

Lessons from U.S. foreign policy

Our most trustworthy allies and trading partners—the countries of Western Europe, Japan, and Canada—are nations that share our commitment to democratic values and human rights. After World War II, the world’s leading democracies joined together to stand up to the menace of Soviet communism. The alliance of democracies held together

for four decades largely because its members were united by the acceptance of a common political system. The United States may be able to avoid conflict with an undemocratic government in Beijing, but we cannot expect to enjoy close relations until China enters the community of democratic nations.

Option 1 is based on the following beliefs

- As the world's leading democracy, the United States has a moral responsibility to promote democratic values worldwide.

- Although China's military is growing, China does not pose an immediate military threat to the United States. Persuading China to accept basic democratic principles and fundamental rights will help lower

tensions between Beijing and Washington and reduce the risk of conflict.

- The Chinese economy's dependence on exports to the U.S. market gives the United States substantial leverage in influencing China's direction.

Arguments for

1. Promoting the values of democracy and human rights in China will strengthen the cause for reform throughout the world, especially in East Asia.

2. Supporting China's reformers now will cement our ties to a generation of politicians that eventually will rise to prominence in China's government.

3. Taking a firm stand against Beijing's abuses of human rights and oppression of minorities and political opponents will serve as a warning to dictatorial governments around the world.

Arguments against

1. Promoting human rights will spark an anti-American backlash in countries that do not share our values, especially in East Asia.

2. Restricting Chinese exports to the United States will lead Beijing to raise its own trade barriers against U.S. products, thus allowing our economic competitors to expand their share of the Chinese market at the expense of U.S. companies.

3. Harshly criticizing the Beijing government will cause China to retaliate by blocking U.S. initiatives in the UN and other international organizations.

4. Focusing U.S. policy on promoting democratic reform in China will distract our leaders from the urgent need to contain China's power and influence.

5. Imposing economic penalties on China will punish companies from Taiwan and Hong Kong that have invested heavily in China.

Option 2: Promote Stability and Trade

China's government is walking a tightrope. As China's economy grows rapidly in the coming decade, new political movements will emerge that will challenge the authoritarian communist government. The Chinese government must balance this rapid economic growth with these new political forces. If China falls into disorder, the entire world faces uncertainty and even danger. A breakdown of political order in China could harm the U.S. economy and would increase the threat of war in the region. The United States must take steps to ensure that China safely reaches a future of stability and prosperity.

Our country has a large stake in China's economic health. China is already our second-largest trading partner, and the future holds the potential for more growth. China is a crucial market for U.S. aviation, telecommunications, and other high-tech industries. U.S. consumers benefit from low-cost imports made in China. The importance of our relationship with China demands that the United States proceed with understanding and caution in dealing with Beijing. Trying to impose our values on the Chinese will only spark an anti-American backlash. Attempting to back Beijing into a corner will heighten international tensions and could trigger a crisis inside China that would have worldwide repercussions. We should take measures to strengthen the economic ties between our two countries. As Chinese society evolves, the government there should know that they can count on our help.

What policies should we pursue?

- Develop a partnership with China in international efforts to control the spread of nuclear weapons.
- Encourage China to assume a larger role in international organizations.
- Allow China to take a gradual approach in resolving its trade differences with the United States.
- Avoid pressing China publicly for human rights and democratic change.
- Encourage Taiwan to reach an agreement with Beijing on its eventual reunification with China.

Lessons from U.S. foreign policy

The history of U.S.-China relations has been marred by misunderstanding and hostility. From the earliest days, the two sides have failed to see each other as equals. The Chinese viewed people in the United States as uncivilized “barbarians,” while the U.S. public looked on the Chinese as backward and corrupt. During the first half of the

twentieth century, the United States missed an opportunity to offer China a way out of turmoil and instability. With the triumph of Mao Zedong in China, relations turned confrontational. Circumstances today allow for a fresh start, with the understanding that an equal partnership between the United States and China would benefit both countries.

Option 2 is based on the following beliefs

- A China in turmoil would spark problems worldwide and heighten international tensions.
- Using trade measures to achieve foreign policy goals in other areas,

such as human rights, creates mistrust and harms international trade.

- 1.3 billion people experiencing dramatic economic change are likely to demand political change and threaten the stability of the country.

Arguments for

1. Building a trusting relationship with Beijing will ensure China's cooperation in the UN and other international organizations.
2. China's leaders will reward U.S. cooperation by expanding business opportunities in China for U.S. companies.
3. Promoting China's prosperity and stability will eventually lay the foundations for democratic reform, as has been the case in Taiwan, South Korea, and other East Asian countries.

Arguments against

1. Turning our back on democratic reformers in China and oppressed groups will allow the government in Beijing a free hand to crush its opponents and give tyrants around the world a green light to crack down on supporters of democracy and human rights.
2. Cooperating with China will come back to haunt us when a Chinese superpower challenges U.S. interests.
3. Lending U.S. support to Beijing's policies will provoke China's leaders to act aggressively in East Asia, especially against Taiwan.
4. Ignoring China's violations of international trade standards will worsen our country's trade deficit with China, rob U.S. companies of their markets, and cost thousands of U.S. workers their jobs.
5. Giving up on democratic and economic reforms in China will undercut momentum for reform in other countries that are undergoing important changes.

Option 3: Contain China

China and the United States are on a collision course. In the next two decades, China may overtake the United States in total economic output. It has the largest population in the world, expanding military power, and a leadership that is committed to restoring China's greatness. China has already begun flexing its muscles in the international arena. Nearly two centuries ago, the French leader Napoleon warned that the world would tremble when China awoke. Now, the United States must prepare to deal with the implications of his prediction.

The United States must take steps to contain China's might. Let us base our policies on a clear understanding of the principles that guide China's leaders. First, we must recognize that China is not going to become a democracy or respect human rights any time soon. It is a waste of time to make this a priority for U.S. policy. Second, China has built up 150 years of resentment against the West. Now that China's leaders have an opportunity to reassert their influence in international affairs, over the long term we should expect confrontation, not cooperation, from Beijing. Given this reality, the United States should construct a barrier to Chinese expansion. Our military presence and system of alliances in East Asia must be a top foreign policy priority. Trade must be monitored to ensure that it does not contribute to the further modernization of China's military. We may wish for a world of peace and harmony, but reality tells us to keep up our guard.

What policies should we pursue?

- Increase the size of our navy to meet the rising military challenge coming from China.
- Strengthen our country's long-term commitment to defend Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and other U.S. allies in East Asia.
- Press for the admission of Taiwan to the UN and other international organizations.
- Prohibit imports of goods produced at factories owned by the Chinese army.
- Counter China's growing influence in Africa by strengthening alliances, increasing diplomacy, and making more investments in the region.

Lessons from U.S. foreign policy

U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union during the Cold War demonstrated that firmness and perseverance pay off in international affairs. For four decades, the United States wove together a network of alliances and maintained a strong military to contain the spread of Soviet communism, especially in Europe. By

the mid-1980s, our stand against communist aggression had convinced Soviet leaders that continued confrontation was pointless. Taking the same resolute position toward Beijing today is the best insurance against future international conflict.

Option 3 is based on the following beliefs

- China's leaders are determined to reassert their influence in world affairs and see the United States as an obstacle to achieving their goals.
- The establishment of a wide-ranging

Chinese sphere of influence in East Asia poses a grave threat to U.S. interests.

- Democratic governance and ideas about human rights are unlikely to make inroads into China for decades to come.

Arguments for

1. Containing China's military power will reduce the security fears of China's neighbors in East Asia, especially Japan and Russia, and prevent a regional arms race.

2. Identifying China now as a long-term threat to the United States will allow our country's military planners and foreign policy analysts to devise a well-coordinated strategy to respond to the challenge.

3. Maintaining a strong military presence in East Asia will convince China's leaders that bullying their neighbors is too risky to consider.

Arguments against

1. Taking a hostile stance toward China will close the door to Chinese cooperation in controlling the spread of nuclear weapons, addressing global environmental problems, and maintaining peace on the Korean peninsula.

2. Turning our back on democratic reformers in China will undermine democratic movements throughout the world, especially in East Asia.

3. Pressuring Beijing will contribute to the breakdown of order in China, triggering an outpouring of tens of millions of Chinese refugees and setting the stage for a dangerous civil war.

4. Restricting exports of technology that might be used for military purposes to China will prompt retaliation from Beijing and leave U.S. companies shut out of the fastest-growing market in the world.

5. Containing China will ultimately lead to a confrontation between the United States and East Asia.

Option 4: Keep Our Distance

China is neither an irresistible opportunity nor a looming military threat to the United States. We should be careful not to become too involved in the politics of a country whose future we cannot affect. China is not the next frontier of democracy, a boundless market for U.S. exports, or even a hostile potential superpower. Rather, China is a country with an uncertain future that is far from our shores. As such, it should not rank as a leading concern for people in the United States.

The United States must not allow U.S.-China relations to distract our country from the enormous challenges we face here at home. We must resist the temptation to meddle in international affairs that have little impact on the lives of people in the United States. Greater involvement in China's affairs will ultimately drain our nation's resources, while doing little to strengthen U.S. security. We should concentrate our energy on issues that matter most to people in the United States, such as increasing homeland security, reducing our debt, and improving our schools. Finally, we should take measures to protect U.S. industries from the flood of cheap imports that are produced in China's sweatshops and prisons. The last thing we need is a new set of commitments abroad.

What policies should we pursue?

- Reduce our military presence in the region. Withdraw U.S. troops from South Korea and Japan.
- Avoid getting entangled in Taiwan and China's disputes.
- Impose trade penalties on China in response to Chinese violations of copyright laws and other international trade standards.
- Raise import tariffs on Chinese products that threaten the economic health of U.S. industries.
- Encourage Japan to increase its foreign aid spending in East Asia and to take the lead in resolving regional crises.

Lessons from U.S. foreign policy

False hopes have often led the United States down the wrong path in our country's involvement abroad. U.S. relations with China in the nineteenth and early twentieth century were clouded by missionaries who imagined that the power of Christianity would transform East Asia and by merchants who saw China

as a vast market for U.S. goods. Both groups were wrong. Since World War II, naïve efforts to establish democratic institutions in Southeast Asia, Latin America, and other regions have cost thousands of U.S. lives and billions of dollars. Following the same course in China will inevitably backfire.

Option 4 is based on the following beliefs

- Political developments in China have little impact on the great majority of people in the United States.
- Pursuing lofty foreign policy goals, such as promoting democratic values and

Arguments for

1. Minimizing our involvement in East Asia will allow the United States to invest more resources in tackling our problems here at home.
2. Clearing away other foreign policy issues from the U.S.-China agenda will give U.S. leaders the opportunity to deal with the economic threat of China's trade violations.
3. By not entangling ourselves in China's affairs, the United States will avoid becoming the target of blame for future setbacks in China.

human rights, undermines U.S. trade interests and efforts to protect our own economy.

- The United States lacks the power to influence a country as large and remote as China.

Arguments against

1. China's economy is too large and too closely linked with our economy to ignore.
2. Upsetting the balance of power in East Asia will force our allies in the region, including Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, to increase military spending and even develop nuclear weapons.
3. Opening up new trade disputes with Beijing will lead to deepening mistrust in U.S.-China relations and ultimately harm U.S. business interests in China.
4. Ignoring developments in China will deprive Chinese reformers of vital support as their country undergoes a critical period of change.
5. Cutting our ties to East Asia will be viewed internationally as a major defeat for U.S. values and economic interests.

Supplementary Resources

Books

Cohen, Warren I. *America's Response to China: A History of Sino-American Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010). 344 pages.

Hua, Yu and Barr, Allan H. *China in Ten Words* (Pantheon, 2011). 240 pages.

Lin, Justin Yifu. *Demystifying the Chinese Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). 330 pages.

Spence, Jonathan D. *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001). 747 pages.

Vogel, Ezra F. *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011). 876 pages.

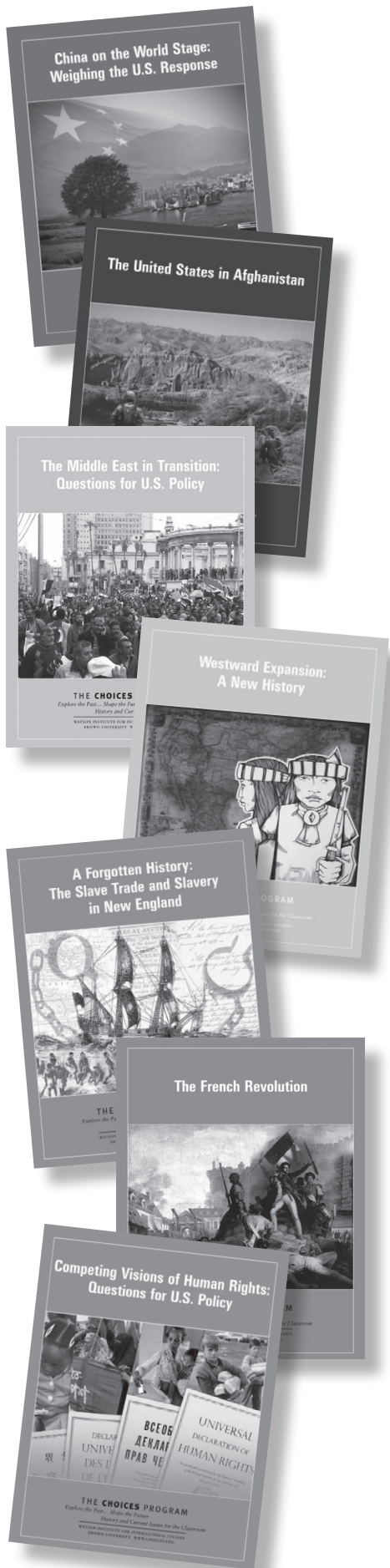
World Wide Web

Columbia University's Asia for Educators
<<http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/>>

Council on Foreign Relations
Timeline: U.S. Relations with China
<<http://www.cfr.org/publication/17698/>>

PBS China from the Inside
<<http://www.pbs.org/kqed/chinainside/>>

The New York Times' China Page
<<http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/china/index.html>>



Engage Students in Real-World Issues

Choices' inquiry-based approach to real-world issues promotes the skills required by Common Core and state standards.

