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Review Essay

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America's Debate over the Rise of China

The U.S.-China Military Scorecard: Forces, Geography, and the Evolving Balance of Power 5 1996-2017 By ERIC HEGINBOTHAM, MICHAEL NIXON, FORREST E. MORGAN, JACOB HEIM, JEFF HAGEN, 6 SHENG LI, JEFFREY ENGSTROM, MARTIN C. LIBICKI, PAUL DELUCA, DAVID A. SHLAPAK, 7 DAVID R. FRELINGER, BURGESS LAIRD, KYLE BRADY, LYLE J. MORRIS 8 Santa Monica: RAND, 2015 9 377 pp. \$66.00 10 ISBN 978-083308219-0 11 The Hundred-Year Marathon: China's Secret Strategy to Replace America as the Global Superpower 12 MICHAEL PILLSBURY 13 New York: Henry Holt, 2015 14 319 pp. £18.99 15 ISBN 978-162779-010-9 16 Meeting China Halfway: How to Defuse the Emerging US-China Rivalry 17 18 LYLE J. GOLDSTEIN Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2015 19 382 pp. \$29.95 20 ISBN 978-162616160-3 21 22 The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power 23 THOMAS J. CHRISTENSEN New York: WW Norton, 2015 24 371 pp. \$27.95 25 ISBN 978-0-393-08113-8 doi:10.1017/S030574101600059X 26 27 28 The rapid growth of China's power combined with the intensification of rivalry 29 between the United States and China over the past several years has triggered a 30 re-thinking of US policy toward the rise of China. America's traditional policy of 31 supporting China's rise as a rich, strong and peaceful country in hopes of build-32 ing a cooperative and generally friendly relation with China over the long term, is 33

being called into question. Critics charge that that traditional policy is backfiring,

playing into Beijing's wiles and producing a China so powerful it could well

become the greatest challenge to the United States in its history. Other analysts

offer a less jaundiced view of China, but all manifest apprehension over whether

China will use its growing power to challenge the US. Earlier iterations of a simi-

lar debate have come and gone, but the closing distance between US and Chinese

military, economic and technological power has brought this debate much closer

to the US mainstream. Indeed, one or two of these books may represent the

mainstream of US thinking. Together, the four books lay out the topography

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of the US debate.

All four books were written before the sharp downturn in China's economy in 2015 45 and while the US economy muddled along with its post-financial crisis "new normal" 46 of two per cent annual economic growth. A much narrower gap between long term US 47 and Chinese economic growth rates - if that is what China's slow-down produces -48 might affect judgments regarding some of these works, especially Goldstein's which 49 argues that China's power will soon equal or surpass the US's. Yet three of the four 50 works emphasize the growing influence of nationalist passions in China and worry 51 that those passions, in the midst of mounting domestic difficulties, might incline 52 China's leaders toward harder policies toward the United States. 53

The RAND study provides a base line for the debate. With 355 pages of text 54 and tables, the study compares Chinese and US weapons systems in ten different 55 areas, implicitly involving a clash between the PLA's anti-access/area denial and 56 the US Navy's AirSea Battle doctrine. The study's ten "score cards" of capability 57 are: the ability of China's ballistic and cruise missiles to attack in a presumed 58 opening pre-emptive surprise attack US air bases in the Western Pacific; the 59 PLA's ability to win a contest for air superiority over the Taiwan Strait (air 60 superiority is presumed to be vital precursor to successful invasion); China's abil-61 ity to defend its airspace against deep penetration US attack; the US ability to 62 attack Chinese air bases in response to China's presumed initial attack on US 63 bases and in the context of struggle for air superiority and attempted invasion; 64 China's ability to attack US surface warships including aircraft carriers and air-65 defence cruisers; US ability to attack Chinese submarines and surface ships to 66 devastate a Chinese invasion fleet headed for Taiwan; the capabilities of both 67 sides in space and counter-space warfare (essential for modern "information war-68 fare"); cyber warfare capabilities; and prospects that conventional war might 69 escalate to the nuclear level. US and Chinese capabilities in each of these areas 70 are weighed in the context of hypothetical short-duration but intense war involv-71 ing either a Chinese attempt to seize Taiwan or to defend disputed islands in the 72 South China Sea against a US attempt to re-take an island after China seized it 73 from the Philippines. The starkness of this hard analysis of the military balance in 74 the Western Pacific poses, the RAND study suggests, the first major naval chal-75 lenge the United States has faced in the Western Pacific since 1941-1942. 76

