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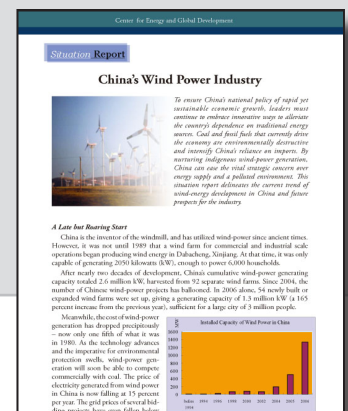

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To ensure China's national policy of rapid yet sustainable economic growth, leaders must continue to embrace innovative ways to alleviate the country's dependence on traditional energy sources. Coal and fossil fuels that currently drive the economy are environmentally destructive and intensify China's reliance on imports. By nurturing indigenous wind-power generation, China can ease the vital strategic concern over energy supply and a polluted environment. This situation report delineates the current trend of wind-energy development in China and future prospects for the industry.

A Late but Roaring Start

China is the inventor of the windmill, and has utilized wind-power since ancient times. However, it was not until 1989 that a wind farm for commercial and industrial scale operations began producing wind energy in Dabacheng, Xinjiang. At that time, it was only capable of generating 2050 kilowatts (kW), enough to power 6,000 households.

After nearly two decades of development, China's cumulative wind-power generating capacity totaled 2.6 million kW, harvested from 92 separate wind farms. Since 2004, the number of Chinese wind-power projects has ballooned. In 2006 alone, 54 newly built or expanded wind farms were set up, giving a generating capacity of 1.3 million kW (a 165 percent increase from the previous year), sufficient for a large city of 3 million people.

Meanwhile, the cost of wind-power generation has dropped precipitously – now only one fifth of what it was in 1980. As the technology advances and the imperative for environmental protection swells, wind-power generation will soon be able to compete commercially with coal. The price of electricity generated from wind power in China is now falling at 15 percent per year. The grid prices of several bidding projects have even fallen below

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Times Change, the Parade Stays the Same

Matt Durnin

Just as the last parade did ten years ago, the glint of shiny new weapons in this year's installment has ignited a firestorm of questions and speculation about China's military capabilities. Western analysts want to know what the exhibition can tell us about China's intentions. What do new missiles mean for US power in the Pacific? What do new planes and ships mean for China's neighbors? However, what was striking about the parade wasn't what was new, but what was not—how in almost every way the parade was so similar to those that preceded it. While foreign analysts scoured the military display for a message China was trying to send the outside world, the notice was in fact intended for China itself: a self-soothing mantra that, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, nothing fundamental has changed.

Counting the victory cavalcade that strolled Changan Avenue on Oct. 1, 1949, 14 parades preceded this year's.[1] In scale and showmanship, there was nothing remarkable about the 2009 procession. The parade featured a little over 10,000 troops, just as most parades past; Hu Jintao awkwardly donned a Mao suit, just as his predeces-

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sors did; and the participants lining the avenue wore funny hats, just as they always have. Hu's remarks stuck to well-worn rhetorical tracks that could have been spoken in any era: "unswervingly adhere to the socialist road with Chinese characteristics," "carry forward the glorious traditions ... safeguard national sovereignty, security, territorial integrity." Even Hu's limousine was virtually indistinguishable from the model that carried former parade marshals. In sum, the entire production looked like an installment of a carefully costumed period drama.

The intentional timelessness of the parade was in part because of factors of place and time. The area around Tiananmen Square is both the site of the Republic's triumphant founding and an incident it has toiled to forget. No one is keen to remember that tanks once came downtown for reasons other than celebration. Thus image continuity is important, as the government leans heavily on six decades of iconography and rhetoric that exalts the People's Liberation Army (PLA) as an advocate and servant of the people.

Beijing was also tripped up by the timing of this year's celebration, seemingly unsure which foot was most appropriate to put forward. The type of nationalism that loves a showy parade is running high, but so is outrage over how the government spends money, particularly as aid to Sichuan has been too slow and slight in the aftermath of the earthquake. The government of course wanted to play to the people, but which ones? The leadership appears to have split the difference and then tried to spin it both ways. While PLA generals talked up technological wizardry and Zhang Yimou prepped a pyrotechnical crescendo to the evening party, state newspapers stressed how little money the government had spent on the whole affair. The Ministry of Defense promised a "warm but frugal and cost-effective" show.[2]

Most importantly, the CCP stuck to the old script because it doesn't know how to deliver a new one. Much of the outside world is skittish of a powerful China, while many within China aren't yet confident of their country's new status. The nostalgic self-image Chinese leaders broadcasted instead would be quaint were it not so out of step with the country's actual place in the world. The fact is that things aren't the same and they appear to be growing less so every day. The PRC is entering an era of unprecedented power, with an economy and military that the outside world can no longer discount. The problem is not that the PRC harbors evil machinations of what to do with its newfound power, but instead that it seems dumfounded as to how to communicate its intentions. But creating a clear understanding with other countries is crucial, particularly in light of China's growing military might.

While most foreign China analysts were busy scrutinizing fuselages and counting missile transporter tires, the more important developments were not things easily visible in the parade. The PLA's biggest technological leaps haven't been in munitions, planes or ships, but in the digital glue that binds these capabilities together. China's network centric and information warfare are rapidly improving China's joint strike capability, bringing it closer to par with other global military powers. More

importantly, the size, quality and focus of China's military is changing. Prior to the parade, news leaked that the PLA will cut 700,000 troops over the next few years while adding personnel to the air force and navy. At the next anniversary celebration, the PLA will be a smaller, more professional and more mobile force. Though China is loath to admit it, this does change things.

To date, aside from a round of down-sizing in the 1990s, China's military deployment has changed little since the end of the Cold War. It remains infantry-focused and deployed for border conflicts that have long been irrelevant. A massive restructuring of its manpower and increases in naval and air capabilities will require China to form a doctrine for how it will defend its interests. China's current rhetorical crutch of "harmonious diplomacy" offers fairly weak support for such a massive shift in capability. While Chinese leaders have set forth vague notions about protecting sea lanes and access to resources, they've yet to satisfactorily answer what kind of power China is striving to be.

Moreover, China's vaguely stated peaceful intentions are further complicated by pointed contradictions from within the PLA. For instance, recent comments by China's Air Force Chief that military competition in space is a "historical inevitability and cannot be undone" unravels some of China's efforts to persuade the world of its benign intentions following its 2007 anti-satellite missile test. In the absence of a clear national message, outsiders are likely to interpret such statements as broader national policy.

The unexpected twists of history have also put China in a difficult position to explain its full-throttle military modernization. Today China's territorial integrity is not under threat, the Taiwan situation is relatively hopeful and its security is bolstered by its economic strength. So why does the PRC need formidable and still growing military power? What will it be used for? Foreign governments are anxious to resolve these questions, but the answers are equally important for the Chinese people, who are trying to define their new place in the world. What is needed both inside and outside China is exactly what Hu and the party leadership failed to deliver this National Day: a roadmap for the future instead of a determination to call things the same, no matter how much they've changed.

Notes

1 For an overview of the PRC's past parades, see Sang Ye and Geremie R. Barmé, "Thirteen National Days, a retrospective," *China Heritage Quarterly*, <http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/features.php?searchterm=017_nationaldays.inc&issue=017>.

2 "National Day Parade to Showcase Strength, Transparency," *Xinhua*, Jan. 20, 2009, <http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-01/20/content_10692399.htm>.

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A More Powerful China on Parade

Zhang Xiaoming

The 60th anniversary of the People's Republic of China offered a glimpse at one of the most controversial aspects of the country's rise: its expanding military might. In the October 1st parade, 56 phalanxes of more than 8,000 People's Liberation Army (PLA) soldiers, some 500 tanks and assorted military vehicles, and 151 combat aircraft passed by and above the leadership gathered at Tiananmen Square. China claimed that nearly 90 percent of the armaments were displayed in public for the first time, including its most sophisticated nuclear-capable intercontinental missiles, land attack cruise missiles, and airborne warning and control system aircraft (AWACS). Outside of China, defense analysts scrutinized the event, coming to a wide range of conclusions. Some saw the parade as evidence that the PLA is still hamstrung by the same shortcomings that have limited its capabilities for decades—particularly, weak indigenous aircraft production and information warfare capabilities. Others, already self-convinced of a threatening China, pointed fearfully to new asymmetric missile capabilities that may embolden the PLA. However, to gain a clear

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understanding of China's military progress, analysts must cast aside preconceived prejudices about the PLA's limits and intentions. Instead, it is more useful to measure the current PLA against its past capabilities and its own stated goals.

The last military parade was held in 1999 and marked the unveiling of China's third-generation tanks, new strategic nuclear missiles and supersonic fighter/bombers. Chinese media claimed that the reviewed weapons and equipment showed that the PLA already had achieved modern joint operation capacity.[2] Few Western observers shared their view. According to the US Department of Defense's 2000 report on China's military power, China had only a limited capability to conduct integrated operations; its air force did not even have a technological edge against Taiwan; and its navy was no better off, lagging behind other regional navies in key technological areas. The report concluded that the PLA would not mature into a world-class military force in the near future.[3]

Perhaps still stuck in a 1999 mindset, many analysts were quick to dismiss the developments on display this year. While the Chinese proudly announced that all weapons systems that appeared in the parade were domestically produced, Western analysts continued to downplay the PLA's progress, claiming that most of them "have traces of cloning from Russian systems."[4] Though critics were correct to point out the Russian roots of many Chinese weapons, they failed to note the extent to which the PLA has improved the original systems.

The important lesson to take away from this year's parade is perhaps not in the origin of the hardware, but in China's ability to press ahead with modernization in the face of other countries' attempts to restrict China-bound exports of high technology. In the 1999 military parade, the Russian-made Su-27 fighter was China's only third generation warplane. This time the Chinese air force flew its domestically produced third generation J-10 fighter over the parade, along with Chinese-made AWACS aircraft—the KJ-2000 and KJ-200. Though the US government successfully pressured Israel to cancel the sale of the Phalcon AWACS system to the PLA in 1999, China appears to have pulled together sufficient talents and resources to build its own system. Efforts by the United States and European countries to prevent China from obtaining high-tech weapons do not seem to have fully worked.

Judging from the ships and equipment displayed in the April navy review along with the parade in October, China's navy has also made impressive strides since 1999. New Chinese-made surface combat ships equipped with area air defense and Aegis-like battle management systems have entered into service along with the second-generation nuclear-powered attack submarines and advanced diesel subs. The Chinese amphibious warfare fleet has also expanded with the introduction of the indigenously-designed land platform dock, improving the Chinese navy's sealift capabilities. A few years ago, people joked that a Chinese invasion of Taiwan would be "the million-man swim."[5] These new developments seem to have changed some minds. China's rapidly growing navy has convinced Department of Defense analysts

that "improvements in China's capabilities have ramifications" far beyond Taiwan.[6] The Chinese navy still has a long way to go to become a blue-water navy, but exercises such as the naval deployment to the Gulf of Aden to help protect ships from piracy may help push the PLAN's modernization agenda forward.

One weapon in the parade that few analysts were quick to dismiss was the medium-range Dongfeng-21C ballistic missile, a precursor to a maritime variant that has been dubbed a "carrier killer". Along with Changjian-10 (CJ-10) land-attack cruise missiles, these new missiles demonstrate China's adoption of a sea-denial strategy that can hold at bay US naval forces approaching the Taiwan Strait. During the 1995-96 Taiwan Strait crisis, the United States responded by deploying two aircraft carrier battle groups (Nimitz and Independence) in the region. If the US response brought any feelings of defeat to the Chinese at the time, it also strengthened Beijing's determination to develop its own capability to deny future naval access to the Taiwan Strait.

Perhaps the clearest way to measure the PLA's progress is against its own goals, which are clearly outlined in a three-step strategy in China's 2008 defense white paper. According to the white paper, China expects to lay the foundation for the development of the PLA into a more high-tech, network-centric, balanced and joint force by 2010; accomplish mechanization and make major progress in informatization by 2020; and to reach the goal of modernization of national defense and armed forces by the mid-21st century.[7] Chinese military modernization is approaching the first milestone of the three-step strategy.

According to recent statements by Defense Minister Liang Guanglie, the PLA's further goals are to: prioritize mobility over regional defense; increase coastal defense and blue-water fighting capabilities; transform the air force from one based on territorial defense to one capable of both offensive and defensive operations; and develop a missile force capable of both conventional and nuclear launches. The parade demonstrated that the PLA's modernization is moving closer towards these stated goals with the display of the new combat vehicles, land based anti-ship missiles and multirole aircraft. China's potential aircraft carrier and large destroyer programs also represent progress towards these goals. Furthermore, while the absence of two new nuclear missiles—the DF-41 and JL-2—at the parade fed foreign speculation that missile programs were faltering, this, along with the appearance of the DF-21C, may instead indicate China's increasing emphasis of conventional over nuclear missiles.

With all the attention paid to the incremental increases in technology, many have overlooked the bigger story out of the parade: the PLA units brought to the parade represent China's past efforts to restructure and professionalize its force. This year's parade featured fewer marching blocks but more blocks of weapons, showing the military's transformation from a human-intensive force to a science-technology orientated force. These units are not only outfitted with high-tech weaponry and equipment, but are also smaller in size, with automation of command and control.

Although the parade did not offer any hint about the integrated combat capabilities of the PLA, military exercises conducted before and immediately after the parade are a signal that the Chinese military is also striving for integration of its newly acquired weapon systems and restructured forces to create effective combat capabilities.

Only a portion of the Chinese military is equipped with what was shown in the parade, and China has much to do before it comes close to reaching parity with American power. Past arguments about China's military weakness may continue because defense technology is still developing. Yet China's military today is not the same as a decade ago. The PLA has reduced its size, and it is rumored that it may cut a further 700,000 troops over the next two to three years. At the same time, this will open up greater funding for sophisticated weapon systems procured from abroad and from China's own defense industry. While the PLA remains a long way from achieving its aspirations, the gap between its stated objectives and its actual capability has been drastically reduced. The recent parade suggests that the PLA may be on track to realizing its three-step development strategy.

Perhaps most importantly, China's military leaders seem pleased with the PLA's progress. Speaking highly of China's military modernization, Defense Minister Liang Guanglie said, "China has basically all the kinds of equipment possessed by Western countries, much of which reaches or approaches advanced world standard," and the PLA's "capabilities in conducting defensive operations under modern conditions have taken a quantum leap."[8] General Liang's rhetoric seems in step with China's general growing confidence in its military capability. Deng Xiaoping's exhortation to "keep a low profile" appears to be gradually giving way to a bolder approach, as reflected in the recent confrontation with the US Navy over survey missions in the South China Sea. If nothing more can be drawn from the parade, it can be said that the PLA's warfighting potential has grown in tandem with China's economy. Assuming its economy continues along a steady trajectory, China will be able to commit further resources to more challenging aspects of the three-step strategy, such as informationization. Should these goals be realized, the United States and other powers face a genuine challenge in terms of preparing themselves for an increasingly powerful China in the coming decade.

Notes

[1] The views expressed in this article are mine and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the Department of the Air Force, the Department of Defense or the US Government.

[2] "1999 National Day Military Parade," <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/60th/2009-08/27/content_8623814.htm>.

[3] Office of the Secretary of Defense, "Annual Report on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China," June 2000.

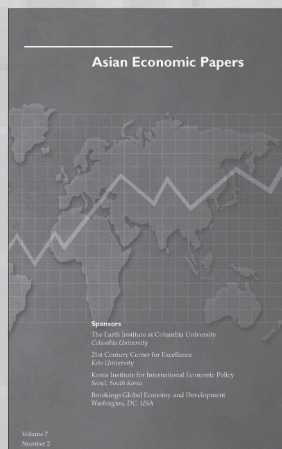
[4] Andrei Chang, "Parade Shows China's Long-range Strike Capability," Oct. 1, 2009, Kanwa Daily News, <http://www.kanwa.com/mrdt/showpl.php.id=734>.

[5] This term has been used first by Eric McVadon, former US defense attaché to Beijing, see McVadon's 2005 discussion paper, "The Balance of Powers in the Taiwan Strait and the Role of the United States," <http://www.swp-berlin.org/common/get_document.php?asset_id=2703>.

[6] Office of the Secretary of Defense, "Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People's Republic of China," 2007.

[7] "China's National Defense Paper in 2008," <http://www.gov.cn/english/official/200901/20/content_1210227.htm>.

[8] "Liang Guanglie: the PLA has powerful combat capability, and the military parade boosts China power and military might," Sept. 22, 2009, <http://www.chinanews.com.cn/gn/news/2009/09-22/1878156.shtml>.



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Border Burdens: China's Response to the Myanmar Refugee Crisis

Drew Thompson

As trucks filled with the remnants of the Kokang army rumbled towards the Chinese border, soldiers plucked insignia from their uniforms. At their feet were green caps with the insignia of China's People's Armed Police (PAP) border guards, ready to be put on at the check point that would place them out of reach of the Myanmar government soldiers that had just routed them. As they arrived at the invisible red line separating Myanmar from China, Chinese soldiers of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and border guard units of the PAP disarmed them, removed their uniforms and provided blue work suits, then took them to well guarded camps on Chinese territory. At the same time that Chinese security forces were disarming these foreign soldiers, civilian officials from Yunnan province swung into action, setting up camps, housing and feeding many of the 37,000 civilian refugees that also fled to China for safety. With considerable professionalism, China averted one of the largest refugee and security crises to occur on its borders since 1979, when over a quarter-million refugees fled Vietnam to southwest China.

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China's response to the Kokang refugee crisis benefited from extensive planning and preparation, including stockpiles of pre-positioned relief supplies and a matrix of national, provincial and local-level plans to address hypothetical security and humanitarian crises. As the Myanmar border crisis unfolded, it became increasingly evident that a relatively small skirmish in a remote border area resulted in significant damage to Chinese interests, measured in economic losses to ethnic Chinese and Chinese citizens, as well as the security risks and cost of managing tens of thousands of refugees and armed soldiers crossing onto Chinese territory. Despite successfully defusing the crisis that spilled into Yunnan province, the events further stimulated an already vigorous debate about China's foreign policy and whether Deng Xiaoping's axiom of "hiding one's capabilities" is still appropriate for a rising power with growing international economic and security interests.[1] The Kokang crisis was more consequential than a theoretical discussion about Chinese foreign policy and interests abroad and in its border region. It became a substantial didactic test reflecting China's resolve to protect its territorial integrity and regional security interests, and indicated how China might respond to contingencies elsewhere, including on its troubled border with North Korea. Most importantly, however, the Kokang crisis has influenced an active debate about the future direction of Chinese foreign policy.

