
*The Evolution of United States Policy with
Respect to China since the time of Nixon's
Visit*

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Abstract

This study attempts to present an analysis of United States foreign policy towards People's Republic of China since President Nixon's visit to this country. The policy of détente that had been set up by President Nixon and Mr. Henry Kissinger not only made it possible for America to disengage itself from a costly war in Vietnam, but this policy also made it possible to stabilize the Asia – Pacific region. It will appear that the confrontation between the communist ideology and that of capitalist egalitarianism has been better settled through dialogue and engagement rather than through the force of arms. However, progress has not always been smooth and a difference in the thinking prevailing within the two nations has sometimes proven itself to be difficult to resolve to a common view. The Tiananmen Square incident of 1989 and the Taiwan Straits Crisis of 1996 are examples of trying times that had to be endured in the march towards progress. Although new problems have since emerged and matters related to trade and energy as well as the environment are now of importance as a consensus about older issues presents itself, it is encouraging to note that China and the West have learned from each other and come closer. China is now being regarded in America as a potential peer competitor at the beginning of a “Chinese Century, but America still pursues its foreign policy guided by principles of cooperative security, enduring American values and common bilateral interests.

Declaration

I certify that, except where cited in the text, this work is the result of research carried out by the author of this essay. The main content of the dissertation contains original ideas.

Name and Signature of Author

June 2008

This write - up is for The Evolution of United States Policy with Respect to China since the time of Nixon's Visit.

Biographical Sketch

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

One of President Richard M. Nixon's most significant achievements in shaping the foreign policy of United States of America was to set up direct relations with the People's Republic of China after an estrangement of twenty-five years (**Nixon "China and the Soviet Union"**). Although contact had been made between the two great nations and civilizations from as early as 1784, when the American trading vessel *Empress of China* arrived in Canton, the Chinese were more directly involved with the British then and in 1842 the signing of the Anglo-Chinese Treaty of Nanking after the First Opium War had forced many Chinese ports to be opened for international trade (**Wikipedia "From American Independence to the Treaty of Wangxia"**). American interests in China then were limited to trade and it was during the time of President John Tyler, the tenth President of the United States, in 1844 that the Treaty of Wangxia was signed between the Qing Empire and United States in the Kun lam Temple in northern Macau. This treaty provided United States Citizens with a right to extraterritoriality, or a right to be tried only by United States counselor officers and dealt with matters that were considered as being vital for trade as well as the prohibition of the smuggling opium into China.

President Nixon had been a shrewd observer of foreign policy before beginning his term in office in 1969 (**United States "The Richard M. Nixon administration)** and (**International Relations "Nixon, Kissinger, and the détente experiment"**). President Nixon and his national security adviser Mr. Henry Kissinger believed that a policy of détente was necessary to save United States from suffering because of its decline in

power compared to other nations. President Nixon believed that a withdrawal of United States forces from Vietnam was necessary and that it was fitting that all allied nations including those in Asia should take on a greater responsibility for their defense. He believed that a negotiated settlement in Vietnam could save the regime in Saigon and President Nixon's policy of détente required that relations with the Soviet Union were to be improved. It was also felt that United States of America should resume relations with mainland China which had been remained frozen since the Korean War in which forces from United States and the People's Republic of China had fought each other directly. United States of America had actively sought to prevent the People's Republic of China from taking the China seat in the United Nations and for thirty years mainland China was not formally recognized by United States, which had remained inclined to recognizing the Republic of China government in Taiwan as the legitimate government of all China. President Nixon wanted to abandon the Cold War attitude that United States had maintained towards communist nations and he wanted to work for a world in which selected local powers could be backed to preserve global peace.

The two nations had been at odds trying to exert their influence in Asia since the early trading contacts and the Vietnam War had seen both nations supporting opposing sides in a long drawn out conflict that was to devastate Vietnam and cause serious resentment about American involvement within United States (**Nixon "Vietnam War"**). President Nixon can also be credited with trying to initiate steps that were to later result in an American disentanglement from Vietnam and perhaps this foreign policy decision also played an important role in the normalization of relations with China. Secret talks were

held with the Chinese leadership when President Nixon sent his national security adviser Mr. Henry Kissinger to China after several low-level diplomatic contacts. However, the thaw in relations between the two nations was destined to take place gradually and “ping-pong diplomacy” involving reciprocal visits by the table tennis teams from United States and China was also to play a part, at least to influence the public opinion. President Nixon had tried to take advantage of a growing Sino-Soviet rift in the late 1960s to try to maneuver United States foreign policy to better deal with the Soviet Union. It was because of President Nixon’s foreign policy maneuverings that the Soviets became more agreeable to relations with United States and ten agreements were signed between United States and the Soviet Union, ushering in an era of detente. Thus, it can be said that President Nixon introduced foreign policy reforms that were to significantly shape United States foreign relations and the future course of World history.

People’s Republic of China was also inclined towards having better relations with United States because of a rift in Sino-Soviet relations that had become obvious because of the Brezhnev Doctrine that was considered as an attempt by the Soviet Union to justify its intervention in the affairs of any communist state on grounds of that state being involved in “counterrevolutionary activities” (**International Relations “Nixon, Kissinger, and the détente experiment”**). Hundreds of incidents involving armed clashes between troops from People’s Republic of China and Soviet Union had taken place on the borders of the two nations. Soviet troops deployed against China were armed with nuclear missiles and the situation was so tense that the senior Chinese leadership was inclined to play the America card.

Today, China has emerged as a major power after one hundred and fifty years of isolation and this nation is no longer destined to play a weak role on the world stage (**Shirk Chapter 1**). The map which has been presented in Figure 1 should assist the reader in determining China's position and interests in Asia – Pacific in relation to those of the other nations. Before the late nineteenth century, China had the largest economy in the world and at that time when attempts were being made to bring about positive developments in relations between United States and China, President Nixon had asked the then Pakistani President Yahiya Khan to convey his message to the then Chinese leadership that Asia could not move forward if a nation as large as China were to remain isolated (**Burr “Memorandum of Conversation between Ambassador Agha Hilaly and Harold H. Saunders 28 August, 1969”**). As a result of greater openness, assimilation and acceptance in the world community, China has now revived its economy by accepting ideas about creating a market economy and doing away with central planning. It is being said that by the middle of the twenty first century, China's economy will surpass that of United States of America although its per capita income will remain much lower than that of United States (**Shirk Pp. 4**). Thus, it is important that efforts are made to correctly handle foreign relations with China so that an understanding of views and cooperation can result in global prosperity instead of hostility and destruction. It is important that future conflicts are avoided in an interlinked world and history has taught us that mishandling relationships with rising powers can cause much destruction, conflict and suffering. Japan and Germany were the two rising powers which had caused World Wars and it can be expected that valuable insights will be gained from a study of the

evolution of United States foreign policy towards China after the historic Nixon visit that marked the beginning of a new chapter in Sino-American relations.



Figure 1: China and its Neighbors (Council on Foreign Relations Pp. xvii)

The Nixon initiative towards China has also been mentioned as a “Nixon Shock” in literature and this initiative resulted in strains in relations with other nations (**Tucker “U.S.-Japan Relations and the Opening to China”**). Japan at that time was left wondering what role it could play in the reconfiguration of Asia and it is likely that the then Soviet Union will have been forced to reconsider its foreign policy objectives within Asia and the world after the beginning of a new chapter in Sino-American relations. Relations between China and Japan had been strained after the Second World War because of the atrocities that had been allegedly committed by the Japanese troops in China. Although Pakistan and perhaps the Middle-Eastern block of countries is likely to

have gained much from an improved relationship with both China and United States, it is likely that India, an emerging economic power with a future role of its own, will have been forced to reconsider its foreign policy choices. However, it has to be understood that the Nixon visit was a first major step in the right direction and the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping had to act equally courageously to reform Chinese thinking by acting to end China's self-imposed isolation. Although much progress has been witnessed in Sino-American relations and this progress has also influenced and shaped the globe, irritants including the prospects for Taiwan, views about human rights and the effects of a rapidly expanding Chinese economy with its appetite for increasingly precious resources have also had an impact and it is likely that obstacles will continue to present themselves in the future.

Important milestones associated with Sino-US relations that have taken place since the Nixon visit that caused a thawing in relations between the countries have been summarized below (**Hoffman "Chronology of American Foreign Policy 1607-2001"**) and (**Wikipedia "Sino-American Relations"**).

- President Gerald Ford visits the People's Republic of China in 1975 and reaffirms United States interest in normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China.
- Shortly after taking office in 1977, United States President Jimmy Carter reaffirms the goals of the Shanghai Communiqué which had been proclaimed at the time of President Nixon's visit and in which the two nations had agreed to

- work together to normalize diplomatic relations. The Shanghai Communiqué had also indicated that the United States of America accepted that there is only one China, with Taiwan being a part of China, but United States of America was against the use of force by China to take over control of Taiwan. China had suggested that it accepted that the American people will continue to have unofficial contacts with the people of Taiwan.
- On December 15, 1978 an agreement is made between China and United States of America to establish diplomatic relations which takes effect from January 1, 1979. The previously mentioned date also marks the culmination of United States defense treaty with Taiwan. However, United States arms aid to Taiwan continues.
 - China's Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping visits Washington in January 1979 and after this visit many bilateral agreements were concluded.
 - United States Secretary of State Alexander Hague visits China in June 1981 to try to settle fears about the unofficial relations that existed between United States and Taiwan.
 - On August 16, 1982 the People's Republic of China enters into an agreement with the United States of America to only use peaceful means to regain Taiwan, which has long been claimed as being a part of China. A reduction in arms aid to Taiwan is agreed to by the United States of America.
 - On May 1, 1984 United States President Ronald Reagan concludes a five-day state visit to the People's Republic of China during which both countries sign agreements related to nuclear cooperation and cultural relations. China's Premier

Zhao Ziyang also made reciprocal visit to Washington after President Reagan's China visit.

- In July 1985, President Li Xiannian visits United States of America.
- In October 1985, the then United States Vice President George Bush visits China to open the fourth United States consular office in Chengdu.
- On June 3-4, 1989 the Tiananmen Square crackdown results in a United States and allied condemnation of the People's Republic of China. United States imposes a number of economic sanctions.
- On June 2, 1992 United States President George Bush extends most-favored nation-status to China.
- In 1996, attempts by the People's Republic of China to intimidate the Republic of China (Taiwan) electorate before elections by conduct of military exercises in Taiwan Strait results in United States of America sending two aircraft carrier battle groups to the region. This triggers the Third Taiwan Straits Crisis.
- In 1997 President Jiang Zemin visits United States of America.
- In May, 1999 relations between United States and the People's Republic of China become severely strained because of a mistaken bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade by United States aircraft involved in a NATO mission. Public reaction in China is severe despite United States apologies for the lives that were lost.
- On November 15, 1999 terms for China's entry into the World Trade Organization are accepted.

- On May 24, 2000 the United States Congress approves establishment of permanent trade relations with China.
- In 2001, President Bill Clinton lifts all bans on suspended trading activities in mainland China.
- People's Republic of China offers its strong public support to United States in a war against terrorism after the September 11, 2001 attacks in New York. Many People's Republic of China citizens are killed in the World Trade Center attack and Chinese firms and individuals extend their condolence to their American counterparts.
- In April 2006, China's president Hu Jintao visits United States of America.

The timeline which has been presented above suggests that despite positive overtures by United States of America, progress in relations between People's Republic of China and United States was slow. However, it has to be understood that when two huge nations had remained disentangled for decades and had in fact been actively working against each other, it was expected that it will take some time for the past to be forgotten and for a reconstruction for the future to commence. People all over the world can only be thankful that positive action by United States foreign policy makers did much to create a more secure world in which wars were avoided and a spirit of reconstruction prevailed.

It should be clear from the timeline which has been presented above that the following have been important in Sino-American relations:

- Taiwan and the idea of one China.
- Chinese support of its allies in Asia, including Vietnam and North-Korea.
- United States support of its allies including those from Taiwan.
- Past bitterness, including those arising from the Korean War and actions of nations that are now American allies, including Japan.
- Human rights and the duality of the views about human rights that exists within the two nations.
- China's desire to link with global trade, including trade with United States and an American desire to search for its economic interests in the Chinese market.
- Efforts that are directed towards preserving global peace and regional security.
- Economic development and bilateral as well as multilateral cooperation.

