

Security for a Rising China

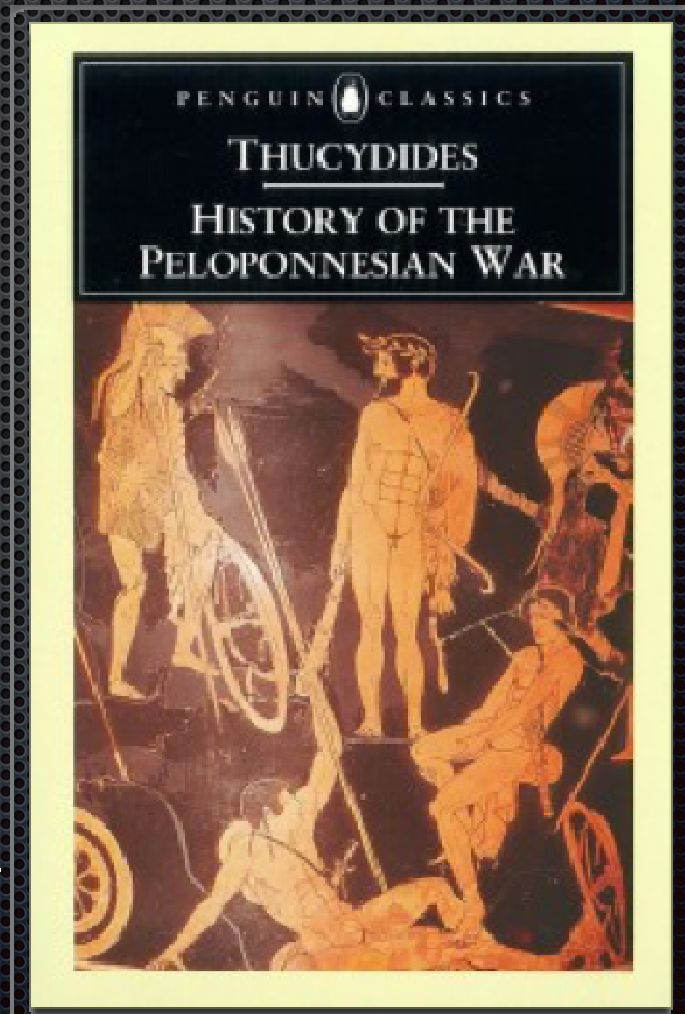
Crossing the River by Feeling the Stones

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Presentation to China NOW Teachers Workshop
July 2016

Broad Topics: Managing the Rise of China

- Contextualize China's Rise
- Avoiding [Thucydides Trap \(G. Allison\)](#)
 - China recognizes this too: NTGPR
- China lacks long term “plan”, has “interests”
 - mostly local; int'l interests: mixed bag
- Action/reaction cycles or spirals remain a major concern