The Foreign Policy Dilemma

A corollary of China's rapid economic development, military modernization and integration in the global economy is a proliferation of Chinese national interests beyond its immediate borders. Where China once was isolated economically and politically, Chinese citizens and corporations make increasingly large international footprints, encouraged by national policies such as "go abroad." On its southwestern border, historic ethnic Chinese migration and more recent promotion of border trade as a diplomatic tool contributed to large numbers of ethnic Chinese and citizens of the People's Republic of China settling in northern Myanmar. The outbreak of violence in Myanmar's Kokang region, where ethnic Chinese have lived in relative peace and autonomy from Naipidaw for the past 20 years, highlighted what little influence China wields only a few kilometers beyond its borders. As overseas Chinese businesses were looted and the ethnic Chinese Kokang army was routed by Myanmar's army, some commentators in China were left wondering why China did not do more to protect its interests. Angry bloggers argued that a "big country" such as China should not satisfy itself with solemn representations by a foreign ministry spokesperson. Some called for a reassessment of the fundamental maxim of China's foreign policy—noninterference in the internal affairs of other nations—while others declared that "keeping a low profile" kept China at a disadvantage. At the extreme, one group advocated Chinese compatriots to take up arms against Myanmar and join a "Chinese-Kokang Alliance."[2]

Despite apparent frustration in some circles with China's current approach to protecting its interests abroad, a retooling of China's foreign policy is underway in Beijing. In July, President Hu Jintao gave a seminal speech to a conclave of Chinese

diplomats that has been characterized as a new concept for Chinese foreign policy, albeit one in keeping with Deng Xiaoping Theory. Calling on Chinese diplomats to carry out a foreign policy that is "politically more influential, economically more competitive, image more pleasing, and morally more appealing," analysts of Chinese foreign policy are busy studying what this new formulation will mean for the expansion of Chinese influence abroad.[3] However, in the case of the crisis that unfolded on the Yunnan border, it was apparent that China was not prepared to intervene and involve itself in what it considered to be the internal affairs of a sovereign neighboring state, even if the events outside its borders threatened overseas Chinese and created a security threat on Chinese territory. Responding to calls that China intervene in Kokang, a former Chinese ambassador to Myanmar briefed journalists, reminding them that the Kokang conflict was Myanmar's internal affair and that China would not send troops.[4]

The Emergency Response System in Action

The unrest that spilled out of Myanmar into China was effectively contained by civilian and military authorities, who have conducted extensive planning and preparation for exactly these types of situations. There is no question that the magnitude of the crisis that unfolded in Myanmar posed a serious security threat to China and Chinese interests. In addition to 37,000 refugees and several hundred Kokang soldiers who sought refuge in the border area in Yunnan, Chinese official sources announced that at least one Chinese citizen had been killed in Myanmar, along with another on Chinese soil due to errant fire.[5] Soon after fighting broke out on Aug. 8 in Kokang, authorities in China mobilized to deal with the influx of refugees, and eventually soldiers, who began to cross the border. PLA soldiers moved towards the border to re-enforce the PAP border security units, which are under a civilian chain of command, while Chinese civilian officials followed a relatively new playbook for responding to crises made up of a framework of national, provincial and local-level planning tools.

Chinese emergency planning was jumpstarted by the government's chaotic response to the outbreak of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) in late 2002 and spring 2003. Realizing that the Beijing Olympics were approaching, the central government set deadlines and led efforts to establish a system of plans and responses to natural disasters and "sudden incidents," such as civil unrest or industrial accidents. Natural disasters alone are estimated to affect an average of 200 million people in China annually.[6] The establishment of the sudden incident and disaster response system was tested by four high-profile crises in the first half of 2008: snow and ice storms in southern China in January; protests on the Tibetan plateau in March; the outbreak of hand, foot and mouth disease in Anhui in April; and the May 12 Sichuan earthquake. All of these crisis events seriously challenged China's emergency response capabilities. The central point for this emergency planning and response system established by the State Council is the "National Emergency Con-

tingency Plan for Public Events," which was formally issued on Jan. 8, 2006.[7] The "Sudden Incident Law" was enacted in late 2007.[8] In May 2004, the State Council also instructed each of the 31 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities to formulate their own emergency response plans. Taken together, the whole system of emergency plans is divided into multiple levels, including the national plan, 25 specialized emergency plans, 80 cabinet-department emergency plans and local emergency plans.[9] This system provides general guidelines for dealing with different types of emergencies, which are categorized into natural disasters, major industrial accidents, public health emergencies and social safety incidents. All emergencies are assigned one of four classification levels, with Level I designated as the most severe, dealing with especially significant incidents. Less severe crises are designated as: Level II, significant incidents; Level III, relatively significant incidents; and the least severe, Level IV, which covers general incidents.

Among the 25 specialized emergency plans there is the "National Emergency Plan on Sudden Incidents Involving Foreigners," issued in 2005 as part of the Olympic Games planning process, which deals with incidents affecting foreign interests in China, including refugee crises. The national plan was soon followed by provincial, municipal and county-level plans tailored to local conditions. Yunnan province's corresponding provincial plan is not publicly available, but a summary was released in April 2008 and several counties in the border region have widely disseminated their plans since 2006.[10] According to clear criteria established in the national plan, the Kokang crisis was classified as a "Level 1" incident,[11] requiring the establishment of an on-site incident response headquarters and "unified leadership" provided by the State Council. Minister of Public Security Meng Jianzhu was detailed to oversee the handling of the crisis and sent to Yunnan. Five priorities were established, including securing the border and transportation routes, resourcing to address evolving challenges, addressing the needs of refugees, mobilizing grassroots organizations, controlling information flow and preventing the spread of rumors.[12]

The sudden influx of large numbers of refugees placed great pressure on local governments at the main border crossings. While many refugees stayed with family relations in China or found other accommodations, the Yunnan government opened seven refugee camps and supplied humanitarian aid to an estimated 13,000 refugees, setting up more than 1,000 tents and providing RMB 10 million (about US$1.46 million) worth of food, drinking water and medical aid.[13] Government tents, marked with the words "Civil Affairs Disaster Relief" on their UN-blue fabric were visible evidence of the government's investment in planning for major humanitarian crises, including the pre-positioning of disaster relief materials in provincial capitals and disaster-prone areas. Inside the camps, which were set up in construction sites and unoccupied buildings, evidence pointed to effective cooperation between civilian agencies such as the Civil Affairs Bureau, responsible for provision of relief supplies and interagency coordination, and other organizations including the PAP, which provided security in the camps. Yunnan public health workers from the Center for Dis-

ease Control and doctors from the Second Affiliated Hospital of Kunming Medical College placed medical workers in the refugee camps to provide medical care and prevent disease outbreaks.[14] Refugees reportedly were pleased with the arrangements, indicating that the food allowance of RMB 8 ($1.33) per day was adequate and their needs were met. For those refugees who fled in vehicles across the border, guarded parking lots were established.[15] By early September, refugees were reportedly beginning to return to Myanmar, indicating that conditions in Kokang were improving and that China had successfully addressed a significant and potentially disruptive security challenge.[16]

Implications for a North Korea Contingency

China's preparations and response to the refugee crisis in Yunnan have clear implications for how it might address contingencies on another problematic border: North Korea. Yunnan's relatively successful handling of the crisis should validate existing national and local contingency plans while providing valuable lessons that can be shared with local authorities in Jilin and Liaoning provinces, which together share a 1,300 km border with North Korea. The successful incident response in Yunnan should give confidence to officials and planners that they have a feasible, tested framework for addressing refugee crises or other humanitarian disasters in their border regions. The lessons learned from the Myanmar incident are applicable to potential North Korean scenarios in some respects, while it is unique in others.

Like the Kokang district and Yunnan, there are historic ethnic, cultural and economic links between North Korea and the Chinese provinces that border it. This is particularly true for Jilin Province's Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture where 800,000 Chinese-Koreans reside and the Korean language is widely spoken. With a 522 kilometer land border defined by the narrow and shallow Tumen River, Yanbian is a preferred destination for North Koreans seeking to either cross the border illegally or conduct legitimate business. The city of Dandong in Liaoning province is another major border crossing where extensive trade is conducted; however, the Yalu River in this section is wider, deeper and well-patrolled, making illegal crossings difficult when the river is not frozen over. When North Korea was struck by famine in the mid-1990s, as many as 300,000 North Koreans sought refuge in China, primarily in Yanbian Prefecture.[17] Should another catastrophe befall North Korea, whether a natural disaster or political crisis, Yanbian Prefecture will likely be a critical zone in Chinese mobilization efforts to ensure security and prevent a humanitarian crisis from spreading into China.

In the mid-1990s North Korean famine, nearly 300,000 victims sought refuge in China.

Like the Myanmar refugee crisis, it is possible that armed security forces from North Korea will attempt to cross into China. While the defeated Kokang army did not challenge Chinese security forces, it is uncertain how North Korean soldiers might react in different circumstances. Sporadic incidents of organized armed robbery cur-

rently occur in the border area, raising fears that armed North Koreans fleeing into China might refuse to voluntarily disarm and resort to banditry on Chinese territory. Regardless of the intentions of North Koreans crossing the border, however, local authorities have undoubtedly made extensive preparations to address both security and humanitarian requirements in the event of a contingency. Like the Yunnan section of the Myanmar border, the PLA "took over the defense of the China-DPRK border" in 2003, in contrast with the rest of China's land borders, where PAP border guards have primary responsibility for border security.[18] Extensive infrastructure investments in Jilin and Liaoning provinces underpin economic growth and border trade, as well as increase border security and the mobility of border forces. In addition to security investments, local governments have similarly invested in planning to address potential future humanitarian crises involving large numbers of refugees. The central and local governments have stockpiled relief materials, including tents, food and medical supplies. Like Yunnan province, Jilin and Liaoning provinces have a matrix of detailed contingency plans, along with well-defined reporting chains and responsibilities assigned to local government offices and agencies.

The Yunnan crisis additionally provides insights into how China might manage the international community in the event of a crisis on the border with North Korea. Controlling access to affected areas and managing the flow of information are considered vitally important tasks for the government when mounting an incident response. The Chinese government learned valuable lessons following the riots that occurred in Tibet in 2008 and Xinjiang in 2009 and have developed what appears to be a new strategy for information management. Unlike the Tibet riots, domestic and foreign media were permitted to visit riot-torn areas in Xinjiang, just as media were permitted to visit border towns in Yunnan where refugees were held. Not to be confused with a "new openness," media access remained tightly controlled by authorities; internet reporting was censored, propaganda officials made clear to Chinese media what topics were off limits, while press conferences provided statistical data and the official interpretation of events. Some on-the-ground reporting was permitted, creating a steady flow of "accurate" reporting that generates less resentment towards the government and their perspective among the media than an outright blackout. This recent evolution of Chinese strategy from attempts to prevent all negative reporting to more subtle techniques of information management, or Western-style "spin", has thus far been relatively successful and will likely be practiced in future crises.

In addition to the media, international aid agencies, NGOs and assorted advocates consider themselves stakeholders in any humanitarian crisis. While the Yunnan refugee crisis did not spark an outpouring of donations for relief work, there was unrequited interest on the part of international aid agencies to actively participate. Much as they have been blocked from visiting the China-North Korea border in the past, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was denied access to the

refugee camps in Yunnan and expressed frustration publicly in early September.[19] It is safe to conclude that there would be relatively greater international interest in a refugee crisis should it unfold on the China-North Korea border. US human rights and humanitarian organizations, along with a wide array of South Korean groups, such as evangelical Christians, consider themselves significant stakeholders in such a situation, directly contravening Chinese principles espousing non-interference in what they would describe as an internal affair. Chinese government officials are extremely reluctant to engage international civil society, particularly during sensitive periods, and are unlikely to allow any meaningful access or direct role for international groups. Successful management of contingencies, such as the Yunnan refugee response, will bolster arguments that China is capable of managing a refugee crisis on the North Korean border without international participation other than donations of funds and relief goods. However, while the similarities between the Kokang crisis and possible contingencies on the North Korea border are reassuring, there are a number of factors which will make a North Korean incident potentially much more challenging for China to contain.

China learned valuable lessons following riots in Tibet and Xinjiang.

One glaring difference is the potential volume of refugees that could seek to cross into China in the event of sudden changes in North Korea. In the case of the Kokang refugee crisis, over 20 percent of the district's population fled to China due to fighting that was geographically contained. The four North Korean provinces bordering China contain over 7 million inhabitants, an unknown number of whom would elect to cross into China if security conditions in the DPRK deteriorate. The potential ramifications of a small percentage of North Koreans fleeing, particularly from a heavily populated province such as North Hamgyon, with 2.3 million inhabitants, could quickly overwhelm Chinese resources on its own side of the border.

Should North Korea collapse in dramatic fashion, a refugee crisis will be one of several challenges that China will face. Of course, China is expected to do what it can to prevent such a collapse. Should it occur, however, immediate Chinese priorities would include securing fissile materials from the DPRK's nuclear program and restoring law and order, which would contribute to efforts that prevent refugees and "chaos" from crossing the border. China's broad security interests in North Korea are considerably deeper than Myanmar, which will be a significant factor in how China responds to a crisis that rapidly unfolds there. While Myanmar has its own strategic importance to China as a source of energy and a land-bridge to the Indian Ocean, it has not historically served as an invasion route into China's core, nor does it act as a buffer between China and regional rivals. North Korea holds historic and contemporary strategic implications for China, each of which would contribute to Beijing's strategic calculations. Additionally, contemporary Korean claims of kinship to ancient kingdoms that once ruled over what is now Chinese territory raises concerns in Beijing that a realignment of power on the peninsula could lead to concerted at-

tempts to redraw national boundaries—a direct threat to Chinese territorial integrity and core national interests.[20] Should North Korea collapse, however unlikely that scenario may be, China would be very concerned about US or South Korean security forces moving northward, even if their stated mission is described as humanitarian in nature. It is certain that China would not tolerate US or South Korean troops approaching the Chinese border and such a development might trigger Chinese intervention. The United States and China have reportedly held discreet talks on this issue and provided assurances to one another that neither would intervene in the event of turmoil in North Korea.[21] If true, such an understanding significantly reduces the possibility of miscalculation and the prospect that a sudden crisis in North Korea could expand into a regional conflict.

Both US and Chinese understandings about how to respond to turmoil in North Korea would have to take into account developments beyond their control. If North Korean troops were to provocatively advance towards China during a crisis, China would be forced to make a decision whether or not to send its own troops across the border in order to maintain a strategic buffer and prevent both refugees and any armed forces from approaching Chinese territory. Patriotic Chinese bloggers have called for China to adopt a more assertive approach to neighboring countries that challenge its interests and create security threats on Chinese soil. Some bloggers have called for Chinese troops to intervene to protect Chinese interests and establish refugee camps on the opposite side of "troubled borders," whether in Myanmar or North Korea, in order to interdict refugees before they can reach China.[22] While these presumably fringe citizen voices are assumed to have little or no direct influence on Chinese foreign policy-making, they do reflect widely-held, though more moderate beliefs amongst average citizens, elites and intellectuals that China's rising affluence and influence should be supported by an assertive and more decisive foreign policy that effectively protects Chinese domestic and international interests. It is precisely in China's border regions where Beijing is most likely to initially project its power, because threats are closest to home and close proximity enables a cautious or controlled effort that can be supported by China's limited logistics capacity.

Milestones In Foreign Policy

China's response to the security and refugee crisis that emerged on the Myanmar-Yunnan border in August 2009 demonstrated China's growing capacity to respond to security and humanitarian crises in its border regions. China has made extensive investments in planning and committed resources to mitigate a similar security and refugee crisis, should one occur on the border with North Korea. Undoubtedly, China has gained valuable experience from managing the Yunnan crisis, which will be applied to future contingency planning exercises and responses. Unlike in the United States and Europe, Chinese organizations are less experienced internationally and have not actively collaborated with Western agencies, which have extensive experience managing large-scale humanitarian crises globally. China has therefore ben-

efited little from global experiences, either directly or indirectly through collaboration. Events such as the Yunnan incident are consequently all the more valuable for Chinese planners and policy-makers when deciding on important directions about strategy, investments and resourcing for future contingencies.

Furthermore, events such as the Kokang refugee crisis are important milestones in Chinese foreign policy and an indicator that the future of China's low profile diplomacy will be likely challenged by other crises in China's border regions that threaten Chinese interests. Efforts to secure China's borders through investments in economic development, including infrastructure in the border region funded through government programs, such as "Develop the West," and its border development component, the "Prosperous Border Rich People Program," along with promotion of cross-border trade that enriches populations on both sides, have been generally quite successful. However, this strategy has met with limited success along the Myanmar and North Korea frontiers, necessitating hedging strategies.[23] Maintaining large troop presences in these vulnerable border areas, stockpiling relief supplies and preparing for contingencies are one measure China already takes.

Still, the most significant development, one that will affect the United States and the rest of the world, is an adjustment in China's foreign policy that reflects its growing strength and the need to protect its expanding global interests. Prospective new Chinese foreign policy strategies are not necessarily something for the rest of the world to fear or specifically hedge against, and it is likely that any visible shifts will be incremental, rather than dramatic rejections of policy principles that have served China well for many decades. A more assertive China that is willing to wield its power abroad in a constructive fashion could be very beneficial to US and neighboring countries' interests, as well as contribute to maintaining world peace, assuming that China is respectful of existing norms. China's contributions to anti-piracy patrols off the coast of Africa are a good example, as are China's growing contributions to UN peacekeeping operations. Other opportunities exist for China to apply its growing capacity to address a wide range of global security challenges, while still adhering to its foreign policy principles. China's potential contributions could range from participating in joint civil-military humanitarian assistance and disaster relief missions, to demining former conflict zones and supporting post-conflict reconstruction efforts in vital countries, such as Afghanistan and Iraq.

Ideally, China can also be encouraged to work more closely with international actors and actively collaborate, rather than simply work in parallel, thereby building mutual trust and confidence, particularly in areas where China and the international community share genuine interests, such as humanitarian assistance and disaster relief missions. Chinese scholars are already arguing that such global deployments are in keeping with current prescriptions to "bide time and hide one's strength." However, China will have to continue to carefully balance its efforts to be "politically more influential" and still keep a low profile so as not to alarm the United States and neighbors about its growing might. In this light, the quick resolution of a refugee cri-

sis in a remote region on China's border could have significant implications for not only the next crisis to erupt somewhere else on China's periphery, but on the evolution of China's foreign policy and how it interacts with the rest of the world.

Notes

[1] Deng Xiaoping's famous 24 character axiom is, "Observe calmly; secure our position; cope with affairs calmly; hide our capacities and bide our time; be good at maintaining a low profile; and never claim leadership" [冷静观察，站稳脚跟，沉着应付，韬光养晦，善于守拙，绝不当头].

[2] Blogs and Web sites, such as <http://huaguo.org>, which attempted to recruit Chinese to take up arms and re-claim Kokang appeared the first week of September and were removed shortly thereafter. An English-language blog posted a widely circulated letter calling for volunteers with military experience to join the "Global Chinese-Kokang United Alliance." Accessed by the author on Sept. 10, 2009 at <http://www.danwei.org/internet/a_call_for_chinese_to_take_up.php>.

[3] 王廷连 [Wang Tinglian], "总书记"四个更有力"为中国外交指明了方向" [President Hu's speech of "striving for more political influence, more economic competiveness, a more friendly image, moral appeal, and building a well-off society is the direction for China's diplomacy"], 中国共产党新闻网 [*CCP News Online*], July 21, 2009.

[4] "缅甸果敢闹战事 中国不出兵" [China Will Not Dispatch Troops to Myanmar], 东方早报 [Oriental Post], Aug. 29, 2009.

[5] "Myanmar Conflict Subsiding," *Global Times*, Aug. 31, 2009.

[6] "Disaster Emergency Management in China," (Total Disaster Risk Management, Asian Disaster Reduction Center, 2005), p. 72.

[7] "受权发布：国家突发公共事件总体应急预案" [Authorized Release: Overall Emergency Plan for National Sudden Public Incidents], 新华网 [*Xinhua*] Jan. 8, 2006.

[8] "中华人民共和国突发事件应对法," [The Law of the People's Republic of China on Emergency Response], 新华网 [*Xinhua*], Aug. 30, 2007.

[9] 地方应急预案; James Bellacqua, "Crisis Response in Action: Examining the Implementation of China's Emergency Response Plans," *CNA*, October 10, 2008. See also: "突发公共事件应急预案编制与管理" [The Planning and Management of Emergency Preplanning for Sudden Public Incidents], 广东省人民政府应急管理办公室 [Emergency Management Office, the People's Government of Guangdong Province], Nov. 27, 2007.

