

The Perception of the U.S.-China Economic And Security Review Commission toward China and its Influence on Sino-U.S. Relations

Zhang Shengyong, University of Dezhou

The U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission (USCC) was formed on October 30, 2000, to provide reports concerning relationships between the U.S. and China with respect to national security, trade, and economy. The Commission recommends legislative and administrative actions where appropriate to Congress. Seven annual reports have been made to Congress (USCC, 2002, 2004-2009). Based on the analyses, USCC believes that some of the current trends in U.S.-China relations are in need of urgent attention and corrections, such as the policy of trading with China, China's military modernization, and China's media and information controls. Based on cross-cultural comparison and contrast, the author shows longitudinal differences between the Commission's opinions and the views of other international media, showing that the U.S. policies and practices are very different from those of the Chinese government. The author introduces the Commission's evaluation of China-U.S. trade and economic relationships, China's military power, and China's science and technology development. By analyzing the annual reports and related writings, the author concludes that USCC has consistently considered China as a threat to America. The Commission argues that the policy of a combination of containment and engagement will still be the main direction of Sino-U.S. relations. In light of the USCC's recommendations, Sino-U.S. relations are bound to be complicated and extensive, and constructive dialogues and cooperation will always be accompanied by conflicts and frictions.

The U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission (USCC) was formed on October 30, 2000 to provide reports concerning relationships between the U.S. and China with respect to national security, trade, and economy. According to the purpose on its website, <http://www.uscc.gov/about/facts.php>, Public Law 109-108 directs the USCC to focus its work and study on the following eight areas: proliferation practices, economic transfers, energy, U.S. capital markets, regional economic and security impacts, U.S.-China bilateral programs, WTO compliance, and the implications of restrictions on speech and access to information in the People's Republic of China. Its first annual report was in 2002. However, even though the Commission did not publish an annual report in 2003, it has submitted seven annual reports to Congress (USCC, 2002, 2004-2009).

In a letter to congressional leaders in its 2002 annual report, the former chairman of the USCC, C. Richard D'Amato, pointed out that the immediate reason for its formation was the approval of the Permanent Most Favored Nation Trade Relations (PNTR) by the U.S. Congress. During congressional consideration of that legislation, the Clinton Administration asserted that passage of the PNTR and China's entry into the WTO were in the "vital national security of the U.S." (USCC, 2002). Congress charged it to evaluate that assertion over time. Analysis of USCC reports shows that it believes that some of the current trends in U.S.-China

relations have negative implications, and as a result, U.S. policies are in need of urgent attention and corrections (USCC, 2002, 2004-2009). Based on the USCC reports themselves and related writings by scholars, such as Sun Zhe (2003, 2004), Xin Qiang (2003), Zhang Yanyu (2003), Jiang (2005), Li Qingsi (2002), Sun Zhe (2007), and Zhang Shengyong (2009), the perception of China in these annual reports will be discussed from various aspects.

Basic Reasons for Believing that the Commission Reports are Necessary

In this report, the author tried to explain why the Commission believes that current trends in U.S.-China relations have negative implications for long term economic and national security interests from historical and current perspectives. U.S. misconceptions about China's significance in world affairs (see Cohen, 1990; Schaller, 2000) have a long history. As Sutter (2004) argues, "many Americans think that U.S. leaders made a mistake following President Richard Nixon's historic trip to China in 1972 when they widely believed that as a great power China could force the Soviet Union to abandon its expansionist policies and accommodate the West" (p. 75). Sutter continued to explain that,

China was actually a weak state with a stagnating economy and an obsolete military enmeshed in a wrenching leadership struggle, and on the other hand, the United States grossly underestimated Chinese resolve when a million of China's Soviet-backed "volunteers" first entered the Korean War in 1950 and then misjudged the fighting endurance of those volunteers, who would engage U.S. soldiers for three years of hard combat. (p. 75)

However, the May 4-June 5 Tiananmen Square incident in 1989 quickly replaced the 1980s' U.S. perception of China, and "aggressive Chinese military behavior toward Taiwan and the dispute over Taiwan's independence along with other Chinese territorial disputes prompted U.S. concerns about China as a long-term strategic threat capable of contesting U.S. power in the not-so-distant future" (Sutter, 2004, p. 76).

