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**Policy Memo on Motivations of China's Nuclear Force Modernization: Build
New Strategic Relationship and Avoid Misjudgment Between China and US**

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According to my observation and research, China's military modernization including nuclear force development fastened its speed since 1999 or so. There are major four factors which made Chinese leaders began to rethink the international situation and its national security environment. Firstly, frequent military interventions and regional wars in the post-Cold War years, though with various backgrounds, strengthened the role and position of the military in international relations. China was forced to pay more attention to national defense construction than that in the previous nearly 20 years when China focused mainly on its economic reform and development. Secondly, Sino-US relations went through a process of strategic trust built in the late of Cold War since 1972 to mutual-suspicion after the end of Cold War in the late of 1990s. This kind of transformation seems stronger recently unfortunately and has influenced the basis of China's overall strategy including defense strategy. Thirdly, the missile defense plan of US has been generally regarded by China as a powerful and authentic threat to its minimum nuclear capability which stimulated directly China to look for possible countermeasures. Fourth, the US recent returning to Asia and Pacific with high military character is making the security environment around China more complicated. Among these diversified motivations of China's nuclear modernization, the factor of the US takes the first place. Exploring the ways of dealing with Sino-US relations, esp. the military relations could be helpful for avoiding any arms race between two big countries. Here are some personal understandings and suggestions according to my paper "Motivations of China's Nuclear Force Modernization".

Both countries need to find new basis for creating a strategic stable relationship.

There is no country any more just like the USSR can be used as a common enemy for China and the US to establish the strategic relationship. This relationship can not be built on nuclear weapons either since there is no nuclear balance between the two countries at all. Political and

ideological differences exist as a fact between two countries. Nobody can overcome or eliminate these differences at once. But as the first and the second largest economies, the US and China have common special responsibilities to cooperate to make the world and the people of both countries safer and more prosperous. Facing those unavoidable differences, both countries should come back to the track of mutual respect and mutual understanding. China should understand the United States' global interests and allies' security while the US should respect China's interests of national security, territory integrity and unity. Both countries should try their best to avoid the "low politics" to damage "high politics" (politics and military). And any competition in lower politics areas should be dealt with peaceful means. As for values, political systems, military issue, the best or only useful way is to keep dialogue and be patience to find co-existence way. Before the establishment of stable political and strategic relationship between two countries, it's very hard to build concrete mutual confidence in military area.

Two countries should discuss missile defense issue directly.

On the MD issue, it is not enough for the US just declaring that MD doesn't target China. In fact, China has never accepted and believed the United States' explanation. Chinese public can't understand why North Korea would take the initiative to attack United States, Japan, and South Korea? And why does the US need to employ so much MD in this area just to defend North Korea? When Japan joined the MD plan and Taiwan was taken into the scope of missile defense in 1999, coincidentally in the same year Chinese embassy in Yugoslavia was bombed, China received a very clear message: MD would not only weaken China's limited nuclear deterrence, but also could interfere with China's internal affairs. This judgment directly stimulated China's nuclear modernization. China is either forced to mimic develop similar system or build counter capabilities when Sino-US strategic and political relations maintain unstable and unclear.

Therefore, I strongly suggest the US and China can sit down to discuss MD issue seriously and directly.

Deepening the researching of each other's history, political and strategic culture is might be helpful to decrease misunderstandings between each other.

China has a very different and long history with honors and humiliations than that of the United States. The humiliation history due to lagging behind and invasions by powerful countries in the late 19th and early 20th, always exerts impacts on pattern of Chinese thought. The national inferiority complex and the will of getting rid of such condition are same strong. China needs to strengthen its self-confidence and comes out from the heavy history as soon as possible. The United States also needs to understand China more deeply and comprehensively. Rational or modest criticism is easier to be accepted by most people, while hostile or humiliating comments can just cause vicious circle. Deeper mutual-understanding can make bilateral dialogue more easily and successfully.

China and the United States should negotiate on some aspects of nuclear weapons to build mutual confidence.

In 1998, after long-term discussion, China and the United States declared non-targeting of strategic nuclear weapons at each other at a summit. But in 2002, in a leaked report on Nuclear Posture Review of the US, China was listed as one of the 7 states, which could be attacked with nuclear weapons by the United States. In 2010 NPR report, the United States pointed out to build nuclear strategic stability with China. There is no any bilateral treaty between two countries about nuclear weapons by now. The nuclear strategic stability can not be built suddenly. Why

don't China and the United States begin to discuss on a treaty about non-use nuclear weapons each other?

Enlarge common interests in Asia-Pacific region.

Although there are numerous differences and even confrontations in some areas between China and the US, common interests are evident. The United States' declared interests of ensuring security and freedom of transportation in the Asia-Pacific region are China's interests too. That China calls for resolving the territory disputes peacefully also meets the United States' interests. Keeping Asia-Pacific region's economic development conforms to the interests of all countries in this area. Dominance the Asia is not China's strategic choice while being dominated is not acceptable either. As two big countries, China and the United States also need "shelve disputes and common development". My opinion is if we can not agree each other on political issues, why don't we just focus on the common interests to wait for the suitable time and opportunity to deal with the large differences?

China and the United States must show its real intentions to each other to avoid misjudgement.

Historically, it seems when one country rise, it tended to challenge the hegemony country in many ways. History repeated itself sometimes but never did at the exact same way. There is no unchanged rule in social society. History, culture, national character and overall national situation(huge population, big gap between the rich and the poor, undeveloped rural areas, severe natural environment deteriorating, and so on) have decided that China will develop in a way differently with any other great powers in history. China and the United States must show its real intention to each other. Does China want to challenge the status of the US in the world or want to

rise again as a normal, respected, prosperous country rather than a conservative, backward, being discriminated country in the past? Does the US want to contain China for blocking China's continue development or for making the political transformation or just press China to compliance with existing rules or anything else? In this regard, actions speak louder than declarations. Both sides need more actions to make the others believe its own real intention and strategy if such strategy exists.