



More In This Issue

* PUBLICATION

"Demography of HIV/AIDS in China," by Bates Gill, Yanzhong Huang and Xiaoqing Lu

* CONFERENCE

July 9 Balance of Power in East Asia: A View from Taiwan

* FREEMAN FACTS

Tobacco Use in China (cont pg 5)

Quote Of The Month

"The Beijing organizing committee welcomes reporters from around the world to objectively, fairly and comprehensively report on the Olympic preparation work... We welcome even more constructive criticism on faults and problems." ~ Vice President of the Beijing Olympics Organization Committee, **Jiang Xiaoyu**, speaking at the start of the one-year countdown for the Beijing Olympics. His remarks came amid growing criticism from international human rights groups and others on issues such as press freedom. But Mr. Jiang added, "We are absolutely opposed to politicization of the Olympics... This is against the Olympic spirit and against the Olympic charter."

Source: South China Morning Post, Washington Post, August 7, 2007

Trivia Question

How many members of the Chinese Communist Party work in the private sector? (cont pg 3)

For other additional resources on China and East Asia, please also visit the website of our sister institution, Pacific Forum CSIS, at www.csis.org/pacfor/.

FEATURE ESSAY

Through the U.S. Looking Glass:

A Mirror-Image View of the Chinese Military

BY DENNIS J. BLASKO

In early June, Pentagon officials traveling with Secretary Gates in Singapore refused to get "bogged down in a discussion" of the Defense Department's recently-released report on the Chinese military. There was a good reason for that.

Though this year's edition is a considerable improvement over its immediate predecessor, in recent years, by concentrating almost exclusively on developments in the People's Liberation Army (PLA) that Washington believes potentially threaten the United States, American forces in the region, or Taiwan, the Pentagon report has mutated into a mirror-imaging exercise which seems more aimed at support for existing U.S. defense policy. This focus on a fraction of the Chinese armed forces is only half accurate, half complete.

Congress requires the Pentagon to address the "probable development of Chinese grand strategy, security strategy, and military strategy, and of the military organizations and operational concepts" of the PLA. This mandate gives the Secretary latitude to examine the entire scope of Chinese military modernization, not just high-technology highlights.

Perhaps best illustrating the Pentagon's attempt to impose an American framework onto the Chinese military is the question "Is China Adopting a Preemptive Strategy?" The report answers in terms of force projection, missiles, and submarines – but does not discuss what the PLA lacks to accomplish a preemptive strategy. Indeed, preemption has been a component of China's "active defense" since Mao, and PLA doctrine allows for preemption on the battlefield to take the initiative when conflict is imminent or already underway. However, current U.S. practice is much different than can be undertaken by existing Chinese forces. Power projection, ballistic and cruise missiles, advanced fighters, and submarines are all important (especially to U.S. doctrine), but are found in a minority, albeit significant and growing segment, of the PLA.

On the other hand, People's War, which Chinese writings call "a fundamental strategy... still a way to win modern war," is not mentioned in a report about China's military strategy. (cont pg 2)

In The News

BEIJING The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) released the *Environmental Performance Review of China*, the culmination of an 18-month study carried out at the request of China's State Environmental Protection Administration. The report confirmed the serious nature of the environmental problems generated by the country's surging economic growth, and included 51 recommendations for tackling these problems. In the meantime, China has indefinitely postponed the release of an environmental report on the costs of economic development, as several local governments reportedly objected to the release of the "sensitive" information about the pollution they cause.

BEIJING Beijing and Washington have pledged to cooperate more closely on product and food safety after U.S. health officials wrapped up a visit to China aimed at resolving safety problems with Chinese products. The move came amid a flurry of warnings about Chinese-made goods in the United States and elsewhere. The U.S. government offered to provide "technical assistance" to the China's quality watchdog. The agreement on food safety cooperation represents the first step in a process for the Chinese government to change its damaged global image. However, Beijing has also complained that it is the victim of biased news reports that are used to stoke protectionist demands.

Mobilization, a basic component of People's War, is given only one passing reference. No discussion is included of the reserves, People's Armed Police, or militia.

