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Growing Chinese Power —to What End?



SPECIAL REPORT

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China's Powerful Global Reach

“In the future we will set up the Earth Control Committee, and make a uniform plan for the Earth.”

—Chairman Mao Zedong,
Chinese Communist Party, 1949-1976

The People's Republic of China is the world's most populous nation with the second-largest economy, and the biggest army. It is rapidly modernizing its armed forces and routinely engages in cyber warfare against the United States and its allies.¹ Some experts estimate that China has stolen up to \$1 trillion worth of American intellectual property in this way.² Cyber warfare also gives China the means to crash U.S. financial markets, disrupt and destroy critical electrical and water infrastructure and cause mass panic—all without firing a shot while maintaining plausible deniability.³

As China's power continues to expand relative to the rest of the world, it is critical to understand the intentions and capabilities of its leadership. Ignoring China is not an option for America.

Understanding China's Grievances

The Chinese Communist Party came to power by promising to restore China's lost greatness and

punish those Western countries, including Japan, that had humiliated her in decades past.

There was nothing particularly original in this effort to conjure up foreign enemies to win support at home. The Nazis leveraged ill feelings about the Treaty of Versailles to whip up nationalist fervor among Germans and seize power. Palestinians today nurse grievances against Israel, educating their children to hate rather than seek peaceful coexistence with their Jewish neighbors.

China's growing economic, military power poses increasing challenge to U.S.

- China's economy may surpass America's by 2016 with economic growth mainly benefitting Communist Party members and their families
- China's leaders link economic growth to military power
- China harbors deep grievances against the West and Japan
- China routinely steals U.S. intellectual property via the Internet and other means and is ramping up cyber warfare capabilities to achieve supremacy over America
- China is establishing outposts on major U.S. university campuses to aid in stealing advanced technology and to keep watch on Chinese students
- A slowdown in China's economic growth may trigger domestic unrest, leading Beijing to engage in foreign aggression as a way to unify the masses

1 “Capability of the People's Republic of China to Conduct Cyber Warfare and Computer Network Exploitation,” Prepared for The US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, October 2009, http://www.uscc.gov/researchpapers/2009/NorthropGrumman_PRC_Cyber_Paper_FINAL_Approved_percent20Report_16Oct2009.pdf, accessed May 5, 2012

2 Gen. Keith Alexander, commander of Cyber Command and chief of the National Security Agency, has estimated that the U.S. has lost \$1 trillion in intellectual property to hacking by Chinese, Russian and other nationals.

3 “China's capacity for cyber-war,” *Asia Times* online, by Benjamin A Shobert, March 15, 2012, <http://www.atimes.com/atimes/China/NC15Ad0L.html>, accessed on May 6, 2012

The Chinese Communist Party, however, has raised this tactic to an art form, hyperbolizing China's glorious past, demonizing other nations, and promising that China under its rule will one day soon be the most powerful country on the globe.

For much of recorded history the Middle Kingdom was in fact the world's largest and most powerful nation. But by the 19th century, just as the West was industrializing, China entered a period of dynastic decline. Great Britain was able to inflict successive defeats on the Qing Empire in the First and Second Opium Wars (1839-1842, 1835-60), battering Chinese pride and emptying the Chinese treasury. One after another, the British, French, Germans, Italians, Austro-Hungarians, Belgians, Portuguese, Japanese, Russians, and even the Americans forced the dying dynasty to open dozens of cities to foreign trade, establishing in these "treaty ports" special enclaves with their own laws, police force, and even military units, where Chinese were initially forbidden to live.

Imagine that the North had lost the American Civil War, and the nations of Europe and China had insisted that the defeated nation cede to them portions of New York, Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Seattle, San Francisco and 30 other American cities. Imagine further that Americans were not allowed to live in these enclaves, or, if they were, that they had to live under a foreign legal system where they had fewer rights than the foreigners who lived there. Finally, imagine that the exports from these foreign enclaves to the rest of America were addictive drugs like crack cocaine, methamphetamine, and heroin. A certain amount of residual resentment among present-day Americans would be expected, especially if the American education system, like the Chinese, relentlessly hammered kids from kindergarten to college with stories of their national humiliation.

The last Chinese dynasty was overthrown in the Revolution of 1911, and the Republic of China was established. Unfortunately, the

Republic was weak, and much of China's territory was actually controlled by warlords. In 1919, the Treaty of Versailles set the stage for Japanese aggression against China by awarding Germany's Chinese concessions and Pacific bases to Japan. In 1931, after years of quiet encroachment, Imperial Japan occupied all of Manchuria in 1931. In 1937, a full two years before fighting broke out in Europe, Japan invaded China proper. The fighting raged on for the next eight years, with about 2 million Chinese soldiers killed in action and the loss of some 22 million Chinese civilians.

The Nationalist Army bore the brunt of the fighting, while the People's Liberation Army did its best to sit out the conflict and emerged from the war greatly strengthened. Aided by the Soviet Union, the People's Liberation Army won a series of battles against the Nationalist forces under Chiang Kai-Shek, who ultimately retreated to Taiwan in 1949.

It wasn't long before the U.S. and the newly established People's Republic of China came into direct conflict. The Korean War began in June 1950 when the communist north fell upon the almost defenseless south. U.S. and allied forces managed to beat back the attack and drove them towards the Chinese border. China then entered the fray in October 1950, committing 926,000 troops to the action. In the ensuing Chinese human wave attacks, about 152,000 people would be killed in action.

From Communism to Fascism

In 1958 Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong launched his so-called "Great Leap Forward," ordering China's peasants into huge "People's Communes." As with Stalin's forced collectivization efforts in the Soviet Union some 35 years before, the effort failed, and some 45 million peasants starved to death in the years following. The disastrous Cultural Revolution started five years later as Chairman Mao purged the Communist Party of his enemies and attempted to stamp out traditional beliefs of all kinds. The Chinese economy stagnated as



▲ Chairman Mao Zedong.

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politics took priority.

Mao's death in 1976 marked an end to radical social experimentation. The gradual accession of Deng Xiaoping to power led in turn to the pragmatic, growth-oriented policies that have held sway for the past 30-odd years.

Determined to make China into a global power, Deng Xiaoping first focused on economic growth, arguing that China would be unable to field a strong military unless its economic house was first put in order. The communes were dismantled, market incentives were introduced, individuals were allowed to start enterprises, and foreign investment was encouraged. The Chinese GDP began to see double digit increases, a blistering pace that it has generally maintained to the present day.

China first demonstrated its growing strength in February 1979, when it sent 400,000 troops across its southern border to punish Vietnam for its alleged mistreatment of ethnic Chinese. Larger territorial and strategic objec-

tives were in play as well, since Beijing wanted to force Vietnam to withdraw both from the Spratly Islands and from Cambodia, where the murderous Chinese-backed Khmer Rouge regime had been ousted by a Vietnamese invasion the month before. Heedless of casualties, China lost 26,000 killed in the first month of fighting.⁴ The conflict also threatened to spread north. As a warning to the Soviet Union, a Vietnamese ally, China also mobilized troops along the long Sino-Soviet border. The Soviets blinked, and cut back on the military, economic, and diplomatic support that they had been giving to Vietnam.

As Deng had intended, the surging Chinese economy quickly provided the means to modernize the People's Liberation Army. He issued the following 16-character maxim in January 1982 to set out a "Military-Civilian Combination Policy:"⁵

"Combine the Military and the Civil"
 "Combine Peace and War"
 "Give Priority to the Military"
 "Let the Civil Support the Military."

The People's Liberation Army began to emphasize quality over quantity, reducing the size of the ponderous army by one-fourth while increasing the budget for the acquisition and manufacture of modern weaponry. The military was encouraged to seek profits abroad by selling armament, especially missiles, to regimes such as the Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan.

Deng and his allies continued to push for reforms to further strengthen China's power. A second wave of reforms in the late 1980s led to the supposed "privatization" of formerly state-

⁴ By comparison, the U.S. lost 58,220 service members in 14 years of fighting in Vietnam.

⁵ Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, *China's Military-Owned Businesses*, Shirley A. Kan Specialist in National Security Policy Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, <http://congressionalresearch.com/98-197/document.php?study=CHINAS+MILITARY-OWNED+BUSINESSES>, accessed May 5, 2012

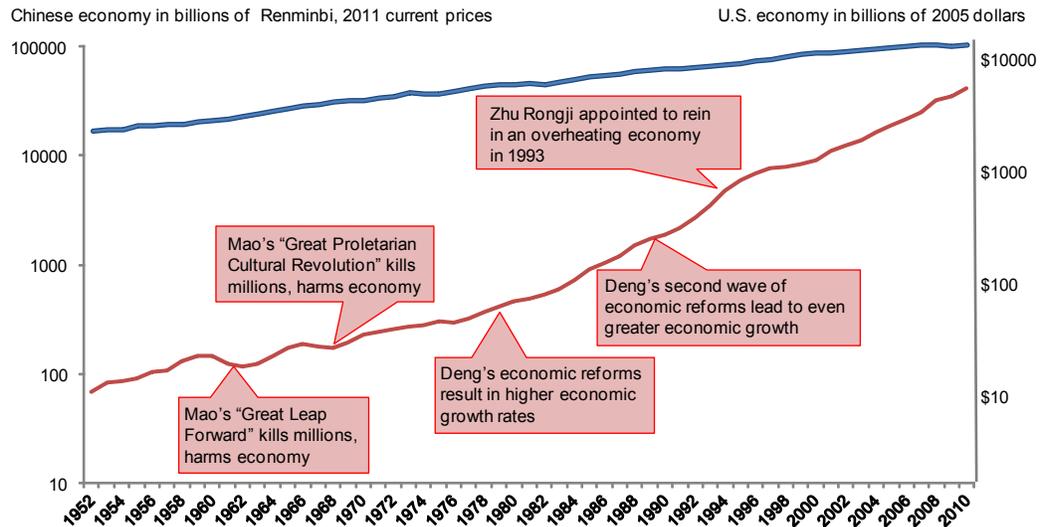


Figure 1—China's rapidly growing economy may overtake America's by 2016, marking the first time since the War of 1812 that the U.S. may be confronted by a hostile nation possessing a larger economy.

owned enterprises, many of which actually wound up in the hands of close family members of Communist Party leaders. The net worth of the spouses and children of generals and Communist Party chieftains—the so-called “princelings”—soared as a result.