Within the recent past, Sino-American accommodation has continued and with the elevation of new leadership in Beijing, the momentum in US-China ties has been improved (**Pollack Pp. 6**). A core ingredient of China's foreign policy is now resource security and China wants to ensure that it has access to vital resources that are needed for its economic expansion and that these resources are available at a reasonable price (**Zweig Pp. 2-27**). United States has the capacity for threatening China's access to vital resources that are increasingly being sought from locations that are far-flung from China and the burgeoning trade deficit with China is a cause for concern within United States itself. However, Sino-American cooperation is increasingly being considered as being vital and no leader from within the two nations wants to revisit the bitter issues of the past. Taiwan, North Korea, terrorism and trade are the new issues and China is more

inclined towards the economic development of the nation. Thus, a policy of accommodation on both sides has worked well and it is unlikely that either of the two nations will be distracted by major issues that will shift the focus of the leaders away from the economic uplift of their nations.

The timeline of important developments in Sino-American relations clearly presents a series of successes and setbacks as well as an indication of points on which the two sides have agreed or disagreed. Clearly, accommodations had to be made and a reconciliation of the views held by the two nations was necessary for progress to be made possible. It is, therefore, important to examine what compromises were made by the two nations as they thrashed out a future role for themselves and tried to adapt each other's views on matters that not only had an impact on their mutual interests, but also on other nations and peoples from all over the globe. After all, foreign policy formulation has to reconcile realities over which a nation has little control and the national interest of a nation to decide that which will work best under a set of real world constraints. It is only after an attempt has been made to examine the positions of the two nations over issues on which they disagreed which were of a certain importance to them that it will be possible to decide on how the bilateral relations between the two nations evolved after the thaw in relations that was the result of President Nixon's visit.

Foreign policy emerges because of deciding about how best to deal with the views and interests of other nations and this means that a study of the way in which United States of America compromised with China and sought to protect its own interest is likely to

decide about the evolution of the US foreign policy towards People's Republic of China. In view of the fact that United States foreign policy is being considered in this dissertation, it is only right that attempts be made to research how United States of America compromised with China over time after an inclination to do so.

Perhaps a study of the major issues that were of importance to United States of America with regard to China and how these issues were negotiated will provide an indication of the manner in which the United States foreign policy with respect to China was shaped. A list of the important issues in Sino-American that are able to be identified from the timeline has already been presented previously. It has to be remembered that China had been existing in a self-imposed isolation and the Nixon visit to China was a milestone that signaled that the two nations had a need to come closer to each other and to iron out their differences for a better future for both. The problems that United States of America faced in Vietnam and the desire of the American people to live in a stable world in which they could continue to play a leading role, but also depend on their allies and other nations to share in the burdens associated with maintaining global order forced America to approach China. China, on the other hand, was interested in providing real benefits to its people, reducing threats to its security and achieving decent economic standards. At the time of President Nixon's visit to China, America with half its troops in Vietnam and a continued presence in Taiwan, South Korea and Japan presented a challenge to the security of China (**Hanhimaki Pp. 56 – 67**). However, it was decided by the Chinese leadership that it was "the Soviet revisionists" rather than the American "imperialists" who presented a more serious threat to the security of People's Republic of China. The

Soviet threat and the failure of the all communist countries to reach a consensus about their ideology provided China with an impetus to do some rethinking and to change its stance on foreign policy and domestic issues. Without a normalization of relations with United States of America, China was likely to find that it could not have rapidly expanded its economy and conducted lucrative trade with the Western bloc nations. Thus, both nations acted in a practicable manner to further their interests, but any progress and a shift in their positions was gradual, well considered and well calculated.

In the light of what has been argued previously, it is perhaps apt that a discussion about how changes related to the major issues affecting bilateral relations between People's Republic of China and United States of America were brought about. It is these changes that decide the foreign policy of United States of America towards People's Republic of China. Chinese perspectives and those of other nations with some sort of an interest in the evolving situation are obviously important and have to be considered. Thus, the chapters that follow discuss progress on specific major issues that were ironed out and how a United States position on these issues emerged to become a part of this nation's foreign policy towards China.

It can be argued that United States foreign policy with respect to People's Republic of China has been shaped by a desire to contain the former Soviet Union in all parts of the world, bring about global peace by maintaining regional security through allies who can be assisted to play a regional security role and to reduce the burden on United States while promoting global prosperity, progress and respect for human rights. Encouraging

global business and trade while protecting the security and other interests of key American allies have been important principles in all United States policy decisions.

Discussion that has been presented in the chapters that follow is expected to show that the previously mentioned thesis statement is correct and that decisions that were taken by United States leadership has been supportive of the previously mentioned objectives. It has to be understood that the previously mentioned objectives have been in the interest of United States of America and the world at large. A demilitarized and peaceful world is far more likely to be in a position to confront the grave problems that face humanity including disease, poverty and problems arising out of dwindling resources as compared to a world which has its attention fixed on past bitterness and useless conflict.

It has to be appreciated that the ever changing global situation that is shaped by developments from all around the world needs a constant review of foreign policy. Issues that have been settled are replaced by new pressing issues that must be confronted if the future of humanity and the interests of the American and Chinese people are to be served. Food, energy and economic issues as well as issues related to the longer term sustenance of life on the planet earth, which is not just populated by the human species, are now becoming far more pressing and cooperation to solve such complex problems is sorely needed. Thus, it can be expected that new ideas and new leadership will be needed to shape bilateral and multilateral relations. It will be most inappropriate for a study on United States foreign policy towards China, which is a major global power, not to include

something on the likely new developments. Thus, this dissertation has included a discussion of the likely future directions for relations between the two nations.

The next chapter presents a discussion about foreign policy issues related to Taiwan, Vietnam, Soviet Union and the bitterness in China.

Chapter 2 – Taiwan, Vietnam, Soviet Union and the Bitterness in China

During the Cold War period, United States antagonism towards China was the result of a desire to contain the spread of communism and the North Korean inspired attack on South Korea was considered as being an attempt by the Sino-Soviet alliance to further spread communism in the region (**Schulzinger Chapter 15**). The hate that had been built up after the Second World War and the ideological commitment that had existed in communist nations made it impossible for any negotiated settlement or accommodation to be tried with the communist nations because these nations were still in the process of

trying to discover what their ideology could provide to them and thus they remained fanatically committed to the communist thinking. It was the revulsion of communism that had caused United States of America to deal with the nationalist regime of the Republic of China in Taiwan after the communist revolution in mainland China and the communist revolutionaries on the mainland had been largely left alone. The ideological differences had resulted in certain bitterness about United States within People's Republic of China. It is possible that the reasons for a communist revolution in a populous country like China with great disparity in wealth may have been valid and provided some hope to the peasant masses that had little hope in their lives then. After all, no thinker had proposed anything better than the communist theories of Lenin to bring hope into the lives of the millions who had to toil for nothing while the upper classes enjoyed their privileges that were maintained on the misery of the lower classes. An egalitarianism system simply did not exist at the time and no one had experimented with anything better than communism. No model of a system of government that presented affirmative action and sympathy for downtrodden masses was available and the world was too busy fighting a World War.

There was precious little that United States or anyone else could do to prevent the mainland China from turning communist after the Second World War and the only symbolic resistance that could be offered was to ignore the government of the mainland to deal with the Taiwanese. However, the communist alliance wanted to present their ideology to others who may have felt a certain attraction for this because of reasons that were similar to what had caused communist revolutions to take place in China and the Soviet Union. North Korea too felt an attraction for communism and manipulated the

Sino-Soviet alliance into supporting it after the Japanese rule had left economic conditions that offered no other hope for the majority of the downtrodden masses who had been heavily taxed to pay the Japanese war reparations since the Sino-Japanese War of 1937 and the Japanese occupation during the Second World War (**Korea, history of “End of the Japanese Rule”**). Division of the Korean Peninsula between the Soviets and the Americans had occurred as a result of a natural outcome of the Second World War when the Japanese forces North of the 38th parallel were required to surrender to the Soviet forces and those that were South of the previously mentioned parallel were required to surrender to the Americans.

Reunification of Korea had been proposed by the United Nations through a process of elections, but the Soviet controlled North had been converted into a communist state by the Soviets who had also provided North Korea with a superior military capability, while South Korea was left with a sound democratic government, but little to match the might of the North Korean Army after an American pullout (**Korea, history of “The Korean War”**). It was only after the American forces had left South Korea that North Korea invaded the South in an attempt to unify Korea and to impose its own communist doctrine on the nation. United States had to return to South Korea to counter the communist threat and the United Nations was able to pass a resolution condemning the North Korean attack because the Soviet Union could not veto this resolution because its United Nations envoy was boycotting to protest against a lack of Chinese representation in this world body. A United Nations counterattack against the North Koreans led by the American forces was to see American and Chinese forces clash directly as forces from

People's Republic of China intervened in the Korean conflict in an attempt to support the communist North and United Nations forces led by the Americans were pushed back to the 38th parallel, with the situation in the divided Korea remaining the same to this day.

Clearly, the conflict between United States and China was the result of a difference that had arisen over communist ideology and it is possible that in fact the whole communist ideology may have been the result of more profound differences in the ways in which peoples of the communist and the capitalist blocks wanted to live. It is entirely possible that even culture and cognitive values as well as a desire to impose values on others may have had something to do with the conflict between the two blocks. Communism being a totalitarian system which did not allow any dissent is likely to appear as being abhorrent to many who wanted freedom and a broader leeway in being able to decide about how they should live and shape their future. United States of America was trying to help those who wanted to be free and to decide their own future rather being shaped by a forced ideology imposed on them by others without any regard for their natural freedom of choice. Thus, two cultures, two ideologies and two ways of lives were clashing on the global stage and both sides had to protect their own interests and how they wanted to live. It is not just communism and capitalism that have fought it out in history and Catholicism, Islam and Hinduism have also been forced on others in many countries with the results being decided by the force that could be mustered by various sides. Perhaps, this is why it is better to have a secular system which allows individuals to have a broader leeway in deciding about their values.

Unfortunately, insights take time to develop and the bitterness that is created as a result of wars in which millions have died on both sides cannot be swept away quickly. Thus, communism and capitalism was to clash again in Vietnam, an insignificant piece of territory which was not worth much to anyone except for its ideological value. However, even in Vietnam, military victory belonged to the side which had proximity advantage, a willingness to commit massive force and to take casualties. Unfortunately, communism could not be defeated by force, but only by the consequences of following an ideology that was supremely flawed because it could not reward the abilities, sacrifices and the work of its followers to bring about a prosperity that was desirable to them. If only a middle ground could have been found in which an affirmative system of government were to be developed that provided hope to mass poverty and sympathy to the people with an ability to bring about a fairer sharing of societal resources through prevention of capitalist greed, huge conflicts may have been avoided. After all, the ideology behind the post Second World War welfare states in the West cannot be considered as being purely capitalist. Pure capitalism is a harsh system in which only the fittest are likely to survive.

The cost of war and a realization that continued military engagement was unlikely to provide anything to either of the two nations forced both nations to try a nonmilitary engagement approach in which interaction was to shape relations. However, nationalism which has been described as being the strongest political force of the twentieth century, and Chinese experience with foreign powers required that China try to remove foreign interference from within the region in its proximity (**Brittingham Chapter 1**). Thus, the issue of Taiwan and even United States relations with Japan were matters of concern to

China when President Nixon tried a rapprochement. However, United States confronted China's concerns by making it clear that it was proper that attempts to influence other nations should now shift from attempts to influence by force to attempts that are made to influence by cooperation, interaction, cultural exchange and trade. Also, United States policy clearly required that large nations ought not to impose their choices on peoples who had a right to decide about their future. Thus, although United States had clearly indicated that Taiwan was a part of China, it also pointed out that the will of the people of Taiwan was something that ought to be respected. The emphasis had shifted from the use of force to the use of interaction, exchange of ideas and mutual learning.

It was clearly necessary to draw out People's Republic of China into the community of nations if attempts to persuade the Chinese about spreading influence without the use of force were to succeed. Containment was now required to be conducted by presenting rewards to those who were promising as future allies. Thus, United States of America tried to help China get a wider recognition in the Western world (**Bolen Pp. 1- 20**).

Although political discourse and cooperation was made possible because of the exchange of ambassadors, availability of representatives from People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the discussions that took place in high-level summits, it was also necessary to explain to People's Republic of China the implications of any future conflicts within its region of influence. Thus, it was sometimes necessary to sacrifice rapport between the two countries to explain the position of United States of America and China's saber rattling over Taiwan had to result in some saber rattling by United States.