[10] See, "省 处 置 涉 外 突 发 事 件 应 急 预 案 简 本" [Brief Edition of Emergency Preplan of Provincial Response to Sudden Foreign Affairs]; "国家涉外突发事件应急预案" [National Emergency Plan for Sudden Foreign Incidents]; and Lancang Lahu Autonomous County's plan released on July 31, 2006. The Lancang county plan specifically addresses refugee crises caused by fighting in neighboring countries. Ironically, the national plan was released on August 8, 2005, three years to the day before the opening ceremony of the Olympics, and four years from the outbreak of fighting in Kokang.

[11] Any incident involving 500 or more foreigners or refugees entering China qualifies as Level 1.

[12] "中央派孟建柱赴中缅边境一线指导维稳,"人民网, Aug. 30, 2009.

[13] "Kokang in Conflict," *Beijing Review*, Sept. 10, 2009.

[14] “南伞难民点帐篷开始拆卸 仍有边防官兵巡逻(图)”[Refugees Tents removed in Nansan, Border Patrol Still On], 华商网-新文化报，Sept. 2, 2009. <http://news.sohu.com/20090902/n266379448.shtml>.

[15] Interview, Sept. 9, 2009. See also, “缅甸炮弹落入中国致一死多伤” [Myanmar Bomb Fell in China, One Dead More Injured], 南方都市报 [Nanfang City News], Aug. 30, 2009. (*Note*: While a ration of 8 RMB per day may seem low, it is comparable to the PLA’s daily ration which was increased from 11 to 15 RMB in July 2009.)

[16] “Over 7,800 Myanmar border inhabitants return to Kokang after fightings [sic] end,” *Xinhua*, Sept. 3, 2009.

[17] Rhoda Margesson, Emma Chanlett-Avery and Andorra Bruno, “North Korean Refugees in China and Human Rights Issues: International Response and U.S. Policy Options,” *Congressional Research Service*, Sept. 26, 2007.

[18] 2006 Defense White Paper published by the Ministry of National Defense. Accessed at http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/book/194476.htm

[19] “China: UNHCR calls for access to Myanmar refugees,” *UNHCR Briefing Notes*, September 4, 2009.

[20] Carla Freeman and Drew Thompson, “The Real Bridge to Nowhere: China’s Foiled North Korea Strategy,” *USIP*, Apr. 2009.

[21] “US, China Agreed Not to Send Troops to NK,” *The Korea Times*, Aug. 15, 2009.

[22] 到朝鲜边患，难民营应该建在境外 [Guard from Burma to North Korea's troubled frontier, Refugee camps should be built beyond our borders], blog posted Sept. 1, 2009 at <http://str.chinaiiss.com/content/2009-9-1/1132754.shtml>. See also: Yan Hua, "缅甸！中国不能再沦丧" [Myanmar! China Can No Longer be Destitute], blog posted Aug. 29, 2009 at <http://blog.dwnews.com/?p=56852&cp=2>.

[23] See: Carla Freeman and Drew Thompson, “The Real Bridge to Nowhere.”

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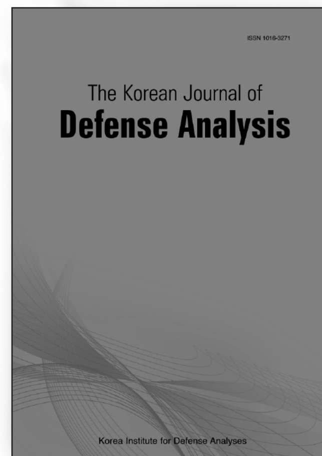

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Climate Change, Water and China's National Interest

Scott Moore

Outside analysts have long stressed that climate change threatens China's basic national interests. In recent months, the Chinese government has increasingly come to embrace a similar rationale, as a result moving towards aggressive efforts to limit the country's greenhouse gas emissions. In August 2009, China's cabinet, the Standing Committee of the State Council, announced that China would seek to control its greenhouse gas emissions even as it continues its economic development. Climate change, the Council affirmed, threatens China's development by increasing extreme weather events and exacerbating water shortages. As a result, China will set itself on a path towards low-carbon economic growth, stabilizing emissions within the next few decades.

This announcement, perhaps more clearly than any previous statement, illustrates the growing trend in China towards viewing climate change as a direct threat to the country's development objectives. It is clear that a number of factors, including economic interests and international political pressure, frame the Chinese government's position on climate change.[1] Nonetheless, given Beijing's attention at the highest levels to the strategic implications of climate change, it is vital to understand how climate change may affect the country's fundamental interests.

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At the heart of these challenges to China's future are changes in the quantity and distribution of water resources throughout the country and its neighbors. Droughts and flooding are expected to become more severe in many areas, and the melting of Himalayan glaciers is expected to lead to steep long-term declines in water availability in several areas of China and South Asia. Moreover, because of these changes, most major river systems are likely to experience an increased variability in water flow, making it harder for farmers and other users to predict water supply. Other interlinked processes, such as desertification in northern China and saltwater intrusion in low-lying coastal areas, pose further challenges to food production and ecosystems.

These changes in water availability have important implications for the Chinese government's objectives both at home and abroad. China already has contentious relations with its neighbors over many transboundary water resources, especially the Mekong River. As these resources shift and in many cases dwindle under climate change, China will have to become increasingly adept at dealing with transboundary water issues. Moreover, melting glaciers and shrinking snow packs portend severe water shortages in fragile border regions like northern Pakistan. Such specters are of great concern to Beijing as it pursues its policy of "peaceful rise."

Domestically, too, water resource changes threaten China's vision of stable and orderly economic development. Its restive western areas, including Xinjiang and Tibet, are expected to suffer most from declining water resources. Already poor and underdeveloped, these regions could experience rising inter-ethnic tension over the distribution of water or become a source of growing environmental out-migration as water-stressed inhabitants seek better opportunities elsewhere. Such migration has been documented in several parts of western China and identified by environmental security scholars as a key risk factor for environmentally-related conflict.

These implications indicate that climate change will bear increasingly on China's strategic ambitions and priorities, forcing the revision of some. Among the implications of climate change for China, three themes are particularly relevant for policymaking. First, climate change impacts are defined primarily by the uncertainty that they introduce; it is difficult to plan large-scale development objectives, for example, without being able to count on stable water resources. Second, it is clear that regional climate change impacts will be more acute in some places, like northwestern China, than in others. Third and finally, there will be a growing opportunity cost, in terms of financial, administrative and other resources, to adapting to climate change. For a developing country like China, this opportunity cost is of no small concern.

Climate Change Impacts in China and Its Neighbors

The eastern portion of the Asian landmass faces particularly acute changes in water availability and distribution as a result of climate change. Many Asian nations are already under water stress, and the Asian continent has the lowest per-capita water allocation of any continent save Antarctica.[2]

Water Resources and Dependency[3]

Country	*Total Internal Renewable Water Resources (km³)*	*Total External Renewable Water Resources (km³)*	*Dependency Ratio (%)*
Afghanistan	55	10	15
Australia	492	0	0
Bangladesh	105	1,106	91
Cambodia	121	356	75
China	2,812	17	1
India	1,261	636	34
Indonesia	2,838	0	0
Iran	128	9	7
Japan	430	0	0
Kazakhstan	75	34	31
Kyrgyzstan	46	-26	0
Laos	190	143	43
Malaysia	580	0	0
Mongolia	45	0	0
Myanmar	881	165	16
Nepal	198	12	6
Pakistan	55	170	77
Philippines	479	0	0
South Korea	65	5	7
Sri Lanka	50	0	0
Thailand	210	200	49
United States	2,800	51	8
Uzbekistan	16	34	77
Vietnam	366	525	59

In northern China, the water use-to-availability ratio was three to four times the level in the south as of 2000.[4] In China and its immediate neighbourhood, climate change threatens to exacerbate this already tenuous water situation in several ways.

China's National Climate Change Program asserts that "climate change has already caused changes [in] water resources distribution over China," focusing particularly on an increase in "hydrological extreme events," such as drought in the north and flooding in the south.[5] This assessment draws largely from Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) data indicating an observed increase in precipitation in north and northeastern China, and a marked increase in the west (Chang Jiang delta region) and southeast.[6] Researchers stress that as a result of climate change precipitation is decreasing in eastern China's agricultural areas, with drought-related agricultural losses increasing steadily since the mid-20th century.[7] Soil degradation as a result of climate change is further expected to increase the possibility of "disastrous drought and floods" in central, southwestern and northeastern China.[8]

A tendency toward more extreme climate events is also predicted for other regions surrounding China. A major study of the Indian Himalaya found that climate change will increase the variation of seasonal flows significantly.[9] In the Mekong river basin, Southeast Asia's most important river system, maximum monthly water flows are expected to increase by 35 to 41 percent by mid-to late-century over 20th century levels, while the minimum monthly water flows are expected to decline by 17 to 24 percent.[10]

Such increased variation threatens to disrupt normal economic and agricultural activity in vulnerable regions, and, as the IPCC has noted, "there could be increased flooding risks [in the Mekong region] during the wet season and an increased possibility of water shortages in the dry season."[11] In the case of the Mekong, this variability is enhanced by additional risks from sea level rise and resulting salt water intrusion, which pose a profound threat to agricultural production in the river's delta region.[12]

Potentially even more serious, however, is a predicted long-term decline in water availability as Himalayan glaciers melt and snow packs are reduced in size. The IPCC estimates that a decrease in Himalayan glacier mass of about 25 percent is possible by 2050 as global temperatures rise.[13] This is significant, as glacial melt water accounts for some 70 percent of summer flow in the Ganges river system and 50 to 60 percent of the flow in other major Asian river systems.[14] One major study predicted that the flow of Himalayan melt-fed water systems will peak by 2050-2070, with annual mean flow declining thereafter by between one-fifth and one-third.[15] The consensus of modeling studies is that a significant portion of northwest China and northern India will be subject to declining water availability by the end of the century as seasonal water shortages arrive abruptly, "going from plenty to want in perhaps a few decades."[16]

Nonetheless, there is likely to be substantial regional variability in these effects. Some river basins are likely to be particularly heavily impacted; the Tarim River for instance, Xinjiang's most important river system, depends on glacial melt water for 40 percent of its mean annual flow.[17] Other areas of northwestern China are likely to be severely impacted by changes in water availability. As the IPCC has reported, "The duration of seasonal snow cover in [Chinese] alpine areas—namely the Tibet Plateau, Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia—is expected to shorten, leading to a decline in volume and resulting in severe spring droughts." Changes of similar magnitude are predicted for major river systems elsewhere in China and Asia.

Changes in flow of major East Asian rivers under climate change[18]

River system	Chang Jiang	Huang He	Ganga/Brahmaputra	Mekong
% change in annual mean rates of simulated discharge (D, 103 m3 s−1)	+28	+18	+49	-6

To summarize, water distribution patterns will become much more variable. Many areas of China are likely to have too much water when they don't need it (i.e., flooding during the rainy season) and too little when they do (the dry summer months). Certain areas, such as north and northwestern China and the Mekong river system,

will be impacted more and by a greater combination of factors than others. This conclusion has important implications for both China's national and regional security.

Hydropolitics in China's Neighborhood

It is clear that water-related climate impacts spill over China's borders, which increases the importance of water issues in China's foreign and regional security policies. This concern is reflected in the attitudes of China's neighbors. In Pakistan, for instance, officials have suggested that changes in Himalayan melt water could devastate agriculture in this already fragile country.[19] A recent study from the Earth Policy Institute makes clear the heavy dependence of vast numbers of people on agriculture fed by glacial melt water.[20] (See Table 3 below.) An Asia Society report has similarly concluded that hydropolitics will be an increasingly potent force in Asian security.[21]

Vulnerability of Major Asian River Systems to Changes in Glacial Melt Water[22]

River system	*Population (million)*	*Basin area (thousand square kilometres)*	*Cropland (%)*	*Dependence on glacial melt water*
Tarim	8	1152	2	Very high
Indus	178	1082	30	Very high
Ganges	407	1016	72	High
Brahmaputra	118	651	29	High
Chang Jiang	368	1722	48	High
Yellow	147	945	30	High
Mekong	57	806	38	Moderate

Certain Asian river systems seem to be more contentious than others. A major study of water and conflict, for example, ranked the Ganges, Indus and Mekong rivers as at risk for conflict.[23] The Mekong River System presents particular challenges for China's security. Relations between China and its downstream neighbors in the Mekong basin have long been fragile.[24] This situation is likely to be exacerbated by the construction of several dams in Chinese territory, which restrict flow to downstream nations. If, as climate models suggest, water flow to the Mekong becomes more variable under climate change, China's "asymmetric" control of the river's headwaters will become an issue of even greater concern to Southeast Asian nations.[25]

This power asymmetry is of special significance, since research on water and conflict suggests that a high density of dams is associated with conflictive behavior unless freshwater treaties are involved.[26] China has steadfastly refused to join such "hard law" regimes in the Mekong region.[27] Thus, it seems reasonable to assert that China will have to improve its cooperative frameworks and increase diplomacy if it is to avoid significant tension with Mekong nations as the flow of the river changes along with the climate.

There are some signs that China's strategic studies community is beginning to come to grips with these realities. In recent years, Chinese analysts, mirroring their

Western colleagues, have articulated a broader conception of security. China's "New Security Concept," promulgated since the late 1990s, addresses environmental and social issues, and emphasizes cooperation and dialogue as a means of conducting foreign relations.[28] As a subset of this trend, China's strategic studies and international relations community has also devoted increasing attention to the potentially destabilizing impacts of climate change. For example, citing the broadening definition of security in the West, one prominent article advocates creating a special policy research group that focuses on the political and security dimensions of environmental change.[29]

Moreover, a series of Western studies, including a widely-read 2004 Department of Defense study, have prompted commentary within China over the possibility that climate-related resource shortages could lead to conflict or even war.[30] Some non-official commentators have more specifically identified water-related conflict as a growing threat between China and neighboring countries.[31] Other Chinese commentators have focused on the potential for water-related conflict to increase in politically unstable regions of the world, such as the Middle East.[32]

Water issues have, in parallel with this commentary, become more prominent in China's relations with some neighboring countries. China has in recent years concluded a number of agreements with countries like Russia and Kazakhstan regarding the demarcation and protection of transboundary rivers.[33] Furthermore, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), initially promoted largely as a body for expanding security cooperation, has begun working on water issues. The SCO's 2004 meeting was devoted to water, and in 2005 the organization signed a compact with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to broaden cooperation on water resources.[34]

In contrast, however, the Chinese government has appeared hesitant to link climate change and security at a general level. For most officials, climate change simply does not rise to the level of national security.[35] Moreover, Beijing has strongly opposed United Nations efforts to link climate change and security through debating climate change issues in the Security Council. *China Daily*, the country's official English-language newspaper, editorialized that "The call for the international community to address climate change is sensible, but sensationalizing it as an issue of security is conspiratorial."[36] A separate *China Daily* report quoted China's deputy representative to the United Nations as saying, "Discussing climate change at the Security Council will not help countries in their efforts to mitigate its effects."[37]

One could read this general hesitancy several ways. China's long-standing support for the principle of noninterference in domestic affairs probably leads it to be suspicious of nontraditional security paradigms.[38] In addition, it is important to view the government's reluctance to link climate change and security in general within the context of Beijing's determination to avoid binding greenhouse gas emissions reductions.[39] Nonetheless, there is substantial evidence to suggest a shift of thinking at the domestic level, prompted in large part by the social challenges posed by a changing climate.

Internal Upheaval: How Large a Threat?

If at the international level Chinese officials take a dim view of linking climate change and security, domestically they appear to take very seriously the consequences of water-related climate change impacts. Premier Wen Jiabao, for instance, was quoted in 1998 as saying, "The survival of the Chinese nation is threatened by the country's shortage of water."[40] Lin Erda, a prominent member of China's Agricultural Sciences Institute, has similarly called attention to the threat posed by retreating glaciers, saying that these and other effects of climate change "directly threaten China's food security."[41] The recent winter drought of 2008-2009 also indicated the government's concern for water issues, with state media reporting in its wake that "Agriculture is a top government priority... [In early 2009 the] State Council and the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued their first joint document of the year, which reiterated that the development of agriculture and rural areas in 2009 was of special significance."[42]

Such attention reflects in large part several distinct implications of climate change. Several of China's most strategically important regions are predicted to suffer significant water resource shortages as a result of climate change. Some 23 percent of China's population lives in western regions where glacial melt water provides the principal dry season water source,[43] and as glaciers melt, water will become increasingly scarce. One study attributes climate change for causing a decrease in stream flow during the summer months. This decrease in water availability is inducing desertification, which, exacerbated by population growth, has imposed serious socioeconomic costs on an already poor area.[44] Such impacts are particularly significant since these western regions are not only impoverished but also the most restive in China, being home to ethnic minorities who have long mounted challenges to Beijing's rule.[45]

Changes in water availability in China's northwest can pose security challenges in two primary ways. First, competition over scarce resources can exacerbate existing tensions between China's majority Han ethnic group and minority groups such as Tibetans and Uyghurs.[46] As the Asia Society report concluded, "One could certainly foresee the potential for conflict as urbanization and industry begin to deplete already scarce water supplies, particularly if certain Han-run businesses are perceived to be receiving favorable treatment in water resource allotment."[47] One Chinese scholar has similarly noted the danger environmental change poses for the success of the country's much-touted Western Development Strategy (*Xibu da kaifa*), saying "The environment of the West itself is the foundation of the Western Development Strategy."[48]

Second, water scarcity could increase the number of "environmental refugees" from the northwest, potentially inflaming ethnic tensions as they seek opportunity elsewhere in China. Sociological studies have found that an increasing number of farmers in Gansu province are abandoning their lands as a result of "the rapid dete-

rioration of [their] water environment."[49] Similar phenomena have been described in Tibet, where a variety of challenges are inducing higher rates of out-migration of ethnic Tibetans.[50]

The danger posed by such environmental refugees is that they may be deprived of the means to sustain livelihoods in their new homes. Research has indicated that gradual environmental deterioration affects the very poor disproportionately; already bereft of resources, they have little capacity to re-establish themselves elsewhere.[51] Arable land is scarce in China, and environmental refugees, pulled away from their livelihoods and kinship networks, often face great difficulty setting up new livelihoods when forced to resettle.[52] Research by environmental security scholars has further indicated that this dislocation can cause significant social stability issues. In particular, as a result of environmental scarcity, "people migrate in large numbers to regions where resources seem more plentiful, only to fight with the people already there. Or they migrate to urban slums, where unemployed young men can be primed to join criminal gangs or radical political groups."[53]

Scarce resources may exacerbate tensions with minority ethnic groups.

