

CHINESE PRE-EMPTIVE COUNTER-CONTAINMENT STRATEGY

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Abstract

The only other possible U.S. strategy toward China is containment. Containment refers to the US foreign policy in the early years of cold war, in the response of USSR's growing influence in the region. Now Containment of China has become the United States long-term strategy. China is emerging as East Asia's regional hegemon. Growing economic, technological, and military power enables it to increase its influence over other nations in the region and the world. China's threat to U.S. interests in the region is increasing as it modernizes its military and its economy continues to grow while the national values and interests of the United States are translated into three grand strategic objectives: preserve American security, bolster American economic prosperity, and promote American values. The U.S. views the China as an economic competitor and potential military adversary, while China's motivation is identified as the plan to deny the US the ability to contain it. This may be described as the pre-emptive counter-containment strategy.

Introduction

About two hundred years ago, Napoleon made a prediction about China:

'There lies a sleeping giant. Let him sleep; for when he wakes he will move the world'.

Today this sleeping giant has become a source of anxiety for the United States. The only other possible U.S. strategy toward China is

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containment. Containment refers to the US foreign policy in the early years of cold war, in the response of USSR's growing influence in the region. Now Containment of China has become the United States long-term strategy. The objective of the containment strategy is to prevent or delay the growth of China's power. The strategy requires limiting foreign trade and investments, preventing the transfer of technology, actively preventing the unification of Taiwan with China, and building strong alliances with Japan, South Korea, India, Vietnam, Russia, and other countries in order to isolate China. China is emerging as East Asia's regional hegemon. Growing economic, technological, and military power enables it to increase its influence over other nations in the region and the world. Determining if China emerges as a friendly nation or as a military and economic threat is difficult to predict. China's threat to U.S. interests in the region is increasing as it modernizes its military and its economy continues to grow while the national values and interests of the United States are translated into three grand strategic objectives: preserve American security, bolster American economic prosperity, and promote American values.

The U.S. views the China as an economic competitor and potential military adversary, while China's motivation is identified as the plan to deny the US the ability to contain it. This may be described as the pre-emptive counter-containment strategy. In order to fulfil its national interests in the Asian-Pacific region it continues its efforts to improve the economic vitality of China and other countries in the region by maintaining access to the free markets in Asia.

Aspiration of the US as Sole Surviving Superpower vs. Peaceful Rise of China

After the cold war, the United States became the sole superpower in the first half of the 1990s. Starting with the mid-1980s, Chinese policy elites began to believe that the evolution toward multipolarity had accelerated. This view was interrupted during the period of 1989–

1991, as the Tiananmen incident and the collapse of communist regimes in East Europe heightened Chinese fear of strategic isolation. All other powers, including Russia, seemed to have joined the United States to gang up against China, while the quarter century of modernization and development since 1977 has seen China achieving phenomenal growth, and the formula of combining economic innovation with political conservatism has worked very well indeed.

The US remains the unilateral super power since its 1989 triumph in the Cold War; it perceives a challenge to its global hegemony from the world's most populous country. Some Western scholars envisage a new Cold War with China, though the pragmatic leadership in Beijing insists that it neither seeks hegemony, nor does it recognize claims to hegemony either by regional or global players.

...China has made great strides in economic and military fields but has remained wedded to precepts and policies stressing economic development, uninterrupted access to energy and other strategic commodities vital to its spectacular growth, peaceful coexistence, acceptance of global diversity and a gradual enhancement of diplomatic influence in Asia and in other continents.¹

The peaceful rise of China, one of the transformative changes of this century has attracted the attention of the world with the dawn of the 21st century. The China's phenomenal economic progress coupled with military modernization and diplomatic manoeuvring has ushered in a new era in the international politics. The land known in history as the middle kingdom is once again on the center stage of international affairs; with a capacity to transform the character of regional and international order to a great extent.

