

WHAT SHOULD THE U.S. DO ABOUT NORTH KOREA'S NUCLEAR WEAPONS?

The United States and North Korea are involved in escalating tensions related to North Korea's nuclear weapons program. The U.S. opposes North Korea's possession of nuclear weapons. The Supreme Leader of North Korea, Kim Jong-un, however, believes he needs nuclear weapons to remain in power. While war with North Korea is probably not imminent, the prospect has caused alarm. A nuclear war between the U.S. and North Korea would have devastating consequences.

The U.S. and North Korea have virtually no diplomatic contact. North Korea, officially called the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, is a secretive and isolated country. It conducts foreign relations with relatively few countries. Ninety percent of its foreign trade is done with China alone. North Korea is openly hostile to the United States and to North Korea's regional neighbors Japan and South Korea.

The government of North Korea originally began as a Marxist-Leninist state in 1948. Since 1972, however, its official ideology has been *Juche*, which means "self-reliance." The state owns all industries, agriculture, and media. Citizens have no basic freedoms, such as freedoms of speech, religion, and assembly. The supreme leaders have all been hereditary (linked to and selected from one family): Kim Jong-un is the grandson of the first supreme leader Kim Il-sung.



North Korea's Korean Central News Agency released this photo of an inter-continental ballistic rocket prepared for a test launch.

Threats of Nuclear Confrontation

The nuclear capabilities of the U.S. and North Korea are vastly different. The U.S. has 6,800 deliverable nuclear warheads. U.S. intelligence experts believe North Korea has between 20 and 60 nuclear weapons and may have 100 by 2020. Experts do not know if ►

FLASHPOINTS

A flashpoint is a place where tensions flare. The first article presents the grave threat of nuclear conflict between the United States and North Korea. The second article takes a close look at the war that culminated in "Custer's Last Stand" and issues surrounding compensation to the Sioux Nation. The third article analyzes the South China Sea as a potential flashpoint between the U.S., China, and other nations.

U.S. Government/Current Issues: *What Should the U.S. Do About North Korea's Nuclear Weapons?* by CRF's UCLA School of Law extern Patrick Hale

U.S. History: *The Great Sioux War: Land, Gold, and a Broken Treaty* by longtime contributor Carlton Martz

World History/Current Issues: *The Dispute Over the South China Sea* by Carlton Martz

Look for Supplemental Activities!

Teacher-leaders from CRF's T2T Collab have created innovative activities for lessons in this issue! Look for the T2T symbol to access activities in the print and on-line editions.

T2T

North Korea has nuclear weapons small enough to fit on Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs). ICBMs are deliverable thousands of miles away, in which case they could reach the United States. Experts predict North Korea could achieve this within a year.

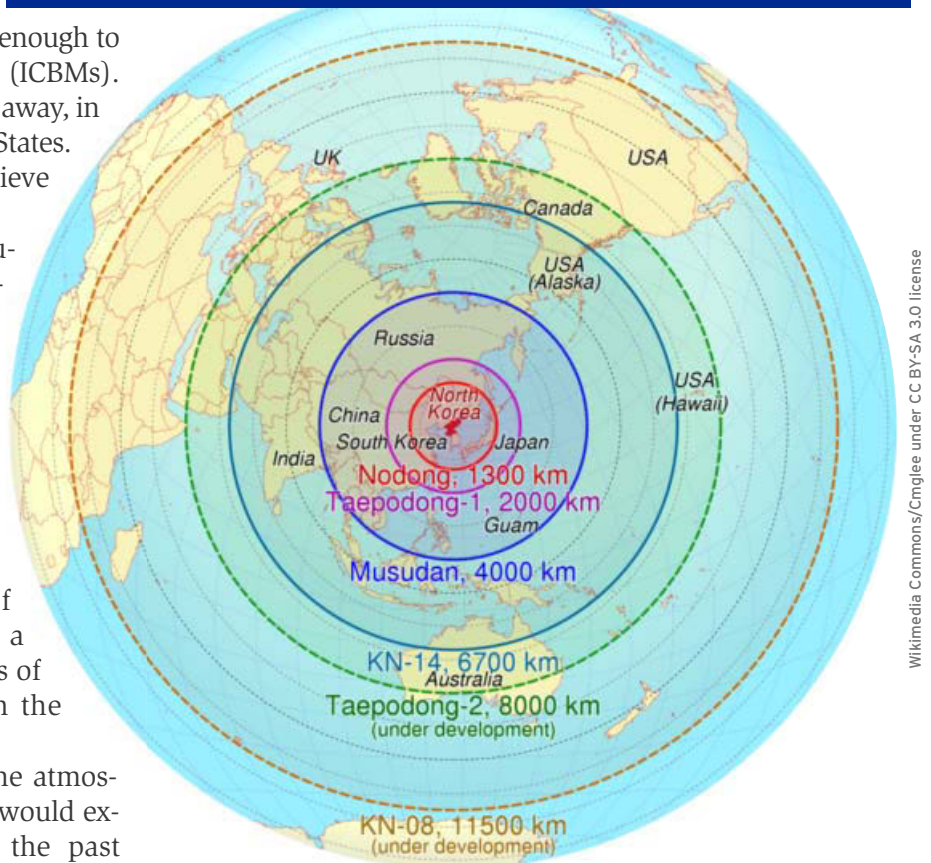
The potential consequences of nuclear war are devastating. Even a limited U.S. nuclear strike to destroy North Korea's nuclear weapons would mean hundreds of thousands of people, if not millions, would die. One study conducted by U.S. scientists predicted the effects of a regional nuclear war consisting of 100 15-kiloton weapons (a kiloton is explosive power equal to 1,000 tons of TNT). These scientists predicted such a war would result in a 20-50 percent loss of the ozone, which protects earth from the sun's harmful effects.

Due to the material released into the atmosphere from the nuclear weapons, earth would experience its coldest temperatures in the past thousand years. Also, scientists predict lower rainfall resulting from colder temperatures. The colder temperatures and lower rainfall would shorten growing seasons around the earth by 10 to 40 days, which could cause a dramatic decrease in the global food supply. It would take decades for the effects to lessen and for Earth's atmosphere to return to normal.

North Korea's Nuclear Ambitions

North Korea's nuclear ambitions are not new. The CIA believed North Korea possessed one or two nuclear weapons in 1994. President Bill Clinton tried to negotiate a deal to halt North Korea's nuclear program but was unsuccessful. In 2003, North Korea announced its withdrawal from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which aims to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. One-hundred and ninety-one countries are signatories to the treaty. The United Nations and others, like the U.S., help monitor compliance.

