

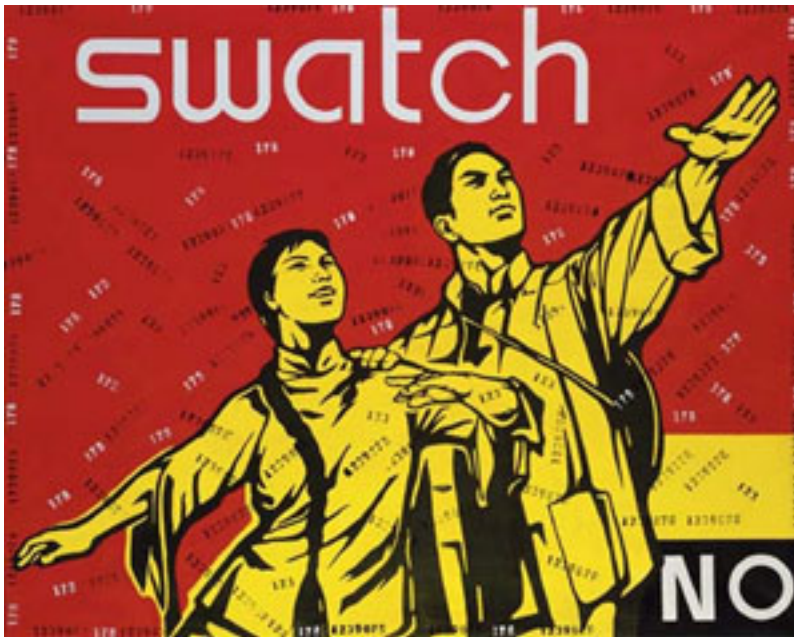
## PM: The U.S. Challenges China: Three Responses

By Polly Mann

President Obama has announced that United States foreign policy focus will shift to the Asia-Pacific region, as troops begin to leave Iraq and Afghanistan. He promised to expand U.S. influence and “project power and deter threats to peace” in that part of the world. The following are a synopsis, excerpt and translated reprint of three articles sent from Minnesota-born French journalist Diana Johnstone. It is interesting to see what Chinese analysts say and observe that the most pessimistic view of future China/U.S. relations is that of the American foreign correspondent, Stephen Glass. (Note: all articles in the WAMM newsletter are generally original but occasionally it is believed that it is important to include material that may not have been accessed by our readers.)—Polly Mann

The Pentagon’s New China War Plan: Stephen Glains, a freelance writer with extensive experience in Asia and the Middle East. This synopsis, by Polly Mann, is of an article published on salon.com Aug 13, 2011. Stephen Glain’s latest book is: “State vs. Defense: The Battle to Define America’s Empire,” New York: Crown Publishers, 2011.

As U.S. troops leave Iraq and Afghanistan, the Pentagon has been planning to contest its largest creditor, China. The Pentagon is seeking to adapt a concept known as AirSeaBattle, a vehicle for conforming U.S. military power to address threats in the Western Pacific and the Persian Gulf—code for challenging China and Iran. Another important concept (This one waiting in the wings for twenty years.) is found in the 1992 Defense Planning Guidance that precluded the rise of any “peer competitor” that might challenge U.S. dominance worldwide and “that is exactly what China appears to be doing in the South China Sea.” Marine Corps Commandant Gen Jim Amos last May remarked that the wars in the Persian Gulf were denying Washington the resources needed to cope with an increasingly assertive China.



Chinese artist Wang Guangyi, considered the originator of Political Pop Art in China, combines Chinese propaganda poster style with Western advertising slogans in his series, "The Great Criticism." Oil on canvas.

A U.S. mobilization in Asia is now well underway. A spring 2001 Pentagon study, "Asia 2025," identified China as a "persistent competitor of the U.S. bent on foreign military adventurism." Similarly, the 2008 nuclear energy cooperation deal signed by the U.S. and India was an obvious containment maneuver aimed at Beijing. In March of 2011, the press reported a major buildup of U.S. forces in Asia as the Pentagon transforms Guam into its primary hub in the Pacific.

Meanwhile Beijing identifies the U.S. as an outright threat. The 2007 destruction of a U.S. weather satellite with a ballistic missile was a warning to Washington along with the ramming six years earlier of a U.S. spy plane by a Chinese fighter jet off the coast of Hainan Island.

Vietnam, Brunei, Taiwan, Malaysia and the Philippines, in addition to China, have claims on several clusters of South China Sea islands. Rather than intervening with diplomacy, the U.S. has sided against Beijing. In late July, three U.S. Navy ships called on Vietnam and held a weeklong joint exercise, prompting a formal protest from the Chinese. This was followed by a statement of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton (then in Manila) assuring her hosts that the U.S. would honor its mutual defense pact with the Philippines and sell it new weaponry on discounted terms.

Inside the Pentagon Andrew Krepinevich, head of Washington's Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments said that China is jousting for control off the Western Pacific and "we have to decide whether we're going to compete or not. If we're not, then we have to be willing to accept the shift in the military balance. Otherwise, the question is how to compete effectively."