The U.S. China policy follows and serves U.S. global strategy. In response, China has tried to balance against U.S. power through developing a strategic partnership with Russia, building new ties

with its neighbors and beyond, and increasing its comprehensive national power. If strategic conflict continues to escalate, China will be more tempted to step up its balancing against the United States. Yao Youzhi, head of the Department of Strategic Research in the Chinese Academy of Military Sciences (the most important research arm of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) writes that,

To maintain its unipolar dominance, the United States has pursued varying strategies to contain, control, incorporate, and suppress those countries and regions that might become one of the multiple poles. It has controlled and incorporated Europe and Japan, and suppressed and contained Russia and China.²

In the words of one Chinese analyst, the United States will contain, besiege, and even launch pre-emptive military strikes against any country which dares to defy the U.S. world hegemony or which has constituted a latent challenge to the United States. Among its main targets are a number of countries in Eurasia, including Russia, Yugoslavia, Iraq, Iran, Libya, North Korea, and China." On the Asian front, the United States revitalized its security alliance with Japan, proceeded with the Theater Missile Defense (TMD) program, and maintained large forwardly deployed troops in the west Pacific to keep an eye on China".³

"That's why it is almost universally believed in China that the NATO bombing of Chinese embassy in Belgrade in May 1999 was a deliberate, calculated attack to punish China's opposition to the war, to destabilize and humiliate China, and to probe Beijing's external reaction and domestic response to the outburst of nationalism that the bombing was bound to ignite".⁴

China would be better off simply to recognize the reality of the U.S. unipolar dominance. China recently conducted an important policy debate over the country's strategic direction in global affairs. In

newspapers, magazines, and internal papers, Chinese officials and scholars argued whether the concept of “China’s peaceful rise” should be adopted as the motto for its rapidly expanding role in international politics.

Chinese policymakers and analysts argue that, as China rises, it seeks to avoid the competition-inducing policies of Weimar Germany, Imperial Japan, and the Soviet Union in the Cold War. “The only choice for China under the current international situation is to rise peacefully, namely, to develop by taking advantage of the peaceful international environment, and at the same time to maintain world peace through its development.”⁵

USA’s anti China Containment policy

USA’s anti China containment policy is as follows:

The Containment Strategy: The fundamental policy of the USA has been one of containment of China. USA’s administrations have also tried to hedge their bets in certain ways, but hedging has been subordinate to containment. Containment has three elements.

- With respect to economics and trade, which in recent years have been the most important elements of the strategy
- Containment has meant seeking an expansion of relations and an opening of Chinese markets to U.S. products. It has also meant granting China "most favored nation" (MFN) trade status and reducing the number of sensitive goods and technologies covered by export controls. It has allowed Chinese companies to operate relatively freely in the United States
- Politically, containment has meant seeking to maximize bilateral ties while keeping any disputes at a low level as possible.

“Under this approach, Washington has tried to bring China into the various multilateral arms control regimes dealing with weapons of mass destruction, proliferation, and arms trade, and into other international regimes dealing with issues such as human rights. The approach attempts to include China in the solution of regional issues, such as Korea and the proliferation of nuclear weapons in South Asia.”⁶

Militarily, the United States has sought enhanced military-to-military relations to increase mutual confidence and reach agreements on rules of the game to facilitate cooperation and avoid misunderstandings.

Recent anti-China moves by the US have included the following:

- Washington beefing up its military alliance with Japan and stationing more aircraft carriers and jet fighters in Japanese bases
- US warnings about the dangers of a fast-expanding People's Liberation Army (PLA). A spate of "U.S.-instigated" instability in Central Asian states (including Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan), which are in China's north-western backyard
- Washington's strong lobbying was also responsible for the European Union's decision to postpone lifting its 16 year-old embargo on arms sales to China

US-Japan Nexus

The revitalization of the U.S.–Japan security alliance is evidently targeted primarily against China. The United States appeared to be playing a stabilizing role to maintain regional peace, check Japanese power, and prohibit an arms race in East Asia. Beijing is particularly

wary of Theater Missile Defence's (TMD) impact on its national security; as such a regional missile defense umbrella would undermine its minimum nuclear deterrent capability and effectively encourage Japanese militarism. Chinese strategists also worry that, even if Taiwan is presently not included in TMD, once the missile defense is in place, it can be easily extended to the island, effectively restoring a political and military alignment between the United States, Japan, and Taiwan. The revision of US– Japan security treaty in 1995–1996 clearly had China in mind. There has been a certain kind of cooperation between Japan and the United States on ballistic missile defense since the late 1980s, but that cooperation has been greatly strengthened and accelerated during the last three years. In December 1998 the Japanese government formally declared that Japan would commence joint research on a TMD system with the US in fiscal year 1999.