According to many scholars, the "China threat" concept includes both China and the Chinese language as a risk to the U.S. and other dominant European countries as well as English as a global language (Bernstein & Munroe, 1997; Gertz, 2002; Karabell, 2009; Li, 2008; Naisbitt & Naisbitt, 2010; Timberlake & Triplett, 1989; Wang, 2010; Wang, Hutters & Karl, 2006; Yee & Storey, 2004, etc.). Zhang (2009) discusses the role of the United States Congressional Commission's on Chinese security annual report, identifying a genuine congressional concern about China's potential threat to the U.S. Other Chinese scholars (Wu & Liu, 2007; Yao, 2007; Zhu, 2009) also worry consistently about the U.S. as a long-term threat to China.

Several commissions about China have been established over the years, such as the House U.S.-China Inter-Parliamentary Exchange (1999), the Congressional Executive Commission on China (2000), the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission (2000), the Senate U.S.-China Inter-Parliamentary Exchange (2004), the Congressional China Caucus (2005), the U.S.-China House Working Group (2005), and the U.S.-China Senate

Working Group (2006). The Commission holds that the “report will provide a baseline for assessing changes in U.S.-China relations—the positive and the negative—in the years ahead” (USCC, 2002). However, this author concludes that the USCC considers China as an ongoing threat to the U.S.

The USCC General Perception of China

The Commission’s evaluation of China holds that China is and will be a major competitor of the U.S. Its first annual 209-page report in 2002 evaluated China in 10 different fields including China’s perceptions of the United States and strategic thinking, trade and investment, China and the World Trade Organization, its political and civil freedom, growth as a regional economic power, presence in U.S. capital markets, China’s proliferation and relations with terrorist-sponsoring states, cross-strait security issues, China’s defense budget, military economy, technology transfers, and military acquisition policies. As a result, 20 recommendations on guiding the relations between America and China were given to the U.S. Congress based on the above evaluations.

In 2004, those central issues included the questions of China’s progress in four broad areas: (1) market reforms and trade commitments, (2) cooperation with the United States on national security matters, (3) policies toward openness, human rights, democracy-building, and the rule of law, and (4) the quality of the overall bilateral relationship. In most of these areas, the USCC believed that China’s progress had been far from satisfactory, and that it is in the U.S. interest to continue to press China to accept more international responsibility (USCC, 2004). Concerning questions such as openness, human rights, democracy-building, and the rule of law, USCC regularly stated that China simply failed to meet a minimal standard of progress (USCC, 2004-2009).

The 2006 annual report borrowed the notion of a “responsible stakeholder” in the international community—that is, a state that not only observes international norms but works to strengthen those norms—as a measure of Chinese activities (USCC, 2006). However, it was USCC’s judgment that, while China’s influence was growing as its national strength increased, and there remained many reasons to think that China might in the future stand as a pillar of the world, its behavior as yet was far from that standard. Furthermore, it suggested that many of the trends (trades in China’s foreign policy, China’s military modernization, and China’s regional activity) of 2005 had raised serious doubts whether China was willing or prepared to play the role. For example, although China is integrated increasingly into the international economy, the USCC believed that profound differences remained between “the open-market U.S. approach and the managed trade principles and predatory practices observed by the Chinese government” (USCC, 2006). In particular, the USCC reported that

China’s record of adhering to the obligations it incurred upon its entry into the WTO had been inconsistent, and it remains an open question whether China would change its domestic practices to observe international trade norms or will continue to bend current norms to suit its domestic practices (USCC, 2006).

The USCC also concluded that China's role as a responsible stakeholder was urgent because of threats to international security, terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, the challenges of the economic globalization, the weaknesses of failed and failing states, environmental degradation, and so forth. According to the 2006 report, world security and prosperity, public health, and liberty all needed China to devote to the world interest rather than to focus on its own national interests (USCC, 2006).