Additionally, climate-related water shortages pose challenges to China's food security. The north China winter drought of 2008-2009, which China's National Meteorology Centre classified as an "extreme weather event" attributable to climate change,[54] illustrates these security implications. This drought was the worst in 30 years and affected China's principal wheat-growing areas, damaging several hundred thousand acres of farmland.[55] Reports indicated that about 40 percent of China's winter wheat crop would be affected,[56] and that the drought was expected to decrease the wheat harvest, one of China's most important, by 5 percent nationally and by 20 percent in some areas, such as Henan province.[57] The scale of such effects has led many commentators to warn that climate-related drought in north China could threaten the country's food security.[58] Political factors dictate that food security is an especially sensitive issue in China, as the government is anxious to insulate the large population of rural poor from food price shocks.[59]

While it is unclear whether climate change will actually threaten China's total domestic food supply,[60] the government cannot afford to ignore extreme weather events, which increase pressure on the country's military and paramilitary institutions to develop disaster management and assistance capabilities. The drought provides an illustration of the increased need for such operations. The paramilitary People's Armed Police (PAP) mobilized some 2,400 troops over eight provinces. Additionally, assets from the People's Liberation Army and Air Force were called into service.[61] With the predicted increase in extreme weather events, China's military will be compelled to incorporate these domestic disaster response and assistance capabilities more closely into its operational planning strategies. Interestingly, this does not seem to have yet happened; China's recent law governing the PAP makes only brief mention of disaster relief activities, focusing instead on the force's internal security role.[62]

In addition to posing challenges to the country's military, adaptation to water-related climate impacts will impose serious economic costs upon China. Xinjiang Province, for example, is building 59 reservoirs to collect melt water from the Himalaya's shrinking glaciers in attempt to address concerns about long-term water availability. The ten-year project is expected to cost RMB 200 million annually for at least the next three years,[63] a considerable sum for one of China's poorest areas. A large-scale study also sheds light on the costs of adaptation to water distribution changes in China. After compiling water storage costs and modeling changing flow under various climate change scenarios, the study indicated that water storage costs vary widely by region; the cost of capturing 120 billion cubic meters of water are US$4.5 billion in the southern Xi Jiang river area and less than $2 billion in the central Chang Jiang. Most noticeably, it will become increasingly difficult and expensive to enhance water storage capacity (reservoirs, catchments, etc.) in water-stressed areas like north China, simply because water shortages will be so severe.[64]

The security implications of water-related climate impacts can be fundamentally characterized by the uncertainty they introduce with respect to overall water availability, food security and social stability. As one commentator has noted, climate change is an "engine of destabilization."[65] This characterization seems particularly appropriate with respect to China. Water-related climate impacts will be severe in several areas within China, with the result that China's military, governmental institutions and national resources will be increasingly burdened by climate change and water issues. As a result, the government has been compelled to devote more attention to these issues, a trend which is only likely to accelerate.

Concern for resource security issues does appear to drive Chinese policy-making to at least some extent. In mid-2008, state media reported that "With food and water security becoming great concerns around the world, China will take measures to ensure agricultural water use and promote its plan to increase food production," including raising the price of water.[66] China further appears to take the issue of water availability in the Himalayans seriously, flying several cloud-seeding sorties a month to increase rainfall and water availability on the Tibet-Qinghai Plateau.[67] Perhaps the clearest statement of the government's linkage of water and security issues, however, is the National Framework for Medium to Long-Term Food Security, released in 2008, which emphasizes water-saving agriculture and conversation.[68]

Chinese discourse on climate, water and security is clouded. There remains a general reticence to link climate change issues and security; however, with regard to specific issues, government officials have been quite clear about the threats posed by climate change impacts. At the domestic level, official voices have expressed particular concern over inequities in water resource distribution, as well as potential implications for food security. The net result is that it is reasonable to assume China's foreign and security policy framework has not been broadened to include climate-related impacts. Given the manifold strategic challenges these impacts will pose for China, this is of some concern.

Strategies for Climate, Water and Security

Despite the uncertainties inherent in assessments of the future, it's safe to say that water-related climate change impacts will increasingly bear on China's security, foreign relations and political discourse. Both Chinese and foreign policy-makers will be compelled to deal with several key issues. First among these is uncertainty. The climate system is incredibly complex, making precise scientific assessment of climate change impacts, particularly on water, extremely difficult. As a result of this fundamental uncertainty, the security implications of such change center on grave but general threats to stability, including large-scale migration, decreasing agricultural water availability and increased risk of catastrophic flooding.

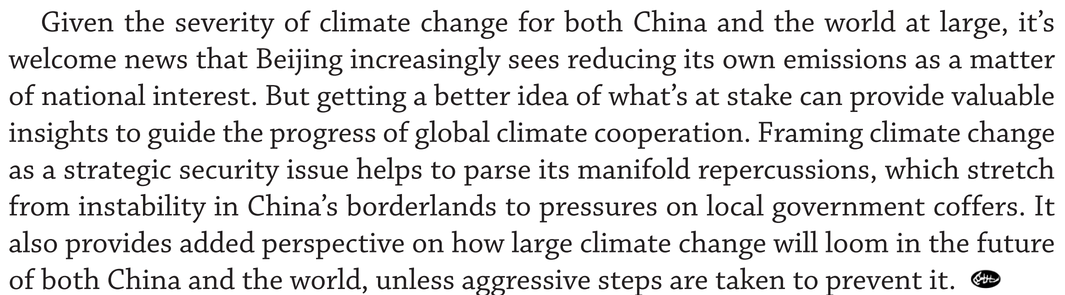
A second issue relates to acute regional impacts. It is clear that specific regions, such as the Mekong River, parts of the Indian Himalaya and northwest China, will be more severely impacted by changes in hydrology under climate change. In most such cases, these ecological impacts will be exacerbated by social, economic and political factors; in the Mekong, water management is hampered by transboundary political disputes, while in northwest China ethnic tensions and poverty enhance the threat of climate-hydrological changes. Thus, the political-security implications of such changes are likely to be centered on several specific "hot spot" regions.

The third and final major issue is that water-related climate change impacts will strain the capacity of Chinese institutions and policy frameworks. This is particularly evident with respect to the military's natural disaster response capabilities and transboundary water management policy, as well as with domestic agricultural, emergency management and water management policies. The Chinese government, perhaps with the increased aid of international and civil society actors, will be pressed to improve its conceptual, planning and implementation capacities in each of these policy areas. China will be forced to devote large economic resources to adaptation, including the construction of flood defenses, reservoirs and water distribution systems, if it is to escape the worst water-related climate change impacts. At a time when China's development priorities demand investment in so many areas, this increasing burden is almost certain to increase political tensions between provinces and governmental institutions.

Nonetheless, these issues in fact point a way forward for improving international cooperation on climate change. First, water-related security issues present a particularly good opportunity to broaden and deepen bilateral and regional cooperation on climate change. Acute institutional vulnerabilities, such as increased strain on emergency management and disaster response capabilities in China, present opportunities for international technical assistance and cooperation. A recent Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) paper, for example, recommends that the US military integrate climate-related extreme weather response into its regional command structure;[69] by building dialogue between such commands, their Chinese and other Asian counterparts could dramatically improve the efficacy of international disaster response efforts.

Moreover, adaptation assistance under the new climate regime can be focused to address strategic concerns such as food security. The US Agency for International Development (USAID) has launched a program in cooperation with the Gates Foundation to develop new rice varieties capable of surviving various climate change-related stresses. The $35 million project will focus on enabling farmers in South Asia to obtain higher rice yields even in the face of climate change, with fewer inputs of fertilizer and irrigated water. Similar models could be explored, possibly with a greater degree of co-financing, in China.[70]

Finally, climate change cooperation should be seen not only as an ecological imperative, but also as a strategic one. As the Council on Foreign Relations has noted, international climate negotiations have a clear national security dimension, inasmuch as the international community has an interest in integrating nations like China and India into a "rules-based global order" through participation in climate negotiations.[71] This interest is heightened when the security ramifications of climate change are considered. Particularly when applied to the kinds of hot spot regions likely to become flashpoints in a changing climate, the strategic approach can help to guide policy-makers towards adopting long-term, systemic approaches to addressing climate change.



Given the severity of climate change for both China and the world at large, it's welcome news that Beijing increasingly sees reducing its own emissions as a matter of national interest. But getting a better idea of what's at stake can provide valuable insights to guide the progress of global climate cooperation. Framing climate change as a strategic security issue helps to parse its manifold repercussions, which stretch from instability in China's borderlands to pressures on local government coffers. It also provides added perspective on how large climate change will loom in the future of both China and the world, unless aggressive steps are taken to prevent it.

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The Rio Tinto Case and China's Drive to Guard Secrets

Jiang Ruqin

In early July, Shanghai police arrested the general manager of Rio Tinto's iron ore operations in China, Hu Shitai (Stern Hu), and three of his colleagues on charges of "prying into China's state secrets." When the arrests were ratified two months later, the charges had been reduced to "the crime of violating business secrets." Despite foreign criticism of the arrests, it's undeniable that the evidence obtained from Rio Tinto's computers was substantial. It included a large amount of sensitive data on China's iron and steel industry, including turnover days for stocks of raw materials, the average cost of imported ore, the unit profit per ton of steel, the unit consumption of pig steel and other financial data. Also included were production plans, the proportions of the different ingredients in Chinese steelmaking and the companies' purchasing plans. With this information, Rio Tinto was able to defeat the collective negotiations of China's steel companies and force them to pay a much higher price for iron ore. The resulting economic damage was immense. According to authorized Chinese media reports and public data,[1] in the past six years Chinese steel compa-

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nies have overpaid RMB 700 billion due to near-extortionist prices for imported iron ore. This amount is more than double the entire profit of the Chinese steel industry during this period. In 2008, the revenue of economically developed Jiangsu province was RMB 273.1 billion (second only to Guangdong province); thus, to equal this RMB 700 billion overpayment, the 70 million people of Jiangsu province would have to work 2.5 years!

According to reports, Rio Tinto employees met with 16 representatives from iron and steel enterprises before negotiations with the China Iron and Steel Association (CISA). In addition, it often had "friendly contact" with the representatives and reportedly bribed some of them.[2] While the national economic security element of Rio Tinto's actions are more severe, they are cut from the same cloth as recent bribery cases involving Lucent, Siemens and the Ministry of Commerce's department head, Guo Jingyi, as well as low-priced exports of rare metals by some state-owned enterprises (SOE).[3] These are not individual cases, but merely the tip of the iceberg. These crimes reflect the "loss of control" in the supervision of SOEs. The harm done to national economic security and interests by the divulgence of such information is extremely great and in the end, is borne by state finances and consumers—all at a time when China is still struggling to raise the level of peoples' livelihood.

A Leaky Barrel of Secrets

During the long and arduous war era and the subsequent struggle to consolidate power, the Communist Party formed a tradition of secrecy, with particular emphasis on restricting political, military and diplomatic information. As China's economy grew in the reform era, the government recognized the growing importance of economic and industry secrets and responded with the 1988 *Law for the Protection of State Secrets.* This law states that "the secrets of the developing national economy and society" are included in the protective scope of state secrets. In 1997, the Central Committee of the Communist Party further emphasized this sector with its decision on *The Strengthening of Protecting Secrets Under New Circumstances,* specifically requiring "the effective protection of state secrets in economic and technological and scientific areas." The central government and various departments have since continued to formulate new stipulations and regulations on the scope of protecting economic secrets; however, these secrets have not received the importance and standing that they should have. While the rules were firmly put in place, the responsibility for oversight and enforcement was never clarified. The protection of secrets failed to follow the nation's shift in focus to "guaranteeing security, guaranteeing development."

Many of the problems related to oversight of sensitive economic data stem from the sweeping changes in China's economy over the last thirty years. In the course of reform, economic regulating bodies were transformed into trade associations and their abilities to regulate and control key state enterprises were progressively weakened. The newly established State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration

Commission, which served as state capital financers, mainly kept watch over the increase in interest on state capital. The department for protecting secrets (*baomiju*) lacked manpower and could only focus its energies on administrative units of the party and government and work units producing scientific research for the military. This left no resources to devote to SOEs, at a time when they were especially tempted to behave as "economic animals."

Today, China still lacks a department with sufficient oversight authority over economic secrets, and individual enterprises do not recognize the economic value of restricting sensitive data. Those companies that do understand often fail to recognize what information should be protected and how to go about it. Thus, information that is already widely known outside of China and unnecessary to protect is restricted from the domestic media with a pretense of great seriousness. Meanwhile, extremely valuable confidential information related to industry and national economic security is regularly leaked to the outside world.

Plugging the Holes

As China's economy will soon pass Japan's to become the second largest in the world, the protection of trade sensitive data in the industrial pillars is becoming increasingly important to national security and the welfare of China's citizens. In many ways, the protection of these secrets will have a greater effect on the average citizen than defense or diplomatic secrets. If, for instance, the price of imported iron ore rises suddenly, it will bring with it rises in the prices of products for which steel is an essential raw material. This includes cars, homes, personal electronics and even cooking utensils, along with a vast array of other products in related industries. The nation's financial administration and the citizens will be left with the bill. If China leaves its enterprises to guard their own secrets and fend for themselves, these industries will collapse at the first blow. Therefore, it is important for the nation to recognize that economic secrets are a cornerstone of its overall competitive strength, and that the government should serve as the protectors and convoys of industry.

Economic secrets are the cornerstone of a nation's competitive strength.

Thus, China needs to redesign its laws and administrative responsibilities from the top levels for the protection of economic secrets. This can begin with the early institution of a Chinese *Economic Espionage Act*, which would increase supervision over the registration of foreign businesses and their agents, aid investigations into increasingly rampant economic espionage activities and increase the strength of punishments for violations. As for the *Guarding of Secrets Law* and *the Regulation on the Scope of Guarding Secrets,* which are currently being revised, on one hand, they should comply with the trend towards open information and eliminate the old, sweepingly broad prescriptions of confidentiality and the vague terminology that has compli-

cated operation in the past. They should reduce the scope of the guarding of secrets, implement a system for determining the need for confidentiality and prevent the abuse of the right to declare things secret. On the other hand, the law should be informed by the reality that all countries are increasing their ability to steal secrets while better protecting their own. Also, it should be noted that other countries' laws and penalties regarding the theft of sensitive data are becoming increasingly severe. Learning from the repeated failures of large SOEs' attempts at overseas mergers and acquisitions, the State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission, Ministry of Commerce and industrial management departments (trade associations) should draw lessons from the vigilance with which Western countries' governments guard their national economic security and scrutinize foreign enterprises.

Those cases of economic espionage that do occur should be cracked and tried promptly, with punishment doled out and losses recovered as quickly as possible. Just as the United States and European countries do, China should maintain vigilance in counterespionage and guarding secrets, by investigating and prosecuting every offense, imposing heavy punishments and using public exposure. Like other leading economies, it should do these things without being too worried about the process becoming "politicized" or the possible "international repercussions." This approach can be seen in Western countries' so-called "espionage cases" involving scholars of Chinese descent and Chinese exchange students. With their insistence on national security and interests being paramount, these countries think it is better to make erroneous arrests followed by apologies and compensation than lower their guard.

It is the duty of the Bureau of State Secrets Protection to take the lead in coordinating the functions involved in carrying out the management work in guarding economic secrets. In the case of the steel industry, it will be responsible for drawing cooperation from the numerous steel enterprises that have had their interests crushed by Rio Tinto. Across all key industries, it will be responsible for dividing and coordinating the work between related departments and creating specialized counterintelligence teams for SOEs. A lesson can be drawn from the tax administration's strategy of appointing personnel to oversee individual specific enterprises. This mechanism should enter into the economic territory of all professions' large, focal-point SOEs and carry out administrative tasks such as education, training and professional guidance, as well as supervisory tasks such as inspections, the appraisal of secrecy levels, the determination of criminal cases and the administration of penalties. When an enterprise divulges an important secret or secrets are stolen, in addition to the high-level management of the enterprise, the cadre's neglect or dereliction of duty in guarding the secrets should also be promptly investigated and punished. Only in this way can the importance of protecting secrets be brought to the public's attention and the risks of spying and secret stealing be cut to the lowest level.

China has entered the high period of the international trade espionage war, with

the threat to important economic intelligence and national economic security steadily increasing. The Rio Tinto case has reflected the systemic flaws in China's protection of economic secrets. By placing greater official emphasis on the protection of secrets, encouraging SOEs to value such protection and implementing new legal measures, China can ease the threat it faces from international economic espionage.

Notes

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Secrets, Spies and Steel: The Rio Tinto Case

Peter Yuan Cai

Despite Rio Tinto and Canberra's expression of "surprise" over the espionage charges initially leveled at Australian mining executive Stern Hu (Hu Shitai) and three of his colleagues, there have been forebodings of trouble in the iron ore trade for some time. China's Minister for Industry and Information Technology lamented in a State Council news conference last year, "We cannot make the same mistake a second time," referring to the disorganization and trouble among China's iron ore purchasers in the previous round of annual negotiations. The government's unexpected intervention in the name of national security demonstrates not only how gravely it views its disadvantage in the iron ore trade but also the murkiness of its laws regarding state secrets. Such a determined intrusion from Beijing, especially through the medium of Chinese intelligence services, could only happen with the blessing of top echelons of China's political process. But what has made the Chinese government take such dramatic action at a highly sensitive time in the iron ore negotiations?

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Espionage or Revenge?

The Chinese press has generally accepted the line that Stern Hu and his colleagues engaged in espionage that inflicted grievous damage to China's national economic interest amounting to billions of dollars. Many commentators in Australia, on the other hand, see it as a calculated insult designed to express China's displeasure over the rejection of state-owned aluminum giant Chinalco's bid to acquire a strategic stake in Rio in early June.[1] This is no doubt part of the context of China's actions. However, an overriding consideration appears to have been the Chinese authorities' determination to consolidate and restructure China's large and highly fragmented steel-making industry and combat skyrocketing iron ore prices through a united front.

Unlike the highly consolidated Japanese and Korean steel industries, the Chinese steel industry consists of hundreds of small and medium-sized firms, built to satisfy its insatiable demand for steel during the heyday of China's economic boom. Baosteel, the large Shanghai-based producer, accounts for less than 5 percent of national production, and the top national state-owned mills account for little more than 10 percent altogether.[2] Firms compete intensely with each other for supplies of iron ore, especially the prized long-term benchmark-priced iron ore, which came into China at two-thirds the price of other supplies through the boom. Competition and disunity within the industry spelt disaster for the Chinese iron ore negotiating position in the past. Chinese sources estimate that the price of iron ore increased by over 400 percent over the last six years, and as a result Chinese steel mills paid an extra RMB 700 billion (US$103 billion).[3] This figure is hotly disputed in Australia, as industry analysts point out that the alleged RMB 700 billion overcharge surpasses the total amount that Chinese mills paid Rio during the six-year period. Regardless of their accuracy, these figures have been widely circulated and accepted in China.

This year, in an effort to unite steel producers and collectively bargain for better prices, the government sidelined Baosteel from its usual lead in iron ore negotiations and replaced it with the China Iron and Steel Association (CISA). Determined to prove itself, CISA took a hardline approach, demanding a 40 percent price cut from last year's agreements. Mining firms refused to accept this sharp reduction, especially as they had already settled at a 33 percent discount with major Japanese and South Korean mills. Neither side budged and negotiations dragged on well beyond their deadline.

Despite their public support of CISA, many Chinese steel mills grew frustrated with the protracted bargaining. Rio and other mining companies allegedly took advantage of their impatience, pursuing a "divide and conquer" strategy by offering them the attractive long-term benchmark prices negotiated earlier with the Japanese and Korean mills. These prices were higher than CISA's bottom line, but lower than the spot market price. Many jumped at the opportunity to purchase lower priced ore, having long been victims of a parallel pricing system through which larger firms brokered contracts for long-term benchmark prices, while they were left to purchase supplies at much higher spot market prices. Firms forced into the spot market for ore could

pay up to twice as much as the long-term benchmark price. Private steel mills were often forced to purchase ore at inflated prices from large state-owned steel mills and traders with import permits.

Watching its unified front disintegrate, CISA pled for the government to intervene and put a stop to unauthorized transactions. The Secretary-General of CISA said in an interview that it was useless for small and medium-sized firms to sign agreements with the miners when they could not get custom clearance without import permits. CISA urged the regulatory authority to close down the newly opened Rizhao International Iron Ore Trade Centre in a bid to clamp down on speculation in iron ore. It also released a statement alleging that unauthorized trade and speculation in iron ore was in direct contravention of the State Council's new "Guideline on Restructuring and Revival of Steel and Iron Industry."[4] The guideline strongly encouraged industry bodies such as CISA to take a lead role in price negotiations, implying that the government took a dim view on any negotiation outside the officially mandated platform. However, this appears to have done little to bolster CISA's control over the industry.

Chinese steel mills' embrace of Rio's tempting offer may have been the straw that broke the camel's back.