Geographic proximity figures prominently in the RAND study. The proximity 77 of Taiwan to China plus the great distances of that potential battlefield from US 78 bases in the Western Pacific - let alone the continental United States - confers 79 great advantages on the PLA in terms of intensity of operations, according to 80 the RAND study. So too does the paltry number of US air bases in the 81 Western Pacific - only two in Japan and one in Guam - compared to the 39 82 PLA air bases within the un-refueled distance of Taiwan. The physical parking 83 space for aircraft on those three US bases would limit the number of planes 84 the US could shift rapidly from other regions to the West Pacific area of opera-85 tions. The RAND study demonstrates that both sides have the capability of pre-86 cision strikes on enemy runways, landed aircraft, fuel tanks and communications 87 facilities, and both the Taiwan and South China Sea scenarios assume an all-out 88

battle for air superiority. Crippling of the three US air bases by pre-emptive first
strike, while China's potent anti-ship missiles forced US aircraft carriers to keep
distant, could sharply degrade the intensity of US air operations while a PLA
invasion fleet headed for Taiwan. The study assumes that South Korea would
not permit US war planes to operate from Korean territory.

The overall conclusion is that the US still enjoys superiority in most, but not all areas, but that the margin of US superiority is rapidly diminishing. Given the differing trajectories of US and Chinese defence spending, force size, and military modernization efforts, a "tipping point" could be reached within a few years, perhaps as early as 2017, the end point for the study. Would Chinese leaders – fed up with US arming of Taiwan and, perhaps, with Tsai Ying-wen's moves in Taipei – then decide it was time for Taiwan to return to the embrace of the motherland?

The RAND study makes clear that China and the United States are planning 101 and preparing for war with one another. China in the early 1990s gave great 102 attention to the new style of "informationized warfare" invented and demon-103 strated by the US in Iraq and the Balkans, and responded by developing well-104 funded and well-designed weapons systems targeting vulnerabilities associated 105 with the new US high-tech style of war. A premise of the RAND study (and, 106 for that matter, Pillsbury's and Christensen's studies) is sic vis paxem para bellum. 107 The RAND study's over-riding concern is that the superiority of US military 108 power that has prevented war over Taiwan for 65 years is evaporating. 109 According to the RAND report, Chinese victory in an intense but short duration 110 war over Taiwan would not require that China match the global military power 111 of the United States, but merely prevail in the Taiwan Strait for perhaps several 112 weeks during which the PLA would secure control of Taiwan and dig in. 113

Michael Pillsbury's fear in The Hundred Year Marathon is not a PRC-US war 114 in the near run, but three more decades of US-assisted growth of Chinese power 115 leading to a situation in which China's power over-awes the United States. 116 Pillsbury held a number of positions at RAND and in US defence and 117 Congressional agencies in the 1970s and 1980s and his book is, in part, a memoir. 118 Unlike the RAND study and similar to Christensen, however, Pillsbury warns 119 (p. 231) against overestimating China's power; China is nowhere near close to 120 the United States in aggregate national power. During the late Cold War period, 121 Pillsbury was an advocate of closer military and intelligence cooperation with 122 China - activity that allows him to describe himself as "a panda lover" who 123 became a wiser "panda skeptic" via wide reading of Chinese strategic writings. 124 In 1997 and 2000, Pillsbury authored studies of Chinese military writings on 125 "future wars." Those studies demonstrated that at least some PLA analysts 126 believed (even then) that China could win a war with the United States, while 127 none even mentioned the possibility that China might lose such a war. These 128 hawks in the PLA have risen in influence since the 1990s, particularly under 129 Xi Jinping, Pillsbury contends, and they have a strategy. 130

Pillsbury argues that war with the United States would be a disaster for China's "secret strategy." That strategy seeks to gradually and inconspicuously build

China's power over the first five decades of the 21st Century until, finally, 133 China's power surpasses and overawes the US. The centenary in 2049 of the 134 founding of the People's Republic of China is set as the goal line, with China 135 as the indisputable preponderant power in the world. At some point the 136 United States will cede primacy to China - either via defeat in war or by prudent 137 war-avoiding appeasement of China – and China will proceed to reorganize the 138 139 world on the basis of Chinese values and interests. During the remaining three decades of this century-long marathon, China will draw by hook or by crook 140 on what the West has and what China needs to grow powerful: markets for its 141 exports force fed by mercantilist methods; systematic theft and coerced transfer 142 of advanced technology including cutting-edge systems; scientific knowledge gar-143 nered by "cooperation" with US corporations and universities. Not scaring the 144 West and endangering access to these vital inputs is central to success of this 145 "marathon" strategy. Building a large and ultra-modern military force too quick-146 ly, or using China's military power too provocatively, could alert the West and 147 must be avoided. China must deny a desire for "hegemony," for displacing the 148 United States as Asia and the world's dominant power, while steadily building 149 the conditions for Chinese global hegemony. The West should wake up and be 150 forewarned, Pillsbury writes. Otherwise the West will ultimately live in a world 151 organized around China's interests and values. 152