On the contrary, other international media watched China and the Chinese role in the world very differently. *China Daily*, the official language newspaper of the Chinese government, covers the cooperation between China and the U.S. frequently, such as the report on March 4, 2007 that China and U.S. should work together to maintain world stability and peace. U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte disclosed that the United States was seeking to work cooperatively with China on many issues, which would benefit the two countries and the rest of the world (China Daily, March 4, 2007).

Also, as reported in the *New York Times*, the U.S. Undersecretary of State for Economic, Energy, and Agricultural Affairs commented at Davos 2010 (It is designed to offer a platform for stake holders to discuss world-pressing issues) that if the United States and China "work together we can deal with almost all the major global crises, and stressed that success in clean technologies was not a 'zero-sum game'" (Bennhold, 2010).

There seem to be differences between the Commission and the media's perception towards China. An open and objective truth should always make communication smooth and healthy. However, the Commission's view on China has been mostly negative as analyzed by the author.

At Presidents Hu Jintao and Barack Obama's meeting in Beijing on November 17, 2009, China and the U.S. agreed that "the U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue [August, 2010]...offers a unique forum to promote understanding, expand common ground, reduce differences, and develop solutions to common problems." Presidents Hu and Obama further agreed that:

China and United States have an increasingly broad base of cooperation and share increasingly important common responsibilities on many major issues concerning global stability and prosperity; the two countries should further strengthen coordination and cooperation, work together to tackle challenges, and promote world peace, security and prosperity and the two sides are determined to work together to achieve more sustainable and balanced global economic growth. (U.S.-China Joint Statement, November 17, 2009)

This author believes that it is normal for the United States to concern itself regarding the development of a rising superpower such as China or, in contrast, for China to worry about perceived threats coming from such world powers as the U.S. or Russia. Facing China's development and its difference in political structure and ideology, the United States Commission has argued that the U.S. had the right to show its concern over the emerging China and to be anxious about some trends that would influence its own interest (Zhang, 2009). However, from the perspective of China, its leaders and spokespersons have

consistently affirmed that such a concern is meddling unfairly in its internal affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China has consistently and firmly opposed all the Commission's annual reports.

Evaluation of the China-U.S. Trade and Economic Relationship

According to the USCC's 2006 annual report, China was America's third-largest trading partner, behind Canada and Mexico, but the report argued that China's trade relationship with the United States was extremely unbalanced as China was then exporting to the U.S. six times the value that it imported from the U.S., which led to an increasing trade deficit for the U.S. This deficit witnessed 23% of the total U.S. deficits in 2006. Therefore, the USCC argued that the increasing U.S. deficit and the pouring of the private capital into China as well as China's investment in U.S. capital markets had caused China's increasing national power.

The Commission repeated regularly in its annual reports that the major drivers of China's comparative advantage were considered to be unfair trading practices. These included China's undervalued currency, counterfeiting and piracy, export industry subsidies, and the lack of protection of U.S. intellectual property rights. The Commission held that those violations and unfair practices also contributed to a growing U.S. trade deficit with China (USCC, 2004-2009).

Concerning the reform of the Chinese currency, China has been denying the criticism from U.S., Europe, and others on the RMB's exchange rate to the dollar. The USCC reports agreed that "currency reform alone was not the solution to rebalancing the U.S.-China relationship because the deficit and disadvantages were compounded by China's other unfair trading practices" (USCC, 2006). In Davos 2010, the People's Bank of China Deputy Governor Zhu Min told the World Economic Forum at its annual meeting on January 30th that China will maintain an accommodating monetary policy, aiming for annual economic growth of 8% to 9% (Watts, 2010). Meanwhile, Zhu Min pointed out that China will stick to the current monetary and fiscal policy to keep the RMB at a reasonable level.

The Commission recommended that the U.S. should cooperate with the EU, Japan, and other interested nations to address mutual- and security-related concerns with China, such as to move China to increase the value of the Chinese RMB, to issue an annual joint assessment of China's compliance with the rules of WTO, and to develop embargoes on China. Meanwhile, the USCC has continued to ignore the progress that China has made in market reform, such as property rights reform, market (pricing) reform, enterprise reform, and reform of the political system, which allowed China to become the world's third-largest economy, surpassing Germany in 2009, and is expected to surpass Japan in 2010. This author believes that these recent Chinese achievements could not have been completed without progress in market reform.

