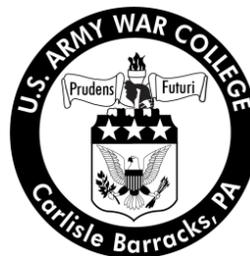


East Meet West? U.S. and China: Strategies for Global Leadership

by

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United States Army War College
Class of 2013

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USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

**East Meet West?
U.S. and China: Strategies for Global Leadership**

by

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China's economic rise as a global superpower presents challenges and opportunities to itself and the United States in a strategic competition for global leadership. China has proven thus far the exception to the theory that no socialist system can survive its founding fathers' principles and simultaneously prosper as an economic superpower. China's rise requires the attention, respect, cautious concern and cooperative effort of the United States to shape a world of global peace, prosperity and security. The United States and China have the opportunity perhaps for the first time in modern history to cooperate as global leaders and primary stakeholders to create a world of genuine global security and economic strength. I propose a DIMIER (Diplomatic, Information, Military, Intelligence, Economic, Resources) construct to serve as a broader framework for this research project to describe instruments of national power in a constantly changing, resource-constrained, geopolitical environment. This research project will study the possibilities of shared global leadership opportunities between the U.S. and China, or the demise of two great superpowers if each tries to go it alone.

East Meet West? U.S. and China: Strategies for Global Leadership

When Premier Zhou Enlai and I agreed on the communiqué that announced the secret visit, he said: “This will shake the world.” What a culmination if, forty years later, the United States and China could merge their efforts not to shake the world, but to build it

—Henry Kissinger, Former U.S. Secretary of State.¹

China’s economic rise as a global superpower presents challenges and opportunities to itself and the United States in a strategic competition for global leadership. China has proven thus far the exception to the theory that no socialist system can survive its founding fathers’ principles and simultaneously prosper as an economic superpower. China’s rise requires the attention, respect, cautious concern and cooperative effort of the United States to shape a world of global peace, prosperity and security. The United States and China have the opportunity, for the first time in modern history, to cooperate as global leaders and primary stakeholders to create a world of genuine global security and economic strength. I propose a DIMIER (Diplomatic, Information, Military, Intelligence, Economic, Resources) construct to serve as a broader framework for this research project to describe instruments of national power in a constantly changing, resource-constrained, geopolitical environment. This research project will study the possibilities of shared global leadership opportunities between the U.S. and China, or the demise of two great superpowers if each tries to go it alone.

Historic Background and Culture

China and the United States have remarkable histories and unique identities. China is justified in its claim to be one of the oldest civilizations on the planet. China’s

rise to superpower status through five thousand years of rich and ancient heritage, experience and cultural longevity is to be marveled at. The notion of “Zhongguo” or “Middle Kingdom” has stayed with them since the Han Dynasty (206 BC – 220 AD) and is central to Chinese perceptions of where they stand in the world today. A special feature of Chinese civilization is that it seems to have no beginning.² Each explanation of a founding father or origin of Chinese civilization appears to be preceded by an already existing Chinese identity. The Yellow Emperor is a good example of this. “The Yellow Emperor has gone down in history as a founding hero; yet in the founding myth, he is reestablishing, not creating, an empire. China predated him; it strides into the historical consciousness as an established state requiring only restoration, not creation.”³ Confucius presents a perplexing conundrum of the origin of Chinese philosophy, which is synonymous with the Chinese culture and its people. “Confucius: again, he is seen as the “founder” of a culture although he stressed that he had invented nothing, that he was merely trying to reinvigorate the principles of harmony which had once existed in the golden age but had been lost in Confucius’s own era of political chaos.”⁴ These quotes in no way diminish the rich history of China, but only compare the things one might usually observe in relation to a country’s birth and evolution of civilization such as documents, traditions, idols and monuments. China’s origin myths and pre-history inconsistencies also contribute to some of the territorial disputes in present-day China. “China’s history is accurately one of expansion and contraction, with periodic interruptions of conflict and fragmentation.”⁵ China’s Ancient Era (2100 – 210 BC) consists of 19 centuries defined by three initial ruling dynasties, followed by the Spring and Autumn Period (771 BC – 476 BC) of hegemony and