South China Sea Pishkun” by Dinh Q. Lê. Still from animated series, “Elegies,” based on actual helicopter evacuations in 1975, at the end of the Vietnam War, when many plunged tragically into the sea. The U.S. returns to the same waters today.

How China Can Defeat America: Yan Xuetong, professor of political science and dean of the Institute of Modern International Relations at Tsinghua University, Beijing. Excerpt from an article published by New York Times Opinion, November 11, 2011 (translation by Zhaowen Wu and David Liu).

As China's economy grow ever stronger, market competition with the United States does likewise. I am a political realist and a student of Chinese history and believe that China's rise does challenge the United States. Both governments must understand that political leadership, rather than throwing money at problems, will determine who wins the race for global supremacy.

Most people wrongly believe that China can improve its foreign relations only by significantly increasing economic aid. ...it's hard to buy affection; such “friendship” does not stand the test of difficult times. How then can China win people's hearts across the world? China must shift its priorities from economic development to establishing a harmonious society free of huge gaps between rich and poor. It must display humane authority to compete with the U.S., the world's pre-eminent hegemonic power, where military strength underpins hegemony. President Obama has made strategic mistakes in Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya but, nevertheless, has been successful in leading three foreign wars simultaneously, whereas China has had no war since 1984 with Vietnam and very few of its high-ranking officers or soldiers have any battlefield experience. The U.S. has better relations with the rest of the world than China; the U.S. has more than 50 formal military allies while China has none. North Korea and Pakistan are only quasi-allies.

To shape a friendly international environment, Beijing must develop more high-quality, diplomatic and military relationships than Washington. In order to achieve that goal, China has to provide higher-quality moral leadership than the U.S. China

must also recognize that it is a rising power and assume concomitant responsibilities as the U.S. has in Europe and the Persian Gulf. China needs to create regional security arrangements with surrounding countries and draw on its tradition of meritocracy. Top government officials should be chosen for their virtue and wisdom—not simply technical and administrative ability.

Over the next decade China's new leaders will come from a generation that experienced the hardships of the Cultural Revolution: resolute and more likely to value political principles than material benefits. They must play a larger role on the world stage and offer more security and economic support to less powerful countries. This will mean competing with the U.S. politically, economically and technologically. This may cause diplomatic tensions, but there is little danger of military clashes such as that between the U.S. and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Neither China nor the U.S. needs proxy wars to protect its strategic interests or to gain access to natural resources and technology.

China's quest to enhance its world leadership status and the United States' effort to maintain its present position is a zero-sum game. The battle for people's hearts and minds will determine who eventually prevails.

Three Mistakes Will Defeat U.S. "Return to Asia Strategy": Major-General Luo Yuan of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and executive vice president of Chinese Strategic Culture. Reprinted in its entirety from [peopledaily.com.cn](http://peopledaily.com.cn)

The U.S. has proclaimed its return to the Asia-Pacific region by expanding its strategic deployment with an apparent aim to suppress China. In doing so they make three critical mistakes, which follow:

1. China is not America's enemy. When George W. Bush became president in 2001, he regarded China as a major adversary. After September 11, 2001, the U.S. realized that Al-Qaeda terrorists, rather than China, were the most dangerous enemy of the U.S. The emergence of China as a major power may offend the hegemonic consciousness of some Americans but it will not threaten their lives.
2. The Asia-Pacific region should not be a central part of U.S. security strategy. The core interests of the U.S. lie in its national security. It can and should see the region as a hub for economic cooperation and development. It was quick to deploy forces to Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya. However it left more problems than it solved. It is unlikely to be able to withdraw very soon. Compared with terrorists, the Asia-Pacific region poses a much smaller threat. U.S. interests concern mainly the safety of sea lanes and U.S. allies—neither more important than its own national security. Taking this into consideration the U.S. should rethink the main objectives of its security strategy.



Map: CIA

Heavily traveled and with vast oil and natural gas reserves within it, the South China Sea is bordered by China, Vietnam, the Philippines and Indonesia.

3. Containment policies won't defeat China. The U.S. "return to Asia" strategy could potentially ignite conflict at the wrong time, with the wrong enemy for the wrong reasons. In the post-Cold War era, mutually beneficial cooperation has prevailed over containment and suppression. However, the U.S. is still urging Cold War techniques to fight an imaginary enemy. The U.S. has [in the past] adopted containment policies against China since 1949 when it was established, excluding it from membership of the United Nations and then the World Trade Organization. The U.S. still has an arms and high-tech embargo on China. Nevertheless, China has grown to be the world's second largest economy and a superpower. The U.S., as well as the other Asian countries, should give up containment and begin to cooperate with China.

U.S. risks repeat of the 9/11 tragedy. When U.S. withdrew from Vietnam after the war there, it gave up control over the Asia-Pacific region. The present economic crisis with its permanently high unemployment and the threat of terrorism at home and abroad means the U.S. should shift its attention from the South China Sea and the Asia-Pacific region and deal with threatening terrorism at home. Since China doesn't harm U.S. interests, the U.S. has no reason to suppress it. In shifting its

attention to the Asia-Pacific it risks its own national security. In short, it is not America's enemies but rather America's decision that will lead to its decline.

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