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History and Current Issues for the Classroom

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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

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CHOICES for the 21st Century Education Program

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Michael Kennedy
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Contemporary China



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 at 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 that approach four 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 2006, and discovered she could not get another one without paying a bribe she could not afford. She was forced to turn to prostitution to survive.

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 again 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's second-largest trading partner. At the same time, disputes over China's failure to accept some international trade standards and the country's poor human rights record have frequently threatened to turn into a trade war.

China's place on the world stage is perhaps of even greater significance for the future. China has worked to modernize its military, including its nuclear arsenal. In recent years, it has also taken on a more assertive role in international politics. U.S. officials fear that the coming generation 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.-Chinese relations.

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

Historically, the Chinese have called their country the “Middle Kingdom” and have considered themselves at the center of civilization. Until the 1800s, their view of China’s five thousand-year history was largely justified. 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.

At the time Europeans were exploring the Americas, China seemed poised to move on to still greater accomplishments. 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

As Europeans turned outward to conquer new territories and probe the frontiers of science, the Chinese turned inward. China remained a country of rich traditions and wealth, but the Chinese cut themselves off from the advances occurring in Western Europe.

Why did Europeans begin selling opium to China?

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 nothing the Chinese could learn from them.

“The kings of the myriad nations come by land and sea with all sorts of

precious things. Consequently, there is nothing we lack.”

—Emperor Qianlong, ruled from 1735-1796

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 increasingly turned to



Foreign officials paying tribute to the Chinese emperor.

Reprinted from *Barbarians and Mandarins*.

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 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 shattered the illusion of Chinese superiority. 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 open negotiations 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 Chinese to buy. (U.S. tariffs were around 30 percent at the time.) 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.

“The empire of China is an old, crazy first rate man-of-war [warship].... She may, perhaps, not sink outright. She may drift some time as a wreck, and will then be dashed to pieces on the shore. But she can never be rebuilt on the old bottom.”

—Lord Macartney, British envoy to China from 1793-1794

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 laid down by the British. Other Western nations were quick to insist on the same conditions.

How was China further weakened in the nineteenth century?

Many members of the ruling Manchu dynasty (1644-1911) viewed China's defeat in the Opium War as an accident. They failed to understand that their empire was in desperate need of change. 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 were forced to leave 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.

The Westerners insisted that international law was on their side. According to

the U.S.-China treaty of 1844, the agreement was to be reviewed after twelve years. Meanwhile, the British, French, and Russians asserted that they were entitled to the same privileges granted to the United States. Led by the British, the four Western nations 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 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 1785-1850

The conditions the West imposed after the second Opium War broadened the advantages gained in the Treaty of Nanjing. The opium trade was legalized. Westerners were permitted to travel into China's interior and take up residence in Beijing. In addition, Christian missionaries and their converts were to be officially tolerated. Once the Chinese agreed to the new concessions, the West helped the Manchu dynasty extinguish the fading Taiping Rebellion.



Drawing of a “foreign devil” by a Chinese artist in 1839.

Reprinted from *Barbarians and Mandarins*.

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 West, 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.

With economic progress 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 the U.S. position in China.

What did China's war with Japan demonstrate?

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 territorial

concessions (Chinese land that the imperialist powers hoped to control) 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 had launched their country on a crash course to catch up with the West.

The Japanese demonstrated their success in adapting Western industrial and military technology at the expense of the Chinese. In 1894, a war broke out between the two coun-

tries 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?

Elsewhere in Asia and throughout Africa, Britain, France, and other imperialist powers had already staked out vast colonial empires. U.S. policy makers hoped to devise a strategy that would prevent a similar land grab in China. Among U.S. officials, Japan’s recent military success also stirred 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” in their spheres of influence. 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 was prepared to become more involved in China. In 1900, several thousand U.S. soldiers joined the other imperialist powers in putting down the Boxer Rebellion in Beijing. The Boxers were drawn from secret societies of martial arts experts who believed they were invulnerable to firearms. In an effort to expel outsiders from China, they 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 Chi-



Reprinted from *Barbarians and Mandarins*.

Portrait of a participant in the Boxer Rebellion.

nese government pay \$300 million 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 defender of China’s independence and warned that the powers should not use the Boxer Rebellion as an excuse to acquire more territory in China. U.S. officials invested most of the \$25 million they received as compensation for the rebellion in the Chinese educational system.

Why did nationalism in China strain relations with the United States?

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. Chinese intellectuals admired the U.S. ideals of democracy and equal opportunity. When the Manchu 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, recognized that many U.S. officials viewed them as backward and inferior. Moreover, they saw 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 U.S. West. 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. In Western frontier towns, the Chinese were often the targets of violent attacks. Twenty-eight Chinese miners were massacred in Wyoming in 1885. The Chinese presence also sparked the first significant U.S. legislation to

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*.

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

How did nationalism lead to civil war in China?

Although the boycott fizzled, Chinese nationalism gained a sharper focus in the early 1900s. The chief aim of the nationalists was to reassert Chinese authority over their country and overturn the “unequal treaties” with Western nations and companies that had begun with the 1842 Treaty of Nanjing. Nationalists viewed the Manchu rulers, descendants 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 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 took over the German sphere of influence in the Chinese province of Shantung 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 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 Shantung, 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 gave in to the Japanese.

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. 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 Japanese aggression in China?

The United States recognized Chiang's government and granted China the authority to determine its import tariffs. This action reversed a key provision 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 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.”

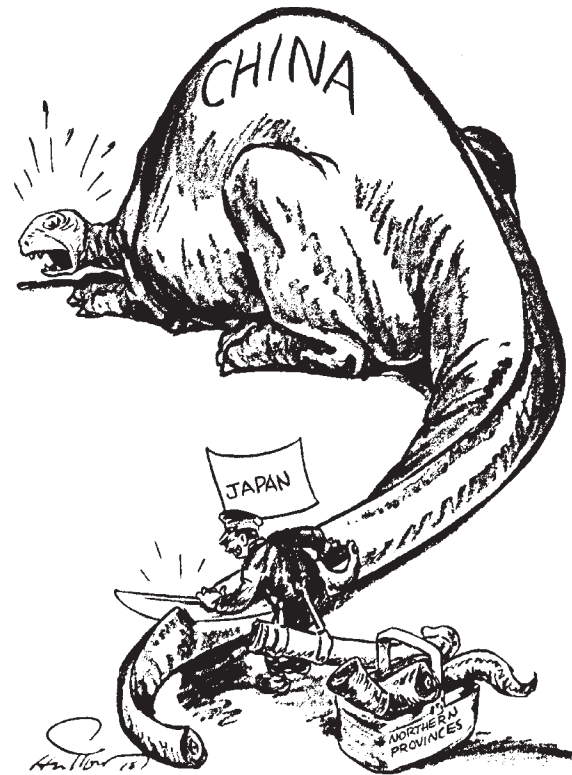
—Thomas Lamont (1870-1948),
Wall Street banker

Other world leaders expressed their outrage while also avoiding conflict. The League of Nations turned away from this crucial challenge. 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 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. As hundreds of foreign residents watched, the Japanese unleashed a 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 (re-labeled four years later as the “Rape of 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.



Hugh Hutton in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.

“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 resistance of 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 immigrants to the United States.

But the China front 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. troops that Chiang lobbied for never arrived. Between ten and twenty million Chinese died during war, many the victims of Japanese brutality. At the end of World War II the Japanese army was still firmly entrenched in China.

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 bureaucrats, and praised the communists for putting up a more effective battle against Japan. Nonetheless, the United States made sure that Chiang’s government was given a prominent place in the postwar international system. 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, the long-simmering civil war between the Kuomintang and the communists began in earnest. 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 his army was in retreat in the months that followed. On October 1, Mao proclaimed the People’s Republic of China on the mainland, and Chiang left for Formosa.

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 menace, 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.

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. He focused U.S. policy largely on 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 original border along the 38th parallel. MacArthur wanted to defeat the communist regime in North Korea. But as 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 itself, 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. Inconclusive 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, attitudes toward China crystallized well before the cease-fire. People in the United States 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 on 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.”

