

BOOK REVIEWS

Responding to China's Rise; US and EU Strategies

Vinod K. Aggarwal. Sara A. Newland, (Springer International Publishing Switzerland, 2015, 179 pages)

Reviewed by Asia Maqbool*

The book primarily focuses on the economic and security issues to understand the implications of China's rise by explaining both theoretical and empirical analysis. The world has recently undergone major transformation and generated important debates on various issues which include the loss of jobs in west, deindustrialization, and the management of global economy by international institutions, industrial policies and the role of state-owned enterprises. Under Mao 's distinctive nationalism which was combined with the real need of rehabilitation of economy that had been destroyed by the decades of mismanagement, civil war and conflict with Japanese led to the developmental strategies which channeled resources towards urban industrialization. Resultantly the industrial economy spread rapidly in early Maoist period but took several decades to embrace to more market-driven, outward oriented strategy which played as catalyst in the reemergence of China as global power in the 21st century. It was only in late 1970s under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, China focused on the market-driven pricing for agricultural and industrial goods and new firms like rural Township and Village Enterprises which increased the competition. These early reforms in China which were termed as “reform without losers” inducted greater efficiency in the domestic economy by avoiding the destabilizing effects of privatization and complete liberalization. But the period of mid 1990s witnessed China's adopting a new approach to economic reforms which included the privatization, the downsizing of the state sector and embracing international business by cooperating with the other countries. During the period 1988-1994 China had normalized its relations with 18 countries and actively cooperated with Southeast Asian members of ASEAN through the

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ASEAN+1 and ASEAN+ mechanisms in 1995. In the year 1999 China pursued the “go global “strategy by lifting restrictions on foreign investment by Chinese firms. Both the proliferation of free trade agreements in 2000s and the Obama Administration's active pursuit of Trans Pacific Partnership since 2008 which excludes China has compelled China to pursue free trade agreements. Resultantly China and ASEAN Free Trade Agreement came into effect in the year 2010 which further led to the inclusion of ASEAN+6 in the year 2011. Later on it came to be known as Comprehensive Economic Partnership which was formalized in 2012. The economic ties between Europe and China from 1975 to 1985 show that the trade between PRC and Europe Economic Community had increased 15% per year, which renewed and strengthened strong economic relations since 1990s. China is the EU's second largest trading partner and EU is China's largest trading partner. There were 4 million Chinese tourists travelling to EU in 2011. Economic tensions is the crucial factor which color the Sino-American relationship, apart from this, the significant role of the US in East Asian security and more generally its predominant worldwide military position since WWII are additional conflicts as China claims its greater role in the region and the world . According to Kang, China does not pose any threat including military threat to the US unlike USSR which posed major threat to the US when Russia was at its peak.

China's economic rise is based on the principle of market economy and is not a coherent alternative to the western liberal economic order. It also does not possess an ideological challenge to the west. According to David Kang comparing China with Germany of nineteenth century is a poor predictor of China's behavior today as China's rise doesn't seem to provoke any kind of anxiety among its neighbors as Germany did because other East Asian states are willing to accept China's leadership position.

There is a debate stimulated on the question that whether or not East Asia will devolve into great game of balance of power politics, the one that Europe had experienced? The answer is that it is quite unlikely situation in East Asia because China hasn't regained its place

as regional hegemon. It has become common to use the analogy of 19th century Germany for China in the East Asia of 21st century. The two events are quite dissimilar as at that time Germany was a newly created state in a multipolar European regional situation and rapidly rising power and wanted to secure a status and position for itself among the equal sized and populous states, while China is one of world's old civilizations and was unquestioned hegemon in East Asia for many centuries. According to Aaron Friedberg for better or for worst, Europe is past and Asia is the future.

Language is not only the medium but it is a form of social and political practice. Post-structuralism addresses the interdependence of the language, discourse, identity and policy. The foreign policy relies upon the identities that language constructs on the global stage and the policy that reproduces identity. China's rise is different from that of Germany and Japan. China's Peaceful Rise elaborates that the peace is both the means and inevitable result of rising. It further implies that China's rejuvenation posed challenge, and was perceived as a threat by the others. According to various IR theorists, there are many explanations of China's rise, firstly Liberals see the rise as generally stable and peaceful in future aspect while realists see it as more confrontational and conflict ridden, further still, the constructivists see China's rise as a general reality and most valid development. It was the Clinton's Administration that openly perceived China as a competitor, a potential competitor, a cooperator and a stake holder to develop constructive strategic partnership. The contemporary dynamics of their relationship is very precarious as Mearshiemer also holds the view that the past behavior is not reliable indicator for future. According to the liberal pessimists the ideological factors strongly shape their behavior such as if China were a democracy Americans may not have felt threatened by China's growing influence. Since the WWII, the US has been striving to maintain its world hegemony and determined to prevent China's impressive power accession. Hence there might be a possibility of China's neighboring countries like India, Japan, Singapore and South Korea to join hands with US to contain China.

According to Condoleezza Rice and John Mearshiemer an IR theorist, China is a revisionist power which is destined to clash with the US. This book has highlighted the “Chineseness” which seem a strange word but it is often used by scholars of Chinese studies worldwide. It is a set of characteristics which define the Chinese identity, in contemporary times. It is referred to the stamina, flexibility and skills of China's political leaders to keep the country united and prosperous.

Modern transnational values could be reduced to four categories: economic growth, liberty, social justice, and environmental protection. China got its primary national achievement falling in first category of economic growth. China should focus on its Asian neighbors with a holistic strategic framework by checking America's dominant power gently, consistently and moderately.