In recent years, North Korea has conducted six underground nuclear weapons tests as well as tests of ICBMs. The first nuclear test occurred in 2006, and a more recent test in 2017. U.S. experts estimated the 2006 test was less than one kiloton. The most recent test was between 10 to 100 kilotons. During a July 2017 ICBM test, North Korea tested ICBMs with the range to reach the U.S. for the first time. This raised the pos-



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sibility that North Korea could attack the U.S. mainland with a nuclear weapon and provoked a crisis: How should the United States respond?

Because of the crisis, rhetoric between President Trump and Supreme Leader Kim Jong-un has become increasingly hostile. Speaking to the United Nations in September 2017, President Trump warned that the U.S. may have to "totally destroy" North Korea. In response, North Korea released a propaganda video showing missiles blowing up a U.S. jet and aircraft carrier. In reality the attack never occurred.

U.S. Options

The U.S. options for dealing with North Korea's nuclear weapons are limited. One option is direct military confrontation. The benefit of this, if successful, is that it would eliminate North Korea's nuclear weapons. The consequences, however, could be grave. First, if the U.S. did not eliminate all nuclear weapons, North Korea would likely launch a counterattack. North Korea would almost certainly bomb South Korea. This could cause hundreds of thousands of deaths and jeopardize around 200,000 U.S. citizens living in South Korea. The worst-case scenario is a military confrontation with nuclear weapons. North Korea also has stores of chemical and biological weapons.

Another option is for the U.S. to engage in direct diplomacy with North Korea. Former Director of National Intelligence James Clapper recommends the U.S. set up a “permanent presence” in Pyongyang, North Korea’s capital. He warns that North Korean authorities are very insecure and isolated, and they may over-react to U.S. threats due to some level of paranoia.

There have also been limited instances of diplomatic relations between the two countries in the past. In 2010, former President Jimmy Carter traveled to North Korea to bring home an imprisoned U.S. citizen. But diplomacy is difficult since the two countries have taken mutually exclusive positions. The U.S. believes North Korea should not possess any nuclear weapons, but Supreme Leader Kim thinks possessing nuclear weapons is essential to remaining in power.

A third option is for the U.S. to engage in containment, which is largely what the U.S. has done over the last decade. This would entail allowing North Korea to exist as a nuclear power but to contain or deter any hostility from North Korea. One proposal is a “freeze for freeze,” in which North Korea stops new weapons development, and the U.S. stops military exercises with its ally South Korea. U.S. Ambassador to the UN Nikki Haley rejected this proposal, saying that North Korea is an untrustworthy “rogue nation.”

A fourth option would be multilateral diplomacy. Many nations have tried this in the past. The U.S. was part of talks among North Korea, South Korea, Russia, China, and Japan with the goal of eliminating North Korea’s nuclear weapons. Those talks, however, broke off in 2009 when tensions escalated between North and South Korea. No new negotiations have begun. In addition, the UN Security Council sanctioned North Korea in response to its September 2017 nuclear test. This is the eighth set of sanctions the Security Council has adopted since 2006. None of these sanctions seem to have deterred North Korea, so far.

A fifth option requires the U.S. to rely on China to pressure North Korea. China is North Korea’s ally and largest trading partner. But some experts argue that China does not have nearly as much influence over North Korea as the U.S. thinks. Others believe China itself has concerns about its own regional security and U.S. goals in the area. China may believe that the U.S. wants either total North Korean regime change or to reunify North and South Korea. Experts believe China would rather share a border with North Korea, its ally, than with a unified Korea, which would likely be a U.S. ally.

WRITING & DISCUSSION

1. What features of North Korea’s government and foreign relations make diplomacy with the United States difficult?
2. Article I, Section 8, of the U.S. Constitution gives Congress the power “to declare war.” The president has power as commander-in-chief, however, to initiate military actions against other countries. Do you think only Congress should be able to authorize a nuclear strike against North Korea? Or should the president have that authority? Why or why not?
3. Which of the United States’ options for dealing with North Korea’s nuclear weapons is the best option? Which is the worst? Use evidence from the article in your answer.

For further reading: Martz, Carlton. “North Korea: The Rogue Nation.” *Bill of Rights in Action*. Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2011. URL: <http://www.crf-usa.org/bill-of-rights-in-action/>

Two classroom activities accompany this article on North Korea’s nuclear capability:

1. On page 3, there is a civil conversation activity. This activity allows students to read, annotate, and discuss text in a productive, structured way in order to gain mutual understanding with their peers about controversial issues.
2. On page 4, there is a simulation activity, in which students take on the roles of expert historians and U.S. senators to decide the best policy the United States government should adopt with regard to North Korea.

ACTIVITY: Civil Conversation on North Korea

In this activity, students are encouraged to engage intellectually with challenging materials, gain insight about their own point of view and strive for a shared understanding of issues.

Procedure:

1. Distribute a copy of the Civil Conversation Guide on pages 5 and 6 to each student.
2. Divide the class into groups of 3-4 students.
3. Review the rules of a civil conversation and direct the groups to follow the instructions on the guide to get started.
4. Have students conduct a civil conversation according to the step-by-step instructions in the Civil Conversation Guide.

ACTIVITY: North Korea's Nuclear Threat: Time to Testify!

You are part of a group of highly regarded foreign-policy experts who have been chosen to testify before a U.S. Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee. You will be speaking about how to deal with the current North Korean nuclear threat. *Your task is to persuade the subcommittee to adopt one option for U.S. action over all the others.* Your presentation will directly influence a Senate subcommittee resolution on how the U.S. should handle this situation.

Part One: Prepare for the Hearing

1. Six students will be selected to be U.S. senators who are on the Foreign Relations subcommittee.
2. The rest of the class will form small groups of foreign-policy experts. The groups should have four to six members each (but no more than six).
3. Each expert group will be assigned one of the proposed options for the U.S. to deal with the North Korea crisis mentioned in the article. No more than two groups should use the same option:

Option 1: direct military confrontation	Option 2: direct diplomacy with North Korea
Option 3: containment	Option 4: multilateral diplomacy
Option 5: reliance on China	
4. Each expert group's task is to persuade the subcommittee to adopt their assigned option over all the others.
5. In your expert group, brainstorm possible benefits and consequences of your option. You may consider benefits and consequences not mentioned in the article. If possible, use your answers to the Writing & Discussion questions to help generate ideas for the brainstorm.
6. Using the brainstorm, each expert group will prepare a one-minute, persuasive presentation for the subcommittee. Choose two members of your group to give your group's presentation. Presenters should be ready to answer questions from the senators. Your answers will not be counted against the one-minute limit.
7. Senators will brainstorm questions they wish to ask of each of the groups. Also, decide on what order you would like for the expert groups to present. Choose one senator to be the chairperson who will call the hearing to order, direct the groups to present, and monitor the time for the presentations.