“According to an agreement signed in August 1999, the joint R&D effort will focus on the sea-based Navy Theatre Wide Missile defense system, which will be deployed in 2007 in East Asia. With TMD suddenly becoming something real and impending, it also turns out to be one of the most contentious issues in East Asian security.”⁷

TMD will increase the military cooperation between the US and Japan and the potential of the US-Japan alliance to take military actions around Asia. The joint (Research and Development) R&D of TMD will increase the military cooperation between the US and Japan and will enhance the military and dual-use technology transfers between the two countries and a close alliance.

An effective TMD system will greatly increase the overall capability of the US-Japan alliance and thus, its potential to intervene in regional conflicts...“the US and Japan are close allies, whose security alliance has just been updated. On the contrary, China's relations with both the US and Japan are far from satisfying; there are a lot of problems in those relationships; a basic trust is missing”.⁸

In the US, China is regarded as potential competitor that may have the capability and willingness to challenge the American primacy in the future. "There is a consensus among Chinese scholars that the revision of the US-Japan defense guideline, if it was not completely targeted against China, was to a large extent motivated by the perception of China's rising. The joint TMD program between the US and Japan adds new salt to that suspicion."⁹

TMD will increase uncertainties and tensions over Taiwan. Strait Taiwan stands as the most difficult and sensitive issue in both Sino-American and Sino-Japanese relations. It is the only issue that can drag the United States and Japan, perhaps to a lesser extent, into a military conflict with China. China's grave concerns over the redefined US-Japan security alliance are also largely driven by the deliberately ambiguous attitudes of the US and Japan over Taiwan.

China's suspicions about the US and Japan's real intentions towards China and especially towards Taiwan put new strain upon Sino-American and Sino-Japanese relations. With an effective TMD system, the scenario that the US-Japan alliance involves in a conflict over Taiwan is getting even more real. Then the possibility of a conflict between China and the US-Japan alliance is also increasing.

Growing U.S. Forces in Central Asia: A Trouble for China

Russia and China feel that the U.S. has been too aggressive in Central Asia. The U.S. is threatening their national security. The first thing is that the U.S. is trying to put the democratic movements, some kind of people's movements, and propel them into power and then; hopefully, these new governments would be pro-U.S. There is talk of the U.S. military moving troops into the southern Caucasus countries of Azerbaijan and Georgia to protect the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline and even whispers of a new air base in Turkmenistan, but Russia and China have drawn a line in the desert sand of Central Asia.

At the Manas airfield near the Kyrgyzstan capital, Bishkek, only about 200 miles from the Chinese border and in Kyrgyzstan the U.S., French and British troops have been building a tent city to house. The tents have floors and are heated, describing it as evidence of an intention to maintain a long-term presence. Each branch of the armed services is making longer-term plans to rotate troops through the region. "Other U.S. facilities that may be expanded include the Jacobabad air base in Pakistan and the Khanabad airfield in Uzbekistan.... Other countries with U.S. military deployments since Sept. 11 include Tajikistan, Bulgaria, Turkey and Kuwait".¹⁰

The expanding U.S. military build-up in Central Asia is prompting concern in Russia and China over what may be the largest U.S. presence in the area since the Vietnam War. "Russia and China, which are trying to expand their own influence in the region, have supported the U.S. war against terrorism. They are questioning why the U.S. presence is growing more than a month after the rout of the Taliban militia in Afghanistan".¹¹

According to China and Russia, "This is certainly the most extensive American presence in Central Asia since Vietnam, and is further into central Asia than we've ever been".¹²

The SCO brings together China and Russia plus the four Central Asian states of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan in a marriage of convenience that seems set on squeezing the United States out of the region.