In contrast to the Commission's conclusion, the cooperation between U.S. and China has become more important than any period, and the U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue (S & ED) provided a platform to reduce common differences (Liu Hong, July 30, 2009). David Loevinger, senior coordinator for China Affairs and the U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue, has told Xinhua that the U.S. and China act very quickly and

aggressively on global economic crises (July 30, 2009). Even though the world was facing a serious global economic crisis in 2008, the USCC's 2008 Annual Report mentioned nothing about the issue. Continually, the reports recommend that the Congress adopt more sanctions on China (USCC, 2008).

Following U.S. President Barack Obama's visit to China in November 2009, the two countries issued a joint declaration saying "they are committed to building a positive, cooperative and comprehensive China-U.S. relationship for the 21st century, and will take concrete actions to steadily build a partnership to address common challenges" (U.S.-China Joint Statement, November 17, 2009). In the new era of China-U.S. relationship, trade, and economics both have strategic significance. Today, China and the U.S. are each other's second-largest trade partners and their trade volume has increased by 130 times in the past 30 years (2009: A Year of Cooperation and Conflicts for China-U.S. Trade Relations, December 23, 2009).

Regarding compliance with the rules of the WTO, the USCC stated that China's adherence to its many WTO obligations remained spotty and halting in important areas five years after China attained WTO membership. As a result, U.S. exporters and investors had been facing a variety of non-tariff barriers and major impediments in conducting business in China. China's failure to enforce intellectual property rights provides such an egregious case of its noncompliance with WTO rules in the view of the Commission (USCC, 2006, 2007). However, in the Commission's 2007 report to Congress on China's WTO Compliance, it pointed out that China "did make some progress" in complying with the rules of the WTO (2007 Report to Congress on China's WTO Compliance, 2007). In the report, it said that China has taken many impressive steps to reform its economy, making progress in implementing a set of sweeping commitments that required it to reduce tariff rates, dispel non-tariff barriers, provide the same favorable policy to foreign countries as what the Chinese enterprises enjoy in the domestic trades, and protect intellectual property rights. Although not complete in every respect, "China's implementation of its WTO commitments has led to significant increases in U.S.-China trade, including U.S. exports to China" (2007 Report to Congress on China's WTO Compliance, 2007). In this case, the Commission did have some rare positive statements about China's progress, but it is clearly possible to notice in general the Commission's negative attitude towards China. This author believes that the Commission reports tend to focus on its perceived negative perspectives of China's current condition and has quoted a one-sided outlook to promote its own China threat speculations and recommendations.

Evaluation of China's Military Power

China's growing military power has been another great concern in the USCC's annual reports, including China's nuclear proliferation, China's military modernization and its effects against American interests and regional security. Generally the USCC has consistently held that the development of China's military power and weapon exportation was threatening America's security. In its annual report of 2002, it pointed out the reasons for such a concern in this field. On one hand, China's power growth and the increasing world politics improved

China's confidence to compete with America. On the other hand, China had particularly developed relationships with oil-rich, terrorist-sponsoring countries to provide China with long-term economic and strategic interests and extend China's global reach. In the Commission's opinion, the Chinese government had made numerous multilateral and bilateral promises to stop weapons and nuclear proliferation originating in China, but despite repeated promises had not kept its word. This situation was a major item at the summit meeting between Presidents George W. Bush and Jiang Zemin in February 2002. However, less progress has been made during the meeting.

Meanwhile, the Commission denied that China was exerting its full efforts to work with America in joint anti-terrorist efforts. The USCC stated that since September 11th, 2001, Beijing had expressed support for and had implemented a working relationship with the United States on some elements of anti-terrorist efforts, but that the Chinese nuclear proliferation and cooperation with terrorist-sponsoring countries had continued to improve (USCC, 2002). These relationships, the Commission warned, enhanced Beijing's political and military influence and helped ensure a diversified source of energy to meet its own growing energy needs. Therefore, the USCC concluded that the U.S. military sanctions policies to deter China's proliferation practices needed immediate review. Then, the Commission recommended that Congress should create new authorization to broaden proliferation sanctions (USCC, 2002). However, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton has more recently stated that China is "very much engaged" in working with the United States to punish Iran for its nuclear program (Rozen & Negrin, January 29, 2010).