Critical Thinking

Students examine historical context, analyze case studies, consider contrasting policy options, and explore the underlying values and interests that drive different perspectives.

Textual Analysis

Students examine primary and secondary sources to assess multiple perspectives on complex international issues.

Media and Digital Literacy

Students critique editorials, audio and video sources, maps, and other visuals to identify perspective and bias. Video clips help students gather and assess information from leading scholars.

Communication

Students engage in collaborative discussions, build on each other's ideas, formulate persuasive arguments, and express their own viewpoints.

Creativity and Innovation

Students express themselves by creating political cartoons, memorializing historical events artistically, and developing original policy options.

Civic Literacy

Choices materials empower students with the skills and habits to actively engage with their communities and the world.

www.choices.edu

China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response

China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response focuses attention on the United States' evolving relationship with China. The unit considers the global impact of China's economic growth, societal transformation, and increasing international involvement.

China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response is part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues published by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

THE CHOICES PROGRAM

Choices for the 21st Century Education Program
WATSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
BROWN UNIVERSITY, BOX 1948, PROVIDENCE, RI 02912
WWW.CHOICES.EDU

China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response



THE CHOICES PROGRAM

Explore the Past... Shape the Future

History and Current Issues for the Classroom

WATSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
BROWN UNIVERSITY WWW.CHOICES.EDU

CHOICES for the 21st Century Education Program

December 2012

Director
Susan Graseck

Administrative Manager
Kathleen Magiera

Communications & Marketing
Jillian McGuire Turbitt

Curriculum Development Director
Andy Blackadar

Curriculum Writer
Susannah Bechtel

Curriculum Writer
Sarah Massey

Professional Development Director
Mimi Stephens

Video & New Media Producer
Tanya Waldburger

Writing Intern
Leah Elliott

Writing Intern
Maya Lindberg

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program is a program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies and the Office of Continuing Education at Brown University.

The Choices Program develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

Acknowledgments

China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response was developed by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program with the assistance of the research staff at the Watson Institute for International Studies, scholars at Brown University, and other experts in the field. We wish to thank the following researchers for their invaluable input.

Corinna-Barbara Francis
Former Faculty Fellow, Department of Political Science, Brown University

Jerome Grieder
Professor Emeritus of History, Brown University

Robert E. Murowchick
Director, International Center for East Asian Archaeology and Cultural History,
Assistant Professor of Archaeology and Anthropology, Boston University

Ying-Mao Kau
Professor Emeritus of Political Science, Brown University

Linda B. Miller
Professor of Political Science, Emerita, Wellesley College
Visiting Fellow
Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University

Louis Putterman
Professor of Economics, Brown University

Andrea Roberts
Former Post-Doctoral Fellow
Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University

Mark Swislocki
Assistant Professor of History, Brown University

Albert Yee
Former Post-Doctoral Fellow
Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University

China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response is part of a continuing series on international public policy issues. New units are published each academic year and all units are updated regularly.

Visit us on the World Wide Web — www.choices.edu

Contents

The Choices Approach to Current Issues	ii
Note to Teachers	1
Integrating This Unit Into Your Curriculum	2
Reading Strategies and Suggestions	3
Optional Lesson: The History of U.S.-China Relations Through Primary Sources	4
Day One: Looking at China	12
Optional Lesson: Art and Politics: Ai Weiwei	18
Optional Lesson: Looking at the Tank Man	<i>available online</i>
Optional Lesson: Xu Wenli and the China Democracy Party	<i>available online</i>
Day Two: Cross-Strait Relations	21
Day Two Alternative: U.S. and Chinese Perspectives	41
Day Three: Role-Playing the Four Options: Organization and Preparation	46
Day Four: Role-Playing the Four Options: Debate and Discussion	51
Day Five: Tracking China's Future	53
Key Terms	57
U.S.-China Issues Toolbox	58
Making Choices Work in Your Classroom	59
Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations	61
Alternative Three Day Lesson Plan	62

THE CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY EDUCATION PROGRAM is a program of the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University. CHOICES was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgement on political issues.



The Watson Institute for International Studies was established at Brown University in 1986 to serve as a forum for students, faculty, visiting scholars, and policy practitioners who are committed to analyzing contemporary global problems and developing initiatives to address them.
© Copyright December 2012. Eleventh edition. Choices for the 21st Century Education Program. All rights reserved. ISBN 1-60123-146-6-TRB.

The Choices Approach to Current Issues

Choices curricula are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. Using a student-centered approach, Choices units develop critical thinking and an understanding of the significance of history in our lives today—essential ingredients of responsible citizenship.

Teachers say the collaboration and interaction in Choices units are highly motivating for students. Studies consistently demonstrate that students of all abilities learn best when they are actively engaged with the material. Cooperative learning invites students to take pride in their own contributions and in the group product, enhancing students' confidence as learners. Research demonstrates that students using the Choices approach learn the factual information presented as well as or better than those using a lecture-discussion format. Choices units offer students with diverse abilities and learning styles the opportunity to contribute, collaborate, and achieve.

Choices units on current issues include student readings, a framework of policy options, suggested lesson plans, and resources for structuring cooperative learning, role plays, and simulations. Students are challenged to:

- recognize relationships between history and current issues
- analyze and evaluate multiple perspectives on an issue
- understand the internal logic of a viewpoint
- identify and weigh the conflicting values represented by different points of view
- engage in informed discussion
- develop and articulate original viewpoints on an issue
- communicate in written and oral presentations
- collaborate with peers

Choices curricula offer teachers a flexible resource for covering course material while actively engaging students and developing skills in critical thinking, deliberative discourse, persuasive writing, and informed civic participation. The instructional activities that are central to Choices units can be valuable components in any teacher's repertoire of effective teaching strategies.

The Organization of a Choices Unit

Introducing the Background: Each Choices curriculum resource provides historical background and student-centered lesson plans that explore critical issues. This historical foundation prepares students to analyze a range of perspectives and then to deliberate about possible approaches to contentious policy issues.

Exploring Policy Alternatives: Each Choices unit has a framework of three or four divergent policy options that challenges students to consider multiple perspectives. Students understand and analyze the options through a role play and the dialogue that follows.

• **Role Play:** The setting of the role play varies, and may be a Congressional hearing, a meeting of the National Security Council, or an election campaign forum. In groups, students explore their assigned options and plan short presentations. Each group, in turn, is challenged with questions from classmates.

• **Deliberation:** After the options have been presented and students clearly understand the differences among them, students enter into deliberative dialogue in which they analyze together the merits and trade-offs of the alternatives presented; explore shared concerns as well as conflicting values, interests, and priorities; and begin to articulate their own views.

For further information see <www.choices.edu/deliberation>.

• **Exercising Citizenship:** Armed with fresh insights from the role play and the deliberation, students articulate original, coherent policy options that reflect their own values and goals. Students' views can be expressed in letters to Congress or the White House, editorials for the school or community newspaper, persuasive speeches, or visual presentations.

Note to Teachers

The relationship between the United States and China has been marked by ambivalence and misunderstanding. Today, as in the past, U.S.-China relations are sometimes clouded by misperceptions. What has changed is China's position in the world. China's remarkable transformation since the late 1970s has vaulted the world's most populous country to the top of the U.S. foreign policy agenda. *China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response* presents students with many of the same questions that U.S. policy makers will face in the decades to come.

The reading is intended to prepare students to consider the complexities of U.S.-China relations. The Optional Reading surveys the history of the U.S. interaction with China. Part I explores the economic, social, and political dimensions of China's transformation under Deng Xiaoping and the impact of those changes for Chinese people today. Part II reviews the most critical issues on the current U.S.-China policy agenda.

As a central activity, students consider four distinct options for U.S. policy toward China. By exploring a wide-ranging spectrum of alternatives, students gain a deeper understanding of the values underlying specific policy recommendations.

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan: The Teacher Resource Book accompanying *China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response* contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities that use primary source documents and help build critical-thinking skills.

• **Alternative Study Guides:** Each section of reading is accompanied by two study guides. The standard study guide helps students gather the information in the readings in preparation for analysis and synthesis in class. It also lists key terms that students will encounter in the reading. The advanced study guide requires that students analyze and synthesize material prior to class activities.

• **Vocabulary and Concepts:** The reading addresses subjects that are complex and challenging. To help your students get the most out of the text, you may want to review with them “Key Terms” on page TRB-57 before they begin their assignment. A “U.S.-China Issues Toolbox” on TRB-58 provides additional information on key concepts of particular importance.

• **Additional Resources:** More resources, including videos and primary sources, are available at <<http://www.choices.edu/chinamaterials>>.

The lesson plans offered here are provided as a guide. Many teachers choose to devote additional time to certain activities. We hope that these suggestions help you tailor the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

Integrating This Unit Into Your Curriculum

Units produced by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program are designed to be integrated into a variety of social studies courses. Below are a few ideas about where *China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response* might fit into your curriculum.

Twentieth Century History: During much of the Cold War, China evoked greater fear among people in the United States than did the Soviet Union. Mao Zedong was generally perceived as more reckless and unpredictable than his Soviet counterparts. Moreover, the menace of Chinese socialism set the stage for U.S. involvement in both the Korean and Vietnam wars. *China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response* offers students an opportunity to explore the Chinese dimension of the Cold War equation. The unit calls on students to consider how Mao's communist revolution changed U.S.-China relations and altered the dynamics of international relations. It also helps them reflect on the rapprochement in U.S.-China relations that began when Richard Nixon's visit to Beijing in 1972 opened a new stage of the Cold War and signaled the United States' warming relationship with China under Deng Xiaoping.

Economics: The explosive economic growth of China since the late 1970s has elevated the prominence of East Asia in the world economy. In recent years, East Asia has become a more important destination for U.S. exports than Western Europe. Annual eco-

nomical growth rates in the region are expected to approach 8 percent over the next decade. *China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response* examines many of the most relevant economic issues in East Asia. Students are introduced to issues engendered by China's model of economic development. How closely has China followed the example set by the neighboring "Asian tigers"? How did Deng Xiaoping's strategy of economic liberalization differ from reform efforts in the Soviet Union? In light of China's experience, how should a socialist approach to development be viewed? In addition, China's growth raises questions about East Asia's impact on world commodity markets and on the global environment.

Current Issues/International Relations: The growing economic power of East Asia is among the most important developments to take place in international relations since World War II. With the increase in East Asia's economic clout has come concern in the West that the international balance of power is tilting away from the United States and Western Europe. What are the implications of East Asia's rise for international relations in the twenty-first century? Is China destined to again become the most powerful country in the world? What role will human rights play in the region? *China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response* invites students to ponder China's role in the world from a long-term perspective.

Reading Strategies and Suggestions

This unit covers a wide range of issues over a long period of time. Your students may find the readings complex. It might also be difficult for them to synthesize such a large amount of information. The following suggestions can help your students better understand the readings.

Pre-reading strategies: Help students to prepare for the reading.

1. You might create a Know/Want to Know/Learned (K-W-L) worksheet for students to record what they already know about China and what they want to know. As they read they can fill out the “learned” section of the worksheet. Alternatively, brainstorm their current knowledge and then create visual maps in which students link the concepts and ideas they have about the topic.

2. Use the questions in the text to introduce students to the topic. Ask them to scan the reading for major headings, images, and questions so they can gain familiarity with the structure and organization of the text.

3. Preview the vocabulary and key concepts listed on each study guide and in the back of the TRB with students. The study guide asks students to identify key terms from the reading. Establish a system to help students find definitions for these key terms and others they do not know.

4. Since studies show that most students are visual learners, use a visual introduction, such as photographs, an internet site, or a short film or video to orient your students.

5. Be sure that students understand the purpose for their reading of the text. Will you have a debate later, and they need to know the information to formulate arguments? Will students write letters to Congress? Will students communicate with students in China over the internet? Will they create a class podcast?

Split up readings into smaller chunks: Assign students readings over a longer period of time or divide readings among groups of students.

Graphic organizers: You may also wish to use graphic organizers to help your students better understand the information that they are given. For each part of the reading we have included an organizer. These are located on TRB-8, TRB-16, and TRB-25. In addition, a graphic organizer for the four options is provided on TRB-50. Students can complete them in class, in groups, or as part of their homework, or you can use them as reading checks or quizzes.

The History of U.S.-China Relations Through Primary Sources

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze the attitudes and perceptions that have framed U.S.-China relations.

Draw connections between historical events and the contents of the three documents under consideration.