A complete report might systematically examine developments in all elements of the Chinese armed forces as they prepare for the spectrum of tasks defined by the 2006 Chinese white paper on national defense:

Upholding national security and unity, and ensur[ing] the interests of national development. This includes guarding against and resisting aggression, defending against violation of China's territorial sea and air space, and borders; opposing and containing the separatist forces for "Taiwan independence" and their activities, taking precautions against and cracking down on terrorism, separatism and extremism in all forms.... [The PLA] improves its capabilities of countering various security threats, accomplishes diversified military tasks, and ensures that it can effectively respond to crises, maintain peace, deter and win wars under complex circumstances. [1]

To be sure, preventing Taiwan independence is a high planning priority for the PLA, but certainly not the only one. Units of all services in all parts of the country are modernizing mostly with Chinese-made weapons and electronics. Ground units train extensively in the western desert, on the Inner Mongolian and Manchurian plains, and on plateaus in Tibet. Air defense, anti-terrorism, and nuclear, chemical, and biological defense training exercises integrated with civilian elements are conducted routinely throughout the country. An estimated 200,000 PLA border and coastal defense troops, nearly the size of the PLA Navy, perform early warning and defense missions daily. The Pentagon report hardly mentions these efforts, which have only peripheral impact on a Taiwan scenario.

A more revealing analytical exercise might have assessed how the PLA's new and emerging military capabilities, such as the January ASAT test, contribute to China's deterrence posture. As one source, *The Science of Military Strategy*, identified in the Pentagon report states:

Warfighting and deterrence are two major basic functions of the armed forces.... Strategic deterrence is a major means for attaining the objective of military strategy, and its risks and costs are less than strategic operations.... Warfighting is generally used only when deterrence fails and there is no alternative.... Strategic deterrence is also a means for attaining the political objective.... The more powerful the warfighting capability, the more effective the deterrence. [2]

While giving minimal credit to the Chinese white papers, the report complains about PLA transparency and quotes only selectively from a vast array of PLA doctrinal writings available to the Pentagon. Furthermore, left unspoken are any observations by American and allied observers from access to multiple PLA exercises since 2003, or lessons learned from U.S. and PLA naval search and rescue exercises. Unmentioned is anything of substance gleaned from the parade of U.S. military and civilian officials who visit PLA facilities (now including some advanced units), or the annual senior-level Defense Consultative Talks. While important aspects of Chinese military modernization require further illumination, the Pentagon report did not avail itself to many sources at hand.

Like transparency, the idea of Chinese "miscalculation" is another theme repeated throughout the report. It identifies "twin misperceptions" that "other countries may underestimate the extent to which Chinese forces have improved [and] China's leaders may overestimate the proficiency of their forces ..." Only China's penchant for secrecy and deception are cited to support either statement.

Yet dozens of reports in the Chinese media over the past year outlining PLA shortfalls in personnel, training, equipment, and funding go unnoticed. For example, the official army newspaper asserts, "there is still a gap between the current military power of our military and the requirement of fulfilling the historic mission of our military." [3] Or, "a serious shortage of professionals for commanders of joint operations and professional technicians is still apparent. All of these problems hold back and impede the development of military capability building." [4]

Contrary to the implication of the Pentagon report, the weight of evidence in the open literature supports the likelihood that China's leadership understands PLA capabilities (especially relative to the United States), and would not be inclined to act rashly in a major decision to go to war. *The Science of Military Strategy* is full of caution about making strategic judgments, "Avoid substituting 'preconception' ... so as not to base the strategic judgment on one's own wishful thinking." It concludes, "Therefore, imprudent decision to use force is never permitted.... The reason for the existence of the army is to prevent and win a war.... We may not launch a war in a hundred years but we can never be unprepared for war for even one day." [5]

Hopefully, the new Pentagon leadership recognizes this report on the Chinese military strayed from its mandate by providing only a partial and poorly-described picture. For the good of the United States, its allies, and Asian security, future reports should be structured to better explore this subject of great strategic importance.

Dennis J. Blasko, Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Army (Retired), is author of the book *The Chinese Army Today: Tradition and Transformation for the 21st Century*.