Pillsbury centres his analysis around interviews with China's hawks that his 153 government duties made possible. He translates dozens of these hawks' com-154 ments about lessons they learned from the practice of state relations in China 155 during the Warring States period (402-221 BCE). While Pillsbury occasionally 156 suggests that his understanding of China's "secret strategy" derives from his con-157 158 tacts with Chinese defectors and reading of purloined Chinese classified documents, in fact his understanding is extrapolated from the Chinese hawks 159 seeking lessons today from Machiavellian writings that emerged during that 160 ancient era. From the perspective of this hyper-realist weltanschauung, according 161 162 to Pillsbury, the hawks see politics among states is a ruthless no-holds-barred struggle for power with the prize sought by each ambitious ruler being hegemony 163 164 over other states. A key precept of this tradition, according to Pillsbury, is that there cannot be two emperors, or hegemon, and struggle between them will con-165 166 tinue until one contender finally prevails and dominates. Deception is vital to success in this contest, and Pillsbury offers scores of examples of how today's 167 168 hawks advocate ancient stratagems of deception: luring an opponent into a costly quagmire; using double agents to mislead rivals; sowing mistrust in your oppo-169 nent's alliances, and most of all, using an opponent's strength against him 170 while denying ambition. A clever ruler will deny ambition thus lulling his oppon-171 ent while conspiring to overthrow him. Pillsbury uses these tropes to elucidate 172 contemporary Chinese policy toward the United States. He also argues that 173 China's study of US strategy during its 19th Century "rise," as well as study of 174 Soviet strategy during its long but ultimately failed attempted "rise," validate a 175 strategy of low key avoidance of premature collision with and simultaneous 176

exploitation of the incumbent hegemon until, finally, the rising power completely overawes the declining power.

Pillsbury's framework offers a plausible explanation for the widespread 179 embrace in China of propositions that US policy seeks to weaken and injure 180 China, in spite of copious evidence indicating that the US has, in reality, long 181 supported China's emergence as a rich and strong global partner: that is what 182 China's Warring States tradition teaches a reigning hegemon should do and, per-183 haps, what China itself would do in such a situation. Further, the more powerful 184 an emerging rival becomes, the greater the threat is poses to a reigning hegemon, 185 and the more desperate that reigning hegemon's measures to throttle its rival. 186 This is why, Pillsbury suggests, such far-fetched notions as US-armed interven-187 tion in Tibet or Xinjiang, or US instigation of an uprising to overthrow the 188 CCP, appeal to many hawks in China. This is also why China apparently feels 189 deeply insecure even though it is stronger and enjoys a more benign international 190 environment than at any time since the 1820s. This conundrum undermines trad-191 itional US China policy: US assistance to China's successful rise is not, in fact, 192 making China friendlier and more cooperative with the United States. Instead 193 and in fact, the stronger China becomes, the more fearful of the United States 194 it becomes. 195

Pillsbury recommends that the United States start by recognizing clearly that 196 China aspires to displace it as the world's leading power, and then adopt 197 China's own Warring States strategy to counter it. One need not be German to 198 apply Clausewitz's concepts, Pillsbury notes. The US should develop a long-199 range strategy for industrial and technological competition with China. 200 China-like industrial policies should be employed to strengthen US competitive-201 ness via-a-vis China. The US should give stronger support to dissidents and eco-202 nomic reformers in China. It should punish China for its cyber espionage of US 203 intellectual property and defence technology. The US should build a coalition of 204 states concerned with China's rise: Japan, India, the Philippines, Mongolia, and 205 South Korea. In short, the United States should pursue a long-term competition 206 against China. Pillsbury rejects resort to a full-bore Cold War-like strategy; 207 "Much of U.S. strategy in the Cold War is not relevant - at least not yet. 208 Calls for a new Cold War play into the hands of the hawks in China who seek 209 to exaggerate the threat from the United Statesno need to create an 210 anti-China alliance akin to the NATO alliance to contain an expanding 211 empire..." (p. 224). Such caveats notwithstanding, Pillsbury represents one 212 pole of the US debate. 213