Regional stability, reduction of tensions between China and Taiwan, maintenance of United States regional influence and the protection of United States and global economic interests are important United States interests in East Asia. Thus, it was important to make it clear to China that the new trans-Pacific interdependency had created a situation in which it was necessary for all individual nations to be healthy if the region could be prosperous. Thus, United States and China now have vested economic interests in each other, with a host of other nations. Trade was not the only glue that held nations together and many Chinese students who were granted visas to study in the United States of America and the West made it possible for people to people exchange to take place. It was expected by United States and its allies that exchanges such as those that have been described previously were likely to increase the pace of a domestic transformation of People's Republic of China. The previously mentioned activities that were taking place between China and United States made it possible for the two nations to put the Taiwan issue on the back burner and to concentrate on the future. However, the Taiwan issue did assumed a certain importance when conflict of values about human rights and other issues resulted in a certain setback in relations between the two nations during the second half of the 1980s (**Schulzinger Pp. 266**).

It will appear that an early euphoria did exist on the American side about China and Secretary of State Mr. Alexander Hague described China as being "the most important country in the world" (**Schulzinger Pp. 266**). However, although improved relations between China and United States did serve to act as a certain lever to discourage the Soviet Union from taking a more aggressive stance, an improvement in relations between

United States and Soviet Union were the result of direct negotiations between the two countries. Thus, George P. Schultz, who was to succeed Alexander Haig, considered Japan as being the core of American relations in Asia. Events were later to suggest that the value of China as a United States ally was of limited use when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in a continued attempt to expand its communist ideology. Clearly, Soviet Union had to be dealt with separately after China had been neutralized as its ally.

An analysis of China's decision making will suggest that this country is interested in improved relations with the United States and the West because this is what is more likely to provide it with the greatest chance of success in its ambition for economic development and the uplift of its people. However, China's foreign policy, unlike that of United States, is conducted more for practical reasons of self-interest rather than for any ideological reasons. China has unique problems of its own and these demand novel solutions that can sometimes irritate Western sensitivities which are reflected in disagreements about human rights issues. China has not offered any major concessions to United States to bring about an improvement in bilateral relations and both powers have reached an accommodation over Taiwan while forgetting the past bitterness of Vietnam and the alliances of the Cold War period is because China can ill afford to lose its lucrative markets and to have its vital commodity routes being threatened. Thus, although China can cause a serious problem for United States if it chooses to exert its military muscle across the Taiwan Strait in the ASEAN region, this is likely to result in a devastation which neither country can afford. A new understanding with United States of America and the West has not prevented China from maintaining an arms buildup that

tries to preserve a deterrence capability against United States aircraft carrier fleet by buying from Soviets and United States also constantly tries to improve the technology which can be deployed against forces which present a combat threat (**Bolen Pp. 10**).

The collapse of the former Soviet Union has discouraged Chinese belligerence in the Taiwan Strait and the danger of a Chinese invasion of Taiwan has been tried to be neutralized by United States which has supplied modern Air Force weapons to Taiwan, including 150 F-16 fighters which are fully capable (**Bolen Pp. 33-45**) and (**Wikipedia “Taiwan Relations Act”**). The modernization of the Taiwanese air force was undertaken during the time of the present Bush administration. Taiwan has been offered all the military assistance that it needs to defend itself with an American commitment to defend the island in the event of a Chinese invasion. The Taiwan Relations Act was passed by the United States Congress in 1979 during the administration of President Jimmy Carter and this act tried to preserve quasi-diplomatic relations between United States and Taiwan by giving special powers to the American Institute in Taiwan which turned this institute into a de facto embassy. The act provides that Taiwan should be treated the same as a foreign country or nation under United States laws and that this territory will be provided arms of a defensive nature to ensure that it can protect itself. Taiwan within the meaning of the Taiwan Relations Act is considered as consisting of the islands of Formosa (the main Island) and the Pescadores, without to Kinmen or Matsu being included. The act declares that any attempt to undermine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means will be regarded by United States as a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific which will be a matter of grave concern to America, but

falls short of mandating an American involvement or response to any crisis. Thus, an indication exists that United States of America will side by Taiwan if People's Republic China were to invade the Republic of China, which is also known as Taiwan.

The Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 can be considered as being a representation of the will of the American people and a direction by the Congress to the Executive Branch of the country that it should continue to defend Taiwan (**Shirk Chapter 7**). However, unfortunately the issue of Taiwan and its reunification with China arouses equally strong passions among the masses in People's Republic of China. Thus, it is difficult for the leaders of the two nations to reach a clear consensus on the issue because of matters related to political expediency.

The administration of President Bush had offered an array of weapons systems to Taiwan to ensure that Republic of China retained a capacity for effective defense in the event of a Chinese invasion (**Wikipedia "Taiwan Relations Act"**). However, the government of the Republic of China, or Taiwan, has settled for a modernized air force and prefers to depend on the tacit guarantees provided by United States of America under the Taiwan Relations Act. In any case, it is unlikely that an unnecessary buildup of arms on both sides of the Taiwan Strait will have served the interest of anyone in the region. The Chinese people are more interested in economic development and peaceful coexistence rather than useless wars which bring destruction and setback. Thus, although China has considered the Taiwan Relations Act as being "an unwarranted intrusion by United States into the internal affairs of China" a delicate balance of power and accommodation has

existed in the region from all sides. Clearly, if China were to attack Taiwan, the Western Alliance, led by United States acting through United Nations cannot only intervene, but it can also block Chinese access to global markets and the supply of vital resources, such as crude oil, to China (**Zweig Pp. 2 – 27**). Thus, the terms of the Shanghai Communiqué have been fulfilled, but United States has found a way to ensure that the democratic will of the people of Taiwan cannot be trampled on. Taiwan is free to join China and in fact United States has accepted that Taiwan is a part of China, but Taiwan will join China on its terms and when it so wants.

It will appear that the bitterness of the past has now been largely forgotten by both China and United States of America and both sides now consider it far more important to bring about meaningful economic and trade development as well as prosperity to all (**United States Department of State Background Note: China**). United States has paid a price for wooing China by providing market access to China and the Chinese have used this opportunity nicely to compete effectively. It can only be said that perhaps paying this price was far more fitting for all compared to spending huge sums on engaging in destructive wars which will also have resulted in colossal loss of human lives without any real and meaningful progress. Because of the increased contacts between Chinese and American people and leaders, it can now be expected that People's Republic of China will have understood the United States of America and the West far better in the present century. Thus, China can now be expected to contribute more to global peace, stability and development.

China has in fact showed that it is able to contribute towards promoting an understanding between the Western alliance and its former allies in Asia. North Korea has posed a problem to global peace and security although United States of America has agreed in principle that the Korean peninsula should be reunited. However, the terms of reunification are to be negotiated between North and South Korea and United States will not accept any attempts towards reunification that are contrary to the will of the South Korean people or which involve the use of force. People's Republic of China was instrumental in pressuring North Korea to take part in the Three-Party and Six-Party conferences that were held in Beijing in the year 2003. A second round of Six-Party Talks were held in Beijing in 2004 and further rounds followed with a fifth round taking place in November, 2005 and a sixth round of talks was conducted in December 2006 after a lengthy break because of the problems that occurred as a result of testing a nuclear device by North Korea on October 9, 2006. Such dialogue has resulted in some progress in North Korea scaling down its nuclear program (**United States Department of State "Background Note: North Korea"**). Clearly, China has substantial interests in the Korean Peninsula because it regards Korea as a buffer to its security and, China has enormous leverage on North Korea which it has not chosen to exercise. Nearly 80-90% of the fuel needs of North Korea are imported from China which also provides for about a third of the food needs of this country. However, it has to be understood that China has historical links with North Korea and it does not want to apply pressure, preferring to let things continue without creating unnecessary problems.

United States relations with Vietnam have also been normalized and the recent visit to Vietnam by President Bush placed an emphasis on trade between the two countries (**United States Department of State “Background Note: Vietnam”**). Relations between China and Vietnam had soured after Vietnam invaded Cambodia and China launched a retaliatory incursion into Northern Vietnam. China was also not pleased with a ban that Vietnam had imposed on private trade that mostly had an impact on the Sino-Vietnamese trade. Vietnam had responded by trying to tilt towards the Soviet Union, but after the breakup of this superpower, all aid from the former Soviet Union to Vietnam was cut off. Relations between China and Vietnam have also been soured because of conflicting maritime claims in the South China Sea involving the Spratly and Parcel Islands that are said to be potentially rich in oil. Thus, it can be inferred that Vietnam is now not a significant cause for either United States of America or China and does not influence United States foreign policy towards China as it used to.

Within the recent past, People’s Republic of China has supported coalition efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq and United States of America believes that China has an important role to play in global, regional and bilateral counterterrorism efforts (**United States Department of State “Background Note: China”**).

It can be concluded that the bitterness of the past has largely been forgotten and United States and China are now looking towards the future in which new challenges will present themselves. Clearly, the United States policy of opening China to the world and

making this isolated country interact with its allies has worked. United States policy towards China has been consistent for the past several years and it is unlikely that any radical departure from this policy can be envisaged.

United States foreign policy in the recent past has focused on trying to create conditions that favor freedom and political as well as economic liberty (**United States Department of State “United States National Security Strategy: A New Era”**). America has followed its stated aims of trying to create good relations between the superpowers and both China and the United States will have to continue to cooperate to try to extend the benefits of freedom and prosperity across the globe. Making the world more secure is a stated aim of the United States foreign policy and within the recent past the United States has tried to seek the cooperation of the Chinese in achieving this aim. United States of America recognizes that national security and economic prosperity are linked with each other and that it will have to work with its allies around the world to achieve global prosperity for the future. Relations between China and United States of America are shaping up well and it can be expected that United States can depend on the support of China in the future, at least on issues related to global security. However, it is likely that global trade issues may cause problems in an era in which access to energy resources will have a marked impact on nations all over the world.

The next chapter of this dissertation presents an examination of considerations related to global security and the impact of these on United States foreign policy towards the Peoples Republic of China.

Chapter 3 – Global Security Issues

United State's reconciliation with People's Republic of China can be construed as being the result of a realization that a need existed for the United States to share the burdens associated with preserving global peace and security. America had realized that armed conflict in East Asia was unlikely to provide long-term peace and security and that United States could not continue to meet the human and material cost associated with protracted military engagements in far-flung regions of the world. Thus, reconciliation

with China was at least likely to improve security in the region surrounding this country which had seen some of the bloodiest conflict of that time. However, a balance of power was still needed because it is unlikely that China will not have taken an advantage of any opportunity that was presented to it in order to settle long-term disputes within the region, such as the one about Taiwan. Thus, mistrust existed in the relationship between the two superpowers and this lack of trust continues (**Glaser “Strategic Partnership or Strategic Competition”**). After all a convergence of values in the relationship between the two countries had not existed at the time of President Nixon’s visit, although it could be hoped that over time the two nations were to move closer.

At the time of President Nixon’s visit to China, this country could be regarded as being a regional power and although China was a regional threat, it could not be considered as being a direct military threat to the United States (**Pollack Pp. 635 – 650**). In the 1950s and the 1960s, United States considered China as its main military adversary in East Asia. The conflict in Korea, Vietnam and the danger in Taiwan Strait was the main cause for this assessment. However, the Sino-Soviet conflict resulted in United States military strategists considering China as a potentially useful nation in attempts to control Soviet expansionism. At that time, the backwardness of the Chinese military technology caused United States to consider China as not being a threat that could not be controlled.

Development of the military in China during the 1970s and the 1980s continued at an inconsequential pace and its nuclear technology transfers to Pakistan were not considered as being threatening to United States interests, because such transfers created a certain balance of power in the region. Also, China was more interested in economic

development rather than in improving its military strength. In fact, certain cooperation had existed between the two nations and transfer of military technology to China was being considered. However, the Tiananmen incident on June 5, 1989 changed all that and a freeze on military cooperation between the United States and People's Republic of China was implemented. A lack of airpower and a poorly equipped navy only made Chinese land forces capable of projecting power in the neighboring area.

The Chinese capacity to strike at targets outside the mainland was improved by a purchase of Soviet Su-27 combat aircrafts, but this threat was neutralized by United States providing Taiwan with F-16 aircrafts. Also, normalization of Sino-Soviet relations meant that China itself did not face any identifiable threat to its borders. However, with an expansion of China's interests around the world and a need to protect trade and vital resource imports from as faraway as Africa, a new dimension was introduced into the Chinese national security interests. China is still a global superpower with a capacity to strike in any part of the world, as is demonstrated by the range of its ballistic missiles as presented in the figure below. Thus, China's military planners were now contending with issues that involved range, lethality and accuracy issues related to weapons systems without which China could not actively protect its vital interests. China displayed its nascent military power during the Taiwan Strait crisis, but its military had not advanced to a stage where it could not be neutralized by the superior capability of United States weapons. The array of Short-Range Ballistic Missiles, SRBMs, deployed on both sides of the Taiwan Strait and the demonstrated superiority of the United States weapons systems in the Iraq war causes China some concern which has resulted in serious attempts to

modernize its weapons systems (**Congressional Research Service “Annual Report on the Military Power of the People’s Republic of China”**) and (**Congressional Research Service “Chinese Naval Modernization: Implications for U.S. Navy Capabilities”**).