Identify passages in the documents that reflect changes in U.S.-China relations.

Use primary sources effectively.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the lesson, students should have read the Introduction and Optional Reading in the student text and completed “Study Guide—Optional Reading” in the Teacher Resource Book (TRB 5-6) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Optional Reading” (TRB-7).

Handouts:

“Key Documents in U.S.-China Relations” (TRB 9-10)

“Connecting Three Documents” (TRB-11)

Note: The complete versions of these documents are available at <<http://www.choices.edu/chinamaterials>>.

In the Classroom:

1. Getting Started—Divide the class into groups of three or four students. Distribute “Key Documents in U.S.-China Relations” and “Connecting Three Documents.” Assign each group the task of studying one of the three documents on the handout, collectively answering the discussion questions, and filling in their section of the chart. Students may

need to consult their homework reading to answer the discussion questions.

2. Identifying Key Passages—After the groups have finished, call on groups to summarize the key points of each of the three documents. Can students identify an evolution of China’s relations with the United States in the documents? How did the Treaty of Peace, Amity, and Commerce lay the foundation for the subsequent “unequal treaties” between China and the West? Why was China not a party to Hay’s “Open Door” note? Why did the 1972 joint communiqué represent a critical turning point in U.S.-China relations? All groups should fill in the “key points” sections on the chart.

3. Drawing Connections—Focus discussion on how the documents relate to the central issues of China’s relations with the United States in the modern era. What do the first two documents tell us about Western interests in China in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? How had those interests changed by the time of Nixon’s 1972 visit to China? Finally, call on students to explain the position of the United States and China in world affairs at the time each of the three documents was written. How did the shifting global balance of power influence the development of the three documents? Again, all groups should fill out the remaining sections on the chart.

Homework:

Students should read Part I in the student text and complete “Study Guide—Part I” (TRB 13-14) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part I” (TRB-15).

Name: _____

Study Guide—Optional Reading

Vocabulary: Be sure that you understand these key terms from your reading. Circle ones that you do not know.

bureaucracy
 empire
 commerce
 merchant
 treaty
 dynasty
 missionary
 economic producer
 imperialist
 nationalist

sphere of influence
 boycott
 communist
 Cold War
 containment
 extremism
 global balance of power
 trade restriction
 investment

1. What advantages did the Chinese empire have over European countries until the late 1700s?

2. How were the following items important to China's relations with the Western powers?
 - a. silk, porcelain, furniture, artwork, tea

 - b. silver

 - c. opium

3. List four terms of the Treaty of Nanjing.
 - a.

 - b.

 - c.

 - d.

4. How did this treaty mark a change in China's relationship with European countries?

5. How did the conditions that the West imposed after the second Opium War broaden the West's advantages in China?

6. What did U.S. policymakers hope to achieve with the Open Door policy in China?

7. What were the goals of Chinese nationalists?

8. Why did the May 4th Movement occur?

9. Why didn't the world respond to Japan's aggression in China before and during World War II?

10. The communist leader who led the communists to power in 1949 and ruled China until his death in 1976 was _____.

11. Why did some people in the United States consider China a major threat during the Cold War?

12. List three events that improved relations between the United States and China in the 1970s.
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.

13. After the United States recognized mainland China, Congress was concerned about the future of U.S.- _____ relations and passed the _____ Act which guaranteed continued _____ and _____ relations and provided U.S. assurances for its _____.

Name: _____

Advanced Study Guide—Optional Reading

1. Why did the Opium War of 1839-42 mark a turning point in China's relations with the outside world?
2. How did the values and the policies of the United States contribute to the rise of Chinese nationalism?
3. Look at the chart "Percentage of World Manufacturing Output" on page 6. How does the chart describe the balance of power between the United States and China from 1750-1900?
4. What were the main reasons that the United States made little effort to support the government of Chiang Kai-shek against the communists in the late 1940s?
5. What was the impact of the Korean War on U.S.-China relations?
6. Explain the reasons why Richard Nixon and Deng Xiaoping each pressed for an improvement in U.S.-China relations in the 1970s.

Nixon:

Deng:

The History of U.S.-China Relations

Directions: In the chart below, fill in the two or three main causes and effects for each event.

Causes	Event	Effects
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • • 	Opium Wars	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • •
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • • 	Open Door Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • •
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • • 	Boxer Rebellion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • •
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • • 	Chinese Exclusion Acts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • •
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • • 	May 4th Movement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • •
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • • 	U.S. Support of Taiwan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • •
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • • 	U.S. Recognition of China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • •

Key Documents in U.S.-China Relations

Excerpts from the Treaty of Peace, Amity and Commerce signed by the United States and China, 1844

ARTICLE II: Citizens of the United States resorting to China for the purposes of commerce will pay the duties of import and export prescribed in the Tariffs, which is fixed by and made a part of this Treaty. They shall, in no case, be subject to other or higher duties than are or shall be required of the people of any other nation whatever. Fees and charges of every sort are wholly abolished, and officers of the revenue, who may be guilty of exaction, shall be punished according to the laws of China. If the Chinese Government desires to modify, in any respect, the said Tariff, such modifications shall be made only in consultation with consuls or other functionaries thereto duly authorized in behalf of the United States, and with consent thereof. And if additional advantages or privileges, of whatever description, be conceded hereafter by China to any other nation, the United States, and the citizens thereof, shall be entitled thereupon, to a complete, equal, and impartial participation in the same.

ARTICLE XXI: ...citizens of the United States, who may commit any crime in China, shall be subject to be tried and punished only by the Consul, or other public functionary of the United States, thereto authorized according to the laws of the United States. And in order to the prevention of all controversy and disaffection, justice shall be equitably and impartially administered on both sides.

Excerpts from the “Open Door” note addressed by Secretary of State John Hay to the government of Britain (and the other imperialist powers), 1899

This Government is animated by a sincere desire that the interests of our citizens may not be prejudiced through exclusive treatment by any of the controlling powers within their so-called “spheres of interest” in China, and hopes also to retain there an open market for the commerce of the world.... The present moment seems a particularly opportune one for informing Her Britannic Majesty’s Government of the desire of the United States to see it make a formal declaration and to lend its support in obtaining similar declarations from the various powers claiming “spheres of influence” in China, to the effect that each in its respective spheres of interest or influence—

First. Will in no way interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called “sphere of interest” or leased territory it may have in China.

Second. That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said “sphere of interest” (unless they be “free ports”), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

Third. That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such “sphere” than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its “sphere” on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such “sphere” than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances.

Excerpts from the joint U.S.-China communiqué issued at Shanghai on the occasion of President Richard Nixon's visit to China, 1972

There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force. The United States and the People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations.

With these principles of international relations in mind the two sides stated that:

- progress toward the normalization of relations between China is in the interests of all countries;

- both wish to reduce the danger of international conflict;

- neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; and

- neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states....

The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalization of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

President Nixon, Mrs. Nixon and the American party expressed their appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown them by the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.

Questions for discussion

Instructions: Answer the questions below with the other members of your group. Be prepared to share your views with the class.

1. Which historical events set the stage for the document assigned to your group?
2. What were the most important U.S. interests at stake at the time your group's document was written?
3. What does your group's document suggest about China's position in the world at the time the document was written?
4. How did your group's document affect the course of U.S.-China relations?

Name: _____

Connecting Three Documents

	Key points of document	Western interests expressed	Position of U.S. in world affairs at the time	Position of China in world affairs at the time
Treaty of Peace, Amity, and Commerce 1844				
"Open Door" Note 1899				
Joint Communiqué 1972				

Looking at China

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze photographs of present-day China.

Formulate ideas about Chinese life and society.

Consider the benefits and limitations of using photographs as a source for learning about China.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the Introduction and Part I of the reading and completed the “Study Guide—Part I” (TRB 13-14) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part I” (TRB-15).

Handouts:

“Looking at China” (TRB-17)

Resources:

This lesson requires access to the internet for students or the ability to project a Powerpoint document of the photographs in the classroom. The Powerpoint document can be found at <http://www.choices.edu/chinamaterials>.

In the Classroom:

1. Reviewing the Reading—Begin class by briefly reviewing with students what they know about China. Prompt students to recount what they know about China’s people, history, and economy. Ask students to each write one question about what they want to know about China.

2. Exploring China—Divide the class into small groups and distribute the handout. Direct students to the Powerpoint or show the images to the class. Assign each group four photos and instruct students to examine each image closely and answer the questions on the handout. Alternatively, have students choose their own photos to analyze.

Note: Teachers should point out that it is important to be careful about drawing conclusions from photos, and remind students they cannot be certain that a photo is an accurate or complete reflection of reality. While photos can provide clues about societies and how people live, they should be aware that photos, like written documents, show a small piece of a bigger picture. When analyzing photos students should think about both the content of the photo and the point of view of the photographer.

3. Presentations and Class Discussion—After small groups complete the questions, have everyone come together in a large group. Ask students to display their photos to the class and share their observations.

After students present their findings, have students reflect on what they learned from the photos. Did any of the photos change students’ ideas or assumptions about China? Have the photographs raised any new questions about China? Where do students think they might find answers to these new questions? What are the benefits of using photographs as a resource for learning about other countries and societies?

What are the limitations of using photographs as a source for learning about China? How might photos present a selective or misleading portrait of the subject matter? Do students think it is important to consider the point of view of the photographer when analyzing photos? Did the photographer have a purpose in taking this photograph?

Homework:

Students should read Part II of the student text and complete “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 22-23) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-24).

5. What elements of socialism remain in China's economy? Why does the government provide such protections?

6. List three major environmental problems for China.
 - a.

 - b.

 - c.

7. Describe two problems for China's government that are the result of economic reform.
 - a.

 - b.

8. Why don't wealthy young urban people participate much in politics?

9. Why do many rural Chinese peasants envy those who live in cities?

10. What problems await peasants who move to cities in search of work and a better life?

11. How does increased local political power challenge China's Communist Party?

Name: _____

Advanced Study Guide—Part I

1. How did Deng's reforms contribute to the rapid growth of the Chinese economy?
2. What features of Mao's economic system continue to be part of China's present-day economy?
3. How does China's economic growth affect the global environment?
4. How are students today different from their counterparts twenty years ago?
5. What is the meaning behind the portraits of Mao that hang in the homes of many Chinese peasants?
6. What are the main challenges threatening the rule of China's Communist Party in the coming years?

Name: _____

China's Transformation

Directions: Use your reading to fill in the boxes. On the top of each box, list the major reforms or changes that occurred during Deng's leadership in the noted area (economic, social, political). On the bottom, list major challenges in that area that exist for China today.

Economic

reforms/changes

challenges

Social

reforms/changes

challenges

Political

reforms/changes

challenges

Extra Challenge: Which of the challenges you listed above will most affect China's relationship with the United States? Why?

Name: _____

Looking at China

Instructions: Examine your photos and answer the following questions for each. Your group will be asked to share its impressions with the class. Keep in mind that photos cannot give you a complete picture of Chinese society, and you should be careful about drawing conclusions from the photographs.

1. Describe the photo (the setting, architecture and landscape, what is happening, etc.). If there are people in the photo, what are they doing? How would you describe their appearance (gender, age, expressions, body language, clothing, etc.)? How would you describe the types of interactions people are having? If people are working, what types of jobs do they have?
2. How does this photo relate to what you know about China?
3. Does this image offer any clues about life in China or Chinese society? For example, does the photo reveal anything about religion, transportation, or geography? Can you learn anything new about China from the image?
4. Does this image raise questions for you about China?

Art and Politics: Ai Weiwei

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze a work of art.

Synthesize information from multiple sources.

Explore the idea of censorship.

Consider an artist's response to the situation in China.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the Introduction and Part I of the student text and completed "Study Guide—Part I" (TRB 13-14) or "Advanced Study Guide—Part I" (TRB-15).

Note: There is a short video that is used with this lesson. The lesson can easily be adapted to be done without the film. In that case, you may want to give students a very brief overview of Ai Weiwei and his work. "Artist's Statement: Ai Weiwei" (TRB-20) is one source of information. While short, some students may find it challenging.

Handouts:

"Ai Weiwei: Dropping the Urn" (TRB-19)

"Artist's Statement: Ai Weiwei" (TRB-20)

Resources:

Video Resource: *Ai Weiwei: Never Sorry*
<<http://www.choices.edu/chinamaterials>>

In the Classroom:

1. Focus Question: What is the purpose of censorship? Ask students if they can recount any examples of censorship. What kind of things are censored? Have students ever seen or experienced censorship? Can they think of examples beyond their own personal experience? Can they think of examples from the

United States or other parts of the world?

2. Introducing the Artist: Show the class the short video about Ai Weiwei. Why might the Chinese government limit his expression?

3. Analyzing a Source: Break the class into groups of three or four students. Distribute copies of the handout so that each student has a copy. Have the groups answer the questions on a worksheet and be prepared to report to the class.

4. Making Connections: Have students report their answers to the class. Challenge students to make connections to their reading about China. Do students believe that there is a political message to the three photos?

Do students believe that there are any situations in which a government should be able to limit expression for political reasons? What if the artwork is offensive to people?

Extra Challenge:

1. Have students read "Artist's Statement: Ai Weiwei" and answer the questions that follow. Do students believe that the role of the artist is universal in different countries? Or is Ai Weiwei's experience unique to China?

2. Have students research different aspects of Ai Weiwei. For example, his artwork, his latest blogpost or tweets, or his treatment at the hands of the Chinese government.