Lyle Goldstein's book stands at the other pole of the US debate. Unlike Pillsbury's focus on 2049, Goldstein sees China as about to surpass America. He calls for a voluntary US withdrawal from its current position of hegemony over the Western Pacific in order to "make way" for the growth of Chinese influence. But each drawdown of US presence would be matched by roughly equivalent Chinese concessions in areas of US policy interests. Thus the process would not entail unilateral US withdrawal, but a mutual and balanced effort at

accommodation by an incumbent but declining hegemon and an ambitious, ris-221 ing power determined to grow into portions of the incumbent power's receding 222 sphere of influence. "Spheres of influence" are an "integral and natural organiz-223 ing principle of world politics that follows from the continual deep relevance of 224 geography," Goldstein asserts. In line with this, the US should "bestow" on 225 China a larger role in the Asia-Pacific region. In many cases this process 226 would require reduction of US military forces in that region. This would allow 227 the US to "draw back from the brink of disaster" and avoid an otherwise looming 228 confrontation - implicitly a big war - with China. 229

Goldstein was the founding director of the China Maritime Studies Institute 230 (CMSI) established in 2006 by the US Naval War College to promote mutual 231 understanding and maritime cooperation with China. Under Goldstein's tutelage 232 the CMSI became a leading centre for study of China's growing naval and mari-233 time capabilities. Goldstein himself authored insightful CMSI monographs on 234 the PLA-N's submarine development efforts, mine warfare capabilities, and 235 China's maritime enforcement agencies. At first it might seem ironic that some-236 one with this background would advocate such a dovish approach to an ever 237 more powerful China. But in Goldstein's view, it is precisely China's great and 238 growing power that makes unwise an American confrontation with it. In an 239 email to this reviewer, Dr. Goldstein pointed out that the RAND report did 240 not consider the PLA's extremely potent sea mine capabilities, and that when 241 those capabilities are factored into the equation, the PLA's ability to punish 242 the US Navy in the vicinity of Taiwan is even grimmer than presented by the 243 RAND report. 244

Goldstein's central argument is that China's power is growing so much that the United States will be able to oppose it only at very great cost. It is virtually certain that China's economy will surpass that of the US in the near future, and the instruments of China's national power, military and otherwise, will grow accordingly. It is virtually inevitable that a very powerful China will insist on accommodation of its interests in the East Asia/ Western Pacific region, and a wise and prudent US policy would take the initiative in accommodating China's rise.

"Appeasement" is not a term Goldstein favours. But neither is it a term he 252 eschews. Appeasement may be a sagacious policy in dealing with rising powers 253 not set on over-turning the existing international system. He quotes Winston 254 Churchill to this effect. The United States should follow, Goldstein says, a course 255 similar to that of Britain in the late 19th century when London accommodated 256 the ambitions of a rising United States. Proactive accommodation by a still 257 much stronger United States will not be a sign of weakness, but of good will 258 and sagacity. Moreover, accommodation of China's interests can be achieved 259 without endangering fundamental US security interests The United States should 260 embrace China's desire for a "peaceful rise" and negotiate with Beijing outcomes 261 that reasonably accommodate both Chinese and US interests. Today's China is 262 vastly different than Germany circa 1938, and it would be foolish to rule out 263 accommodation of an aggrieved China because it failed with Hitler-led 264

Germany. China's territorial demands are long-standing and are not likely to 265 grow when existing claims are satisfied. China has long since abandoned world 266 revolution and does not much care what sort of internal governance countries 267 choose for themselves. Beijing has not built up massive military forces or sta-268 tioned them abroad. It supports the United Nations system and its components: 269 the NPT regime, peace-keeping operations and so on. China does not seek to 270 drive the United States out of the Western Pacific; indeed such a development 271 would not correspond to China's own interests. Beijing seeks, rather, to ensure 272 that the US presence there does not trample on China's interests. It has not 273 used military force against its neighbours (with the one exception of Vietnam 274 in 1979). It has demonstrated a willingness to work with and even learn from 275 the US and the West generally. If anything, China esteems and seeks to emulate 276 the United States. If the United States opens the way to a reasonable growth of 277 Chinese influence, reasonably accommodates China's interests and ratchets down 278 US influence, there is a good chance for Sino-American partnership in the 21st 279 century. That is the ambitious goal Goldstein posits. 280