In its 2006 annual report, the Commission said that "China was pursuing measures to try to control the Western Pacific seas and was developing space warfare weapons that would impede U.S. command and control" (USCC, 2006). In 2007, the USCC stressed that Chinese espionage behavior in the U.S. was so extensive that it comprised the single greatest risk to the security of American technologies. In addition, the 2007 annual report emphasized that Chinese military strategists had embraced disruptive warfare techniques, including the use of cyber attacks, and had incorporated them in China's military defense practices. In all, such attacks could have extremely harmful consequences on America's critical infrastructure. Regarding cyber attacks, the Commission argued that China was actively engaging in cyber reconnaissance by probing the computer networks of U.S. government agencies as well as private companies (USCC, 2007).

Hillary Clinton also attacked China's internet policy, saying that China is one of the countries to see "a spike in threats to the free flow of information" (Clinton, January 21, 2010). China "resolutely opposes such remarks and practices that contravene facts and undermine China-U.S. relations" according to Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Ma Zhaoxu's in his remarks on her China-related speech "Internet Freedom" (January 22, 2010). Ma replied that China's internet is open, so hacking and attacking others' privacy is forbidden by law in China. As a major victim concerning the problem, China believes that "the international community should intensify the cooperation in jointly combating internet hacking so as to safeguard internet security and protect the privacy of citizens in accordance with law" (January 22, 2010).

On China's nuclear proliferation, the Commission pointed out that it was vital for U.S. national security for China to ensure that it was not the source of proliferation contrary to its commitments, and recommended that it was "equally vital for other nations committed to nonproliferation to monitor China's adherence to its commitments and insist that China honor them" (USCC, 2007). As a result, one of the conclusions of the Commission was that if China wanted to be perceived as a responsible stakeholder, China must stop providing trade and diplomatic support to North Korea and Iran, which were under international pressure to end their WMD programs (USCC, 2006-2008).

Evaluation of China's High-Technology and Science Development

Briefly speaking, China's technological development caused America's anxiety and suspicion about the potential threat that China posed to U.S. interests (USCC, 2004-2009). Throughout the reports, this author finds that the USCC has shown greater and greater concern over the development of China's science and technology. In 2002, its annual report mentioned only a little information in this respect. But in 2004, the USCC provided four pages to illustrate China's developing science strategy. In 2005, 27 pages evaluated China's technological development and implications for the U.S. defense industrial base. It was noted (USCC, 2005) that China's plan for science and technology incorporated elements of previous similar plans, but also collected important social factors such as needed institutional and cultural reforms. The Commission also emphasized on the importance of domestic innovation rather than reliance on imported high-tech products. It can easily be seen that China's great achievements in science and technology these years from the Commission's evaluation were a source of considerable concern to the U.S. The Commission stressed that Chinese policies promote "leapfrogging" by adapting already existing technology from the U.S. (USCC, 2006). "This speeds product development and saves China the time and cost of accomplishing the intermediate steps" (Executive Summary of USCC 2006 Annual Report, p. 8). However, according to the USCC's (2007) view, industrial espionage by China had contributed to this process. A major objective of the Chinese Science and Technology policy is to acquire technology that will strengthen the People's Liberation Army (PLA) while it also realizes commercial benefits (USCC, 2007).

Most of the Commission's reports to Congress recommend that the U.S. government develop a comprehensive national strategy to meet China's challenge to the leadership of U.S. in science and technology, as America's economic competitiveness, standard of living, and national security depend on such leadership. Therefore, the Commission (2007) recommended the following:

- (I) that Congress urge the U.S. administration to publish a national strategy on security that challenge American's interest all over the world.
- (II) that Congress direct the Department of Commerce and the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR) to study and report on China's improvement of

domestic technology standards and “whether non-performance-based standards are creating an unjustified market barrier to U.S. goods.” (USCC, 2007)

This echoes its previous recommendation that:

If the study finds that China’s standard setting process is acting as a market access restriction, Congress should direct USTR to identify standards under development and to intervene with Chinese officials early in the standard development process, and to consider filing a WTO case to address restrictive standards that are already in effect. (USCC, 2005)

(III) that Congress increase intelligence community resources for collection and analysis focused on China’s technology development, as it is vital that “U.S. policy makers have access to current, accurate, and complete information on China’s technological development.” (USCC, 2005)

(IV) that Congress direct the U.S. administration to prepare and submit quadrennial reviews of any strategies by foreign countries or companies to get critical defense technologies. (USCC, 2008)

However, China has been emphasizing cooperation in science and technology with the U.S. since 2007, and the U.S. Commerce Department and China signed “Guidelines for U.S.-China High-Technology and Strategic Trade Development,” which outline the importance of working cooperatively to achieve the mutual benefits of promoting secure, bilateral civilian high-technology trade. Under the principle, the U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT) High-Technology Working Group agreed to share more information on market opportunities and identify and eliminate unnecessary barriers to bilateral, civilian high-technology trade (The United States-China Government Signing Ceremony fact sheet, December 11, 2007). When Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao met with U.S. delegates to the U.S.-China Strategic Forum on Clean Energy Cooperation on October 21, 2009, he “called on the governments, enterprises and scientific research and academic institutions of both countries to join efforts in enhancing energy and environment cooperation.” Such cooperation is important work and in the interests of both countries and the world. He said that the two countries should advance cooperation in this area to bring benefit to mankind and future generations. (Wen Jiabao Meets with U.S. Delegates to the U.S.-China Strategic Forum on Clean Energy Cooperation, October 21, 2009)

All in all, the Commission’s evaluation of China nearly includes every aspect of the Sino-U.S. relations. Although the emphasis of each annual report differs, several reach the same conclusion: that is, based on their analyses to date, the Commission believes that “a number of the current trends in U.S.-China relations have negative implications for the long term economic and national security interests, and therefore that the U.S. policies in these areas are in need of urgent attention and course corrections” (USCC, 2002, p. 1; 2004, p. 1). As a result, it clearly reflects the U.S. concern for China’s emergence in the world and anxiety

about its rising influence. This author, from reading and analyzing those recommendations, has argued that nearly all the recommendations consider containment as the main policy in Sino-U.S. relations (see also Sun, 2007; Zhang Yanyu, 2003).

Conclusion

Although China consistently argues that the U.S. Commission is meddling in its internal affairs, it is normal for a superpower such as the U.S. to concern itself with a rising superpower such as China's development. Facing China's development and its difference in political structure and ideology, America has the right to show its concern about the emerging China as a superpower and to be anxious about some trends that influence its own interests. But considering the USCC's evaluation of China by comparing it with various media views on China, its attitude is almost consistently negative. The statement by China's Foreign Ministry spokesperson Qin Gang, in response to the 2008 annual report, argues that the Commission always sees China through tinted lenses, and creates obstacles for China-U.S. cooperation in extensive fields by tarnishing and attacking China deliberately and misleading the general public:

The report was flatly unfounded and the Commission will never succeed in its attempts.... [We] advise the Commission to reverse its course, stop issuing reports of this kind, and stop interfering in China's internal affairs, so as not to further undermine its own image. (Qin, 2008)

As China's power grows, Chinese leaders presumably will become more confident in exerting China's influence in world affairs. In April 2009, President Barack Obama and President Hu Jintao announced a new dialogue as a part of the administration's efforts to build a positive, cooperative, and comprehensive relationship with Beijing (Clinton & Geithner, 2009). The Chinese government in 2009 reported that China seeks a 20-year period to focus primarily on internal development as stressed by Chinese President Hu Jintao when he addressed in Study Session of Communist Party of China on Global New Military Changes on May 24, 2009. He stated that Chinese leaders intend to continue trying to stabilize China's international environment to preserve good conditions for Chinese economic development. With the growing communication with China, more specialists outside of China think that recent behavior and trends in China suggest a continued comparatively cooperative and accommodating Chinese approach to most world issues for the foreseeable future.

