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Chinese Leadership and Elite Responses to the U.S. Pacific Pivot

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Introduction

Over the past several years, the most significant overall U.S. foreign policy action of relevance to China has been the announcement and initial follow-through of the so-called “Pacific Pivot” or “Rebalancing” of U.S. attention and resources to the Asia-Pacific. This policy move (hereafter termed the Pacific Pivot), albeit in many ways expressing great continuity with past U.S. policy, is being viewed by many observers and officials in the U.S., China, Asia, and elsewhere, as an important response not only to the growing overall significance of the region to American interests, but in particular to the challenges and opportunities presented by an increasingly powerful and influential China. The Pacific Pivot has thus drawn considerable attention and levels of controversy in many quarters, and nowhere more so than in Beijing.

This article takes a close look at the Chinese reaction to Washington’s increased stress on Asia, including Chinese assessments of the perceived implications of this policy shift for the region and China in particular. Three categories of sources are examined:

- **Authoritative**: Several types of PRC sources are considered authoritative in the sense of explicitly “speaking for the regime.” Of these, commentary on the Pacific Pivot has only occurred during Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) or Ministry of Defense (MND) press conferences, and in the remarks of a few senior MFA officials.

- **Quasi-authoritative**: Several types of usually homophonous, bylined articles appearing in the People’s Daily are considered quasi-authoritative in the sense that, although indirect and implicit, they are intended to convey the view of an important PRC organization. Of these, commentary on the Pacific Pivot has only occurred in articles using the new byline Zhong Sheng (钟声), which is an apparent homophone for “the voice of the Central,” and appears to be written by the editorial staff of the People’s Daily International Department.

- **Non-authoritative**: Many types of low-level commentary and signed articles appearing in a wide variety of PRC and Hong Kong media convey notable yet decidedly non-authoritative views. Many of these types of articles include a broad spectrum of diverse reactions on the Pacific Pivot.

The content of statements and commentaries appearing in these sources is compared and contrasted to discern possible differences in the Chinese reaction to the Pacific Pivot. In
addition, their timing and content are compared to apparent changes over time in U.S. formulations, emphases, and military or diplomatic actions regarding the policy move, to see whether and how the Chinese response might be prompted and shaped by specific U.S. policy behaviors.

The essay begins with a brief summary of the history and evolution of the Pacific Pivot (centering on key leadership speeches and writings as well as statements by U.S. government sources, such as State Department and Defense Department officials and spokespersons), followed by a quantitative and qualitative assessment of the Chinese response, divided into both authoritative and quasi-authoritative versus non-authoritative sources. The quantitative analysis examines the frequency and timing of the appearance of statements regarding the pivot in selected key media. The qualitative analysis examines the content and timing of Chinese statements and commentaries with regard to five issue areas where references to the Pacific Pivot are most evident:

- Broad regional strategy and U.S.-China relations
- U.S. defense doctrine and policies (especially the Air-Sea Battle Concept, or ASBC)
- The U.S. military presence in Asia (including basing, deployments, and exercises)
- U.S. policy toward the South China Sea territorial disputes
- The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) initiative

However, not all of the authoritative, quasi-authoritative, and non-authoritative sources examined cover every one of these six issue areas.

**Origins and Evolution of the Pivot to Asia**

The Obama Administration’s increased emphasis on the Asia-Pacific region builds on similar but arguably less extensive and coordinated activities undertaken during the Clinton and especially the Bush II administrations. These included, among others, efforts to strengthen relations with existing regional allies, negotiate new regional economic arrangements, push forward existing multilateral initiatives such as APEC and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), develop new partnerships with India, Indonesia, and Vietnam, and place a greater military stress on the southern and western parts of the region by increasing operations there, mainly through new rotational deployments.6

Despite such actions, Obama officials have asserted that the U.S. was “…underweighted in Asia, given the importance of the region, given the economic dynamism in the region, and the strategic dynamics in the region.”7 As a result, U.S. officials have stressed three policy features as central pillars of the Pacific Pivot: first and foremost, the strengthening of U.S. bilateral alliances and security partnerships in the region;” second, more intensive engagement with the emerging power centers in the region, most notably China, India, and Indonesia; and third, more active and
direct participation in the development of regional multilateral institutions, especially in the
realms of economics, diplomacy, and security.\(^8\)

According to two U.S. analysts, none of these moves were “…presented as being aimed at
containing, encircling, or counterbalancing China. Rather, they were billed as a necessary
rebalancing of U.S. attention to advance U.S. interests, exploit opportunities, and reassure allies
and friends of U.S. staying power and commitments.”\(^9\) However, there is no doubt that the pivot
was motivated by concerns over China’s growing power, influence, and behavior in the Asia-
Pacific. Specifically, Washington saw an increasing need to respond to the apparent
uncertainties and anxieties in the region created by China’s growing military capabilities and its
increasing assertiveness---especially in 2009-2010---regarding claims to disputed maritime
territory and U.S. and allied military exercises and surveillance operations in the Western
Pacific. From the U.S. perspective, such assertiveness threatened to unnerve friends and allies,
inhibit U.S. freedom of air and maritime navigation, and generally constrain Washington’s
ability to project power in the region.\(^10\)

**Milestones**

Key features of what became the Pacific Pivot emerged in the early months of the Obama
Administration, and were primarily reflected in a stepped up series of diplomatic visits to the
Asia-Pacific in 2009 by senior officials (including both the president and the secretary of state),
and new initiatives signaling a greater level of U.S. involvement in multilateral institutions (such
as the East Asian Summit or EAS), along with other diplomatic moves. Most of this activity
began in Southeast Asia, largely because many regional leaders felt they had been neglected by
Washington during the Bush II era, as noted above. But subsequent trips by Clinton in that year,
and a major ten-day Asia trip by President Obama in November, included stops in northeast Asia
as well.\(^11\)

This tempo of activity largely continued in 2010 and into 2011, and included a clear assertion of
increased U.S. involvement in the South China Sea and East China Sea territorial disputes
between China and other Asian nations.\(^12\)

The Obama Administration’s renewed emphasis on Asia became a very clear and deliberate
policy initiative by the fall of 2011. At that time, the policy moves began to be described as a
“pivot” or “rebalancing” to the region. Such deliberate phrasing coincided with several
coordinated actions and statements, including the publication of a major article and public
address by Clinton (both titled “America’s Pacific Century”) and very eventful trips to the Asia-
Pacific by President Obama and Clinton.\(^13\) In an address to the Australian Parliament in
November, Obama stated that the goal of the U.S. policy shift to Asia is to ensure that “the
United States will play a larger and long-term role in shaping this region and its future.”\(^14\)
Two final milestones in the enunciation of the Pacific Pivot occurred in the first half of 2012, both relating to military issues. In January, the Obama administration released new defense strategic guidelines that stressed the Asia-Pacific (along with the Middle East) as key regional defense priorities and identified China and Iran as two potential anti-access threats. This coincided with the announcement of a new approach to organizing U.S. military power: the Joint Operational Access Concept (JOAC).\textsuperscript{15} In June, Defense Secretary Panetta delivered a major address describing the U.S. commitment to a continued strong military posture in the Asia-Pacific; in support of that commitment, Panetta announced the intention to devote a majority of U.S. naval power to the region.\textsuperscript{16}