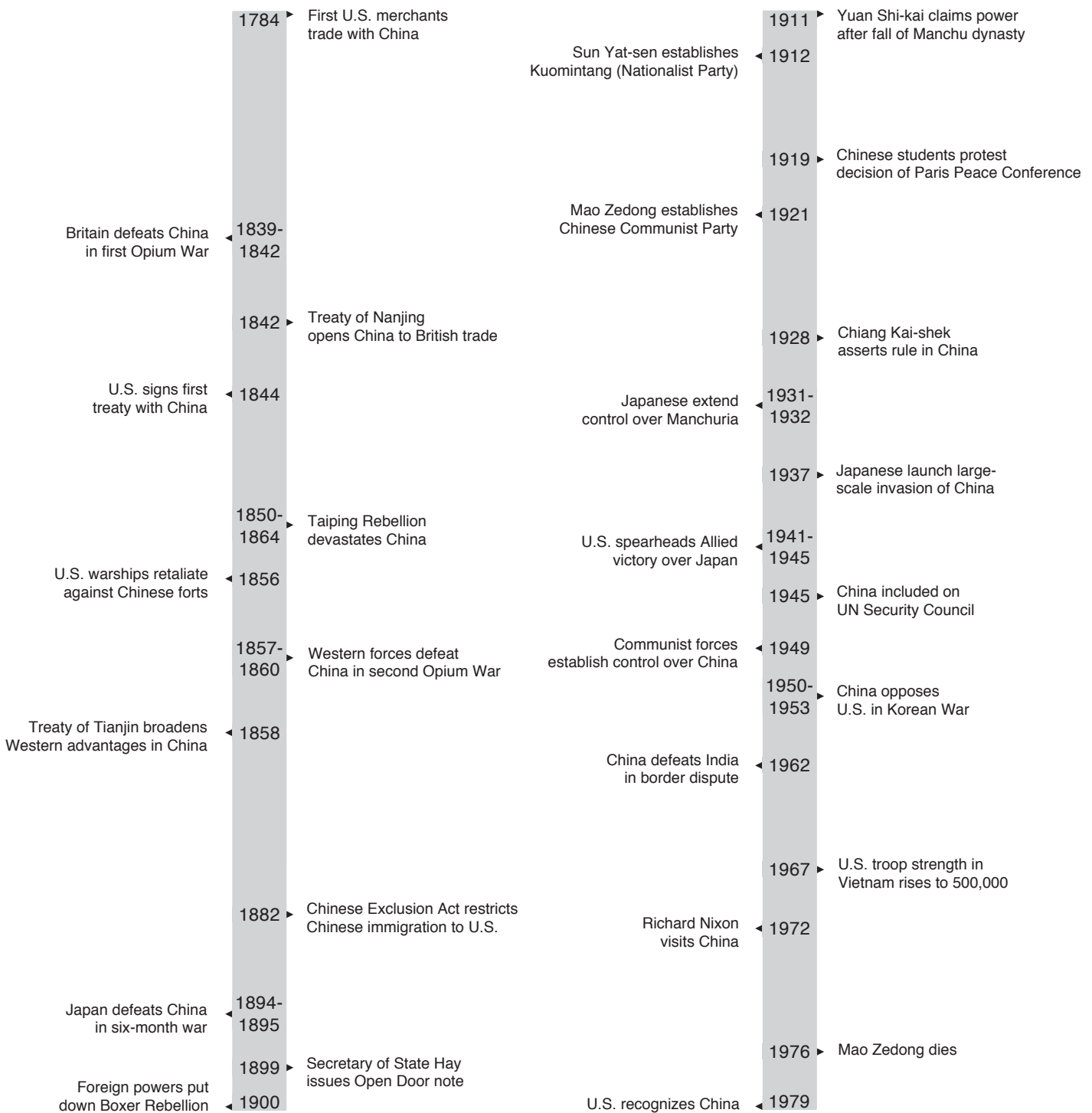
—Mao Zedong, 1938

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 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 still more radical path. Mao's Cultural Revolution, which took place from 1966 to 1969, was designed to overturn the traditional order of Chinese society. Mao sent millions of government officials and university professors to the countryside to

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



work in the fields. Groups of students called Red Guards were given the authority to police the Revolution by destroying anything old or representative of China before Mao. 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 veered toward extremism, 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 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 exploratory 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. The Watergate scandal forced Nixon’s resignation in



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

Reprinted with permission from the National Archives and Records Administration.

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 was possible. Deng was known as a moderate who sought 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 against Taiwan. The United States responded in March 1979 by officially recognizing China—and by withdrawing recognition from 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 and 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, were fast creating important links between the two countries. 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 itself 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 as "the unrepentant capitalist-roader." For the next two years, Deng and his political opponents grappled for power as the fate of China hung in the balance.

Deng became leader of mainland China in 1978. Already seventy-four years old and still trying to secure his leadership as president, at the end of 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 stressed the need to follow strictly communist ideology. Instead, he advocated practical policies that would advance China's development.

Deng's practical approach made its mark on Chinese history. China's annual economic growth rate skyrocketed, earning Deng praise for his economic reforms. The uniformity and drabness that characterized Mao's China were replaced by an accent on individuality. At the same time, the changes that have occurred since Deng took power have torn at the fabric of Chinese society.

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

Economic Reform

Deng took power 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.

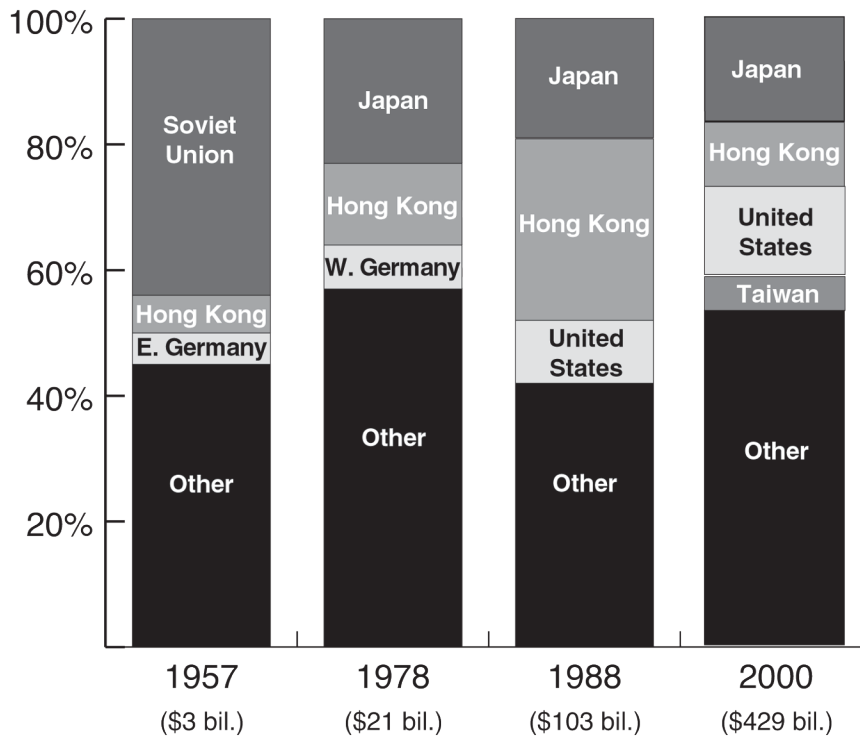
One mistake Mao made was implementing an economic revitalization plan called the Great Leap Forward. Introduced in the late 1950s, this plan aimed to propel China's economy forward by organizing China's peasants into huge "people's communes." Each commune contained tens of thousands of people and was designed to be self-sufficient in agriculture and industry, even to the point of producing its own steel. The experiment



Reprinted from *Seeds of Fire*.

The man rising from the coffin is Deng Xiaoping.

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



proved disastrous. Confusion, disorganization, and bad weather led to widespread crop failures. As many as thirty million Chinese people starved in the famine that resulted.