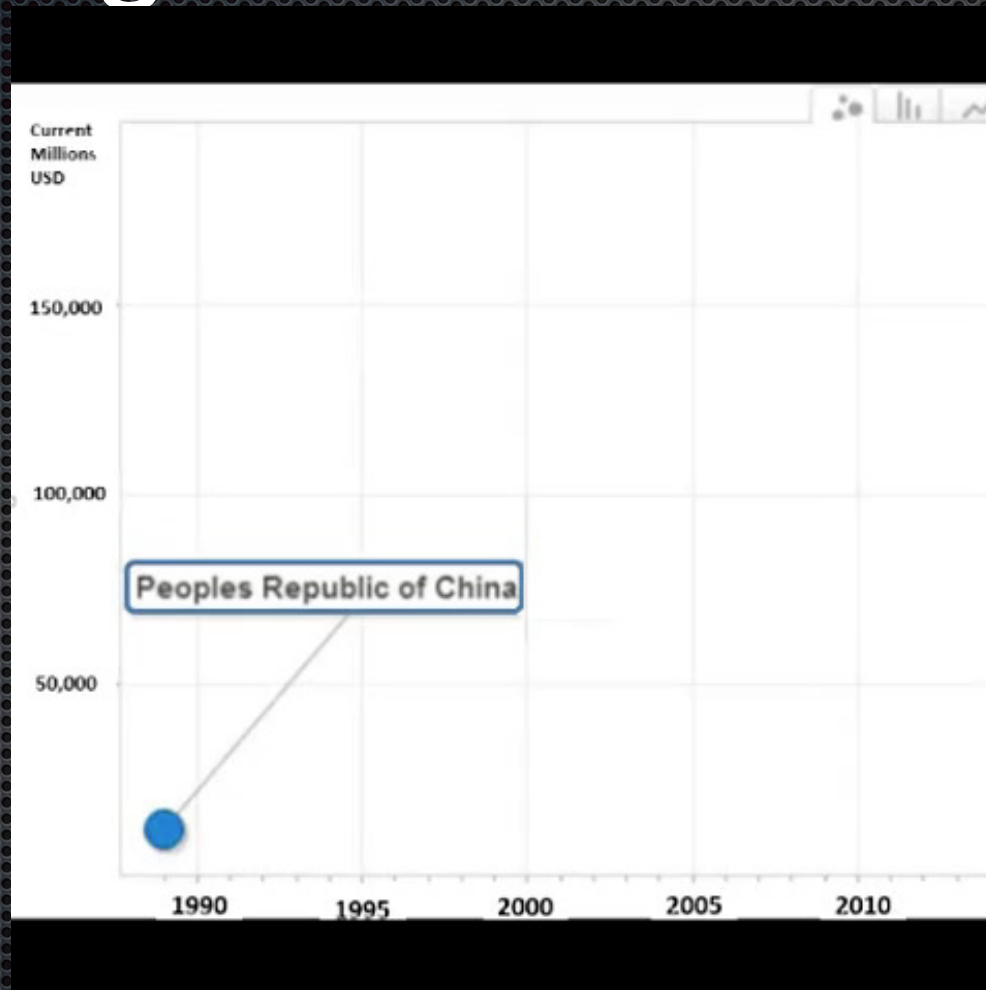


Specific Concerns

- Characterizing Recent Chinese Policy: Reactive Assertiveness?
 - SCS, ECS
- Chinese Nationalism
 - Domestic Legitimacy, Role of Taiwan, Internet
- PLA better able to secure those interests
 - primarily the local ones