There is a lot of common ground between Goldstein and Christensen. Both 281 reject the notion that China seeks to overturn the existing international order. 282 Why would China want to topple an open global economic order now that it 283 has become a global economic power? Both believe - contrary to Pillsbury -284 that China's top leaders sincerely desire a long term peaceful relation with the 285 United States and are not merely pretending. Both Goldstein and Christensen 286 recognize a diversity of views among China's foreign policy community. 287 Strident voices see US efforts to contain, encircle and split China to abort its 288 rise and call for more confrontational approaches toward the US. But other mod-289 erate voices recognize overlapping interests with the United States, and conclude 290 that cooperation in these areas should be expanded. Both Goldstein and 291 Christensen see moderate voices as dominant among China's top leadership 292 but subject to nationalist pressures. Both Goldstein and Christensen call for 293 active search via dialogue and negotiation for common ground and cooperation 294 on common interests between China and the United States. They identify many 295 of the same areas in which China and the US can work together more: nuclear 296 non-proliferation especially regarding North Korea and Iran; global economic 297 issues; climate change; development assistance to Africa. Both call for 298 American representatives to listen and emphasize more with China's concerns. 299 Both call for the United States to downplay human rights and democratization, 300 and instead deal with China as it is - ruled by the CCP's authoritarian one-party 301 regime. Both stress Beijing's aversion to foreign intervention and regime change 302 and the need for Washington to avoid those landmines in dealing with China. 303

Yet there are major differences between Goldstein and Christensen. One involves contrary estimates of the current state of Sino-US relations. Goldstein views the relationship as deeply fraught, fueled by Chinese anger, and heading for confrontation unless switched soon onto a radically different, more cooperative path. For Christensen, Sino-US relations are sometimes better, sometimes

worse depending largely on the quality of US diplomacy and political alignments 309 within China. But overall the relation is not that bad and generally becoming bet-310 ter, i.e. more cooperative. Per Christensen, China's top leaders understand very 311 well the many ways in which the development of the country they rule benefits 312 from participation in the system set up under tutelage after 1945 and still main-313 tained by US global power. Nationalist propaganda to the contrary serves to 314 legitimize the CCP regime, but China's moderate leaders understand that con-315 frontation with the United States could derail China's remarkably successful 316 post-1978 development drive - upon which social stability depends. 317

The most fundamental difference between Goldstein and Christensen has to do 318 with the efficacy of a strong US military position in the Western Pacific. Such a 319 position of US strength still exists, and has been maintained across several US 320 administrations. Goldstein and Christensen differ sharply about the consequences 321 and thus wisdom of continuing that presence. Goldstein views the strong US mili-322 tary presence as provocative, fostering Chinese anger and perceptions of threat, 323 and leading ultimately and perhaps in the not-too-distant future, to a Chinese 324 effort to end that presence. Christensen, on the other hand, sees US strength as 325 "incentivizing" moderate Chinese behaviour toward China's smaller and weaker 326 neighbours with whom China has territorial conflicts: "Contrary to the common 327 assumption that US toughness in East Asia only breeds Chinese intransigence 328 and spirals of tension in the region, the second half of the 1990s demonstrates 329 that a robust US security presence and commitment to East Asia, in the proper 330 diplomatic context, can incentivize China to behave more moderately toward its 331 neighbors." (p. 195). 332

Goldstein surveys ten policy areas recently characterized, he avers, by escalat-333 ing US-PRC tension, and proposes in each area spirals of virtuous cooperative 334 action in which moves by the US (the first actor because of its greater strength 335 and its role in China's "humiliation" in the 19th century) will be met by coopera-336 tive counter-moves by China. Initial moves will be largely symbolic and designed 337 to build trust. As mutual trust grows, moves will become more substantive, and 338 the two sides move toward mutual accommodation in previously conflict-ridden 339 policy areas. In each policy area Goldstein proposes five hypothetical moves for 340 the US, and five reciprocal moves by China constituting together a "cooperation 341 spiral." The end result in each policy area will be greatly reduced Sino-American 342 tension achieved by deliberate Sino-American cooperation. 343