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 had responsibility 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 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. Progress came quickly. Within seven years, output in rural areas had shot up by 48 percent. Deng's policies showed that the Chinese people could be productive without rigid gov-

ernment control. A famous quotation from Deng shows he thought outcomes were more important than the methods used to achieve them.

“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, or 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 \$1.19 trillion in 2009. China also led newly industrializing countries in attracting \$90 billion of foreign investment in 2009.

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. Many Hong Kong manufacturers, for example, now make their products in the neighboring Chinese province of Guangdong. (Hong Kong, while politically part of China since 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 Chinese 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 in the twentieth century. 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, and Hong Kong. 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.



Courtesy of Mollie Hackett.

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

How has China’s economy changed in recent years?

Most important, the government still owns roughly 150,000 enterprises, employing millions of people. Many of them are outdated and inefficient, though some have seen high profits as China’s economy as a whole has grown in the past few years. Although several companies have streamlined their work forces, sending thousands of people into early retirement, others remain unwieldy. Under Mao, workers in the big state-owned factories were celebrated for propelling China toward industrialization. They 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 of these companies can guarantee those benefits.

The government faces a dilemma in reforming state-owned enterprises. With at least 35 million Chinese unemployed, officials fear that cutting loose 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.

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.

More difficult to grasp is the economic sector that belongs neither to the state nor to private entrepreneurs. Many villages and towns in the countryside, for example, have branched out into other businesses. 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.

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. Millions of Chinese, especially older people or people who live in rural areas, suffer from poverty but the growth of the non-state sector has propelled other millions of Chinese into the middle class.

How does China affect the global environment?

China's economic growth has become an environmental issue. China has fueled its industrial expansion mainly with coal and oil. China today 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 will lead to climate change and severely affect the earth's environment.

Pollution in China's cities, a result primarily of increased traffic and burning coal plants, is among the worst in the world. Water pollution and water scarcity, other by-products of rapid growth and development, further threaten human and animal life.

China is also shaking up 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 more demanding consumers, turning China into an importer of oil and food.

Chinese officials are beginning to be concerned by both internal and external pressures to develop in more sustainable ways. Environmentalists and ordinary citizens are starting to complain about conditions to their local and national governments, and the in-



The city of Shanghai in southeastern China.

Courtesy of Mollie Hackett.

ternational community is pressuring China to accept limits on its carbon dioxide emissions. At the 2009 UN Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen, 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 \$34 billion in renewable energies in 2009, almost double the amount invested by the United States, which was the second largest investor. (The United States' renewable energy sector currently produces more energy than China's.)

The Chinese leadership knows it must do more to save 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 stringent 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 color televisions, MP3 players, and DVD players.

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 its back on 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 engines of the communist revolution. During the Great Leap Forward of the late 1950s, the communist authorities went so far as to try 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 can now 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 widespread. The combination of dedication, discipline, and fear that served to restrain China's bureaucrats under Mao has largely broken down. Many of them 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. A few have embezzled millions of dollars in state funds and fled overseas.

Meanwhile, Chinese officials are losing the battle to control the minds of their citizens. The opening of China's economy has exposed the country to the forces of the information revolution. Cell phones, television satellite dishes, internet connections, and short-wave radios have linked China to the outside world. In addition, the influx of foreign business executives, tourists, and students has introduced millions of Chinese to life abroad. Most observers believe that Beijing's decrees 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 of this 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, in the last decade, the Chinese government has arrested tens of thousands and killed at least two thousand in its campaign against this group.

How has this era of openness influenced China's youth?

China's new economic openness has left the greatest impression on the outlook of the young. The generation of Chinese youth that has grown up since the late 1970s has faced a bewildering shift in values. Whereas communist slogans and portraits of Mao once held sway over city streets, customers in shops today are more likely to encounter posters of DVDs and video games for sale.

In 1987, the government launched the "anti-bourgeois liberalization 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 movement 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.

The current generation of students in Chinese cities is less likely to become involved in 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. Wealthy Chinese twenty-somethings talk of snowboarding and scuba diving vacations. Their economic success has made them less likely to criticize the government or seek change in the communist system.

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 are home today to stark contrasts, just as they were 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 complain about the dramatic rise in violent crime, drug use, and prostitution.

In the countryside, 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 outright, which discourages them from spending on long-term improvements. In addition, crop prices have not kept up with



Courtesy of Mollie Hackett.

Students in a Chinese high school.

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 opportunity. 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. Many of the young people who do not find a niche in the economy are sucked into China’s growing underclass of criminals, drug addicts, and prostitutes.

How has President Hu responded to economic troubles?

The economic challenges facing China are formidable. Rapid growth has overheated the economy, triggering bursts of inflation. 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.

Chinese President Hu Jintao, who took office in 2003, supports China’s economic growth. His government aims to quadruple the year 2000 levels of per capita GDP by 2020. Hu emphasizes that economic growth must benefit the Chinese people, not just government coffers or a few wealthy businessmen. President Hu is also committed to further opening up China’s economy to the world while upholding certain socialist principles.

Political Uncertainty

The 1989 Tiananmen Square protests 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.

How has China changed politically since the Mao era?

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 shelved 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.

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 threatening 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 waned. 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. 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.

There is no clear political roadmap to guide China into the future. President Hu remains committed to reform, and wants to make the Communist Party more responsive to the Chinese public. He has talked about “intra-



A farmer near the city of Guilin in Guangxi Province tends his crops.

Courtesy of Mollie Hackett.

party democracy,” meaning more officials of the Communist Party would have a role in decision making. But Hu endorses only small changes in the political system. He does not plan to make any changes to one-party rule.

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, and a nuclear arsenal undergoing modernization, China is poised to acquire 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 leading focus.

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.-Chinese 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 been problems that have occasionally flared up, creating tensions in U.S.-China relations. After the terrorist attacks on September 11th, relations improved somewhat. The United States welcomed China’s commitment to cooperation in the war on terror. Former President Jiang’s immediate offer of condolence and assistance helped to smooth the waters between the two nations. Nevertheless, many issues remain.

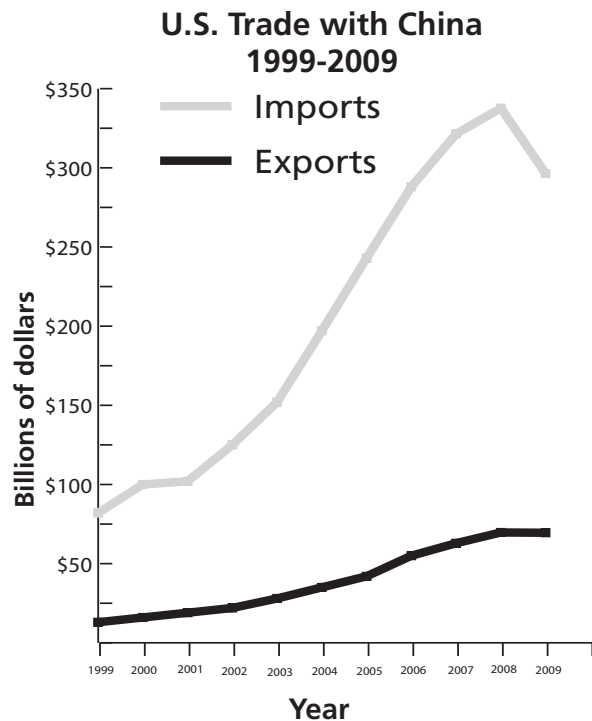
In this part of the reading, you will examine the issues that figure most prominently on the U.S.-China agenda.

Trade Tensions and Human Rights

Economic issues currently dominate the U.S.-China agenda. Many of them are of very recent origin. 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. 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. While some economists fear that this would make it much more costly for the United States to borrow money in the future, others argue that this could actually help the U.S. economy.

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 2009 bought nearly \$297 billion in Chinese products—about one-quarter of China's exports worldwide. 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 \$226.8 billion in 2009—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. Communications giant AT&T views China—not the United States—as its 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



Chinese workers test laptop hard drives at a Seagate factory.

Photograph by Robert Scoble. Licensed under the Creative Commons 2.0 Generic license: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/deed.en>.

pursued a much more closed trade policy. Like the United States in the 1800s, China, until 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 153 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.