Footnotes:

1. Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, China's National Defense in 2006, December 2006.
2. *The Science of Military Strategy*, eds. Peng Guangqian and Yao Youzhi, Beijing, Military Science Publishing House, 2005 (English edition), pp. 213-228.
3. JFJB: Promote Innovation in Military Work Using Scientific Development Concept CPP20060811720002 Beijing Jiefangjun Bao (Internet Version-WWW) in Chinese 06 Aug 06 p 1, translated by the Open Source Center (OSC).
4. JFJB Commentator on Promoting PLA's Informatized Military Training (4) CPP20060801720001 Beijing Jiefangjun Bao (Internet Version-WWW) in Chinese 29 Jul 06 p 1, translated by OSC.
5. *The Science of Military Strategy*, p. 258 and p. 468.

PUBLICATIONS

"Demography of HIV/AIDS in China," CSIS, July 2007

By **Bates Gill**, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, **Yanzhong Huang**, Director of the Center for Global Health Studies, and **Xiaoqing Lu**, Research Associate, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

The nature of China's HIV epidemic – with the vast majority of Chinese persons harboring HIV within marginalized, at-risk, and hard-to-reach populations – has complicated assessments about the future. The new report from the CSIS HIV/AIDS Task Force details the latest expert information about these specific populations, while illustrating the overall HIV/AIDS situation in China and assessing the Chinese government response. The report concludes with predictions of the epidemic's future direction and recommendations for further action.

[Click here for a PDF copy of the report.]

"China's Activism Faces Persistent Challenges," Comparative Connections, CSIS Pacific Forum, vol. 9, no. 2, July 2007

By **Robert Sutter**, Visiting Professor of the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, and **Chin-Hao Huang**, Research Assistant, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

The essay examines major developments in China-Southeast Asia relations in this quarter, which included the Vietnamese President's state visit to China in May and China's military diplomacy at the Shangri-La Dialogue in early June. Assessments of China's expansive engagement in Southeast Asia continue to show that while Beijing seeks to increase its influence in the region, it faces persistent challenges and limitations in its strategic partnership with Southeast Asia.

[Click here for a PDF copy of the article.]

CONFERENCE AND EVENT

July 9 Balance of Power in East Asia: A View from Taiwan

Dr. Joseph Wu, Taiwan's new Chief Representative in the United States discussed recent developments in cross-Strait relations. He emphasized the interests of the United States in continuing cooperation with Taiwan, and further noted that Taiwan faces increasing pressure from China. **Dr. Stephen Flanagan**, Senior Vice President and Director of the International Security Program at CSIS, provided introductory remarks. **Dr. Bates Gill**, CSIS Freeman Chair in China Studies, served as moderator.

TRIVIA ANSWER

According to the Organization Department of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, approximately 2.86 million members were working in the private sector by the end of 2006. The Chinese Communist Party currently has a total of 70 million members.

Source: "2.86 million CPC member work in private sector," *People's Daily*, July 12, 2007.

PUBLICATIONS FROM THE FREEMAN CHAIR 2006/2007*

* Please visit our website to access archived publications dating back to 2002.

2007

July

"*Demography of HIV/AIDS in China*," CSIS, July 2007

By **Bates Gill**, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, **Yanzhong Huang**, Director of the Center for Global Health Studies, and **Xiaoqing Lu**, Research Associate, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

"*China's Activism Faces Persistent Challenges*," Comparative Connections, CSIS Pacific Forum, vol. 9, no. 2, July 2007

By **Robert Sutter**, Visiting Professor of the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, and **Chin-Hao Huang**, Research Assistant, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

"*U.S.-Hong Kong Relations: Prospects for a Unique Partnership*," CSIS, July 2007

By **Bates Gill**, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, and **James Tang**, Associate Professor, The University of Hong Kong

June

"*Setting the Course*," South China Morning Post, June 28, 2007

By **Melissa Murphy**, Research Associate, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS and **Chin-Hao Huang**, Research Assistant, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

"*The Tenuous Hold of China Inc. in Africa*," The Washington Quarterly, Summer 2007

By **Bates Gill**, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, and **James Reilly**, East Asia representative for the American Friends Service Committee

"*An Overview: The China Balance Sheet*," CSIS Strategy Report, Vol. 2, No. 19, June 12, 2007

By **Melissa Murphy**, Research Associate, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, and **Chietigj Bajpae**, Research Associate, International Security Program, CSIS

May

"*China's Space Odyssey: What the Anti-satellite Test Reveals about Decision-Making in Beijing*," Foreign Affairs, May/June 2007

By **Bates Gill**, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, and **Martin Kleiber**, Research Assistant, CSIS

"*China and HIV – A Window of Opportunity*," New England Journal of Medicine, vol. 356, no. 18, May 3, 2007

By **Bates Gill**, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, and **Susan Okie**, Contributing Editor, New England Journal of Medicine.