"China and Russia backed the Uzbek initiative, China for the clear strategic reason that it doesn't want U.S. strategic forces in what it regards as its backyard. And Russia has always felt slighted by the U.S. military presence in the territory of the former Soviet Union. U.S. aircraft sitting on the tarmac of Soviet-built airfields is a psychological offense."¹³

US-Indo Relation as a 'Global Partnership'

In South Asia India is to be groomed by the U.S. as a countervailing force against China. "To entice India to play this new role the US repudiated its own nuclear policy of non-proliferation, and invited India to join the ranks of China, France, Russia, Britain and the US as a legitimate nuclear power."¹⁴ The new direction identified in Clinton's March 2000 visit was taken up concretely in the next steps in Strategic Partnership agreement of January 2004. "This announced that the United States and India would expand cooperation in civilian nuclear activities, civilian space programs, and high-technology trade, as well as on missile defense".¹⁵

The cooperation in this context is a euphemism for the United States providing India access to aid, information, and technology in these areas. The deputy State Department spokesman explained, "Its goal is to help India become a major world power in the 21st century."¹⁶

The United States wants to check India's missile capability in ways that could lead to China's permanent nuclear dominance over democratic India. Indian diplomacy has also succeeded brilliantly. "India has supported the US on missile defence and, the International Criminal Court, facilitated US operations against Afghanistan in 2002 and voted in 2005 and 2006 with the US against Iran at the IAEA."¹⁷

A joint statement by India and China in 2005 declared the relationship between their countries and established a global partnership and this partnership will promote stability, democracy, prosperity, and peace throughout the world. Meanwhile India and U.S signed the United States – India Nuclear Cooperation Approval and Non-proliferation Enhancement Act after congressional approval, on October 8, 2008. This agreement allows civilian nuclear trade between the two countries for the first time in 30 years. The investing in Indian nuclear energy will foster a friendly counterweight to rising China. The US pushes to end India's status

as a nuclear pariah was partly motivated by a desire to counter China's rise.

Since a substantive India-US Strategic Partnership has the potential to alter the global strategic balance and so also the Asian strategic balance, the evolving Indo-US Strategic Partnership has been under intense scrutiny by China and Russia. "China figures in Indian threat perceptions in a major way because of past-armed conflicts and the chronic unsettled boundary disputes".¹⁸

In China's threat perceptions, a substantive India-US Strategic Partnership carries with it the potential of initiatives for Indo-US containment of China and use of Tibet as a strategic pressure point. Russia's strategic sensitivities in relation to India's future strategic moves need to be paid due respect as the Indo-Russian Strategic Partnership is a time tested one.

Unlike the United States and China that have resorted to creation of spoiler states like Pakistan, to checkmate India, Russia has not resorted to such policies against India. India has the right to indulge in counter-strategic pressure points against China as China was doing so all along so far by using Pakistan against India. Building India as a counterweight to China was at least part of the motivation among some of the US decision-making circle.

Specifically, the US sees a strong India as an asset in a world in which China is the second world power. One can accept American help in becoming strong without ganging up against China.

China's Diplomacy to Counter Containment

Sino-Russian Cooperation: Russia and China have joined together in a strategic partnership aimed at countering the U.S. and Western monopoly in world affairs. The long-standing border disputes between the two countries were settled through agreements in 2005, and joint military exercises were carried out in the same year.

Furthermore, Russia, in addition to its arms exports, has been increasing its oil and gas commitments to China. Clearly, the recent comprehensive improvement of bilateral relations between China and Russia is a remarkable development. In August 2005, for the first time in 40 years, Russian and Chinese armed forces carried out joint military exercises.