Part Two: Conduct the Hearing

1. The subcommittee chairperson will call the hearing to order and ask a group to present. After the group has presented, senators may ask additional questions of the group's presenters.
2. The subcommittee chairperson and senators will repeat step one above until all the groups have presented.
3. In a fishbowl, subcommittee members will discuss which option each of them prefers. Each member should give reasons why one option is better than the others.
4. The subcommittee will vote on each option. The option with the most votes will be the one that the subcommittee chooses as its resolution.
5. The whole class will then vote on each option.

Part Three: Debrief the Hearing

1. Compare the decision of the whole class to that of the subcommittee. Was it the same? Why or why not?
2. Think about which option you personally believe is best for the U.S. If you were an expert, is your belief different than what you had to argue for? If so, did that make your brainstorm discussion difficult? Why or why not? If you were a senator in this activity, is your belief different than what the subcommittee voted for? If so, did that make your fishbowl discussion difficult? Why or why not?

Part Four: Assessment

Write one paragraph about which option you personally believe is best for the U.S. to take in the current North Korean nuclear threat. Explain your own claims and address any counterclaims (opposing opinions) you may have read in the article or heard during the hearing. Explain the reasons why your chosen option is the best one.

This supplemental activity was conceived by teacher-leader E'bow Morgan who teaches social studies at TEACH Charter High School in Los Angeles, California.



CIVIL CONVERSATION GUIDE

Name: _____

Class: _____

Title of Reading: _____

Step 1: Read.

- A. Read through the entire selection without stopping to think about any particular section. Pay attention to your first impression as to what the reading is about.
- B. Re-read the selection and annotate (“talk to”) the text:
- Underline the main/most important points. You can comment on these points in the margins.
 - Circle words or phrases that are unknown or confusing to you.
 - Write down any questions you have in the margin labeling them with a “?”.
 - Draw an ➡ in the margin next to text that connects to something else you know outside the text. Note what the connection is, such as a news item or personal experience.

Step 2: Think about the reading to prepare for the discussion.

A. This reading is about...	B. The MAIN POINTS are:
C. In the reading, I agree with:	D. In the reading, I disagree with:
E. What are two questions about this reading that you think could be discussed? (The best questions for discussion are ones that have no simple answer and that can use the text as evidence.) 1. 2.	

Step 3: Discuss and listen.

RULES FOR CIVIL CONVERSATION

1. Everyone in your group should participate in the conversation.
2. Listen carefully to what others are saying.
3. Ask clarifying questions if you do not understand a point raised.
4. Be respectful of what others are saying.
5. Refer to the text to support your ideas.

You will have ____ minutes to discuss. Your goal is to engage with each other and the text to gain insight about your own point of view while finding a shared understanding of issues.

At the end of the reading, you will likely find at least one discussion question. Use that question to get your discussion started. If time permits, you can also discuss questions you came up with in Step 2.

If the reading does not provide discussion questions, choose questions to discuss from Section E in Step 2 above.

Step 4: After your conversation...

A. Compared to others in my group, I spoke: __ less than, __about the same as, __ more than others

B. Some of the ways I added to the discussion:

C. What evidence did you use from the text to add to the discussion? Why was this evidence helpful?

D. What did you learn about the topic from the civil conversation? (Be sure to reference the text!)

THE GREAT SIOUX WAR: LAND, GOLD, AND A BROKEN TREATY



Library of Congress

An expedition led by U.S. Army Lt. Col. George A. Custer in 1874 to the uncharted Black Hills of the Dakota territory led to a gold rush and miners invading Sioux Reservation land.

When gold was discovered in the Black Hills of the Dakota Territory in 1874, white miners invaded. This land, however, had been promised by treaty to the Sioux Nation. The Great Sioux War resulted when the U.S. sided with the miners and demanded that the Sioux give up the Black Hills.

The Lakota Sioux people crossed the Missouri River from the east into the Northern Great Plains in the late 1600s. There they learned to hunt buffalo on horseback with bows and arrows, and lances. Later, they used guns.

The Lakota eventually made alliances with the Cheyenne and Arapaho who had migrated earlier into the Great Plains, also from the east. By the 1840s, the alliances drove out the Crow and other tribes from the Black Hills and surrounding areas.

The Great Plains were covered by immense herds of buffalo. Here the Indians (Native Americans) roamed freely and created a thriving way of life. Each buffalo could yield 200-400 pounds of meat. The Indians frequently fought each other over prized hunting grounds and raided for horses.

White people on their way to the California Gold Rush in 1849 began to appear on the Great Plains in large numbers. Settlers followed, which disrupted Indian buffalo hunting. Indian raids on white settlers and Army attacks on Indian villages resulted in

atrocities on both sides. Then the Indian wars began in the West.

Red Cloud's War

In 1863, a gold rush occurred in the Montana Territory. A trail was built that crossed Lakota and Northern Cheyenne buffalo hunting lands to reach the gold fields. The U.S. built forts along the trail to protect the miners.

Oglala Lakota Chief Red Cloud attacked wagon trains and the forts. Many other Lakota, Northern Cheyenne, and Northern Arapaho warriors joined him.

Head of the U.S. Army, Gen. William T. Sherman, wanted to crush the Indians, “even to their extermination, men, women, and children.” But Congress and President Andrew Johnson chose to make peace instead. They agreed to abandon the trail and forts since the Northern Pacific Railroad would soon provide an easier route to the gold diggings.

The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868

In 1868, Red Cloud and other Lakota and Dakota Sioux chiefs signed a peace treaty at Fort Laramie. This established the Great Sioux Reservation, consisting of all the land west of the Missouri River in present-day South Dakota, including the Black Hills, ►

and a small portion of North Dakota. The treaty promised that no one except government officials, “shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in” the Reservation.

The treaty also set aside large areas of hunting grounds beyond the boundaries of the Reservation. These lands were for the exclusive use of the Sioux “where no white person shall be permitted to settle upon.” A key provision of the treaty required that 75 percent of Sioux adult males must approve giving up any Reservation land or hunting grounds.

In addition, the government agreed to provide food rations and other goods to sustain the Sioux on the Reservation. At the same time, they would learn to become self-supporting farmers and adopt a “civilized” way of life. The vast buffalo herds were rapidly shrinking due to killing by white hunters and sportsmen.

The treaty also required Sioux children to attend school, learn English, and become Christians. The smaller Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapaho tribes signed treaties that placed them with other tribes on their reservations.

