

Appendix B: Self-Study Exercise Answers

Positions and Interests:

1. Describe opposing positions held by the two sides (the U.S. and the PRC) at the outset of negotiations.

Answer: In the late 1960s, the U.S. and PRC maintained opposing positions, particularly regarding Taiwan. The U.S. maintained that the legitimate government of China was the ROC, and continued economic, diplomatic, and military cooperation with it, including a defense treaty, a U.S. military presence, weapons sales, and trade. The PRC called Taiwan an unresolved internal matter, opposed all U.S. support for the ROC, and sought China's permanent seat on the U.N. Security Council. Additionally, the PRC sought full diplomatic recognition from the U.S. and an end to U.S. support of the ROC.

2. Describe shared interests motivating the two sides to work towards an agreement.

Answer: The U.S. and PRC shared strategic interests in improving bilateral relations, especially to balance growing Soviet power. These shared interests grew in priority for the U.S. after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, and for the PRC after Sino-Soviet tensions nearly escalated into outright conflict in March 1969 near the Ussuri River. In the context of their strategic triangle with the Soviet Union, the U.S. and China pursued an agreement that would provide formal recognition of their new, positive relationship. The U.S. had a strong interest in demonstrating that it would continue to support its allies in Asia and around the world. Even though the two sides maintained contrasting positions on a number of issues, they continued working to find common ground.

Relationships and Confidence-Building Measures:

3. Describe the relationship between the two sides during the Cold War.

Answer: In the early years of the Cold War, relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China were competitive and confrontational. Ideological and cultural differences exacerbated mutual suspicions. The Korean War (1950-1953) marked the low point for U.S./PRC relations, as the two countries fought in support of South and North Korea respectively. Meanwhile, the "Who lost China?" issue made any change in U.S. China policy explosive in the U.S. domestic context. However, due to the shared interests previously discussed, through a balanced arrangement of general agreement on long-term principles and deferral of their specific application, the Shanghai Communiqué opened the doors for trade, cultural exchanges, and informal diplomatic relations between the U.S. and PRC. Under these conditions, the U.S. and the PRC established formal diplomatic relations on January 1, 1979.

4. Describe the two sides' uses of confidence-building measures.

Answer: The U.S. and PRC began sending public signals and opening private communication channels. Public gestures, including a Chinese invitation to the U.S. National Table Tennis Team, built some trust and created momentum for negotiations. Private messages were also exchanged between officials as part of the relationship-building process, or *guanxi* as it is known in Chinese. In Solomon's words, this combination of public and private gestures helped the two sides assure one another that they "did, in fact, share common political objectives." Later, the mutual dropping of preconditions and the setting of an agenda were two important steps to begin a high-level negotiation process.

Leverage and Process:

5. Describe sources of leverage held by the two sides.

Answer: The U.S. held considerable economic, military, and political leverage, including its powerful position within the United Nations, which it had used to prevent the PRC from gaining entry into the U.N. system and from assuming China's Security Council seat. But, after more than two decades, the notion that the ROC in Taiwan should represent all of China in the U.N. had grown decreasingly credible. Recognizing its weakening position, the U.S. shifted focus to a "dual representation" proposal, which would have allowed the PRC to take the Security Council seat and the ROC to remain in the General Assembly. The PRC's momentum was too great and before the "dual representation" proposal could be considered, the GA voted to grant the PRC U.N. credentials. The U.N. vote was a setback for the U.S. and may have shifted some leverage toward the PRC in how Taiwan was addressed in bilateral negotiations.

6. Describe elements of process apparent in the narrative.

Answer: The mid-level discussions in Warsaw between the U.S. and PRC in the 15 years following the Korean War were elements of process, though they made little progress on core differences. Later, the combination of public and private gestures started a process that would eventually lead to normalization of relations between the U.S. and PRC. Two important steps to begin a high-level negotiation process were the mutual dropping of preconditions, and the setting of an agenda. These accomplishments cleared the way for senior engagement, initially through a secret visit to Beijing in July 1971 by U.S. National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger. The statement agreed upon during Kissinger's secret visit to Beijing, along with a mutual commitment to normalize U.S./PRC relations and oppose Soviet hegemony, opened the door to Nixon's visit the following February, where the two sides negotiated and issued the joint Shanghai Communiqué. In 1978, as part of an effort to get negotiations back on track, U.S. President Jimmy Carter explicitly reaffirmed his commitment to the principles of the Shanghai Communiqué, a move that contributed to the process at large, and sent his National Security Advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski, to build on the work of Nixon and Kissinger.

Deferral and Compromise:

7. List difficult issues that the two sides deferred for a later date.

Answer: The difficult issues that the two sides deferred for a later date are: the question of Taiwan, the issue of arms sales to Taiwan, the application of the long-term principles outlined in the Shanghai Communiqué, following the Shanghai Communiqué formal recognition did not come for several years,

8. List areas where the two sides found compromise.

Answer: Compromise was found between the two sides with: the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military installations from Taiwan as long as tensions diminished; the balanced, general agreement on long-term principles in the Shanghai Communiqué, which was in itself a compromise; the U.S. agreement to maintain a full range of relations with Taiwan on an unofficial basis; the withdrawal of the U.S. from its defense treaty with the ROC; the removal of U.S. troops from Taiwan; and the U.S. holding out for the future prospect of a negotiated resolution of the issue of weapons sales to Taiwan.