Regarding Taiwan, for example, US moves begin by reducing forces on Guam, 344 closing the US military office in Taipei, endorsing and encouraging "final status" 345 negotiations between Beijing and Taipei; and finally, ending US ending arms 346 sales to Taiwan. China's reciprocal moves begin with unconditional military 347 talks with Taipei, withdrawal of missiles and amphibious forces from opposite 348 Taiwan, and culminate in the signature of a "treaty" with Taipei promising 349 not to attack Taiwan or station CCP or PLA personnel on that island. Beijing 350 would agree to a "confederation" with adequate guarantees for genuine 351 Taiwan autonomy and continuing liberal democratic self-government - but 352

within China's rather than a US sphere. Goldstein postulates that Beijing and 353 Taipei would sign a treaty (he does not say with whom; presumably with 354 Taipei) guaranteeing Taiwan's autonomy within the new confederation while 355 promising the Mainland would not use force against Taiwan. China's imperative 356 of "reunification" would thus be reconciled with US concern with survival of 357 Taiwan's liberal democratic polity. Taiwan would thus be transferred, without 358 war, from the US to China's sphere while protecting US interests in the survival 359 of Taiwan's democratic polity. 360

Regarding Korea, Goldstein argues that the US should encourage China to 361 play a greater security and economic role in the north, revitalizing a now largely 362 nominal military alliance with the North and providing large-scale economic 363 assistance to it. Chinese protection would eliminate the North's need for nuclear 364 weapons to ensure survival, while economic growth would provide strong incen-365 tives. For its part, the US would propose a bilateral investigation of the Korean 366 War, draw down US combat forces in South Korea, begin negotiations with and 367 then recognize North Korea. Since these moves would ease Pyongyang's security 368 concerns, they would, Goldstein hypotheses, provide incentives for the North to 369 give up its nuclear weapons programme, with China supervising and verifying 370 that process. Beijing, after all, has an interest in denuclearizing North Korea 371 and preventing further nuclear proliferation in Northeast Asia. Goldstein's 372 Korea scenario ends with voluntary and China-verified denuclearization, 373 North Korea firmly within China's sphere of influence, and with Beijing relaxed 374 about a residual US-South Korean alliance restructured to present no military 375 threat to China. 376

With Japan, the US would marginally reduce its military presence on Okinawa 377 and nudge Tokyo toward a more sincere demonstration of repentance on "the 378 history issue," a repentance to be enacted during a visit to the Nanjing 379 Massacre museum in that Chinese city. Such moves would induce Beijing to 380 agree to the mid-line principle in the East China Sea, but with Tokyo agreeing 381 to "joint administration" over the disputed Senkaku/ Diaoyu Islands. China 382 would then accept Japan as a "normal country" with normal military capabil-383 ities, while the US would "restructure" its alliance with Japan to address 384 China security concerns. With China's security concerns over Taiwan, Korea 385 and Japan thus obviated, China would no longer need to push the development 386 of military power so vigorously, or be so suspicious of a residual US military 387 presence in the Western Pacific. 388

It should be noted that Goldstein's approach is largely hypothetical and specu-389 lative; it is based on speculation about what Washington and Beijing might do. 390 While Goldstein's proposed moves are grounded in research in Chinese sources, 391 there remains a strong "what if" quality to them. Valid objections can be raised 392 to almost all moves in the "cooperation spirals" proposed by Goldstein - as he 393 himself recognizes. Would Beijing really accept the mid-line in the East China 394 Sea, give up the nine-dash line in the South China Sea, or recognize Japan as 395 a "normal military power"? But given Goldstein's objective of outlining a path 396

to Sino-American cooperation to avoid collision, it is hard to see how one could
avoid speculation. Moreover, Goldstein merely offers his proposed moves as
illustrative, and recognizes that these or other such moves would need to be carefully thought-through and then negotiated by the two sides. Strong domestic
opposition would emerge with many of his proposed moves. Goldstein responds
to these difficulties with a call for statesmanship and national leadership.

Christensen sees two main ways in which China's behaviour as a power rapidly 403 growing in strength might nonetheless destabilize that existing order. First, China 404 might adopt coercive approaches intended to compel Japan, South Korea, 405 Taiwan, the Philippines and Vietnam to submit to Beijing's notions of sovereign-406 ty in territorial disputes. (Christensen says very little about the Sino-Indian rela-407 tionship, an unfortunate omission that keeps him from focusing on the highly 408 significant emerging Japan-India entente, an emerging relationship that fits 409 very nicely into his framework about "incentivizing" non-belligerent Chinese 410 behaviour.) A combination of aggrieved "post-colonial nationalism," growing 411 space for nationalist demands both popular and from within the elite, plus a 412 belief that since the "great recession" of 2008 the balance of power has shifted 413 fundamentally in China's favor, could easily tempt Beijing to resort to attempt 414 to force its neighbours to submit to Beijing's notions of sovereignty. These pres-415 sures in fact combined to produce belligerent and coercive Chinese policies in 416 maritime disputes in the East and South China Seas in 2010-2014, Christensen 417 maintains. It is in this realm of possible Chinese coercion of its weak neighbours 418 over territorial issues that Christensen sees the relevance of a continuing strong 419 US military presence as "incentivizing" China's non-resort to coercive 420 approaches. 421