blossoming philosophies, and the Warring States Period (475 – 221) of battles among multiple emerging states. China's Imperial Era (221 BC – 1911 AD) consists of 21 centuries defined by 21 dynasties and the beginning of a more accurately historical record of a flourishing China in regards to culture, traditions, art, monumental accomplishments (the Great Wall), urbanization and the initial steps toward a modern government free of dynastic rule and imperial invasion. China's Modern Era (1912 – present) is defined by a cultural, revolutionary socialist movement to end dynastic rule and repel foreign invasion. China has progressed toward a national identity and global leadership with the intention to influence the world regarding values, culture, commerce, strength and governance.

“China's culture is thus very connected to its history—past, present and future. What are the patterns Chinese people discern as they look upstream toward their past, and how do these patterns inform their understanding of the present?”⁶ Chinese attitudes are derived from Confucianism and central to modern day China. “Patient” is certainly the word that captures best the essence of their long journey and experience. It is not uncommon for a Chinese citizen to respond to any question regarding China's place in the world with, “We have five thousand years of history.” The response is simple in its implicit suggestion that others lack the same experience.

The United States of America is phenomenal in its own right. It is true that the United States is young in history and culture compared to many countries on the continents of Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas but that is what makes it unique. The United States of America, like no other country can claim in so short a time to have risen to the world's greatest superpower status, with a melting pot of people from many

countries and with only a relatively short history as a nation and experience to draw from. It is important to note that America's history is documented and well known. The United States is a free nation that has been governed by its people through open election since its birth. It has always been a free market nation that was and still is built on second-to-none, out-of-the-box innovation. "The U.S. leads the world in innovative building and infrastructure projects, according to a list compiled by KPMG Global Leader, Professional Services."⁷ The United States also leads the world in foreign aid⁸, billionaires (425)⁹, most paved roadways (4,374,784km)¹⁰, carbon dioxide emissions reductions¹¹, patents¹², worker productivity¹³, research universities,¹⁴ marine protected areas,¹⁵ legal immigrants,¹⁶ and media coverage¹⁷ to name a few categories of achievement. "Ambitious" is certainly a word that captures the essence of America's experience regarding values, security, prosperity and global good will to others.

Diplomacy

"We should prove the traditional belief that big powers are bound to enter into confrontation and conflicts is wrong, and seek new ways of developing relations between major countries in the era of economic globalization."¹⁸ Such were the words of Hu Jintao, President of the People's Republic of China (PRC), during the fourth Strategic and Economic Dialogue in May 2012. The United States and China both agree on diplomacy as the undeniable way forward in a cooperative U.S. and China relationship. Political leaders in both countries face challenges influencing their constituents on the methods of diplomacy, and perhaps none more than China. To appreciate Hu Jintao's statement and position on the vision for a China-U.S. future one must look back at the rocky political landscape of China's modern era politics Hu and

Wen Jiabao, Premier of the People's Republic of China, had to navigate in order to be able to express such courageous words.

From 1949 to 1960 Mao Zedong, first-generation leader of the PRC, ruled China through a series of Campaign Plans, Five Year Plans and the Great Leap Forward Plan, all collectively resulting in the deaths of over 50 million Chinese. The 1960's through the 1980's continued to see great turmoil politically, economically and socially though the deliberate death tolls saw significant reductions. China through the 1980s was greatly influenced by its second-generation leader, Deng Xiaoping who led China toward open markets and slow but significant revolutionary political, economic and social changes regarding the modernization of China. "Deng's death in 1997 marked the end of a unique political generation, the generation of the leaders of the Chinese Communist revolution and the founders of the contemporary Chinese political system."¹⁹

The third and current generation of Chinese leaders, Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao, are unique in the sense that their careers were shaped by the Cultural Revolution, which left both leaders cynical toward an authoritarian government and fully embracing the benefits of modernization.²⁰ Hu and Wen are currently transitioning power to a younger generation of Chinese leaders, who are more inclined toward self-interest and personal wealth than solving the major problems in the public domain.²¹ Hu and Wen are challenged bridging the generational leadership gap between old and new but they are making nominal progress. In March, 2013 Xi Jinping will replace Hu Jintao as President of China and Li Keqiang will replace Wen Jiabao as China's Prime Minister.

Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter met the new number one and number two leaders of China on December 10, 2012. Communist Party of China General Secretary

Xi Jinping commented, "Both China and the United States should be innovative and make efforts to accumulate positive energy to build a China-US co-operative partnership based on mutual respect and mutual benefit. They should also create a new type of bilateral ties between major powers, regardless of difficulties."²² Prime Minister in waiting Li also commented, "As long as the two countries respect each other, manage differences and expand common ground, they can seek common prosperity."²³

Comprehensive and multilateral diplomacy through increased investment in soft power is priority one regarding U.S. strategy in the South China Sea. The United States recognizes China as a fellow global superpower and as a lead stakeholder in the South China Sea, possessing an opportunity to demonstrate diplomatic power and responsibility for sharing the resource rich region with its neighbors. The United States will increase efforts to build and expand security partnerships in support of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The United States will continue to remain neutral regarding the ultimate resolution of the South China Sea territorial disputes, both maritime and land, but it does recognize the legitimate concerns of all parties involved. U.S. interests regarding this region remain focused on the security and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region. We will emphasize our existing alliances, which provide a vital foundation for Asia-Pacific security. We will also expand our networks of cooperation with emerging partners throughout the Asia-Pacific to ensure collective capability and capacity for securing common interests.²⁴ Protecting sea lanes and freedom of navigation are paramount to regional security. The United States will continue to support authorized maritime activities, such as Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs), in accordance with and as prescribed by the United Nations Convention on the

Law of the Sea. Increased rates of economic growth and development are not exclusive to China. These measures are likewise impressive in other nations bordering the South China Sea. The United States will continue to promote open markets, free trade, innovation and entrepreneurship so critical to the economic and infrastructure development of these nations.

The United States, through continued aid and international development outreach, can incentivize China to uphold the free flow of goods through shipping lanes in accordance with treaty obligations and the rule of international law. The U.S. must continue to develop comprehensive diplomacy and dialogue with China in terms of military to military contact, regional security and economics; reduce U.S. rhetoric, not concerns on issues such as human rights, technology thievery and economic manipulation; and offer China authentic solutions and assistance to its imminent and current problems inherently associated with a growing economy and transitional government. U.S. subject matter experts and organizations such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) can offer China assistance with real problems such as unsustainable rural migration to urban areas, inadequate public transit solutions, information hacking into government systems, a widening income gap between rural and urban workers, rising taxes, reduced arable land for farming production, abusive eminent domain disputes, ethnic border group clashes, health issues, pollution reduction, efficiency in natural resource consumption and political transition to a younger generation that has lived its entire life in a nation at peace for the first time in many decades. The U.S. and China have both made substantial strides in development at home and abroad. Foreign aid and infrastructure development to our

less fortunate allies and partners builds bonds of trust with our allies and partners. Foreign aid and development also help to support and secure our global interest.

As the premier global superpowers, the U.S. and China must seek together to circumscribe the sphere in which their peaceful competition is taking place. If that is managed wisely, both military confrontation and abdication can be avoided; if not, escalating tension is inevitable. It is the task of diplomacy to discover this space, to expand it if possible and to prevent the relationship from being overwhelmed by tactical and domestic imperatives.²⁵

“The United States will continue to promote and pursue a lawful and sustainable International Order that recognizes the rights and responsibilities of all nations.²⁶ The United States is a proud nation that prides itself on the rule of law and the governing body that protects it. The United States must continue to be the standard bearer for observing its own laws at home and those laws mutually agreed-upon in the international community. Laws of the Land and Laws of the Sea as established by the United Nations, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation and Association of Southeast Asian Nations set the guidelines and conditions for a prosperous and secure Asia-Pacific region.