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.)

Finally, 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 question 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 expressed 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. China and several other countries won a dispute in the WTO in 2002

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.

“Some believe that China on the rise is, by definition, an adversary. To the contrary, we believe that the United States and China can benefit from and contribute to each other's successes.”

—U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton,
February 2009

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 Himala-

yan 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 also were 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, coupled with stricter control of dissidents, its policy in Tibet. China 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, China condemned the encounter. China believes the Dalai Lama seeks independence for Tibet from China; the Dalai Lama claims to seek only more autonomy from the central government.

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, as well as its censorship of internet sites and radio and television stations. China's use of prison labor, harassment of journalists, suppression of religious freedom, 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 torture or have been administered unnecessary medication.

Many human rights organizations report that China is one of the world's worst human rights offenders. In 2004, the Chinese 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 have 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



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

Photograph by evanosherow. Licensed under the Creative Commons 2.0 Generic license: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/deed.en>.

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 2009 report on human rights in China characterized China's human rights record as 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 2009, Beijing's official military budget was

about \$378 billion. (The U.S. defense budget for 2009 was about \$579 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 for 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 to China's, 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 13,000 in Russia and 9,400 in the United States.) 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 com-

munications 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 UK, 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.

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 has undertaken a build-up of its navy and increased its presence in the South China Sea. China’s attention to its naval forces has some U.S. officials worried. Since World War II, the United States has been the leading naval power in East Asia. China is already challenging U.S. dominance in the region.

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



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

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's dynamism. 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 snuff out 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. The country is one of the top exporters in the world and its 22.9 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 outcome of this arrangement. Will Taiwan someday be an independent state or will China and Taiwan be reunified?

After losing its seat in the UN, 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.

China firmly holds to its position that there is "one China" and sees reunification as the eventual goal, while 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.

“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 Taiwanese efforts for independence as a challenge to China’s sovereignty and a threat to the state as a whole. For many, 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, which guaranteed continued trade and cultural relations with the island and provided U.S. assurances for its 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 officially 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



During a parade for Taiwan’s National Day on October 10, 2007, the military showed off some of its Taiwan-made equipment. This missile display was intended to remind China that Taiwan can defend itself.

TONY HUANG/AFP/Getty Images. Used with permission.

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 also has sought to strengthen 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. It has developed strong trade ties with African countries and has constructed oil refineries, power plants, and mines in places like Niger, Zimbabwe, and Zambia. Some see China's new role in Africa as a threat to Western economic interests in the region.

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



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

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 with its own 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 authorize 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 stringent than those pushed by other

members. For example, China tends to oppose sanctions, which punish countries economically, in favor of other, diplomatic means of pressuring countries to change their policies, such as economic aid and development support.

China's position on Sudan demonstrates its uneasiness about strict international measures. For years it opposed sanctions against the Sudanese government, which many in the international community believe is involved in a conflict in Sudan's Darfur region that has claimed hundreds of thousands of lives since 2003. China argued that these sanctions would interfere in Sudan's internal affairs and threaten an important trading partner. (Sudan has oil wealth and China has invested heavily in its oil industry.) Bowing to international pressure, China softened its opposition and contributed troops to a UN peacekeeping force in Sudan in 2007. Nevertheless, it has been accused of continuing to sell weapons to the Sudanese government.

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 interests expand 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 a range of alternatives for U.S. policy towards China. Each of the four viewpoints, or options, that you will explore 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 tool designed to help you better understand the contrasting strategies from which the United States must 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, or you may combine ideas from several options. Or you may 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 an historic crossroads. People in the United States must ask themselves what kind of China they want to see emerge from this period of transition. 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 we as a nation represent. The leaders of China's democratic movement are counting on us to take a firm stand against Beijing's communist dictatorship. The people of Tibet are looking to us to help stop the Chinese government's campaign to wipe out their culture. The time is right for strong action. By applying the leverage we hold, we have 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 is walking a tightrope. In the coming decades, the world's most populous country will be teetering above a black hole of chaos and turmoil. In this time of uncertainty, the United States must take steps to ensure that China safely reaches a future of stability and prosperity. The United States should act as a helpful guide in China's transition. Our country has a large stake in China's economic health. The importance of our relationship with China demands that the United States proceed with understanding and caution in dealing with Beijing. We must support China's full participation in the institutions of the international community. We should take measures to strengthen the economic ties between our two countries.

Option 3: Contain China

China and the United States are on a collision course. With the largest population in the world, expanding military power, and a leadership that is committed to restoring China's past greatness, China is bound to begin flexing its muscles in the international arena. We must recognize that China is not going to become a democracy any time soon. The wide gulf that separates our political system from that of China will continue to be a source of friction. In addition, 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, we should expect confrontation, not cooperation, from Beijing. Given this reality, the United States should construct a barrier to Chinese expansion.

Option 4: Keep Our Distance

China is not the next frontier for democracy, nor is it a boundless market for U.S. exports, nor is it a hostile potential superpower. It is neither an irresistible opportunity nor a looming threat. Rather, China is a poor, struggling country 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 scant impact on the lives of our people. If anything, we should take measures to protect U.S. industries from the flood of cheap imports that are produced in China's sweatshops and prisons.

Option 1: Press for Democratic Values

China and the world are at an historic crossroads. The changes taking place in China today will in many respects 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 our democratic political system? 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 we as a nation represent. The leaders of China's democratic movement are counting on us to take a firm stand against Beijing's communist dictatorship. The people of Tibet are looking to us to help stop the Chinese government's campaign to wipe out their culture. The time is right for strong action. 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 progress since the late 1970s. The hard-line communists that have 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 prod their government forward.

What policies should we pursue?

- Link China's record on human rights to our cooperation on economic and trade issues.
- Place Beijing's treatment of political prisoners and policies toward Tibet 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 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.

- China's acceptance of democratic principles and fundamental human rights will lower tensions between

Beijing and Washington and improve prospects for international peace.

- 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. Implanting 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 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 Tibet 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 is walking a tightrope. In the coming decades, the world's most populous country will be teetering above a black hole of chaos and turmoil. If China falls, the entire world will be plunged into a period of heightened danger. A breakdown of order in China would lead to a civil war in the heart of East Asia. Tens of millions of refugees would spill over China's borders. The world's major powers would inevitably be sucked into the conflict. China's nuclear arsenal could even be up for grabs. In this time of uncertainty, the United States must take steps to ensure that China safely reaches a future of stability and prosperity.

The United States should act as a helpful guide in China's transition. 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 continued 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 in China. Attempting to back Beijing into a corner will heighten international tensions and could trigger a crisis inside China that would have worldwide repercussions. To avoid instability, the United States must support China's full participation in the institutions of the international community. We should take measures to strengthen the economic ties between our two countries. As the people of China walk the tightrope of transition, they 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.
- Offer loan guarantees and tax breaks to U.S. companies that expand their exports to China.
- Provide foreign aid to help China clean up its air pollution and improve life in the countryside.
- 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 crisis would spark problems worldwide and heighten international tensions.
- Using trade measures to achieve foreign policy goals in other areas,

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.

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

- With 1.3 billion people undergoing whirlwind change, China will be in danger of disintegration for years to come.

Arguments against

1. Turning our back on democratic reformers in China and the people of Tibet 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 to restore Beijing's past greatness will come back to haunt us when a Chinese superpower challenges U.S. interests.
3. Lending U.S. support to Beijing's policies will embolden 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, the Chinese economy is on track to achieve one of the fastest growth rates in the world. China may very well overtake the United States in total economic output. With the largest population in the world, expanding military power, and a leadership that is committed to restoring China's past greatness, China is bound to begin 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. Our country's policy must be grounded in a clear-sighted understanding of China itself. First, we must recognize that China is not going to become a democracy any time soon. The wide gulf that separates our political system from that of China will continue to be a source of friction. 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 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?

- Ban exports of high-tech goods that could contribute to China's military build-up, and lobby our allies to do the same.
- Convince our allies and trading partners to impose penalties on China for exports of long-range missiles and nuclear technology.
- 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.