These economic reforms, along with the fall of the Berlin Wall in Germany, fueled expectations of more political freedom. These hopes were crushed in Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989, when the Chinese Communist Party called in provincial units of the People's Liberation Army to crush a largely student-led protest movement. About 2,500 students were killed and up to 10,000 wounded in the ensuing massacre.

The result of China's ruthless “Leninist capitalism,” as it might be called, was impressive economic growth. By 2010, as the U.S. economy was slowly emerging from a deep recession, China had surpassed America in the value of its manufactured goods. Auto sales in China also topped America's, as did China's energy use, which meant that China now has the highest greenhouse gas emissions in the world.

If current trends persist, many economists

think China's economy will be larger than America's by 2016. In Figure 1 we use a logarithmic scale to chart the growth of the Chinese economy versus that of the United States. Such a scale illuminates relative growth rates, and shows how quickly China is catching up.⁶ If these projections prove correct, this will mark the first time since the War of 1812 that the U.S. faces the possibility of a confrontation with a hostile regime that possesses a larger economy.

For all China's robust economic growth, it does not have anything resembling a free market economy. The global Index of Economic Freedom gave China a “Mostly Unfree” rating in 2012, ranking it 138th out of 179 nations.⁷ This ranking has seen little improvement in recent years. In 2010, for example, China ranked 140th of 179 nations.

6 Source: National Bureau of Statistics, China Statistical Yearbooks; National Bureau of Statistics plan report; National Bureau of Statistics communiqués, <http://www.chinability.com/GDP.htm>, accessed May 5, 2012

7 The Heritage Foundation maintains an annual Index of Economic Freedom which uses four main factors: rule of law, limited government, regulatory efficiency, and open markets <http://www.heritage.org/index/ranking>, accessed May 5, 2012



▲ Former Politburo member Bo Xilai.

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In terms of political freedom, China ranks even lower. Despite considerable economic progress, China remains a Leninist, one-party dictatorship that, not surprisingly, has an abysmal human rights record. Freedom House gives China its lowest rating of “Not Free,” with “Not Free” ratings as well for the important subcategories of freedom of the press and Internet freedom.⁸

One-party dictatorships are characterized by considerable corruption, and China is no exception. Transparency International publishes a yearly “Corruption Perceptions” list, which ranks the level of corruption in 183 nations and territories. In 2011, China ranked 75th, and was given a score of 3.6 on a scale of 0–10, with 0 being “highly corrupt” and 10 being “very clean.”⁹

Following Deng’s 16-character maxim, China’s growing economic might is being consciously used to leverage ever greater military spending. Since the early 1990s, the People’s Liberation Army and its naval, air force, and strategic missile branches have seen annual budget increases averaging 16 percent, a rate

that doubles that budget every five years.

A Deadly Game of Thrones

Deng Xiaoping, who died in 1997, tried to leave in place a mechanism for the orderly transfer of power from one generation of communist leaders to the next every 10 years. This worked well in 2002, when Deng’s handpicked successor, Jiang Zemin, pretty much played by the rules, and handed over power to Hu Jintao. But all bets are off this time around. Hu is supposed to hand over power to Xi Jinping at the 18th Party Congress during the second half of 2012, but the jockeying for power in China’s autocratic, one-party state has already reached cut-throat proportions, and can no longer be hidden from the rest of the world.

Consider the recent purge of Politburo member Bo Xilai.

Bo, 62, was the Communist Party chief of the city of Chongqing (formerly Chungking), which at 28.8 million people is one of the five great cities of China. Like most of China’s privileged princelings, Bo’s father was a powerful leader in the Maoist era. Bo stood out among his bland political rivals as a populist who sought to create a personality cult to boost his standing with the people, increasing social spending, centralizing control of the city’s

⁸ See Freedom House site: <http://www.freedomhouse.org/country/china>, accessed May 5, 2012

⁹ See Transparency International site: <http://www.transparency.org/country#CHN>, accessed May 5, 2012

economy, and carrying out an old-line Maoist mass propaganda campaign.

The immediate cause of his undoing was the death of Neil Heywood, a prominent and well-connected British businessman, in November 2011. When the evidence collected by the chief of police led to Bo's wife, Bo demanded that he close down the investigation. Instead, the chief of police, fearing for his life, sought refuge at the American consulate. As the scandal erupted into the pages of the international press, Bo's wife was arrested and charged with murder, while Bo himself was stripped of his positions and is under investigation for "serious disciplinary violations."

Xi Jinping, who was one of Bo's allies on the 25-member Politburo and another princeling, appears to have survived the shake-up, although the Party Congress at which he was supposed to have been promoted to Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party has been postponed. We expect that Xi, once firmly in power, will pardon Bo. The princelings, children of power and privilege all, are essentially the law unto themselves. At the same time, they realize that they can only survive in power to the extent they remain unified.

When the leadership isn't fighting among itself, it is cracking down on dissent among the Chinese it rules. The one-party dictatorship that controls China today is quite likely the most totalitarian-minded—in the sense of seeking total social control—in the history of mankind. This is in large part because those who currently run China are trained in the art of power politics in a way that no other leadership cadre has ever been. They were schooled by Chairman Mao Zedong himself, and use tactics and intrigues developed over more than 2,000 years of recorded Chinese history.

Mao launched the Cultural Revolution 46 years ago, ordering the youth to "crush an old world and construct a new one." Schools throughout the country closed down in 1966, and for the next few years high school and college students received an alternative education in radical ideology, political movements, and

factional fighting.

Today, these former Red Guards are in their fifties and sixties, and they run China. Both China's current president, Hu Jintao, and premier, Wen Jiaobao, were Red Guards in the late 1960s. Hu was a member of Tsinghua University's "4.14" Red Guard group, while Wen was in Beijing Geology College's "East is Red" organization. A majority of the 11 new officials appointed to China's elite 25-member 17th Communist Party Politburo in 2007 are part of this same Cultural Revolution generation.

The same story could be repeated at lower levels of government. Tibet, for instance, is ruled by a group of aging Red Guards consisting of Mr. Meng Jianzhu, the Minister for Public Security, Mr. Zhang Qingli, the head of the Chinese Communist Party in Tibet, and Mr. Qiangha Puncog, the head of the Tibetan Government. This is the group that, supported by the People's Liberation Army, increasingly dictates the ongoing suppression of Tibet.

These are the same people who tore down and ransacked places of worship throughout China, who struggled, tortured, and in some cases killed their own professors and leaders, and who fought bitter battles with other student groups for power in their cities and provinces. These experiences of their formative years have left an indelible stamp on their characters. They may, for reasons of national and personal aggrandizement, be committed to market-oriented economic reforms, but they are at the same time cunning political manipulators and are capable, when necessary, of great brutality.

Eventually the increasingly severe methods being used to police the Chinese population and suppress all dissent will create a backlash. Many of the conditions that resulted in the collapse of the Soviet Union and the communist regimes of Eastern Europe exist now in China. But we cannot expect a Gorbachev to emerge in China, at least from this leadership cadre. Rather, look for one dramatic event to ignite the discontent that now festers throughout China. There will be more Tiananmen demonstra-

tions, and the next time they occur they may result in fundamental change.

The Coming Chinese Revolution— and the Communist Party's Response

Nothing is potentially more deadly to the Chinese Communist Party than a mass uprising of hundreds of millions of people determined to overthrow an increasingly out-of-touch leadership and end its corrupt rule. The current regime lacks legitimacy, as British columnist Will Hutton noted:¹⁰

But while China's growth has been remarkable and 400 million have been lifted out of poverty, the [Chinese Communist Party] has plainly very little to do with socialism or an egalitarian paradise. The revolution's leaders are long dead and they have been replaced by a competent if rotten administrative elite that looks more and more like the Confucian mandarin who overthrew.

A murky corporatist economic model has been created in which insiders, especially so-called princelings—sons and daughters of former revolutionary leaders such as Bo Xilai and his wife (both are children of revolutionary generals)—feather their nests with impunity. There is no impartial law; no checks and balances; nothing can be trusted. Party officials can make no claim to being revolutionary heroes as a reason for holding office; they are corrupt administrators just about delivering the quid pro quo of rising living standards. But if they fail, it is clear the whole edifice will implode.

The Chinese Communist Party leadership is painfully aware of its tenuous hold on power,

and lavishes money and attention on the military and security services as a result. Consider how it reacted to the Jasmine revolution in Tunisia.

The revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt in 2011 sparked hope in the hearts of Chinese democracy and human rights activists.¹¹ They saw how online connectivity enabled people to overcome fear, rapidly organize, and bloodlessly, or nearly so, bring down a tyrannical regime within a few weeks. But when they attempted to emulate this model they found that the Chinese government had preempted key elements of their plan and suppressed others.

Tunisia, which had languished in the grip of a dictator for 23 years, was especially instructive in illustrating to Chinese dissidents how modern means of communication enabled the mobilization of tens of thousands of people who took to the streets, how fear could be overcome through sheer numbers, and how a Tiananmen-style massacre could be avoided. Dissidents were successful in overthrowing the regime in 18 days.

It is not surprising that they sought to follow this same formula in China. Sometime in mid-February 2011—the exact date depends upon what news source you rely upon—the first call for a Jasmine Revolution for China appeared. In any case, on Saturday, February 19th, the organizers released a very specific plan for the following day. The plan named 13 Chinese cities and gathering places and directed participants to appear at 2 p.m. on Sunday, February 20th. It even outlined specific slogans for them to shout, to wit:

“We want food, we want work, we want housing, we want fairness, we want justice, start political reform, end one-party dictatorship, bring in freedom of the press, long live freedom, long live democracy.”

¹⁰ “Beyond the scandal lies a crisis at the heart of China's legitimacy, A Chinese Spring is inevitable if the party leadership doesn't reform itself,” *The Guardian*, April 15, 2012, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/apr/15/will-hutton-chinese-spring-inevitable?>

¹¹ Most of the section on recent dissent in China is based on the official Congressional testimony of Steven W. Mosher before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights on May 13, 2011.

The regime responded quickly—so quickly, in fact, that it is clear in retrospect that contingency plans for just such an event had long been in place, dating back to at least the 2008 Olympics, and probably first devised, in their most rudimentary form, in the aftermath of the Tiananmen Massacre itself.