The exercises comprised "ingredients" such as the use of strategic long-range bombers, neutralization of anti-aircraft defenses, command posts and airbases, gaining air superiority, enforcing a maritime blockade and the control of maritime territory. "The actual objective of the manoeuvres was likely to display to the Western world that Russia and China consider themselves to be in control of the Asia-Pacific region and that outside powers will be denied the right to interfere in their sphere of influence".¹⁹

Russia has delivered weapon systems to China, including fighter aircraft, submarines and destroyers amounting to an average of US\$2 billion annually. "China has been the largest consumer of Russian military equipment for a number of years. Russia's arms trade to China is an important factor in the cooperation between the two countries."²⁰

In, November 2005 Russia and China agreed to double oil exports to China and to consider constructing an oil pipeline from Russia to China and a gas-transmission project from eastern Siberia.

"China is "using" Russia for its military technology and energy resources. When China reaches its current drive for independence in military technology and will have created alternative ways of gaining energy -- for instance through Kazakhstan -- China may reduce ties with Russia. Moreover, China will continue to use its neighbors, such as Russia, the Central Asian states and other partners within the S.C.O., to strengthen its global position."²¹

China will become a regional and possibly global power with capacities and policies that may counter Western influence not only in the Far East, but elsewhere. The motivations behind the Treaty of Good Neighborliness, Friendship and Cooperation signed by Russia and China in Moscow in 2001 are anti-Western. "The treaty should signal to the Western world that a major geopolitical shift may be taking place in the Eurasian balance of power, with serious implications for the United States and its alliances".²²

The 2001 Russia-China treaty covers five important areas of cooperation:

- Joint actions to offset a perceived U.S. hegemonism
- Demarcation of the two countries' long-disputed 4,300 km border
- Arms sales and technology transfers
- Energy and raw materials supply
- Steps against the rise of militant Islam in Central Asia

There is growing concern that the new treaty between Moscow and Beijing may increase coordination between the two countries against the United States. Hegemonism and power politics" are the "main source of threat to world peace and stability" as well as China's interests. "Beijing is clearly interested in curtailing the U.S.-led condemnations and sanctions of China for human rights, as in the aftermath of the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre".²³

"The Sino-Russian exercises allegedly included Russian TU-22 bombers equipped with long-range nuclear-capable cruise missiles flying attack missions against simulated U.S. forces in East Asia".²⁴

The reason for Russia's willingness to support China's security interests and vice versa may lie in the fact that each country now views the other as its "strategic rear. "Beijing views U.S. predominance in the post-Cold War world-from its success in the Gulf War to its support of Taiwan security-as important threats to China".²⁵

China has clearly achieved breakthroughs in missile technology by importing systems and prototypes from Russia like SAMs. "Russia has sold Beijing two Type 956E Sovremenny-class destroyers armed with supersonic, nuclear-capable, Moskit missiles (SS-N-22). This destroyer-missile system was designed specifically to hit U.S. aircraft carriers".²⁶

"China is acquiring capabilities to counter U.S. naval and air power in the Far East and intimidate neighbors like Taiwan. Russia is seeking to become a regional rival to the United States, maintaining its defense industrial base and using money from arms sales to China and others to modernize its own-armed forces."²⁷

The relationship between China and Russia is symbiotic, despite the (Shanghai Cooperation Organization) SCO's declaration that it is geared to generate economic collaboration among its member states, "the Russian and Chinese leaders at their meeting in June 2005 asked the US to withdraw its troops from Central Asia."²⁸

"Chinese experts predict that Russia will be able to export 25 billion to 30 billion cubic meters of natural gas to China annually. Russia can pump oil produced in Kazakhstan to Irkutsk and then supply it to China. Furthermore, Russia is willing to build six nuclear reactors in China to generate up to 1.5 trillion kilowatts."²⁹

China's Military Modernization and Counter Space Programme

Chinese Military Strategy: Chinese military modernization has accelerated since the mid-to-late 1990s in response to central leadership demands to develop military options against Taiwan scenarios. China is likely to continue making large investments in high-end, asymmetric military capabilities, emphasizing electronic and cyber-warfare; counter-space operations; ballistic and cruise missiles; advanced integrated air defense systems; next generation

torpedoes; advanced submarines; strategic nuclear strike from modern, sophisticated land and sea-based systems; and theater unmanned aerial vehicle. "China's military strategy emphasizes acquiring capabilities to counter improvements to Taiwan and other regional military forces, as well as preparing for capabilities the United States might bring to bear in any conflict."³⁰