**Chinese Views: A Quantitative Assessment**

In general, since October 2011, when authoritative U.S. announcements of the policy shift first emerged, only a handful of authoritative or quasi-authoritative articles or statements explicitly addressing the Pacific Pivot have appeared in China’s media. Most of these are discussed below.\textsuperscript{17}

In contrast, approximately one hundred non-authoritative statements, articles, and commentaries have appeared in party, military, and government media (i.e., the People’s Daily, the People’s Liberation Army Daily, and Xinhua) discussing the U.S. policy emphasis on Asia.\textsuperscript{18}

Although our search for such references began with the advent of the Bush II Administration, the overwhelmingly majority of “hits” were concentrated in 2010, 2011, and 2012, and appeared largely in response to specific U.S. actions and initiatives relating to the increased emphasis on Asia listed above, ranging from military exercises to participation in regional multilateral fora, as well as high profile statements by U.S. leaders.\textsuperscript{19}

The vast majority of these references appeared in the People’s Daily, and were concentrated in late 2011 and early 2012, in response to the above-outlined series of high-profile statements, appearances, and actions relating to the Pacific Pivot appearing at that time.\textsuperscript{20} Interestingly, an archival search of the People’s Liberation Army Daily turned up far fewer references to the “pivot” or any of its equivalent terms.\textsuperscript{21} However, the People’s Liberation Army Daily understandably contained more references to the ASBC than did the People’s Daily. But the numbers were small in both cases.\textsuperscript{22}

**Chinese Views in Five Issue Areas**

Among the five issue areas identified above, Chinese responses to the Pacific Pivot have most often addressed either the larger (usually regional) strategic dimensions of the policy and its implications for the U.S.-China relationship in particular, or specific military or defense-related issues, including U.S. military strategy, U.S. basing, deployments or training, or U.S. actions
toward territorial disputes, especially regarding the South China Sea. Although important, Chinese references to the TPP in this context were far fewer.

Regional Strategy and U.S.-China Relations

Overall, statements from authoritative MFA and MND sources have been largely muted and restrained, with abstract, at times even conciliatory responses given to very specific and sometimes provocative questions about the Pacific Pivot. In addition, most notably, virtually all of these statements have occurred during regular press conferences, in response to media questions. The low ranking of such events as authoritative sources reinforces the relatively low-key treatment accorded to the issue.

In their responses, the MFA spokespersons often reiterated Beijing’s prior statements of support for “…the constructive role played by the U.S. in the Asia-Pacific,” along with other somewhat conciliatory remarks. References to the “constructive role” of the U.S. in Asia of course predate the Pacific Pivot, having emerged at the latest in 2009, in response to U.S. efforts to elicit a formal public declaration of China’s acceptance of the U.S. as an Asian power.

However, while generally regarded as a positive statement, the adjective “constructive” implies that Chinese acceptance of the U.S. is conditional, dependent on Beijing’s view of the specific type of regional role played by Washington. In fact, other authoritative Chinese statements suggest that the Chinese would view U.S. regional behavior as constructive only if it respects the interests and concerns of China and other Asian powers, and in general contributes to greater bilateral and regional cooperation while de-emphasizing military divisions or rivalries. Indeed, authoritative Chinese statements regarding the Pacific Pivot often include a stress on the convergence of U.S. and Chinese interests in Asia and the need for the U.S. to respect the “interests and concerns of other parties in the Asia-Pacific, including China” and for the two sides to “…develop a relationship featuring mutual benefit, win-win and sound interaction between emerging and established powers.”

On this basis, one could conclude that Beijing regards those aspects of the U.S. policy move that appear to invoke actual or potential rivalries or create or sustain divisions or zero-sum interactions among countries as unconstructive in nature. This would presumably include emphases on bolstering bilateral security alliances or creating exclusivist political or economic associations. And in fact, authoritative Chinese commentaries on the Pacific Pivot usually contain a mild criticism of those aspects that involve efforts to intensify or expand U.S. military deployments and defense alliance relationships in the region. Again, such statements were made during regular press conferences, in response to media questions.

In contrast to such pronouncements, both quasi-authoritative and non-authoritative articles and statements in this issue area have in general been more explicitly critical of the U.S., and more likely to draw analytical connections regarding the motivations and consequences of particular U.S. policies associated with the Pacific Pivot.
Regarding the motivations behind the policy shift, Chinese observers publishing in civilian and military organs argue that the U.S. is now attempting to expand its presence and influence in Asia primarily in order to gain the benefits of the region’s dynamic economic growth and thereby sustain its dominant position, both regionally and globally. Many of these observers also see the Pacific Pivot as primarily directed against China, “...because only China's rise can pose a potential challenge to its hegemony.”

In other words, most commentators suggest that the U.S. seeks to counterbalance Chinese influence in an effort to preserve American dominance over the region. Moreover, observers publishing in both quasi- and non-authoritative sources assert that the U.S. policy could eventually generate a “zero-sum” competition with Beijing, and thus undermine U.S. attempts to benefit from Asia’s dynamism or promote a more stable regional security environment. Indeed, articles in the same range of sources explicitly point to a tension or contradiction between the U.S. effort to sustain dominance in the military and political spheres—-which could very likely increase regional tensions—and the need to enhance economic and trade relations with Asia—which requires an absence of such tensions.

In addition to the geostrategic effort to retain dominance, some Chinese observers also point to the influence of domestic U.S. politics in the emergence of Pacific Pivot. But these references are relatively few.

Regarding the means allegedly employed to advance the U.S. policy shift, in many instances, a struggling Washington is viewed as attempting to assemble a regional coalition to counterbalance China. In a similar vein, many observers, including the quasi-authoritative Zhong Sheng, see the policy move as involving U.S. efforts to promote regional tensions or take advantage of regional differences to increase U.S. influence.

More broadly, some observers point to the new U.S. policy’s emphasis on strengthening Cold War era alliance relationships as an attempt to use “small group” military cooperation to create “…a structural barrier to [a larger pattern of] security cooperation of Asian countries.” In this manner, the U.S. policy move is seen by many Chinese observers as a relic of the Cold War era and a direct challenge to the prevailing trend in international relations, “…in which seeking for communication and cooperation far precedes resorting to confrontation and conflict.”