Even before the first calls for a Jasmine Revolution for China were voiced, Chinese President Hu Jintao, as the commander-in-chief of the People's Liberation Army *and* the chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, had issued a directive to the military to be prepared for contingencies. The directive, issued on February 10, specifically instructed Party cells within the military to study a document entitled *Regulation Governing the Works of the Party Committees in the Military*, whose ostensible purpose is to strengthen the Party's control over the military. According to an explanatory note, "Each one of the 33 articles in the regulation centers on ensuring the absolute control of the party over the military."

In urging the military to study the regulation at that time, *Hu was anticipating that the unrest in the Arab world might potentially spread to China*. If circumstances required him to send in the military to put down demonstrations, he wanted his commanders ready to follow orders—whatever those might be. Was Hu concerned that some military commanders might refuse to enforce orders to fire on unarmed demonstrators, as they did initially in Beijing 22 years ago? Was Hu concerned that the military might shift allegiances in the event of a conflict and prove to be, as happened in Tunisia and Egypt, the most potent opposition weapon in overthrowing the current regime? Probably both. This is undoubtedly why the document pointedly reminds the military that all its members owe their allegiance first and foremost to the Party, and then to socialism, then to the state and, finally, to the people. If the Party finds itself in a major confrontation with the people, this prioritization intimates, the military is to



▲ China's President Hu Jintao.

AP IMAGES

support the Party at all costs, even to the point of shedding blood.

Then on February 19th—the same day that the dissidents issued a detailed plan for peaceful demonstrations in 13 major cities—Hu Jintao held a meeting of top officials to combat the perceived threat of unrest. According to the official Xinhua News Agency, the meeting not only included all nine members of the Chinese Communist Party's powerful Politburo Standing Committee, but also provincial heads, ministry chiefs, and senior military officials.

Such a high-level meeting could not have been organized overnight, suggesting again the preemptive nature of the Chinese government's response to the upheavals in the Arab world and to their possible spread to China. Hu referred to "new changes in domestic and foreign situations" and to the need for senior Chinese Communist Party cadres to adopt a unified response from the outset. The divisions in the top leadership that had for a time blunted the response of the Chinese Communist Party to the Tiananmen demonstrations were to be avoided.



▲ Tiananmen Square, 1989.

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In his surprisingly blunt address, Hu stressed that the Chinese Communist Party must strengthen its “management of society” to stay in power.

Hu defined the “management of society” to be “managing the people as well as serving them.” This formulation marks a major departure from standard Communist rhetoric, first devised by Mao Zedong, that the Chinese Communist Party exists to serve the people. The purpose of this societal management, according to Hu, is to “maximize harmonious factors and minimize non-harmonious ones.” In other words, those who adhere to the Party line are to be encouraged, while those who depart from it are to be crushed.

Hu went on to outline specific ways in which the “management of society” could be strengthened. These included heightened control over cyberspace, notably, better monitoring and control over Internet-transmitted information and improved guidance of public opinion over

the Internet. He also called for the establishment of a national database of migrant workers and of “specific groups of people”—communist parlance for political dissidents, religious leaders, and other questionable groups—so that they could be better “managed.”

The following day—the very day, in fact, slated for the demonstrations—the Politburo member in charge of national public security weighed in. Echoing Hu Jintao, Zhou Yongkang called on the Party not just to serve the people, but to manage the people as well, and announced specific ways in which this “management” would be carried out. First, a national database containing information on everyone in the country with a special focus on Hu’s “specific groups of people” would be set up. Second, with strong leadership from the Party, cyberspace was to be brought under strict government control with strict enforcement of anti-sedition laws. Third, foreign non-governmental organizations in China will be subjected

to a “dual system of supervision,” which can only mean that they will be subjected to heightened scrutiny by several different Chinese government agencies. Fourth, an early warning system will be put in place to alert the authorities to social grievances, so as to allow them to defuse problems before they deteriorate into outright social unrest.

None of this is really new, but is rather an elaboration and strengthening of what has gone before. The Ministry of State Security already has extensive files on Chinese who have in the past questioned this or that government policy. The Chinese government’s monitoring and control of the Internet has been growing for years. Foreign organizations have always been viewed with suspicion, and Chinese citizens have always been monitored by Party-run social monitoring networks.

Take social-monitoring networks, for example. From the beginning of the People’s Republic of China, the state has kept an eye on the masses by means of regular police patrols on the streets, mutual monitoring by peers in the workplace, and surveillance by neighborhood committees.

By the time of the Olympic Games, this three-tiered system had morphed into what China’s Public Security Minister, Meng Jianzhu, called a five-tiered social-monitoring network, which included: Camera surveillance in public areas and Internet surveillance, as well as regular police patrols on the streets, mutual monitoring by peers in the workplace and monitoring by neighborhood committees. This was not, as has sometimes been reported, an *ad hoc* system created in 2008 to ensure security during the Olympic Games and the subsequent Shanghai Expo, but a sophisticated elaboration of what has been a constant feature of life in the People’s Republic of China from the beginning. Those who argue that China’s economic reforms would lead to political liberalization need to take note.

As these policy pronouncements were being made, the Chinese authorities were already

preemptively moving to suppress dissent by arresting human rights lawyers, shutting university students in their campuses, banning the use of keywords on mobile phone messages, and by deploying an overwhelming police presence. The China Support Network reported that some dissidents were taken away, while others were placed under house arrest. According to the Hong Kong Information Center for Human Rights and Democracy, over 100 people were detained in this way. Other dissidents were warned against attending any of the demonstrations, and questioned about their possible role in organizing them.

Internet filters were set up to block the word “jasmine.” Also blocked, in Beijing at least, was the sending of multi-recipient text messages. The 13 announced protest sites were each cordoned off by hundreds of plain clothes and uniformed police. On the day of the planned demonstrations, small crowds gathered in Beijing and Shanghai, but were quickly overwhelmed and dispersed by the police. In the other cities the massive police presence seemed the only response to the Internet calls for protests.

Some foreign observers have called these moves on the part of the regime an “over-reaction” to events. This is a misinterpretation of what happened. The government wasn’t *reacting* to events at all, but rather *anticipating* them. These actions were all taken in advance of any major public demonstrations, and are more properly characterized as a kind of “preemptive suppression.” The speed and thoroughness of the Chinese government’s action suggests years of planning and preparation for just such a potential mass uprising, as much as it does the determination of those in power to squelch all dissent using all of the manifold tools of “social management” at their disposal.

This interpretation is also supported by the speed at which the Chinese government went on the offensive, attacking websites overseas that carry information about, or in any way encourage, a Chinese-style Jasmine Revolution. Online calls for a “Jasmine revolution” in



▲ Dissident lawyer Chen Guangcheng.

AP IMAGES

China apparently first appeared at the website Boxun.com. A few days later, Boxun announced that it would no longer carry Jasmine-related information, because of actions taken by the Chinese government against its servers, and threats made against its staff and their families. In response, a federation of eight dissident websites announced in early March that they would carry such material.

These websites in turn experienced cyber attacks emanating from Beijing. By March 11, three of the eight sites were shut down by cyber attack. The other pro-Jasmine websites continue to experience denial-of-service attacks.

It is clear that the government's response to the call for a Chinese "Jasmine revolution" in February 2011 was not *ad hoc*, but was a continuation of an ongoing campaign to suppress all expressions of civil society, including religious and ethnic affiliations, that could conceivably—at least in the minds of conspiratorially minded senior Communist Party officials—pose a threat to the power, wealth, and privileges that they currently enjoy. The neo-Red Guards who dominate the upper reaches of the Party and government, because

of their Maoist "education" in deadly power politics during their formative years, seem much more likely to brutally confront dissent than to compromise with it.

Controls on Civil Society—Crackdown on the Catholic Church, Christianity

Well in advance of any unrest in the Arab world, the Chinese government was tightening controls on civil society using its five-tiered social monitoring network. This can be seen from the increased persecution of Christians in China, including the Catholic Church and the House Church Movement, as well as in the continuing vigorous enforcement of the most intrusive and barbaric population control program the world has ever seen.

The Chinese government's crackdown on the Catholic Church is particularly notable. False bishops have been ordained and those who refuse to go along with this violation of religious freedom have been arrested. The Chinese Communist Party leadership has appointed a Father Guo, a man they could control, to be secretary general of the Bishops Conference of the Catholic Church in China (BCCCC). This

conference, unlike bishops' conferences elsewhere, answers to Beijing, not to the Vatican. It is what is called in Chinese Communist parlance a "front organization." Beijing's actions have resulted in a rebuke from the Vatican, whose spokesman criticized the "grave violations of freedom of religion and freedom of conscience."

The increased scrutiny and control of the Catholic Church in China over the past two years is of a piece with the larger crackdown on home churches that is underway in China. People of all Christian faiths often meet in people's homes because of a shortage of churches, which the government is reluctant to give permission to build. Such House Churches are being subjected to an ever-greater degree of scrutiny, with meetings often invaded and participants arrested. This has a chilling effect on evangelization, since many churches send out lay missionaries to meet in people's homes and share the Gospel. If the Chinese Communist Party is not trying to drive Chinese Catholics back into the catacombs, it is trying to keep them corralled in the state churches, discouraging them from sharing their beliefs with others.

Social Management— China's One-Child Policy

China's "One-Child Policy" is another form of repression and control practiced by the Beijing regime against its own people.

It was his opposition to this policy that earned blind, self-taught Chinese lawyer Chen Guangcheng the wrath of local Chinese Communist Party officials. In 2005, Chen filled a class-action lawsuit against the officials whose actions resulted in forced abortions or sterilizations of more than 7,000 women in his rural county. In retaliation, they jailed him for nearly four years for "attempted subversion of power." The international outcry that resulted from this miscarriage of justice eventually won his release from prison, although he was then placed under house arrest. Chen eventually made a daring escape from captivity, sought

refuge in the U.S. Embassy in Beijing, and was allowed to leave China for the U.S. in mid-May.

As Chen's story suggests, Beijing continues to vigorously pursue its infamous one-child-per-couple policy, forcibly aborting and sterilizing millions of women each year. Consider the birth control regulations posted in one town that one of us (Mosher) visited not long ago:

Under the direction of the birth control bureaucracy and the technical personnel (assigned thereto), those married women of childbearing age who have already had one child shall be given an IUD; those couples that have already had a second or higher order child shall be sterilized.