China is currently exploring creative alternatives for avoiding conflicts in East Asia and South China Sea area. As China’s foreign policy community contemplates how to counter the U.S. rebalancing to Asia, a grand strategic proposal called “March West” has been. The idea is that China would shift its attention from the heated competition in East Asia and rebalance its geographical focus westwards to the vast area from Central Asia to the Middle East, where the U.S. is pivoting away from.²⁷ This

concept was introduced by Wang Jisi, China's most prominent and influential international relations scholar and a professor at Peking University.²⁸ This concept is not one of abandonment by the Chinese of East China. It focuses on less contentious areas on China's western and southern borders and provides an opportunity for the U.S. and China to work on common interests in the Middle-East and with China's neighbors to the South. Unlike in East Asia, the relationship between the U.S. and China would conceivably be more cooperative along China's western border and extending to the Middle East, due to their common interests in economic investment, energy, anti-terrorism, non-proliferation and regional stability.²⁹

Information

Information capabilities and messaging is critical in this highly contested region and it is imperative that the United States maintain its competitive edge and strategic advantage regarding information effectiveness. Continued investment in the security of space, cyberspace, social media, human intelligence, humanitarian assistance and other forms of information will be employed and continuously measured for effectiveness. The U.S. will extend these technological advantages and operational capabilities to its domestic and international partners and allies as well. Defense of these material and human networks of information is paramount to deter espionage efforts to degrade, disrupt and destroy these highly valued assets home and abroad. China's space and counter-space programs focused in the Low Earth Orbit (LEO) and Geostationary Earth Orbit (GEO) areas raise questions and concerns with the U.S. of China's intentions and possible disruption to global communication systems. Global communications involving space-based required assets is an area where the United

States reigns supreme. Should China and its South China Sea neighbors remain transparent about their space-based intentions, the U.S. can assist greatly in the advancement of their currently technologically challenged systems. The sharing of technologies regarding space-based global communications shows a significant amount of trust and confidence between nations.

Military

The United States and China are the number one and number three militaries in the world respectively in terms of military strength, power projection, lethality, sustainability and many other variables. As the premier military the United States must maintain its ability to project power in areas where our access and freedom to operate are authorized by treaty obligations and the rules of international law. The United States seeks a positive, cooperative, and comprehensive relationship with China that welcomes it to take on a responsible leadership role.³⁰ The United States understands and accepts an increased military capacity from the second-largest economy and largest importer of natural resources but China must be more specific regarding strategic intentions in order to avoid friction in the region and demonstrate the positive, cooperative and comprehensive U.S.–China relationship it has publically advocated. “To support this, the Joint Force seeks a deeper military-to-military relationship with China to expand areas of mutual interest and benefit, improve understanding, reduce misperception, and prevent miscalculation.”³¹ “A significant portion of China’s military growth is directed toward the Taiwan Strait region. However, as China continues to modernize its military power, the power balance over the Taiwan Strait will change. This analysis suggests that although the use of force is a dangerous component of the

Taiwan issue, it is in the interest of both the United States and China to guard against the temptation to look at the Taiwan issue in purely military terms and run a deadly military contest on this issue. In the meantime, China should guard against the temptation to upset this status quo prematurely.”³² The United States will shape and hedge resources and capabilities to respond to Chinese or any other regional aggression toward U.S. national interest allies, giving the U.S. favorable strategic advantages in the region. Most importantly, the United States and China must continue military-to-military dialogue even though it is still in its infancy and somewhat superficial at this time. China has recently been invited to participate in the Rim of the Pacific Exercise (RIMPAC), the world’s largest maritime warfare exercise by the United States Pacific Command (USPACOM).³³ Pacific Rim nations are hopeful China will accept this invitation to demonstrate its “peaceful rise” toward global prosperity and security. In addition to China participating in Pacific Rim exercises along-side the U.S., I recommended that China and the U.S. invest in a long-term military student exchange program at all levels of military education so the countries can have a better understanding and respect of one another’s military values, principles and traditions. Near-term military exercises and long-term military education student exchange programs, if managed wisely, will assist the U.S. and China greatly with avoiding military confrontation and domination.