Most of the Lakota, Northern Cheyenne, and Northern Arapaho now lived on a reservation. Like Red Cloud, they were willing to give up their traditional ways.

But there was a problem. A minority of the Lakota and Northern Cheyenne rejected the treaties and insisted on roaming the Great Plains as they had

traditionally done for generations. Leading this faction were the Hunkpapa Lakota chief Sitting Bull, the Oglala Lakota war chief Crazy Horse, and certain Northern Cheyenne chiefs. The government called them and their followers “hostiles.”

The Black Hills Gold Rush

In the summer of 1874, the Army ordered Lt. Col. George A. Custer to take his 7th Cavalry into the Black Hills of the Great Sioux Reservation to survey its resources. The Sioux complained this was a violation of the Fort Laramie Treaty.

When Custer confirmed rumors of gold in the Black Hills, miners soon invaded the Sioux Reservation. This was a clear violation of the Fort Laramie Treaty. The Army attempted to stop the miners, but their large numbers made them difficult to control.

In September of 1875, President Ulysses S. Grant sent a commission to the Sioux to offer them up to \$6 million for the purchase of the Black Hills. Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse rejected this at any price. Red Cloud demanded \$60 million plus rations, clothing, and hunting guns to sustain the Sioux for seven generations. When no agreement was reached, Grant faced a dilemma: uphold the Fort Laramie Treaty and battle his own people; or, ignore the treaty and provoke a new Indian war.

On November 3, 1875, Grant met with his top Army generals and civilian officials. He ordered the Army to stop enforcing the Fort Laramie Treaty

Custer confirmed rumors of gold in the Black Hills.

THE SIOUX NATION IN 1876

Within United States territory, most of the Sioux Nation lived in three areas when the Great Sioux War began in 1876. The Eastern Dakota lived mainly in Minnesota where they were farmers and fur traders. The Western Dakota mixed agriculture with buffalo hunting in the U.S. Dakota Territory east of the Missouri River. The Lakota ranged far westward from the Missouri River and became the famous buffalo hunters on horseback of the Great Plains. The Lakota were the Sioux mostly involved in the Great Sioux War.

The Lakota were by far the largest of the three Sioux groups, numbering up to 18,000 in 1876, and were organized into seven bands:

- Oglala
- Brule
- Hunkpapa
- Minneconjou
- Sans Arcs
- Two Kettles
- Black Feet

There was no Lakota chief nor was there an overall Sioux chief. During a gathering each year, the Lakota band chiefs met in a council. On this occasion, the Lakota also participated in the Sun Dance, their most important religious ceremony.



This photo taken between 1865 and 1880 shows Red Cloud (seated 2nd from left) and other Native Americans of the Sioux Nation.

Library of Congress

provision that prohibited the trespass of whites onto the Great Sioux Reservation. He guessed this would result in Lakota attacks on the growing invasion of miners, justifying Army retaliation.

In a secret plan, Grant ordered the Army to prepare for a war against the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho who lived outside their reservations. To make sure that attacking them would be justified, Grant authorized an ultimatum that they must return to their designated reservations by January 31, 1876.

Even if the hostiles were notified in time and agreed to return to their reservations, moving their families in harsh winter weather conditions would have been almost impossible. Nevertheless, the order issued on December 3, 1875 declared that if they refused to comply, “a military force will be sent to compel them to obey.”

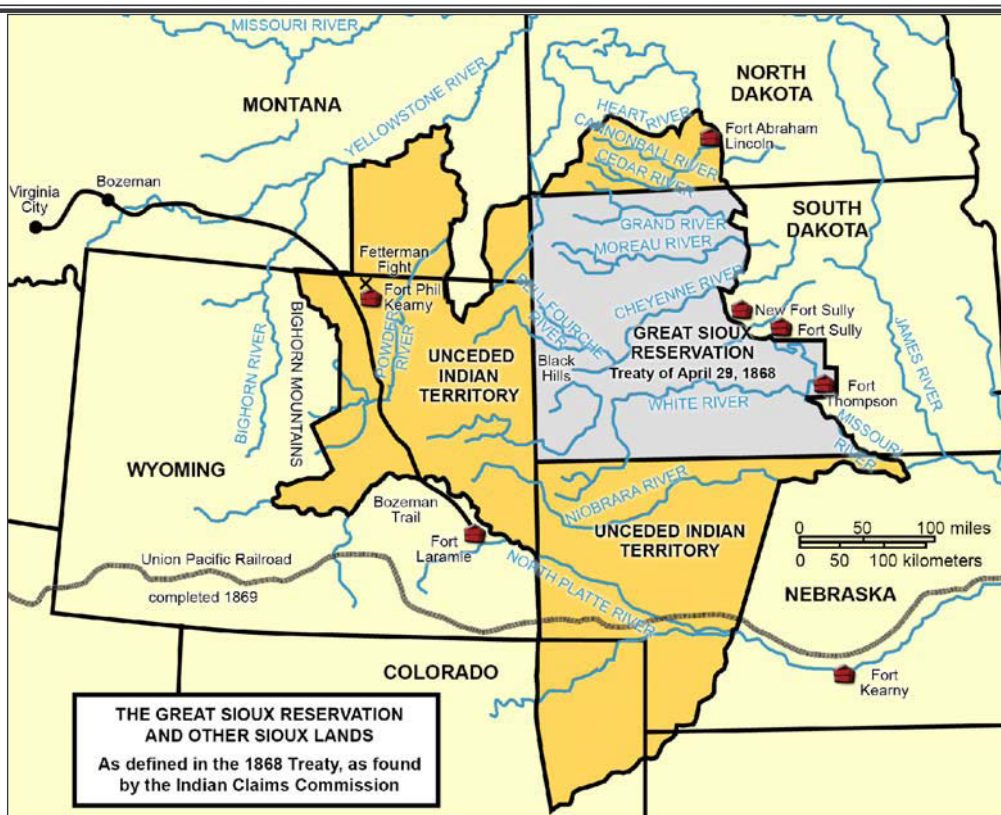
The Great Sioux War Begins

No Indians off their reservations met the January 31 deadline. Days later, the Army was ordered to take such action “as you may deem proper.” By spring, troops were in the field. The Great Sioux War had begun.

Most of the hostile Indians were Lakota followers of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse. The large majority of Lakota people, however, remained on the Great Sioux Reservation and did not participate in the war.

In June 1876, Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse joined together in a camp on the Rosebud River in Montana Territory. During a Sun Dance, Sitting Bull had a vision of dead soldiers falling and the voice of the Great Spirit warning him not to mutilate their bodies.