Those who manage to give birth to illegal children are not only sterilized, but are forced to pay huge punitive fines as well. Chinese parents are now assessed a fine of up to five times their annual income for the first illegal birth and up to nine times their annual income for their third illegal child.

If a couple can't afford to pay the fine, the offenders will be visited by population control officials who will "seal off" their homes, and possibly even destroy them, as punishment for non-payment. In some cases, Chinese parents who cannot afford to pay these fines have had their "illegal" children abducted by Chinese population control officials who then sold them on the black market.

This practice of child abduction has recently been confirmed by the Chinese government. According to a report in the *Caixin Century* magazine, authorities in the southern Chinese province of Hunan have begun investigating a report that population control officials had seized at least 16 babies born in violation of strict family planning rules, sent them to state-run orphanages, and then sold them abroad for adoption for up to \$5,000 each. Abducting and selling an "illegal" baby or child would not only enable an official to eliminate a potential black

mark on his record, it would allow him to make a profit at the same time.

China's Population Turns Male—and Violent

Western liberals tend to minimize the human rights abuses that characterize the one-child policy. In thrall to the myth of overpopulation, or convinced that we are about to run out of resources, they tend to look the other way when issues such as forced abortions or female infanticide in China are brought up. Yet the elimination of tens of millions of girls from China's population has implications for all of us.

It is by now well known that many Chinese prefer that their only child be a boy, and will selectively abort their daughters before birth, or even kill them at birth, in order to achieve this. The result of this barbaric practice is that there are now 100 million more men than women in China, an imbalance in the sex ratio that is especially marked among the young. China's huge and growing surplus of young males has resulted in a society that is ever more violent. Nearly every category of crime is on the upswing, from assaults and murder, to rape and kidnapping.

The question that the rest of the world should be asking itself is this: How will the innate aggressiveness of a male-dominated society express itself? Will China's "excess testosterone" be unleashed against China's Communist princelings, or will they manage to divert it into foreign adventures?

Of course, as China becomes increasingly male, it is also aging; in fact, it is aging more rapidly than any country in human history. According to the U.N. Population Division, by the year 2030, Chinese aged 65 and older will outnumber those 14 and under.¹² By 2050, if current trends hold, the median age in China will reach 48.7 years. That is to say, the Chinese will be far older, on average, than the 2010



▲ Taipei, Taiwan.

AP IMAGES

median age of 34.5. In fact, the Chinese will be significantly older than Americans by that point. Our median age is projected to be 40.0 years.¹³

This rapid aging means that, as *The Economist* has observed, "Unlike the rest of the developed world, China will grow old before it gets rich."¹⁴ According to *The Economist*:

China set up a national pensions fund in 2000, but only about 365m people have a formal pension. And the system is in crisis. The country's unfunded pension liability is roughly 150% of GDP. Almost half the (separate) pension funds run by provinces are in the red, and local governments have sometimes reneged on payments.

12 "China's demographics disaster," *Mindful Money*, April 26, 2012, accessed May 12, 2012, data from United Nations, World Population Prospects 2010 revision, <http://www.mindfulmoney.co.uk/?lid=11596>

13 UN Projection cited in "China's Achilles heel," *The Economist*, April 21, 2012, accessed May 12, 2012, <http://www.economist.com/node/21553056>

14 *Ibid.*

...The shift spells the end of China as the world's factory.

It may also spell the beginning of the end of the China threat. The reason is simple: An aged population tends to be more risk-averse, less prone to aggression. The number of pensioners in China will increase dramatically, while the number of young men of military age (16 to 25), will drop precipitously.

Before this happens, however, we will enter a period of heightened tension. Over the next 20 years, because of its age and sex structure, China will be a danger to itself and to its neighbors. China's huge surplus of unattached males of military age make it primed for aggression of one kind or another. In fact, it is conceivable that the Communist Party might embark on foreign adventures precisely in order to preemptively secure a stronger global position before the onset of the demographic decline that its shortsighted policies have spawned.

The Political Significance of Keeping Taiwan Free

Taiwan, an island nation of 23 million people located only 90 miles from Mainland China, remains Beijing's chief international challenge. The People's Republic of China claims that Taiwan is part of its sovereign territory, and that the democratically elected government there is illegitimate. Yet Taiwan has not been governed from the mainland since the Sino-Japanese war in 1895, and has been for 20 years a fully functioning democracy, with its own legislature, judiciary, and chief executive. Taiwan's current leader, President Ma Ying-jeou, has gone out of his way to avoid antagonizing Beijing. Unlike his predecessor, he is not an advocate of formal independence. In fact, he recently reiterated the so-called "Three No's" policy: No unification with China, so long as it is not democratic; no declaration of independence from China; and no use of force by China, so long as the first two don't happen.

This policy is intended to appease China, purchasing its sufferance for a Taiwan that is de facto independent.

This is important because the balance of power across the Taiwan Straits has gradually shifted in China's favor. Further complicating matters for those who would maintain a free and independent Taiwan, the island's business class has invested heavily in the Mainland, transferring much of its capital and technology to China. Where Taiwan once produced 80 percent of the world's supply of key computer and cell phone components, China has now supplanted Taiwan in this regard—in part by relying upon Taiwanese money and expertise. China produced 33 percent of the world's electronic equipment in 2009, nearly double its share of five years before.¹⁵ This manufacturing shift lessens the importance of Taiwan, while increasing the cost to the U.S. and the world of a decision to defend Taiwan from a Chinese attack.

Should China decide to take Taiwan by force, it now—absent U.S. or Japanese intervention—has the ability to do so. In a head-to-head matchup, China would likely defeat Taiwan's armed forces within two weeks, and be able to secure the entire island in about a month.

But Taiwan's political significance, as a beacon of freedom and hope for China's beleaguered dissidents, far outweighs its military importance. The Chinese Communist Party often asserts that democracy is a foreign institution, incompatible with Chinese political traditions, and a recipe for chaos and disorder. But the Party also claims that Taiwan, with its flourishing democracy, is part and parcel of China. The Chinese Communists can't have it both ways: either the Chinese people are capable of democracy (and thus don't need a corrupt and dictatorial Chinese Communist Party

¹⁵ "Global reach: China's impact on the semiconductor industry, 2010 Update," PwC, page 1, accessed May 12, 2012, <http://www.pwc.com/gx/en/technology/assets/china-semicon-2010.pdf>

to control them), or democratic Taiwan is not a part of China.

The differences between the two countries could not be more striking. In terms of political freedom, China is rated “not free,” while Taiwan earns a “free” rating.¹⁶ In terms of economic freedom, China barely beats out Syria for 138th place and earns a dismal “mostly unfree” rating, while Taiwan ranks a very respectable 18th in the world and is rated as “mostly free.”¹⁷ In this day of social networking, mass communications, and texting, these facts are not hidden from the 1.3 billion Chinese who live on the Mainland. They know that, despite the lies of the Chinese Communist Party, democracy is perfectly possible in China itself.

This explains why the West in general, and the U.S. in particular, needs to ensure that Taiwan remains independent of Communist control. The island democracy, by its very existence, acts as a break on China’s ambitions because of its strategic location and its moral force. In this respect, it is somewhat analogous to Austria and the strategic importance of that country to Germany as World War II approached. Nazi Germany would have had a difficult time embarking on a course of conquest before it absorbed Austria into the Reich. Similarly, China’s strategic flexibility will be severely restricted as long as Taiwan remains independent.

China Menaces Us in a Multitude of Ways

“Endless money forms the sinews of war,” remarked the Roman statesman Cicero. This is, roughly speaking, the situation that the United States has found itself in for the past 200 years. In every conflict since the War of 1812, America has enjoyed economic superiority over its enemies. Our large and productive economy has provided our armed forces with better arms and more abundant supplies than our enemies have enjoyed.

That may now be changing. The long-term strategic implications of China’s huge trade surpluses, and mounting U.S. debt—much of it owed to China—cannot be overstated. Over time, China’s economic prowess will translate into a better-trained army, a stronger navy, a modern air force, and a significant presence in space, the modern high ground. The deep cuts in defense being proposed by the Obama administration will have the opposite effect, while inviting the Chinese to fill an American power vacuum.

The threat that China poses to the United States is also manifesting itself in other ways, less visible, but equally dangerous to our security.

Stealing Us Blind: The Theft of Intellectual Property

China operates a vast espionage network in the U.S., which targets not only military secrets but also commercial and industrial intellectual property as well. Perhaps realizing that the totalitarian controls it imposes on its own people cripple innovation, stifle creativity, and inhibit research, it compensates by stealing Western technology. Employing Internet hackers by the thousands, and operating literally thousands of front organizations in the United States itself, staffed mainly by Chinese nationals, the People’s Republic of China has been far more successful at pilfering our secrets than the old Soviet Union ever was.

Chinese espionage has two broad goals. The first is to strengthen the Chinese economy at the expense of our own by stealing our commercial technology and employing it to produce cheap knock-offs. The second is to upgrade Chinese military capabilities with stolen American technology while, at the same time, gathering intelligence on U.S. capabilities and weaknesses that might be exploited in a future conflict.

What this means is that China has, in effect, declared cyberwar on the United States. The director of the FBI recently testified that cyber attacks from China would soon supplant ter-

16 See: <http://www.freedomhouse.org/country/taiwan>

17 See: <http://www.heritage.org/index/ranking>

rorism as the main threat faced by the agency.¹⁸ In other testimony to Congress, Mr. Richard Bejtlich, chief security officer at Mandiant, a computer-security firm, said 94 percent of companies whose networks were penetrated by Chinese hackers didn't know they had had sensitive data stolen until someone else warned them. Some 416 days passed, on average, before they realized that their secrets had been compromised.¹⁹ The FBI's lead cybercrime agent told Congress of a U.S. firm that had had 100 percent of its proprietary data from a \$1 billion, 10-year research project stolen by hackers—in a single night.²⁰

These efforts are paying off—for China. A joint Department of Defense and Department of State report mandated by Congress warned that China was obtaining U.S. military and dual-use civilian space technology and was making rapid advances in its ability to attack our own “weapons and communications systems.”²¹ According to the report:

(Chinese military) writings emphasize the necessity of “*destroying, damaging, and interfering with the enemy’s reconnaissance ... and communications satellites,*” suggesting that such systems, as well as navigation and early warning satellites, could be among initial targets of attack to “*blind and deafen the enemy.*” The same (Chinese military) analysis of U.S. and coalition military operations

also states that “*destroying or capturing satellites and other sensors ... will deprive an opponent of initiative on the battlefield and [make it difficult] for them to bring their precision guided weapons into full play.*”

The report noted that in 2010, China launched 15 satellites into space—a national record—and one more than the U.S. total of 14. Some are undoubtedly weaponized, intended to be used to blind us in the event of a conflict.