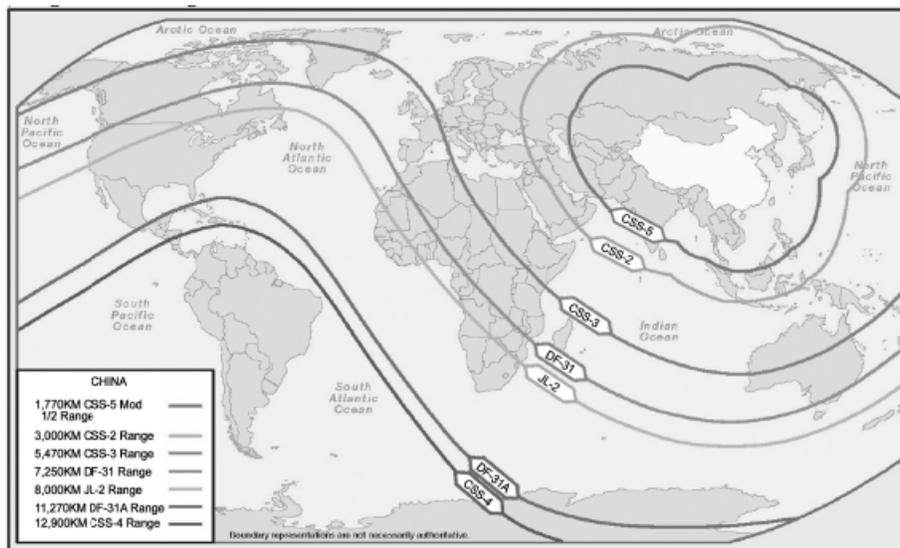


Figure 2: China’s Ballistic Missile Strike Capability (Council on Foreign Relations Pp. 99)

Although it can be argued that the Chinese attempts towards a modernization of its armed forces are legitimate, concerns do exist that such modernization should not tilt the balance of power in favor of People’s Republic of China, especially when the Taiwan crisis has not yet been resolved and a resource constricted world may create regional conflicts over resources (**Congressional Research Service “Chinese Naval Modernization: Implications for U.S. Navy Capabilities”**). United States response has been to try to develop smarter weapons system that will preserve its military edge and to try to preserve a closer rapport with its militarily weaker but closer allies in the region,

such as Japan. Although, it is likely that Chinese attempts towards a modernization of its armed forces will not lead to a direct confrontation with United States, China will be in a position to play a bigger and more stabilizing role in the Asia - Pacific region. China can, as an example, be in a position to reign in regional problem nations, such as North Korea, but this country has developed a nuclear capability and this means that it is more susceptible to economic sanctions rather than open warfare. However, smart weapons systems which China wants to develop, such as the so called “mace weapons”, which will seemingly return after inflicting damage on the enemy to be used again, can damage nuclear capabilities by inflicting a far greater damage on an enemy on its territory than allowing a nuclear strike. However, it has to be appreciated that such smart weapons have not yet been developed and that China is still dependent on Russia for the supply of more sophisticated weapons, such as aircrafts, missile systems and naval vessels.

Perhaps the freeze on the sale of weapon systems to China succeeded in this country slowing down the rate of modernization of Chinese armed forces, but such an act also meant that China was forced to adapt Russia as its arms supplier. However, China has been lobbying the European Union to provide it with modern weapons systems that cannot be sourced from United States of America. Also, China has tried to improve relations with India, which has an edge in software technology and a capacity for developing smart weapons systems. Thus, although China has no designs towards a destabilization of its region of influence, this country can still use its influence to preserve security within the Asia - Pacific region (**Pollack “Chinese Military Power: What Vexes the United States and Why?”**).

Although efforts that are being made to modernize the Chinese armed forces will have the effect of limiting a deep strike capability on the part of the United States or other powers, such as Russia, clearly an agenda exists for the future and both United States and China will have to come to a solution based on reason that adjusts each other's views and provides security and stability for all. Wars, especially superpower conflicts, will be even more expensive to fight in an era of dwindling crude and it is far more correct for nations to try to find sustainable energy solutions for energy problems rather than to try to hide their heads in the sand and dream that biofuels produced from agricultural produce will be in a position to power aircraft battle groups, tank brigades and air forces. Perhaps, the era of major conflicts may be over, but this too depends on the intellectual understanding that has developed because of contact with People's Republic of China. Thus, at least the visit by President Nixon did open new horizons and hope. It is likely that the superpowers will come to a practical understanding over global security and other issues, but these superpowers will have to preserve regional peace as the lesser nations try to come to terms with each other. The Asia-Pacific still remains an outstanding security dilemma that has simmering conflicts (**Benjian Pp. 1-10**). Clearly, it is going to be counterproductive to drive the Taiwan Strait region into a vicious cycle of arms buildup and this means that some accommodation and compromises are needed by all parties to the issue. Perhaps, the only logical solution for Taiwan will be to continue with its status quo and it is likely that everyone will recognize that the political boundaries that have already been settled cannot be altered except by paying a heavy price.

It is likely that most states in the Asia-Pacific will continue to depend on their defense pacts with United States of America to ensure their security against the rising power of China and Russia (**Odgaard Pp. 33**). However, this is increasingly likely to mean that these states will have to rearm and contribute more towards a joint defense alliance because this is what is needed as a natural outgrowth of their location. A regional and global security arrangement is likely to be required because resource depletion will mean that chances of conflict between nations will increase and it is this resource depletion which will make it difficult for every nation-state to cater adequately for its own security and that of its vested interests. Also, because United States of America has managed to secure a far superior technology advantage over nearly every other nation, a defense arrangement with this nation only makes sense to those nations which have a settled alliance with America. Developing credible weapons is not a cheap undertaking and some nations have such incapable governments that even with all the aid that has been provided to them, they remain unable to devise the simplest technology or to achieve any significant achievement in their economic development. Thus, it is likely that United States of America will decide about what arms should be deployed within nations and ask a national government to foot the bill, while holding the key to the overall security arrangement itself. The Russians are already finding it difficult to foot the bill for developing new weapons systems that can match what lies for the future within the United States led alliance and although both India and Russia may cooperate to develop more intelligent weapons systems, the Chinese are still lagging behind the Russians and the Americans. Whereas the Russians are finding it difficult to fund their next generation fighter, the Su-47 and its clones, America and its allies have already formed a consortium

that has successfully rolled out the next generation fighter aircraft, the F-35 and much more is in store for the future (**Turkish Under secretariat For Defense Industries “F-35 Joint Strike Fighter”**) and (**India Defense “Sukhoi Su-47 (PAK-FA)”**). The Asia - Pacific region will certainly be in need of security because nations like Japan, China, South Korea and even Singapore and Malaysia will be importing raw material for processing and exporting processed products to other nations.

Although People’s Republic of China is at present more of a regional power, it has to be appreciated that it has interests in Central and South Asia also, apart from the Asia - Pacific region (**Odgaard Pp. 38-40**). However, United States is more interested in preserving stability in the previously mentioned regions of the world, even at the expense of democracy. It is likely that United States will have opted to build an alliance with India, only if that country was not too entrenched into an alliance with the former Soviet Union and now the Russia. However, it is unlikely that United States will have helped India to become a regional power by providing arms, because it is not in the interest of America to create excessively armed nations around the world who do not somehow subscribe to the American value system and ideology. However, India has always had a certain wish to be a regional power and to project its ideals based on Hinduism and it is this which has kept this nation away from both United States and China. Also, a territorial dispute with China which ended in a military clash and a realization that an alliance with the former Soviet Union was to offer more to India resulted in India not coming to terms with either China or United States of America. Thus, America has

remained aligned to Pakistan, as has China and this alliance has been useful in containing communist expansionism in the region.

Despite its alliance with United States and China, Pakistan government and the Pakistani people have been most inept in that they have not been able to further their interests because of this opportunity, insisting instead to remain aligned to a theological ideology which has failed everywhere and has so destroyed the Pakistani culture that no sane individual will even want to visit this country of crazies who are the least successful, the least productive and the least innovative of all nations aligned to the United States (**“Pakistan” Britannica Book of the Year Article**). All governments in Pakistan, whether democratic or authoritarian, have lacked brilliance and can be described in terms of feudalists who have wanted to hold on to power and a control of the agrarian economy at all cost to create a hell which is explained away to its people in terms of Islam with government incompetency being dumped on any nation which has expressed an interest in this country. Thus, within the context of Southeast Asia, United States is happy if it can keep communism at bay, while People’s Republic of China is contented if it can continue to sell its products to the miserable Pakistanis who have nothing to sell to anyone else. In fact, it is likely that democracy in Pakistan has ill served this nation which has only used democracy to create a corrupt government machine that fails to deliver anything and whose members are the disgusting products of poverty with no abilities that could ever have propelled this nation forward.

When Mr. Huntington, a senior American diplomat visited India after its nuclear test, he openly proposed that India will be best served by developing a relationship with United States, otherwise it could live under China's shadow or India could choose to remain insolated and be marginalized (**Benjian Pp. 8-10**). However, India decided to work matters out with United States and with Russia and this nation has made much progress since then. United States has understood the role of India in containing China and it will appear that Pakistan will be forced to live under everybody's shadow because of its policies and this country will remain feudal without a hope of ever having a true democracy that even comes near the leadership that China has been able to develop (**Chinavitae.org "Biographies"**). The right thinking about democracy has never been ingrained in several United States allies, including Pakistan and regrettably, as a result of this the masses remain incapable. It will appear that despite communism, a true democracy and an ability to promote talent exists in China and that this ability to develop a democratic leadership is lacking in many of United States allies. It will appear that United States of America does not care that much about democracy and that this nation is more about stability and its interests.

Democracy has also been neglected by United States in Central Asia, which still lives within the shadow of Russia and it is unlikely that either China or United States will ever clash on this part of the world. Thus, the main problems for United States and People's Republic of China are within Asia - Pacific, although it is likely that because of an increasingly resource scarce world, some conflict of interest may develop between the two nations in Africa (**Foreign Policy in Focus "China in Focus – China in Africa"**).

Multilateral treaties that limit the use of weapons of mass destruction play an important role in ensuring that should conflict occur, a broader danger of massive destruction to humanity can somehow be averted (**Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy**

“Multilateral Treaties are Fundamental Tools for Protecting Global Security: United States Faces Choice of Bolstering these Regimes or Allowing their Erosion”).

After the visit by President Nixon to China, reintegration of People’s Republic of China into the global community has also meant that China has ratified or acceded to several international treaties about weapons of mass destruction. Clearly, the high-level dialogue between the leaders of United States and People’s Republic of China must have had some influence on the decision by People’s Republic of China to sign such treaties and it is likely that the ratification or accession to such treaties will have helped with the growth of cordial relations between the two countries.

People’s Republic of China ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention, which limits the use of chemical weapons of mass destruction, in 1997 (**Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy “Multilateral Treaties are Fundamental Tools for Protecting Global Security: United States Faces Choice of Bolstering these Regimes or Allowing their Erosion”**).

China had acceded to the Biological Weapons Convention in 1984 and it had also acceded to the Nonproliferation Treaty in 1992. The Nonproliferation Treaty obligates those nations that are declared nuclear states to disarm by pursuing a course of negotiations in good faith, but it has to be noted that both United States and Russia are in violation of its disarmament provisions because they have continued to maintain a

stockpile of nuclear tipped ballistic missiles against each other. However, the Nonproliferation Treaty also requires that states which have acceded to it will not assist with the proliferation of nuclear weapons technology for producing nuclear weapons. Thus, by signing the Nonproliferation Treaty, People's Republic of China has provided some guarantees to the world community that it intends to maintain policies that will prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons among those states that do not have such weapons and that its nuclear program will not be used to provide other states with weapons of mass destruction. However, People's Republic of China has not ratified the Mines Ban Treaty which prohibits antipersonnel land mines and this treaty has also not been ratified by United States of America. The United Nations Framework on Climate Control and the Kyoto Protocol which were designed to prevent activities that are destructive of the environment have also been ratified and signed by People's Republic of China in 1993 and 1998 respectively. However, People's Republic of China has not ratified or acceded to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court that attempts to bolster global security by deterring large-scale atrocities or mass terrorism.

Clearly, because of the accession or ratification of a number of multilateral treaties by People's Republic of China, it can be expected that this country will not take advantage of smaller states in trying to ferment terror or nuclear threats within its region of influence. Thus, the superpower confrontation in Asia - Pacific will likely remain just that, a superpower confrontation and it is unlikely that those nations which have been aligned to China will enter into a military confrontation with United States at the behest of China.