Budgets:
a good indicator of intentions,
dangers

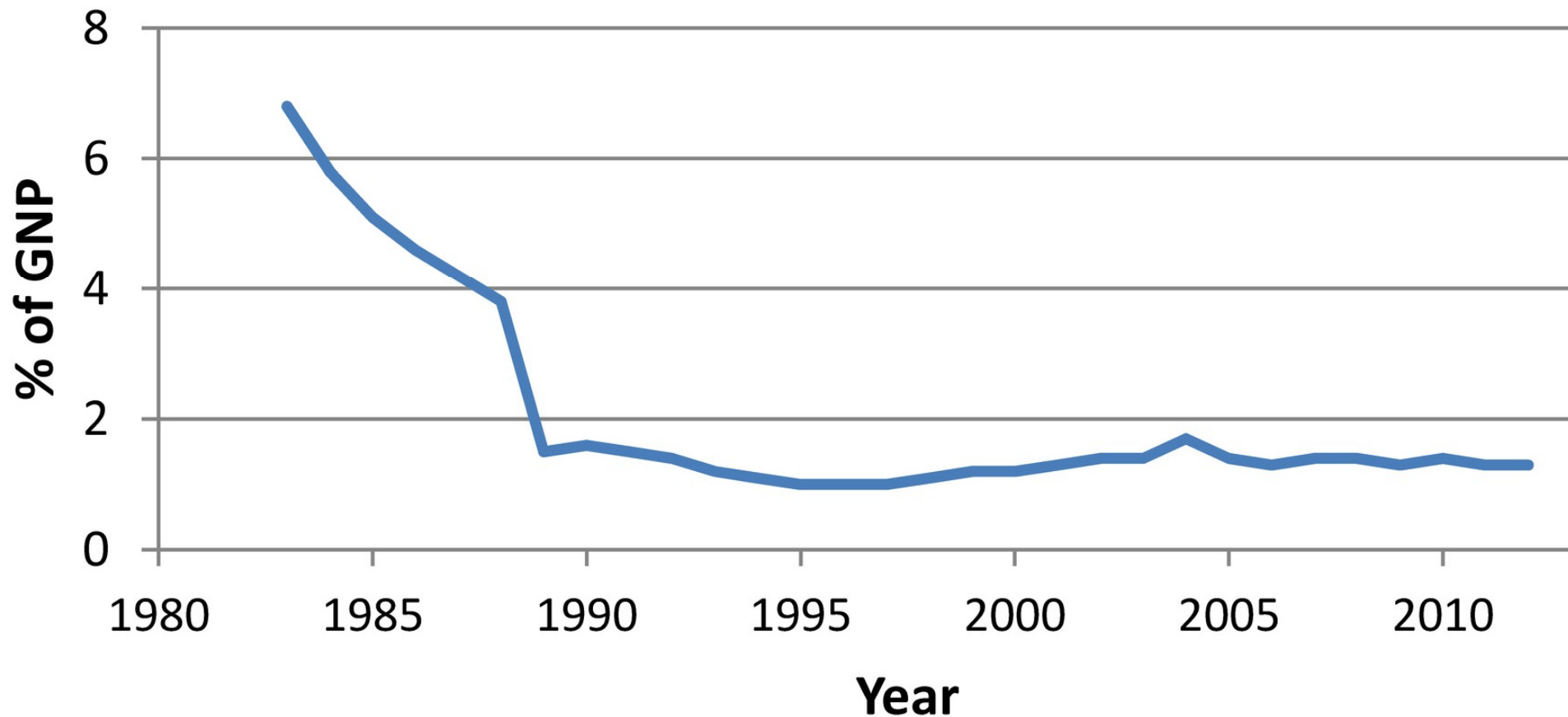
Chinese Official Military Spending



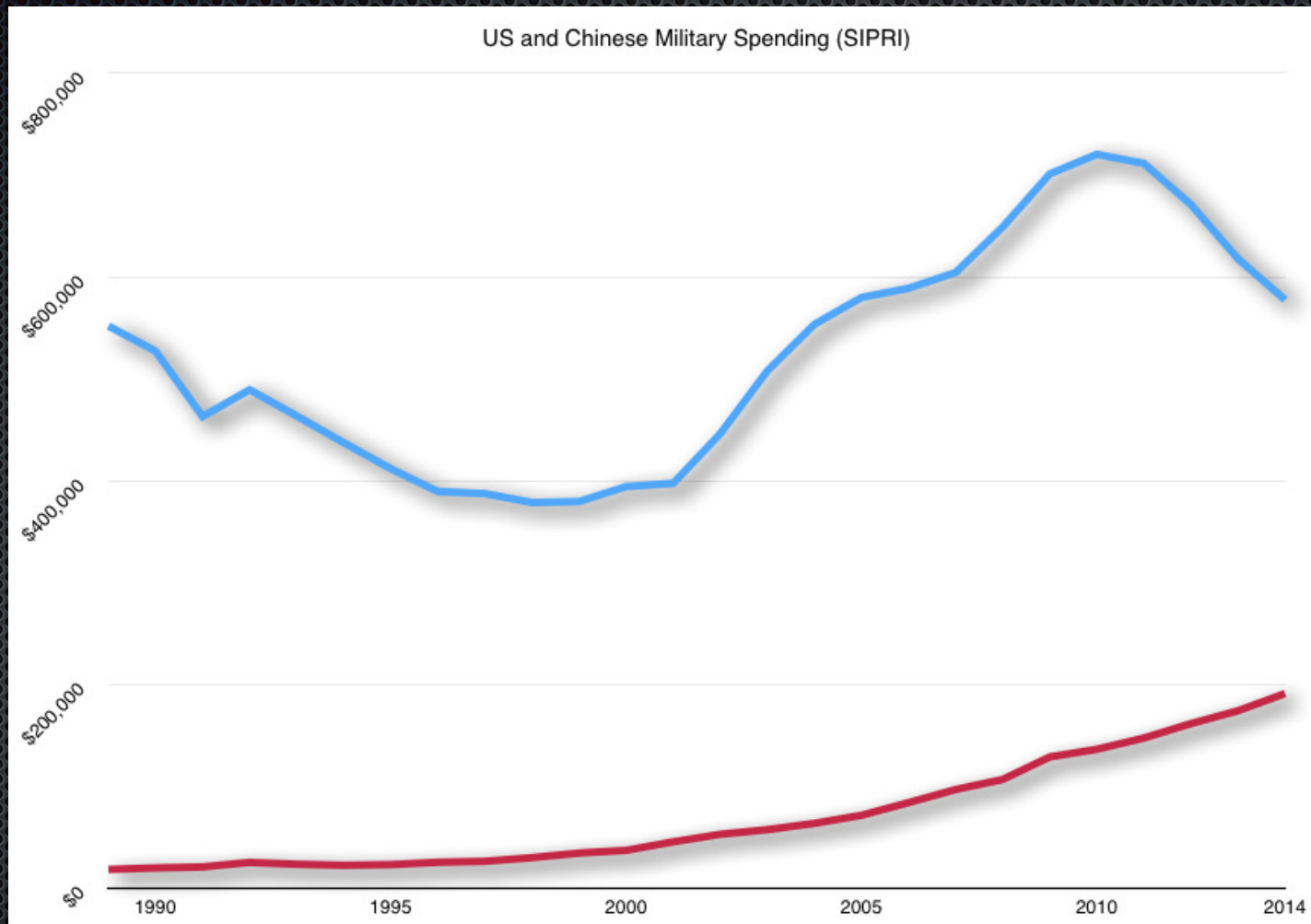
...is a matter of perspective

China published military budget

Source: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/china/budget-table.h>