Trojan Horses with Chinese Characteristics: Penetrating American Campuses

So-called “Confucius Institutes” are being set up at dozens of American college and university campuses.²² These are technically non-profit public institutions that, while aligned with the government of the People’s Republic of China, are simply intended to promote Chinese language and culture, as well as facilitate cultural exchanges. This seemingly benign purpose leaves out a number of purposes both salient and sinister, namely, sanitizing China’s image abroad, enhancing its “soft power” globally, and creating a new generation of China watchers who are well-disposed towards the Communist dictatorship.²³

China has several interests in a greater presence at U.S. colleges and universities. First, by establishing a formal office on campus, they can better keep tabs on Chinese students studying abroad. Second, a formal presence on campus enhances China’s ability to steal cutting-edge research and technology. And third, well-funded endowments at American universities will, to a degree, buy China influence with opinion leaders, helping Beijing to counter concerns about the People’s Republic of China’s

18 “How China Steals Our Secrets,” by Richard A. Clarke, New York Times, April 2, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/03/opinion/how-china-steals-our-secrets.html?_r=1

19 “U.S. Outgunned in Hacker War,” by Devlin Barrett, Wall Street Journal, March 28, 2012, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702304177104577307773326180032.html>

20 “How China Steals Our Secrets,” by Richard A. Clarke, New York Times, April 2, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/03/opinion/how-china-steals-our-secrets.html?_r=1

21 “Risk Assessment of United States Space Export Control Policy,” Appendix 4, See: http://www.defense.gov/home/features/2011/0111_nsss/docs/1248_Report_Space_Export_Control.pdf

22 This section is adapted from official Congressional testimony of Steven W. Mosher before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, entitled, “Confucius Institutes: Trojan Horses with Chinese Characteristics,” on March 28, 2012
23 “China’s Confucius Institutes: Rectification of Statues,” *The Economist*, January 20, 2011

growing military and economic power and the threat that these pose to the U.S.

While the Confucius Institutes are sometimes compared to France's *Alliance Française* and Germany's *Goethe-Institut*, this is misleading. Unlike the latter, Confucius Institutes are neither independent from their government, nor do they occupy their own premises. Instead, they are located within established universities and colleges around the world, and are directed and funded by the so-called Office of Chinese Language Council International (Hanban), located in Beijing, which answers in turn to the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China and, chiefly, to the United Front Work Department of the Chinese Communist Party.²⁴ In fact, the Chairman of the Confucius Institute is Ms. Liu Yandong, who served as the head of the United Front Work Department from 2002 to 2007.

Americans need to understand that the purpose of the United Front Work Department is subversion, co-option and control. During the Communist revolution, it subverted and co-opted a number of other political parties, such as the Chinese Socialist Party, into serving the interests of the Communist Party. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, it continued to control these parties, which were allowed to exist on sufferance, albeit as hollow shells, to create the illusion of "democracy" in China. That it has *de facto* control over the Hanban suggests, more strongly than anything else, what one of the chief purposes of the Confucius Institutes are, namely, to subvert, co-opt, and ultimately control Western academic discourse on matters pertaining to China.

24 "Madame Liu Yandong, State Councilor and Chair of the Confucius Institute Headquarters Delivers a New Year's Address to Confucius Institutes Overseas," *Hanban News*, March 1, 2010, Accessed March 26, 2012, http://english.hanban.org/article/2010-03/01/content_150421.htm and "Nest of Spies: the startling truth about foreign agents at work within Canada's borders," by Fabrice De Pierrebourg and Michel Juneau-Katsuya, HarperCollins Canada, 2009, pp 160–162

Since the first Confucius Institute opened its doors on Nov. 21, 2004 in Seoul, South Korea, hundreds more have been established in dozens of countries around the world. By October 2010, there were 322 Confucius Institutes and 337 Confucius Classrooms in secondary schools in 94 countries and regions, with the highest concentration of Institutes in the United States, Japan, and South Korea.²⁵

The goal announced by Hanban is to have 1,000 Confucius Institutes in operation by 2020.²⁶ Chinese state media suggests that the quick expansion of the institutes testifies to the irresistible influence of China in a world "begging for the opening of Confucius Institutes." What the rapid expansion actually suggests is that this is a major foreign policy initiative of the People's Republic of China, which fact alone invites close scrutiny.

It is ironic that Communist leaders, who for nearly a century vilified Confucius as the very embodiment of feudalism, should now seize upon the name of the ancient Chinese sage, who lived from 551-479 BC, for their own purposes.

It is characteristic of Chinese Communist Party united front tactics, however, that broadly inclusive terms, however hollow, be used to describe their efforts at subversion. Confucius is, after all, a universally recognizable Chinese figure, and an institute named after him does not evoke the distaste, even revulsion, which would have greeted the names of more recent Chinese political figures, such as the founder of the Chinese Communist Party. How many universities—other than those in, say, North Korea, Venezuela, and Cuba—would have welcomed an institute named after Mao Zedong, one of the great mass murderers of the 20th century?

Chen Jinyu, vice-chairman of the Confucius

25 See: http://college.chinese.cn/en/article/2009-08/29/content_22308.htm

26 Confucius Institute: promoting language, culture and friendliness, *Xinhua*, October 2, 2006, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2006-10/02/content_5521722.htm

Locations of Confucius Institutes in the United States

- Arizona State University
- Bryant University
- Chicago Public Schools
- China Institute (New York)
- Cleveland State University
- Community College of Denver
- Emory University
- George Mason University
- Indiana University
- Purdue University
- Indianapolis
- Kennesaw State University
- Miami University, Ohio
- Michigan State University
- New Mexico State University
- North Carolina State University
- Pace University
- Pfeiffer University
- Portland State University
- Presbyterian College
- Purdue University
- Rutgers University
- San Diego State University
- San Francisco State University
- State of Washington
- Texas A&M University
- Troy University
- University of Akron
- University of California, Los Angeles
- University of Chicago
- University of Hawaii
- University of Iowa
- University of Kansas
- University of Maryland
- The University of Memphis
- University of Massachusetts
- University of Michigan
- University of Minnesota
- University of Nebraska–Lincoln
- University of Oklahoma
- University of Pittsburgh
- University of Rhode Island
- University of South Carolina
- University of South Florida
- The University of Texas at Dallas
- University of Wisconsin Platteville
- University of Utah
- Valparaiso University
- Wayne State University
- Webster University
- Western Michigan University
- University at Buffalo

Institute Headquarters, emphasized the importance that the Party attached to the choice of the name Confucius, saying “...brand name means quality; brand name means returns. Those who enjoy more brand names will enjoy higher popularity, reputation, more social influence, and will therefore be able to generate more support from local communities.”²⁷ In other words, the goals of the Confucius Institute initiative include increasing China’s *popularity, reputation, and influence* among the nations of the world.

The ongoing controversies surrounding the operation of the Confucius Institute program go far beyond its name, of course. They include, as already mentioned, the troubling fact that Hanban is effectively run by the Chinese Com-

munist Party’s United Front Work Department. In addition, there have been allegations of Confucius Institutes undermining academic freedom at host universities, engaging in industrial and military espionage, monitoring the activities of Chinese students abroad, and attempting to advance the Chinese Party-State’s political agenda on such issues as the Dalai Lama and Tibet, Taiwan independence, the pro-democracy movement abroad, and dissent within China itself.

According to Fabrice De Pierrebourg and Michel Juneau-Katsuya, a number of individuals holding positions within the Confucius Institute system have backgrounds in Chinese security agencies and the United Front Work Department. Together, these agencies are responsible for a number of activities in foreign countries, including propaganda, the monitoring and control of Chinese students abroad, the recruiting of agents among the Overseas Chinese Diaspora and sympathetic foreigners, and

27 “Chinese Language Education in Europe: the Confucius Institutes,” by Don Starr, *European Journal of Education* Volume 44, Issue 1, 2009, pages 78–79, citation at 69, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1465-3435.2008.01371.x/full>

long-term clandestine operations.²⁸

For these reasons, a number of universities have rejected Hanban's efforts to establish Confucius Institutes on their campuses, including the University of Chicago and the University of Melbourne.

That the mission of the Confucius Institutes is to extend the Chinese Party-State's campaign of "soft power" into the educational establishments of foreign countries cannot be doubted. No less a figure than Li Changchun, the propaganda chief of the Chinese Communist Party and the 5th ranked member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo, has been quoted as saying that the Confucius Institutes are "an important part of China's overseas propaganda set-up."²⁹ If the Chinese Communist Party's propaganda chief says that the Confucius Institutes are "an important part of China's overseas propaganda set-up," they probably are.

The stated mission of the Confucius Institutes is, as to be expected, far more innocuous. They claim to be engaged in promoting knowledge of Chinese language and culture abroad, as well as commercial and trade cooperation. Indeed, the director of the Confucius Institutes program, Xu Lin, goes so far as to claim that the program was started in response to a sudden uptick in interest in the Chinese language around the world. In other words, China was simply responding to a growing consumer market, rather than, say, engaging in cultural diplomacy to strengthen China's soft power abroad, or seeking to proactively create positive perceptions of its policies.

One other aspect of the Confucius Institutes deserves mention: that is, that Hanban actually sends Chinese language teachers from China to teach at the Confucius Institutes. As of 2011, 200 such teachers were working in the United

States.³⁰ It goes without saying that these teachers are carefully vetted for ideological purity before being assigned to indoctrinate young Americans in a "correct," which is to say positive, understanding of the Chinese Party-State and its growing role in the world, as well as explaining to them why Chinese dissident groups abroad, such as Tibetan independent activists, democracy groups, and the Falun Gong, must be opposed.

It is naïve to think that teachers trained in the People's Republic of China will limit themselves to teaching language and cultural programs, while avoiding such controversial subjects as China's military buildup, its abysmal human rights record, and its disdain for democracy. Such subjects invariably come up in the classroom, and Beijing's trained cadre of "language teachers" will know exactly how to allay the concerns of their young and impressionable charges.