The small and medium-sized Chinese steel mills' embrace of Rio's tempting offers may have been the straw that broke the camel's back. With CISA's bargaining position looking increasingly weak, rumors swelled that it was ready to abandon its hardline 40-percent price reduction and accept a face-saving deal based on the 33-percent discount offered to Japanese and Korean steel mills. Many on the Chinese side of the bargaining table believed that Rio's confidence and aggressive demands derived from its intimate knowledge of the Chinese negotiators' bottom-line and details about production and storage in Chinese steel mills. Reports from China's state media assert that this information was found on computers seized from the Rio Tinto office in Shanghai.

The arrest of Stern Hu and his colleagues might be seen as part of a larger effort to stem the perceived leakage of sensitive information from the Chinese steel mills, which was undermining China's position during iron ore price negotiations. It is also a very powerful warning from Beijing to the Chinese steel mills that it is determined to bring order back into the iron ore import market and crack down on any unauthorized dealings with miners that weaken the negotiating position of big state-owned steel mills.

However, the arrests carry with them a perception of retaliation. There is a general feeling of frustration and anger in China amongst government officials over dealings with Rio. No special status has been accorded to China, which, as the largest customer, imports more than 70 percent of all seaborne trade in iron ore. The rumored demand by Rio for compensation over delayed and cancelled ore shipments only rubbed salt into an open wound. Rio's decision to invoke a *force majeure* clause in the supply contract to divert ore from long-term supply contracts to the spot market during the height of the mining boom earned it additional enmity. The outburst

from the Chinalco executive that "Rio has no business credibility as a company" may have been an expression of a wider feeling in China.[5]

What remains unclear is exactly who instigated the proceedings against the mining company. Given the collateral impact on China's commercial standing more broadly, why and how was the case allowed to proceed at this time? Assessing these questions will be critical to understanding the fallout from the affair and properly managing Sino-Australian relations in the future.

Spooks, Secrecy and the Bigger Message

The most alarming and bizarre aspect of Stern Hu's arrest is the involvement of the Ministry of State Security. This domestic counterintelligence outfit is charged with safeguarding the party and the state from foreign operatives, separatists and other "enemies of state." Its role in the affair shows that Beijing has elevated the hotly-contested negotiations beyond a commercial or economic perspective to the sacrosanct level of national security. This action mirrors the broader shift in China's resource security strategy.

As China became a net energy importer in the early 1990s, it grew conscious of the need to secure strategic raw materials. After its global shopping spree was thwarted by regulators in the United States and Australia on national security grounds, it dawned on China that resources cannot always be fairly procured on the global market. Thus it has moved to an integrated strategy involving the collaboration of government ministries and agencies to secure vital resources. Security services are likely playing an increasingly large role in this plan, from the more innocuous protection of overseas Chinese assets and interests, to more secretive economic information gathering and counterintelligence activities.

Regardless of the government's internal justifications, many foreign enterprises operating in China question the legal basis for the espionage charges initially brought against the Rio employees. The answer can be traced to the vagaries of China's 1989 State Secrecy Law,[6] which loosely defines secrets as matters concerning "national security and interests." What may constitute state secrets, apart from the usual inclusion of political, military and diplomatic matters and decisions, are "secret matters relating to national economic and social developments." According to both the letter and spirit of this legislation, it is highly probable that matters relating to iron ore negotiations, such as figures for current iron ore stockpiles at state-owned mills in China, procurement plans, and net profits made by steel mills can all be regarded as state secrets. The strategic importance of the steel industry in China's national economy strengthens the argument that these matters can be seen as protected data. Importantly, Article 11 of the State Secrecy Law also empowers the state entities that produce these secrets to classify them accordingly. State-owned steel mills and CISA would have the authority under the law to classify their production details as state secrets.

According to internal research conducted by the Internal Affairs and Judicial Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC), many state bureaucracies and

corporations arbitrarily classify documents as state secrets for fear of being accused of leaking sensitive information. This is a reflection of China's poorly defined secrecy law, which authorizes almost all of officialdom to label documents as secret. This authority is strengthened by the sweeping provisions of Article 8, under which normal social and economic statistics may be labeled as state secrets. Apart from the obvious legal ambiguity, China is also hampered by the surviving Mao-era paranoia regarding official documents, which extends to even openly published materials. A legal expert from Peking University commented that the traditional guiding principle for the protection of state secrets is: "Keep everything secret. Disclosures are exceptions."

The old principle of secrecy by default remains operational.

The Chinese government is conscious that its catch-all secrecy law needs some serious fine-tuning. Xinhua News Agency commented that according to research and surveys undertaken by the NPC, the current secrecy law suffers from arbitrary classification, an absence of prompt declassification after the expiry of a time limit and a very broad scope of what can be rightfully regarded as state secrets.[7] There have been some incremental changes in this regard: the normally secretive Foreign Ministry is opening up part of its archive to the public, and the Bureau of State Secrets Protection also announced on Aug. 8, 2005 that death tolls in natural disasters will no longer be treated as state secrets.

Ironically, 10 days before the arrest of Stern Hu, the NPC released the long-awaited, newly amended "State Secrets Protection Law of the People's Republic of China" for public consultation. The amended law hardly represents a breath of fresh air. According to legal expert Tian Weimin of the China University of Politics and Law, who was involved in the drafting process of the amended law, there is no fundamental change in the new law with regard to what constitutes state secrets and who has the power to classify information. In the amended law, relevant state entities still retain the power to deem whatever they want as secret. The old principle of secrecy by default remains operational.

Both the existing and the amended secrecy laws run contrary to the spirit of transparency and openness embedded in the newly promulgated "Regulations concerning the disclosures of government information of the People's Republic of China."[8] Section 3 of Article 10 of the regulations mandates that "statistics concerning national economic and social developments" should be made public in the absence of reasonable demand to do otherwise. It appears that state secrecy law does not embody the new spirit of openness envisioned by Beijing.

If there is any silver lining to the dark cloud surrounding Stern Hu's case, it is that lawyers may be able to probe the boundaries of what constitutes state secrets, establishing a litmus test for China's professed progress towards greater transparency and openness. For the time being, however, Mr. Hu and his colleagues have assumed the unfortunate mantle of being sacrificial lambs on the altar of China's national security.

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Superficial, Arrogant Nationalism

Xiao Gongqin

During the past year, the book *Unhappy China* has made a deep impression on Chinese society. It was a topic of discussion on more than 2 million websites within a few weeks of its release, and to date over 1 million copies of the book have been printed. The 44 essays that comprise *Unhappy China* preach a lofty, vainly arrogant and radical form of nationalism, urging the country to take a more aggressive stance against the outside world. The authors portray China as a perpetual victim whose time for revenge and dominance has come. According to one contributor, Huang Jisu, "If the world's capitalist system is thought of as a boxing arena, our short to mid-term goal is to knock down the champion, while the ultimate goal is to smash the boxing arena itself." To realize this goal, another author states that "the future tasks of the People's Liberation Army will definitely not be what is currently called national defense, but should follow China's core economic interests." Other essays remind the reader that punishment and retaliation are norms in international exchange and that China should employ "anger-venting diplomacy" because tolerance is not the mentality of a mature and capable power.

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There are many explanations for why this book's influence has been so great, including the eye-catching title and a meticulous marketing campaign. Most importantly though, it strikes at the question many Chinese hold: how do modern China's citizens fit in the new global order? This question has seized people's hearts because the past thirty years of reform and opening have undeniably made China a more powerful actor. After 100 years of humiliation, the Chinese people now face the issue of how to reposition themselves in the world.

Manufactured Enemies

Since the onset of the financial crisis, Western countries have been more inclined to ask favors of China, have displayed humbler attitudes, have hoped for friendly relations and have achieved consensus on emphasizing peaceful development. Thus, the nationalist upwelling surrounding *Unhappy China* does not seem to be built on the traditional model of reactionary Chinese nationalism, which is periodically activated by reminders of past humiliation and historical grievances. For instance, the 1999 NATO bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade and the collision of American and Chinese jets in 2001 both incited waves of nationalist sentiment after the perceived humiliations. Such outbursts of nationalism have generally been short lived, disappearing as soon as the external world's provocations faded away. However, the new nationalism represented by *Unhappy China* is part of a more sustained dissatisfaction with the outside world.

"New patriots" are uncomfortable with the relative ease of the past two decades.

The crucial point with this new nationalism is the belief that China needs an "external enemy". This is considered a basic condition for China's existence and development. The authors of *Unhappy China* argue that, "A species without external environmental pressures will definitely degenerate." They also believe that China does not currently have any "pressure to choose," so "everyone feels good and can muddle along, but this cannot prevent decline." By extension, if this external pressure is absent, obviously it must be created. It is this logic that is both terrifying and dangerous, as it is not far from the oppression of the weak by the strong inherent in ethnocentrism and chauvinism. This arrogant nationalism diverges from normal, healthy nationalism's most central quality: self-defense. It clearly exceeds the rational boundaries of "don't attack if not attacked," and calls for actively and vigorously instigating outward challenges, seeing these challenges as premises for the nation's existence and development.

The nation faced far greater external pressures in the first decades of its existence than during the time since reform and opening up. In the former period, the idea of "philosophical struggle" and "boundless joy from human struggle" flooded both the domestic and international political atmosphere. However, China was not prosperous or powerful then. In contrast, China is currently in a sustained period of peaceful development with very low external pressure, and attended by a vigorous

pace of economic growth reaching an average annual rate of 10 percent for the past 20 years. The "new patriots" in China are uncomfortable with the relative ease of the past couple decades and the wealth accrued during this period. They maintain that China will not progress with continued amity with the outside world, but with greater strife and tension.

Heads Held High

Chinese people suffered a long 100 years of humiliation at the hands of the great powers. During this time, they were unable to protect the dignity of their country. With China now rising, there is a tendency to react strongly to every perceived injustice, and there are now numerous rallying cries for the Chinese people to "Hold our heads high!" Other countries that have suffered humiliation and then unexpectedly rose up to become great powers, such as India, have also exhibited this kind of social psychology. This kind of atmosphere is fertile ground for the style of nationalism advocated by *Unhappy China*. In these conditions, whoever raises the flag of nationalism higher and brighter will gain a greater audience.

The authors of *Unhappy China* recognize that the peoples' long-repressed desire to "hold their heads high" is a force that can be mobilized. Thus, they attempt to form a kind of mutual engagement with the Chinese people and work together in the name of radical nationalism. For example, the book points out that "China's next step in the modernization process is to decide that it will undertake a kind of trade war with the West, propped up by the military," and that China will break ties with Western countries. All of this suggests that the authors are attempting to unite the people's simple emotion of pride with a more actively offensive "new nationalism".

In most instances, the growth of national pride is normal, natural and rational, and can be used as an asset by the nation. However, if it is guided by an erroneous and radical nationalism that is used to seek outside enemies, then the ultimate effect can be quite malign. The essence of nationalist thinking involves strong emotions and passions, and thus can easily be used as kindling for incitement by extremists and twisted to fit their own purposes. It's exactly for this reason that there is often an intimate bond between superficial, arrogant nationalism and angry youth.

Young and Unhappy

Unhappy China has especially resonated with young people. The rapid rise in living standards since reform and opening has greatly increased the people's material expectations as they strive to gain the basic status symbols of the modern era. However, a society in transition often faces a basic and unavoidable contradiction; namely that the speed of development for economic and material conditions lags far behind the demands and expectations of society. This is particularly acute among the youth. This is evidenced by that fact that social dissatisfaction has actually grown, despite the great social progress made since reform began. A mass psychology of "relative

frustration" has arisen and diffused throughout the population. At the same time, the corruption, social injustice and expanding income gaps which have accompanied social change have exacerbated social distress. These mass feelings of frustration and dissatisfaction require venting through safe and effective social channels. Unfortunately, nationalism has become a common valve for such expression.

The angry youth culture expressed by radical nationalism is connected to the culture of radical left-wing politics. Although the current generation of youth is far removed from the Cultural Revolution and has absolutely no direct experience with the hardships of that time, their mode of thinking is based on a similar ideology, particularly in its emphasis on philosophical struggle between "good" internal influences and "evil" external forces. Yet these angry youth have not consciously recognized this connection. Because the culture of radical politics is so ingrained, the decline of the dominant influence of leftist ways of thinking will be much slower than economic change. The outdated leftist content that remains in our education system and the way the older generations conduct themselves will inadvertently and imperceptibly continue to influence the younger generations.

According to radical nationalists, peaceful coexistence is harmful to China's interests.

Some may still ask, why are China's angry youth currently looking at the world in this way? Over the past 30 years, Chinese people have enjoyed the results of global economic development together with the rest of the world, so why do angry youth still deal with international issues in a bigoted and bellicose manner? This stems from the Chinese people's lack of confidence in China's standing and its actual progress. When people distrust their immediate surroundings, they will see the external world in the same way. It is for exactly this reason that China can only move towards true civility by beginning to address China's own problems first.

Nationalism Grows Older, Not Wiser

Unhappy China is reminiscent of another best-seller from 13 years ago, *China Can Say No*. In general, it can be said that the positions on nationalism in *China Can Say No* and *Unhappy China* are of the same origin. However, the former is characterized by a more reactionary nationalism, while the latter is distinguished by a more actively offensive style of nationalism. *Unhappy China* seeks to take the simple nationalistic expression of "holding heads high" and apply it to other ends. The book frequently mentions "great objectives" which are based on the idea that the universal law of existence among nation-states is not harmonious coexistence, but survival of the fittest. Harmonious and peaceful coexistence is seen by the new nationalists as a scholarly invention and harmful to the national interest. As for the "great objectives" and how to achieve them, the book states that China should "do business while holding the sword." In doing so, "we will gain access to more natural resources, we will manage our economy better, offer political guidance to others, and we will lead this world." As for the means, the book emphasizes a Machiavellian outlook in which the

ends justify the means, and anything can be done in order to achieve its lofty goals.

If one likens the nationalism in *China Can Say No* to a primary student inexperienced in the ways of the world and susceptible to change, then today's *Unhappy China* is a middle school student who has just grown a bit of muscle and wants to find someone to spar with. It is more dangerous than the nationalism of 13 years ago and also more challenging because though it is only an adolescent, it is full of outdated poetic dreams. It is inexperienced in the ways of the world, but is full of fight. It always wants to make trouble in the neighborhood, and it differs with a young child in that it really can cause trouble for the parents (the government) and its neighbors (the international community). Problems can be created unnecessarily in the most accident-prone stretches of China's long road to transformation. If the nationalism in *Unhappy China* prevails, small incidents in international negotiations could easily become big issues and harmonious coexistence may transform into a zero sum game.

This nationalism's irrational enthusiasm is a double-edged sword. From the perspective of those in power, on the one hand, it is a political resource that can be used to mobilize the masses in support of a national cause. This is especially true when a country faces an external threat or in situations in which the nation lacks ideological resources. On the other hand, once lofty sounding nationalism gains a hold over the discourse within society, radicals may distort any moderate government positions as yielding, capitulating or even treasonous—even though they are objectively in the interest of the people. This could pose a great challenge to the government's authority and threaten the legitimacy of its rule.

Looking at China's current history, one can see the disconnect that was created as the long-term humiliation of China ended and the nation began to strengthen. The former attitude remains prevalent yet the latter has given the people increased confidence to express themselves more assertively. This is exacerbated by the fact that people of large countries often harbor illusions of grandeur, interpreting the nation's vast land area and population as signs of superior strength. But China has been weak for a long period, and its national strength is still a long way from becoming truly formidable in a comprehensive sense. The contradiction created between insufficient national strength and an abnormally high level of self-confidence can lead a country towards disastrous pitfalls. Generally speaking, citizens of small countries have a more modest state of mind and are more practical due to their limited power and influence. This phenomenon is fertile ground for the radical nationalists of large countries as they create the national expectations that often exceed actual abilities. Thus, whenever China is in crisis, lofty nationalism has an especially strong influence among the people.

Mitigating Factors

Even though radical nationalism exists in today's China, it is unlikely to dominate mainstream thinking in the future. In fact, the great trend in China's nationalism

is a move towards rationality and moderation. The first reason for this is the rise of China's middle class. The middle class has already become the main current and nucleus of Chinese society. It is a steadying force that dislikes extremes and holds moderate political views. Compared to the nationalism of the 1990s, the great majority of China's middle class has made obvious progress in their ability to reflect on things rationally. Of course, the possibility still exists that segments of the middle class could be swept up by radical nationalism due to economic crises or social instability. However, the likelihood of this is reduced by the growing maturity of China's government and its experience with the double-edged nature of nationalism. It has recognized that as soon as radical nationalism envelops society, rationality and harmony are often at risk. If it spirals out of control, nationalism can lead to a chain of reactionary events, threatening the leadership's ability to govern. Thus those in power have made a conscious effort to encourage moderate and rational attitudes.

A further mitigating factor is the international community's growing respect toward China. Since joining the World Trade Organization, China has become more deeply enmeshed in the global system. As for international relations, the cooperative attitude displayed by the West has weakened some of China's past feelings of opposition and conflict towards the outside world. It can be seen that communication and understanding among countries has already had a positive effect on China. An open environment helps the Chinese increase their understanding of the outside world and mitigates foreign criticism as well.

Finally, the increase in China's national power has also raised the nation's confidence. As this process continues, its national mentality will become more and more moderate, its ideology of grievances reduced and the reactions to perceived wrongs not so excessive. People will realize that there is no need to rely on historically aggrieved nationalism for China's source of strength. Moreover, truly mature great powers do not flaunt their strength, but are generous and dignified. As China goes forward, it must remember that moderation, not radical nationalism, is the essence of being a responsible great power. Though *Unhappy China* is enjoying popularity at the moment, its message is too shallow to withstand the tide of history and its words will soon be washed from the pages and forgotten.

Defensive Realism in the Indian Ocean: Oil, Sea Lanes and the Security Dilemma

Jason J. Blazevic

As the Indian Ocean's role as a conduit of vital resources grows, so do the propensities of regional powers to exert influence in this arena. This is particularly true for India and China, whose rising economies are dependent on the steady flow of imported resources, most importantly oil. In China, this is not just an issue of economic growth, but of the longevity of the Communist Party, which depends on economic growth to bolster its legitimacy and maintain domestic stability. As such, China's leaders have looked to strategies to ensure continued energy supplies, which depend on clear sea lanes of transportation in the Indian Ocean and transit points, such as the Strait of Malacca. Chinese leaders fear that adversaries could blockade sea lanes and strategic bottlenecks such as the Strait, thereby devastating China's economy.[1]

According to defensive realism, the only way to counteract such vulnerability is to pursue ambitious military and diplomatic strategies to increase security. In

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attempting to solve this dilemma, Chinese leaders have expanded the scope of the country's interests by modifying the concept of "active defense" and its tenet of "offshore defense."[2] This gradual transformation of offshore defense is embodied by the extension of China's national interests in a growing and developing "security boundary" comprising "distant ocean defense,"[3] along with the requisite naval modernization. In the eyes of India, which has similar concerns over energy supplies, China's actions appear to be a power maximization strategy that will inevitably impinge upon its interests. This may induce India to engage in similar behavior. A security dilemma may ensue in which a series of reactive security strategies destabilize relations between all major powers in the region.

The Tenets of Realism

Realism asserts that all nations act within an international system of anarchy. This absence of central authority or government is the cause of "enduring propensity for conflict between states."[4] The system is characterized by the belief in threat of force to compel certain behavior of nations. Power is sought, enhanced and expanded through arms and unilateralism. Realism sees an endless competition to ensure national survival.[5] Kenneth Waltz stipulates the critical tenets of survival as a constant preoccupation with the possibility of conflict, counteracting those threats and never letting one's guard down.[6] Deterrence, containment, power alliances and balance of power politics are the hallmarks of realism.[7] The importance of such aspects is magnified by geography and access to resources, which further complicate international relations. Indeed, nations are competitive actors pursuing their key national interests: national security and survival.