Given both its alleged divisive consequences and the desire for dominance motivating the U.S. policy move, some Chinese commentators assert that other Asian nations “…are unlikely to approve of the U.S. attempt to impose its values on them or the so-called "leadership" it aspires to exercise in Asia….What [such nations] need right now is a reliable partner, not a country that yearns for leadership and intends to act as an arbitrator…” In a less confrontational version of this argument, some analysts lay as much or more blame on other Asian nations as on the U.S. for using the Pacific Pivot to stimulate division and instability.
At the same time, a few Chinese journalists and government-associated scholars do not assume that the U.S. will inevitably choose such a confrontational path. Some even see the potential for positive outcomes of the Pacific Pivot.\textsuperscript{37} Others question whether the U.S. will be able to sustain the policy over time even if it does pursue a more confrontational path, given U.S. economic problems and the strong incentive of many Asian nations to maintain close economic ties with China.\textsuperscript{38} In fact, an editorial in the \textit{Global Times} argues that nations will only align with the U.S. if doing so is more profitable than maintaining close relations with China. Equally notable, the article also seems to imply that nations will eventually have to give up their military ties with the U.S. to maintain access to China’s economy.\textsuperscript{39} A few observers, including Zhong Sheng, assert that Asia is a large enough area to accommodate the “return” of the U.S. and permit coexistence with China.\textsuperscript{40}

\textbf{U.S. Military Strategy and Defense Concepts}

Authoritative Chinese civilian and military commentary on those elements of the Pacific Pivot that relate to U.S. military strategy and defense concepts has been both very rare and restrained. And, as in the case of overall U.S. strategy and U.S.-China relations discussed above, every authoritative comment on U.S. military strategy has been low level, appearing in response to media questions at regular press conferences and most often in the aftermath of the unveiling of the January 2012 U.S. Defense Strategy Review report.\textsuperscript{41}

To our knowledge, only one authoritative comment has occurred on U.S. defense concepts associated with the Pacific Pivot, notably concerning the Air-Sea Battle Concept. Again, at a MND press conference, the ASBC was unsurprisingly described as destabilizing (by advocating confrontation and stressing one’s own security at the expense of the security of others), an expression of a Cold War mentality, and against the dominant global trend of “peace, development, and cooperation.”\textsuperscript{42}

In contrast to such rare and relatively benign commentary, both quasi- and non-authoritative remarks on U.S. military strategy and concepts have been more frequent (although by no means numerous), more critical, and largely conveyed by PLA analysts or in PLA media. As with authoritative commentary, many remarks came in response to the publication of the new U.S. National Defense Strategy Report in January 2012.

In line with the broader assessment of the U.S. policy move as an effort to counter-balance or contain China’s growing power, some Chinese defense analysts assert that the shift in Washington’s strategic focus to the Asia-Pacific region represents a return to the Cold War-style “threat-based” national security planning model—directed at China and Iran—and the end of the “capabilities-based” planning approach that marked the counter-terrorism effort.\textsuperscript{43}

In characterizing the ASBC as an essential part of this new threat-based, “Asia-first” U.S. defense strategy, many military analysts, and some Zhong Sheng articles, assert that the concept is clearly directed at China and will result in greater Sino-U.S. military frictions.\textsuperscript{44} Indeed, a few
PLA scholars stress the supposed similarity of the ASBC to the Cold War concept of Air-Land Battle, thereby implying that the U.S. military is now treating China as the new Soviet Union.\(^{45}\)

Two well-known defense analysts assert that the ASBC is viewed by Obama and senior U.S. defense officials as “…the fulcrum and the theory foundation for directing the strategic transformation of the United States and the eastward shift of the gravity center of the U.S. global strategy.”\(^{46}\) The same defense analysts also connect the ASBC to the allegedly destabilizing U.S. effort to strengthen political and security relations with regional allies, a major component of the Pacific Pivot.\(^{47}\)

All these assessments greatly exaggerate the scope and significance of the ASBC at this point in time, since the concept remains largely undefined, unfunded, and unimplemented. Moreover, in reality, the concept is explicitly designed to counter specific anti-access, area-denial capabilities, regardless of which country might possess them. That said, as seen above, the Defense Department has also explicitly identified Iran and China as the two major possessors of such capabilities at present. Hence, while it is inaccurate to describe the ASBC as purely “threat-based,” it is nonetheless arguably being developed with specific countries in mind.

*The U.S. Military Presence: Basing, Deployments, and Exercises*

There has been more commentary by authoritative Chinese sources on features of the U.S. military presence than on any other issue area associated with the Pacific Pivot, except perhaps U.S. policy toward regional territorial disputes in the South China Seas (discussed below). However, as with the above issue areas, such commentary has taken place almost exclusively at a low level, during regular press conferences.

In response to the announcement of the rotational deployment of Marines to Darwin, authoritative PRC Foreign Ministry sources have generally taken a rather low profile, only indirectly suggesting that the move might go against the regional trend toward greater peace, stability, and cooperation. In answering questions about the U.S.-Australian announcement, MFA spokespersons have reiterated China’s commitment to peace, stability, and economic development in the region and urged other countries to “…make constructive efforts in building a harmonious and peaceful Asia-Pacific region.”\(^{48}\)

Perhaps the strongest MFA statement on this topic came in November 2011, when a spokesperson stated, in response to a query regarding the U.S.-Australian defense move, that: “China does not seek military alliance….The U.S. stated many times that it welcomes a strong, prosperous and stable China and has no intention to contain China. We hope the U.S. does what it says.”\(^{49}\)

The response of a military (MND) spokesperson to a similar question conveyed a more directly critical perspective, but one that is also often found in quasi- or non-authoritative commentary on the Pacific Pivot, as shown above. While reiterating the usual statement of support for activities
that promote peace, stability, and development in Asia, the spokesperson took the opportunity to criticize military alliances, describing efforts to strengthen and expand such alliances [as in the case of the U.S.-Australia initiative] as “…an expression of a Cold War mentality, and…not [in accord with] the trend of peace, development, and cooperation….”

However, it is important to note that PLA spokespeople have also generally played down possible links between U.S. military exercises with other Asian nations and the Pacific Pivot. As with the U.S.-Australian initiative, comments have merely stressed the hope that joint exercises will be “…conducive to the peace and stability of the region.”

Non-authoritative Chinese observers generally strike a far more critical tone toward various dimensions of the increasing U.S. military presence in Asia associated with the Pacific Pivot. As with commentary on U.S. strategy in general, many assert a direct connection between such activities and the supposed larger intention of the policy move as an effort to strengthen U.S. “hegemony” in the region and contain China’s rise.

In this regard, as suggested above, unlike authoritative commentary, analysts often point to a supposed link between increased U.S. deployments (to Australia and elsewhere), exercises with Asian allies, and expanded regional access (exemplified by the dispatching of littoral combat ships to Singapore) on one hand, and the requirements of the Air-Sea Battle Concept, viewed as a central element of the Pacific Pivot, on the other hand. In particular, the ASBC, and U.S. military strategy in general, are seen as requiring an enhanced and dispersed U.S. force presence across the region.

Some Chinese observers have also characterized such U.S. actions as involving not only the dispersal but also partial withdrawal of U.S. forces from those forward areas threatened by Chinese ballistic missiles, such as Japan and South Korea.

Finally, some Chinese observers argue, in line with general views on the Pacific Pivot, that the enhanced U.S. regional military presence, rather than reassuring nations, will in fact divide the region, threaten the sovereignty of some nations, and generally create greater security anxieties. In response to the U.S. policy move, one Zhong Sheng article argues that Japan and other Asian nations should cultivate a form of regionalism not beholden to external powers or foreign values.

The South China Sea Disputes

The ongoing and arguably intensifying territorial disputes over the South China Sea---involving China and several ASEAN nations (and especially Vietnam and the Philippines, a U.S. ally)---are viewed by many Chinese observers as a key issue linked to the Pacific Pivot.

PRC MFA representatives have commented frequently and unmistakably, albeit often indirectly and usually at a low level of authority (again during press conferences), on the enhanced level of...
U.S. involvement in the disputes. While avoiding any explicit linkage between the larger Pacific Pivot and U.S. behavior toward the South China Sea, MFA spokespersons have repeatedly expressed opposition to any involvement in the disputes by "countries outside the region" and have stated that “[c]omplicating and magnifying the South China Sea issue does not help solve relevant disputes, nor is it conducive to regional peace and stability.”