On June 17, Crazy Horse led an attack on a large U.S. Army force that was approaching the Rosebud camp. After hours of indecisive battle, Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull rode off, believing they had stopped the U.S. campaign of conquest.



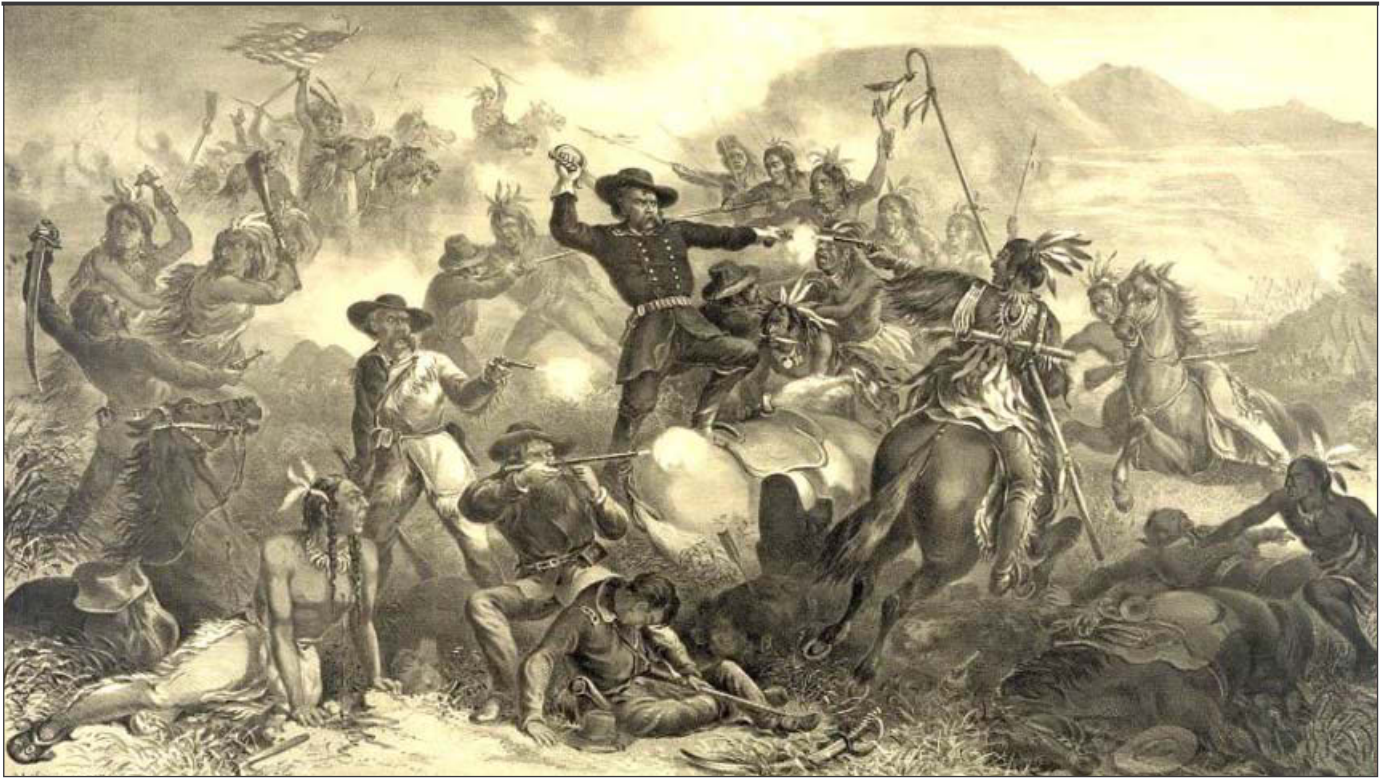
The Lakota and Cheyenne warriors and their families relocated to the Little Bighorn River, thinking the war was over. The word of victory drew many others to an encampment of about 7,000, including some 1,800 warriors. This was probably the largest gathering of Great Plains Indians ever. Sitting Bull, however, was not convinced his Sun Dance prophecy had been fulfilled at the Rosebud battle.

Custer's Last Stand

On June 25, 1876, Lt. Col. Custer and his 7th Cavalry of about 650 men approached the huge Indian camp. To attack the village, Custer divided his men into four units, which proved to be a mistake.

Major Marcus Reno's unit of 175 cavalrymen first attacked the camp. But Crazy Horse and his warriors, defending their families, drove them back and surrounded them on a hill. Warriors isolated two other cavalry units, preventing them from aiding Reno or Custer and his 221 men who had tried to attack the other side of the village.

Driven back, Custer and about 90 desperate survivors in his unit fought from behind a barricade of dead horses on what became known as “Last Stand Hill.” Red Horse, a Minneconjou Lakota witness, described how they died:



This print, titled "General Custer's death struggle" (ca. 1878), shows the Battle of Little Bighorn, fought in 1876.

These soldiers became foolish, many throwing away their guns and raising their hands saying, "Sioux pity us; take us prisoners." The Sioux did not take a single soldier prisoner, but killed all of them.

The women, many having lost loved ones in the battle, took revenge on the bodies of the dead troopers. Using knives and hatchets, they stripped, scalped, and mutilated them. Sitting Bull, recalling his Sun Dance vision that warned against mutilating dead soldiers, tried to stop the women. But they ignored him.

The 7th Cavalry lost 268 men that day, including all in Custer's unit. The Indians probably lost about 100 warriors. The disastrous defeat shocked many Americans.

Demands for retaliation spurred Congress to give the Army generals everything they wanted to eliminate the hostile Indians. The great victory of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse proved to be their last stand, too.

End of the Great Sioux War

After the Battle of the Little Bighorn, Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, and their Cheyenne allies were on the run from the Army. The Northern Cheyenne chiefs surrendered in February 1877. Crazy Horse and his Oglala Lakota followers gave up on May 6. He was later killed when he resisted being locked up in a fort jail.

Sitting Bull and his 400 Hunkpapa Lakota warriors escaped across the border to Canada for a

while. But they finally returned to surrender in 1881. Sitting Bull became a celebrity who toured with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show.

In 1890, Indian police came to Sitting Bull's house to arrest him after the government accused him of stirring up support for the Ghost Dance. This was a movement that predicted the end of the white world and return of dead Indians, the buffalo, and the old ways. He was killed during his arrest when his supporters violently resisted. By this time, all Indian wars in the West had ended and nearly all the buffalo were gone.

However, the real surrender occurred earlier. In August 1876, just two months after "Custer's Last Stand," Congress voted to end all food rations to the Reservation Sioux until they agreed to cede (give up) the Black Hills and hunting grounds to the U.S. "Cede or starve," Congress told the Sioux.