More recently realism has evolved into "an offensive and defensive branch."[8] According to defensive realism, nations gain power for self-preservation; in offensive realism states further increase their capabilities to project power.[9] Defensive realism predicts that when nations feel threatened they will pursue ambitious military, economic and diplomatic strategies to increase their security. When a defensive realist nation pursues such strategies, other nations often misconstrue them as threats of force leading to their own pursuit of similar strategies, further decreasing collective security. This type of mirroring can lead to a reciprocal cycle of action and reaction.[10] Thus, in the long run, strategies meant to buttress national security can actually undermine it.[11] According to offensive realism nations attempt to amplify their influence, particularly when they have the power to do so. Essentially the amplification of influence is "power maximization," or the idea that a nation will project its influence into any sphere that could increase its absolute power.[12] Similarly, Stephen Brooks explains that nations will constantly attempt to "advance their power over other nations, taking military advantage of weaker states whenever they have the chance."[13]

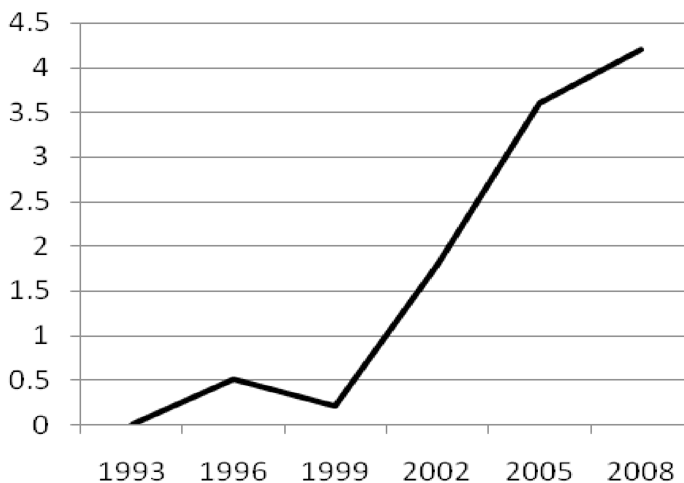
Acquiring power can cause increased insecurity among opposing nations. Even defensive realist strategies intended to increase state security often lead to a security dilemma, what Benjamin Friedman and Harvey Sapolsky refer to as "You Never

Knowism."[14] Indeed, strategies meant to head off indefinite and unknown threats before they arrive may inadvertently lead to further instability.[15] This type of behavior influences many nations to believe that they "do not enjoy even an imperfect guarantee of their own security unless they set out to provide it for themselves."[16] China's evolving strategies to buttress its perceived insecurity reflect the paradox of the defense realism behavior. If China and its competitors repeatedly interpret each other's defensive actions to be offensive in nature, a cycle of mirror reactions may ensue, continuously escalating tensions between them—potentially even to the point of conflict.

Fighting for a Piece of the Pie

While China's economy is dependent on many imported resources, oil is a particularly strong motivator for the expansion of its defensive perimeter. China's oil imports grew at an average rate of 9.1 percent annually from 1993 to 1998 and consumption reached 7.9 MBD (million barrels per day) in 2008.[17] The International Energy Agency projects a near doubling of imports to 15 MBD by 2020.[18] This spike in consumption is compounded by an 18 percent drop in the estimates of domestic reserves and further calculations of production decline from a high of 4 MBD by 2010, before gradually decreasing.[19]

Oil Imports in MBD[20]

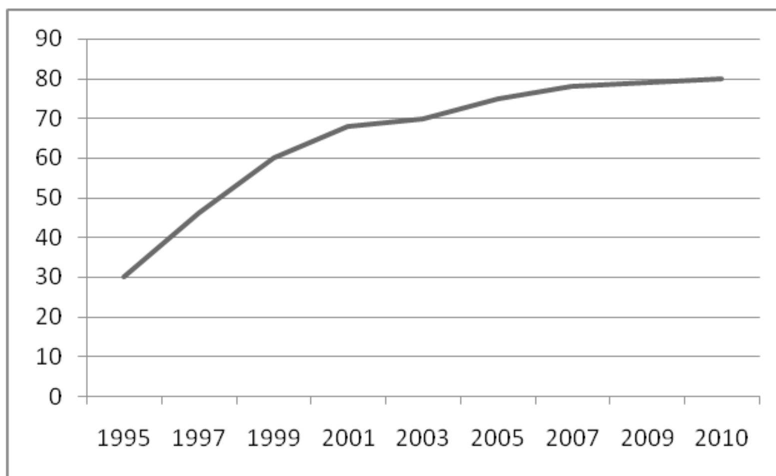


To address the growing shortfall, China has stepped up imports and encouraged its national oil companies (NOCs) to seek concessions abroad, particularly in the Middle East, Africa and Central Asia. China's 1994 "Westbound Strategy" called for economic and political expansion into resource rich regions to facilitate resource acquirement. Premier Li Peng's 1997 "Policy on Energy Resources" expanded the "Westbound Strategy" by utilizing "any and all means including lobbying, financial aid and information exchange to achieve the broader goal of diversifying the sources

of China's energy supply."[21] Peng stated, "While striving to develop our own crude oil and natural gas resources, we have to use some foreign resources."[22]

Since 1994 imports have continued to rise. By 2007, Middle Eastern exports accounted for 78 percent of China's total imports and are expected to reach 80 percent by 2010.[23] Saudi Arabia has become the largest Middle Eastern oil exporter to China as well as the top oil exporter in total to China in 2005, 2007 and 2008. Meanwhile, Chinese NOCs have achieved mounting success in attaining contracts for oil field exploration and development, particularly in Africa,[24] but these shipments are also restricted to the same vulnerable sea lanes as incoming Middle Eastern oil. China seeks to repair that dilemma by pursuing a "security of supply."

Growth of PRC oil imports from Middle East by percent[25]



According to realism, however, the supply security that China seeks can only be attained with corresponding political and military power. Chinese leaders fear that as the country changes from "relative dependence to one of absolute dependence" upon imported oil, national security will be increasingly threatened.[26] Defensive realism predicts that when nations feel their security threatened they will pursue ambitious economic, diplomatic and military strategies. Indeed, much of the rhetoric on oil security in China seems to follow this line of reasoning. Zhang Yuncheng of the Beijing Chinese Institute of Contemporary International Relations explains simply, "Whoever controls the Strait of Malacca and the Indian Ocean could block China's oil transport route."[27] According to statements from President Hu Jintao, "certain major powers" have attempted to dominate the strait, which could constitute a major crisis for China.[28] According to PLA General Wen Zongren, an aspect of China's ambitious military strategy should entail development of a powerful "blue" water navy to "break out" of coastal waters to enable China's development.[29] A powerful navy will be able to enhance development by protecting sea lanes and ensur-

ing geographic access to oil-rich regions, including those with Chinese concessions.[30] This aim is increasingly a critical tenet of security, as explained by President Hu, who advocates a powerful navy to "uphold our maritime rights and interests."[31] Whether or not those rights and interests include far-flung ocean passages is not clear; none-theless, sea lane control could become a "necessity" for current and future Chinese oil interests, as well as national development and modernization.[32]

The expansion of the security boundary for oil is aided by the Peoples Libera-tion Army Navy's (PLAN) increasing capability to project force.[33] The PLAN has purchased Sovremennyy destroyers, Kilo-class submarines, anti-submarine sonar and multiple-target torpedo control systems, as well as undersea cruise missile tech-nology.[34] It has meanwhile constructed its own Luyang I and II destroyers, as well as Jiangkai I and II frigates. Additionally, the navy plans to expand its submarine fleet by adding seventeen new "stealthy diesel submarines" by 2010 and has added three modern nuclear (ballistic missile capable) submarines.[35] The PLAN is also con-sidering building multiple aircraft carriers and associated ships by 2020. Ministry of National Defense spokesman Senior Colonel Huang Xueping explained that, "the aircraft carrier is a symbol of a country's overall national strength, as well as the competitiveness of the country's naval force." Director of the Ministry of National Defense, Foreign Affairs Office, Major General Qian Lihua similarly stated, "having an aircraft carrier is the dream of any great military power."[36] More than a symbol and a dream, an aircraft carrier would greatly inrease China's ability to project power away from its shores.

Power, One Pearl at a Time

While China's dreams of a powerful blue-water navy are still in dry dock, some an-alysts claim that Beijing has already hatched a potent strategy for power projection in the Indian Ocean. The "pearls strategy," a term which originated in a report by US defense contractor Booz Allen Hamilton (BAH), refers to the extension of PLAN power through ports leased and acquired from Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Pakistan.[37] According to the BAH report, "China is building strategic relationships along the sea lanes from the Middle East to the South China Sea in a way that suggests defensive and offensive positioning to protect China's energy interests."[38] In the BAH para-digm, a pearl entails the construction of new ports, or improvement of those that exist, to serve duel trade and military interests, including supply, refueling and lis-tening stations. As port facilities are attained, the PLAN could press its presence for-ward from Africa and the Strait of Hormuz to Myanmar and the Strait of Malacca.[39]

It is true that China has had a hand in building or refurbishing several geo-stra-tegically-located ports in the region. In Pakistan, ports at Gwadar and Karachi have undergone extensive improvements and dredging by Chinese companies, as well as the construction of a new highway connecting them. The Gwadar port, referred to by US analysts as the "Chinese Gibraltar," represents $1.2 billion in Chinese investment. China further modernized or constructed ports belonging to Bangladesh, Maldives,

Seychelles, Mauritania, Madagascar and Sri Lanka. This includes the $1 billion Sri Lankan port at Hambantota, which is a strategic six nautical miles from major sea lanes between the Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea. China has also capitalized on a 1992 agreement with Myanmar for the construction of ports at Small and Great Coco Islands in return for the modernization of Myanmar's navy.[40] In addition, Chinese firms constructed or modernized ports at Sittwe, Kyuakpu, Mergui and Hainggyi Island. Some Western analysts claim that the Chinese military also operates reconnaissance and electronic intelligence stations on several islands belonging to Myanmar, though Indian and American intelligence officials have said evidence is lacking.[41]

In spite of the impressive number of projects, few appear to have notable military resources. Moreover, even if China does intend to use the pearls for military purposes, its access to them in a time of conflict is doubtful. While Beijing has tried to cement ties with host countries through infrastructure projects and arms sales, its alliances and influence in the region remain relatively weak. China's relationships with Pakistan and Myanmar are far from solidified and cannot be taken for granted.[42] Pakistan, which is increasingly reliant on American economic and military aid, attempts to balance relations between China and the United States, seeing both as vital partners.[43] Though Myanmar has been the recipient of much Chinese aid, it has also been careful not to become overly reliant on any one patron. The junta leadership has proved skillful at building relationships with Japan and India to offset reliance on China. For instance, Myanmar is working towards agreements which will allow the Indian navy to use its ports at Sittwe and Dawei.[44] If China does indeed harbor a "tripartite strategy" of diplomacy, forward naval bases and greater naval presence, it is far from realization and its near-term aspirations in the Indian Ocean will be limited.[45] Moreover, it is not clear why China would bet its oil security on outposts in the Indian Ocean when US interdiction would probably occur in the Persian Gulf, Strait of Hormuz and Arabian Sea, long before the shipments reach the strategic sea lanes.[46] As China is surely aware of these realities, its intentions to rely on these ports for military strength are far from proven.

Tangled Perceptions

Whether or not China is actively utilizing the pearls, or plans to in the future, India *perceives* Chinese actions as power maximization, which could lead to a "reordering of the balance of power" in the Indian Ocean.[47] India fears that China's political influence, military modernization and forward basing strategy will be used to contain India as China ascends as the pre-eminent Asian power.[48] They fear that Chinese intentions are combative, power seeking and against peaceful co-existence.[49] Indian leaders further speculate that China is trying to rapidly achieve hegemony in the Indian Ocean while it enjoys a position of strength. They comprehend China's strategies as opportunistic, arising from weak and ineffective Indian attempts at deterrence and balancing.[50] Similarly, John Mearsheimer states, "A great power that

has a marked power advantage over its rivals is likely to behave more aggressively because it has the capability, as well as, the incentive to do so."[51] Offensive realism concurs in positing that a nation may formulate policies that increase its relative power compared to its nearest competitor in order to acquire more power.[52]

Like China, India also faces a change from relative dependence to one of absolute dependence on oil imports and seeks secure sea lanes and geographic access to oil. India relies upon the same sea lanes for shipments of oil originating in Egypt, Sudan, Nigeria, Iraq, Iran and Myanmar. Similar to China, India fears that its access to oil shipments could be abrogated in a time of conflict.[53] In 2005, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh stated, "China is ahead of us in planning for its energy security, India can no longer be so complacent."[54]

In line with the realist school of thought, Indian leaders appear to advocate political and military power corresponding to its oil security and thus, have pursued ambitious economic, diplomatic and military strategies.[55] The Indian Navy plans for a fleet of 130 vessels comprising "three aircraft carrier battle groups, by 2020" and has created the Far Eastern Naval Command (FENC), headquartered at Port Blair, Andaman Islands, which sits 190 nautical miles from China's facilities at Great Coco Island.[56] India has also constructed dual-use ports at Dawei, Myanmar and Chabahar, Iran and is presently constructing the Sethu Samudram Shipping Canal. Indian national security is seemingly no longer concerned with only the sub-continent, but is part of a growing and developing security boundary comprising nearby states, seas and the Indian Ocean.[57]

Whether or not China utilizes the Pearls, India perceives Chinese actions as power maximization.

In the mid-1990s, India began pursuing an ambitious strategy of using the United States as a possible counterweight against Chinese aspirations.[58] In 1995, India and the United States signed the *Agreed Minute on Defense Relations*, which authorized joint combating of terrorism, as well as other regional crises. The Indian and US militaries began conducting joint operations such as "COPE India" in 2005, to strengthen combat skill and hasten a stronger and quicker response to probable crises in the region. Over 25 joint training exercises were held between 2002 and 2005, leading up to the *New Framework for the US-India Defense Relationship* (NFDR).[59] The NFDR charts a long-range course for India-US defense relations and facilitates increased military ties, joint weapons production, and cooperation in missile defense. NFDR also combines efforts to defeat terrorism and curb the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, along with enhancing the security of trade within the region's land, air and sea lanes.[60]

Sampling of India-US Joint Military Operations 2002-2009[61]

Year	Operation	Location	Purpose
2002	Balance Iroquois	Agra, India	Special Forces airborne exercises
2002	Geronimo Thrust	Alaska	Special Forces airborne exercises
2002	Cope India	Agra, India	Air transport exercise
2003	Malabar	Kochi, India	Naval exercise (including Air Force and anti-submarine exercises)
2003	n/a	New Delhi, India	Peacekeeping command post exercise
2004	Vajra Prahar	Mizoram, India	Special Forces counter insurgency exercises
2004	Yudha Abhyas	Mizoram, India	Special Forces counter insurgency and jungle warfare exercises
2004	Cope Thunder	Alaska	Air Force exercises
2005	Malabar 04	Indian Southwest coast-Indian Ocean	Naval training exercises
2005	Cope India 05	Kalaikunda, Air Base India	Air Force combat training exercises
2007	Malabar 07	Bay of Bengal, India	Air Force combat training exercises (multilateral- Japan, Australia, Singapore)
2008	Red Flag War Games	Nellis Air Base, Nevada	Air Force combat training exercises
2009	n/a	Hickam Air Base, Hawaii	Air Force training exercises

However, India's strategies could lead to a security dilemma plagued by uncertainty and misassumption over real or imagined intentions. China may comprehend Indian moves as aggressive and could "mistakenly believe that aggression is the only way to make their state secure," which justifies further investment in military solutions.[62] Although Indian leaders such as Manmohan Singh have continuously emphasized India's military weakness, China feels militarily disadvantaged in the Indian Ocean due to the India-US alliance, as well as Indian naval strength.[63] This predicament has led China to perceive Indian strategies as emanating from offensive realism and has further nudged Beijing to expand its security boundary. The confused perceptions of each other's intentions could set in motion a chain of reactions escalating toward a zero-sum contest.[64]

Relations between China and India will likely continue to emanate from defensive realism, but relations can be less difficult through increasing political and military transparency. Both nations have started this process by engaging in joint naval exercises in 2003, 2005 and 2007, signing a Memorandum of Understanding on Defense Cooperation in 2006, engaging in ministerial visits, calling at each others' ports and engaging in counterterrorism exercises.[65] There has also been discussion, although nothing more, on co-developing energy projects in the region—in Sudan, for example—and the shared use of ports.[66] Perhaps these developments can be a step in

the direction of recognizing the Indian Ocean and its sea lanes as part of the international commons, utilized by many nations rather than as part of a strategic competition. However, this approach will also require the participation of third parties, who have been drawn into tangled alliances with the two countries. Though a more rational and reasoned approach between China and India appears to be triumphing at the moment, the two nations can continue to improve relations by giving heed to the security dilemma, while simultaneously showing a sincere readiness to engage in transparent discourse and diplomacy. Such transparency may lead to a de-emphasis of the security boundary's more confrontational military and diplomatic strategies and toward greater conciliation and cooperation.

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Celebrating 82 Years

The Stellar Status Symbol: True Motives for China's Manned Space Program

Fiona Cunningham

The image of Chinese "taikonauts" conducting their first spacewalk, broadcast on a large screen on the front of a Beijing department store, may have appeared a quaint image to the contemporaries of the Cold War space race.[1] Even without a peer competitor or any obvious tangible benefits, and at an exorbitant price tag, China still saw value in finishing the race to put humans in space, forty years after the United States and Soviet Union. China's pursuit of manned spaceflight is a manifestation of its quest for improved international status, a necessary prerequisite to admission into the superpower "club." There is nothing new about a status-based explanation for the Chinese manned space program—status is often cited as one of its many motivations. However, such motivations have not been sufficiently explored in the context of existing manned space programs, nor have they been situated within more general explanations of Chinese foreign policy behavior. A norm-focused conception of international hierarchy and a brief overview of how manned spaceflight became a status marker during the Cold War will contextualize the status explanation for the Chinese manned space program. Status is the most important motivation for a manned space program in the eyes of elite political leaders, who bear greatest responsibility for China's international standing. China has

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pursued a manned space program because it understands manned spaceflight as a status marker for the superpower status group and, desiring membership to that group, has attained one of its status markers.

The Shenzhou Puzzle

The Chinese manned space program is a puzzle for two reasons. First, the utility of manned space programs is no longer clear; they do not offer commensurate, tangible returns for their costs,[2] which average ten times more than an unmanned program.[3] Why then would states allocate their scarce resources to such an unproductive venture today, when fully aware of the meager returns through the experience of the United States and Soviet Union? Unlike the United States and Russia/Soviet Union, China has pursued manned spaceflight with full knowledge of its cost, difficulty and limited material benefits. Furthermore, China's manned space program was initiated and developed at a time when the United States was debating the continued viability of its own manned missions.[4] China has no real peer competitor in space and so is not propelled by a space race.[5] What then has motivated China to expend considerable resources on the space activity that delivers the least material benefits for the extra expenditure required? The second puzzle is that the Chinese manned space program is often attributed to status and prestige motivations,[6] yet the analysts who do so offer no objective basis for assessing or contextualizing these motivations.

If we conceive the international system as hierarchical,[7] superpowers, as members of the status group at the apex of that hierarchy, are able to set the values upon which the status of other states is determined.[8] Superpowers also regulate admission into their own ranks on the basis of the same values.[9] The requirements for superpower status are currently set by the only member of the superpower group, the United States. Status in the international hierarchy depends on two parallel factors: doing the right thing—an actual commitment to the values dictated by the superpowers; and being seen to do the right thing—showing commitment to those values, not because they are actually adhered to but because they are a means to an end (improved international status).[10] The admission requirements for the superpower status group are thus far more sophisticated than hard military power and economic might, the traditional indices of a great power or superpower identified by scholars.[11] In contemporary international relations, to be a superpower, one must be a "spacefaring" nation, and a manned spaceflight program is an integral component of "space power."[12] Manned space programs are therefore superpower status markers. This value and norm-focused conception of hierarchy makes the idea of status, as applied to the Chinese manned space program, clearer by slotting it into existing international relations theory.