In addition, Chinese officials have indirectly rejected U.S. concerns over freedom of navigation in the South China Sea, asserting that China has never inhibited free passage in the region and would not do so in the future. Moreover, Beijing authorities have also cast suspicion on the motives of any entities that “[play up]...the issue of freedom of navigation and [confuse] it with island sovereignty and maritime demarcation in the South China Sea...,” stating that such actions "...cannot but raise our suspicion of the motives behind the move.”

At the same time, MFA spokespersons have generally avoided accusing Washington of taking sides in the disputes, although they have also failed to affirm clearly that the U.S. is in fact adopting a neutral stance. But both MFA and MND spokespersons have generally adopted a measured approach toward U.S. involvement in the recent disputes between China and the Philippines over the Scarborough Shoal / Huangyan Island. Beijing has authoritatively criticized Manila for causing the dispute and militarizing it through the deployment to the scene of armed state vessels and has suggested that it might be attempting to draw "other countries" (read: the U.S.) into the dispute as supporters. However, it has not directly accused the U.S. of encouraging or backing the Philippines in the dispute.

That said, perhaps the most pointed authoritative remarks on this issue came from a relatively high level: Vice Foreign Minister Cui Tiankai. Cui reportedly warned that “individual countries are actually playing with fire, and I hope the fire will not be drawn to the United States,” urging the U.S. to “counsel restraint to those countries who’ve been frequently taking provocative action.” This remark was directed primarily at China’s rivals in the South China Sea territorial disputes. But it also conveyed the concern that the U.S. could be drawn into such disputes in support of those nations.

In sharp contrast, both quasi- and non-authoritative Chinese observers have leveled direct and harsh criticism of U.S. behavior toward the South China Sea disputes, often linking such behavior to the Pacific Pivot. Many assert that Washington is using the disputes---and has "created" an issue over freedom of navigation in the region in particular---to justify an enhanced military presence in Southeast Asia, to contain China, to support its overall pivot toward the region, and to "stir up trouble" and sow discord between China and local powers.

Moreover, while a few Chinese observers acknowledge that the U.S. is officially attempting to remain neutral in the territorial disputes, many others assert that Washington has shown, through its military and diplomatic assistance to the Philippines during the Scarborough Shoal dispute, that it is using Manila to strengthen its control over the region, and to contain China. Some
observers point to the recent U.S.-Philippines joint military exercises as a confirmation of such intent.\textsuperscript{64}

Several observers, including article by Zhong Sheng, also criticize the U.S. indirectly for providing backing to the alleged efforts of other claimants to internationalize the territorial disputes and thereby exert pressure on China. Instead, they argue, such efforts will destabilize and divide the region.\textsuperscript{65}

\textit{The TPP}

As suggested above, many Chinese observers see the increased emphasis, in the Pacific Pivot, on deepening economic ties with the region, as stemming from a somewhat urgent, if not desperate, need to better employ Asia’s uniquely strong growth in an attempt to pull the U.S. out of its current economic malaise. Many point to the U.S. initiative in support of the Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership Agreement (TPP) as the major indicator of this effort in the multilateral arena.

Again, the PRC government has apparently adopted a rather lukewarm stance regarding the TPP, holding an “open attitude” toward any initiative that promotes regional economic integration while expressing skepticism toward those that seem to divide the region or are not created by “the international community through agreement.” Although not explicitly identified, both of these criteria apply to the TPP, which was created by a relatively small number of nations (joined by the U.S.) and is open only to those nations that meet its requirements.\textsuperscript{66}

That said, Beijing has indicated that “…the existing mechanisms and platforms should be given full play to so as to push forward the economic integration of the Asia-Pacific region in a step-by-step manner.” These structures include “…the East Asia Free Trade Area (10+3), the East Asia Comprehensive Economic Partnership (10+6), the Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership Agreement (TPP)…” and other mechanisms. With regard to the TPP in particular, Beijing states that “…China has followed the progress on the TPP negotiations and is ready to keep communication with relevant members.” Not exactly a full-throated endorsement.\textsuperscript{67}

As in the above issue areas, non-authoritative or quasi-authoritative sources are generally far more directly critical of the U.S.-led TPP initiative. Many observers believe that Washington designed the initiative to revise the rules governing economic interaction in ASEAN and other countries in order to benefit the U.S., while in the process alienating China and creating destabilizing divisions and competitions among many aspiring Asian nations. And, more directly and sharply echoing the authoritative response, many observers see the TPP as a threat to those genuinely indigenous structures that promote gradual economic regionalization, such as APEC and various bilateral and trilateral free trade zones.\textsuperscript{68}

In this sense, some Chinese observers regard the TPP not as an economic undertaking but primarily as an instrument of U.S. regional strategy, designed to contain China, strengthen its
economic control in the region, and undermine regionalism.\textsuperscript{69} That said, some Chinese observers do not believe the TPP will amount to much in at least the near to medium term, given the growth of protectionist sentiment in industrialized democracies and the supposedly suspicious attitude toward it held by many Asian countries.\textsuperscript{70}

**Recommended Responses**

Very few authoritative Chinese sources offer any recommendations regarding China’s response to the Pacific Pivot. However, those few that do are of a relatively high level and generally recommend that Beijing continue to work to maintain the stability of U.S.-China relations, and by implication not over-react to the U.S. policy shift.\textsuperscript{71} This is not surprising, given the overall restrained and cautious stance toward the move exhibited by such sources, as described above.

Perhaps somewhat more surprising is the stance taken by many of the far more directly and sharply critical quasi- and non-authoritative commentators on the Pacific Pivot. Even these observers, for the most part, tend to counsel restraint and caution in response. As two Western analysts of the Chinese view toward the U.S. policy shift state, Chinese analysts generally recommend that Beijing “…observe U.S. actions and stay its existing course by continuing to focus on economic growth and enhancing its diplomacy while simultaneously improving its military capabilities.”\textsuperscript{72}

**Summary and Conclusions**

The above analysis indicates that authoritative sources on one hand and both quasi- and non-authoritative Chinese sources on the other hand convey very different messages regarding the origins, intentions, and consequences of the Pacific Pivot. While authoritative Chinese reactions to elements of the U.S. policy move are relatively rare and almost without exception restrained and cautious, quasi- and non-authoritative assessments are far more numerous and contain a relatively high number of critical and/or alarmist assessments, with only a smaller number of relatively restrained and balanced remarks. Although a similar contrast was discovered with regard to other foreign policy issues examined in other issues of the CLM (such as Chinese views toward North Korea, Iran, and the AfPak issue), it is arguably most evident in this case.

Among the former (authoritative) Chinese assessments of the Pacific Pivot, the vast majority are conveyed at a low level of authority, consisting of remarks by MFA or MND spokespersons in response to questions posed by the press. The content of the commentary is generally similar, including largely indirect and low-key criticism of the U.S. effort as potentially divisive and destabilizing in many ways (politically, militarily, and economically) and therefore against the prevailing trend of the times toward greater levels of regional communication and cooperation. Very few authoritative comments are offered by civilian sources regarding specific military-related issues associated with the U.S. policy move, such as U.S. military strategy, changes in the U.S. military presence, or the ASBC. Most of the (relatively few) authoritative commentaries on
these issues comes from MND spokespersons, at regular press conferences, and are by and large restrained in nature.