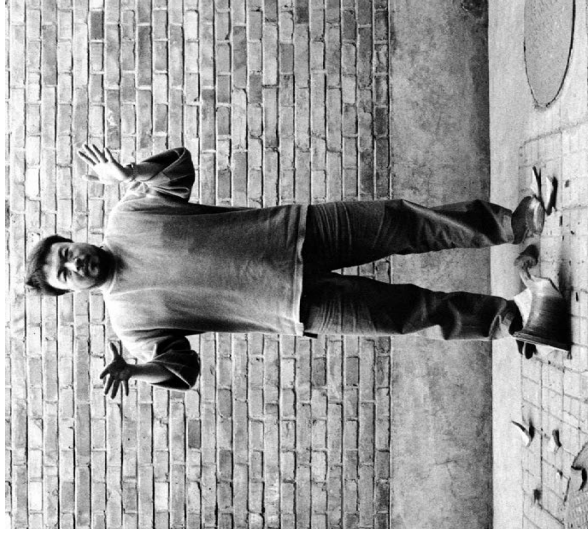
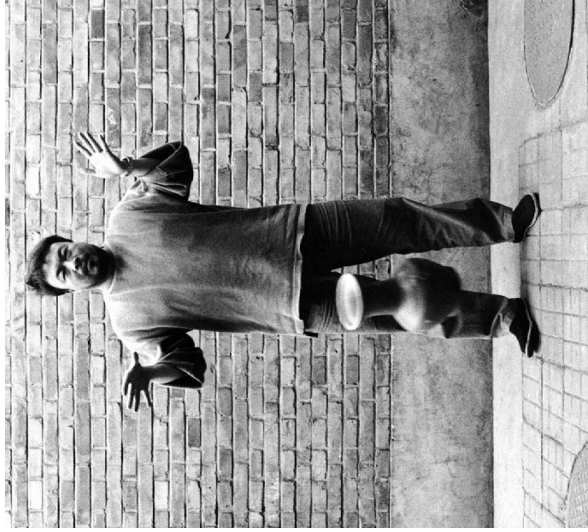
3. Have students find another work of art by Ai Weiwei and present it to the class or write a brief report.

Homework:

Students should read Part II of the student text and complete "Study Guide—Part II" (TRB 22-23) or the "Advanced Study Guide—Part II" (TRB-24).

Ai Weiwei: Dropping the Urn

Instructions: Ai Weiwei is an artist in China who is known for his political commentary as well as his artwork. Government authorities have arrested him several times and destroyed his studio. In these photos from 1995, Ai Weiwei drops an urn made during the Han Dynasty. The Han Dynasty lasted for four centuries 206 BCE – 220 CE and is considered by many Chinese to be a “Golden Age” in their history. Today, members of the largest ethnic group in China refer to themselves as the Han people.



Ai Weiwei.

1. Give three details that you notice about Ai Weiwei in the photos. Why do you think he is looking directly at the camera?
2. Why is the Han Dynasty urn important in the photographs?
3. If you were to give these three images a title, what would it be?
4. Is there a political message to these photos? Explain your answer.

Cross-Strait Relations

Objectives:

Students will: Understand the basics of the conflict across the Taiwan Strait.

Use multiple sources and media to develop comprehension.

Work in groups to create effective visual representations of their knowledge.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part II of the student text and completed “Study Guide—Part II” in the Teacher Resource Book (TRB 22-23) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-24).

Handouts:

“China-Taiwan-U.S. Relations” (TRB-26) for all groups

Relevant subsequent handouts for each group (TRB 27-40)

In the Classroom:

1. Preparing for Group Work—Divide students into six groups. Distribute “China-Taiwan-U.S. Relations” and one additional handout to each group. Each handout looks at a different element of cross-strait relations and the U.S. involvement. Students should answer the questions on their group’s handout. Each student from each group should be prepared to share what he/she has learned with the rest of the class. Students should work with these groups for about half the class period.

2. Jigsaw Groups—Reassign students to new groups, ensuring that each new group has representation from each of the old groups.

3. Creating a Visual—Students should follow the “China-Taiwan-U.S. Relations” handout to develop a strategy for explaining their new knowledge. Students should then create a poster with their new group.

4. Large Group Discussion—After groups have completed their posters, call on groups to present their work. What symbols did they use? How did they represent the views of different actors in the conflict? Do their posters convey a point of view?

Suggestions:

You may wish to assign initial groups based on students’ strengths; for instance, more mathematically inclined students could work with the statistics, while more visual learners could work with the cartoons.

You may find this lesson works well in a block or over two days. In that case, additional reading or videos could be assigned to help students understand the issue.

If time permits, have students develop posters that are polished enough to be viewed by others. Students could hang the posters around school or could design short presentations to give to students in younger classes. Students could also write letters to their representatives explaining how they think the United States should (or should not) be involved in the issue of cross-strait relations.

Note:

Cross-strait tensions are deep and complex. It is not possible to understand them fully in one class period. A college student-run symposium for Chinese, Taiwanese, and U.S. students, called Strait Talk, runs every year. Information can be found at <<http://www.straittalk.org>>.

Homework:

Students should read “Options in Brief.”

Study Guide—Part II

Vocabulary: Be sure that you understand these key terms from Part II of your reading. Circle ones that you do not know.

- | | |
|--|---|
| nuclear arsenal
superpower
economic refugees
budget deficit
trade deficit
free trade
international system
intellectual property laws
subsidies
recalls
foreign aid
autonomy | separatist
prison labor
international arms market
reunification
open society
offensive weapon
coalition
international law
sanctions
non-interventionist
dissident |
|--|---|

1. Define and explain the significance of the following terms.

Term	Brief Definition	Significance in U.S.-China Relations
Budget Deficit		
Trade Imbalance		
Tariff		
WTO		
Intellectual Property Laws		

2. The graph on p. 22, “U.S. Trade with China 1999-2011,” shows that the United States (circle one):

- a. imports more from China than it exports
- b. exports more to China than it imports

Explain your reasoning:

Name: _____

3. What does the United States see as positive outcomes from China's membership in the WTO?

4. What are U.S. human rights concerns in China? Give three examples.

a.

b.

c.

5. a. Why is China a security concern for the United States?

b. Why is the United States a security concern for China?

6. How does the cartoon on page 28 express a concern about the future of Hong Kong?

7. Why has Taiwan often been a source of friction between China and the United States?

8. Since the 1980s, China's role in the world has _____. China has not only increased its _____ but also has strengthened its _____ around the world.

9. Why was China's participation in the multinational campaign against piracy in the Gulf of Aden significant?

Name: _____

Issues on the U.S.-China Agenda

	Trade Issues	Human Rights	Security/Military	Taiwan	China's Role in the World
The U.S. Perspective					
The Chinese Perspective					

China-Taiwan-U.S. Relations

General Directions:

Your group has been assigned one element of China-Taiwan-U.S. relations. In your group, read the background below and then answer the questions on your handout. Once your group has completed the handout, you will be split up into new groups. Your new groups will design a poster that conveys your understanding of the Taiwan Strait conflict. Each of you will need to be prepared to share the findings of your first group with your second group, so that you can design and create an effective poster together.

Poster Directions:

In your new group, design a poster that conveys your knowledge of the Taiwan Strait conflict from each side: China, Taiwan, and the United States. A person looking at your poster should be able to understand the conflict, though you should minimize the number of words you use. Design, symbols, colors, and shapes can be used to convey your message. Be sure to consider whether your group has a point of view on the conflict and whether you wish to convey that or try to be as neutral as possible.

Background on the Conflict:

The conflict across the Taiwan Strait has a long history. Today, mainland China seeks to exert its regional influence, to celebrate its heritage, and to provide a counterweight to U.S. leadership in East Asia. Communist China sees Taiwan (also called the Republic of China) as rightfully part of China, and seeks to bring the island back under mainland Chinese control. Before Japan took over Taiwan in 1895, the island was loosely controlled by the Manchu dynasty for centuries. When the end of World War II forced Japan to relinquish its occupation of Chinese territory, the question of who would permanently control Taiwan became important. Following the Chinese civil war in 1949, two million Nationalist Party refugees escaped to Taiwan, declaring Taipei as the new capital of China.

The communist government of mainland China has never recognized the government of Taiwan as legitimate. For its part, the government of Taiwan, a free-market democracy, does not wish to be controlled by communist China. U.S. support for Taiwan has complicated the issue. Continued U.S. arms shipments to Taiwan, as mandated under the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979, coupled with U.S. assertions of support for the “One China Policy” can be difficult for Chinese and Taiwanese officials to interpret. Misunderstandings between China and the United States have flared to dangerous levels in the past.

The conflict between China and Taiwan is unlike most other regional conflicts in the world, such as Israel/Palestine, Northern Ireland, or Cyprus. The people of China and Taiwan share a common written language, they are ethnically the same, and there are no major religious differences separating the two populations. One hundred miles of water separate Taiwan and China. The two populations are not living close enough to each other so that neighborhood tensions become violent, as is often the case in other regional conflicts. Neither population is subject to oppression from the other. Culturally the two populations are very similar. Trade between the island and the mainland is high; the two benefit each other economically. The only major difference between the two is political. China would like political control of the island, while Taiwan wants to preserve its sovereignty.

Group One: Policy Statements

Taiwan Relations Act, 1979 Enacted by U.S. Congress

It is the policy of the United States

(1) to preserve and promote extensive, close, and friendly commercial, cultural, and other relations between the people of the United States and the people on Taiwan, as well as the people on the China mainland and all other peoples of the Western Pacific area;

(2) to declare that peace and stability in the area are in the political, security, and economic interests of the United States, and are matters of international concern;

(3) to make clear that the United States decision to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China rests upon the expectation that the future of Taiwan will be determined by peaceful means;

(4) to consider any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means, including by boycotts or embargoes, a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific area and of grave concern to the United States;

(5) to provide Taiwan with arms of a defensive character; and

(6) to maintain the capacity of the United States to resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the security, or the social or economic system, of the people on Taiwan.

Constitution of Taiwan Article 141

The foreign policy of the Republic of China shall, in a spirit of independence and initiative and on the basis of the principles of equality and reciprocity, cultivate good-neighborliness with other nations, and respect treaties and the interests of Chinese citizens residing abroad, promote international cooperation, advance international justice and ensure world peace.

Anti-Secession Law, 2005 Chinese Government

Article 2. There is only one China in the world. Both the mainland and Taiwan belong to one China. China's sovereignty and territorial integrity brook no division. Safeguarding China's sovereignty and territorial integrity is the common obligation of all Chinese people, the Taiwan compatriots included. Taiwan is part of China. The state shall never allow the "Taiwan independence" secessionist forces to make Taiwan secede from China under any name or by any means.

Article 8. In the event that the "Taiwan independence" secessionist forces should act under any name or by any means to cause the fact of Taiwan's secession from China, or that major incidents entailing Taiwan's secession from China should occur, or that possibilities for a peaceful re-unification should be completely exhausted, the state shall employ non-peaceful means and other necessary measures to protect China's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Questions:

1. What kinds of documents are these?
2. From whose perspective are the different documents written?
3. What are the most important sentences or phrases in each document? Highlight or underline them.
4. How do these documents explain the current tensions in the Taiwan Strait?
5. How do the documents explain current U.S.-China relations?

Group Two: News Report on U.S.-China-Taiwan Relations

U.S. Arms for Taiwan Send Beijing a Message

February 1, 2010 in *The New York Times*

By HELENE COOPER

WASHINGTON — For the past year, China has adopted an increasingly muscular position toward the United States, berating American officials for the global economic crisis, stage-managing President Obama's visit to China in November, refusing to back a tougher climate change agreement in Copenhagen and standing fast against American demands for tough new Security Council sanctions against Iran.

Now, the Obama administration has started to push back. In announcing an arms sales package to Taiwan worth \$6 billion on Friday, the United States leveled a direct strike at the heart of the most sensitive diplomatic issue between the two countries since America affirmed the "one China" policy in 1972.

The arms package was doubly infuriating to Beijing coming so soon after the Bush administration announced a similar arms package for Taiwan in 2008, and right as tensions were easing somewhat in Beijing and Taipei's own relations. China's immediate, and outraged, reaction — cancellation of some military exchanges and announcement of punitive sanctions against American companies — demonstrates, China experts said, that Beijing is feeling a little burned, particularly because the Taiwan arms announcement came on the same day that Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton publicly berated China for not taking a stronger position on holding Iran accountable for its nuclear program.

While administration officials sounded a uniform public note, cautioning Beijing not to allow this latest tiff to damage overall relations, some administration officials suggested privately that the timing of the arms sales and the tougher language on Iran was calculated to send a message to Beijing to avoid

assumptions that President Obama would be deferential to China over American security concerns and existing agreements.

"This was a case of making sure that there was no misunderstanding that we will act in our own national security interests," one senior administration official said. A second Obama administration official, also speaking on the condition of anonymity because of the sensitivity of the issue, said pointedly: "Unlike the previous administration, we did not wait until the end of our administration to go ahead with the arms sales to Taiwan. We did it early."

But larger questions remain about where the Obama administration is heading on China policy, and whether the new toughness signals a fundamentally new direction and will yield results that last year's softer approach did not.