Intelligence

“Our country’s safety and prosperity depend on the quality of the intelligence we collect and the analysis we produce, our ability to evaluate and share this information in a timely manner, and our ability to counter intelligence threats. This is as true for the

strategic intelligence that informs executive decisions as it is for intelligence support to homeland security, state, local, and tribal governments, our troops, and critical national missions.”³⁴ The ability to create precise, desirable effects with a smaller force and a lighter logistical footprint depends on a robust intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (ISR) architecture. The United States is making great effort toward a holistic government approach to offset Department of Defense (DOD) reductions in manpower and equipment. Many savings in DOD reductions can be reinvested in data collection efforts and assets. All components of the Joint, Interagency, Intergovernmental and Multinational (JIIM) environment continue to work together and strengthen capabilities of the Intelligence Community. The health, welfare and safeguard of our human intelligence (HUMINT) element is priority one, as its risk and responsibility will increase with a smaller military.

China’s intelligence requirements are similar to those of the United States though their technology lags several years behind. Acquiring comprehensive command, control, communication, computers, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (C4ISR) systems is a key component of China’s military modernization and is essential for executing integrated joint operations.³⁵

Economic

The United States as the leading world economy in terms of gross domestic product (GDP) output, stability and overall experience will continue to promote the advancement of a secure and prosperous South China Sea region. Significant focus will be placed on bilateral cooperation and dialogue with China as the lead stakeholder and the primary source of contention in the region. The United States and China will

continue to participate and prosper in a series of Strategic and Economic Dialogue Conferences (S&EDs) to address a wide range of strategic and economic challenges and opportunities facing both countries. These conferences continue to produce advances in bilateral and multilateral cooperation in 50 different areas such as Increased Trust Dialogue, Regional Dispute Dialogue, Law of the Sea Dialogue, Nuclear Security, Legal Expert Dialogue, Science and Technology Cooperation, Environmental Dialogue, Energy Security Dialogue, Intellectual Property Enforcement, Cybercrime Dialogue, Agricultural Dialogue, Human Rights Dialogue, Human Trafficking Dialogue, Disaster Relief, Korean Peninsula Dialogue, Iran Nuclear Dialogue, Syria Dialogue, Africa Dialogue, Latin America Dialogue, Architect and Engineering Cooperation and Peacekeeping Operations just to name a few.

The United States as an active member will continue to use and support the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Forum of 21 Pacific Rim member-economies to promote free trade and economic cooperation throughout the Asia-Pacific region. The U.S. will encourage South China Sea stakeholders not to let territorial disputes disrupt cooperation in a region that is becoming the center of the global economy.

Chinese and U.S. financial systems are not that different, and each faces similar challenges. Yes, China is the largest foreign holder of U.S. debt and the manipulation of currency does occur however both countries are working bilaterally to fix these issues, which are greatly misunderstood by a general U.S. public that is being fed by an agenda biased media. One news source will convey that currency manipulation is a natural occurrence within financial markets while other news outlets will shout “unfair practice”.

Both news sources would be correct in regard to currency manipulation.

Central/Federal and local governments in both countries tax their people, mismanage money, conduct bailouts and are increasingly challenged to pay for basic human needs through social programs. China's resource, environmental and social needs are far more financially difficult to address than its U.S. counterpart. The U.S. does not lack its own financial complexities. The national debt has reached uncontrollable levels and the income-to-debt ratio is finally upside down for the first time in American history. The U.S. needs to spend less and tax companies that outsource jobs more heavily, especially regarding manufacturing, IT services and research and development. The U.S. needs to incentivize American companies to keep more jobs at home. The U.S. can save billions in the reduction of foreign aid and ensure that allies and partners start shouldering more of the financial burden regarding global security commitments and interests.

Resources

The rise of any nation, to include increase in infrastructure, military buildup, and sustainability, depends on its ability to resource itself. Natural resources in terms of water, agriculture, minerals and energy play an integral part to the survival of all nations. The U.S. and China possess many natural resources in abundance but neither is self-sufficient. China faces the greatest natural resource challenges between the two countries. China accounts for twenty-five percent of world demand for zinc, iron and steel, lead, copper, and aluminum. It is also the world's second largest importer of oil after the United States. China is the world's second-largest economy and largest importer of natural resources. China's massive population demands a precise and