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

- Western democratic institutions are unlikely to make inroads into China for decades to come.
- China's leaders are determined to reassert their influence in world

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.

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.

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 to China will prompt retaliation from Beijing and leave U.S. companies shut out of the fastest-growing market in the world.
5. Drawing a new dividing line in international relations 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 threat to the United States. We should be careful not to become involved in a country which holds little relevance to our foreign affairs picture. China is not the next frontier for democracy, nor is it a boundless market for U.S. exports, nor is it a hostile potential superpower. Rather, China is a poor, struggling country 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 scant impact on the lives of our people. 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, reforming the health care system, 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 entanglements abroad.

What policies should we pursue?

- Gradually withdraw U.S. troops from South Korea and Japan.
- 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 poor 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

- 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,

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 foreign policy issues from the U.S.-China agenda will give U.S. leaders the opportunity to deal squarely with 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.

undermines U.S. trade interests and other more legitimate priorities.

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

Arguments against

1. Withdrawing from East Asia will leave a vacuum of power in the region that the expansionists in Beijing will eagerly fill.
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 possibly 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, 1990). 241 pages.

Fairbank, John King and Goldman, Merle. *China: A New History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998). 616 pages.

Foot, Rosemary. *The Practice of Power: U.S. Relations with China Since 1949* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). 291 pages.

Mann, James H. *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship With China, from Nixon to Clinton* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999). 352 pages.

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

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Colonialism in Africa ■ Weimar Germany ■ China
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Choices Education Program
Brown University, Box 1948
Providence, RI 02912

Please visit our website at <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.

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



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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.

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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. The Chinese language characters that are used to represent the United States literally mean “beautiful country,” and yet Chinese leaders have long been baffled by U.S. values and culture. Likewise, generations of U.S. officials have been frustrated by what they see as the opacity of their Chinese counterparts.

Today, as in the past, U.S.-China relations are sometimes clouded by misperceptions. What has changed, however, is China’s position in the world. The remarkable transformation that China has undergone 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 promise to vex U.S. policy makers for decades to come.

The reading is intended to prepare students to consider thoughtfully 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 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 a framework of 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. The optional lesson is a document activity that offers students an insight into the evolution of U.S.-China relations since the mid-1800s. On the first day, students

reflect on changes in Chinese political values through the analysis of song lyrics. Two optional lessons are available online at <<http://www.choices.edu/chinamaterials>>. One lesson has students explore the Tiananmen protests of 1989 and consider the effects of censorship. A second online lesson introduces students to the perspective of a former Chinese political prisoner and founder of the China Democracy Party. On the second day students explore the U.S.-China-Taiwan relationship. An alternative lesson introduces students to the U.S.-Chinese agenda from two sides. The third and fourth days feature a simulation in which students assume the role of advocates for the four options. Finally, on the fifth day, students consider the implications of their own options for U.S. policy in the context of China’s current transition.

• **Alternative Study Guides:** Each section of reading has two distinct study guides. The standard study guide helps students harvest information in preparation for analysis and synthesis within classroom activities. The advanced study guide requires analysis and synthesis 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” found in the Teacher Resource Book on page TRB-55 before they begin their assignment. A “U.S.-China Issues Toolbox” on TRB-56 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 presaged 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-

nomonic 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? What remains of the socialist approach to development in light of China's experience? 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? *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 are suggestions to 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 in the back of the TRB with students.

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 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. 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 (pages 1-12) 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 communique 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. Ask groups to explain what misperceptions are reflected in their document. 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 (pages 13-21) and complete “Study Guide—Part I” (TRB 13-14) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part I” (TRB-15).

Name: _____

Study Guide—Optional Reading

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 the West imposed after the second Opium War broaden the West's advantages in China?
6. What did people in the United States 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 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, remove dangerous sources of international irritation, and hasten thereby united or concerted action of the powers at Peking [Beijing] in favor of the administrative reforms so urgently needed for strengthening the Imperial Government and maintaining the integrity of China in which the whole western world is alike concerned. It believes that such a result may be greatly assisted by a declaration by the various powers claiming “spheres of interest” in China of their intentions as regards treatment of foreign trade therein. 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 fre-

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

China's Transformation Through Popular Music

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze the use of music as a medium for expressing political values.

Compare the political values of the Maoist era with those of today's China.

Articulate the values and attitudes of fictional characters.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the Introduction (page 1) and Part I of the student text (pages 13-21) and completed "Study Guide—Part I" (TRB 13-14) or "Advanced Study Guide—Part I" (TRB-15).

Handouts:

"Clashing Values in Today's China" (TRB 17-19)

"China's Transformation from a Chinese Perspective" (TRB-20)

In the Classroom:

1. Discussing the Politics of Art—Distribute "Clashing Values in Today's China" and "China's Transformation from a Chinese Perspective" to each student. Explain that totalitarian societies have generally used music and other forms of art to further political goals. Why is freedom of expression viewed as a threat by totalitarian rulers? You might ask students to cite examples of art as propaganda from other areas they might have studied, such as Nazi Germany or the Soviet Union.

2. Analyzing Lyrics—Call on students to review the lyrics of Cui Jian and other rock musicians featured in the "Clashing Values in Today's China" handout. Note that Cui intentionally avoided overt political themes but is nonetheless recognized as a leading voice of Chinese political dissent. Contrast Cui's music with the songs promoted by the government featured on the second page of the worksheet.

What values are these songs meant to encourage? How do the lyrics of Cui compare with those of Vietnam-era protest songs in the United States or with politically oriented popular music of today? How do the Maoist-era children's songs compare with those sung by children in the United States?

3. Encouraging Student Dialogue—Instruct students to review the character descriptions in the "China's Transformation from a Chinese Perspective" handout. Assign the character roles to individual students and ask them to identify the songs that resonate with their assigned characters. Invite students to write additional stanzas to the songs in the voices of their characters. Encourage them to develop a dialogue among the six characters. For example, how would the attitude of the former student protester toward the lyrics of Cui Jian differ from that of the steel worker?

Extra Challenge:

Singapore's former prime minister, Lee Kuan Yew, has argued that the societies of East Asia owe much of their recent economic success to the strength of "Asian values." According to Lee, the people of East Asia place greater emphasis on the centrality of the family and respect for authority than their counterparts in the West. How wide is the gap between the values of East Asia and the West? Which values have been most important to the success of U.S. society?

Homework:

Students should read Part II of the student text (pages 22-31) and complete "Study Guide—Part II" (TRB 22-23) or the "Advanced Study Guide—Part II" (TRB-24).

Name: _____

Study Guide—Part I

1. Deng had long been known as a _____ within the Communist Party. He was especially critical of the _____ who stressed the need to follow strictly _____.
Instead, he advocated _____ that would advance China's _____.
2. What was the Great Leap Forward and why was it disastrous?
3. Describe how the following areas of China's economy were reformed under Deng:
 - a. agriculture
 - b. industry & commerce
4. What were the effects of these reforms?
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 the cities?
10. What problems await peasants who move to the city 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?
7. From what you have read, would you characterize Hu Jintao as a reformist president or a president seeking the middle of the road? Why?

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?

Clashing Values in Today's China

Cui Jian (pronounced "Tsway Jen") is known as the "Father of Chinese Rock." In 1981, Cui won a position as a trumpet player in the prestigious Beijing Philharmonic Orchestra, but he was soon attracted to the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, the Talking Heads, and Sting. After being dismissed from the orchestra in 1987, Cui blended traditional Chinese instruments into his first rock recordings. An MTV video brought him widespread popularity outside China. In 1995, he performed for the first time in the United States. Although banned from playing in Beijing for many years, he was granted permission to do so again in 2005. Cui continues to perform today. Below is a collection of lyrics from Cui's songs.*

Eggs under the Red Flag

Money is fluttering in the wind

We have no ideals

The time is now

But who knows what we should do

The red flag is waving

It has no clear direction

Revolution is ongoing

The old men are still in power.

I Have Nothing

I've asked tirelessly, when will you go with me?