A month later, 10 percent of the Sioux adult males signed an agreement that ceded the Black Hills and hunting grounds to the U.S. This was far less than the 75 percent required in the Fort Laramie Treaty for giving up Sioux land. But the agreement was ratified by Congress on February 28, 1877.

A dozen years later, Congress split up the remaining Great Sioux Reservation into five reservations, further reducing Sioux land.

"Just Compensation"?

The Sioux never accepted the loss of the Black Hills. Starting in the 1920s, they began to challenge the 1877 agreement in the courts. The Sioux argued that the "taking" of the Black Hills by the U.S. was without "just compensation" and was unconstitutional under the Fifth Amendment of the Bill of Rights. They also argued that it was a violation of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868.

The U.S. argued that the Black Hills was a proper "taking." The Sioux were justly compensated, insisted the U.S., by the 1877 agreement that provided them with food rations until they could support themselves, instruction in farming, grazing land, a farmhouse, and schools for their children.

In 1975, the U.S. Court of Claims ruled the Black Hills was not a proper "taking," and the Sioux were entitled to \$17.5 million for the 1877 value of the Black Hills land and gold. The case continued in 1979 when the Court of Claims added \$88 million in interest for a total of \$105.5 million in compensation.

The U.S. opposed the addition of interest and appealed to the Supreme Court. In *U.S. v. Sioux Nation of Indians* (1980), the Supreme Court voted 8 to 1 that the Sioux never received "just compensation" for ceding the Black Hills, and had to be paid the \$17.5 million with interest for a total of \$105 mil-

lion. It was the largest Indian land compensation award in U.S. history.

In a twist, the Sioux refused to accept payment. Doing so would have ended many Sioux leaders' demands for the return of the Black Hills.

Today, the Sioux nation is still divided over accepting money for the Black Hills. Some want to do this because many on the Sioux reservations are living in poverty with high unemployment and income averaging \$8,000 per year. Others oppose money compensation and are holding out for a return of their sacred land. Meanwhile, the interest keeps mounting on the original \$17.5 million award and the fund now totals about \$1.5 billion.

WRITING & DISCUSSION

1. How did the views of Red Cloud and Sitting Bull differ about the future of the Lakota Sioux? Who do you think had the better view? Why?
2. What was President Grant's dilemma in 1876? Do you think he made the right choice? Why?
3. The U.S. first argued in the courts that the 1877 agreement with the Sioux was a legal "taking" of the Black Hills for which they received "just compensation." Review the 1877 agreement in the article and decide if you agree or disagree. Explain your decision.

ACTIVITY: Just Compensation

This activity explores options for resolving the issue of "just compensation" for the Sioux Nation's loss of the Black Hills in 1877. Divide the class into three groups to role-play a hearing before the U.S. Court of Claims. (If necessary, divide the class into three groups for Court A and three groups for Court B and run both courts simultaneously.)

1. One group of Sioux wants an immediate distribution of money to the Sioux Nation as a whole or to each of the approximately 150,000 tribal members. This group needs to decide, too, what a just amount would be. Should it be the current fund estimated at \$1.5 billion, or some greater amount?
2. A second group of Sioux wants to recover about one million acres of federal Black Hills land. This has substantial forests for hiking, camping, and other recreational uses; parts of it are leased for logging, grazing, and mining. Should Mt. Rushmore National Park be included?
3. The U.S. Court of Claims judges will hear the argument of each Sioux group and why its proposal is better than that of the other Sioux group. The judges may ask questions of each group during the hearing.

Finally, the judges will discuss the proposals and may side with one of the Sioux groups or develop a compromise for a "just compensation." The judges will announce their decision and explain their reasons for it.

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THE DISPUTE OVER THE SOUTH CHINA SEA

Half a dozen nations, including China, are disputing claims to islands, reefs, and surrounding waters in the South China Sea. The disputes draw China and the U.S. into a potential confrontation.

About a third of all the world's maritime (relating to oceans) trade goes through the South China Sea. Half of all oil and gas tankers from the Middle East sail into it on their way to China, Japan, the U.S., and elsewhere. The location of the Sea also makes it militarily strategic, valuable for national security.

Disputes among nations generally center on land features in the South China Sea. Specifically, they dispute who controls the waters around them. The Sea itself is rich in fish. Oil and natural gas reserves below the sea bed are significant.

There are two major clusters of land features in the Sea. The Paracels consist mainly of islands and reefs. Reefs are chains of rocks or coral at or near the surface of the water. The Spratlys have some islands but are mostly reefs and rocks that may not even appear above water at high tide.

Six nations actively claim parts or all of the South China Sea and its land features. These disputes include:

- Paracels: China, Taiwan, Vietnam
- Spratlys: China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Brunei, Malaysia, Philippines
- Almost all the South China Sea, its land features, and resources: China

The Small Country Claimants

Five small nations claim parts of the South China Sea's land features and surrounding waters. Vietnam and the Philippines are the most active claimants.

Vietnam bases its current claims on 17th century maps. Troops from France's colony of Vietnam occupied some Paracel islands in the 1920s. After the Vietnam War, Vietnam occupied the western Paracels and annexed certain Spratly land features. In 2009, Vietnam declared sovereignty (supreme legal authority) over both the Paracels and Spratlys.

After gaining independence from the U.S. in



This map shows the South China Sea, surrounding nations, and the "nine dash line," which indicates the extent of China's claims of control over these waters.

1946, the Philippines took control of several Spratly land features. Later, the Philippines declared all the Spratlys its territory. The Philippines also claimed sovereignty over Scarborough Shoal. This is a minor feature about 150 miles from the Philippines. It is nevertheless important for its strategic location near the Philippines and major shipping lanes.

China's Claims

China claims it occupied South China Sea islands in ancient times. In 1947, the Republic of China published a map with nine dashes. When connected, the dashes form a U that encloses most of the South China Sea. However, the Republic of China did not clearly explain this "nine dash line."

In 1949, Chinese communists defeated the Republic of China in a civil war and drove the anti-communist Chinese to the large offshore island of Taiwan. The communist Peoples Republic of China then took over the mainland. It also adopted the map with the "nine dash line." This is how it is referred to today, although China added a tenth dash in 2013 to include Taiwan.

In the 1970s, China began to assert control over different islands, reefs, and waters in the South China Sea, often by force. It drove out Vietnamese troops from the western Paracels in 1974. By the late 1980s, China controlled all of the Paracels.