To be a superpower one must be a "spacefaring" nation.

Status is not the sole explanation for China's manned spaceflight program; rather it is a crucial factor in elite political support for the project. A successful launch of a manned spacecraft requires the culmination of a broad coalition of interests, in-

cluding support from the military, the scientific and engineering establishments and political leaders, all of whom receive payoffs tailored to their own interests.[13] These special interests are important in setting space policy, however, given the scale and cost of the project, high-level political support is the crucial factor in its realization. Hence manned spaceflight must be framed as furthering the national interest if it is to receive political support at the highest level.[14] The initiation of the Chinese manned space program, Project 921, in 1992 and Shenzhou V, its first manned mission, demonstrate this process.

Five alternative explanations of the Shenzhou Program

Scholars have put forward five different reasons for the Chinese manned space program—military benefit, tangible domestic benefit, national pride, "competitive" status and "aspirational" status—though they recognize that no single reason adequately explains it.[15] All of these reasons are necessary to build the requisite coalition of interests for a manned space program, but not all are equally important for attracting political leaders into that coalition. There is no necessity for states to have manned space programs, and they require political justifications to rationalize the costs. [16] Elite support for manned spaceflight, seen as in the national interest, depends upon the delivery of unique and specific benefits that other programs competing for that support (and the resources that follow) cannot provide. Status is the only unique and specific international benefit that China attains from manned spaceflight and thus is the most important factor in the initiation and continuation of support from the Chinese president, premier and Politburo.

Many scholars have focused on the military component of the Chinese space program.[17] The shadow of such analysis is often cast over the whole space program, its manned component included, because its daily affairs are administered by the People's Liberation Army (PLA). Indirect military benefits from the manned space program are widely recognized.[18] However, despite a number of advances in technology, management, infrastructure and expertise that benefit the military, "manned spaceflight is likely the least efficient, most ineffective method for developing [military] hardware."[19] The Cold War superpowers were unable to find any military advantage accruing from manned, as opposed to unmanned, spaceflight. Hence there are no known unique benefits that a manned program could deliver. Nor was Shenzhou V a demonstration of new dual-use capabilities, as Sputnik was for the Soviet Union.[20] In any case, separate military space programs exist for the PLA to exploit space technology for military purposes.[21] Elite support for the program in pursuit of unique military benefits is the least plausible explanation.

The tangible benefits of a manned space program are often cited as a reason for the Shenzhou program. The United States has demonstrated the scientific, technological, educational and commercial returns of the heavy investment in space technology required for a manned space program. Likewise, the Shenzhou program has

helped China develop highly skilled scientific and technical cadres, increased employment and inspired young people to pursue scientific and technical careers.[22] China's 2000 Space White Paper clearly states that space plays a role in China's national development strategy.[23] The high reliability of launch services required for manned spaceflight may improve confidence in Chinese commercial launch services.[24] With the exception of launch reliability, however, it is questionable whether these benefits are the result of the manned space program specifically, or simply the higher level of investment in space technology. Perhaps indicative of the elite leadership's recognition of the lack of tangible economic benefits is Li Peng's comment during discussions as to whether the program should be approved that a manned space program was "necessary, if not necessarily wise".[25]

Manned spaceflight may also create a "focal point for national pride" among Chinese people that in turn bolsters the legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).[26] National pride is a pertinent explanation for contemporary decisions of the Chinese government, as nationalism has replaced communism as the legitimating ideology of the CCP.[27] The initiation of the Shenzhou program may have been conceived of as an element in the rebuilding of Chinese collective self-esteem after the Tiananmen Square massacre,[28] a more plausible national pride argument than building support for President Hu Jintao and his 2003 domestic reform package,[29] which ignores the long and secret gestation period of the program.[30] The long-term cultivation of national pride is likely an important factor in high-level political support and is a benefit that manned spaceflight is uniquely placed to deliver. Yet its benefits are domestic rather than international.

Some argue that China's manned space program indicates where China sees itself in the international hierarchy,[31] while others have framed a status argument in terms of what actual status benefits China has accrued from it.[32] Yet this ignores the precise nature of the status benefits sought by Chinese leaders in pursuing a manned space program: a better position vis-à-vis other nations in a competitive hierarchy or fulfilling a normative commitment to space exploration?

"For China, success [in manned spaceflight] matches up with its heightened view of its deserved international status".[33] This "competitive status" reason links the prestige and status explanations advanced by some scholars[34] with China's broader foreign policy goal of attaining great power status.[35] Though the secretive and long-term nature of the manned space program means that status improvement must be an enduring and incremental goal, manned spaceflight is uniquely placed to be able to deliver such benefits because it is a status marker for the superpower group to which China seeks admission. The competitive status explanation includes the argument that China considers itself as deserving of a seat at the table of major space-faring nations, having lost its seat at the table of scientifically and technologically advanced nations during the 19th century. A manned space program is China's way of expressing its entitlement to that seat to other states. [36]

An "aspirational status" explanation argues that China may be demonstrating a commitment to human progress, scientific and technological advancement, exploration, global leadership and/or strength through its manned space program. Yet unless the Chinese are planning to achieve "firsts" in the course of their manned space program in the future, a commitment to human progress and global leadership would be difficult for it to display. "China has not ... sent a man into space because Jiang Zemin is a space visionary."[37] It is likely, however, that China is seeking to display its scientific and technological advancement and strength in a non-military manner:[38] in the words of Lewis and Kulacki, "[c]ontemporary Chinese leaders are invested in space, human spaceflight in particular, because it is the ultimate expression of what being a scientifically and technologically advanced nation means."[39]

Of these five possible explanations for elite support of the Chinese manned space program, tangible military and domestic benefits are the least compelling, as manned spaceflight delivers no unique additional benefits for its significant additional cost in comparison to an unmanned program. Competitive status and aspirational status are both plausible explanations, provided that an aspirational status explanation pertains to China's commitment to scientific and technological development rather than global leadership through space "firsts." National pride is also a convincing explanation, but it is not isolated from status. National pride results not only from Chinese achievements in space, but also the positive ramifications of such achievements for China's international reputation. Aspirational and competitive status are both likely explanations and are inextricably linked. This is due to the fact that China's belief in the value of scientific and technological development remains strongly connected with its desire to catch up with Western states.[40] Nevertheless, competitive status is the most compelling of the five explanations. Not only does manned spaceflight deliver unique benefits for China's competitive status, but the pursuit of such competitive status gains are also consistent with the wider trajectory of Chinese international behavior.

Considering the status explanation within the wider context of Chinese foreign policy will provide additional evidence that the reasoning behind elite support for Project 921 is the perception that manned spaceflight is a superpower status marker.

The Superpower Status Marker

Manned spaceflight was endowed with its significance as a superpower status marker during the Cold War, when the space race took center stage in the arena of US-Soviet competition. Both superpowers used every means of competition short of all-out war to prove their superiority over the other, and therefore the victory of their ideology. Nuclear arsenals and manned space activities were the most salient status markers employed in that competition. Space programs in both states began as military programs, and the first satellite launches had definite significance as military power status markers.

Space activities began to develop their own distinctive meaning as a status marker, splitting from arms competition in 1961, when both states launched their citizens into space for the first time. Yet these manned space programs had no additional military value; rather, they conferred upon the "winning" superpower the accolade of leading humanity beyond Earth. Manned space achievements gave the Soviet Union and the United States claim to a preeminent position in the superpower status group between 1961 and 1969. As US Vice President Lyndon Johnson aptly stated, "in the eyes of the world, first in space means first, period; second in space is second in everything."[41] This strategic competition argument is the most common explanation for the space race,[42] but leaves some important questions unanswered. A sensitivity to norms and values in international relations may answer these questions, with important implications for the Chinese manned space program.

Why have so many space policy analysts, historians and politicians acknowledged the inspiration of spaceflight as being a driving factor behind its pursuit? Why did the United States and Soviet Union persist in manned space missions once the space race was over? Why did they choose to compete over manned spaceflight? Where did the superpowers get the idea that sending humans into space was appropriate in the first place? During the space race, manned spaceflight developed into a superpower status marker because it would have delivered no status rewards had the United States and Soviet Union not shared the values that it symbolized. It was capable of delivering the sort of victory that an arms race, with its lingering possibility of annihilation, never could: "certainly Apollo was a cold war initiative; it was a surrogate for war ... [but] at the same time, spaceflight conjured the best in the human spirit."[43] Superpower agreement as to the importance of manned space achievements mapped back to their central goals of displaying commitment to strength, human progress, global leadership, and science and technology.

Manned spaceflight was capable of delivering the sort of victory that an arms race never could.

With the end of the space race in 1969, manned spaceflight ceased to be the preeminent status marker of the superpower status group but continued to serve as one of many superpower status markers for the remainder of the Cold War and into the post-Cold War era. Unless manned spaceflight were able to elevate one's status in the international hierarchy, other states would not have initiated or continued manned space activities.[44] The continuation of manned space programs worldwide shows that it has clearly maintained its value. In the wake of the Cold War, both the United States and Russia have retained a manned presence in space at considerable cost. Both are involved in the American-led International Space Station project in collaboration with Japan, Canada and the European Space Agency. Europe, Japan and India have publicized their intentions to develop independent manned spaceflight capabilities. They have been "infected with the virus of manned spaceflight,"[45] indicating the demonstration effect of the two Cold War superpowers' behavior. Despite this,

the only other manned space program to come to fruition is that of China.

The continued pursuit of manned space flight at a time when other countries abandoned similar projects raises questions about the extent of China's aspirations. Does it seek to be a great power, or a superpower on par with the United States? As Chinese official policy describes China as a great power,[46] why has China sought a superpower status marker? Two possible reasons exist for this identity and status marker mismatch. When China initiated its manned space program in 1992, and as Cold War bipolarity disintegrated, Chinese leaders anticipated a future "multipolar" order, consisting of China, Japan, Europe, Russia and the United States,[47] in which there were no superpowers. Had this eventuated, manned spaceflight would have been a great power status marker. In the early 1990s, Europe and Japan both had plans to develop independent manned spaceflight capabilities,[48] leaving China as the only great power in this future multipolar order without a manned program of its own. More recently, Chinese leaders have pushed their multipolar projections further into the future, moving from a multipolarization (*duojihua*) discourse, to a tacit recognition of American dominance: "one superpower, many major powers" (*yichao duoqiang*).[49] Yet China persisted with manned spaceflight even when European and Japanese manned space programs failed to materialize. China's continued commitment to manned spaceflight could be its way of catching up with its great power peers, as it lacks the wealth and democratic status markers held by Japan and Europe, while Russia has more military and space status markers than China. Once initiated, other reasons and vested interests in the Chinese manned space program could have provided the momentum to push the project through to completion, despite China's peer competitors' canceling of their programs. This does not, however, explain the fact that China has completed another two manned missions since.

The other possibility is that China's conception of its future status has been elevated to that of a superpower. Two things are distinctive about Chinese perceptions of status—the first is its emphasis upon quantitative, objective indicators of status,[50] and second is a definite regard for the future, as well as present, configuration of international hierarchy.[51] It is possibly this regard for future status that has motivated China to continue to pursue manned spaceflight. In the view of a Chinese analyst, China has achieved great power status and is on the way to achieving superpower status.[52] The fact that it sees itself as a prospective superpower may be sufficient motivation for presently acquiring superpower status markers in preparation for the future.

Learning the value of manned spaceflight

The status explanation is not plausible unless it can first be shown that China did indeed learn the value of manned spaceflight from the Cold War space race and, secondly, it can account for why elite support for manned spaceflight was forthcoming in 1992. These two points will be assisted by the methods and results of an increas-

ing number of studies that focus on China's socialization into international institutions and Chinese identity, using social constructivist approaches to international relations in order to understand recent changes in its foreign policy behavior.[53] According to these studies, China has shown evidence of socialization[54] through international institutions and the adoption of a responsible great power discourse has led China to redefine its interests in line with international norms.[55] These conclusions are consistent with China learning the value of manned spaceflight from the Cold War superpowers and its leaders considering the development of a Chinese manned space program appropriate, given its current and desired position in the international hierarchy. China's special sensitivity to image and status concerns in the present international system have been noted as incidents of its socialization.[56]

Chinese knowledge of the manned spaceflight status marker may be inferred from the extent of its integration into the international system and therefore exposure to such shared understandings among nations about the value of manned spaceflight. China's desire to join the top status group and understanding of what is required of it in order to earn that status can be inferred from its identity discourses and corresponding behavior. The connection between China's status aspirations and its manned space program may be inferred from the concurrent adoption of status-related identity discourses and the initiation of the manned space program. The causal links drawn from the steps above are also supported by evidence of the arguments made to Chinese leaders by advocates of the manned space program.

China's observation of American and Soviet manned space missions, "the demonstration effect",[57] is the most likely source from which the Chinese state learned the idea of manned spaceflight. Its earliest manned space project, Project 714, commenced in 1965, shortly after Yuri Gagarin's flight in 1961. However the project ground to a halt in 1972, when Cultural Revolution politics caught up with the space program. The demonstration effect failed to have its full effect at this early stage because Chinese leaders rejected the Soviet-American dominated competitive hierarchy, robbing the project of a strategic rationale. Aspirational status gains were not compelling enough to justify the costs of manned spaceflight. The Chinese leadership valued science and technology as an expression of national strength and an instrument of independence, and therefore accorded both superpowers high aspirational status, taking its "cues from those countries seen as technical leaders."[58] Nevertheless aspirational status gains were insufficient to frame the project as in the national interest.

China persisted even when other countries' programs failed to materialize.

The reforms initiated by Deng Xiaoping between 1976 and 1992 changed the Chinese approach to the competitive hierarchy. In adopting a status quo orientation, China signaled its acceptance of the superpower-dominated system. It doubled its membership in intergovernmental organizations between 1977 and 1992, and improved relations with the United States and Soviet Union. Chinese official foreign

policy discourse has shifted over time, from revolutionary in nature during the 1970s to developmental and multilateral in the 1980s. The late 1980s saw an increased emphasis on the protection of sovereignty in the wake of the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989, later shifting to a more global and multilateral stance in the 1990s.[59] The audience of China's foreign policy behavior has also shifted, from the revolutionary Third World to the status quo international society.[60] China's increasing status quo orientation is, in essence, China's adoption of a shared identity with the rest of the international community. This includes acceptance of the structure of the international hierarchy, allowing China to value high status within that hierarchy. Whether or not China is persuaded of the values in the aspirational hierarchy, it acknowledges that its status depends upon its demonstrated commitment to the values that order the hierarchy. Acceptance of this structure is essential if China is to use manned spaceflight strategically to improve its status. Chinese socialization into the existing international hierarchy completed its learning of both the aspirational and competitive status benefits of manned spaceflight.

China's Great Power Identity

China has acquired a great power identity that requires it to behave like a great power by accumulating status markers. The adoption of this identity provided China with the requisite strategic rationale to initiate a manned space program, transforming manned spaceflight into an appropriate pursuit for both competitive and aspirational status reasons. China's great power identity reflects how it sees its place in the world, and draws on both popular and elite desires within China and international learning in order to determine its content.

China has previously articulated its great power identity as an entitlement, understanding great power status as due respect from other nations. Respect is commanded by virtue of a Chinese nationalistic belief that China should regain its status as a great nation, lost since the Opium Wars began in 1839.[61] This sense of entitlement and victimization serves as a prism through which Chinese people perceived international affairs.[62] This aspect of Chinese great power identity is infused with a sense of victimization that does not resonate with the present aspirational hierarchy and the shared understanding of great power status among other states. It dictates a limited role for great powers to perform in order to attain their status: the accumulation of status markers representing national strength.[63] The great-power-as-entitlement discourse demands a display of strength as justification of Chinese equality, of which the Chinese manned space program is a likely manifestation.

Since the late 1990s, however, Chinese great power identity has been significantly modified by the adoption of a "responsible major power" identity discourse, a result of China's socialization into international institutions and learning of the great power concept. The addition of responsibility has shifted the focus of Chinese great power identity outward and incorporated duties and responsibilities, rather than simply entitlements and respect. The discourse is a reaction to perceptions of China

as a "spoiler" of the international order, and involves compliance with international institutions and sharing the burden of solving international problems.[64] It is a further embrace of international society identity and "a basic acknowledgement that many of the extant rules and norms are not antithetical to China's interests."[65] The concept of China's "peaceful rise," official policy between 2003 and 2005 and derived from this responsible power identity, recognizes the international values of peace, international order and cooperation.[66] China's great-power-as-responsibility discourse indicates an acceptance of many of the values that determine the aspirational status of states, whether China has actually adopted those values or simply uses them instrumentally to improve its competitive status. The shift from entitlement to responsibility has brought the content of Chinese great power identity into line with internationally accepted definitions of a great power.

In the absence of the responsibility discourse in the early 1990s, China's initiation of its manned space program was most likely motivated by an attempt to justify its great power status through the accumulation of status markers that display strength, in line with its understanding of great power status as an entitlement. Since then, however, China has been further socialized into the international hierarchy and become more accepting of its values. It is likely the Shenzhou launches are now intended to display a commitment not only to China's strength, but also to science and technology and, perhaps in the future, to human progress and global leadership. China's manned space program status marker has been capable of responding to the changing content of its great power identity and resulting changes in its foreign policy behavior because the status marker displays a commitment to multiple international values.

A Great Power on Earth, as Well as in Space

If the Shenzhou program is a great power status marker that China has acquired in order to play the role of a great power, there should be other instances of great power role performance in Chinese foreign policy behavior during the past two decades, situating the manned space program within a broader trend in Chinese foreign policy behavior.

China has recently accumulated a number of such great power status markers. Its behavior over the past two decades has become increasingly consistent with values and expectations of the US-led international community. During the 1990s, China went from a vocal opponent of UN peacekeeping operations to a participant.[67] It has become an active institution builder, playing an instrumental role in the creation of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in 2001, the thickening of East Asian institutionalism through the ASEAN Plus Three and ASEAN Regional Forum mechanisms, as well as initiating the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in 2006.[68] In security affairs, it made the most significant sacrifices of all nuclear powers in terms of arsenal modernization by signing the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1996.[69] China convened the Six-Party Talks in 2003 and is presently try-

ing to rekindle the talks in the wake of North Korean nuclear and missile tests.[70] This responsible and activist international behavior is, in effect, the accumulation of status markers of cooperative behavior, sharing the burden of solving international problems, upholding international order and a commitment to the rule of law. In the meantime, China continues to accumulate the typical great power status markers of wealth and military power through economic growth and an extensive military modernization program. China has also attained other great power status markers, such as hosting the 2008 Olympic Games and its concerted effort to top the medal tally.[71] Scholars and decision-makers alike have connected the significance of the manned space program and the Olympics,[72] especially with the Shenzhou VII mission taking place immediately following the 2008 Paralympic Games.[73]

This status explanation of the Chinese manned space program has important implications for understanding both space programs more generally and other aspects of Chinese behavior. Exposing the unique attributes of manned spaceflight that attract elite political support suggests a solution to the puzzle of the Chinese manned space program that fits it within the broader trajectory of contemporary Chinese foreign policy. Space programs in Iran, India and both Koreas, for example, could perhaps also be better understood through the status prism.