Among the latter (quasi- and non-authoritative) type of views, quasi-authoritative comments on the Pacific Pivot are limited exclusively to Zhong Sheng articles appearing largely in the People’s Daily and possessing a low level of authority.73

The commentaries appearing in this source, and all clearly non-authoritative sources as well, do not seem to differ much, if at all, in their overall tone and level of criticism, however. Zhong Sheng articles at times seem slightly more restrained and cautious. But articles appearing in both types of sources argue that the Pacific Pivot is destabilizing to regional order, runs against prevailing international trends, and is an expression of a deliberate U.S. effort to counter-balance or contain China’s growing power and influence in Asia. In addition, most quasi- or non-authoritative analysts explicitly draw a close connection between the U.S. policy move and a wide range of current changes in the U.S. military presence in the Asia-Pacific, including deployments, exercises, and basing or access arrangements. This is not found in authoritative sources.

Some of the most tepid commentaries (e.g., the reference to going against international trends) are found in authoritative sources, and a few non-authoritative sources (and Zhong Sheng articles). In sharp contrast to the former sources, many more quasi- or non-authoritative sources contain explicit, direct criticism of the U.S. policy move as: a) motivated by both economic pressures and a desire to retain regional hegemony; b) involving deliberate attempts to create or manipulate divisions among regional states to achieve U.S. ends; and c) for some observers, inevitably fated to failure, as a result of regional resistance and/or America’s own economic weakness. Moreover, many such commentators see a fundamental contradiction between the U.S. need for closer and deeper economic ties with the region, and the desire to advance military policies that allegedly weaken regional cooperation and thereby undermine economic growth.

In contrast to the differing assessments (in both number and content) occurring in authoritative versus quasi- or non-authoritative sources, both types of commentaries draw a generally similar set of conclusions regarding the future. They both tend to counsel caution, restraint, and the continuation of existing policies designed to advance China’s and the region’s economic development and sustain cooperative Sino-U.S. relations. Few if any commentators, of any type, argue that China must stand up to and/or work energetically to undermine or counter the Pacific Pivot.

What accounts for both this sharp difference in viewpoint and frequency of commentary between authoritative and quasi- or non-authoritative Chinese sources regarding the motivations, key features, and desired goals of the Pacific Pivot, and the apparent similarity of approach in assessing what China should do in response to the U.S. policy move?
Regarding the former point, it is very likely that most senior-level officials and government agencies have been instructed not to comment on the Pacific Pivot and its supposed military, economic, etc. manifestations, while mostly low-level authoritative sources have been permitted to make only general, indirect, and very low-key comments. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that even authoritative military sources, often viewed as somewhat more critical of U.S. policies in Asia than their civilian counterparts, in general take the same reserved stance.

This stance probably reflects the overall desire of the Chinese leadership to avoid striking a sharply critical or confrontational stance toward the Pacific Pivot, for at least four reasons.

First and perhaps foremost, the Chinese leadership does not want to become engaged in a sharp and potentially escalating dispute with Washington over the U.S. policy move during a critical transition period for the PRC political leadership system. The upcoming 18th Party Congress---scheduled for the fall---will witness a major turnover at the senior levels of the party elite. Moreover, for the first time, this turnover will occur in the absence of the stabilizing imprimatur provided in the past by charismatic figures of the revolutionary era such as Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping. Adding to this, other domestic issues, such as economic development, reinforce the need to place a premium on the maintenance of stable external relations, especially with major powers such as the U.S. This latter imperative is always present in the Chinese calculus, given the regime’s long-standing focus on sustaining an environment conducive to continued economic growth. But it is particularly important at present, due to growing signs of distress in the Chinese economy.

Second, Beijing undoubtedly realizes that many Asian capitals have expressed strong concerns over China’s recent “assertiveness” in the region (discussed in previous issues of the CLM), and, equally important, believes that such concerns are being used by Washington to strengthen regional support for its more activist stance, exemplified by the Pacific Pivot. The Chinese probably also recognize that many Asian countries prefer to see at least some level of greater U.S. involvement in the region, including (in the case of Vietnam, the Philippines, and Japan) backing for various territorial claims against China. Hence, strong and vigorous efforts to challenge the U.S. policy move could deepen regional concerns, provide more support to the U.S., and generally promote greater tension and polarization across the region. None of this would serve China’s interests.

Third, it is possible that Beijing also believes that many Asians view the Pacific Pivot as potentially polarizing and hence destabilizing and that regional support for the policy move is weaker than many observers might think. Consequently, the Chinese leadership probably concludes that Beijing should focus its attention on improving ties with the region by drawing on China’s economic and diplomatic strengths and regional uncertainties, while avoiding any direct confrontation with the U.S. The notion of an ambivalent regional attitude regarding the Pacific Pivot is implicit in the common emphasis placed by both authoritative and non-authoritative
Chinese sources on the supposed “prevailing international trend” toward greater levels of cooperation in the region and against polarizing policy initiatives (more on this point below).

Finally, it is possible that the Chinese leadership remains uncertain as to the lasting impact of the Pacific Pivot. Washington’s economic problems, combined with China’s arguably growing influence in the region and the supposed ambivalence of many Asian powers toward the U.S. policy move, all suggest that Beijing should not over-react by highlighting its importance or publicly confronting the U.S. over it. Ultimately, in Beijing’s view, it might not amount to all that much. So better to stay the course and adopt a wait-and-see attitude.

As indicated above, this cautious, wait-and-see response is evident across all types of Chinese sources. This probably reflects the fact that the vast majority of Chinese observers, to varying degrees, recognize the importance of the above four factors in shaping China’s reaction at present. But what about the long term? Are we likely to see a far more confrontational Chinese stance toward the U.S. policy emerge if China’s political transition proceeds without incident, the Chinese economy largely recovers from its current problems, Beijing views its influence in the region as rising, regional states become more concerned over the divisiveness of the U.S. policy move than over Chinese behavior, and the U.S. economy continues to confront major challenges? The answer is probably yes, especially if---as is likely---Chinese leaders sympathize with many of the intense suspicions and criticisms regarding the U.S. policy expressed by most quasi- and non-authoritative sources. That said, we are unlikely to see such a “perfect storm” of simultaneous developments anytime soon, if at all. In fact, China’s long-standing emphasis on maintaining a placid environment will doubtless continue, as will various low-key, indirect efforts to counter the Pacific Pivot, largely involving efforts to increase Beijing’s influence and presence in the region.