Hu Jintao and Wen Jibao represent the first peaceful transmission of power by Chinese leaders. As the fourth generation of Chinese leaders since the founding of the PRC, there is wide speculation that they will be succeeded in an orderly fashion with a fifth generation of leaders in 2013. There likely will come a point well before 2020 when Chinese leaders will develop sufficient power to choose a different and more assertive approach to international affairs. Unfortunately, the evidence is insufficient to determine if that approach will support or oppose U.S. interests in the prevailing world order. However, according to Clinton and Geithner (2009), few global problems can be solved by the U.S. or China alone and few can

be solved without the U.S. and China together, including the strength of the global economy, the health of the global environment, the stability of fragile states, and the solution to non-proliferation challenges turn in large measure on cooperation between the U.S. and China. Therefore, this author agrees with Sutter (2004), who said that “prudence seems to argue for a middle course in U.S. policy that works for cooperation but is prepared for difficulty and challenge” (p. 88).

This analysis has longitudinally assessed the Commission’s own statements from 2002 to 2009 about what it sees as the trends of the Sino-American cooperation, and cross-cultural analysis has considered the Chinese and American perspectives and statements on the major issues confronting this bilateral relationship over time. Even though some difficulties in the relationship have developed recently, this author believes that overall the Chinese-American relationship will continue to move towards cooperation in many of the areas which have been discussed in this paper.

References

- 2009: *A year of cooperation and conflicts for China-U.S. trade relations*. Retrieved December 23, 2009, from http://www.china.org.cn/world/2009-12/23/content_19117866.htm
- Bennhold, K. (2010, January 29). *Race is on to develop green, clean technology*. Retrieved January 30, 2010, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/30/business/global/30davos.html?emc=eta1>
- Bernstein, R., & Munro, R. H. (1997). *The coming conflict with China*. New York: Knopf.
- China and the U.S. lead global smart meter trend*. Retrieved January 31, 2010, from <http://www.smartmeters.com/the-news/794-china-and-the-us-lead-global-smart-meter-trend.html>
- Clinton, H. R. (2010, January 21). *Remarks on Secretary of State Hillary Clinton on “internet freedom.”* Retrieved from <http://beijing.usembassy-china.org.cn/012110ir.html>
- Clinton, H. R., & Geithner, T. (2009, July 27). A new strategic and economic dialogue with China. *Wall Street Journal*. 1-5.
- Cohen, W. I. (1990). *America’s response to China*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Ma Zhaoxu’s Remarks on China-related Speech by US Secretary of State on “Internet Freedom.”* Retrieved January 22, 2010, from <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/xwfw/s2510/t653351.htm>
- Gertz, B. (2002). *The China threat: How the People’s Republic targets America*. Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing.
- Jiang, X. Y. (2005). *U.S. congress and the making of U.S. security policy towards China*. Beijing, China: Shishi Press.
- Karabell, Z. (2009). *Superfusion: How China and America become one economy and why the world’s prosperity depends on it*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Li, M. (2008). *The rise of China and the demise of China and the demise of the capitalist world economy*. London: Pluto Press.
- Li, Q. S. (2002). *U.S. Congress and American policy towards China*. Beijing, China: World Press.