Beijing's military strategy places a premium on fielding forces capable of rapidly deploying to fight and win a future regional war under high-technology conditions along China's periphery. The Persian Gulf War and Operation Allied Force graphically underscored for Beijing the need to improve the (People's Liberation Army) PLA's ability to fight against an adversary that possesses advanced information technologies and long-range, precision-guided weapons. China's perceptions of an emerging military-technological revolution have increased the urgency of acquiring the capability to fight a high-technology war..."China has undertaken an impressive programme to modernize its armed forces. While the war-fighting capacity of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) has increased in the last decade, its ultimate objective is to achieve 'strategic deterrence'..."³¹

Currently, Beijing is downsizing its armed forces. The manpower reduction will contribute to a restructuring of the PLA into a military force consisting of three components:

- A small number of high-technology forces for flexible use in regional contingencies.
- A larger number of forces equipped with low-to-medium technology weapons for internal security and a modest nuclear force to maintain a viable deterrent against other nuclear powers.
- To support and sustain these forces during times of war

China also is trying to establish a more effective national mobilization system. Conducting pre-emptive strikes against the

enemy's most critical targets--often referred to as follows:

- Winning victories with one strike and attack the core of the enemy's defence
- Achieve piecemeal victories across the operational spectrum against superior one
- Victory through inferiority over superiority
- Electromagnetic warfare to degrade or destroy enemy operational systems
- Winning the battle piecemeal means destroying selective reconnaissance

The missions for satellites of this class that Beijing eventually may field include: earth observation, communications, navigation, development of mini-satellites (weighing less than 100 kgs) for missions, which include remote sensing and networks of electro-optical and radar satellites.

Beijing participates in the Asia-Pacific Small Multi-Mission Satellite Project as part of the Asia-Pacific Multilateral Cooperation in Space Technology and Applications Program, which reportedly includes Iran, Pakistan, Thailand, Mongolia, South Korea, and Bangladesh. China's manned space efforts could contribute to improved military space systems in the 2010-2020 time frames. In addition to scientific and technical experiments, Chinese astronauts, for instance, could investigate the utility of manned reconnaissance from space. China is said to be acquiring a variety of foreign technologies, which could be used to develop an anti-satellite (ASAT) capability. It also may be developing jammers, which could be used against Global Positioning System (GPS) receivers.

"The Chinese also have shown strong interest in Western Canadian and German radar satellite capabilities, to include a possible purchase of synthetic aperture radar (SAR) satellite systems. The satellite "Sino sat"--jointly developed by China, France, and Germany--was launched successfully in 1999. Moreover, in the form

of a joint venture, China and Germany have made improvements to the Dongfanghong 3 communications satellite and have worked on a new generation of similar satellites.”³²

China’s aerospace industry also is seeking to integrate GPS and Russian Global Navigation Satellite System (GLONASS) guidance technology into fighters and helicopters. China also can be expected to try to develop a viable anti-theater ballistic missile capability (ATBM) and ABM capability. China is believed to have a highly developed electro-optic industry, as well as the ability to field blinding laser weapons, including tactical laser weapons. It is a rapidly rising power with steadily expanding global reach that may become a peer competitor to the United States at some point. However, some Western scholars consider that,

The state of the Chinese military and its modernization must also be put in the context of U.S. interests in East Asia and compared with the state and modernization of the U.S. military and other militaries in East Asia, especially the Taiwanese military. Viewed in that context, China's military modernization does not look especially threatening.³³

- The Army aims at moving from regional defense to trans-regional mobility, and improving its capabilities in air-ground integrated operations, long-distance maneuvers, rapid assaults and special operations.
- The Navy aims at gradual extension of the strategic depth for offshore defensive operations and enhancing its capabilities in integrated maritime operations and nuclear counterattacks.
- The Air Force aims at speeding up its transition from territorial air defense to both offensive and defensive operations, and increasing its capabilities in the areas of air strike, air and missile defense, early warning and reconnaissance, and strategic projection.