This all sounds somewhat reassuring. However, the above analysis and the assessments of Chinese “assertiveness” presented in previous issues of the CLM also suggest that, despite Beijing’s formal acceptance of the U.S. as an Asian power, many Chinese hold a very critical view toward the role of the U.S. in the Asia-Pacific, along with recent U.S. actions regarding regional maritime territorial claims. Much of this criticism stems from the fact, reflected abundantly in the analysis of the Chinese response to the U.S. Pacific Pivot, that very many Chinese believe the U.S. emphasis on military predominance, security alliances, and supposedly “exclusionary” economic regimes such as the TPP is aimed at China and conflicts with regional and global trends in inter-state relations, including growing levels of globalization, the search for “win-win” outcomes, emerging cooperative economic and security mechanisms, and a reduced overall emphasis on military power. The latter notion is to a significant extent self-serving and doubtless to some degree hypocritical, given China’s large, ongoing investment in various force projection capabilities. Nonetheless, it reflects a basic difference in perspective between Beijing and Washington regarding the essential requirements for continued regional stability and prosperity, a difference that will increase the likelihood of future serious Sino-U.S. crises in the Asia-Pacific.
The use of the word “pivot” to describe the renewed U.S. policy emphasis on Asia during the Obama Administration is no longer supported by U.S. officials, and was never entirely endorsed across the Administration. Even the alternative description of the policy—as “rebalancing,”—has been largely jettisoned by most officials in recent months. This has occurred in response to some confusion and concern on the part of many observers, including many Asians. Both terms suggested that the U.S. had been excessively inattentive to the region in the recent past and, of greater concern, might “pivot” away from Asia in the future. In other words, the terms conveyed a sense of unsteadiness or unreliability over time that did not serve U.S. interests. However, whether endorsed or not, the word “pivot” has become the widely accepted label for the U.S. policy move undertaken in 2011. And of course the substance of the policy, involving a concerted and heightened focus on the Asia-Pacific, has not changed.

I am indebted to Alice Miller for assistance in defining these four types of sources. She adds: “Authority of official comment is determined by the place of the issuer in the institutional hierarchy. For example, newspapers together fit into a hierarchy of authority determined by the relative standing of their sponsoring institution. And so People’s Daily editorials and commentator articles speak for People’s Daily as an institution, and so by extension for the CCP Central Committee, and so they outrank “authoritative” commentary in every other newspaper…. People’s Liberation Army Daily speaks for the General Political Department (GPD), and so for the PLA. The output of Xinhua is certainly “official,” because it is the official mouthpiece of the State Council. It does carry Xinhua-written commentary, but such commentary is low-level and not “authoritative” in the sense that Xinhua as an institution stands by it. I have never seen a Xinhua editorial.” Personal correspondence, June 27, 2012.

Authoritative statements and articles can vary by source and level of importance. They generally include MFA and MND statements and briefings and remarks by senior civilian and military officials appearing in the leading Chinese Communist Party Central Committee or CCP CC) and military (People’s Liberation Army or PLA) newspapers: The People’s Daily (人民日报) and People’s Liberation Army Daily (解放军报). Authoritative statements include, from descending order of authority, PRC government and CCP statements, MFA statements, MFA spokesperson statements, and MFA daily press briefings. Authoritative commentaries in People’s Daily and People’s Liberation Army Daily include, in descending order, “editorial department articles,” editorials, and commentator articles.

Other quasi-authoritative homophonous bylines include “Ren Zhongping” (任仲平 homophonous with “important RMRN commentary”), “Zhong Zuwen” (仲组文 homophonous with “CC Organization Department article”) and “Zhong Xuanli” (仲轩理 homophonous with “CC Propaganda Department commentary”).

Such articles appear in the PRC government news service (Xinhua), CCP and PLA newspapers, the Hong Kong-based and People’s Daily-owned Global Times (环球时报), and many minor PRC and Hong Kong newspapers and academic publications. Despite the view expressed by some pundits, nothing published in the Global Times is "authoritative" in any meaningful sense “…because the newspaper is a commercial vehicle and doesn't stand for the People’s Daily, even though it is subordinate to that organ.” Alice Miller, Personal Correspondence, June 27, 2012.


emphasis on multilateral activities, marked by former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice’s alleged “snubbing” of
ASEAN meetings, and lack of support for new initiatives such as the East Asian Summit. See Jeffrey A. Bader,
Revolution in Asia: An Insider’s Account of America’s Asia Strategy, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution
8 “Press Briefing by Press Secretary Jay Carney, National Security Advisor Tom Donilon, and Deputy National
Security Advisor for Strategic Communications Ben Rhodes,” Office of the White House Press Secretary;
carney-national-security-advisor-tom-
9 Bonnie Glaser and Brittany Billingsley, “U.S.-China Relations: U.S. Pivot to Asia Leaves China off Balance,”
10 See Mark E. Manyin, Stephen Daggett, Ben Dolven, Susan V. Lawrence, Michael F. Martin, Ronald O. Rourke,
and Bruce Vaugh, “Pivot to the Pacific? The Obama administration’s ‘Rebalancing’ to the Pacific,” CRS, March 28,
11 Mark E. Manyin, Stephen Daggett, Ben Dolven, Susan V. Lawrence, Michael F. Martin, Ronald O. Rourke, and
Bruce Vaugh, “Pivot to the Pacific? The Obama administration’s ‘Rebalancing’ to the Pacific,” CRS, March 28,
Diplomacy in Asia,” press release, February 18, 2009. Clinton travelled to the region in February, July and again in
November, with the president; the first occasion marked the first visit by a Secretary of State to the ASEAN
Secretariat and was Clinton’s first overseas trip after taking office; the second occasion included meetings with
regional foreign ministers at the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), and the signing of the Treaty of Amity and
Cooperation (TAC) (as a prelude to Washington first attending (in 2010) and then joining (in 2011) the East Asia
Summit (EAS), a move resisted by the Bush II Administration) Clinton clearly suggested this contrast in
involvement when she stated at the time that the U.S. was “back in Southeast Asia.” See Hillary Rodham Clinton,
secretary of state, “Press Availability at the ASEAN Summit,” Sheraton Grande Laguna, Laguna Phuket, Thailand,
Obama’s trip to Asia, and, with Obama, involved trips to the Philippines, Indonesia, China, Japan, South Korea, and
Singapore. Obama’s November trip included participation in the 17th Annual Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
(APEC) Leaders’ meeting in Singapore. He also co-hosted the ASEAN Leaders Meeting, the first ever with all 10
ASEAN members represented. After returning to Washington, Obama hosted Prime Minister Manmohan Singh of
India for the first official State visit of his administration.
12 In January 2010, Secretary Clinton gave a major policy speech that covered many of the elements of the emerging
policy shift to Asia, including an emphasis on strengthening alliances to promote regional stability, increasing the
capacity of multilateral institutions such as the ARF to address regional problems, and ensuring that the “defining
regional institutions” will “include all the key stakeholders.” See Hillary Rodham Clinton, “Remarks on Regional
Architecture in Asia,” Imin-Center Jefferson Hall, Honolulu, January 12, 2010,
http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2010/01/135090.htm. In March, Obama made a second trip to the region,
visiting Guam, Indonesia, and Australia. For a good summary of these and other activities in 2009 and early 2010,
see Kurt M. Campbell, “Regional Overview of East Asia and the Pacific,” statement before the House Committee on
Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific, and the Global Environment, Washington, D.C., March 3, 2010,
In July 2010, Clinton attended the ARF meeting in Hanoi, where she clearly signaled a greater level of direct U.S.
involvement in the territorial disputes occurring in the South China Sea. At that meeting, Clinton asserted that
“[t]he United States has a national interest in freedom of navigation, open access to Asia’s maritime commons and
respect for international law in the South China Sea.” She also remarked that the United States supports “a
collaborative diplomatic process by all claimants for resolving the various territorial disputes without coercion,” and
“…is prepared to facilitate initiatives and confidence building measures…. ” Moreover, the U.S. played a key role
behind the scenes in organizing and coordinating the many statements of concern about an intensification of the
territorial disputes publicly expressed at the meeting by member states. The Chinese regarded these statements, and
Clinton’s above remarks, as being in large part directed at themselves, with some justification. See “Remarks at
In October 2010, following Japan’s arrest of a Chinese fisherman in the disputed Senkaku islands and an alleged
Chinese embargo on rare earths to Japan, Secretary Clinton reaffirmed the inclusion of the Senkakus in the scope of
the 1960 U.S.-Japan Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security. In the same month, Secretary Clinton joined other
regional leaders at the East Asia Summit in Hanoi, signaling the U.S.’s intent to develop the institution into a key