Beyond the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, management of the American relationship with China is one of Mr. Obama's biggest foreign policy challenges. Flush with cash, China's economy is growing mightily, and China has become one of the biggest foreign lenders to the United States. China also is an increasingly critical American trading partner and a global rival in influence and economic power.

"The president's view is that obviously we have to have a mature enough relationship with China that we can be candid and firm where we disagree and cooperate forcefully when we agree," a senior administration official said. He insisted that the timing of the arms package and Mrs. Clinton's tough words were "not designed to send a gratuitous message to China, but to demonstrate the firmness of our position."

China has a history of getting off to a tough start with American administrations. President Bill Clinton alienated Beijing with tough talk on human rights, even signing an executive order that made renewal of trade privileges for China dependent on progress on human

rights. But Mr. Clinton reversed himself in 1994, saying that the United States and China would move forward faster on issues of mutual concern if Beijing was not isolated.

Similarly, President George W. Bush's first dealings with the Chinese were also fractious, including an effort to recover American airmen whose spy plane was forced down off the Chinese coast.

"The Obama administration came in exactly the opposite," said Steven Clemons, director of foreign policy programs at the New America Foundation. "They needed China on economic issues, climate change, Iran, North Korea. So they came in wanting to do this lovely dance with China, but that didn't work."

Instead, China pushed back hard, including at the Copenhagen climate change summit meeting in December, when Beijing balked at American and European demands that China agree to an international monitoring system for emissions targets. Twice, the Chinese prime minister, Wen Jiabao, sent an underling to represent him at meetings with Mr. Obama, in what diplomats said was an intentional snub. Mr. Obama later had to track down Mr. Wen, surprising him and appearing at the doorway of a conference room where Mr. Wen was meeting with the leaders of South Africa, Brazil and India.

The United States and China eventually reached a compromise on the monitoring agreement, but the whole incident left a bad taste in the mouths of many Obama administration officials, who believed China had deliberately set out to belittle Mr. Obama, and who were determined to push back and reassert American authority.

"The Chinese," said James J. Shinn, who was assistant secretary of defense for Asia during the Bush administration, "now seem to have a palpable sense of confidence that they're more in the driver's seat than two years ago, across a whole range of issues."

For Mr. Obama, the arms sale to Taiwan, which China considers a breakaway province, may be only the first of many instances this

year in which he will run afoul of Beijing.

Some foreign policy experts said that the administration now seemed intent on poking at the sovereignty issues that have long been China's Achilles' heel. Mrs. Clinton noted on Friday that Mr. Obama would soon be meeting with the Tibetan spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama — a meeting that White House officials put off last summer to avoid alienating Beijing in advance of Mr. Obama's China trip. China regards the Dalai Lama as an advocate of Tibetan independence.

"China is feeling very confident these days, but the one thing that the Chinese freak out about consistently are sovereignty issues," said Mr. Clemons of the New America Foundation. "So anything related to Taiwan or Tibet will get them going."

Added to that, the administration has been championing Internet freedom recently, another source of public tension with Beijing. China's government is embroiled in a fight with Google over that company's complaints about Internet censorship and hacking attacks it says originated in China.

But the tougher American positions do not change the fact that Mr. Obama needs Chinese cooperation on a host of issues. Beyond his efforts to rein in Iran's nuclear ambitions, the president is also working with Beijing on similar ambitions in North Korea.

And Mr. Obama announced in his State of the Union address last week that he planned to double American exports in the next five years, an ambitious goal that cannot be met unless he somehow persuades China to let its currency appreciate, making Chinese products more expensive in the United States and American products more affordable in China.

Name: _____

Questions:

1. What kind of source is this?
2. From whose perspective is the source written?
3. When was this written?
4. What are the most important sentences or phrases in the source? Highlight or underline them.
5. How does the source explain the current situation in Taiwan?
6. How does the source explain current U.S.-China relations?

Group Three: Statistics

China and Taiwan at a Glance

	China	Taiwan
population	1.3 billion	23.2 million
largest ethnic group	Han (91.5%)	Han (98%)
major religions	Daoism, Buddhism	Daoism, Buddhism
major languages	Mandarin Cantonese	Mandarin, Taiwanese
literacy rate	92.2%	96.1%
GDP per capita	\$8,500	\$38,200
internet users	389 million	16.1 million
military expenditures per GDP	4.3%	2.2%
government	authoritarian state	multiparty democracy

Data from 2012 CIA Factbook and State Department Background Notes.

Cross-Strait Trade in Millions of U.S. Dollars

	Exports from China to Taiwan	Exports from Taiwan to China	Total
1994	1,858.7	131.6	1,990.3
1996	3,059.9	623.4	3,683.2
1998	4,113.9	914.9	5,028.8
2000	6,229.3	4,391.5	10,620.8
2002	7,968.8	10,526.9	18,495.5
2004	16,792.3	36,349.4	53,141.6
2006	24,783.1	51,808.6	76,591.6
2008	31,391.3	66,883.5	98,274.8
2010	35,946.0	76,935.1	112,881.9

Data from Cross Strait Economic Statistics Monthly.

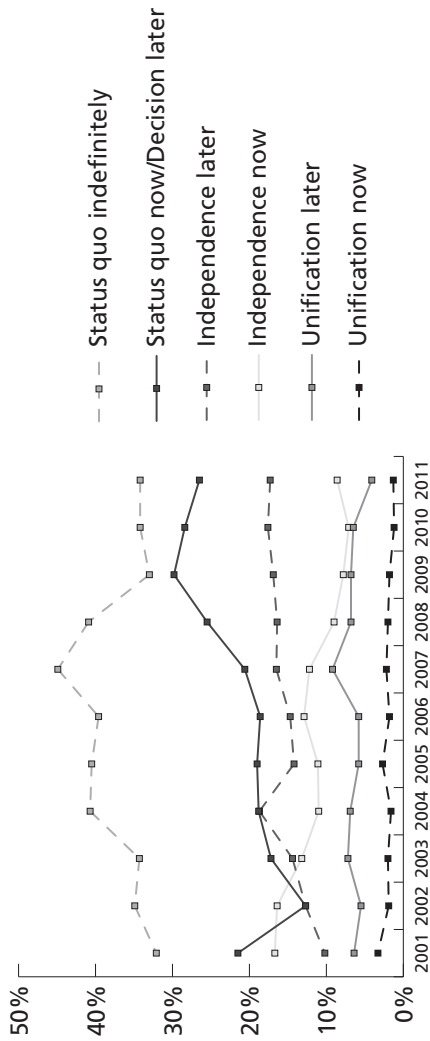
Questions:

1. What kind of information can you get from these charts?
2. What are the most important pieces of information in the charts? What makes them important?

Unification or Independence?

The Taiwanese government periodically asks people's opinions about whether to become independent or join China, and whether to do that soon or later. Respondents are adult Taiwanese between the ages of 20-69.

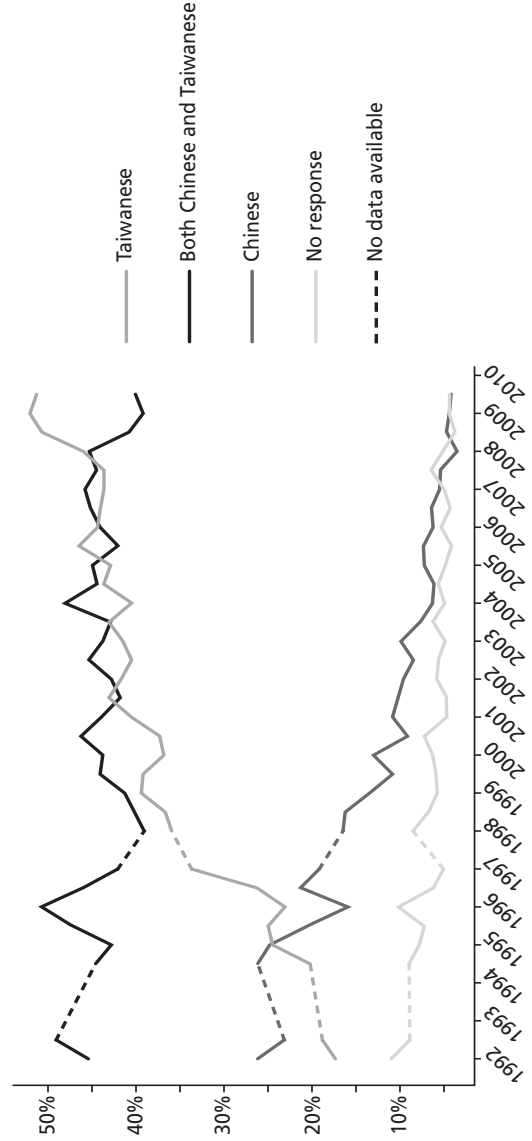
Data from Mainland Affairs Council, Taiwan.



Chinese or Taiwanese?

Every year a university in Taiwan conducts a survey asking respondents from the island whether they identify as Chinese, Taiwanese, or both.

Data from the Election Study Center, N.C.C.U.



3. How do the charts explain the current tensions in the Taiwan Strait?
4. How do the charts explain current U.S.-China relations?

Group Four: Timeline

pre-1600s

Taiwan is settled by Malay and Polynesian groups.

1624-1662

The Dutch East India Company occupies the island. It imports laborers from China to work in sugar and rice fields as temporary, migrant workers. Many laborers eventually settle in Taiwan.

1663

The Manchu Dynasty from China takes nominal control of the island. Clashes between Chinese officials and island inhabitants occur frequently.

1887

Manchu rulers declare Taiwan a province of China.

1895

Japan takes control of Taiwan as a result of war between China and Japan.

1945

Japan is forced to give up control of Taiwan at the conclusion of World War II. According to the peace treaty ending World War II, "...the future status of Taiwan will be decided in accord with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations." Chiang Kai-Shek and the Kuomintang (KMT, or Nationalists) are given temporary control of Taiwan.

1947

February 28

As many as 28,000 Taiwanese inhabitants, calling for democracy, are massacred by corrupt KMT forces.

1949

People's Republic of China is declared on the mainland after Mao's communist forces declare victory over the KMT. Two million KMT refugees flee to Taiwan, and the KMT establishes martial law on Taiwan.

1950

U.S. begins supporting Taiwan during Korean War.

1954

Violence erupts in the Taiwan Strait: First Taiwan Strait crisis. The United States and Taiwan sign a mutual defense treaty.

1958

Second Taiwan Strait crisis. China bombs islands near Taiwan; United States send a naval contingent to the area.

Name: _____

October 23

U.S. and Taiwan officials sign a joint communiqué that reaffirms U.S.-Taiwan friendship.

1971

U.S. ping pong team is invited to visit China. The visit, and the Chinese team's visit to the United States the following year, marks the beginning of warming relations between China and the United States.

1972

President Nixon visits China. The Shanghai Communiqué between China and the United States is issued.

1979

January 1

United States and China normalize relations and issue second joint communiqué.

April 10

U.S. Congress passes Taiwan Relations Act.

1982

August 17

U.S. and China issue third joint communiqué.

1996

Third Taiwan Strait crisis occurs after U.S. government allows Taiwanese president to visit the United States. China begins military testing in the strait, threatening Taiwan and the United States.

2000

March 18

Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) candidate Chen Shui-bian wins Taiwan presidency. The DPP more actively supports independence for Taiwan than the KMT.

2001

Chinese military exercise simulates attack on Taiwan.

2004

March 24

Chen Shui-bian narrowly wins reelection in Taiwan.

2005

March

China passes "anti-secession law" indicating that China will use force if necessary to prevent Taiwan from becoming independent.

2008

May 20

Ma Ying-jeou, chairman of the KMT, is sworn in as president of Taiwan.

2009

For the first time in seventeen years, Taiwan does not apply for UN membership.

2012

Ma Ying-jeou is reelected as president of Taiwan. Xi Jinping becomes the leader of China.

Questions:

1. What kind of information can you get from the timeline?
2. What are the most important pieces of information in the timeline? Highlight the important events. What makes them important?
3. How does the timeline explain the current tensions in the Taiwan Strait?
4. How does the timeline explain current U.S.-China relations?
5. How can you determine if a timeline is neutral or has a bias?

Group Five: Leaders' Statements

From the Chinese Perspective

“Taiwan is part of China. It has been part of China since ancient times, and it’s just because of some of the separatist attempts of certain people on Taiwan and the interference from foreign forces that Taiwan is still separated from the motherland. I think that people can understand that when a country is divided its people will like to see the country reunite, especially in the case of China, which has suffered so much in the past.”

—Yang Jeichi, Chinese Ambassador to the United States, 2001

“Taiwan is an inalienable part of Chinese territory, and we maintain consistently that under the basis of the one China principle, we are committed to safeguard peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait, and to the promotion of the improvement and development of cross-strait relations.... We will by no means allow Taiwan independence.”