It is very likely that China has indulged in a modernization of its armed forces so that it can continue to adopt a more confident posture in regional and global issues. However, it is also clear that People's Republic of China has no intention of building up its armed forces in order to either compete with United States of America or to play a role of a global policeman. In order to maintain an assertive posture within the region, People's Republic of China has gyrated between United States of America and the former Soviet Union so that it can continue to maintain a modest deterrent capability. The embargo against the sale of arms to China left this country with no other option but to negotiate with Russia. However, China has tried to take advantage of the fragmented nature of the European Union, which is a loose coalition of European nations with their own interests and the trade rivalry between United States of America and the European Union to try to gain arms from European Union countries (**Cabestan Pp. 11-38**). Although various nations within the European Union have responded slightly differently, the broad European Union position in regard to China, especially relating to Taiwan and human rights, is almost identical to that of United States and this means that perhaps China's capacity to defend itself and to exert a moderating influence within the region has been bolstered, it is unlikely that such sales of weapons from the European Union will alter the balance of power in the region. Lobbying by the United States and obligations arising out of NATO membership have had a moderating influence on the European states who are also concerned about the widening trade deficit that they have accumulated in their trade with China.

It is the stated policy of United States of America to try to maintain agendas for cooperative action with other main centers of global power and this means that the Western alliance has tried to improve relations with both Russia and China (**President of the United States of America Pp. 35-43**) and (**Laos Pp. 2 – 5**). Improved relations are expected to lead to more cooperation in the maintenance of global security. The ties between United States and South Korea have made it possible for Japan to be protected from China or Russia and in Asia, United States has tried to maintain a balance between Russia, China and Japan in North – East Asia, while trying to maintain a balance between Russia, China and India in South – East Asia. Although dialogue and extended security agreements are likely to continue to grow in the future as a greater understanding emerges between the superpowers, it has to be appreciated that trust is often not enough in security relations between nations. A balance of power is often sought in addition to dialogues and agreements. Thus, because of the ongoing problems related to Taiwan and Japan in relations with China and a certain level of mistrust with Russia, it is likely that better security cooperation between superpowers will take some time to emerge. Moralistic and legalistic approaches alone cannot provide an adequate solution for global security and this means that balance of power is also required, but it can be hoped that with enhanced contact between people, interaction on a broad front and trade it will be possible to reduce the mistrust between nations and to reduce the force balancing that will be needed. A capacity for intelligence gathering and for keeping an eye on each other is provided for by intelligence gathering and also as a result of contact. Thus, United States and China have by and large moved in the right direction as far as global security issues are concerned and only time will continue to shape the relationship.

People's Republic of China wants stability in the Asia - Pacific region because without such stability, it will be difficult to achieve economic progress and prosperity. Thus, this country has tried to enter into a stabilization arrangement by accommodating the Russians. However, partly as a result of an existing arrangement between China and Russia and also because of the threat that Chinese ballistic missiles pose to regional interests, United States of America has decided to work closely with Japan to try and construct a missile defense shield that will serve to protect United States and its allies in the region. Clearly, United States and its allies are unwilling to accept a weaker position, but it can be hoped that the interactions that have resulted from an opening up of China will assist in the maintenance of global and regional security. Fortunately, it can be said that both United States of America and People's Republic of China conduct foreign policy with a certain element of morality associated with it and this means that it can be hoped that over time negotiation, understanding and a realization that peace offers the best alternative will result in the emergence of greater understanding over security arrangements between all countries with an interest in the region (**United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee "Hearing on the Emergence of China Throughout Asia: Security and Economic Consequences for the U.S."**) and (Gill Pp. 7 – 16).

The next chapter presents a discussion about the duality of views related to human rights that exist between People's Republic of China and United States of America.

Chapter 4 – Human Rights and the Duality of Views related to Human Rights in China and the United States

A difference has existed in the American and Chinese perspectives on human rights and United States of America has often tried to link human rights issues with trade issues especially when human right violations have been perceived as being somewhat gross (**United States Department of State “Background Note: China”**). During the time of the Clinton administration, China’s Most Favored Nation status, or the MFN status issue, was linked with improvements in the human rights situation in the country. The MFN status was considered as being a significant concession that was under consideration for China and on entering office, President Clinton felt strongly about granting this concession to China only if China were to bring about significant improvement in its

human right policies (**Kou Pp. 17 - 19**). Thus, while China was being gradually welcomed into the Western markets, China's entry into the global system was also being used as an opportunity to interact with China over other issues. However, both of the previously mentioned nations were interacting and examining each other in order to make positive adjustments.

In view of the fact that the Chinese are often on the receiving end of the criticism, they prefer to consider human rights as being an internal matter (**Kou Chapter 2**). United States has often been considered in China as being a hegemonic power which is desirous of imposing its Western liberal democratic value system on to others without a regard for their problems or the evolutionary influences of history that have shaped the meaning of human rights in countries outside of United States. Masses in China, perhaps under the influence of their government and culture, regard American perceptions of human rights as being highly individualistic with little concern for the collective good of societies. The Chinese consider economic, social and cultural rights to be at least as important, if not more important, than human rights and the American concept of human rights is considered as a form of rebellion by the individual against the state who is devoid of any familial or paternalistic relations with the state. Clearly, it is possible to devise many a form of intellectual response to justify what measures have been taken by a regime in its own interest and war of words is certainly likely to erupt when criticism is being levied. Also, it is difficult to totally erase the memory of the Chinese colonial experience from the memory of the masses in China within a short time and human rights do get

compromised as a result of history and the unique economic problems that are present in People's Republic of China.

The concept of human rights in United States of America evolved over free and open plains which were sparsely populated and which offered much to those who lived on them (**Kou Chapter 3**). After much intellectual and philosophical deliberation carried on by those who were well fed and well looked after and who believed in the Judeo-Christian ethics of love and a concern for their fellow men, the American concept of human rights which is also well accepted by the West also appeals to a majority of individuals around the world. However, it is unfortunate that many a government from around the world, especially those from the third world who have a reptilian mentality and a desire to treat governance as a right to live off the masses in order to serve their own interests and to carry on with the genetic engineering of their society in order to retain their hold on power and to make the future brighter for themselves have often tried to ridicule American version of human rights as an issue. The previous statement does not refer to China, but unfortunately many African, South-East Asian and Middle-Eastern countries have wanted to gain more without giving to their people. Even American allies, such as Pakistan, maintain a ridiculous governing class and a business class whose sole aim is to further their own interests while exploiting the downtrodden. Thus, it has to be said that the vocal attitude of the United States government on human rights is welcomed by many because it is such criticism that has a capacity for at least getting a minimal of positive response from a government when domestic voices have been either repressed or completely and conveniently ignored.

The concept of human rights in United States of America emerged in response to a need to protect individuals from the excesses of the state and capitalism in a society which was subject to a rapidly expanding capacity for government to interfere in the affairs of the private individual (**Kou Chapter 1**). John Stewart Mill, the popular American philosopher and Bentham described the concept of human rights in terms of gaining the greatest happiness for the greatest number of individuals whose actions are not likely to have a detrimental impact on others. The American founding fathers enshrined human rights into the Constitution, the common law and also tried to explain human rights in terms of expectations from God. However, it is entirely possible that such efforts to enshrine human rights into the basic psyche of a society did not occur in other countries and this means that a different value system emerged in other nations. Thus, needless to say, a tradition about human rights emerged in other countries that may very well have been somewhat different from the mainstream American concept of human rights.

However, it has to be appreciated that an ability to distinguish that which is right and that which is wrong exists in all human beings and the fact that so many nations have signed the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights indicates that a common perspective on human rights does exist on a global level. Certainly, the thinking amongst the major religions of the world which have had a profound impact on the psyche of the masses does clearly indicates that a common ground does indeed exist about what is right and that which is wrong. Hence, perhaps it is not inappropriate to voice concerns about the behavior of states which are obviously contrary to the concepts that are universally accepted as being right and it is also proper that such criticism be made otherwise good

will have vanished from this earth and evil will have prevailed. Thus, it is proper that the strong should speak out against tyranny and oppression so that constructive thinking can emerge and it must be said that the position taken by the government of United States of America in speaking out against human rights violations is correct and that it is only proper that a United Nations Human Rights Commission has been established to listen to complaints about human rights violations from around the world. Thus, Western and United States governments do not subscribe to the Chinese view that human rights and their interpretation are the domestic concerns of a government.

Both United States of America and People's Republic of China have signed the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, but the interpretation of the articles in the previously mentioned human rights instruments remains a prerogative of the two governments (**Kou Chapter 2**). China has not denied the existence of human rights and researchers have indicated that the predominant religious philosophy of China, Confucianism, in fact makes some statement about the rights and duties of individuals towards societies.

People's Republic of China has also signed a number of international instruments relating to human rights including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Prevention of the Crime of Genocide, the Convention relation to the Status of Refugees, the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Convention on the Suppression of the Crime of Apartheid, the Convention of Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Convention against

Torture and other forms of Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment, the International Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention Relating to Equal Remuneration for Men and Women for Equal Work. A number of International Labor Organization Conventions relating to the rights of the workers have also been ratified by China. Thus, clearly some sort of human right standards do in fact exist in People's Republic of China.

Although People's Republic of China does subscribe to human rights, the leadership of this country has often cited the special problems and challenges that confront this nation as being a consideration in its application of human rights standards. Thus, the one child family policy in China and the treatment meted out to those who are dissidents have often been tried to be shoved under the carpet while excuses have been presented about the decisions and policies of the government of China. It is difficult to decide what comments can be presented about the defense that the government of People's Republic of China has put forward, but it has to be understood that China does indeed has unique problems of overpopulation and unless these are dealt with, it will be impossible for the society to uphold any standards at all. However, it is difficult to understand why repressing those involved in the Tiananmen Square uprising had to be so brutal and why there are constant problems in Tibet which are often dealt with harshly?

Documented evidence does exist about human rights violations in People's Republic of China exists and it relates to an intolerance by the government for dissent and inadequacy of legal standards (**United States Department of State "Country Note: China"**) and

(Human Rights Watch “Summary of China Rights Development”). Apart from the gross violations of human rights that were noted at the time of the Tiananmen massacre in which hundreds of students lost their lives, freedom of expression, labor rights, children rights, women’s rights, freedom of religion, involuntary resettlement programs and repressing the indigenous population of Tibet as well as the Muslims in Xinjiang are the latest human rights concerns about China.

Immediately after the Nixon visit to China, maintaining relations and opening China to the world were important to United States. However, after the withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces from Cambodia and the fall of the Berlin wall as well as the collapse of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact alliance, it was strategically less important for United States to preserve good relations with People’s Republic of China and not to try to gain more from its improved relationship. Also, United States of America had learned more about China because of exchanges between the two countries and improved access to information from within China. Thus, human rights concerns were introduced into the agenda for high-level dialogues between United States and People’s Republic of China (**Qi Pp. 105-104**). It was the Tiananmen Square incident of June 4, 1989 that introduced the human rights cause into United States and China relations more than anything else. In the United States of America, intense Congressional criticism forced the Executive branch to take action and President Bush issued an executive order that allowed students from People’s Republic of China to remain in the country. Also, the Most Favored Nation status, the MFN status, was withheld as protests over the Tiananmen incident continued. United States allies, such as

Australia were also encouraged to support United States policies and other countries also reacted to the Tiananmen incident.

The downturn in relations between United States of America and People's Republic of China over the human rights aspects of the Tiananmen incident continued until May 26, 1994, when Bush administration had been replaced by the Clinton administration (**Qi Pp. 105 – 108**). However, dialogue between the two nations and other countries had continued and this resulted in an improvement as issues related to human rights were discussed. On the previously mentioned date, President Clinton decided to sever the link between the MFN status and human rights issues, while taking a different approach towards trying to improve the human rights thinking in China. President Clinton asked private businesses with links to China to work with the government of China in trying to bring about an improvement in the human rights situation within the country and it was decided to expand the human rights engagement with China to a multilateral level by introducing issues related to human rights in China into global forums. The previously mentioned steps were likely to increase the pressure on China and reduce direct United States exposure to human rights issues in that country. It was also decided to try to communicate directly with the Chinese people and to tell them about the United States position by expanding the services of Voice of America radio broadcasts and to start new transmissions over Free Asian Radio. Support for nongovernmental organizations working in China was also improved.