In January 2011, the U.S. held its first ever bilateral Strategic Dialogue with the Philippines, with a specific focus on building the capacity of the Philippines to maintain maritime awareness and security in both their territorial and adjacent waters. U.S. officials also consulted with Singaporean leaders regarding the state of U.S.-China military relations. See Kurt M. Campbell, “U.S. Foreign Policy Goals and Objectives in Southeast Asia for 2011,” press briefing in Washington, DC, February 2, 2011, http://fpc.state.gov/155878.htm.


The TPP has been described as “...a multilateral free trade agreement that seeks to reduce and eventually eliminate trade tariffs among member countries, and for which the bar for joining is set so high that China would not likely be able to qualify for many years.” See Bonnie Glaser and Brittany Billingsley, “U.S.-China Relations: U.S. Pivot to Asia Leaves China off Balance,” *Comparative Connections*, January 2012, http://csis.org/files/publication/1103qqs_china.pdf.


16 Leon E. Panetta, “Remarks by Secretary Panetta at the Shangri-La Dialogue in Singapore,” Singapore, June 2, 2012. http://www.defense.gov/Transcripts/ Transcript.aspx?TranscriptID=5049. Panetta announced that “…by 2020 the Navy will re-posture its forces from today’s roughly 50/50 percent split between the Pacific and the Atlantic to about a 60/40 split between those oceans. That will include six aircraft carriers in this region, a majority of our cruisers, destroyers, Littoral Combat Ships, and submarines.”

17 An examination of MFA and MND websites since October 2011 for English and Chinese variations of “pivot”, “rebalancing”, “return”, and “return to Asia” yielded few, if any results, with many of the references coming from reprinted news stories from Xinhua, People’s Daily, and People’s Liberation Army Daily (examined below). Searches for broader terms, such as “military presence” or “presence”, yielded only a handful of results, although virtually all of the entries were references to the rotational deployments to Australia of U.S. Marines units. Quasi-authoritative references were exclusively limited to a few articles by the pseudonym Zhong Sheng, described above. These appeared primarily in People’s Daily.

18 Searches were conducted of the archives for the People’s Daily and the People’s Liberation Army Daily held at the Library of Congress, with time parameters set at January 1st, 2000 to June 05, 2012. Experimental searches for a number of Chinese variations of “pivot”, “rebalancing”, and “return” yielded mixed results, which could reflect differing translations among media outlets. Within official media, it appears that the Obama administration’s “pivot” is most commonly referred to as a “Return to Asia” (重返亚洲), or a “Return to the Asia-Pacific” (重返亚太). Articles also made reference to rebalancing （再平衡）. Searches distinguished between relevant and irrelevant entries, based on whether the article in question used “Return to Asia,” “Return to the Asia-Pacific,” or “rebalancing” as a reference to U.S. foreign policy or Asia policy. An irrelevant entry, for instance, might use “rebalancing” in the context of describing China’s shift toward a consumption-based model of growth.

19 In other words, in the Chinese media, the concept of a “return to Asia” or “rebalancing” was closely linked with the foreign policy of the Obama administration. Very few, if any articles discussing a return, pivot, rebalancing, or shift in strategic focus toward the region occurred during the Bush administration.

20 These included Clinton’s Foreign Policy article, U.S. attendance at and statements made during APEC and the EAS in November 2011, and the release of the Defense Strategic Guidance in January 2012.

21 These totaled 17 references, including 12 relevant references to “Return to Asia” (重返亚洲) OR “Return to the Asia-Pacific” (重返亚太) and 5 relevant references to “rebalancing” (再平衡), all referring to U.S. policy.

22 A search for Air-Sea Battle (空海一体战) from Jan. 1st 2000 to June 05, 2012 yielded five results in People’s Daily (two of which were in late 2011, and three in 2012) and fifteen results in People’s Liberation Army Daily (one in 2000, three in 2010, eleven in 2011, and one in 2012).

The U.S. role in Asia is consistent with China's interests. The Pacific Ocean is vast enough to accommodate the coexistence and cooperation between these two big countries. In my view, the U.S. has never left the Asia-Pacific, so there is no "return" to speak of. China does not want to and cannot push the United States out of the Asia-Pacific. (author's emphasis) 


This notion of “the prevailing trend” toward regional cooperation has become a common refrain among both authoritative and non-authoritative Chinese analysts of the region. For one notable example, see Deng Yushan, “Build Trust To Avert Tragedy,” Xinhua, May 7, 2012, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/indepth/2012-05/07/c_131573482.htm. Deng Yushan is a reporter with Xinhua. This notion of “the prevailing trend” toward regional cooperation has become a common refrain among both authoritative and non-authoritative Chinese analysts of the region.

See Wu Chunsi, “Back in Town,” Beijing Review, January 9, 2012, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/indepth/2011-01/09/content_24358126.htm. Wu asserts that “[s]ome Asia-Pacific countries… have exerted influence on Washington's new America's Asia-Pacific strategy in a bid to drive a wedge between China and the United States. Their attempts have increased mistrust between the two big powers while hindering progress in regional cooperation.” The author is most likely referring to Vietnam, the Philippines, and possibly Japan, all of which are engaged in arguably intensifying territorial disputes with China and thus, according to this viewpoint, seek to use the U.S. policy moves to increase U.S. support for their disputes with Beijing (more on this point below, in the discussion of the South China Sea disputes).

See Yu Zhixiao, “Constructive U.S. Role in Asia-Pacific Welcome, but Not Warmongering.” Xinhua, January 6, 2012, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/depth/2012-01/06/c_131346348_2.htm. Yu writes: “The legitimate interests of the United States, the world's biggest power, in the Asia-Pacific region are generally respected by other countries. The U.S. role, if fulfilled with a positive attitude and free from a Cold War-style zero-sum mentality, will not only be conducive to regional stability and prosperity, but be good for China, which needs a peaceful environment to continue its economic development. However, while boosting its military presence in the Asia-Pacific, the United States should abstain from flexing its muscles, as this won't help solve regional disputes.” Also see Wu Chunsi, “Back in Town,” Beijing Review, January 9, 2012, http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2012-01/09/content_24358126.htm. Wu writes: “‘The development of Sino-U.S. relations in recent years shows the United States has not defined China as a foe or a threat, but as an opportunity or a partner. While partly aiming to cope with China's rise, Washington's new Asia-Pacific strategy cannot be simply interpreted as a measure designed to hedge against China.” Also see Niu Xinchun, “Eight Myths about Sino-China relations in recent years shows the United States has not defined China as a foe or a threat, but as an opportunity or a partner. While partly aiming to cope with China's rise, Washington's new Asia-Pacific strategy cannot be simply interpreted as a measure designed to hedge against China.” Also see Niu Xinchun, “Eight Myths about Sino-U.S. Relations,” trans. He Nan, Contemporary International Relations, vol. 21, no. 4 (Jul./Aug. 2011) and Da Wei, “U.S. Pivot in Asia Pacific Signifies New, Complex Era,” China.org.cn, February 26, 2012, http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2012-02/26/content_2472893.htm. Both authors are analysts at the China Institute for Contemporary International Relations (CICIR) in Beijing, a research institute under the Ministry of State Security. Also see Wang Fan, “Players Would Lose in Sino-U.S. Competition,” Global Times Online, June 30, 2011, OSC CPP20110702722021.