April

"*Cebu Meetings, U.N. Veto on Myanmar*," Comparative Connections, CSIS Pacific Forum, vol. 9, no.1, April 2007

By **Robert Sutter**, Visiting Professor of the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, and **Chin-Hao Huang**, Research Assistant, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

March

Rising Star: China's New Security Diplomacy. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2007

By **Bates Gill**, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

"*The Long March against TB in China*," South China Morning Post, March 24, 2007

By **Xiaoqing Lu**, Research Associate, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, and **Elizabeth Van Heuvelen**, Research Intern, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

February

"*China's Expanding Role in Africa: Implications for the United States*," CSIS, January 2007

By **Bates Gill**, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, **Chin-Hao Huang**, Research Assistant, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, and **J. Stephen Morrison**, Director, Africa Program, CSIS

Foresight: 2007. Exclusive Analysis Limited, London: 2007

Contributing Author: **Melissa Murphy**, Research Associate, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

FREEMAN FACTS:

Tobacco Use in China

1. Out of a population of 1.3 billion Chinese people, 350 million are tobacco users, a group larger than the entire population of the United States.
2. China consumes 1.6 trillion cigarettes a year, about 1/3 of world consumption.
3. 3 million people take up smoking every year in China. If the growth of tobacco use continues at current trends, up to 2.5 million people will be dying of tobacco-related illness in China annually by 2025.
4. Over 1 million people die of smoking-related diseases every year in China, and the number will rise to 2 million by 2020.
5. 100 million Chinese smokers are under the age of 18, reflecting a trend for tobacco to reach an ever-younger market segment.

Sources: China Daily, Chinese Ministry of Health, World Health Organization

The *Freeman Report* is an electronic newsletter produced monthly by the Freeman Chair in China Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), a private, tax exempt institution focusing on international public policy issues. Its research is non-partisan and nonproprietary. CSIS does not take specific policy positions; accordingly, all views, positions, and conclusions expressed in this publication should be understood to be those of the author(s).

Center for Strategic and International Studies 2007

THE FREEMAN CHAIR IN CHINA STUDIES

Bates Gill, Freeman Chair in China Studies

Savina Rupani, Program Coordinator and Special Assistant to the Freeman Chair

Xiaoqing Lu, Research Associate

Melissa Murphy, Research Associate

Chin-Hao Huang, Research Assistant

Eve Cary, Project Coordinator

Silas Cardwell, Natalie Chang & Xuan Gui, Research Interns

If you would like to be added to the Freeman Report listserv, please e-mail FreemanChair@csis.org. Or visit <http://www.csis.org/china/>

About the FREEMAN CHAIR IN CHINA STUDIES

The *Freeman Chair in China Studies* was established at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in 1994 to advance the study of China and to promote understanding between the United States and the countries of the Asia Pacific region. The Freeman Family—Luther Freeman as a clergyman, Mansfield Freeman as a scholar-business leader, and Houghton Freeman as a corporate executive in a global enterprise—have established a tradition of contributing to international understanding through practical experience in East Asia and China.

The United States has a long-standing relationship with China and the countries of East Asia, which play increasingly important roles in future international economics, politics, culture, and security. In the diplomatic, public policy, business, and government fields, the peoples of both China and the United States will benefit from greater mutual appreciation and understanding through broadly based international exchange.

The Freeman Chair's active policy-oriented agenda is dedicated to delivering informed public policy debates, expert briefings, and strategic policy recommendations on Greater China and East Asia to the diplomatic, policymaking, business, and government arenas.

Current Research Projects

- China's domestic challenges and their consequences for U.S.-China relations and U.S. strategic interests
- The emergence of Chinese civil society and nongovernmental organizations
- China's HIV/AIDS crisis and its implications for U.S.-China relations
- Examining the economic, trade, and financial tensions in U.S.-China relations
- China's relations with key regions—including Central Asia, Europe, and Africa—and their implications for the United States
- China's military modernization and its impact on regional security
- U.S.-China-Taiwan relations

To learn more about our program and ongoing research projects, please visit our website at <http://www.csis.org/china/>