A more nuanced understanding of other aspects of Chinese behavior, even those traditionally perceived as motivated purely by military advantage, could be gained by examining the status significance of these activities and capabilities.[74] The acquisition of a blue-water navy, aircraft carriers and anti-satellite capability may also serve as status markers for states wishing to assert their great power or superpower status, the same reasons for their development of a manned space program. Because superpowers or great powers possess these capabilities, other states associate them with the high status of those states. In this manner, military capabilities may also become status markers. Political leaders may approve their development or acquisition for defense or status reasons, or both, depending on how they define the national interest. As the status rewards of developing nuclear weapons have been cited as a motivation for their development,[75] and it has been suggested that a modern military is a status marker for a nation-state,[76] status motivations rather than military calculations may be driving elite decision making on defense acquisitions. It should not be a foregone conclusion that dual-use capabilities such as space programs and even defense capabilities are acquired for purely or even primarily military motivations—elite political support may be just as forthcoming in pursuit of higher status.

* *This article is drawn from the author's honours thesis, completed in 2008 at the University of New South Wales. She wishes to thank Marc Williams for his helpful comments on earlier drafts.*

Notes

[1] David Barboza, "Chinese Astronaut Takes Nation's First Spacewalk," *New York Times*, Sept. 27, 2008, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/09/28/world/asia/28china.html>.

[2] See Cheng, Dean (2003) "China's Space Capabilities: Thoughts After Shenzhou-V," conference proceedings, China's Great Leap Upward: Post Launch Assessment and Implications for the United States, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C., Oct. 16, 2003, available online <http://www.csis.org/media/csis/events/031016_cheng.pdf> (accessed Sept. 1, 2008); Stephan J. Dubner, "Is Space Exploration Worth the Cost? A Freakonomics Quorum," New York Times Online Blog, <http://freakonomics.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/01/11/is-space-exploration-worth-the-cost-a-freakonomics-quorum/>, (Accessed Oct. 3 2008); Roger Handberg and Zhen Li, Chinese Space Policy: a Study in Domestic and International Politics (New York: Routledge, 2007).; Joan Johnson-Freese, "Space Wei Qi: the Launch of Shenzhou V," *Naval War College Review* (2004) Vol. 57 Issue 2, pp. 121-145; Joan Johnson-Freese, "China's Space Program: Capabilities and Intent," Testimony before the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Sept. 15, 2005: China's Military Modernization and Cross-Strait Balance.; Joan Johnson-Freese, Space as a Strategic Asset (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

[3] Johnson-Freese, 2004, p. 26.

[4] Jacqui Goddard, "Manned space flight is 'over-ambitious and no longer viable'" *The Sunday Times*, Sept. 10, 2009, <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/science/space/article6828297.ece>.

[5] Both American and Russian capabilities far exceed those of the Chinese, while the capabilities of newly emerging space faring nations—India, South Korea, Iran and Brazil—lag far behind.

[6] Prestige and high status are closely related concepts, but I focus on status because prestige omits consideration of the rules, institutions, norms and processes needed to define prestigious behavior and characteristics. Status "suggests a hierarchy with clearly defined positions and an institution that set it up. Instead of looking to others' attitudes as with prestige, with status each party looks to the rules and decisions of the organization." (Barry O'Neill, *Honor, Symbols and War,* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press 1999, p. 194)) Prestige is the collective recognition that a group member is admired and gains influence for it (O'Neill, 1999, p. 193).

[7] While some international relations scholars deny the hierarchical nature of international relations (Kenneth Waltz,Theory of International Politics (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979: 88), acceptance of some form of international hierarchy is widely recognized, especially by realists. See Yong Deng, *China's Struggle for Status: The Realignment of International Relations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Robert Gilpin, War and Change in World Politics (New York: Cambridge University Press 1981, p. 31; David Kang, "Hierarchy and Stability in Asian International Relations," in G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno (eds), *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 163-190; David A. Lake, "Escape from the State of Nature: Authority and Hierarchy in World Politics," *International Security* (2007) Vol. 32 Issue 1, pp. 47-79; A.F.K. Organski, World Politics (2nd ed) (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968); Stephen Walt, "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power," International Security, (1985) Vol. 9 Issue 4, pp. 3-43; William C. Wohlforth, "Realism and the End of the Cold War," *International Security* (1994/5) Vol. 19 Issue 3, pp. 91-129; William C. Wohlforth, Richard Little, Stuart J. Kaufman, David Kang, Charles A. Jones, Victoria Tin-Bor Hui, Arthur Eckstein, Daniel Deudney and William L. Brenner "Testing Balance of Power Theory in World History," *European Journal of International Relations* (2007) Vol. 13 Issue 2, pp. 155-185.

[8] This norm-setting role of superpowers (or great powers where superpowers did not exist) is recognised by Barry Buzan, *The United States and the Great Powers: World Politics in the Twenty-First Century* (Malden: Polity Press 2004), pp. 69; Benjamin O. Fordham and Victor Asal, "Billiard Balls or Snowflakes? Major Power Prestige and the International Diffusion of Institutions and

Practices," *International Studies Quarterly (*2007) Vol. 51 Issue 1: 32-3 Gilpin, 1981, pp. 30, 34; David A. Lake, "Escape from the State of Nature: Authority and Hierarchy in World Politics," International Security (2007) Vol. 32 Issue 1, pp. 200, 202.

[9] Bull, 1977; Buzan, 2004; Jack S. Levy, War in the Modern Great Power System, 1495-1975 (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983).

[10] These two factors correspond with the microprocesses of socialisation – social influence and persuasion – identified in the context of international organisations in: Alastair Iain Johnston, Social States: China in International Institutions 1980-2000 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008).

[11] See, for example, Buzan, 2004; Gilpin, 1981; Robert Jervis, "Theories of War in an Era of Leading-Power Peace, Presidential Address, American Political Science Association, 2001," American Political Science Review (2002) Vol. 91 Issue 1, pp. 1-14; Levy, 1983; John J. Mearsheimer, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2001); Waltz, 1979.

[12] See Andrew S. Erickson, "Great Power. Aerospace Development: China's Quest for the Highest High Ground," PhD dissertation, Department of Politics, Princeton University (Princeton, N.J., 2006), p. 12; Peter L. Hayes and Charles D. Lutes (2007) 'Towards A Theory of Spacepower' Space Policy 23, p. 206.

[13] Veron Van Dyke, Pride and Power: the Rationale of the Space Program (Urbana, Il: University of Illinois Press, 1964), p. 165, see also Stephen Flank, "Exploding the Black Box: The Historical Sociology of. Nuclear Proliferation," Security Studies (1993/4) Vol. 3 Issue 2, pp. 259-294.

[14] See James Harford, Korolev: How One Man Masterminded the Soviet Drive to Beat America to the Moon (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1997), pp. 235-6; Roger D. Launius and Howard E. McCurdy, "Epilogue: Beyond NASA Exceptionalism," in Roger D. Launius and Howard E. McCurdy (eds) Spaceflight and the Myth of Presidential Leadership (Chicago, Il: University of Illinois Press, 1997), p. 243

[15] See Johnson-Freese, 2004.

[16] Handberg and Li 2007, p. 47.

[17] See, for example, Bao Shixiu, "Clearing up a Misunderstanding," Survival (2008) Vol. 50 Issue 1, pp. 176-7; Eric Hagt, "Mirror-Imaging and Worst-Case Scenarios," Survival (2008) Vol. 50 Issue 1: 164-170.; Michael Krepon, "Opening Pandora's Box," Survival (2008) Vol. 50 Issue 1, pp. 157-163; Pavel Podvig and Hui Zhang, Russian and Chinese Responses to US Military Plans in Space (Cambridge, Mass.: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2008); Stacey Solomone, "China's Space Program: the Great Leap Upward," Journal of Contemporary China (2006) Vol. 15 Issue 47, pp. 311-327; Ashley J. Tellis, "China's Military Space Strategy," Survival (2007) Vol. 49 Issue 3, pp. 41-72.

[18] Johnson-Freese, 2004, pp. 129-30; 2007, pp. 224-5

[19] Johnson-Freese, 2005, p. 5; see also Dean Cheng, "China's Space Capabilities: Thoughts After Shenzhou-V," conference proceedings, China's Great Leap Upward: Post Launch Assessment and Implications for the United States, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C., Oct. 16, 2003, available online http://www.csis.org/media/csis/events/031016_cheng.pdf (accessed Sept. 1, 2008); Joan Johnson-Freese, Heavenly Ambitions: America's Quest to Dominate Space (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 12.

[20] See Sun Dangen, "Shenzhou and Dreams of Space," China Security (2006) Issue 2, p. 61.

[21] See Solomone, 2006; Tellis, 2007.

[22] Johnson-Freese, 2004, p. 127.

[23] Information Office of the State Council, China's Space Activities: a White Paper (Beijing: Information Office of the State Council, 2002).

[24] Cheng, 2003, p. 14.

[25] Quoted in Gregory Kulacki and Jeffrey G. Lewis, A Place for One's Mat: China's Space Program, 1956-2003 American Academy of Arts & Sciences (2009), p. 31.

[26] Johnson-Freese, 2004, p. 124. The need for the CCP to stimulate national pride has been attributed to its poor legitimacy: Susan L. Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), see contra Bruce Gilley, "States and Legitimacy: The Politics of Moral Authority," PhD dissertation, Department of Politics, Princeton University (Princeton, N.J., 2007). who argues that CCP legitimacy is quite healthy when compared with other regimes.

[27] See Joseph Fewsmith and Stanley Rosen, "The Domestic Context of Chinese Foreign Policy: Does Public Opinion Matter?" in David M. Lampton (ed) *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 151-187

[28] Johnson-Freese, 2004, p. 124.

[29] See "China's Great Leap Upward," The Economist October 16, 2003, available online at http://www.economist.com/world/asia/displaystory.cfm?story_id=E1_NTQNGTD (accessed Oct. 16, 2003).

[30] Kulacki and Lewis, 2009, p. 31.

[31] Cheng, 2003, pp. 13-4; Handberg and Li, 2007, p. 1.

[32] Johnson-Freese, 2004, pp. 126, 136.

[33] Handberg and Li, 2007, pp. 129.

[34] See Cheng, 2003, p. 13; Johnson-Freese, 2004, p. 126.

[35] Samuel S. Kim, "China as a Great Power," *Current History* (1997) Vol. 96 Issue 611, pp. 246-251; Gilbert Rozman, "China's Quest for Great Power Identity," *Orbis* (1999) Vol. 43 Issue 3, pp. 383-403; Yan Xuetong, "The Rise of China in Chinese Eyes," Journal of Contemporary China (2000) Vol. 10 Issue 26, pp. 33-39.

[36] Kulacki and Lewis, 200, p. 30.

[37] Johnson-Freese, 2004, p. 124.

[38] See Wendy Frieman, "International Science and Technology and Chinese Foreign Policy," in Thomas W. Robinson and David Shambaugh (eds) *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), pp. 158-103

[39] Kulacki and Lewis, 2009, p. 30.

[40] Kulacki and Lewis, in explaining China's space program through the notion of "a place for one's mat" among major spacefaring countries, argue that "the founding myth of modern China is that the Chinese people lost that place when they fell behind the West. The imagined cause of this loss is China's failure to embrace science and develop technology." Lewis and Kulacki, 2009: p. 30. For more on this 'founding myth' in the early 20th century, see Jonathan Spence *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company: 1990), p. 243.

[41] Quoted in Walter A. McDougall, The Heavens and the Earth: A Political History of the Space Age (Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press, 1985), p. 320.

[42] See, for example, McDougall, 1985; Johnson-Freese, 2007.

[43] Launius, 2007, p. 142.

[44] Johnson-Freese, 2004, p. 133.

[45] Roger Handberg and Joan Johnson-Freese, The Prestige Trap (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1994), p. 223. On the Japanese and European programs, see Handberg and Johnson-Freese (1994); on the Indian program, see K.S. Jayaraman, "India's Space Agency Proposes Manned Spaceflight Program," Space News, Nov. 10, 2006, available online at http://www.space.com/news/061110_india_mannedspace.html (accessed Jan. 8, 2008).

[46] See, for example, Zheng Bijian (2005) "China's 'Peaceful Rise' to Great Power Status," *Foreign Affairs* 84(5), pp. 18-24. See also footnote 36 above.

[47] See Michael Pillsbury, China Debates the Future Security Environment (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2000) available at http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/china/doctrine/pills2/index.html (accessed Sept. 29 2008).

[48] See Handberg and Johnson-Freese, 1994; David E. Sanger, "Japan Eyes Space With Uncertainty, and Confusion," *New York Times,* June 26, 1990, available online at http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C0CE1DD1138F935A15755C0A966958260&sec=&spon=&pagewanted=all (accessed Oct. 17, 2003).

[49] See Deng, 2005, p. 57; Alastair Iain Johnston "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security* (2003) Vol. 27 Issue 4, pp. 5-56.

[50] This is exemplified by the concept of Comprehensive National Power (zonghe guoli), which is part of a distinctive strategic tradition of assessing the current and future strengths of a potential adversary. A quantitative measure of comprehensive national power has been developed in recent years by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Academy of Military Sciences (CASS). The formula includes 'natural resources, domestic and foreign economics, science and technology, military affairs, government and foreign affairs capability, and social development,' (Pillsbury, 2000: Ch5). Status is often simply measured on the basis of one's CNP rank (see Xinhua News Agency, "Shekeyuan Huangbo Shu: Zhongguo Zonghe Guoli Paiming Diliu Riben Diqi: Ping,' [Academy of Social Sciences Report: China Ranks 6th in Comprehensive National Power, Japan 7th: Analysis] Jan. 5, 2006, available online at news.xinhuanet.com/fortune/2006-01/05/content_4012616.htm (accessed Aug. 31,2008)).

[51] See Chen Yue, Zhongguo Guoji Diwei Fenxi [Analysis of China's International Status] (Beijing: Contemporary World Press, 2002), pp. 43-4; Pang Zhongying, "Zai bianhua de shijie zhuiqiu Zhongguo de diwei," [Pursuing China's Status in a Changing World] Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi [*World Economics and Politics*] (2002) 1, pp. 33-38.

[52] Chen, 2002, pp. 69, 223

[53] See, for example, Johnston, 2008; Kim, 1999; Margaret M. Pearson, "The Major Multilateral Economic Institutions Engage China," in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross (eds) *Engaging China: The Management of an Emerging Power* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 207-234.

[54] For some of the limitations of socialisation in the Chinese context, see Wang Hongying, "Multilateralism in Chinese Foreign Policy: The Limits of Socialization," *Asian Survey* (2000) Vol. 40 Issue 3, pp. 475-491.

[55] See Deng, 2008; Rosemary Foot, "China and the Idea of a Responsible State," in Yongjin Zhang and Greg Austin (eds) Power and Responsibility in Chinese Foreign Policy (Canberra: Asia-Pacific Press, 2001), pp. 21-47. Key exceptions to Chinese socialisation include attitudes to human rights and the Taiwan Straits.

[56] See Yong Deng, "Better than Power: 'International Status' in Chinese Foreign Policy," in Yong Deng and Fei-Ling Wang (eds) *China Rising: Power and Motivation in Chinese Foreign Policy* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), pp. 51-72; 2008; Johnston, 2008, p. 146; Courtney Richardson, "Explaining Variance in Chinese Peacekeeping Policy: International Image and Target Audience Concerns" Paper Presented at the International Studies Association 50th Annual Convention, New York City, May 22, 2009, available at <www.allacademic.com/meta/p310954_index.html>; Wang Hongying, "National Image Building and Chinese Foreign Policy," in Yong Deng and Fei-Ling Wang (eds) *China Rising: Power and Motivation in Chinese Foreign Policy* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), pp. 73-102.

[57] I have borrowed this term from Fordham and Asal, 2007.

[58] Kulacki and Lewis, 2009, p. 31.

[59] Johnston, 2008, p. 207

[60] Johnston, 2008, p. 146. A good illustration of this is the change in reference to the G8 as a "rich man's club" to a "great power forum" upon President Hu's acceptance invitation to attend the G8 summit in 2003 (Deng, 2008, p. 48).

[61] See Fewsmith and Rosen, 2000: 186.

[62] Steven I. Levine, "Perception and Ideology in Chinese Foreign Policy," in Thomas W. Robinson and David Shambaugh (eds) *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994): 43.

[63] See Kim, 1997, pp. 249-50.

[64] Deng, 2008, p. 47.

[65] Johnston, 2008, p. 148.

[66] Bonnie S. Glaser and Evan S. Medeiros, "The Changing Ecology of Foreign Policy-Making in China: The Ascension and Demise of the Theory of 'Peaceful Rise,'" *China Quarterly* (2007) 190, pp. 291-310; Zheng, 2005.

[67] See Kim, 1999, p. 53; Shogo Suzuki, "Seeking 'Legitimate' Great Power Status in Post-Cold War International Society: China's and Japan's Participation in UNPKO," *International Relations* (2008) Vol. 22 Issue 1, pp. 45-63. For a detailed analysis of the evolution of China's approach to UN peacekeeping, see International Crisis Group China's Growing Role in UN Peacekeeping Asia Report No. 166, Apr. 17, 2009.

[68] See Deng, 2008, pp. 200-44.

[69] Though the treaty is not yet in force: Johnston, 2008.

[70] Although China's strategic calculations on the Korean Peninsula still favor stability over disarmament, contrary to the Western approach to the situation: see International Crisis Group, Shades of Red: China's Debate over North Korea Asia Report No. 179, 2 Nov. 2009.

[71] Xin argues that the Chinese Olympic bid was tied to a conception that China cannot be a great power unless it is also a great sporting nation (tiyun daguo). Xin Xu, "Modernizing China in the Olympic Spotlight: China's National Identity and the 2008 Beijing Olympiad," *Sociological Review* (2006) Vol. 54 Issue 2, pp. 92-3.

[72] See Cheng, 2004, p. 13

[73] See "Shooting the Moon," *The Economist*, Sept. 25, 2008, available online at <http://www.economist.com/world/asia/displaystory.cfm?story_id=12305754> (accessed October 16, 2003).

[74] Johnson Freese alludes to this possibility in the context of Chinese counterspace capabilities: Johnson-Freese, 2009, p. 17.

[75] Jacques E. Hymans, The Psychology of Nuclear Proliferation: Identity, Emotions and Foreign Policy (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 202; O'Neill, 2006, pp. 3-5; Scott D. Sagan, "Why do States Build Nuclear Weapons?: Three Models in Search of a Bomb," *International Security* (1996/7) Vol. 21 Issue 3, p. 79.

[76] Dana P. Eyre and Mark Suchman, "Status, Norms and the Proliferation of Conventional Weapons: An Institutional Theory Approach," in Peter Katzenstein (ed) *The Culture of National Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp. 79-113.

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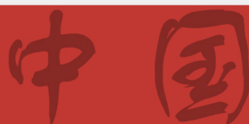

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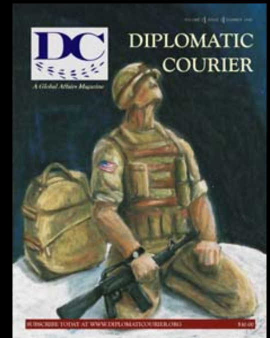

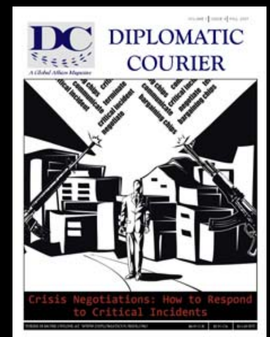

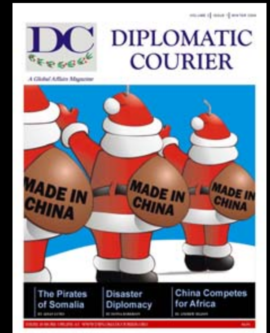

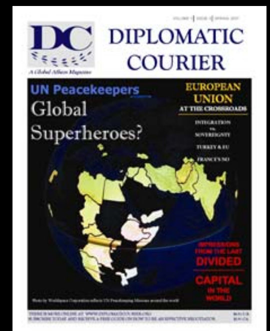

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