But you always just laugh at my having nothing

I've given you my dreams,

Given you my freedom

But you always just laugh at my having nothing

When will you go with me?

Won't Cover It Up Again

My tears won't be for weeping anymore

My smile won't be play-acting again

Your freedom belongs to heaven and earth

Your courage belongs to you.

I've got no money, got no place, just have the
past

I've said a lot, thought a lot,

And I have less and less of an idea

I'm not pitiful, and I'm not hateful, because
I'm not you

I understand abandonment, and understand
irresponsibility

But I've got no way to leave.

A Piece of Red Cloth

That day you used a piece of red cloth

To cover my eyes and the sky above us

You asked me what I saw

I said that I saw happiness.

It's not that I don't understand

Looking back I can't tell good from bad

I can't even remember the decades gone by

What once seemed so simple is now unclear

And I suddenly feel the world has no place for
me.

*The lyrics in this exercise are reprinted from *Like a Knife: Ideology and Genre in Contemporary Chinese Popular Music*; *Popular Media in China: Shaping New Cultural Patterns*; and *New Ghosts, Old Dreams: Chinese Rebel Voices*. More information about Cui Jian can be found at <<http://www.cuijian.com>>.

Cui Jian has inspired other young musicians to express their frustration through rock 'n' roll. Below are examples of their lyrics.

Garbage Dump

by He Yong

The place where we live
Is like a garbage dump
The people are like insects
Everyone's struggling and stealing
We eat our consciences
And it's ideology that we're spewing out.

Sure, there's a green tree growing
You can smell the flower's scent
The Forbidden City is really pretty
There's even a really great wall
They're throwing on top of a garbage dump.

There's Only Today

by the Tutu Band

All the oppression of the past
I can't bear today!
All the happiness I have today
I know won't be enough for the future!...

What you and I have already felt is the past
What you and I have imagined is the future
There's only today in front of our eyes.

City People

by Chang Kuan

Never tasted rolls made of sorghum
Never drank water from a stone well
Never worn old cloth shoes
Never slept on a kang made of stone.

I'm a young person in the city
Exhausted by the crowds streaming by
I'm thirsty for the peace of village life
I need the gentle rays of sunlight
I'm a young person in the city
Exhausted by the crowds of big buildings.

The Official Banquet Song

(anonymous)

I'm a Big Official, so I eat and drink, eat
and drink
Everyone says I'm a Big Official
So I eat and drink
I can really eat, in I shove it
And I've got the potbelly to prove it
I can really drink, and boy do I love it
Beer, spirits, rice wine,
Love potions, medicinal grog
I drink it all.

Name: _____

In contrast to the confusion and disappointment expressed by Cui and other rock musicians, lyrics written under the rule of Mao Zedong were designed to advance the communist revolution. Below are examples of children’s folk songs from the Maoist period.

Uncle Ironman

Red little soldier is busy learning to operate the machine
 Switched on, the lathe sounds “boom, boom”
 I want to be a revolutionary screw
 Uncle Ironman is my model.

Seesaw

The seesaw
 Can be high and low on either side
 Let’s sit still and hold the handles tight
 One side is low and
 The other is high
 High and low; we laugh “ho, ho”
 Unite tightly, coordinate well
 The more we play, the more interested we are.

Military Drills

Red flags are flapping
 In military drills, we aim at the target
 If the enemies should dare to invade
 They will be eliminated, one after the other.

The People’s Cow

I am learning agriculture on the farm
 Uncle teaches me
 How to drive the iron buffalo [tractor]
 Learning skills in this vast land
 Everyone is eager to be the people’s cow.

In recent years, the Chinese government has promoted pop singers who uphold the ideals of the communist revolution in their music. Below are two examples.

The Great Undertaking

(anonymous)

The stars shine in the blue sky
 The plain is a red bonfire
 The hearts of us oil workers face the Party
 With deep emotion we’re thinking of Beijing
 We want to make that plain like a spring,
 gushing oil
 Bravely working, no fear of shedding
 blood and sweat
 In our hearts thinking of Chairman Mao
 When the work is bitter and tiring
 It’s all the sweeter.
 When the air is chill and the ground frozen
 We’re not afraid of the cold
 Warm blood can thaw the freeze
 We oil workers are heroic men.

My Beloved Hometown

by Tian Zhen

Oh! Hometown!
 Can’t kiss the earth of my hometown enough
 Can’t love my hometown’s water enough
 I need to use my sincerity and sweat
 To turn you into fertile earth and lovely water.

China's Transformation from a Chinese Perspective

Instructions: The character descriptions presented below are designed to introduce you to the public mood of today's China. Each of the characters has a distinct view of the changes that have taken place in China since the late 1970s. In this activity, you will be asked to review the "Clashing Values in Today's China" worksheet and then to respond to the song lyrics from the perspective of one of the roles presented below. You may have an opportunity to develop a dialogue with your classmates to bring out the attitudes and opinions of your assigned character.

1. Peasant from Northern China

You have lived all of your forty-eight years in northern China's wheat-growing region. In the early 1980s, agricultural reform allowed you and your husband to earn extra income by selling vegetables in a nearby city. But in recent years you feel that you have been losing ground economically. The break-up of your collective wheat farm into individual plots has resulted in a shortage of machinery and fuel for planting and harvesting. You also worry that your teenage children are coming under the influence of foreign culture.

2. Private Businessman from Guangdong Province

You are the owner of a small factory that produces shoelaces for China's growing footwear industry. Although you are only thirty-five years old, you employ more than 150 people and enjoy a comfortable standard of living. Political matters hold little interest for you. Your only request is that government officials allow you to continue making money.

3. Steel Worker from Beijing

You work as a supervisor in a huge state-run steel factory. At age sixty, you are old enough to remember Chairman Mao's speeches honoring China's steel workers as heroes of the communist revolution. Your work unit won numerous awards for exceeding produc-

tion goals. Today, however, the equipment is old and outdated, and your factory is losing money. You feel that China has turned its back on the people who sacrificed the most to advance the communist revolution.

4. Textile Worker from Shanghai

You have been working on an assembly line at a new clothing factory for almost two years, ever since you turned nineteen years old. The hours are long and the work is boring, but you cannot quit. In a few more months, you will pay off your debt to the Communist Party boss in your village who arranged for your job. After that, you will be able to send money home to help support your parents. Although life in your village was simpler, you prefer the fast pace of the city. You hope that China will continue to change.

5. Former Student Protester from Central China

You were a student at Beijing University when the democracy movement began in 1989. At the time, you hoped that China was headed toward democratic reform. Since the Tiananmen Square protest, however, you have given up on the prospect of political change. Because of your political involvement, you were expelled from the university. You now make a good living as a television repairman, but you miss your student days.

6. Retired Farm Worker from Southwestern China

You have seen China undergo dramatic changes in your seventy-nine years. Your childhood was a time of hunger, war, and chaos. The victory of the communists brought calm, but government officials soon took away your family's land. The last sixteen years have been the best. Your village has never been so prosperous. Young people today hardly know the meaning of hunger. You cannot understand why so many of them are eager to leave your village for life in the city.

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 (pages 22-31) 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 27-39)

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 other students. 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

explain. 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 spacial students 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. A good place to start is the PBS show *Frontline*. In 2001 the series broadcast “Dangerous Straits” <<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/china/>>.

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 conflict.

Note:

Cross-strait tensions are deep and complex. It is not possible to understand them fully in one class period. Teachers looking for additional information for themselves or their students should view the Frontline episode (above), and/or seek out other sources. 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” (page 32).

Study Guide—Part II

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 page 22, “U.S. Trade with China 1999-2009,” 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:

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

Name: _____

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 sought to strengthen 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, so 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.

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 the 1996 Taiwan Strait Crisis

As China Threatens Taiwan, It Makes Sure U.S. Listens

By Patrick E. Tyler

January 24, 1996 in *The New York Times*

The Chinese leadership has sent unusually explicit warnings to the Clinton Administration that China has completed plans for a limited attack on Taiwan that could be mounted in the weeks after Taiwan's President, Lee Teng-hui, wins the first democratic balloting for the presidency in March.