In the coming 15 to 20 years, Beijing hopes to acquire the capability to project power to areas contiguous with or close to China--especially Taiwan and the Spratly Islands. It also wants to be able to contest the position of other powers, including the United States, in adjacent regions and to increase its capability both for surviving a nuclear attack and for dealing a devastating blow to potential rivals--the United States, India, Russia, and Japan.³⁴

China's submarine challenges:

John J. Tkacik views China's submarine challenges as follows:

"By 2025, China's navy could rule the waves of the Pacific. By some estimates, Chinese attack submarines will outnumber U.S. submarines in the Pacific by five to one and Chinese nuclear ballistic missile submarines will prowl America's Western littoral, each closely tailed by two U.S. attack submarines that have better things to do. The United States, meanwhile, will likely struggle to build enough submarines to meet this challenge."³⁵

China's Approach to the World (Economic Clout)

The US argues that Chinese power and influence have to be reduced and circumscribed well before 2020. During this period, the United States has aggressively implemented its new security doctrines that have led to pre-emptive wars and an expanding network of military bases that add to US military capabilities globally as well in the regions dominating energy reserves and supplies. Hu Jintao, who combines the offices of the president, party general secretary and chairman of the powerful Central Military Commission, exemplifies another inherent quality of collective leadership, the capability to fine-tune a balance between market economy and state control.

There have been demands for curbing Chinese exports and much ill advised talks in the US of a trade war with China. When earlier this summer, the China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC)

made a bid for the American oil company, UNOCAL, the Chinese desire for enhanced energy security was considered as prejudicial to the US national interest. "Robert Kaplan, whose access to governmental information gives his writings a touch of prophecy, has recently argued that the Middle East was just a blip and that a Sino-US military contest would define the 21st century."³⁶

America has confronted assertive authoritarian dictatorships with absolute authority over large economies in the past. But, false perceptions of the Soviet economic strength aside, in the past century the United States has never had to deal with a competitor of such economic, industrial, political, and soon military weight. "Taken as a whole these forces show that beyond the fate of one industry or another, beyond issue of labor or piracy or even the recent high price of oil, caused in part by rising Chinese demand, America's economy and the world's are now inextricably bound up with China's."³⁷

Because military armaments research, development, manufactures, and services are grounded in the industrial sector, the fact that China now possesses the world's second largest industrial sector should be cause for concern. China's industry is nearly 70 percent the size of the U.S. industrial sector and is growing at 13 percent a year, while U.S. industrial growth was 0.5 percent in 2007. These trends mean China's industrial sector will indeed overtake that of the United States, a scenario most recent estimates predict will occur by 2017, although some estimates see it happening within a year.

These are but pieces of a long-term pattern indicating China has little prospect at this point of becoming a responsible global power. The United States certainly needs to balance China's rise, but it also needs to create and nurture a balance of forces in favor of economic and political freedom. China has indeed overtaken the United States in manufacturing output. As an industrial giant, China needs to be taken seriously as an international economic force and a strategic and military power. China has been the world's leading producer of steel, copper, aluminium, cement, and coal for several years.

“As a consumer, China surpassed Japan as the globe's second largest importer of petroleum in 2005. In 2006, China surpassed Japan as the world's No. 2 auto market, with total sales of 7.2 million vehicles and production of 7.3 million. In 2007, China also became the world's top producer of merchant ships.”³⁸

Beijing's control over its nuclear-related exports has been considered more effective than that covering other sensitive sectors. The level of confidence that other major nuclear suppliers have in Beijing's export controls for nuclear-related commodities was evident in 2004 when China was allowed to become a member of the Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG). In contrast, China has not been invited to join the Missile Technology Control Regime, due to concerns about China's missile-related export controls.