...A Lot of Perspective



Other Issues on Budgets

- PPP
- Domestic Security Budgets

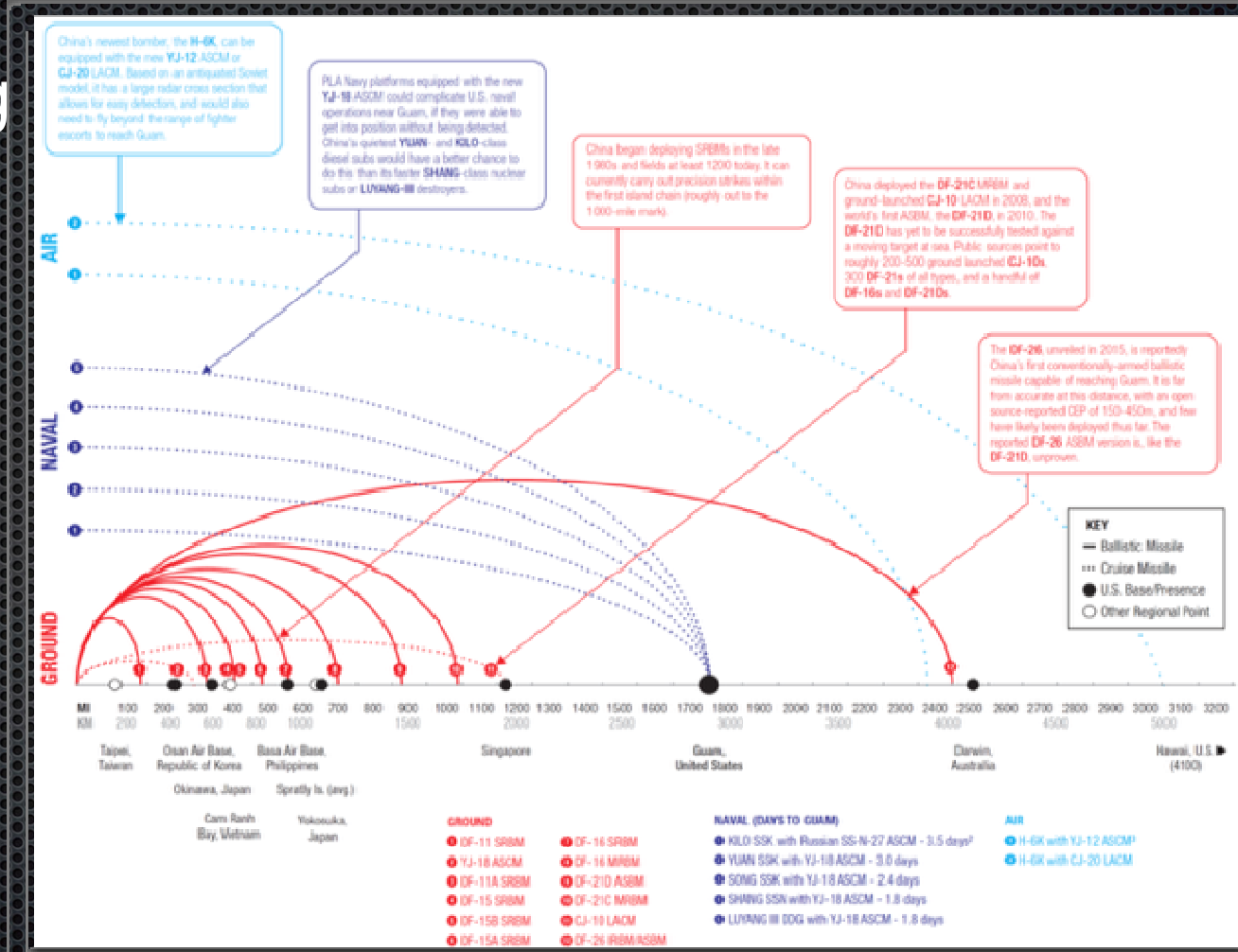
Still, Major Military Rise

Diverse Modernizing Missile Force

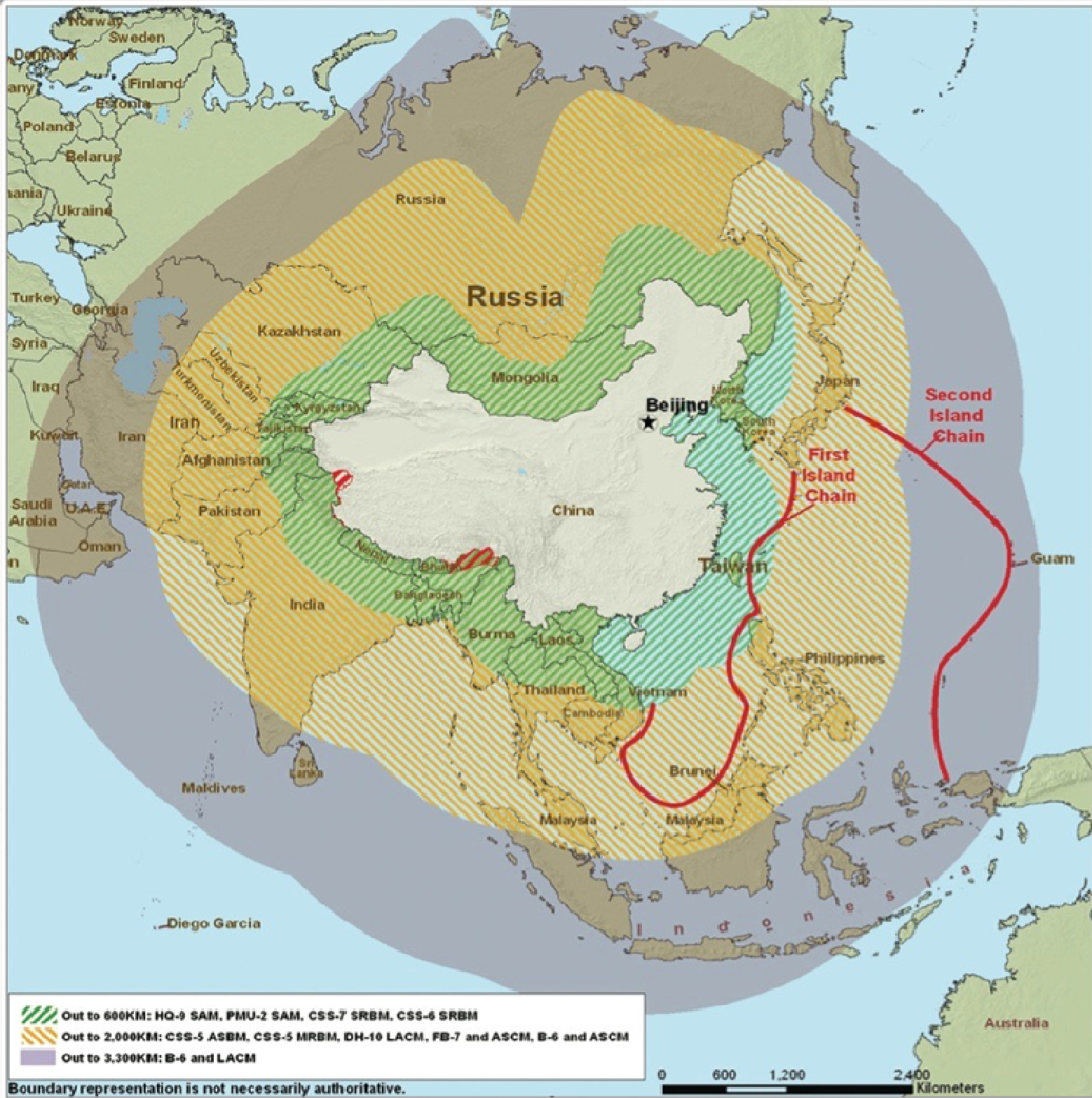
- Conventional
- (Nuclear)

Steady PLAN modernization

Cross Domain Challenges



Jordan Wilson, "China's Expanding Ability to Conduct Conventional Missile Strikes on Guam," *USCC*, May 10, 2016



Out to 600KM: HQ-9 SAM, PMU-2 SAM, CSS-7 SRBM, CSS-6 SRBM
 Out to 2,000KM: CSS-5 ASBM, CSS-5 MRBM, DH-10 LACM, FB-7 and ASCM, B-6 and ASCM
 Out to 3,300KM: B-6 and LACM

Boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.