It is understandably difficult to assess how successful the Confucius Institutes have been in carrying out their politicized mission to date, since neither the Chinese Party-State, nor its American or Chinese employees, are eager to talk about this aspect of their work. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that the presence of Confucius Institutes has had a chilling effect on academic discourse. As *The Economist* noted, "An online Confucius Institute, also supported by the Chinese government, includes an article noting the 'active' efforts of some unspecified Confucius Institutes in opposing independence for Tibet and Xinjiang, pro-democracy activism and the Falun Gong sect."³¹

More specific criticisms have been leveled by

28 "Nest of Spies: the starting truth about foreign agents at work within Canada's borders," by Fabrice de Pierrebourg and Michel Juneau-Katsuya, HarperCollins Canada, 2009, pp 160–162

29 "A message from Confucius; New ways of projecting soft power," *The Economist*, October 22, 2009, <http://www.economist.com/node/14678507>

30 "Teaching and Learning Chinese in Global Contexts," by Linda Tsung and Ken Cruickshank (2011). Continuum International Publishing Group, p. 151, http://books.google.com/books?id=4q53niG5MLIC&pg=PA2&hl=en&ei=bVcaTorXJe3UiALH55TSBQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CDQ6AEwAjgK#v=onepage&q&f=false

31 "China's Confucius Institutes: Rectification of statues," *The Economist*, "Asia Banyan," January 20, 2011, <http://www.economist.com/blogs/asiaview/2011/01/china-percentE2percent80percent99s.confucius.institutes>

Peng Ming-min, a Taiwan independence activist and politician, who claims that colleges and universities where a Confucius Institute is established have to sign a contract in which they declare their support for Beijing's "one China" policy. In consequence, the open discussion of Taiwan and Tibetan issues is *verboten* at the institutes, he claims.³²

Michael Nylan, professor of Chinese history at the University of California at Berkeley, acknowledges "early missteps," such as insisting that universities adopt a policy that Taiwan is part of China and attempting to block guest speakers critical of China from campus events, but suggests that the Chinese government is becoming "less heavy-handed." Note that Nylan does not deny that Hanban has abandoned its political mission; only that they have become more subtle about it.

A closer look at the way the Confucius Institutes are organized and funded only increases these concerns. The Chinese Party-State, acting through Hanban and the Confucius Institute headquarters, provides anywhere from \$100,000 to several million dollars in annual funding. The local university is nominally required to match funding. Since this obligation is generally fulfilled, however, by providing campus facilities and office space, as well as administrative and accounting services, there is little in the way of out-of-pocket expenses for the recipient of Chinese largess. Further, funding of this nature, via a nation with a keen interest in American technology and research, provides additional conduits for money and influence, greatly enhancing China's ability to conduct espionage.

Because of these concerns, a number of countries, confronted with the reality of growing Chinese aggressiveness, have banned or restricted the establishment of Confucius Institutes. The Indian Ministry of External

32 "China picks pockets of academics worldwide," by Peng Ming-min, *Taipei Times*, May 31, 2011, p. 8, <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2011/05/31/2003504575>

Affairs opposed the establishment of Confucius Institutes in Indian universities, arguing that they were nothing more than "a Chinese design to spread its 'soft power'—widening influence by using culture as a propagational tool."³³ The Japanese government has serious reservations as well. It is telling that of 20 or so Confucius Institutes that Hanban has been able to set up in Japan, all were at private colleges. Government-funded public universities have so far refused to play host to what is obviously an ideologically driven political power play.

Today there are Confucius Institutes on at least 90 U.S. campuses in all but 13 states.

The final word belongs to James Paradise, who in an *Asian Survey* article notes that Confucius Institutes may be viewed as Chinese "Trojan horses." While ostensibly about promoting the Chinese language and culture, he says, they are "part of a broader soft power projection in which China is attempting to win hearts and minds for political purposes."³⁴

Given that the Chinese Party-State does not share our democratic institutions, or our commitment to open markets, nor our understanding of human rights, their purposes are anti-thetical to ours. Should we really be allowing a cruel, tyrannical, and repressive regime to educate our young people and more readily steal our campus-based research?

China's Grand Strategy Can Be Summed Up in a Single Word: Hegemony

What is China up to, anyway? "One has to be concerned," former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice remarked of China's ongoing

33 "No Chinese in India, says government news," *Domain-b*, October 8, 2009, http://www.domain-b.com/economy/general/20091008_pratibha_patil.html. See also, "How to be a cultural superpower," *Times of India*, November 22, 2009, <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/sunday-toi/special-report/How-to-be-a-cultural-superpower/articleshow/5256363.cms>

34 "China and International Harmony: The Role of Confucius Institutes in Bolstering Beijing's Soft Power," by James F. Paradise, *Asian Survey* 49A: 648–649, 2009, <http://wenku.baidu.com/view/3b7190f79e31433239689307.html>

military build-up. “There’s a question of intent,” she explained.³⁵

What is China planning to do by carrying such a big stick? In a general sense, this question answers itself. No country that is not facing a serious military threat maintains a 3.2 million man military,³⁶ increases its military budget at a double-digit clip (well in excess of growth in GNP), and vigorously upgrades its military technology and hardware. Unless, of course, it intends to use force, or the threat of force, to accomplish certain domestic and international ends.

There is no mystery about China’s immediate goal. It intends to conquer Taiwan, either through the direct application of force or by intimidating the island into preemptive surrender. The Anti-Secession Law, passed by China’s rubberstamp parliament, the National People’s Congress, in March 2005, implies as much.

It is beyond Taiwan that Beijing’s intentions grow murky. Some deny that China’s ambitions extend beyond what it calls that “renegade province” and, perhaps, the South China Sea. Certainly the Chinese strategic literature contains nothing resembling a grand strategy, a statement of China’s ultimate aims. This leads some observers to deny that China has larger ambitions at all. Others take at face value Beijing’s claim that all it wants is to be “a player” in a multipolar world.

However, the Chinese Communist Party leadership has *always* had a grand strategy, and it is one of intimidation, of expansion, of assertiveness, and of domination on a global scale. It is a strategy to overtake, surpass, and ultimately eclipse the reigning superpower, the United States of America. When the People’s Republic of China accuses the U.S. of “seeking Hegemony,” this should be understood as secret envy

and hidden ambition. It is Hegemony that the People’s Republic of China, like earlier Chinese empires, itself seeks.

Chairman Mao Zedong’s Grand Strategy

The deliberations of China’s senior leaders *in camera* are carefully guarded secrets. Recently, however, some statements made by the late Chairman Mao have come to light that indicate that the People’s Republic of China had a strategy of global domination from the earliest days of its existence.³⁷ The Founder of the People’s Republic of China, it turns out, specifically and repeatedly enunciated a strategy of Hegemony.

By October 1, 1949, when Chairman Mao announced the founding of the People’s Republic of China, Mao controlled the heartland of China. But Tibet, Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang), Taiwan, and parts of Mongolia and Manchuria remained outside of his grasp. The leader of the Chinese Communist Party believed that China’s historical greatness, no less than Communism’s universalism, demanded the reconstruction of the Qing Empire that had collapsed nearly 40 years before.

Lost territories must be recaptured, straying vassals must be recovered, and one-time tributary states must once again be forced to follow Beijing’s lead. Military action—engaging the Japanese invaders, defeating the Nationalists, and capturing the cities—had delivered China into his hands. Now military action would restore the empire. For these reasons Mao intervened in Korea in the early years of his rule, invaded Tibet, bombarded Quemoy, continued to bluster over Taiwan, attacked India over Tibetan border questions, confronted the Soviet Union, and gave massive amounts of military assistance to Vietnam, including the introduction of an estimated 300,000 Chinese troops.

Maps were drawn up showing China’s bor-

35 Sunday, November 20, 2005

36 I include here the roughly 900,000 men in the so-called People’s Armed Police (PAP). The PAP is not, properly speaking, a police force at all. It was created following the Tiananmen Square demonstrations of 1989 out of heavily armed PLA military units which are charged with the mission of putting down future domestic insurrections.

37 Rong Chang and Jon Halliday’s claim to have access to Chinese Communist Party archives of Mao’s private talks with groups of the Communist Party elite seems credible to me on the strength of their other richly documented revelations of Mao’s misdeeds dating back to the 1920s.

ders extending far to the north, south and west of the area that the People's Liberation Army actually controlled. Any territory that had been touched by China, however briefly, seems to have been regarded as rightfully Beijing's. Fr. Seamus O'Reilly, a Columban missionary who was one of the last foreign Catholic priests expelled from China in 1953, recalls seeing, in the office of the local Communist officials who interrogated him, a map of the People's Republic of China that included all of Southeast Asia—Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Burma, Thailand, and Singapore—within China's borders.³⁸

But such maps were marked for internal distribution only. Mao, although willing to go to war to restore China's *imperium* piecemeal, was characteristically coy about his overall imperial aims. Even as his troops were engaged in Korea or Tibet, he continually sought to reassure the world, in the policy equivalent of a Freudian slip, "We will never seek hegemony." Mao may have been open about his dictatorial aims at home, but along his borders he still faced an array of powerful forces. The United States occupied Japan and South Korea, and had bases in the Philippines and Thailand. The British were in Hong Kong and Malaysia. Even his erstwhile ally, the Soviet Union, was occupying large swaths of Chinese territory in Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, and Xinjiang.

Once in power, he launched a program to industrialize and (secretly) to militarize China. Spending of the military and its arms industries took up three-fifths of the budget, a ratio that even his chief arms supplier, Joseph Stalin, not one to stint on military expenditures, criticized as "very unbalanced."³⁹ Nuclear-tipped ICBMs were a particular priority.

Why this headlong and, as history would reveal, economically bootless rush to build up China's military might? The Chairman was pursuing, it would appear, a grand strategy of Chinese Hegemony. As he bluntly put it to his inner circle in 1956, "We must control the earth."

The disastrous Great Leap Forward—in which the peasants were dragooned into large, state-controlled communes—must be understood as an outgrowth of Mao's lust for Hegemony. The Chairman wanted steel not just "to overtake Great Britain in steel production in three years," as the stan-

dard histories relate, but to build a blue water navy for conquest, expansion, and domination.