The US and China's economic integration and implications on US policy in the Taiwan Strait is important. US-Taiwan consistent relations have been the source of friction in Sino- American relations. Being world's largest exporting country; China attracts more foreign direct investment than any other developing country. In contemporary world China is the principle trading partner of many countries like Japan, North Korea, South Korea, and also Taiwan. Now China is the second largest trading partner of the US and the US is second largest trading partner of China after EU. The volume of bilateral trade in 2010 was \$ 457 billion. There are also some elements which contribute to deepen the US-China economic integration affecting the US policy towards Taiwan. For example when Taiwan got entry into WTO in 2002, their officials called for the negotiation for free trade agreements with the US but the later had remained down or lukewarm to that idea. Secondly the governor Jay Nixon's canceled visit to Taiwan was also a turning point. The economic integration of both US and China, hints at their interdependent relationship rather that the dependent one. In Sino-European relations the main factors of cooperation around 2006, were China's hunger for the European technology, European interest in China's growing consumer market at economic level and quite inconsistent shared

interest in multipolar world order. On the other side, there are main elements of competition which includes the diverging strategic interest such as Europe's dissatisfaction with China's reluctance to adopt liberal values and simultaneously China's disappointment with Europe's failure to become a soft balancer against the US and the weakening of Europe's economic leadership. The time period of 2008-2012 Europe was struck in global financial crises; this situation had created economic uncertainty which became a strong momentum to Europe's relations with China. The US, China and Europe could use the more sophisticated hedging strategies having dependent or contingent elements which can ensure their positions in international system characterized by a transition to a new bipolar system and emergence of Asia centered world. There should be division of labor for the transatlantic cooperative relations to overcome new security challenges.

This book comprehensively draws a picture of how China paved the way for its progress and rise. Authors gave a comprehensive empirical and theoretical analysis of China's rise and gave multiple future scenarios of China's role in Asia. This book has given both Chinese perspective of its peaceful rise and the discourse on the US rise too. The behavior of China after becoming global power is also questioned.

This book talked about the characteristic of futuristic international system as bipolar system and emergence of Asia centered world. I believe world is moving towards multipolar system as apart from China many other developing countries such as India are emerging. There is no clear cut or any convincing scenario discussed in this book about whether China is actually posing a threat to the US or not. The book also does not address the relative decline of the US. It has also not mentioned that approximately how much time or how many decades China will take to be the global power. What should be the steps for China in case it becomes an exception in the Trans Pacific Partnership? These important points and questions could have been discussed in more details in the book.

Playing to the Edge: American Intelligence in the Age of Terror

Michael V. Hayden (Penguin Press, 2016, 464 pages)

Reviewed by Abdur Rehman*

Gen. Michael V. Haden served in the US Air Force as an Intelligence Officer and retired as a four star General. While in office, he contributed by providing intelligence services to B52 bombers in Vietnam. During Bosnian war, he served as a Chief Intelligence Officer to Europe and also owned the Air Intelligence Agency. In 1999, he was appointed as a Director of National Security Agency and then to CIA. His expertise in intelligence field made him the ideal choice to run the top most US intelligence offices.

For Gen Hayden, *Playing to the Edge* is a delicate relationship between securing the national interest vis-a-vis the threats emanating after 9/11. The book is a memoir of Gen Hayden who served at both NSA and CIA as a Director Gen. Hayden narrates his personal life experiences and gives an account of the events while being part of the most sophisticated intelligence network in the world. The post 9\11 scenario came up with tremendous challenges to American National Security that revealed many loopholes in the system. The mounting challenges of war on terror and intelligence interceptions revealed that terrorist communications were channeling through mainland US. Therefore, the “Stellarwind” program was initiated which covered interception of international calls coming in and out of the US. However the interception was allowed only after the rigorous debate in the Congress provided the NSA had a probable reason that a certain call had a connection with Al-Qaeda.

From 2001 to 2005, Stallerwind produced a lot of reports that altered the course of war on terror. The Stallerwind program was instrumental in exposing the terror networks which also included the financers, trainers, armaments, supporters and high profile affiliates like Khalid Sheikh Muhammad, who were intercepted and captured. As

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the program got mature, Hayden gave many briefings to the congressional intelligence committee and many other members of prestigious offices. However, much later congressional reports began to criticize NSA for not doing enough interceptions. The Inspector General of NSA, Joel Brenner, expressed it later that “any president who failed to collect the intelligence authorized by this program would have been derelict in his duty.” The program continued even after Hayden had left the office, amidst lots of complexities and legalities that are further described as the “edge” in this book. The notion *Playing to the Edge* basically refers to the act of pushing the legal boundaries to secure national security interests with responsibility.

Further he writes about NSA's data collection methods, techniques and technicalities that sometimes overstepped the legal jurisdictions and got widely misunderstood. For example, “warrantless” telecom data collection without court orders is not entirely illegal as there are many technological barriers and only suspicious data is collected with foreign terrorist links. Stunning revelations made by Edward J Snowden and Chelsea Manning were aimed at stripping off intelligence/surveillance programs and show how these actions have direct implications on individual privacy. In response to that, Hayden cleared himself and Bush administration by showing no interest to infringe or tape phone calls or e-mails unless someone is found talking to a terrorist.

One of the striking revelations in this book is the severe torture and coercive tactics of CIA to interrogate the prisoners at various detention centers. Gen Hayden defended the tactics in his book with a firm position that water boarding, sleep deprivation and other methods are helpful to retrieve useful information. Although, the leaked pictures of miserable prisoners at Abu Ghuraib prison in Iraq damaged the image of Bush administration and the US' war efforts with a back lash at home and all around the world but Hayden is taking those practices as procedures and SOP's of intelligence gathering.

The readers will find this book specifically useful if they want an insight into how states tend to justify their actions and strive to gain a legal status too in order to ultimately secure their national interests.

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