Moreover, although Beijing's nuclear-related controls are considered by the international community to be improving, China's export control bureaucracy still confronts problems of capacity and limited resources. While the new regulations are a positive step, the ability of Beijing to implement fully these enhanced nuclear controls will depend on how well it can overcome these limitations. China's commercial interests are also an important rationale for its global involvement. “China has succeeded in establishing strategic partnerships with major countries – Brazil (1993), Russia (1996), France (1997), Saudi Arabia (1999), Iran (2000), ASEAN (2003), the European Union (2003), India (2003), the United Kingdom (2004), and Germany (2004).”³⁹

China-Pakistan Friendship to Counter India

China's strong alliance With Pakistan has significant implications for the region and the world. Currently Pakistan may turn to the same country to which the US was hoping to build an Indian counterweight China. “On October 17th, 2008, China and Pakistan issued a joint statement opposing terrorism, emphasizing agricultural cooperation, and encouraging environmental

protection. In addition, China agreed to help Pakistan build two nuclear reactors".⁴⁰ This new arrangement between China and Pakistan appears to confirm the fears of those critics of the US-Indo Nuclear deal.

Analysis: Effectiveness and Loopholes of Containment and Counter Containment Strategy

Effectiveness:

Containment could have even more positive effects. Increased Chinese interaction with the outside world can facilitate democratization in China. A democratic China is not only likely to better govern its people, it will also be less likely to come into conflict with the United States and other democracies.

However, so far the results of our containment policy have been less than advertised. It is true that China acceded to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1992 and has played a helpful role in dealing with the North Korean nuclear problem. It supported the extension of the NPT, ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention, and agreed to observe limitations imposed by the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). It also agreed to stop assisting Iran's nuclear program and to cease the sale of antiship cruise missiles to Iran. The containment rests on a bold assumption: that continued contact would eventually affect Chinese behavior in a positive direction. In the meantime, it helps China develop economically and technologically, thus creating the base for future military strength. Thus, if the assumption is incorrect, containment will merely help China become a more threatening adversary in the future.

China may feel confident of its ability to make its way in the world without economic or other relations with the United States, or it may believe its importance in world affairs to be so great that the United States will have no choice but to seek good relations with it.

Effective for USA:

U.S. containment strategy maintains a balance between its strategic objectives, in relation to China, and the resources required to meet its objectives. But a strategy of using military force to solve problems with China would result in the catastrophic.

Loopholes

- On the negative side, though, China has aided Pakistan with its nuclear weapons program and provided it with M-11 missiles. Despite publicly taking a position close to that of the United States on South Asian nuclearization after the Indian nuclear explosions, privately it encouraged Islamabad to explode a nuclear device.
- Although China ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention and claims that it does not produce or possess chemical weapons, it in fact has an advanced chemical weapons program. Similarly, China is a party to the Biological Weapons Convention, but pursues an offensive biological weapons program. And China continues to provide shorter-range missiles and other military assistance to Iran.
- The risk of the U.S. containment strategy is that its core assumption is incorrect. What happens if China does not transition to a more democratic government and becomes a powerful military threat? In this case, the containment strategy would hasten China's economic, technological, and military development with potentially disastrous consequences.
- This strategy would be difficult to implement because it would require domestic consensus as well as strong support from regional allies and the world's advanced industrial countries.

- A containment policy would result in isolating China, weaken its economy, create instability, and increase the risk of armed conflict.

Thus, the key weakness of the strategy is that it does not outline what must be done to protect American interests should China become both more powerful and more hostile. Also, containment rules out the typical low-level actions that the United States takes to express its displeasure with the behavior of a foreign state.

The West will probably have to cope with increasing ties between Russia and China and subsequent policies contrary to Western activities in the Far East and the Pacific.

Conclusion

China is a strategic rival in the making to US power in Asia and in the world, while its policy of peaceful development is underway. China's future is uncertain as it faces many internal and external challenges. Its growing population, increasing demands for food, fuel, and other resources, and its people's desire for more democratic reforms pose huge challenges for its government.

Adopting prevention and containment as a U.S. strategy would be costly, because U.S. trade and investment with China would suffer while others would gain at our expense. Such a policy would also negatively affect the operation of the United Nations Security Council, where China has veto power as a permanent member.

However China will no challenge US power until the middle of the twenty first century because China confronts resource shortages, pollution and corruption but China's global activism is truly impressive. So clearly China is best suited to become the next superpower.

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