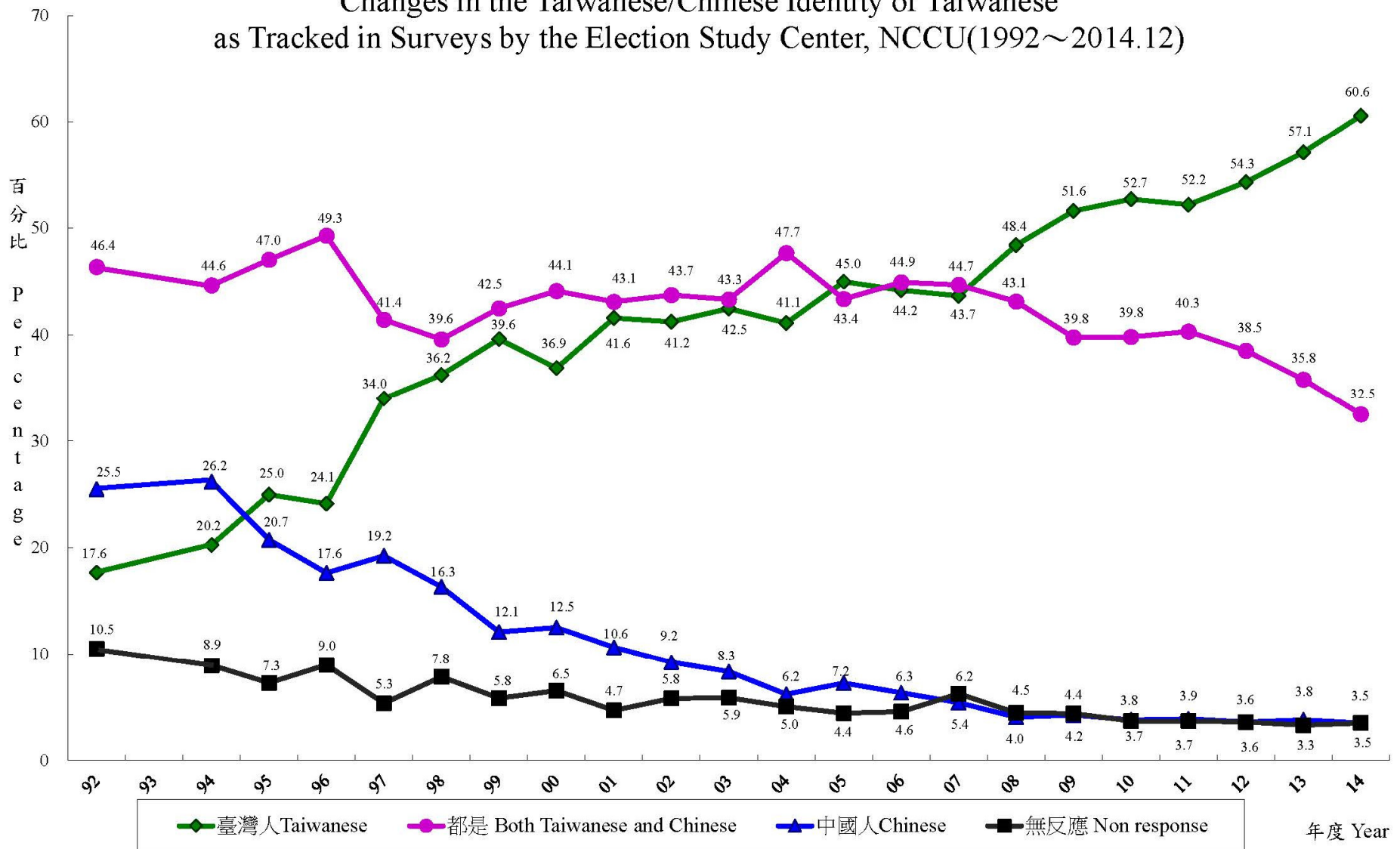
US Alliances: Reason for China to Fear?



Identity in Taiwan

臺灣民眾臺灣人／中國人認同趨勢分佈 (1992~2014.12)

Changes in the Taiwanese/Chinese Identity of Taiwanese
as Tracked in Surveys by the Election Study Center, NCCU(1992~2014.12)





Sea of Japan

Yellow Sea

JAPAN

CHINA

East China Sea

Pacific Ocean

Chunxiao gas field
(Approximate area)