China built oil-drilling rigs in waters near the Paracels that Vietnam still claimed. This provoked protests and riots against China in Vietnam. In the Spratlys, China won the 1988 Battle of Johnson Reef where about 70 Vietnamese were killed. Afterward, China detained non-Chinese fishermen and harassed foreign ships sailing near its occupied islands and reefs.

China began building artificial islands in the 1990s. This often involved dredging sand from the seabed and crushing coral to “reclaim” land for a reef that in its natural state was underwater at high tide. China claimed the artificial islands were for civilian (non-military) purposes.

One of the first artificial-island projects began in 1995 on Mischief Reef in the Spratlys. At first, the Chinese had to build structures on stilts since the reef was below high tide. Then, as the reclamation of land speeded up, the Chinese constructed a harbor and airstrip capable of handling combat aircraft. The Chinese said these were necessary for self-defense.

Meanwhile, in 2009, China presented the “nine dash line” for the first time at an international conference, making this assertion:

China has indisputable sovereignty over the islands in the South China Sea and the adjacent waters, and enjoys sovereign rights and jurisdiction over the relevant waters, as well as the seabed and subsoil thereof.

In 2012, China asserted its “nine dash line” by trying to take Scarborough Shoal as its territory, even though the Philippines had claimed it earlier. A standoff resulted. China remained in control but allowed Filipino fishermen to fish there.

The U.S. Position

The U.S. is officially neutral in the South China Sea dispute. It seeks a negotiated settlement under international law among the claimants. However, it too has national interests in the Asia-Pacific region. These include defense treaties with Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, and Australia, along with defense partnerships with Indonesia and Vietnam.

The chief U.S. national interest is freedom of navigation: the unrestricted passage of commercial

ships as well as military ships and aircraft through and over the South China Sea. The U.S. totally rejects China’s “nine dash line” as a threat to freedom of navigation.

The U.S. has been challenging China’s claims of sovereignty over the South China Sea by “freedom of navigation operations” (FONOPS). The U.S. flies surveillance aircraft over Chinese artificial islands and sails Navy warships close to Chinese occupied islands and reefs. The Chinese complain that the U.S. is using FONOPS as a pretext to curb China’s rise as a great power.

The Law of the Sea

In 1982, the United Nations adopted the Convention on the Law of the Sea. All the claimants in the South China Sea dispute, including China, signed and ratified this international law. The U.S. signed the Convention, but the Senate never ratified it. The Senate feared that it could weaken American sovereignty. Nevertheless, the U.S. considers the Convention part of “customary international law.”

The Convention defines certain terms that are extremely relevant to the South China Sea dispute:

- A **true island** must be a “naturally formed area of land, surrounded by water, which is above water at high tide” and is capable of sustaining human or economic life on its own.
- A coastal nation’s islands each have their own **territorial** sea. This is a maritime zone that extends 14 statute miles out from each island’s coastline. This sea, its living and non-living resources, and the airspace above are part of the coastal nation’s sovereign territory. All nations have the right of peaceful passage through this zone.
- An **Exclusive Economic Zone** (EEZ) extends up to 230 miles out from the territorial sea of each coastal nation’s island. The coastal nation has the exclusive right to the sea life and other natural resources in this zone. All nations have the right of freedom of navigation and overflight through an EEZ.
- **Rocks**, including natural reefs, cannot sustain human life or economic activity on their own. Those that are above the high tide, however, have a territorial sea but no EEZ. Those that are underwater at high tide have no territorial sea or EEZ.
- Coastal nations have the right to build **artificial islands**. But, they are not true islands and have no territorial seas or EEZs if they are under water at high tide in their natural state. ►

In the South China Sea, what really matters is who controls the 14-mile territorial seas and the 230 mile EEZs.

The South China Sea Arbitration Case

In 2013, following the Scarborough Shoal standoff, the Philippines appealed to a special arbitration court authorized by the Convention on the Law of the Sea. In international law, these courts make decisions that are binding on the nations involved.

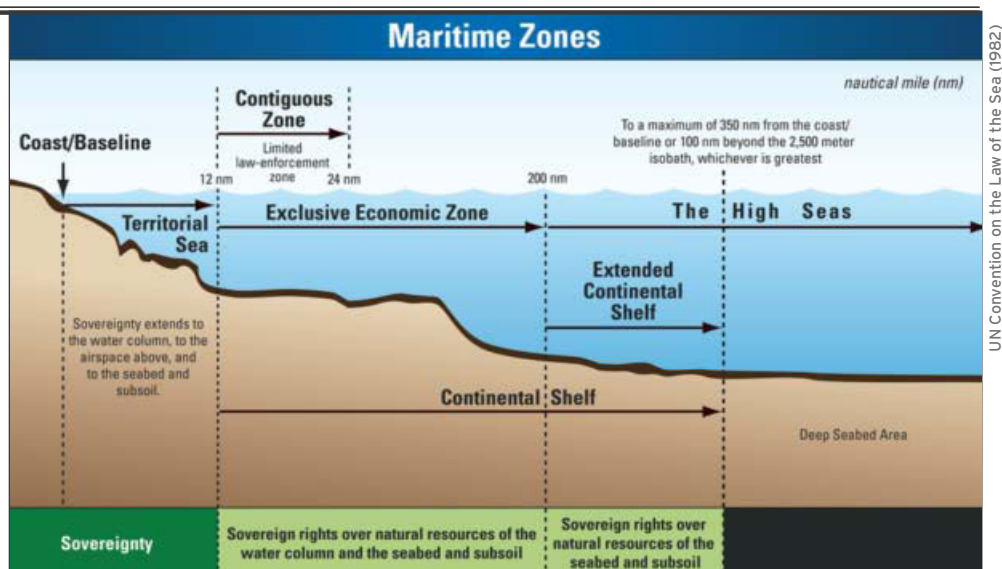
The Philippines case was limited to deciding the legal status of *waters* extending from a number of reefs and other land features, including Scarborough Shoal, that were controlled by China.

The court did not consider who *owned* the disputed land features. It only decided whether China had the right to control and benefit from the *waters* around them. China refused to recognize the arbitration court's authority and did not participate in the case.

On July 12, 2016, the law of the sea arbitration court issued its decision. The two key rulings went badly for China:

1. The court decided that six of the disputed land features, including Scarborough Shoal, are "rocks" that appear above water at high tide. Thus, they qualify for 14-mile territorial seas, but not the 230 mile EEZs. Five land features, including Mischief Reef, appear above water only at low tide in their natural state. Therefore, they do not qualify for either territorial seas or EEZs.
2. The court also ruled that because the Convention of the Law of the Sea does not recognize historical claims to oceans and seas, China's "nine dash line" is "without lawful effect."