delicate balance between human needs and natural resources. An agrarian China managed this balance well throughout its history by natural or disciplined practices until the late seventeenth century. Chinese farmers were masters of maximizing production in limited arable space and ironically they were experts in recycling practices and preserving the fertility of soil. China's current modernization, economic rise and synonymous efforts to raise the standard of living have degraded the balance between human needs and natural resource consumption for several reasons. First, during the late seventeenth century, China's population doubled within a period of 60 years. China's last imperial dynasty, the Qing Dynasty, initiated China's historic population increase to meet the needs of modernization, militarization and perhaps in some small response to Christian influence and expansionism.³⁶ Second, European and American weapons factories opened in China early in the nineteenth century, opening the door for the full industrialization of China. Third, China's industrialization under a socialist construct did little to preserve nature and contributed greatly to the destruction of the environment. Mao Zedong treated nature as an enemy to be defeated on the road to modernization.³⁷ Publicly-owned land and resources supplied to the people at no cost or heavily subsidized over time provide little incentive for anyone to be interested in conservation. This is especially true in the case of China. It is noteworthy to take a quick look at a comparison of China's unbalanced energy mix and consumption rate to that of the United States, which exercises a more balanced approach. China is the world's largest consumer of coal, which accounts for 70 percent of its total energy usage at an annual rate of 2.5 billion tons. China's bituminous (soft) coal mines are unsafe, unregulated and the worst in the world in terms of carbon dioxide pollution and loss of

life, recording an annual rate of six thousand miners killed each year. China's enormous underground production from soft coal mines presents a common cause-and-effect condition known as sink holes, where the ground below becomes so unstable that surface structures can collapse due to lack of support. The U.S. uses 22 percent coal (cleaner bituminous) in a more balanced energy system.³⁸

China uses 20 percent petroleum with significant verifiable near term and long term projected increases, versus the U.S. which uses 37 percent in a much more balanced and manageable energy system. Since 2003 China has been the world's fastest-growing importer of oil, with imports increasing at about 15 percent per year. Sixty percent of China's imported oil comes from the Middle East.³⁹ China's oil reserve estimates vary greatly from 37 billion barrels to more than 200 billion barrels due to unreliable survey and data methods. A reserve of fifteen billion barrels appears to be the agreed-upon level among Chinese experts which leaves China far short of the United States.⁴⁰

Electricity is China's third-largest source of power. China's electricity is produced by means of thermal generation, hydroelectric, nuclear and wind power, and it represents seven percent of China's energy consumption vs. the U.S. at 20 percent. Eighty percent of China's electricity is thermal-generated and it is connected back to the unsafe, unregulated, pollution producing soft coal practices. Hydroelectric power accounts for approximately 13 percent of electricity production and is making small gains over time but it is connected to perhaps China's greatest natural resource problem, water. Chinese experts planned for extensive dam projects across China to produce more hydro-electricity. The dam projects were reduced to a nominal four dams

due to environmental concerns and vast water shortages. China's hydroelectric demands are rapidly out pacing its ability to provide it.⁴¹

China's natural gas usage is only four percent versus the U.S. at 21 percent, but as a clean-burning fuel it is seen as a desirable alternative to the burning of coal.⁴² China has negotiated contracts with Australia, Indonesia and Iran to import liquefied natural gas for the next twenty-five years.

"China's eight nuclear power plants supply two percent of the country's electric energy. A joint U.S. Government-approved venture with the American firm Westinghouse will add an additional ten nuclear plants."⁴³

China's worst environmental issues are in the form of serious shortages of arable land and water. China has twenty percent of the world's population and only seven percent of its arable land.⁴⁴ Arable acreage has been significantly reduced as result of industrialization and economic development. China does have a policy to replace each acre of arable land lost to economic development with another acre of developed arable land in alternative designated areas, but enforcement of this policy is passive at best due to local authorities personally benefitting from granting waivers to circumvent this process.

"No resource, however, is more essential to continued Chinese economic growth than water. It is critical for meeting basic human needs, as well as demands for food and energy."⁴⁵ Seventy-five percent of the country's water supply is located in southern China. Arrangements are being made to distribute more of the water supply from southern China to the rest of the country, especially in the north. China's total water supply is critically inadequate due to over usage and pollution.⁴⁶ "More than fifty percent

of China's cities have critical water shortages forcing more than 400,000 people annually to leave their homes."⁴⁷ Water shortage related migration prior to 1990 had citizens relocate from one rural area to another rural area considering 90 percent of the people lived in rural areas in the 1950s. As China's population increased from 600 million to over 1 billion and infrastructure increases decreased rural communities, retention areas were developed to relieve some of the migration issues.⁴⁸ Others continue to migrate to urban areas only to be shipped by authorities back to rural areas.