OKINAWA

TAIWAN

SENKAKU/ DIAOYU ISLANDS

Air Defense Identification Zones

— China

— Japan

Exclusive economic zones

- - - China

- - - Japan

500km

250 miles

Source: Chinese Defence Ministry, EIA

**Whose
Nationalism
?**



Expansive and Contested Claims in SCS

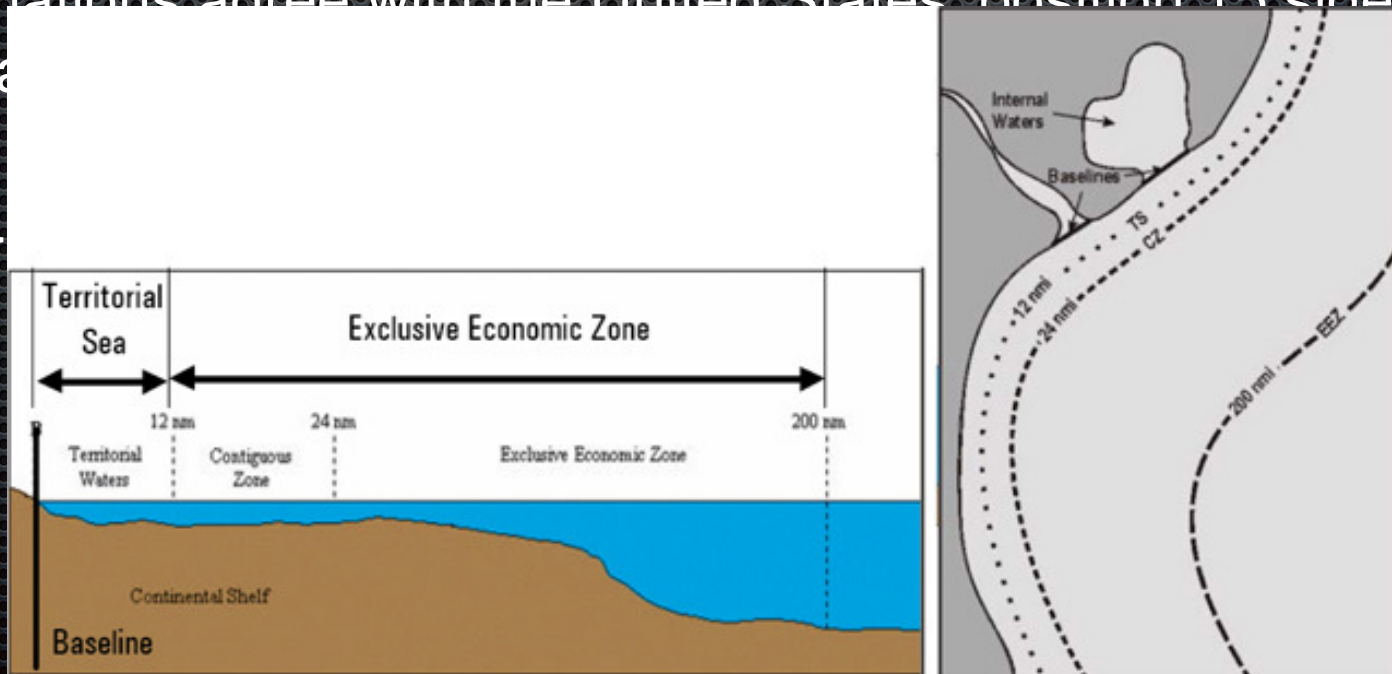


Spratly Holdings

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Islands</i>	<i>Rocks/High Tide</i>	<i>Reef/Low Tide</i>	<i>Unknown</i>
<i>Vietnam</i>	21	5		4	12
<i>Philippines</i>	9	5	3	1	
<i>China</i>	7		1 <i>(now w airstrip)</i>		6
<i>Malaysia</i>	5		1 <i>(now w airstrip)</i>		4
<i>Taiwan</i>	1	1			

EEZ rights

- Key issue of contention: what is permissible in EEZ
 - 176 nations agree with the United States' position; 15 side with China
- But a



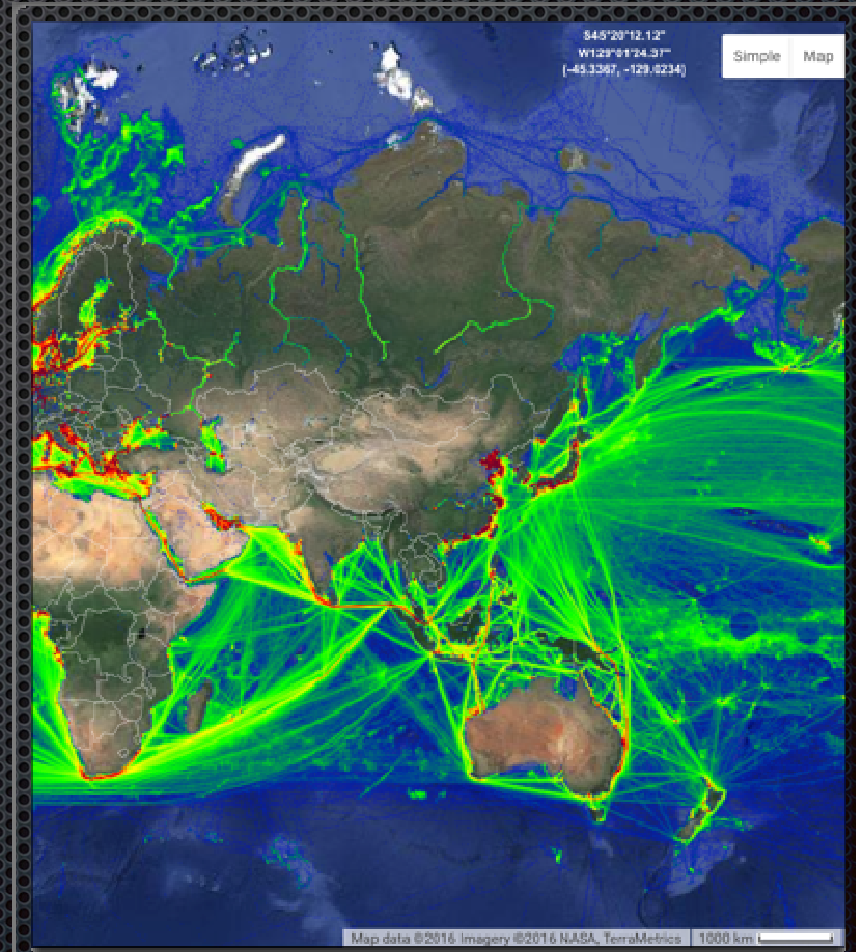
Challenges of Management

- 5 distinct Chinese naval/sea pa entities recently merged
- Engaged nationalism
- Many players internationall