Attempts made by the United States of America to introduce resolutions related to human rights practices in China into international forums, including United Nations Commission on Human Rights and the European Union were not successful. Most of such resolutions were converted into “no action” resolutions because of interventions by either China or countries friendly to it, such as Pakistan. Clearly, nations represented in the previously mentioned forums had their own interests to consider and they also wanted to give China more time to try to make necessary changes. However, because of the United States strategy, relations between China and United States reached their lowest ebb and it is likely that in 1996 the Chinese considered it proper to show that they were able to flex their muscles in response to the American stance on human rights by threatening Taiwan and triggering the Taiwan Strait Crisis. However, the Americans responded to the crisis by ordering two aircraft battle groups into the region to prove that a certain commitment to their policies existed. President Clinton launched an open dialogue with China and demanded that People’s Republic of China sign the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, release democratic dissidents in China on medical grounds, allow the International Red Cross to visit jails in China and to resume high-level dialogues between the two countries on human rights. President Clinton later appeared satisfied that China had accepted his demands as demonstrated by its actions (**Qi Pp. 105 – 108**).

Although Chinese attempts to bring about a certain improvement within the country by loosening up on freedom of speech and conducting village elections in rural areas were marred by a crackdown on political dissent, America made a positive evaluation of human rights situation in China. However, the United States first lady, Mrs. Clinton

spoke out against the human rights situation in China during the Fourth World Congress on Women and organized a campaign against holding the Olympic Games in China (**Qi Pp. 105 – 108**). The situation in Tibet, which is considered as a part of China by America, had also been a cause for concern to the Americans who accused China of engaging in religious persecution, destroying Tibet's cultural heritage, intentionally moving immigrants into the region, restricting the growth of Tibetan population by sterilizing Tibetan women and restricting individual freedoms in Tibet. In 1995, the Chinese were amazed when the United States Congress demanded that the President appoint a United States Ambassador to Tibet, a territory with which United States does not have diplomatic relations.

Constant pressure was maintained on China during the processes associated with its entry to the World Trade Organization and the determination of its Permanent Normal Trade Relation Status, which is the new name for MFN status as determined by the US Congress in 1998. A rigid trade monitoring plan was enforced by the United States for trade with China and a joint Congressional-Executive Commission with a maximum of twenty three members was appointed under the terms of the US-China Act which was intended to broaden the benefits of US-China trade and to encourage respect for human rights and labor standards in China (**GovTrack H.R. 4444 [106th]: U.S.-China Relations Act of 2000 “Summary”**).

Both People's Republic of China and United States of America realize that any bitter exchanges between the two countries will have an impact on bilateral investments in the two economies (**United States Department of State “Background Note: China”**).

United States and Western multinational corporations are sensitive to the state of human rights in any country and after the Tiananmen Square incident, United States investment in People's Republic of China declined significantly. This is an indication of the strong views that the people of United States have about human rights and a tendency to link human rights with trade and investment. Thus, a certain pressure on issues related to human rights has been applied to China not just by governments and international agencies, but also by private business organizations. In 2007, bilateral trade between the two countries had increased to US\$ 386 billion and United States was China's second largest trading partner. Although United States trade deficit with China stood at US\$ 256 billion in the year 2007, American exports to China have been increasing more rapidly than for any other market. Also, investment in China by United States investors has increased to US\$ 57 billion and United States government is interested in opening access to the Chinese market. People's Republic of China, on the other hand, considers United States to be a most important market and it is essential that China maintains cordial relations with United States and its Western allies so that its economic growth can be sustained. Thus, a certain pressure exists on both nations to reach an accommodation on human rights and this means that both United States and People's Republic of China have tried to act positively and to try to adapt each other's views.

It has to be understood that when United States and People's Republic of China decided that a proper course for these two countries was to interact better with each other, disagreements and difficulties should have been foreseen. After all, it is difficult for two entrenched cultures not to differ on matters when they were exchanging ideas and

viewing each other closely. However, it is clear that the two civilizations learned a lot from interactions and it can only be hoped that the interactions can continue to be managed well to provide positive results. As long as both United States and People's Republic of China are willing to carefully study each other's point of view and to make sincere adjustments for the long-term betterment of all, it can be hoped that the two nations will not only be able to achieve a common good, but that they will also contribute to the broader good of humanity.

The next chapter presents a discussion about the impact of global trade, economic perspectives and the United States economic interests on United States foreign policy towards China.

Chapter 5 – Global Trade, Economic Prosperity and United States Economic Interests

China has seen a tremendous growth in its economy since President Nixon first visited this country and as a result of the economic activity that now takes place within this nation People's Republic of China is the second largest energy consumer in the world, after United States. However, when China opened to the world, it had a lot to offer in

terms of cheap manufactured exports, but it should have been expected that the Western countries were going to find it difficult to export to this country which had a low per capita income. Although, manufactured goods in the West were of high quality, it is unlikely that such goods could have been afforded by the Chinese masses that just did not have the spending power to buy the best from the West. For the past twenty-seven years, the economic growth rate in People's Republic of China has averaged around 9.4 % of the GDP and this is a remarkably impressive growth rate (**Perkins Pp. 3 – 10**). It has been estimated that with such growth rates, the size of the Chinese economy can be projected as being twenty five times the size of the South Korean economy by the year 2025, with the same per-capita income and roughly equivalent to the size of the United States economy in the year 2005. Unfortunately, China with a population of twice that of Europe and North America combined was not so lucky in the past and this nation with a population that is 20 % of the world population had seen abject poverty, deaths as a result of malnutrition and many individuals living together in cramped spaces.

President Nixon's decision to improve interactions with China was mainly motivated by a desire to use interaction to bring about security and stability in the region. However, it was also desired that trade with this nation be conducted and both United States and People's Republic of China cooperate and do business with each other to bring economic prosperity to both the nations. Nevertheless, in the 1980s, half of the rural population of China lived under the US\$ 1 per day income poverty line and even the elite in China had little knowledge of what was going on in the world (**Perkins Pp. 4 – 8**). Contact with foreigners was only for the privileged few and even having a relative living outside the

country was often enough for an individual to be subjected to persecution. Before 1976, China could best be described as being a totalitarian state. Thus, it is no wonder that the Chinese leaders today are so concerned about bringing about an improvement in the standards of living of their people, even at the expense of trampling on their human rights.

Considering the problems that had confronted China, the transformation within a limited time frame of a few decades has been astounding and the surprises keep coming. Today, millions of Chinese citizens have traveled abroad and studied at overseas universities. The number of Internet users in the country has exceeded 100 million and civil aviation operators in China now owns more than 675 large and medium sized commercial planes, with purchases exceeding about a hundred planes a year. The previous figures for China Airlines compare favorably with American Airlines which had a total strength of 707 planes in 2005. The masses in China now have access to publications from around the world and they have rising incomes that can sustain an information rich lifestyle.

After the visit to China by President Nixon, access to the United States and Western market was important for China and thus, it was possible to keep China interested and to maintain a useful dialogue with this nation which resulted in much progress. However, the dream that China has for its future and its huge population has meant that the internal challenges that are faced are enormous. Modernization and economic growth has meant that China must suck in enormous amounts of resources from around the world and then process these into what is wanted to be bought by others, besides catering for its domestic

needs. A substantial imbalance of trade has emerged between China and the Western nations, because the Chinese are experts at producing cheaply that which everyone else wants, but the high technology goods that are the mainstay of the Western economy are often not needed in China, or they are too expensive. Also, China prefers to rely on its own efforts to develop indigenous technology because such efforts are likely to be far more worthwhile in the long run. Thus, Western and developed nations find it difficult to export to China and often the lesser developed nations are willing to cooperate with this country in the hope of benefiting from mutual interests.

China has been able to sustain a steady progress in a free trade regime which has favored its cost of production and the ingenuity of its people and its government. In the past, it was possible for Japan to have acquired resources for processing from mainland China, but today Japan has to look elsewhere and this nation concentrates on higher level technologies. Although there is nothing that is contrary to the American ideology in the previous situation, competition for resources and a need to protect trade and resource shipments can result in serious competition, tension and security problems in the region. Clearly, China's huge population poses a serious problem because for so long as it is possible to sustain this population by relying on resources from all over the world, this nation will continue to prosper, but it is difficult to depend only on national resources if standards of living are to be maintained.

Broadly speaking, United States of America has tried to follow a policy that will maintain a strong strategic economic relationship with China through continuing dialogue, let

China implement its World Trade Organization obligations and monitor how this is being done and try to continue efforts to open up Chinese markets (**Embassy of the United States, Belgium “The United States Policy Towards China: A Dossier”**). United States of America is also concerned about intellectual property rights because without such protection, United States businesses lose out when their products are copied or used without payment of royalty. A market determined exchange rate for the Chinese currency, the Yuan, is also desired by United States so that US-China trade can occur more naturally without being influenced by the efforts of the government of People’s Republic of China to maintain a low exchange rate against the United States dollar which boost up exports, but make it difficult for products from United States to compete in the Chinese market. China’s trade surplus with Western countries, including United States of America and the European Union is a cause for much frustration in the United States, but it has to be appreciated that China has to act to protect its own interests and cannot deliberately do something that will damage its relatively recent capacity for manufactured exports. After all, China is broadly playing by the rules of free trade, although United States of America has been monitoring China’s progress towards implementation of its World Trade Organization obligations and reports from United States are stating that improvements in what has been achieved are required (**United States Trade Representative “2006 Report to Congress on China’s WTO Compliance”**) and (**US-China Security and Economic Review Commission “2007 Report to Congress”**). United States is especially interested in the efforts that have been made by the government in China after acceding to the WTO to implement WTO obligations because these will reduce trade barriers. If China has to have open access to the global markets,

including those within United States, then it is only fair that other countries should be able to access the Chinese market on equal terms otherwise the WTO system will collapse.

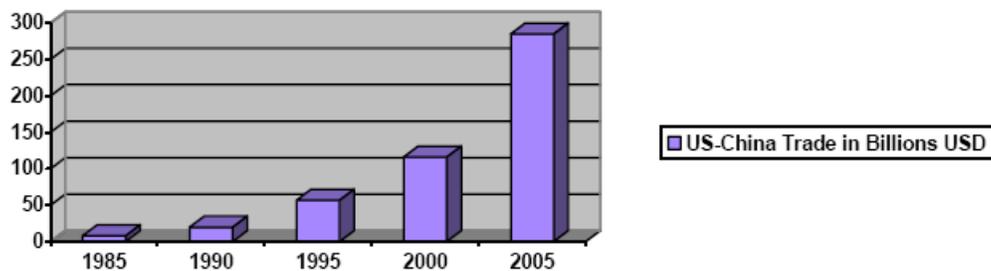


Figure 3: United States – China Trade in Billions of Dollars

(Wang Pp. 2)

Although the report by the United States Trade Representative admits that China has made progress in implementing its WTO obligations by making changes to more than one thousand legislations, the report is also critical that China still relies on problematic industrial policies that result in trade distortions (**United States Trade Representative “2006 Report to Congress on China’s WTO Compliance – Executive Summary”**).

Local content requirements, import and export restrictions, discriminatory regulations and prohibited subsidies are matters of concern to the United States and these issues are

still being attempted to be resolved between the two countries through dialogue. Industry in United States has been complaining that the government in China practices excessive market intervention through policy directives and individual officials. Thus, frictions do exist in relations between the two countries as United States business leaders desperately try to increase their exports to People's Republic of China to have a more favorable balance in trade.

Unfortunately, it will appear that the WTO standards, like the human rights standards, are open to perspectives and interpretations. This means that nations can be creative in doing that which is in their own interests and what suits their conditions. As an example, intellectual property rights are protected in Chinese law, but the existing threshold for criminal persecution is not something which appeals to United States of America and this has been a subject of discussion between the two countries. Unfortunately, when thinking about intellectual property, say for example Microsoft or other United States manufactured software, what United States businesspeople do not understand is that they can capture a far larger market share and remove incentives for piracy if they tailor make a pricing structure for the local market. However, the United States businesses are not prepared to do this and cause ordinary people to indulge in piracy for their intellectual development, which is something that is not likely to be criminal from a Chinese perspective. It is inhuman to demand that in a nation in which a few decades ago wages for a majority were \$1 per day, a Chinese consumer must pay US\$ 500 for a Microsoft operating system and that the Chinese state should protect the United States software manufacturer by placing criminal penalties of their citizens. Perhaps Americans should

realize that the world is full of perspectives and situations and that United States will be better served by fitting its interests into the local realities. However, continued dialogue is likely to bring divergent views which are designed to protect sometimes divergent interests to some commonality.