See the Global Times editorial “China Takes U.S. Return with Aplomb,” Global Times Online, November 21, 2011, OSC CPP20111121722006. The author argues that the U.S. has the intention but not the economic or geopolitical means to encircle China, noting the modest nature of many of the steps associated with the pivot.

See “U.S. Asia Pacific Strategy Brings Steep Price,” Global Times Online, November 18, 2011, OSC CPP20111118722004. The author writes: “Any country which chooses to be a pawn in the U.S. chess game will lose the opportunity to benefit from China's economy. This will surely make U.S. protection less attractive…. As long as China increases its input, it will make countries either pay the price for their decision or make them back the doctrine of solving maritime disputes through cooperation.” Another more nuanced Global Times editorial argues that regional nations will not become pawns of U.S.-China competition in the region, and that neither the U.S. nor China can conceivably hope for nations to pick sides in a zero-sum contest. See “Forcing Asia To Pick Sides Will Go Awry,” Global Times Online, February 17, 2012, OSC CPP20120217722006.


See the comments of Fan Gaoyue (Fan), a senior colonel in the People's Liberation Army and research fellow at the PLA Academy of Military Science, in Yu Jincui, “New U.S. Strategy Brings Risk of New Arms Race,” Global Times Online, December 08, 2011, OSC CPP20111209722006. Fan states: Although there is no official statement that the plan mainly targets China, the intention is obvious. Confronted by a rising China, the U.S. is panicky. It worries China may replace it as the biggest economy and challenge its global leadership.” Also see Zhong Sheng, “Inconsistency Between Words and Deeds Lowers U.S. Influence in Asia-Pacific,” People’s Daily Online, June 5, 2012 OSC CPP20120605787002. The author writes: “The "Air-Sea Battle” concept will push the United States into a dangerous position of provocative war planning against China….The U.S. strategy of pivoting to Asia-Pacific has the obvious feature of confrontation, and that cannot but arouse relevant Asia-Pacific countries' worries and concerns about the confrontation costs and burdens.” And see Yang Yi, “U.S. Air-Sea Battle Theory Targets China’s Military Modernization,” People’s Daily Overseas Edition, December 10, 2011, OSC CPP20111210708003.


Peng Kuang and Peng Guanqian, “What Is Inside the ‘AirSea Battle’ Concept?” Liaowang, March 19, 2012, OSC CPP20120329787008. Peng Kuang is an editor of the military section of the Global Times online portal, and Peng Guanqian is a retired Major General in the AMS and a prominent military analyst. The authors also claim that a multilateral joint military exercise involving computer simulations and including the U.S., the Philippines, Japan, the ROK, Australia, Vietnam, and Singapore is supposedly “…the first exercise for testing the “AirSea Battle” concept in an official form. The three-dimensional image of “AirSea Battle” will move out of the Pentagon office and be displayed in front of people.”


54 Lu Desheng, "The Multiple Implications of the Change in the U.S. Military's Deployment," People’s Liberation Army Daily, June 5, 2012, OSC CPP20120605787017. The author cites several defense analysts, including Han Xudong and Lu Yin of the NDU and AMS researcher Lin Zhiyuan. Han states that "...the United States will definitely...tighten its control over strategic strongpoints in the Asia-Pacific region, and that is bound to increase people's concern that the United States will use its military supremacy to interfere in the sovereignty of countries in the region, and heighten people's concern about a military confrontation between big powers and tension in the security situation."


regular press conference on april 25, 2012,” april 26, 2012,

61 don durfee, “china urges u.s. to stay out of sea dispute,” reuters, june 22, 2011,

62 see zhong sheng, “u.s. should not muddily the waters over the south china seas,” people’s daily, march 20, 2012,


64 see “war games show hypocrisy of u.s. intentions,” global times online, april 17, 2012, osc ccpp20120417722008. the author writes: “manila has been openly seeking u.s. naval backing in regional maritime disputes. washington is also interested in lending its support. it is clear that the real target of the joint exercises is even if the two sides deny it.” also see liu tian, “proposed u.s.-philippines drills raises questions about u.s. intentions in asia,” xinhua, january 23, 2012, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/indepth/2012-01/23/c_131374109.htm.

65 see zhong sheng, “internationalization of the south china sea issue is a strategic short-sightedness,” people’s daily, april 26, 2012, osc ccpp20120426787001. zhong writes: “internationalization of the south china sea issue means amplification of contradictions between individual countries and destruction of the hard-won fruits of regional cooperation. internationalization of the south china sea issue means that countries in the region will be forced to choose sides, thereby shifting one country's own pressure onto other countries in an irresponsible manner. internationalization of the south china sea issue means that external forces will be invited to arbitrate asian affairs, thereby giving an opportunity to those trying to relive the dream of "hegemony."

66 “china will observe rules agreed on by international community: diplomat” xinhua, november 14, 2011,

67 “foreign ministry spokesperson liu weimin’s regular press conference on november 14, 2011,” ministry of foreign affairs of the people’s republic of china, november 15, 2011,
http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/xwfw/s2510/2511/t878946.htm; also see “foreign ministry spokesperson liu weimin’s regular press conference on november 14, 2011,” ministry of foreign affairs of the people’s republic of china, november 15, 2011,

68 see qin hong, “asia-pacific countries should promote free trade pragmatically,” people’s daily overseas edition, april 06, 2012,

69 see liu qing, “new changes in u.s. asia-pacific strategic deployment,” xiandai guoji guanxi, may 20, 2011, osc ccpp2011072567100.

70 “china can wait on prospects of new deal,” global times online, november 27, 2011, osc ccpp20111128722008.

71 see, for example, “prc foreign minister answers reporters' questions on foreign policies, relations,” xinhua, march 6, 2012, osc ccpp20120307075001. when asked about china’s response to the pivot at a press briefing, foreign minister yang jiechi stated: “china and the united states have more overlapping interests in the asia-pacific region than in any other part of the world. ...i hope all the parties concerned will devote themselves to peace and stability in the asia-pacific region, to its development and prosperity. we hope and welcome the united states to play a constructive role in the region. of course, we also hope that the united states will respect china’s interests and concerns. we are ready to work with the united states and other countries in the region to make asia-pacific more stable and more developed.” also see sun yi, “cuì tiankai: maintenance of healthy and steady development


73 As noted above, Zhong Sheng articles fall below editorial department articles, editorials, and commentator articles in the People’s Daily hierarchy.