All of the aforementioned natural resource and environmental problems mentioned present challenges and opportunities to China and the United States. The U.S. can learn a few lessons from China regarding outreach and investment with Asia-Pacific neighbors. In recent years China's participation in the global economy—particularly its quest for new sources of energy to fuel its growth—has come to dominate the formulation of its foreign policy. As the reform era began, the Chinese economy was being opened up to the outside world. Trade expanded rapidly, and the government actively encouraged foreign investment.⁴⁹ Since the early 1990's China has rapidly and continuously built extensive economic, natural resource, military and strategic international connections. The economic and natural resource connections have dominated those international relationships. Asian neighbors, Russia, other European countries, Africa, Australia and South America all share these connections with China and the majority of them are looking to expand. The U.S. shares similar trade with many of these countries but they are being outpaced in many cases by China. In several countries where China is deeply invested the U.S. is not invested at all. As the dominant superpower in the world with a GDP twice the size of China the

U.S. will need to adjust its strategy to compete in the future. Numerous sources and experts estimate China's GDP to exceed the United States by 2030 as a result of China's long term vision for resources, capital investment and global expansionism.

Conclusion and Recommendation

The mindset of China and the United States may best be illustrated comparing the games that are synonymous with their cultures. China traditionally plays an ancient, world-famous game called "Weiqi" or "Go," where the object of the game is to use stone playing pieces to occupy a larger surface area of the game board and encircle your opponent. It is a game of long-term strategy and great patience. One of Weiqi/Go's strengths is the ability to take significant advantages when opportunity presents itself. Keeping this in mind, Chinese leaders Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao took a more aggressive approach, keeping the Weiqi/Go strategy at the core of their plans for the advancement of China to the global stage. Jiang and Hu's strategy has been illustrative of China's rise since the early 1990's to present.

The game of chess aptly describes the mindset of the United States. It is a game with conclusive winners and losers, with many decisive points along the course of the game. Its strategy is to attack the enemy's center of gravity but can include encirclement as well. Its weakness may be in its aggressive character, which may lead to overreaching actions, with no way to reverse the cycle. China and U.S. strategies have worked for both countries to this point but the global political, economic and military context continues to change requiring nation-states to constantly review their strategies and adjust as necessary. Jiang Zemin's mellow reflections in the long conversation with him, described in the last chapter of Henry Kissinger's book, "On

China”, illustrated the new reality: the United States and China perceived that they needed each other because both were too large to be dominated, too special to be transformed, and too necessary to each other to be able to afford isolation.”⁵⁰ In the pursuit of dealing with a growing list of issues, Beijing and Washington during the 2000s searched for an overall framework to define their relationship. The effort was symbolized by the inauguration of the U.S.-China Senior Dialogue and the U.S.-China Strategic Economic Dialogue (now merged into one Strategic and Economic Dialogue) during George W. Bush’s second term. This was in part an attempt to revitalize the spirit of candid exchange on issues of national interests and principles that prevailed between Washington and Beijing during the 1970s, as described in earlier chapters of Kissinger’s “On China”.⁵¹

China and the United States are making progress with current initiatives but they have not developed a joint concept of world order. China and the United States owe it to the global community to pursue their national interest in a cooperative and co-evolving manner. “An aspect of strategic tension in the current world situation resides in the Chinese fear that America is seeking to contain China paralleled by the American concern that China is seeking to expel the United States from Asia. The concept of a Pacific Community, a region to which the United States, China, and other states all belong and in whose peaceful development all participate, could ease both fears.”⁵²

China and the United States will likely move along at a very conservative pace regarding co-existence and co-evolution. Their success depends on their cooperation, constant engagement and desire to continually understand one another and the

challenges each faces as they lead the world toward a future of global security, peace and prosperity.

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