The US-China Economic and Security Review Commission of the United States Congress, or the Commission, presented some recommendations in its 2007 report to the Congress in relation to United States-China trade relations (**US-China Security and Economic Review Commission Pp. 285**). These recommendations and a broad description of how United States industry in North Carolina is hurting as a result of the sale of manufactured goods from China in United States suggests that a certain resentment exists within the United States about its failure to compete effectively against those nations in which wages are far lower. However, it has to be appreciated that the concept of “free trade” and the WTO emerged from United States itself and this means that the nation must adapt itself to the consequences of such ideas. It has to be wondered if maligning a nation in public so as to damage the sales of its imports into United States or using nationalism to discredit the exports from other countries can be tantamount to unfair competition and if these are not covered under the WTO accords then why can't China bend those areas that are covered in the WTO accords to suit its purposes. However, the recommendations of the Commission to pressure China to sign the Agreement on Government Procurement, expressing support for enactment of legislation by Congress to define currency manipulation as an illegal export subsidy and a recommendation to the Congress to urge the United States government to bring a case

against China in the WTO about its currency manipulation are indicative of tensions that China's success has generated between the two countries. However, it has to be appreciated that China's success is the result of considerable risk taking and ingenuity on its part and this nation realizes the precarious position that it is in when it has to get resources from extended routes and from far flung nations, manufacture items of competitive quality and sell them to other countries while taking considerable flak over its balance of trade. Depending on how the global economy shapes up and what future is indicated as a result of energy and resource depletion across the globe, China's economic success and the shape that this takes may be compromised and the relations between the two nations depend on the way in which their respective economies and the global economy shapes up. United States is said to be threatened more by China in the economic sphere than in the military sphere and China holds substantial investments in United States, such as United States treasury bonds. Clearly, China has learned its lesson from the former Soviet Union which collapsed because it was a first world military power, but a third world economic power. Perhaps, the China of today has been appropriately described as being a "fragile superpower" and the government in China wants to somehow remove this fragility, considering United States demands as being unreasonable at this stage (**Shirk Chapter 9**). However, it is important from an American perspective that this fragile superpower does not act rashly when its interests are threatened and from a Chinese perspective, Western markets are important to China.

Although China is seen by United States as indulging in the process of establishing economic relations and links with many third world countries, United States is somewhat

unhappy that People's Republic of China does not do enough to try to influence these regimes to have a better stability, respect for human rights and a more appropriate approach on moral issues (**US-China Economic and Security Review Commission "China's Expanding Global Influence: Foreign Policy Goals, Practices and Tools"**).

The situation in Darfur, Sudan is often cited because China has petroleum interests in this area. China, on the other hand does not want to get involved with the so called internal problems of nations that it is involved, especially at this stage when it is still fragile.

However, fears do exist in United States that China may threaten United States supremacy and interests in time. Thus, attempts are constantly made to try and pressure China to play a more moral role when developing relationships and United States also wants to somehow counter Chinese influence with its own set of values. Unfortunately, Chinese business people are forced to take risks by going into places that are considered as being uninhabitable by the Americans and this coupled with their low wages on which they provide at least something to such places keeps America out. Probably, the future will be shaped by the ability of the Americans and their key allies in Japan and Germany to develop sophisticated leading edge technology products that are in demand and which China cannot produce at this time. Perhaps technology to radically alter global dependency on crude oil may be an example of what Americans can do to maintain their edge. Americans, unlike the Chinese have done little practically to move into the lesser developed areas of the dark continent, preferring to try and enhance relationships with the existing energy rich powers in the Middle East. Perhaps a deeper look into Africa and Latin America may be necessary for United States if it is to compete effectively with China, which is perhaps shaping itself as the developing world superpower.

It will appear that at the moment United States of America is letting China venture into the darkest places in the world, while exhorting it to maintain standards when doing so, because United States of America realizes that it cannot do the things that China is doing around the world so cheaply and with a more down to earth approach. However, a sense of alarm appears to be sounding in America that soon United States of America and its business people will have to respond with sophisticated strategies if Americans are to retain their global edge as the world's leader in the long run (**US-China Economic and Security Review Commission “China’s Expanding Global Influence: Foreign Policy Goals, Practices and Tools”**). Although lesser, but important nations such as India and Japan have been trying to hedge in international relations, China has always been able to outbid at least India with which it competes for increasingly scarce energy and other resources. Thus, for as long as China is able to skillfully juggle its destiny to move on towards greater economic achievement and if United States can retain its global edge without losing much as a result, United States policies towards China will continue to try to reach an accommodation with China through dialogue.

New challenges, problems and global competition between United States of America and People’s Republic of China are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 6 – New Challenges, Problems and Global Competition

The upcoming United States Presidential elections and the debates as well as public opportunity to present their concerns on the direction in which the nation is headed provides an opportunity for observers to discover what sentiments the public and distinguished Americans have about United States relations with China (**Massand “U.S.-China relations at the world's fingertips”**). Although sentiments expressed in such public debates are not the official United States government policies, they do influence the government’s formulation of policy. Americans appear to be bitter about the role that their country plays in global affairs. A certain negative sentiment has been expressed in United States of America about China and the direction in which US-China relations are headed. Although public sentiments indicate certain bitterness about the trade deficit with China, it has to be noted that the leading Presidential candidates have not made any antiChina or antitrade remarks. However, the leading candidates have been suggesting that they will be “tough” with China, although this may well be an attempt to gain public support for their campaign. It will appear that China’s global success has not rubbed on well with the Americans who have grown used to being a sole global superpower, even though leading Americans have expressed the view that China’s pursuit of enlightened self-interest in Africa has had an overall positive impact on the formerly dark continent.

Despite the public sentiments, the more sober political figures who are more likely to influence public policy agree that serious new global problems confront humanity and

these problems cannot be resolved with cooperation and dialogue with China (**Massand “U.S.-China relations at the world's fingertips”**).

Clearly, the trade imbalance with China and China’s rigid policy on Taiwan, which has a political movement that has been supporting “independence” from mainland China and the lessons that Americans have learned from the expensive military campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan are causes for resentment in the United States. It has to be understood that preserving global security in the style of the United States of America, with other nations not being able to contribute much costs a lot and if the American public had not been threatened by negative economic forecasts, perhaps the sentiments will have been far more positive.

Apart from the disappointment that Americans feel over their trade relations with China, disillusionment also exists over the improvement of human rights in the country and the military buildup that has been undertaken by China as a result of its modernization policy (**Blair Pp. 3 – 9**). Clearly, the events in Tibet and the semiautonomous region of Xinjiang have not shown an improvement and China’s heavy handed attitude in this area has not improved its image. It will appear that the government in China is unwilling to accord the same dignity to ethnic minorities as it does to the more Chinese and has been trying to exploit resources in regions while keeping the indigenous populations backward. Also, China’s military buildup may be necessary from a Chinese perspective, but such a buildup and the demonstration of a space weapons capability, consisting of an anti-satellite capability, is clearly not doing much to ease tensions in the region. It will have

helped if China and Taiwan had achieved some sort of an understanding that will have reduced threats and tensions in the region, but as things are Americans feel disheartened that engagement with China alone will not protect United States interests. However, intelligentsia in United States of America and Western nations will generally agree that the results of engagement with China have been positive to date and that the government in People's Republic of China is neither irresponsible nor immoral, despite the great difficulties that have been confronting this nation. Probably, the economic scenario that can be predicted for the two nations will have a bearing on the strength of feelings and if a way can be found for both United States of America and China to continue to make economic progress that satisfies the people in the two nations, then it is likely that a broad accommodation may develop.

The government in People's Republic of China is not unaware that having good relations with Taiwan and somehow coming to an accommodation that will ensure that People's Republic of China and Republic of China never go to war is the key to significantly easing concerns in the region. Such an accommodation will go a long way in improving China's image, providing this nation with a consistent record of having made significant all round progress and ensuring that any criticism against China will be greatly muted for at least some time. People's Republic of China and Taiwan are certainly making the effort as is indicated by the recent visit of Taiwanese officials and the head of Taiwan's ruling party to mainland China which commenced on May 28, 2008 (**BBC "China and Taiwan to Restart Talks"**). Relations between the two territories had warmed up when Taiwan extended its assistance to those who had been affected by the massive earthquake

in People's Republic of China and People's Republic of China has invited officials from Taiwan to attend talks commencing on June 11, 2008 to discuss matters related to tourism and charter flights between the two territories. Clearly, it will appear that People's Republic of China has tried to that that which President Nixon did and decided in favor of greater interaction with Taiwan and people to people exchange. China's track record at accommodating Hong Kong as a special administrative region of this nation appears to have encouraged those who believe that an accommodation between China and Taiwan is possible. The Taiwanese leadership expressed its sincere hope that China and Taiwan will never take up arms against each other and the Chinese Premier appeared to be in an accommodating mood after the earthquake and Taiwan's response. Thus, a lot depends on the future China-Taiwan relations and relations between United States and China will be vastly enhanced if China and Taiwan can reach an accommodation that will guarantee stability in the Asia-Pacific region. It will appear that the leadership in People's Republic of China also understands that a peaceful future is the only course that is available to all parties to work together to solve the new problems that will soon confront all humanity.

If enduring peace is made possible in the Asia - Pacific region then it is certain that United States and China will be working together in the future as partners in all matters that are of importance in the globe. Trade disputes and bickering may continue, but an alliance will have been sealed and the differences that may emerge periodically between United States, China, Japan and European Union will be of no greater significance than those that often emerge in the alliance between United States and its European allies.

Clearly, the present opportunity is the result of good fortune and a lot of engagement between all parties that have an interest in the Asia - Pacific region. Thus, it will appear that diplomacy is working and that it may be possible to cease an unnecessary buildup of arms or negative policies in the future. Perhaps, it is time to forget about the bitterness of the past and to move on to design a new world that will sustain all humanity and living species in a way that they deserve to exist.

Clearly, the interaction between United States of America and People's Republic of China has been beneficial and within a short span of three decades, China has seen vast improvements in all spheres. No other nation in world history has been able to advance so rapidly in such a short time. With such improvement, America has also benefited. Thus, it is possible that China can be trusted to act in a positive manner, within its limits and problems. After all, China has already showed that this country is capable of listening and acting positively. Although certain mistrust exists in China and America about what may happen as a result of a global situation in which resource shortage may cause nations to use force against each other, it must be realized that if progress can be achieved with Taiwan, then a spirit of helpful partnership will emerge and it will be possible for major problems to be solved by engagement (**Blair Pp. 3 - 9**). However, it is important that China show that it is capable of justly treating all its citizens equally, regardless of race or ethnic identity, such as in Tibet and Xinjiang so that the world can be satisfied that there is little danger from the growth of Chinese power around the world. Underdeveloped nations that export resources to China in the hope that they will somehow benefit cannot expect that they will be pushed to remain backward as foreign colonizers take over their

destiny in order to further the interests of their own race. Thus, a certain mistrust which is even made somewhat more acute by the fact that the races in Asia - Pacific region are often self-serving and interested in keeping other nations backward to serve their interests has become obvious. From a third world perspective, people from this part of the world will not want nations with superior technology to enslave them as Japan did to those within their own region during the Second World War. Thus, the rise of China is seen with some alarm by all countries.

China's rapid modernization has created some unique problems which have to be addressed properly because they can become major issues for China and the world community. China's demand for energy has had a major impact on world energy markets and its rapidly increasing population will be rapidly aging soon (**Blair "China's Economic and Social Transformation"**) and (**US-China Economic and Security Review Commission Chapter 3**). China has so far failed to draft a long-term national energy policy and besides the rapidly increasing energy demand that the nation is faced with, environmental degradation is also a serious problem. Pollution is a major issue for concern and as a result of polluted groundwater, the nation not only faces a serious shortage of water for human consumption, but it also loses large amounts of land which can be used for farming and growing food every year. Clearly, to support a population that is still growing significantly, China will have to continue to import scarce resources and as global supplies run short resource conflicts may create security concerns. United States of America wants to cooperate with China in providing it with the technology to preserve its environment, but as the largest consumer of energy in the world United

States is concerned about the competition that it faces with China. Unless sustainable sources of energy are discovered and these cater to sustainable levels of human population, in the 50 – 100 years time frame, which is about the life span of a single generation, profound changes will occur in the way human societies function. Such changes will be far more acute in nations with huge populations. However, energy security and global climate change are matters that are global concerns and depending on how nations decide to handle them, they can result in either cooperation or confrontation. United States feels that unless cooperation prevails and solutions are present, future conflicts will result. Thus, United States of America does not want China to become too militarized and it does not want China to develop technology that is not likely to be relevant to its needs. Energy efficient technology which is also protective of the environment is what China needs and United States wants to develop technical cooperation with China to develop solutions for the future.