—Hu Jintao, Chinese President, 2006

From the Taiwanese Perspective

“I believe that Taiwan’s security rests on three legs. The first is the use of cross-strait rapprochement [renewed relations] to realize peace in the Taiwan Strait. The second is the use of viable diplomacy to establish more breathing space for ourselves in the international community. And the third is the use of military strength to deter external threats. We must regard each as equally important and develop them in a balanced manner. The first leg, as I mentioned, is cross-strait rapprochement to realize peace in the Taiwan Strait. Over the past four years, this government has resumed institutionalized cross-strait negotiations, signed 16 bilateral agreements and made cross-strait rapprochement a reality.... In the next four years, the two sides of the strait have to open up new areas of cooperation and continue working to consolidate peace, expand prosperity and deepen mutual trust. We also hope that civic groups on both sides of the Taiwan Strait will have more opportunities for exchanges and dialogue focusing on such areas as democracy, human rights, rule of law and civil society, to create an environment more conducive to peaceful cross-strait development.... In the area of weapons procurement from overseas, the United States has approved three arms sales to Taiwan since I took office, in aggregate totaling US\$18.3 billion, and exceeding all previous such sales in terms of quality and amount. This provides us with an appropriate defensive force in the future that will give the government and public greater confidence and willingness to pursue continued stable and solid development of the cross-strait relationship....”

—Taiwanese President Ma Ying-jeou, May 20, 2012

From the U.S. Perspective

“We also [applaud] the steps that the People’s Republic of China and Taiwan have already taken to relax tensions and build ties across the Taiwan Strait. Our own policy, based on the three U.S.-China communiqués and the Taiwan Relations Act, supports the further development of these ties—ties that are in the interest of both sides, as well as the broader region and the United States.”

—President Barack Obama, November 17, 2009

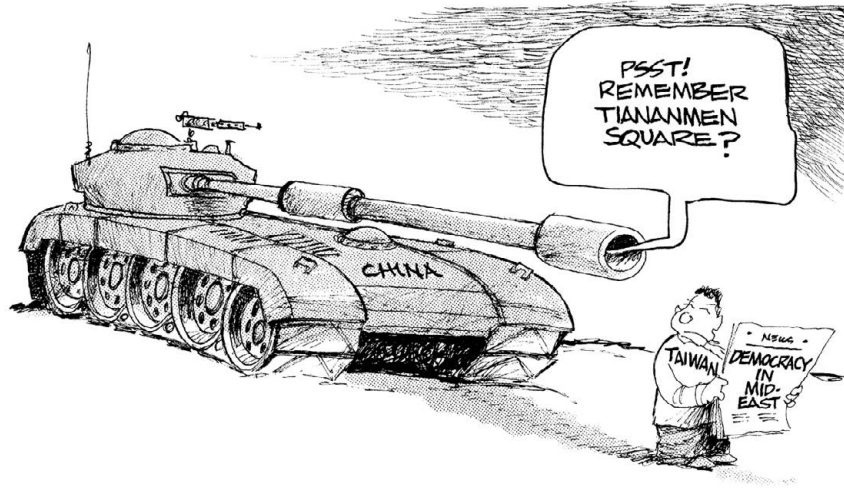
“For more than thirty years, the United States’ ‘one China’ policy based on the three U.S.–China Joint Communiqués and the Taiwan Relations Act has guided our relations with Taiwan and the People’s Republic of China. We do not support Taiwan independence. We are opposed to unilateral attempts by either side to change the status quo. We insist that cross-Strait differences be resolved peacefully and according to the wishes of the people on both sides of the Strait. We also welcome active efforts on both sides to engage in a dialogue that reduces tensions and increases contacts of all kinds across the Strait.”

—Deputy Assistant Secretary of State David B. Shear, Bureau of East Asian Affairs, March 18, 2010

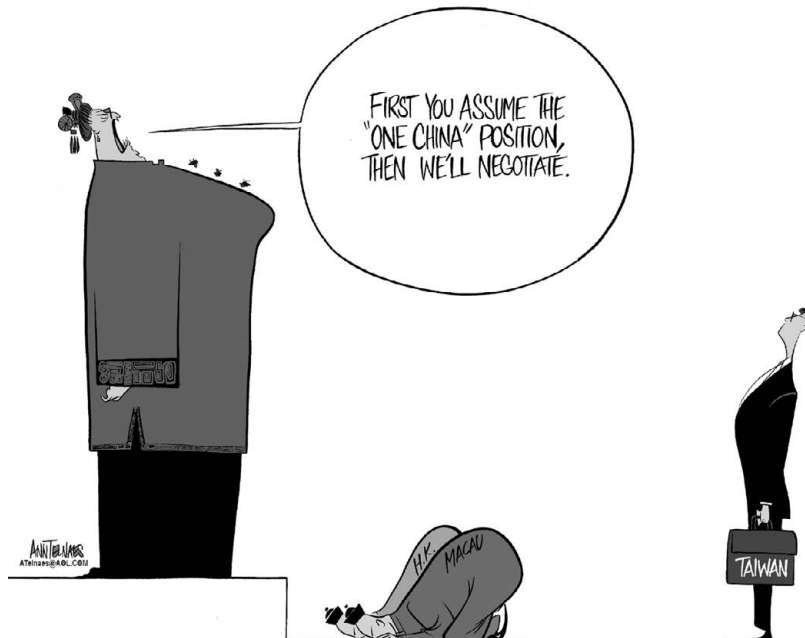
Questions:

1. What kinds of sources are these?
2. What are the most important sentences or phrases in the sources? Highlight or underline them. What makes them important?
3. How do the sources explain the current tensions in the Taiwan Strait?
4. How do the sources explain current U.S.-China relations?

Group Six: Political Cartoons



Tribune Media Services, Inc. All Rights Reserved. Reprinted with permission.



Ann Telnaes Editorial Cartoon copyright 2000. All rights reserved. Used with the permission of Ann Telnaes and the Cartoonist Group.



© Copyright 2010 Paresht Nath—All Rights Reserved.

Questions:

1. What kinds of sources are these?
2. Which perspectives do the cartoons represent?
3. How do the cartoons explain the current tensions in the Taiwan Strait?
4. How do the cartoons explain current U.S.-China relations?

U.S. and Chinese Perspectives

Objectives:

Students will: Understand different perspectives on U.S.-Chinese relations.

Evaluate language for tone.

Consider the impact of perspective on the success of bilateral relations.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part II in the student text and completed “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 22-23) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-24).

Scholars Online:

Short, free videos that you may find useful in this lesson are available at <http://www.choices.edu/resources/scholars_china_lessons.php>.

Handouts:

“Two Speeches” (TRB 42-45)

Note: The two speeches have been edited slightly. Full versions of both speeches can be found at <<http://www.choices.edu/chinamaterials>>.

In the Classroom:

1. Understanding History—Spend a few minutes reviewing Part II of the reading. What items are on the U.S. agenda with China? How does China respond to these issues? If stu-

dents did not fill out the graphic organizer on TRB-25, it might be useful to do that as a class. As a refresher, you may also want to show the following videos from Scholars Online:

“According to the United States, what are the main issues on the U.S.-China agenda?” and “What is the Chinese perspective on U.S.-China relations?” both answered by Andrew Erickson, Associate Professor at the China Maritime Studies Institute, U.S. Naval War College.

2. Understanding Different Perspectives—

Divide students into groups of three or four and have them read the two speeches and answer the questions that follow.

3. Debriefing—After students have answered the questions in groups, spend some time discussing student responses with the entire class. Pay particular attention to the concepts of tone and perspective. How does each side describe conflicts or areas of cooperation? What issues seem to be most important to each side? Why might the two sides convey a different tone? Is one side more right than the other? How might the different views and the different communication styles help or hinder relations between China and the United States?

Homework:

Students should read “Options in Brief.”

Two Speeches

November 17, 2009 Great Hall, Beijing, China Chinese President Hu

...Just now I had very good talks with President Obama. The two sides had in-depth exchange of views on how to further bilateral relationship and on major regional and international issues of shared interest. The two sides reached broad, important agreement. The talks were candid, constructive, and very fruitful.

Both President Obama and I believe that at present the international situation continues to undergo profound and complex changes. There are growing global challenges, and countries in today's world have become more and more interdependent. In this context, it is necessary to step up international cooperation.

Against this new backdrop, China and United States share extensive common interests and broad prospect for cooperation on a series of major issue important to mankind's peace and stability and development.

President Obama and I spoke positively of the progress made in the China-U.S. relationship since the new American administration took office. We both agreed to continue to adopt a strategic and long-term perspective, increase the dialogue exchanges and cooperation, and work together to build a positive, cooperative, and comprehensive China-U.S. relationship for the 21st century. We also agreed to take concrete actions to steadily grow a partnership between the two countries to meet our common challenges in order to contribute to world peace, stability, and prosperity.

We both believe and maintain close high-level exchanges and dialogue and consultations at various other levels are essential to the growth of China relations. The two sides agreed that the leaders of the two countries will continue to stay in close touch through mutual visits, telephone conversations, correspondence, and meetings of multilateral fora.

The two sides spoke positively of the important role of the China-U.S. strategic and economic dialogues mechanism in enhancing the mutual trust and cooperation between the two countries. The two sides will continue to follow through on the outcomes of the first round of the China-U.S. strategic and economic dialogues held in July this year. And we will start as early as possible to make preparations for the second round to be held in summer next year in Beijing.

We also exchanged views on the current international economic and financial situation, and we believed that now the world economy has shown some positive signs of stabilizing and recovery. But the foundation for this recovery is not firmly established. The two sides reiterated that they will continue to increase dialogue and cooperation in macroeconomic and financial policies, and they will continue to have consultations on an equal footing to properly resolve and address the economic and trade frictions in a joint effort to uphold the sound and steady growth of their business ties and trade.

I stressed to President Obama that under the current circumstances, our two countries need to oppose and reject protectionism in all its manifestations in an even stronger stand.

We both positively spoke of the important role of the G20 summit in tackling the international financial crisis. Our two countries will work with other members and comprehensively follow through on the outcomes of the various summits. We will also work together to continuously strengthen the role of G20 in global economic governance, advance the reform of international financial system, and improve the global economic governance to ward off and guard against future financial or economic crisis.

We agreed to expand our cooperation on climate change, energy, and environment. We also agreed to act on the basis of the principle of the common but differentiated responsibilities and consistent with our respective

Name: _____

capabilities to work with other parties concerned to help produce positive outcomes out of the Copenhagen conference....

Both President Obama and I said that we are willing to act on the basis of mutual benefit and reciprocity to deepen our cooperation on counterterrorism, law enforcement, science, technology, outer space, civil aviation, and engage in cooperation in space exploration, high-speed railway infrastructure, in agriculture, health, and other fields. And we also agreed to work together to continue to promote even greater progress in the growth of military-to-military ties.

Both of us said that we will remain committed to dialogue and consultations in resolving the Korean Peninsula nuclear issue. And such approach serves the common interests of China, the United States, and other parties concerned. The two sides will work with other parties concerned to continue the denuclearization process of the Korean Peninsula and six-party talks process in a bid to uphold the peace and stability in Northeast Asia.

We both stressed that to uphold the international nuclear nonproliferation regime and to appropriately resolve the Iranian nuclear issue through dialogue and negotiations is very important to stability in the Middle East and in the Gulf region.

During the talks, I underlined to President Obama that given our differences in national conditions, it is only normal that our two sides may disagree on some issues. What is important is to respect and accommodate each other's core interests and major concerns.

President Obama on various occasions has reiterated that the U.S. side adheres to the one-China policy, abides by the three Sino-U.S. joint communiqués, and respects China's sovereignty and the territorial integrity when it comes to the Taiwan question and other matters. The Chinese side appreciates his statements.

The two sides reaffirmed the fundamental principle of respecting each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Neither side

supports any attempts by any force to undermine this principle. We will continue to act in the spirit of equality, mutual respect, and a noninterference in each other's internal affairs, and engage in dialogue and exchanges on such issues as human rights and religion in order to enhance understanding, reduce differences, and broaden common ground.

Ladies and gentlemen, the China-U.S. relationship is very important. To preserve and promote the growth of this relationship is a shared responsibility for both China and the United States. The Chinese side is willing to work with the U.S. side to ensure the sustained, sound, and steady growth of this relationship to the greater benefits of peoples of our two countries and people throughout the world.

U.S. President Obama

...We meet here at a time when the relationship between the United States and China has never been more important to our collective future. The major challenges of the 21st century, from climate change to nuclear proliferation to economic recovery, are challenges that touch both our nations, and challenges that neither of our nations can solve by acting alone.

That's why the United States welcomes China's efforts in playing a greater role on the world stage—a role in which a growing economy is joined by growing responsibilities. And that's why President Hu and I talked about continuing to build a positive, cooperative, and comprehensive relationship between our nations.

As President Hu indicated, we discussed what's required to sustain this economic recovery so that economic growth is followed by the creation of new jobs and lasting prosperity. So far China's partnership has proved critical in our effort to pull ourselves out of the worst recession in generations.

Going forward, we agreed to...pursue a strategy of more balanced economic growth—a strategy where America saves more, spends less, reduces our long-term debt, and where

China makes adjustments across a broad range of policies to rebalance its economy and spur domestic demand. This will lead to increased U.S. exports and jobs, on the one hand, and higher living standards in China on the other....

President Hu and I also made progress on the issue of climate change. As the two largest consumers and producers of energy, there can be no solution to this challenge without the efforts of both China and the United States....

On the issue of nonproliferation, President Hu and I discussed our shared commitment to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, and I told him how appreciative I am of China's support for the global nonproliferation regime as well as the verifiable elimination of North Korea's nuclear weapons program. We agreed on the importance of resuming the six-party talks as soon as possible....

In the same way, we agreed that the Islamic Republic of Iran must provide assurances to the international community that its nuclear program is peaceful and transparent. On this point, our two nations...are unified. Iran has an opportunity to present and demonstrate its peaceful intentions, but if it fails to take this opportunity there will be consequences.