- Liu, H. (2009, July 30). *Senior U.S. official says cooperation with China never so important*. Retrieved July 30, 2009, from <http://english.dbw.cn/system/2009/07/30/000148765.shtml>
- Ma, Z. (2010, January 22). *Remarks on the China-related speech by the U.S. Secretary of State on 'Internet Freedom.'* Retrieved January 22, 2010, from http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/china/2010-01/22/c_13147126.htm
- Naisbitt, J., & Naisbitt, D. (2010). *China's megatrends: The 8 pillars of a new society*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Qin, G. (2008, November 24). *Foreign Ministry spokesperson Qin Gang's remarks on the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 2008*. Retrieved November 24, 2008, from <http://www.chinaembassy.org.NZ>
- Rozen, L., & Negrin, M. (2010, January 29). *Hillary Clinton: China helping U.S. on Iran*. Retrieved January 29, 2010, from <http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0110/32199.html>
- Sun, L. (2007). Analyzing US-China Economic and Security Review Commission. *Tribune of Social Sciences*, 3, 36-46.
- Sun, Z. (2003). *Study of U.S. Congress*. Shanghai, China: Fudan University Press.
- Sun, Z. (2004). *Studies of U.S. congress and sino-U.S. relations—Case and analysis*. Beijing, China: Shishi Press.
- Sutter, R. (2003-2004, Winter). Why does China matter? *The Washington Quarterly*, 27(1), 75-89.
- The big issues between China and America from 1972 to 2008*. Retrieved December 31, 2009, from <http://world.people.com.cn/GB/8212/142261/142271/8610214.html>
- The United States-China government signing ceremony fact sheet*. Retrieved December 11, 2007, from <http://beijing.usembassy-china.org.cn/121107jcct3.html>
- Timberlake, E., & Triplett II, W. C. (1989). *Red dragon rising: Communist China's military threat to America*. Washington, D.C.: Regnery.
- United States Trade Representative. (2007). *2007 Report to Congress on China's WTO Compliance*. Retrieved June 25, 2007, from http://www.ustr.gov/sites/default/files/asset_upload_file625_13692.pdf
- USCC. (2002, July). *The US-China Economic and Security Commission Annual Report*. Retrieved July 15, 2002, from www.USCC.gov/index
- USCC. (2004, June). *The US-China Economic and Security Commission Annual Report*. Retrieved June 10, 2004, from www.USCC.gov/index
- USCC. (2005, November). *The US-China Economic and Security Commission Annual Report*. Retrieved November 9, 2005, from www.USCC.gov/index
- USCC. (2006, November). *The US-China Economic and Security Commission Annual Report*. Retrieved November 1, 2006, from www.USCC.gov/index
- USCC. (2007, June). *The US-China Economic and Security Commission Annual Report*. Retrieved June 1, 2007, from www.USCC.gov/index
- USCC. (2008, October). *The US-China Economic and Security Commission Annual Report*. Retrieved November 1, 2008, from www.USCC.gov/index

- USCC. (2009, November). *The US-China Economic and Security Commission Annual Report*. Retrieved November 1, 2009, from www.USCC.gov/index
- U.S.-China Joint Statement. Retrieved November 17, 2009, from <http://beijing.usembassy-china.org.cn/111709.html>
- U.S. seeks closer cooperation with China in securing world peace. Retrieved March 4, 2007, from http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2007-03/04/content_819174.htm
- Wang, H. (2010). *The end of the revolution: China and the limits of modernity*. London: Verso.
- Wang, H., Hutters, T., & Karl, R. E. (2006). *China's new order: Society, politics, and economy in transition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Watts, W. L. (2010, January 30). No change for China's monetary, currency policies, *Market Watch*. Retrieved January 30, 2010, from <http://www.marketwatch.com/story/china-sticking-to-monetary-currency-policies-2010-01-30>
- Wen Jiabao Meets with U.S. Delegates to the U.S.-China Strategic Forum on Clean Energy Cooperation. Retrieved October 21, 2009, from <http://www.chinaconsulatesf.org/eng/xw/t622137.htm>
- Wu, L., & Liu, X. (2007, September). The 'China Energy Threat' thesis and Sino-U.S. relations: A critical review. *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (in Asia)*, 1(1), 14-20.
- Xin, Q. (2003). *U.S. congress and Taiwan issue*. Shanghai, China: Fudan University Press.
- Yao, K. (2007, September). Development of Sino-Arab relations and the evolution of China's Middle East policy in the new era. *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (in Asia)*, 1(1), 10-17.
- Yee, H., & Storey, I. (2004). *China threat: Perceptions, myths, and reality*. New York: Routledge.
- Zhang, S. Y. (2009). *USCC's cognition on China and its influence on Sino-US relations*. Unpublished master's thesis. Shanghai International Studies University, Shanghai, China.
- Zhu, W. (2009, March). Understanding and respect: On establishing a Chinese discourse for Middle East studies. *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (in Asia)*, 3(1), 1-8.
- Zhang, Y. Y. (2003, August). Discussing the US-China economic and security commission. *Guo Ji Zi Liao Xin Xi*, 8(1).