The purpose of this saber-rattling is apparently to prod the United States to rein in Taiwan and President Lee, whose push for greater recognition for the island of 21 million people, has been condemned here as a drive for independence.

While no one familiar with the threats thinks China is on the verge of risking a catastrophic war against Taiwan, some China experts fear that the Taiwan issue has become such a test of national pride for Chinese leaders that the danger of war should be taken seriously....

The most pointed of the Chinese warnings was conveyed recently through a former Assistant Secretary of Defense, Chas. W. Freeman Jr., who traveled to China this winter.... Mr. Freeman informed President Clinton's national security adviser...that the People's Liberation Army had prepared plans for a missile attack against Taiwan consisting of one conventional missile strike a day for 30 days....

These warnings do not mean that an attack on Taiwan is certain or imminent. Instead, a number of China specialists say that China, through "credible preparations" for an attack, hopes to intimidate the Taiwanese and to influence U.S. policy toward Taiwan. The goal, these experts say, is to force Taiwan to abandon the campaign initiated by President Lee, including his effort to have Taiwan seated at the United Nations, and to end high-profile visits by President Lee to the United States and to other countries.

If the threats fail to rein in Mr. Lee, however,

a number of experts now express the view that China could resort to force, despite the enormous consequences for its economy and for stability in Asia....

Mr. Freeman described the most recent warning during a meeting...with nongovernmental China specialists....Mr. Freeman quoted a Chinese official as asserting that China could act militarily against Taiwan without fear of intervention by the United States because American leaders "care more about Los Angeles than they do about Taiwan," a statement that Mr. Freeman characterized as an indirect threat by China to use nuclear weapons against the United States....

Mr. Freeman said he has relayed a number of warnings to United States Government officials. "I have quoted senior Chinese who told me" that China "would sacrifice 'millions of men' and 'entire cities' to assure the unity of China and who opined that the United States would not make comparable sacrifices."

He also asserted that "some in Beijing may be prepared to engage in nuclear blackmail against the U.S. to insure that Americans do not obstruct" efforts by the People's Liberation Army "to defend the principles of Chinese sovereignty over Taiwan...."

Several experts cited their concern that actions by Congress in the aftermath of President Lee's expected election could be a critical factor contributing to a military confrontation. If President Lee perceives that he has a strong base of support in the United States Congress and presses forward with his campaign to raise Taiwan's status, the risk of a military crisis is greater, they said. A chief concern is that Congress would seek to invite the Taiwan leader back to the United States as a gesture of American support. A Chinese military leader warned in November that such a step could have "explosive" results....

Some members of Congress assert that the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 includes an implicit pledge to defend Taiwan if attacked, but Administration officials say that a decision would depend on the timing, pretext and nature of Chinese aggression.

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 tensions in the Taiwan Strait?
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	22.9 million
largest ethnic group	Han (91.5%)	Han (98%)
major religions	Daoism, Buddhism	Buddhism, Daoism
major languages	Mandarin Cantonese	Mandarin, Taiwanese
literacy rate	90.9%	96.1%
GDP per capita	\$6,600	\$29,800
internet users	298 million	15.1 million
military expenditures per GDP	4.3%	2.2%
government	communist state	multiparty democracy

Data from CIA Factbook and State Department Background Notes.

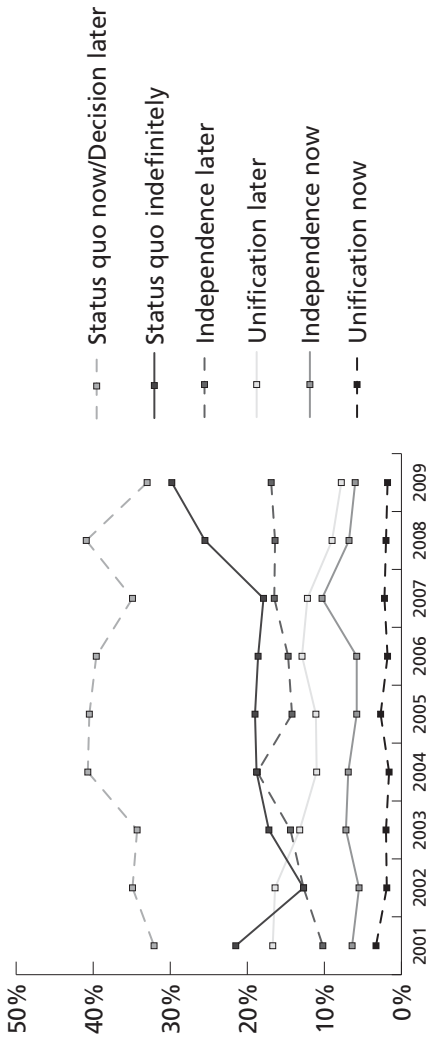
Cross-Strait Trade in Millions of U.S. Dollars

	Exports from China to Taiwan	Exports from Taiwan to China	Total
1992	747.1	10,547.6	11,294.7
1994	1,858.7	16,022.5	17,881.2
1996	3,059.9	20,787.3	23,787.2
1998	4,113.9	19,840.9	23,954.8
2000	6,229.3	25,009.9	31,239.2
2002	7,968.8	31,528.8	39,497.4
2004	16,792.3	48,930.4	65,722.7
2006	24,783.1	63,332.4	88,115.5
2008	31,391.3	73,977.8	105,369.1

Data from Cross Strait Economic Statistics Monthly.

Questions:

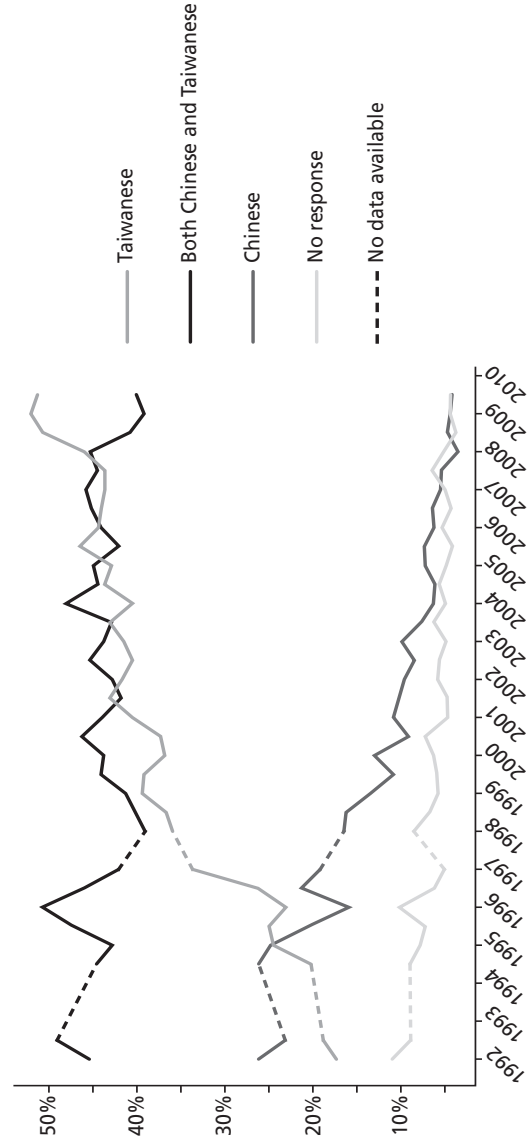
1. What kind of information can you get from these charts?
2. What are the most important pieces of information in the charts? What makes them important?



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.

Name: _____

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 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 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.

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 a warming of 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.

Name: _____

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

“It is Taiwan’s market connections which enable China to transform itself from a net importer with the United States to a net exporter.... This is one of the ironies of our time. We assisted them to import what they need, and in turn, they used a certain percentage of that foreign exchange to acquire arms to target us and intimidate us.”