The second way in which China's rise might challenge the existing global order 422 is by simply refusing to support efforts by other major powers to deal with vari-423 ous global governance issues: the proliferation of nuclear weapon technologies; 424 improving the quality of development assistance to Africa; dealing with situa-425 tions of egregious abuse of human rights by rogue governments; maintaining 426 financial and economic stability; or dealing with climate change. China's global 427 footprint in all these areas is simply so large, Christensen argues, that refusal to 428 join in international efforts may render those efforts ineffective. China's insist-429 ence on continuing "normal" economic relations with North Korea or Iran, 430 for example, undermine efforts by other powers to pressure Pyongyang or 431 Tehran to abandon nuclear weapon programs. China's no-strings-attached aid 432 to African nations may undermine the efforts of other major aid-givers to ensure 433 that development assistance actually goes to development. China's carbon emis-434 sions are so large that its refusal to accept obligations via the Kyoto accord 435 doomed that accord with the American Congress. China is so big and consequen-436 tial, and the world today so interconnected, that China simply must cooperate 437 actively if many international problems are to be dealt with effectively. China, 438 however, tends to view itself (not unreasonably per Christensen) as a developing 439 country, and views as unfair American demands that it assume responsibilities 440

equivalent to leading developed countries. Moreover, China's "post-colonial nationalism" tends to view such US demands as a nefarious scheme to hobble 442 China's development and ensnare it in various foreign quagmires. 443

Christensen argues that strong and durable US security presence in the West 444 Pacific produces a Chinese awareness that coercive pressure on its neighbours -445 again Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines and Vietnam - will push 446 those countries closer toward the United States and toward one another in a coali-447 tion to counter a belligerent China. Fear of US encirclement is actually an incentive 448 for non-coercive Chinese policies designed to reassure its neighbours, keeping them 449 away from joining in encircling China. Continuing US strength in the Western 450 Pacific is thus essential to the China-restraining option of potential "encirclement" 451 of China. Without a strong US presence, China's small neighbours are unlikely to 452 risk angering China by forming a coalition to balance China. With a strong US pres-453 ence, however, China's weak neighbours will feel bold enough to draw together and 454 with the United States to counter China. According to Christensen, China demon-455 strated its understanding of this principle when it drew away from its confrontation-456 al approaches of 2010-2014 in the East and South China Sea and moved to reduce 457 tension with Tokyo, Seoul and Hanoi. As Tokyo and Seoul began repairing their 458 previously tense relations under the impetus of Pyongyang's provocative nuclear 459 and missile tests, Beijing became much less tolerant of the North's reckless warmon-460 gering. From Christensen's point of view, Goldstein's prescription of recession of 461 US power would be an invitation to Chinese coercion against its weak neighbours 462 - and all the destabilizing conflict that would ensue. 463

Goldstein warns against the US allowing itself be "played" by calls by those 464 China's small and weak neighbors for the US to "stand up to Beijing's bullying." 465 That would be exactly the wrong approach, according to Goldstein; it would 466 encourage further provocation of China by these small countries and draw the 467 United States into deeper conflict with China. It is only natural that these 468 weak countries might be unnerved by China's astounding rise, and the US 469 might want to demonstrate empathy with those little-country fears, just as a par-470 ent might show empathy for the "irrational fears" of a child. But Washington 471 should not found its policy on such "irrational fears" - irrational because 472 China does not intend to invade these small countries. The reality is, Goldstein 473 asserts, that the American people do not want and will not support war with 474 China over "rocks and reefs," and a wise US policy must be founded on this real-475 ity. If China were to prepare to invade Japan or the Philippine archipelago, the 476 US would be compelled to intervene and assume the burdens of war with China. 477 But there is no evidence that China intends or is preparing something like that, 478 Goldstein argues. The US should draw red lines against Chinese efforts to over-479 run its neighbours, and be prepared to stand by those red lines should China 480 someday morph into something like Japan in the 1930s. That is far from being 481 the case today, Goldstein argues. 482

One factor underlying Goldstein and Christensen's differing assessments of 483 Beijing's willingness to challenge the US position in the Western Pacific is 484