President Hu and I also discussed our mutual interest in security and stability of Afghanistan and Pakistan. And neither country can or should be used as a base for terrorism, and we agreed to cooperate more on meeting this goal, including bringing about more stable, peaceful relations in all of South Asia.

Finally, as I did yesterday in Shanghai, I spoke to President Hu about America's bedrock beliefs that all men and women possess certain fundamental human rights. We do not believe these principles are unique to America, but rather they are universal rights and that they should be available to all peoples, to all ethnic and religious minorities. And our two countries agreed to continue to move this discussion forward in a human rights dialogue that is scheduled for early next year.

As President Hu indicated, the United States respects the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China. And once again, we have reaffirmed our strong commitment to a one-China policy.

We did note that while we recognize that Tibet is part of the People's Republic of China, the United States supports the early resumption of dialogue between the Chinese government and representatives of the Dalai Lama to resolve any concerns and differences that the two sides may have. We also applauded the steps that the People's Republic of China and Taiwan have already taken to relax tensions and build ties across the Taiwan Strait.

Our own policy, based on the three U.S.-China communiqués and the Taiwan Relations Act, supports the further development of these ties—ties that are in the interest of both sides, as well as the broader region and the United States.

These are just some of the issues that President Hu and I discussed. But we also know that the relationship between our two nations goes far beyond any single issue. In this young century, the jobs we do, the prosperity we build, the environment we protect, the security that we seek, all these things are shared.

Given that interconnection, I do not believe that one country's success must come at the expense of another. That's why the United States welcomes China as a strong, prosperous and successful member of the community of nations.

Our relationship going forward will not be without disagreement or difficulty. But because of our cooperation, both the United States and China are more prosperous and secure. We've seen what's possible when we build upon our mutual interests and engage on the basis of equality and mutual respect. And I very much look forward to deepening that engagement and understanding during this trip and in the months and years to come.

Name: _____

Questions:

1. What main topics or issues does each speech address most fully? List them below.

China

The United States

2. Compare the tone of the two speeches. How does each speech express its concerns? Underline or highlight words or phrases in each speech that support your ideas.

China

The United States

3. How does each country suggest that China and the United States should cooperate or resolve disputes?

China

The United States

4. Do you agree with former Chinese President Jiang Zemin's statement, "It is no easy task for our two countries to really understand each other"? What evidence do you have from these two speeches to support your ideas?

Role-Playing the Four Options: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze the issues that frame the current debate on U.S. policy toward China.

Identify the core underlying values of the options.

Integrate the arguments and beliefs of the options and the reading into a persuasive, coherent presentation.

Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective presentations.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the Options in Brief.

Handouts:

“Presenting Your Option” (TRB-47) for option groups

“Expressing Key Values” (TRB-48) for option groups

“Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate” (TRB-49) for committee members

“Options: Graphic Organizer” (TRB-50) for option groups and committee members

In the Classroom:

1. Planning for Group Work—In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning Day Three. During the class period of Day Three, students will be preparing for the Day Four simulation. Remind them to incorporate the reading into the development of their presentations and questions.

2a. Option Groups—Form four groups of four students each. Assign an option to each group. Distribute “Presenting Your Option” and “Expressing Key Values” to the four option groups. Inform students that each option group will be called upon in Day Four to present the case for its assigned option to members of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the

U.S. Senate. Explain that option groups should follow the instructions in “Presenting Your Option.” Note that the option groups should begin by assigning each member a role.

2b. Committee Members—The remainder of the class will serve as members of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. Distribute “Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate” to each committee member. While the option groups are preparing their presentations, members of the Committee on Foreign Relations should develop clarifying questions for Day Four. (See “Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate.”) Remind committee members that they are expected to turn in their questions at the end of the simulation.

3. Understanding the Options—Give all students a copy of “Options: Graphic Organizer.” As they prepare for the simulation, students should begin to fill in the graphic organizer and use it to help them organize their thoughts. They should complete the worksheet during the role play.

Suggestions:

See our short video for teachers “Tips for a Successful Role Play” <www.choices.edu/pd/roleplay.php>.

In smaller classes, other teachers or administrators may be invited to serve as members of the committee. In larger classes, additional roles—such as those of newspaper reporter or lobbyist—may be assigned to students.

Extra Challenge:

Ask the option groups to design a poster illustrating the best case for their options.

Homework:

Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

Presenting Your Option

Preparing Your Presentation

Your Assignment: Your group has been called upon to appear before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. Your assignment is to persuade the committee members that your option should be the basis for U.S. policy toward China. You will be judged on how well you present your option.

Organizing Your Group: Each member of your group will take a specific role. Below is a brief explanation of the responsibilities for each role.

1. Group Director: Your job is to organize your group's presentation to the Committee on Foreign Relations in a three-to-five minute presentation. You will receive help from the other members of your group. Keep in mind, though, that you are expected to take the lead in organizing your group. Read your option and review the reading to build a strong case for your option. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet and "Options: Graphic Organizer" will help you organize your thoughts.

2. China Expert: Your job is to explain how current developments in China justify the position of your option. Carefully read your option, and then review the reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in your group's presentation. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet and "Options: Graphic Organizer" will help you organize your thoughts.

3. U.S. Foreign Policy Adviser: Your job is to explain why your option best addresses the foreign policy challenges facing the United States. Carefully read your option, and then review the reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in your group's presentation. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet and "Options: Graphic Organizer" will help you organize your thoughts.

4. Historian: Your job is to show how the lessons of history support your option. Carefully read your option, paying close attention to the "Lessons from U.S. Foreign Policy" section, and then review the optional reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in your group's presentation. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet and "Options: Graphic Organizer" will help you organize your thoughts.

Making Your Case

After your preparations are completed, your group will deliver a three-to-five minute presentation to the Committee on Foreign Relations. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet, "Options: Graphic Organizer," and other notes may be used, but you must speak clearly and convincingly. During the other presentations, you should try to identify the weak points of the competing options. After all of the groups have presented their options, members of the Senate committee will ask you clarifying questions. Any member of your group may respond during the clarifying period.

Expressing Key Values

Values play a key role when defining the broad parameters of public policy. What do we believe about ourselves? What matters most to us? When strongly held values come into conflict, which is most important?

Most often, we think of values in connection with our personal lives. Our attitudes toward our families, friends, and communities are a reflection of our personal values. Values play a critical role in our civic life as well. In the United States, the country's political system and foreign policy have been shaped by a wide range of values. Since the nation's beginnings, a commitment to freedom, democracy, and individual liberty have been a cornerstone of U.S. national identity. At the same time, many have fought hard for justice, equality, and the rights of others. Throughout U.S. history, people have spoken out when policies have not reflected their values and demanded that the government live up to the ideals of its citizens.

For most of the country's existence, the impulse to spread U.S. values beyond its borders was outweighed by the desire to

remain independent of foreign entanglements. But since World War II, the United States has played a larger role in world affairs than any other country. At times, U.S. leaders have emphasized the values of human rights and cooperation. On other occasions, the values of U.S. stability and security have been prioritized.

Some values fit together well. Others are in conflict. U.S. citizens are constantly forced to choose among competing values in the ongoing debate about foreign policy. Each of the four options revolves around a distinct set of values. Your job is to identify and explain the most important values underlying your option. These values should be clearly expressed by every member of your group.

This worksheet will help you organize your thoughts. When you have finished the role-play activity you will be asked to construct a fifth option based on your own opinions. During this process you should consider which values matter most to you, and root your policy in those beliefs.

1. What are the two most important values underlying your option?
 - a.
 - b.
2. According to the values of your option, what should be the role of the United States in the world?
3. According to your option, why should the values of your option be the guiding force for U.S. policy toward China?

Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate Hearing on U.S. Policy Toward China

Your Role: As a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate, you consider issues relating to U.S. foreign policy. As you know, China's rapid economic growth in recent years has generated both hope and concern about the U.S. relationship with the world's most populous nation. These hearings will introduce you to four distinct approaches to U.S. policy toward China.

Your Assignment: While the four option groups are organizing their presentations, you should prepare two questions regarding each of the options. Your teacher will collect these questions at the end of the simulation.

Your questions should be challenging and designed to clarify differences among the options. For example, a good question for Option 1 might be:

By placing great importance on human rights, doesn't the United States run the risk that China's leaders might slam the door on all political and economic influences from the outside world?

During the simulation, the four option groups will present their positions. After their presentations are completed, your teacher will call on you and your fellow committee members to ask questions. The "Evaluation Form" you will receive is designed for you to record your impressions of the option groups. Part I should be filled out in class after the option groups make their presentations. Part II should be completed as homework. After this activity is concluded, you may be called upon to explain your evaluation of the option groups.

Name: _____

Options: Graphic Organizer

How would this option describe China's relationship to the United States?	Option 1	Option 2	Option 3	Option 4
What does this option think the top U.S. priority should be in China?				
What does this option think about China's military role?				
What does this option think about China's economic role?				
What does this option think about the role of human rights in U.S.-China policy?				

Role-Playing the Four Options: Debate and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will: Explore, debate, and evaluate multiple perspectives on U.S. policy toward China.

Articulate the leading values that frame the debate on U.S. policy toward China.

Sharpen rhetorical skills through debate and discussion.

Cooperate with classmates in staging a persuasive presentation.

Handouts:

“Evaluation Form” (TRB-52) for the committee members

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage—Organize the room so that the four option groups face a row of desks reserved for the Committee on Foreign Relations. Distribute “Evaluation Form” to the committee members. Instruct members of the committee to fill out the first part of their “Evaluation Form” during the course of the period. The second part of the worksheet should be completed as homework.

2. Managing the Simulation—Explain that the simulation will begin with three-to-five minute presentations by the option groups. Encourage groups to speak clearly and convincingly.

3. Guiding Discussion—Following the presentations, invite members of the Com-

mittee on Foreign Relations to ask clarifying questions. Make sure that each committee member has an opportunity to ask at least one question. The questions should be evenly distributed among all four option groups. If time permits, encourage members of the option groups to challenge the positions of the other groups. During questioning, allow any option group member to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit questioning following the presentation of each option.)

Deliberation:

The consideration of alternative views is not finished when the options role play is over. After the role play, it is important for students to have an opportunity to deliberate with one another about the merits and trade-offs of alternative views prior to articulating their own views as an “Option 5.” A good tool to use for deliberation is a “fishbowl” activity in which students observe each other discussing their views of each option and record their own views. Directions and handouts for this activity, as well as more information on deliberation, can be found at <http://www.choices.edu/resources/prosandcons.php>.

Homework:

Students should read each of the four options in the student text, then moving beyond these options they should fill out “Focusing Your Thoughts” (TRB-55) and complete “Your Option Five” (TRB-56).

Evaluation Form

Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate

Part I

What was the most persuasive argument presented in favor of this option?

What was the most persuasive argument presented against this option?

Option 1

Option 1

Option 2

Option 2

Option 3

Option 3

Option 4

Option 4

Part II

Which group presented its option most effectively? Explain your answer.

Tracking China's Future

Objectives:

Students will: Articulate coherent recommendations for U.S. policy toward China based on personally held values and historical understanding.

Critique individual policy recommendations from multiple perspectives.

Weigh individual policy recommendations in the context of China's current leadership.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the four options in the student text and completed "Focusing Your Thoughts" (TRB-55) and "Your Option Five" (TRB-56).

Scholars Online:

Short, free videos that you may find useful in this lesson are available at http://www.choices.edu/resources/scholars_china_lessons.php.

In the Classroom:

1. Analyzing Beliefs—Call on members of the Senate committee to share their evaluations of the option groups. Which arguments were most convincing? Which beliefs were most appealing? What were the main issues addressed by each of the options?

2. Applying Multiple Perspectives—Call on students to summarize their own options. Which values are featured most prominently? How would the policies affect the direction of U.S.-China relations? Invite students to critique the options of their classmates from a variety of perspectives. For example, how would an executive at Boeing respond to the options? What about a human rights advocate or an environmentalist? Where would a U.S. factory worker in the textile industry stand? How might a Chinese citizen react to the options? Call on students to explain how their assumptions about China's future influenced their options. For example, identify students who feel that Beijing is losing its grip on the

country. How do their options reflect their concerns? What about those who think that China is on track for continued economic growth? What approach do they advocate?

3. Superpower Summit—Note that many China observers eventually expect China to occupy the position on the U.S. foreign policy agenda that was once reserved for the Soviet Union. With that in mind, call on students to predict which issues will dominate summit meetings between U.S. and Chinese leaders twenty years from now. Which new items are likely to be added to the agenda? Which current issues will probably persist? What will be the main points of contention or areas of cooperation?

To help spur discussion, you may wish to show your students a variety of Scholars Online videos, including:

"How are the U.S. and Chinese economies dependent on each other?" answered by Andrew Erickson, Associate Professor at the China Maritime Studies Institute, U.S. Naval War College and "How has energy use in China changed?" answered by Leiwen Jiang, former Assistant Professor (Research) at the Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University.

Extra Challenge:

Call on students to explore the parallels between China's current situation and the transitions of other countries undergoing dramatic political change, such as Russia, Mexico, or Cuba.