—Chen Pi-Chao, Vice Defense Minister for Taiwan, 2001

“I sincerely hope that the two sides of the Taiwan Strait can seize this historic opportunity to achieve peace and co-prosperity. Under the principle of ‘no unification, no independence and no use of force,’ as Taiwan’s mainstream public opinion holds it, and under the framework of the ROC Constitution, we will maintain the status quo in the Taiwan Strait. In 1992, the two sides reached a consensus on ‘one China, respective interpretations.’ Many rounds of negotiation were then completed, spurring the development of cross-strait relations. I want to reiterate that, based on the ‘1992 Consensus,’ negotiations should resume at the earliest time possible. As proposed in the Boao Forum on April 12 of this year, let’s ‘face reality, pioneer a new future, shelve controversies and pursue a win-win solution.’ This will allow us to strike a balance as each pursues its own interests. The normalization of economic and cultural relations is the first step to a win-win solution.”

—Taiwanese President Ma Ying-jeou, May 20, 2008

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

Name: _____

“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

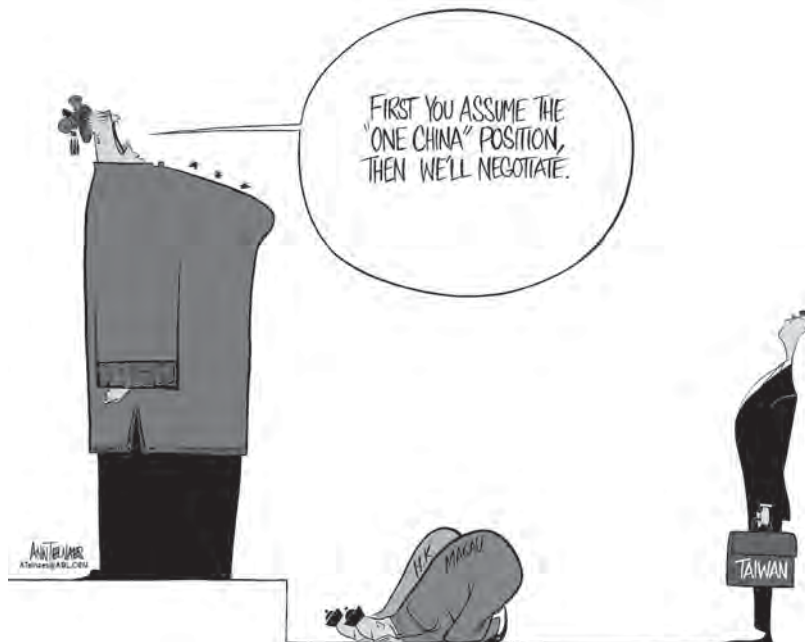
Questions:

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?

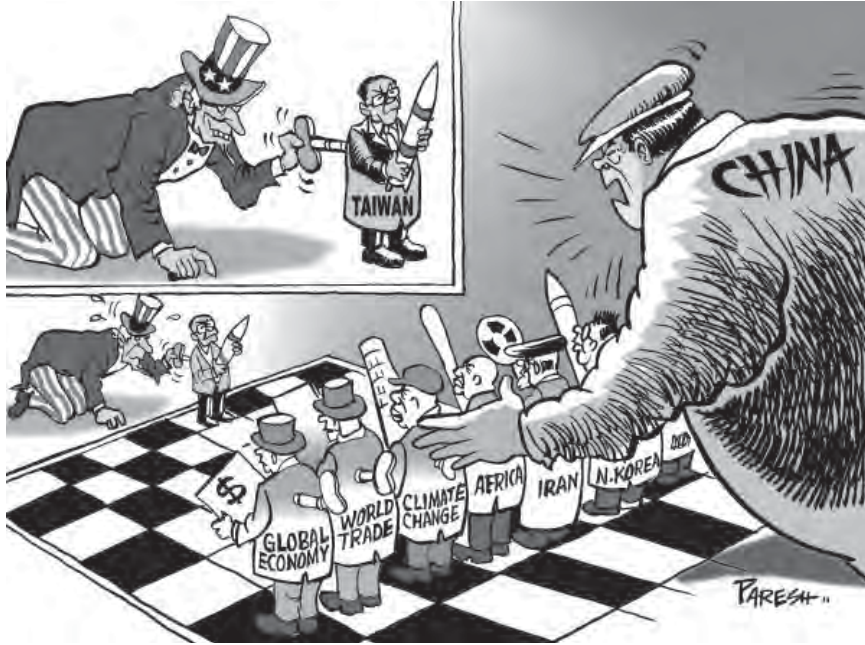
Group Six: Political Cartoons



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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 (pages 22-31) 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 41-44)

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 students 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 in the large group setting. 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? Ask students to consider the impact of perspective on diplomacy. 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” (page 32).

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

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

Name: _____

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 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 the two 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 (page 32).

Handouts:

“Presenting Your Option” (TRB-46) for option groups

“Expressing Key Values” (TRB-47) for option groups

“Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate” (TRB-48) for 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 cross-examination 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.

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 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 the presentation of your group. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet 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 the presentation of your group. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet 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 the presentation of your group. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet 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 and other notes may be used, but you should 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 cross-examination questions. Any member of your group may respond during the cross-examination 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 has been a cornerstone of U.S. national identity. At the same time, the high value many people in the United States place on justice, equality, and respect for the rights of others rings loudly throughout U.S. history.

For most of the country's existence, the impulse to spread U.S. values beyond U.S.

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 nation. At times, U.S. leaders have emphasized the values of human rights and cooperation. On other occasions, the values of stability and security have been stressed.

Some values fit together well. Others are in conflict. People in the United States are constantly being forced to choose among competing values in an ongoing debate about foreign policy. Each of the four options revolves around a distinct set of values. The opening two paragraphs of your assigned option offer a description of a policy direction grounded in distinct 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.

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. 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 attaching great importance to 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.

Role-Playing the Four Options: Debate and Discussion

Objectives:

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

Explore, debate, and evaluate multiple perspectives 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-50) 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 Committee

on Foreign Relations to ask cross-examination 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 cross-examination, allow any option group member to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit cross-examination 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 (pages 33-40), then moving beyond these options they should fill out “Focusing Your Thoughts” (TRB-53) and complete “Your Option Five” (TRB-54).

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 (pages 33-40) and completed "Focusing Your Thoughts" in the Teacher Resource Book (TRB-53) and "Your Option Five" (TRB-54).

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 threats 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 watchers 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, while 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

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

Introduction and Part I

communist
 counterrevolutionary
 realist
 economic growth
 economic revitalization plan
 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
 underclass
 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

U.S.-China Issues Toolbox

Diplomatic Relations:

A formal arrangement between states by which they develop and maintain the terms of their relationship. This often includes 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 nation. 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.

Engagement:

A long-term strategy advocated by each executive branch of the U.S. government since President Nixon. It aims to involve China in a range of treaties and agreements while pursuing extensive trade and other relationships. Supporters of engagement believe that this policy will integrate China into the international system, increasing the possibility that it will adopt the rule of law and evolve into a more democratic society. Opponents of engagement argue that nearly three decades of this policy have shown little progress in the areas of human rights, trade, and limiting Chi-

na's proliferation of weapons. They point out that China has frequently acted in a manner contrary to the interests of the United States and ignored international standards.

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 this 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.

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- Environment
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- Nuclear Weapons
- UN Reform
- French Revolution
- Middle East
- Iraq
- Russia
- South Africa
- Iran
- India & Pakistan
- Brazil
- Mexico
- Haitian Revolution
- Colonialism in Africa
- Weimar Germany
- China
- U.S. Constitutional Convention
- New England Slavery
- War of 1812
- Spanish American War
- League of Nations
- FDR and Isolationism
- Hiroshima
- Origins of the Cold War
- Cuban Missile Crisis
- Vietnam War

And watch for new units coming soon:

- Human Rights

THE CHOICES PROGRAM

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Teacher sets (consisting of a student text and a teacher resource book) are available for \$25 each. Permission is granted to duplicate and distribute the student text and handouts for classroom use with appropriate credit given. Duplicates may not be resold. Classroom sets (10 or more student texts) may be ordered at \$12.50 per copy. A teacher resource book is included free with each classroom set. Orders should be addressed to:

Choices Education Program
Brown University, Box 1948
Providence, RI 02912

Please visit our website at <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

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