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differing views about the durability of US preeminence. Goldstein maintains that 485 China will soon surpass the United States in national power in terms of GDP and 486 military line up. With the US about to be surpassed by China it makes sense for 487 the United States to abandon hegemony in the Western Pacific and reconcile US 488 positions there with China's own requirements. Christensen, like Pillsbury, views 489 US preeminence, globally and in the Western Pacific, as far more durable. 490 Christensen deconstructs theories of US decline to demonstrate continuing US 491 leadership in economic, military, technological and educational areas. The 492 United States has, to cite one element of continuing US preeminence, some 60 493 allies accounting for 80 per cent of global military spending. China has perhaps 494 two allies: North Korea and Pakistan. 495

But continuing US strength is only part of Christensen's prescription. 496 Reassurance of China is the other, equally important half. The US should 497 make it clear to Beijing that the power of the US and its allies will not be used 498 to support Taiwan independence (that is de jure separation from China), 499 Tibetan or Xinjiang secession, or to undermine and overthrow China's incum-500 bent CCP government. Christensen lauds the efforts of both the Clinton and 501 the George W. Bush administrations to clearly disassociate the US from the boat-502 rocking moves of Lee Teng-hui and Chen Sui-bian respectively. The US should 503 not take sides in the maritime disputes of the Western Pacific, and should limit 504 its concern to the peaceful resolution of those disputes. The United States should 505 not begrudge cooperative ties between China and its East Asian neighbours, even 506 US allies. Washington must accept that these countries do not want to choose 507 sides in a Sino-US conflict. Alliance with the United States will remain insurance 508 against a belligerent China even as China's ties with its weak neighbours warm. 509 The US should not view the Sino-US relationship as a zero-sum game; in fact 510 China's moves often serve US interests as well as China's own. The US should 511 use "dialogues" with China to better understand China's views, identify areas 512 in which the US and China have common interests, and discuss how the two 513 countries can best cooperate. The US must make clear - as most US administra-514 tions have according to Christensen, that it welcomes China's emergence as a 515 great power, seeks to cooperate with a more powerful - and responsible - China. 516 Christensen's method of analyzing this strength + reassurance balance is histor-517 ical. He reviews the China policies of US administrations since the end of the 518 Cold War, identifying when those administrations got right the requisite balance 519 of strength and reassurance, and when they did not. The first Clinton administra-520 tion got it wrong, combining US weakness with provocative policies. The second 521 Clinton administration got the balance about right and Sino-US relations pros-522 pered. The George W. Bush Administration started with a deaf ear regarding 523 reassurance, but soon got the balance right - assisted by the 9/11 attacks and 524 the war on terror. The early Obama administration blundered by inadvertently 525 signaling US weakness (by agreeing inter alia to respect China' open-ended 526 "core interests") with non-reassuring statements about "pivot to Asia" and 527 "return to Asia" - formulations that China read as "containment." The "great 528

recession" also fed a Chinese conviction that the wind was now in China' sails. This led to several years of confrontation (Christensen identifies 2010 the most belligerent year for Chinese diplomacy in the reform era). But soon China realized its policies were precipitating the very encirclement it feared, while Obama restored the proper balance of strength and reassurance.

A final difference between Goldstein, Christensen and Pillsbury has to do with 534 what one might call historical repentance. Goldstein shows strong empathy with 535 China's many grievances against foreign powers, including the United States, 536 inflicted during China's "century of national humiliation." Goldstein begins his 537 study with a walk-through of American villainies inflicted on China prior to 538 1949 as displayed in the revamped National History Museum in Beijing. He con-539 cludes his study with a scene from the 1962 historical novel Sand Pebbles. For 540 Goldstein, the fact that American gunboats patrolled the Yangtze and mucked 541 around in China's internal affairs, while Chinese gunboats were absent from 542 the Mississippi, should inspire in Americans a sense of humility, remorse and gen-543 erosity. Christensen has little to say about what China perceives as pre-1949 US 544 violations of China. Pillsbury stresses how Chinese domestic education grossly 545 distorts the US role in China's "century of national humiliation." 546

Pillsbury, Goldstein and Christensen agree on one paradox of contemporary Sino-American relations: while US China policy since 1972 has, in fact, consistently sought to facilitate China's rise as a great power (albeit a rule-abiding and peaceable one), China's dominant nationalist political culture sees the US as set on stifling China's rise. All three authors link this Chinese misperception to the legitimacy efforts of the CCP government.

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