As homework, instruct students to write a letter to a member of Congress or the president on their ideas for U.S. policy toward China. In the first part of the letter, students should present the values and assumptions underlying their viewpoint. In the second part, they should present a coherent set of policy recommendations. Encourage students to explore the local dimension of the debate on U.S. foreign policy. For example, students could be asked

to contact organizations that have a deeply rooted interest in U.S. policy toward China. Business groups that promote U.S.-China trade, such as aviation manufacturers and farm bureaus, have voiced their views on this issue. Chinese-American organizations, human rights groups, and friendship societies are also active in the foreign policy arena. In addition, recent decades have witnessed an influx of immigrants, scholars, and students from China.

Focusing Your Thoughts

Instructions

You have had an opportunity to consider four options for U.S. policy toward China. Now it is your turn to look at each of the options from your own perspective. Try each one on for size. Think about how the options address your concerns and hopes. You will find that each has its own risks and trade-offs, advantages and disadvantages. After you complete this worksheet, you will be asked to develop your own option on this issue.

Ranking the Options

Which of the options below do you prefer? Rank the options from “1” to “4,” with “1” being your first choice.

- ___ Option 1: Press for Democratic Values
- ___ Option 2: Promote Stability and Trade
- ___ Option 3: Contain China
- ___ Option 4: Keep Our Distance

Beliefs

Consider the statements below. Rate each of them according to your personal beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support; 2 = Support; 3 = Oppose; 4 = Strongly Oppose; 5 = Undecided

- ___ Meddling in the affairs of other countries is counterproductive and dangerous.
- ___ Cooperation among the great powers of the world is essential for global peace and prosperity.
- ___ Democracy and human rights should serve as the political foundation for all societies.
- ___ The United States has far more to fear from a weak, unstable China than from a confident, strong one.
- ___ The United States will always have to compete with other leading nations for power.
- ___ Only those countries that share a commitment to human rights and democracy can be counted among the most trustworthy allies of the United States.
- ___ The greatest threats facing the United States are all at home: unemployment, budget deficits, mediocre schools, crime, and an inadequate health care system.
- ___ Culture and geography largely determine which countries are enemies of the United States.

Creating Your Own Option

Your next assignment is to create an option that reflects your own beliefs and opinions. You may borrow heavily from one option, or you may combine ideas from two or three options. Or you may take a new approach altogether. There is no right or wrong answer. Rather, you should strive to craft an option that is logical and persuasive. Be careful of contradictions. For example, the United States should not severely penalize the Beijing government for human rights abuses if its main goal is to expand U.S. exports to China.

Key Terms

Optional Reading

bureaucracy
 empire
 commerce
 merchant
 treaty
 dynasty
 missionary
 economic producer
 imperialist
 nationalist
 sphere of influence
 boycott
 communist
 Cold War
 containment
 extremism
 global balance of power
 trade restriction
 investment

Introduction and Part I

communist
 economic growth
 international trade standard
 counterrevolutionary
 realist
 economic growth
 self-sufficient
 price controls
 export
 economic goods
 social goods
 free-market economic system
 industrialization
 state-owned enterprise
 state sector
 privately owned sector
 entrepreneurs
 emitter
 sustainable
 materialism
 corruption
 bourgeois
 migrant
 fragmentation
 one-party dictatorship

Part II

nuclear arsenal
 superpower
 economic refugees
 budget deficit
 trade deficit
 free trade
 international system
 intellectual property laws
 subsidies
 recalls
 foreign aid
 autonomy
 separatist
 prison labor
 international arms market
 reunification
 open society
 offensive weapon
 coalition
 international law
 sanctions
 non-interventionist
 dissident

U.S.-China Issues Toolbox

Diplomatic Relations:

A formal arrangement between states by which they develop and maintain the terms of their relationship. Diplomatic relations often include establishing treaties regarding trade and investment, the treatment of each other's citizens, and the nature of their security relationship. It also includes the establishment of an embassy and consuls in each other's countries to facilitate representation on issues of concern for each country. The United States established diplomatic relations with China in 1979. At the same time, the U.S. broke diplomatic relations with Taiwan.

One-China Policy:

The U.S. policy of recognizing only China as a sovereign state and not Taiwan. Beijing considers Taiwan to be a province of China. The United States has not had diplomatic relations with Taiwan since 1979. However, the Taiwan Relations Act, passed by Congress in 1979, provides guidelines for the U.S. relationship with Taiwan.

Linkage:

The connection between two seemingly separate policy areas as a means to achieve a goal. For example, some in the U.S. Congress have wanted to link China's progress on human rights to trade issues.

Human Rights:

Equal and inalienable rights for all members of the human family. After the horrors of World War II, nations initiated efforts to develop international standards to protect people from individuals,

groups, or nations. There is debate at home and abroad about the nature and scope of human rights. Some believe that human rights exist to protect individuals' civil and political freedoms. Civil and political rights include the right to life, liberty and personal security, freedom from slavery, torture and arbitrary arrest, as well as the rights to a fair trial, free speech, free movement, and privacy. Others have argued that there are economic, social, and cultural rights as well. These include economic rights related to work, fair pay, and leisure; social rights concerning an adequate standard of living for health, well-being and education; and the right to participate in the cultural life of the community. International consensus is growing that human rights should encompass the full spectrum spanned by these viewpoints.

Sovereignty:

The absolute authority of the state to govern itself. The UN Charter prohibits external interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. However, in recent years, arguments have been made stating that sovereignty is no longer sacred in certain circumstances having to do with widespread violations of human rights. China has vigorously defended the right of a sovereign nation to rule its own affairs. International concerns about the status of Tibet along with criticisms regarding human rights in the rest of China have made sovereignty an acute concern to Chinese officials. China wants to preserve the ability to handle its internal affairs as it sees fit without external interference.

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

This section of the Teacher Resource Book offers suggestions for teachers as they adapt Choices curricula on current issues to their classrooms. They are drawn from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms and from educational research on student-centered instruction.

Managing the Choices Simulation

A central activity of every Choices unit is the role-play simulation in which students advocate different options and question each other. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of 45 to 50 minutes is necessary for the presentations. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role-play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts momentum. The best strategy for managing the role play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each option presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations.

Fostering Group Deliberation

The consideration of alternative views is not finished when the options role play is over. The options presented are framed in stark terms in order to clarify differences. In the end, students should be expected to articulate their own views on the issue. These views will be more sophisticated and nuanced if students have had an opportunity to challenge one another to think more critically about the merits and trade-offs of alternative views. See *Guidelines for Deliberation* <www.choices.edu/resources/guidelines.php> for suggestions on deliberation.

Adjusting for Students of Differing Abilities

Teachers of students at all levels—from middle school to AP—have used Choices materials successfully. Many teachers make adjustments to the materials for their students. Here are some suggestions:

- Go over vocabulary and concepts with visual tools such as concept maps and word pictures.
- Require students to answer guiding questions in text as checks for understanding.
- Shorten reading assignments; cut and paste sections.
- Combine reading with political cartoon analysis, map analysis, or movie-watching.
- Read some sections of the readings out loud.
- Ask students to create graphic organizers for sections of the reading, or fill in ones you have partially completed.
- Supplement with different types of readings, such as from literature or text books.
- Ask student groups to create a bumper sticker, PowerPoint presentation, or collage representing their option.
- Do only some activities and readings from the unit rather than all of them.

Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger option groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of an option. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator of the debate, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play the roles of congressional leaders. Another option is to combine two small classes.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Students and teachers both know that group grades can be motivating for students, while at the same time they can create controversy. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It is also important to give individual grades for group work assignments in order to recognize an individual’s contribution to the group. The “Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations” on the following page is designed to help teachers evaluate group presentations.

Requiring Self-Evaluation: Having students complete self-evaluations is an effective way to encourage them to think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Evaluating Students’ Original Options: One important outcome of a Choices current issues unit are the original options developed

and articulated by each student after the role play. These will differ significantly from one another, as students identify different values and priorities that shape their viewpoints.

The students’ options should be evaluated on clarity of expression, logic, and thoroughness. Did the student provide reasons for his/her viewpoint along with supporting evidence? Were the values clear and consistent throughout the option? Did the student identify the risks involved? Did the student present his/her option in a convincing manner?

Testing: Teachers say that students using the Choices approach learn the factual information presented as well as or better than from lecture-discussion format. Students using Choices curricula demonstrate a greater ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information, concepts, and current events presented in Choices units. A variety of types of testing questions and assessment devices can require students to demonstrate critical thinking and historical understanding.

For Further Reading

Daniels, Harvey, and Marilyn Bizar. *Teaching the Best Practice Way: Methods That Matter, K-12*. (Portland, Maine: Stenhouse Publishers, 2005).

Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations

Group assignment: _____

Group members: _____

Group Assessment	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Needs Improvement</i>	<i>Unsatisfactory</i>
1. The group made good use of its preparation time	5	4	3	2	1
2. The presentation reflected analysis of the issues under consideration	5	4	3	2	1
3. The presentation was coherent and persuasive	5	4	3	2	1
4. The group incorporated relevant sections of the reading into its presentation	5	4	3	2	1
5. The group's presenters spoke clearly, maintained eye contact, and made an effort to hold the attention of their audience	5	4	3	2	1
6. The presentation incorporated contributions from all the members of the group	5	4	3	2	1
 Individual Assessment					
1. The student cooperated with other group members	5	4	3	2	1
2. The student was well-prepared to meet his or her responsibilities	5	4	3	2	1
3. The student made a significant contribution to the group's presentation	5	4	3	2	1

Alternative Three Day Lesson Plan

Day 1:

See Day One of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan. (Students should have read Part I of the reading and completed “Study Guide—Part I” before beginning the unit.)

Homework: Students should read Part II of the reading and complete “Study Guide—Part II” as homework.

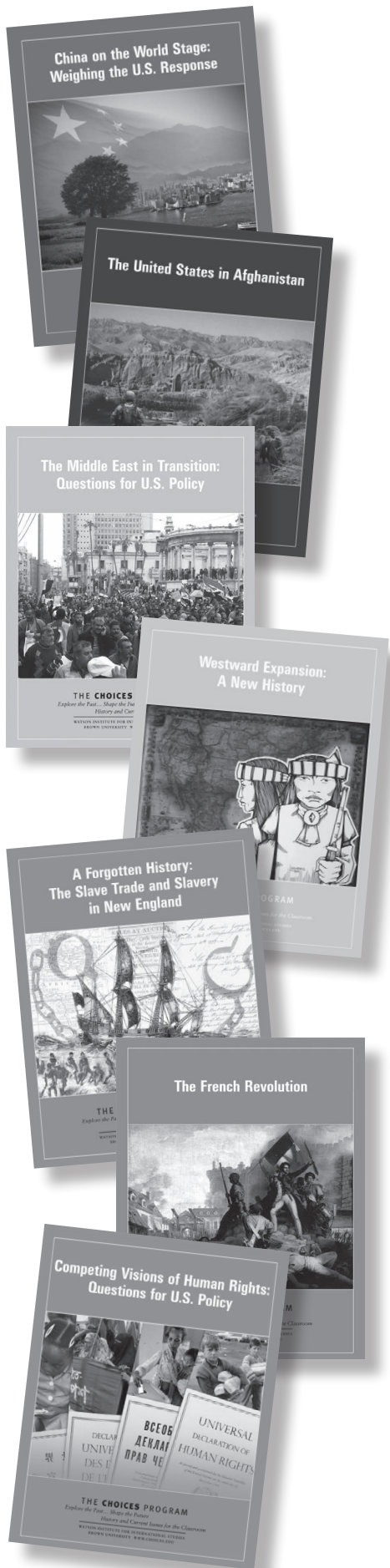
Day 2:

Assign each student one of the four options, and allow a few minutes for students to familiarize themselves with the mindsets of the options. Call on students to evaluate the benefits and trade-offs of their assigned options. How do the options differ in their assumptions about the nature of the U.S. relationship with China and the U.S. role in the world? How would U.S.-China relations change according to the recommendations of the options? Moving beyond the options, ask students to imagine that they have been called upon to advise the president on U.S. policy toward China. What concerns would be at the top of their agenda? Which values should guide the direction of U.S. policy?

Homework: Students should complete “Focusing Your Thoughts” and “Your Option Five.”

Day 3:

See Day Five of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.



Engage Students in Real-World Issues

Choices' inquiry-based approach to real-world issues promotes the skills required by Common Core and state standards.

Critical Thinking

Students examine historical context, analyze case studies, consider contrasting policy options, and explore the underlying values and interests that drive different perspectives.

Textual Analysis

Students examine primary and secondary sources to assess multiple perspectives on complex international issues.

Media and Digital Literacy

Students critique editorials, audio and video sources, maps, and other visuals to identify perspective and bias. Video clips help students gather and assess information from leading scholars.

Communication

Students engage in collaborative discussions, build on each other's ideas, formulate persuasive arguments, and express their own viewpoints.

Creativity and Innovation

Students express themselves by creating political cartoons, memorializing historical events artistically, and developing original policy options.

Civic Literacy

Choices materials empower students with the skills and habits to actively engage with their communities and the world.

www.choices.edu

China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response

China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response focuses attention on the United States' evolving relationship with China. The unit considers the global impact of China's economic growth, societal transformation, and increasing international involvement.

China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response is part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues published by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

THE CHOICES PROGRAM

Choices for the 21st Century Education Program
WATSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
BROWN UNIVERSITY, BOX 1948, PROVIDENCE, RI 02912
WWW.CHOICES.EDU