Other Issues

- Globalization eroding traditional high politics?
- Complex nuclear geometry

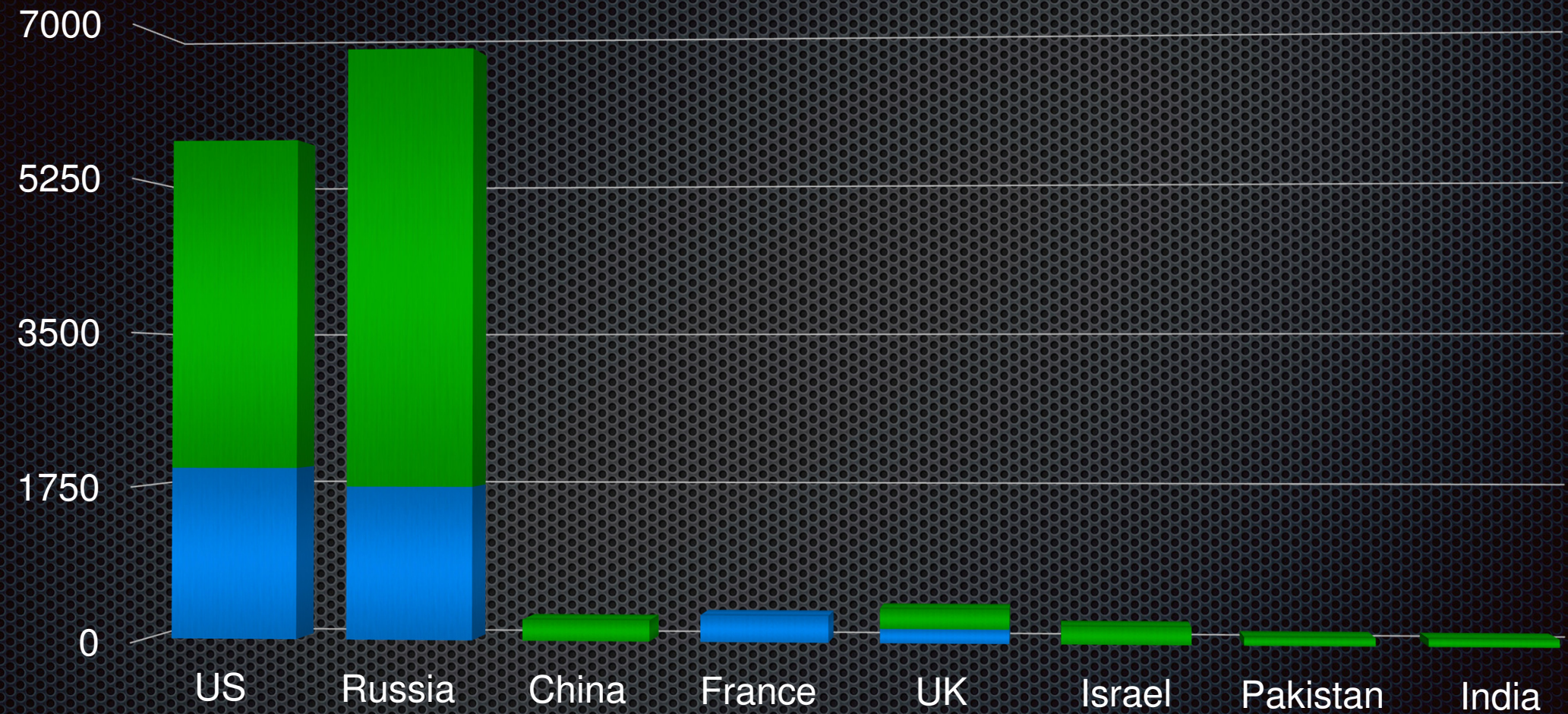


Shipping, April 11, 2016 (AIS tracking via MarineTraffic.com)

Nuclear Arsenal

Operational, Strategic

Total Inventory



Alt Structure for a Lesson Plan

- Sources of security concerns
 - Century of humiliation, legacy of WWII, traditional great power politics (shifting spheres of influence/alliances)
 - US role in each of these
- Nature of security challenge
 - military spending/capabilities
 - Specific flash points

A Geographic Organizational Structure for a Lesson Plan?

- China's security at home (external, but mostly internal threats)
- China's goal of reunification with Taiwan
- China's aspirations to control offshore islands
- China's desire to play a larger role in Asia (how much larger?)
- China's global challenge against U.S./Western order

Some useful data sources

- <http://chinapower.csis.org>
- <http://maritimeawarenessproject.org>
- CFR
 - [Maritime Disputes](#)
 - [US China relations](#)
- Nina Hachigian ed. vol.
- Multimedia news articles
 - [NYT on SCS \(2013\)](#)
 - [BBC on SCS \(2014\)](#)