"Now the Pacific Ocean [in Chinese, *Taiping Yang* or "The Ocean of Peace,"] is not peaceful," Mao told his leading generals and admirals on June 28, 1958. "It can only be peaceful when we take it over."

Lin Biao, Mao's closest ally in the military, then interjected: "We must build big ships, and be prepared to land in [i.e., invade] Japan, the Philippines, and *San Francisco*." [Italics added].

Mao continued: "How many years before we can build such ships? In 1962, when we have XX-XX tons of steel [figures concealed in original]..."⁴⁰

Calling together his provincial chiefs later in 1958, Mao was even more expansive:

"In the future we will set up the Earth Control Committee, and make a uniform plan for the Earth."

It is tempting to dismiss such comments as the quixotic ravings of a known megalomaniac. Indeed, the very idea of the isolated and impoverished China of the 1950s, with its miniscule industrial base, setting up an "earth control committee" seems ludicrous. Yet even though Chairman Mao's prospects of realizing his "grand strategy" were nil, his words are of more than historical interest. They speak directly and unequivocally to former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's question of *intent*. "Mao dominated China," aptly summarize Chang and Halliday, whose access to Chinese Communist Party archives produced the above quotes. "He intended to dominate the world."

As we know from our own history, the character of a country's founder deeply influences its future course, even hundreds of years following his death. Mao passed from the scene less than 30 years ago. His portrait still dominates Tiananmen Square, and his body lies embalmed there. More to the point, his political legacy has been mostly affirmed. He was, in the definitive judgment of his successor, Deng Xiaoping, "70 percent good, 30 percent bad."

The question before us is this: Is Mao's grand strategy of Hegemony part of the "30 percent bad" that has been discarded by the post-Mao leadership? Or is it included in the "70 percent good"—the part of Mao's legacy that has been embraced by Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin, and now Hu Jintao?

38 Personal conversation with author Steven Mosher, August 28, 1998.

39 Chang and Halliday, p. 381.

40 Chang and Halliday, p. 426.

On balance, the evidence suggests that Mao's grand strategy of Hegemony has been vigorously embraced by his successors. At the same time, they have become enormously more sophisticated in acquiring the industrial, technological, and military means to realize such a strategy. Fifty years later, the thought of an "Earth Control Committee"—based in Beijing and controlled by the Chinese Communist Party—does not amuse.

From Mao Zedong to Hu Jintao: The Patriotic Education Program

Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Zedong had a strong sense of historical grievance against the West in general—and the U.S. in particular. This accentuated his desire to recover what he saw as China's rightful place in the world—at its center. This is, after all, what the very name of the country means in Chinese: *Zhongguo*, or the Kingdom at the Center of the Earth. China's current leaders share these sinocentric and xenophobic views that form the conceptual basis for, and justification of, their drive for Hegemony.

When, on October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong announced the founding of the People's Republic of China, his words suggested not merely wounded national pride but a thirst for revenge:

The Chinese have always been a great, courageous and industrious nation; it is only in modern times that they have fallen behind. And that was due entirely to oppression and exploitation by foreign imperialism and domestic reactionary governments. . . . Ours will no longer be a nation subject to insult and humiliation. We have stood up.

In the view of Chairman Mao, a cabal of Western and Western-oriented countries—Russia, Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, and America—had treacherously combined to attack the old Chinese empire, loosening China's grip on hundreds of thousands of square miles of territory and a dozen tributary states in the process.

Mao reserved special rancor for the United States, fulminating in a bitterly sarcastic speech called "'Friendship' or Aggression" in late 1949:

The history of the aggression against China by U.S. imperialism, from 1840 when it helped the British in the Opium War to the time it was thrown out of China by the Chi-



▲ Woman shows respect for late chairman Mao Zedong during the 110th celebration of his birth, 2003. AP IMAGES

nese people, should be written into a concise textbook for the education of Chinese youth. The United States was one of the first countries to force China to cede extraterritoriality. . . . All the 'friendship' shown to China by U.S. imperialism over the past 109 years, and especially the great act of 'friendship' in helping Chiang Kai-shek slaughter several million Chinese the last few years—all this had one purpose [according to the Americans] . . . first, to maintain the Open Door, second, to respect the administrative and territorial integrity of China and, third, to oppose any foreign domination of China. Today, the only doors still open to [U.S. Secretary of State] Acheson and his like are in small strips of land, such as Canton and Taiwan.⁴¹

Jumping ahead to the post-Mao period, when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, Americans reacted with euphoria and expected China (remember the "China card") to do the same. But the steely eyed heirs of a two-thousand-year tradition of hegemony had a far less happy view of the

41 Mao Zedong, "'Friendship' or Aggression," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, vol. 4 (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1969), 447–49. This speech was a response to the U.S. State Department's white paper on China, formally called United States Relations with China, and Secretary of State Dean Acheson's "Letter of Transmittal" of same to President Truman, both of which were published on August 5, 1949.



▲ Chiang Kai-shek with U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Mrs. Chiang, 1943.

AP IMAGES

new world situation. To the dismay and consternation of many in Washington, Deng Xiaoping not only dissolved his country's *de facto* alliance with the United States, he went even further, declaring in September 1991 that "a new cold war" between China and the sole remaining superpower would now ensue.⁴²

"A new cold war." How quickly American leaders have forgotten these chilling words, preferring not to think of the Chinese Party-State the way it thinks of us: as the enemy.

The pivotal moment in U.S.-China relations had actually occurred two years before, when millions of people took to the streets of China's cities to demand an end to corruption and bureaucracy. Many of the young people were even bolder, calling openly for democracy. The Chinese Communist Party put down this "counterrevolutionary incident" with deadly force—and belatedly realized that the battle for the hearts and minds of Chinese youth was close to being lost.

The Chinese Communist Party has always portrayed itself as the paramount patriotic force in the nation, but following the Tiananmen debacle it desperately sought to shore up its crumbling mythology by all the institutional means under its control. The educational system was mobilized to

⁴² Hegemon: China's Plan to Dominate Asia and the World, by Steven W. Mosher, (Encounter Books, 2000), Introduction.

teach students about China's "history of shame;" state-run factories required their workers to sit through patriotic indoctrination sessions, and the state-controlled media as well as the schools promoted Chinese exceptionalism through what is called "state-of-the-nation education" or *guoqing jiaoyu*. The message conveyed was that only the Chinese Communist Party could provide the strong central government required by China's unique *guoqing* and current national priorities, along with continued economic growth and the means to recover Chinese preponderance in Asia and accomplish the "rectification of historical accounts" (i.e., revenge on the imperialist powers).⁴³

These efforts achieved a bureaucratic apogee in September 1994 with the publication of a sweeping Party directive, "Policy Outline for Implement-

⁴³ For this definition, see Liu Hong et al., eds., *Zhongguo guoqing*, restricted circulation (Beijing: Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1990), 3–8; cited in Geremie Barme, *In the Red: On Contemporary Chinese Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 446 n. 15. Emphasizing Chinese exceptionalism also helps to insulate the Middle Kingdom from subversive foreign ideas, like the notion of universal human rights. It enables the Party to rebuff Western criticism of its human rights record by saying, in effect, that "here we have different standards." This was the tack taken by the official white paper on human rights published in 1991. See Guowuyuan Xinwen Bangongshi, *Zhongguode renquan Zhuangkuang* (The human rights situation in China) (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 1991).

ing Patriotic Education.”⁴⁴ Within the schools, the Party ordered that “Patriotic education shall run through the whole education process from kindergarten to university . . . and must penetrate classroom teaching of all related subjects.” While People’s Republic of China history textbooks have always stoked nationalist fervor and xenophobia, these same attitudes were now to be inserted into everything from beginning readers to junior high school social science textbooks to high school political education classes. The resulting kindergarten-through-college curriculum has been custom-designed to breed young superpatriots.

The Patriotic Education policy is less about accurately depicting past events than about propagating a metanarrative designed to stir up the blood of young Chinese. Complex historical events are twisted to fit a simple morality tale of good Chinese Communist patriots versus evil foreign imperialists. The tale goes like this:

The Chinese are a great race that for millennia has rightly dominated its known world. The Middle Kingdom’s centuries of national grandeur were ended by foreign imperialists, at whose hands the Chinese people suffered a hundred years of humiliation. They shamed us, tearing off and devouring living parts of the Chinese race and nation, even threatening the whole with disunity. But China has now stood up and is fighting back, determined to recover her lost grandeur no less than her lost territories. We must be wary of things foreign, absorbing only those that make us stronger and rejecting those, like Christianity and Western liberalism, which make us weaker. The first duty of the Chinese state is therefore to nationalize the masses and resist these foreign ideas. Only the Chinese Communist Party has the will and determination to lead the struggle. The new China must gather within its fold all the scattered Chinese elements in Asia. A people that has suffered a century and a half of Western humiliation can be rescued by reviving its self-confidence. To restore the Chinese nation, the People’s Liberation Army must become modernized and invincible. The world is now moving toward a new millen-

*nium, and the Chinese state must see to it that the Chinese race is ready to assume its proper place in the world—at its center.*⁴⁵

Note that the Patriotic Education Program, which comes straight out of the collected writings of Chairman Mao Zedong, was approved by the current leadership. This suggests that Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao, like Mao, are consumed by atavistic fantasies of Great Han Hegemony and see the U.S. as the chief obstacle to the restoration of China’s lost glories.

In unguarded moments, members of the Chinese Communist Party elite have admitted as much. General Chi Haotian, the former vice chairman of the Communist Party’s Central Military Commission, is among those who have spoken openly about the need to overtake and dethrone the United States. “Viewed from the changes in the world situation and the hegemonic strategy of the United States to create monopolarity,” General Chi said in December 1999, “. . . war [between China and the U.S.] is inevitable.”⁴⁶

“We Will Never Seek Hegemony”

The Great Wall of secrecy that surrounds Chinese security affairs suggests that the Chinese Communist Party sees that its interests and America’s are in deep and fundamentally irreconcilable conflict. If this were not the case, it would presumably be in Beijing’s interest to adopt a policy of transparency with regard to security affairs to reassure its largest trading partner.

From time to time Beijing does issue blanket denials that it is seeking Hegemony. Indeed, the phrase “We will never seek Hegemony” has become a commonplace phrase of Chinese diplomatic discourse. Such denials should, if anything, heighten U.S. concerns as to China’s real intentions. Chairman Mao, whose frenetic preparations to achieve Hegemony we have already discussed, frequently issued similar denials. In my view, such denials were—and are—intended to mask China’s hegemonic ambitions. After all, disinformation has been a part of Chinese statecraft for millennia. “When seeking power,” Chinese strategist Sun-tzu advised, “make it appear that you are not doing so.”