The Strait of Malacca is vital for the energy security of China and at present United States is the guarantor of security of the sea-lanes in this strategic strait. Chinese navy does not have the capacity to guarantee security of sea-lanes in this part of the Pacific. Thus, although China has a right to modernize its armed forces, including the navy, to address legitimate security concerns, unless a cordial relationship exists between the two countries, a buildup of arms and confrontation that will have an impact on several other nations in the region can take place. Besides, if Africa is to act as a supplier of vital resources to China, then it is likely that the Chinese navy and forces will need further bases from which to protect extended supply lines across sea-lanes. Thus, it is in the

interest of both countries to try to come to some sort of a global security arrangement, but it has to be understood that such arrangements can be fragile if resource shortages become acute. Probably, the construction of a port at Gwadar by the Chinese is a part of a long-term strategy for preserving maritime security by the Chinese who can use this port to contain India, their main competitor in Asia and to protect their stretched sea-lane transport arrangements from Africa and the Middle East. Perhaps, it may even be possible to build a pipeline to supply oil from Gwadar to Western China because this may save on sea transport over long routes and subsequent transport overland without a Russian threat.

Although United States of America has opted for continued dialogue with China, it also wants to retain its superiority and increase intelligence gathering efforts in China. United States Congress is likely to maintain cooperation with China over matters relating to energy security, but it is likely that America will maintain a tighter control over its military technology exports and increase funding to thwart new threats arising from Chinese capabilities in space, ocean and missile technology. Congress is also like to seek greater dialogue with other nations, such as India, who have an interest in containing China. All the previous efforts are on because a certain sense of uncertainty for the future does indeed exist and United States of America wants to be prepared just in case some problems do occur. However, the most important agenda as far as the Americans are concerned appears to be further attempts to open China to accept American exports and a far stricter control of Chinese imports in accordance with WTO rules (**US-China**

Economic and Security Review Commission “Comprehensive List of Commission’s Recommendations”).

A discussion about the future United States policy towards China is presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 7 – A Discussion about the Future of United States

Foreign Policy towards China

A set of recommendations related to United States policy towards China have been presented in the report to Congress by US - China Economic and Security Review Commission (**US - China Economic and Security Review Commission Pp. 285 – 290**). Although the recommendations that have been presented in the Commission’s report are only recommendations for action by Congress, it is likely that these will heavily influence United States policies towards China in the future. After all, the US - China Economic and Security Review Commission is appointed by the United States government to

thoroughly study all aspects of America's relationship with China and to present recommendations for action.

A set of recurring patterns in United States policy towards China has been observed over the years as both of the previously mentioned nations have tried to conduct a dialogue with each other and reacted to each other based on their actions. This recurring pattern has been presented in the figure below. Clearly, as the two nations have engaged each other, different reactions have come to be observed as consensus on issues has gradually developed.

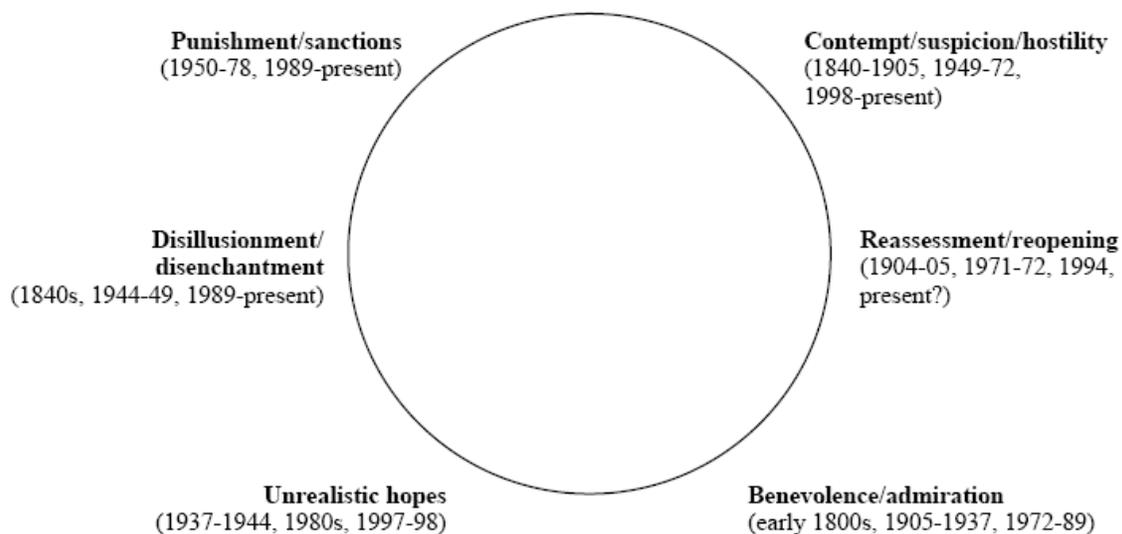


Figure 4: Patterns which have been observed in United States and China Relations (Gill Pp. 6)

It is likely that the United States government will want to push China to sign the Agreement on Government Procurement which will make it possible for American businesses to bid on Chinese government procurement contracts and to win competitively. Also, United States of America will impose a strict monitoring regime for imports from China to ensure that manufactured goods and services are in accordance with the WTO accord and United States of America will try to protect its interests to the fullest extent. It has been recommended by the Commission that America follow any case that can be made against People's Republic of China on matters related to global trade in the WTO. Thus, a clear sense of purpose emerges for the future and United States of America wants to balance the trade deficit with China and to further open the Chinese market. Clearly United States of America has absorbed exports from China and paid a price for interacting with this nation to try to achieve peace and stability in the Asia - Pacific region, but it has to be understood that competing against low production costs in China will be difficult for United States businesses and this will mean that the low value added manufactured goods produced by the United States industry will be affected. Clearly, free economic competition between the two nations will prevail and this is likely to mean that over time a restructuring of American economy will take place. Depending on how well the economy of the two nations develops, a greater cooperation or a distancing is likely (**Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development Pp. 5 – 15**). However, although economic engagement is important, this is not the only issue that plays a role in deciding about United States foreign policy towards China.

Global and regional security issues were the most important considerations behind the engagement between China and United States of America at the time of President Nixon's visit and these considerations are still important (**US - China Economic and Security Review Commission Pp. 286 – 287**). If progress can be made at solving the Taiwan issue, then it is likely that a far greater of cooperation will be infused into the region and some progress is obvious from recent developments. However, United States of America still wants to ensure that it preserves military superiority and has the best possible intelligence that will make it possible for senior officials to make the right decisions. A balance of power will still be maintained in the Asia - Pacific region despite a Chinese military buildup and it is likely that United States of America and its allies will deploy a missile shield and other sophisticated weapons systems to ensure that any strike against its interests and that of its allies will be able to be contained. However, a demilitarization of the region is possible if all states in Asia - Pacific can sign a multilateral treaty that guarantees peace and security for their interests. Also, United States policy requires constant dialogue with China to try to reduce threat and militarization of the region. Cooperation between United States of America and China in export control and border control programs has been envisaged because United States of America has a proven edge in the previously mentioned areas and such cooperation is not likely to contrary to the interests of either of the two nations.

Although United States businesses have invested in China to take advantage of its low manufacturing costs and access to regional markets, United States remains concerned about the loss of proprietary technology and potential use of R&D conducted by such

businesses for military applications in China (**US - China Economic and Security Review Commission Pp. 287**). Thus, as far as the United States is concerned, increased interaction with China does not mean that sensitive technology or technology that is capable of being exploited for economic gain should fall into the hands of the Chinese without benefits for the United States of America. Clearly, both China and United States of America will try to seek economic opportunities that arise from access to each other's markets, but United States policy towards technology cooperation with China is not yet as relaxed as it is for European Union or Japan. However, it is likely that the mutual understanding that evolves over time may change attitudes. For now, it is likely that the Congress will want that United States businesses operating in China report about their R&D activities within the country.

While interacting with China, United States is pursuing a policy of increased interactions with other nations that have a capacity for competing with this nation. India and Russia are the two most important nations in this regard. India is important because it is the only other regional power that has a capacity for containing China. India also has a history of conflict with China and territorial disputes that remain outstanding. It is likely that United States of America will engage in broader and deeper dialogue with India on China and at the very least such a dialogue will provide inputs into future foreign policy decisions that America will take. However, it has to be appreciated that the ties between United States of America and China are already far stronger than any American ties that exist with India. Also, United States of America appears to be more interested in having China as an ally compared to India and a far greater engagement has been carried out with China

compared to India. It is likely that if the Taiwan issue is satisfactorily inferred and China comes to a broad accommodation with Japan and South Korea, the causes of mistrust and tensions will be eliminated. It is only then that United States, China and Japan will actively cooperate to provide a most beneficial relationship that will spur on the dynamism of the Asia - Pacific and provide a stabilizing influence for Asia. After all, the historical ties that United States has with Asia - Pacific are far superior to the ties that this country has with Southeast Asia. However, although India is being used as a hedge, it is likely that this country will receive a preference over Russia in future alliance relationships, because it will appear that memories of the Cold War era and the struggle against communism will prevent any close relationships between United States and Russia.

North Korea continues to presents a problem for United States of America because this country persists in its attempts to introduce new dimensions in the militarization of the region. Having acquired a nuclear weapons capability, North Korea is actively making progress with developing an ever more sophisticated missile technology. This is despite the fact that this country faces serious economic problems which have put its people in great difficulty. Although China voted for United Nations resolutions related to North Korea, it also wanted a softer approach towards this nation, perhaps because of a history of cooperation and trade. However, Russia is also a nation that has supported North Korea and it is also likely that some technology transfer may have helped North Korea to progress in its desire to get military technology. United States wants China to stop providing sensitive technology and diplomatic cover to North Korea and prefers that

China uses its influence to change attitudes in this nation. However, because North Korea shares access to both China and Russia, it is unlikely that China alone will be in a position to influence this nation. Nevertheless, if China can come to terms with Taiwan and a United States, China and Japan alliance can emerge in the region, then it is likely that North Korea can be better integrated and stabilized into the region, leaving Russia isolated. Perhaps this is what is needed in the longer term and United States has invested a lot in the region and in China to try to accomplish this goal. The increasing cordial engagement between China and Taiwan appears to suggest that something positive can happen, but it is clear that the balance of power in the region and diplomacy has excluded Russia from becoming a major or desirable influence.

It is likely that all nations within Asia - Pacific will ultimately come to an accommodation with each other and that the bitterness that has lingered on for so long after the Second World War will be forgotten. However, after such an accommodation, life will have to continue as nations think about economic prosperity and trade in an era of environmental dangers and resource constraints. Interaction between nations will have solved the problems arising out of cultural differences, but it is likely that all nations will have to solve the puzzle of sustainable energy and the environment together otherwise a marked change in the way humans live will occur.

It can be concluded that the policy of détente, interaction, dialogue and engagement which was conceived by President Nixon and Mr. Henry Kissinger has worked wonders over the years. This policy has served both China and America well and has been far

better than conducting wars which will have set back the world even more. Both China and United States of America have not been lacking of morality and reason when interacting with each other. It can only be hoped that the lessons that have been learned from the previously mentioned policies will benefit other nations. The interaction between China and America will go down well in history as having profoundly altered Asia - Pacific for the better.

Chapter 8 - Conclusion

After President Nixon's visit to China a new era of interaction and engagement between United States of America and People's Republic of China began and this new engagement has produced positive results for the region as well as the two nations. Although a lot has been said about the American trade deficit with China it has to be understood that without normalization of US-China relations, neither of the two economies will have benefited and it is likely that the American economy will have grown at a far slower rate. In fact the matter of trade deficit between the two nations is not the most serious issue and it has been said that the import of low-cost and good quality consumer products from China has in fact stimulated structural adjustment and an upgrading of the American industry (**Chen Pp. 251**).

The more significant results of engagement with China can be measured by the progress that can be seen as a result of China opening up. Not only has the security and stability in Asia - Pacific improved, but China has acceded to the WTO after 13 years of negotiations and agreed to open to the world. It is likely that an accommodation with Taiwan is on its way and if this happens then it is likely that the pace of productive cooperation between all those who have an interest in Asia - Pacific will be vastly improved.

A renewed hope has now presented itself that China and Taiwan will be able to sort out their differences and this will usher in a new era of peace and stability in the region. This new hope is the result of many years of patient exchange of views between nations which have an interest in the Asia – Pacific region. America has pursued pursues its foreign policy towards China based on principles of cooperative security, enduring American

values and common bilateral interests and a certain moral dimension has been in existence in the conduct of this foreign policy. China has responded to American overtures by presenting its own moral response while being constrained by its very real problems and fears for the future. It is likely that such attitudes will in the long run make it possible for both nations to find enduring solutions that will have an impact not only on bilateral interests, but also on the world. Thus, it can be said that if all actors continue to emphasize on making genuine efforts while being sensitive to the needs of others, then it is likely that a great future lies ahead for United States and China in Asia – Pacific.

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