Since none of China's disputed land features qualified for an EEZ and only some for a much smaller territorial sea, its legal control over most of the disputed waters was nearly obliterated. Even more explosive was the ruling that China's "nine dash line" was illegal under the Convention on the Law of the Sea. The Philippines won the decision, but the Convention provides no way to enforce it.



This illustration shows the degrees of sovereignty (control) nations may claim over waters along their shorelines according to the Law of the Sea. Maritime means relating to the sea.

Reactions to the Court Decision

The Chinese called the court decision "illegitimate." They proceeded to ignore it. China's President Xi Jinping stated, "We are strongly committed to safeguarding the country's sovereignty and security, and defending our territorial integrity."

The Chinese continued their preferred way of handling the dispute by negotiating with other claimants separately. They did resume talks with the other claimants on a "Code of Conduct" for the South China Sea. But this has been going on for decades. China criticized the U.S. for "meddling" in the dispute.

The U.S. noted that after the arbitration-court ruling, China speeded up building and militarizing its seven artificial islands in the Spratlys. Mischief Reef and two others have airbases. Most worrisome for the U.S., China doubled down on its "nine dash line."

The U.S. declared that its military forces will "fly, sail or operate wherever international law allows." Under President Trump, the U.S. has persisted in its freedom of navigation operations, intentionally sailing Navy vessels near Chinese occupied disputed reefs and artificial islands. Secretary of Defense James Mattis warned China about militarizing artificial islands and pursuing excessive claims in the South China Sea.

Complicating matters, the Philippines had a change of government after the court decision in its favor. The new President Rodrigo Duterte sought warmer relations with China. Currently, the two nations have put the court decision "on hold."

Negotiation or Confrontation?

A negotiated settlement of the South China Sea dispute is not likely in the near future. A draft of the “Code of Conduct” was recently approved. But it did not mention the arbitration-court decision, which criticized China’s aggressive actions and damage to the marine environment. None of the claimants want war, but none are willing to back away from their claims.

On August 10, 2017, a U.S. Navy ship participated in another freedom of navigation operation. This time, the Navy ship sailed within seven miles of China’s Mischief Reef artificial island in the Spratlys.

The Chinese Defense Ministry declared that China “holds indisputable sovereignty” over the Spratlys under the “nine dash line.” China further charged that the U.S. wanted “to pick quarrels and make troubles under the banner of ‘freedom of nav-

igation.’ ” The U.S. State Department repeated its position that American forces will fly and sail “wherever international law allows.”

The Mischief Reef incident once again demonstrated that the Chinese “nine dash line” and American “freedom of navigation” are vital national interests in direct conflict with one another.

WRITING & DISCUSSION

1. When the American Navy ship sailed within seven miles of Mischief Reef, the Chinese said it violated China’s sovereignty. The Americans said the ship was in international waters. According to the law of the sea, who was right? Why?
2. Why does China vigorously defend its “nine dash line” around the South China Sea?
3. Why does the United States vigorously reject China’s “nine dash line”?

ACTIVITY: Crisis in the South China Sea

This activity is a hypothetical case about what the U.S. should do in a national-interest crisis in the South China Sea sometime in the future.

The Crisis

Scarborough Shoal in the South China Sea is within China’s “nine dash line.” But, it is only about 150 miles from the Philippines where the U. S. has air and naval bases.

Over objections from the Philippines, China claimed and made Scarborough Shoal an artificial island, constructing military facilities there. These include an airstrip and its first nuclear submarine base in the South China Sea. China has modernized and built up its air, naval, and military personnel forces to equal those of the U. S. in the Asia-Pacific, changing the balance of power there.

China previously proclaimed the South China Sea within its “nine dash line” was its sovereign territory. After making Scarborough Shoal a manmade island, China stated that no military ships or aircraft will be permitted to fly over or sail these waters without first notifying and getting the permission of the Chinese government. The U. S. replied that this was a violation of the law of the sea.

Develop a Strategy

You are a member of the U.S. National Security Council that advises the president. Meet in a group with three or four other members of the council. Each group will develop a strategy to resolve this crisis. The strategy should consist of a sequence of at least four specific U.S. actions ranked from the most to least preferable. The sequence *could* include actions that involve some or all of the following:

- U. S. freedom of navigation operations,
- diplomacy,
- compromise,
- trade relations,
- the United Nations,
- war,
- an international court, or
- some other approach.

Each group should select a spokesperson to defend its strategy before the class.

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Standards Addressed

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National United States History Standard 27. Understands how the Cold War and conflicts in Korea and Vietnam influenced domestic and international politics. High School: (1) Understands U.S. foreign policy from the Truman administration to the Johnson administration (e.g., how the Korean War affected the premises of U.S. foreign policy).

National Civics Standard 16. Understands the major responsibilities of the national government for domestic and foreign policy, and understands how government is financed through taxation. High School: (1) Understands how specific foreign policies such as national security and trade policy affect the everyday lives of American citizens and their communities.

California History-Social Science Standard 11.9. Students analyze U.S. foreign policy since World War II. (3) Trace the origins and geopolitical consequences (foreign and domestic) of the Cold War and containment policy, including the following: . . . The Korean War.

Common Core State Standards: SL.1, SL.3, RH.1, RH.2, RH.3, RH.4, RH.6, RH.8, RH.10, WHST.1, WHST.9, WHST.10.

GREAT SIOUX WAR

National United States History Standard 19. Understands federal Indian policy and United States foreign policy after the Civil War. Middle School: (1) Understands interaction between Native Americans and white society. High School: (3) Understands influences on and perspectives of Native American life in the late 19th century.

California History-Social Science Standard 8.12. Students analyze the transformation of the American economy and the changing social and political

conditions in the United States in response to the Industrial Revolution. (2) Identify the reasons for the development of federal Indian policy and the wars with American Indians and their relationship to agricultural development and industrialization.

Common Core State Standards: SL.1, SL.3, RH.1, RH.2, RH.3, RH.4, RH.7, RH.10, WHST.9, WHST.10.

SOUTH CHINA SEA

National World History Standard 44. Understands the search for community, stability, and peace in an interdependent world. High School: (13) Understands how global political change has altered the world economy.

California History-Social Science Standard 10.10. Students analyze instances of nation-building in the contemporary world in at least two of the following regions or countries: the Middle East, Africa, Mexico and other parts of Latin America, and China. (1) Understand the challenges in the regions, including their geopolitical, cultural, military, and economic significance and the international relationships in which they are involved.

Common Core State Standards: SL.1, SL.3, RH.6, RH.8, SL. 4, WHST.7, WHST.9, WHST.10.

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