44 See “Aiguozhuyi jiaoyu shishi gangyao” (Policy outline for implementing patriotic education), Renmin ribao, 6 September 1994.

45 Based on Churchill’s paraphrase of Mein Kampf, as contained in his *The Second World War*, vol. 1 (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1948).

46 Hegemon, “Introduction.”



Figure 2—China has stated strategic ambitions to both the first and second island chains in the Pacific region—the same zones that animated some of Imperial Japan’s aggressive actions in WWII.

Beyond such blanket denials, secrecy reigns. The Pentagon’s 2005 report to Congress on the military power of the People’s Republic of China complains that “secrecy envelops most aspects of Chinese security affairs. The outside world has little knowledge of Chinese motivations and decision-making and of key capabilities supporting People’s Liberation Army modernization.”⁴⁷

This almost complete lack of transparency in military affairs concerning basic information on the quantity and quality of the Chinese armed forces cannot help but raise questions about China’s ultimate intentions. Even such basic facts as the overall size of China’s military budget remains a mystery. As the Department of Defense admits, we “still do not know the full size and composition of Chinese government expenditures on national defense. Estimates put it at two to three times the officially published figures.”⁴⁸

Some might argue that this secrecy is merely an unintentional outcome of the conspiratorial character of the Chinese Communist Party, a character that it shares with all Communist parties. In fact, secrecy in security matters is the *official and stated* policy of the Chinese Communist Party leadership. In his “24-character Admonition,” Deng Xiaoping instructs his successors to “bide their time, and hide their capabilities.”

47 “The Military Power of the People’s Republic of China, 2005,” Annual Report to Congress, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Executive Summary, p. 1

48 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Such admonitions only make sense if the Party leadership is engaged in a long-term struggle with the United States for world hegemony. Lieutenant General Mi Zhenyu, formerly vice-commandant of the Academy of Military Sciences, was speaking for the leadership of his country when he recently remarked, “[As for the United States,] for a relatively long time it will be absolutely necessary that we quietly nurse our sense of vengeance. . . . We must conceal our abilities and bide our time.”⁴⁹

Like Mao and Deng before him, Jiang remains wary of the “imperialist-dominated” world, and believes that armed conflict—sooner or later—is inevitable. “We must prepare well for a military struggle” against the “neo-imperialists,” Jiang said in 1997.⁵⁰ The plots of the “neo-imperialists” to “split up” and “westernize” China, he continued, can only be stopped by a modern and robust People’s Liberation Army.

Some may say that this secrecy does not mask imperial ambitions, but is merely a reflection of the nature of China’s system of government. There is a natural tendency towards secretiveness on the part of one-party dictatorships. But this is

49 *Megatrends China* (Beijing: Hualing Publishing House, 1996); cited in Bruce Gilley, “Potboiler Nationalism,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 3 October 1996. According to several selections in *China Debates the Future Security Environment*, the late Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping was the author of the military strategy of “biding our time and building up our capabilities.”

50 *New China News Agency*, 31 July 1997. Quoted in Lam, p. 161.

hardly reassuring as to China's intentions given that it is China's system of government itself—a Leninist one-party dictatorship—that is the *root of the problem*.

The Chinese Communist Party, like all Communist Parties, is a War Party

Chairman Mao famously remarked, “Political power comes from the barrel of a gun.” This generalization was certainly true in the case of the Chinese Communist Party, which came to power via a bloody civil war, remained in power by continually purging real and potential enemies, and has frequently used force against its neighbors.

Chinese Communist Party rule has been characterized by high levels of state-sanctioned violence, even domestic terror campaigns, from the beginning. In recent years we have the examples of the violent response to the peaceful Tiananmen demonstrations, the ongoing violence against women in the one-child policy, and the continuing purge of the Falungong, a nonviolent Buddhist sect whose members are still being arrested, tortured, and sometimes killed today on the orders of first Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao.

Internationally, China has bloody borders. Because of the People's Republic of China's peace-loving rhetoric, that country has largely avoided the reputation for bellicosity that its history of aggression against peoples on China's periphery deserves. During the 25 years that Mao ruled China, his armies intervened in Korea, assaulted and absorbed Tibet, supported guerrilla movements throughout Southeast Asia, attacked India, fomented an insurrection in Indonesia, provoked border clashes with the Soviet Union, and instigated repeated crises vis-à-vis Taiwan. When an opportunity arose to send out China's legions, Mao generally did not hesitate—especially if the crises involved a former tributary state, which is to say almost all of the countries with which China has a common border. Under Mao, the would-be Hegemon, China had bloody borders.⁵¹

In the decades since Mao, China has invaded Vietnam, attacked Philippine and Vietnamese naval units in the South China Sea, splashed down

missiles adjacent to Taiwan, and continues its aggressive intrusions into Japanese territorial waters. The Chinese Communist Party today continues to exist in a state of partial mobilization, and has made it clear that it is prepared to use force to resolve both domestic crisis and external challenges.

“Comprehensive National Power” as the Basis for Hegemony

A fourth piece of evidence that Mao's drive for hegemony has not been abandoned comes from the deliberate, rational effort to build up China's industrial base as the basis for future military production. Military production is not to be an accidental byproduct of other productive capacities, as it was in the U.S. during World War II, for example, and is still to some extent today. Rather, it is a deliberate aim of the government's Five Year Plans. The sobering implications of this fact need to be thought through.

First, a little history. Mao was in a hurry to industrialize, build a first-class war machine, and become the Hegemon. Yet, virtually the only thing he had to sell to the Soviet Union in exchange for arms was food. Setting up large, centrally controlled people's communes allowed him to more efficiently extract food and work out of the peasantry. Loudspeakers were set up to urge the peasants to work longer and harder, and women were forced into the fields to work alongside the men for the first time. Most of the grain they produced was turned over by the Communist cadres in charge to local “state collection stations.” From there it was shipped to the cities—and to the Soviet Union.

As the Great Leap Forward picked up speed, senior officials kept increasing the quotas of grain to be delivered to the state collection stations. In response, commune-level cadres worked the peasants longer and longer hours on shorter and shorter rations. Mao, who saw people only as means to *his* ends, was unmoved by reports that millions of peasants were starving to death. Instead, this ruthless megalomaniac calmly declared that, to further his global ambitions, “half of China may well have to die.”

The people's communes were arguably the greatest instrument of state exploitation ever devised. They proved so efficient at squeezing the peasantry that tens of millions of villagers starved to death from 1960-62 as a result. Mao's efforts to

51 Jonathan Wilkenfeld, Michael Brecher, and Sheila Moser, eds., *Crises in the Twentieth Century*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1988–89), 15, 161. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Shuster, 1996), 258.

build up his arsenal cost an estimated 42.5 million lives.

This costly mistake has been rectified by Deng Xiaoping and subsequent leaders, who have ordered that civilian production keep pace with, and support, military production. This is not an abandonment of Hegemony, but merely a more rational approach to achieving it, and one that is in line with time-honored Chinese geopolitical goal of a “rich country and a strong military.”

China’s current leaders have disavowed Mao’s *means* as obviously faulty, but not his ends. But they have learned, and learned well, one important lesson from Mao’s failures. That is the necessity of coordinating military-civilian production so that the planned military build-up does not overly tax economic growth has been deeply ingrained in the Chinese leadership.

One may say that China’s National High Technology Research and Development Program, or 863 Policy, is an outgrowth of Mao’s effort to build military strength. Deng Xiaoping’s “16 Character Maxim,” mentioned earlier, makes the same point—that the primary purpose of economic development is to build a strong military:

“Combine the Military and the Civil”
 “Combine Peace and War”
 “Give Priority to the Military”
 “Let the Civil Support the Military.”

Now American analysts, understanding these four sets of four characters each as epigrams—encapsulated bits of wisdom—usually take them together to mean something on the order of “technological developments in the civilian economy directly support the strength of the military.”⁵² The above statement is true—indeed, it is a truism—but it is a projection of our own beliefs and attitudes onto a different cultural and political landscape. For this reason, it badly mistakes Deng Xiaoping’s meaning.

For Deng was not minting epigrams, he was issuing orders. Read them again as they are read in China—as orders:

*Key sectors of the civilian economy must
 have a military purpose
 Use the peace to prepare for war.
 Military technology and weapons production has*

economic priority

*Civilian production must support, technologically
 and economically, military production.*

The Chinese Communist Party is a war party. For what these hortatory phrases mean is not that the civilian economy is the backbone of security, as they would in the American context. They rather signify that the military is the point of economic development. The point of building Comprehensive National Strength is the drive for Hegemony.

China’s mercantilism, by which it seeks to move as much of the world’s manufacturing base to China as possible, undermines U.S. national security by hollowing out America’s industrial base. China will not lightly abandon this policy, which strengthens China as it weakens the U.S.

China is aggressively pursuing territorial claims other than Taiwan

Additional evidence that China’s territorial ambitions go well beyond Taiwan comes from its aggressive pursuit of territorial claims in the East China and South China seas. Even a cursory reading of China’s Defense White Papers suggests that it views U.S. power and military presence throughout the world with a jaundiced eye, and that it seeks to become, over the mid-term, the dominant power in Asia. This goal necessarily brings it into potential conflict with the U.S. and its allies, chiefly Japan.

China’s increasingly aggressive behavior towards Japan is particularly revealing of its wider ambitions. China’s increasingly aggressive intrusions into Japanese airspace and Japanese territorial waters has raised eyebrows in Tokyo and Washington.

All this suggests a People’s Republic of China that has, in combination, the historical grievances of a Weimar Republic, the paranoid nationalism of a revolutionary Islamic state, and the Hegemonic ambitions of a Soviet Union at the height of its power. As China grows more powerful and attempts to rectify those grievances and act out those Hegemonic ambitions, it will cast an ever-lengthening shadow over Asia and the world.

In closing, let us not forget the fateful words of Chairman Mao:

“In the future we will set up the Earth Control Committee, and make a uniform plan for the Earth.”

This is not a world that we Americans, or our children, would want to live in.

⁵² See, *inter alia*, The USCC 2005 Report, p. 88.