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◆ QIU Huafei

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACD	The Asia Cooperation Dialogue
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AIIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
AOTS	The Association for Overseas Technical Scholarship
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
APT	ASEAN Plus Three
ARCBC	ASEAN Regional Centre for Biodiversity Conservation
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEF	The Asia-Europe Foundation
ASEM	The Asia-Europe Meeting
ASEAN	The Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CBERS	The China-Brazil Earth Resources Satellite Program
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
CICA	Confidence-Building Measures in Asia
CLRTAP	Long-range Trans-boundary Air Pollution
CVRD	(The Mining Company) Vale Do Rio Doce
DDA	The Doha Development Agenda
DOC	The Declaration of Conduct
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
EAEM	The EU-ASEAN Economic Ministers Meeting
EANET	Network in East Asia
EAS	The East Asia Summit
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone

EFSF	The European Financial Stability Facility
EMM	Environment Minister's Meeting
EMS	European Monetary System
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
ENGOS	Environmental Non-governmental Organizations
ERM	The Exchange Rate Mechanism
ESF	Economic Support Funds
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
GEM	Global Environmental Mechanism
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GHG	Greenhouse Gas
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IEP	International Environmental Politics
IGES	The Institute for Global Environmental Strategies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPR	Intellectual Property Rights
JCCC	(American) Joint Committee on Contemporary China
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
LOS	Law of Sea
LRTAR	Long-range Trans-boundary Air Pollution
MCEDs	The Ministerial Conference on Environment and Development (in Asia and the Pacific)
MSR	Maritime Silk Road
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEASPEC	The Northeast Asia Sub-regional Program
NOWPAP	Northwest Pacific Action Plan
NPT	Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty

NSC	New Security Concept
OBOR	One Belt , One Road
ODA	Official Development Aid
OECD	The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OISCA	The Organization for Industrial Spiritual and Cultural Advancement
PRC	People's Republic of China
PAS	The Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (Malay: Parti Islam PAS)
ROK	Republic of Korea
RATS	Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure
SGP	The Stability and Growth Pact
SREB	Silk Road Economic Belt
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SMEs	Small and Medium-Sized Enter-Prises
TEMM	The Tripartite Environmental Ministers Meeting
TEU	The Treaty of European Union
THAAD	Terminal High Altitude Area Defense
TMD	Theater Missile Defence
TREATI	Trans-Regional EU-ASEAN Trade Initiative
UN	The United Nations
UNCLOS	The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Society Commission for Asia and the Pacific
USA	The United States of America
USAID	U. S. Agency for International Development
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program

USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WB	World Bank
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WTO	World Trade Organization
YASREF	Yanbu Aramco Sinopec Refining Co. Ltd

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1 INTRODUCTION

The current international order has been in flux since the end of the Cold War. Two fundamental factors are now reshaping the international system. First, power shifts at the global level are creating a more diverse international order as emerging and resurgent players pursue and assert their own interests. Second, the emerging international order is characterized by deepening interdependence. The international community faces great challenges, such as, economic crisis, energy shortage, climate change, food insecurity, nuclear proliferation, terrorism and environmental sustainability, all of which are intimately interconnected and which no nation can successfully confront on its own. This book focuses on order and change in the contemporary international system and Chinese foreign relations. Over the past four decades, China has shifted its foreign policy in a breathtaking fashion. During this transition order, China has become a principal beneficiary of globalization and a responsible member of most international regimes, from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) to the World Trade Organization (WTO). China has played an important role in global governance.

The term of China's peaceful rise was used in a speech given by the former Vice Principal of the Central Party School, Zheng Bijian, in late 2003 during the Boao Forum for Asia. In Zheng's speech he pointed out that in the past, a rise of a new power often resulted in drastic changes to global political structures, and even war (i. e. the hegemonic stability theory in international relations). He believed that this was because these powers "chose the road of

aggression and expansion, which will ultimately fail.” Zheng stated that in today’s new world, the PRC should instead develop peaceably, and in turn help to maintain a peaceful international environment.^①

The early 21st century finds great change in international order. China’s foreign relations have entered a new phase where its driving force is rapidly rising for the emerging countries and new global economic governance mechanism is gradually established. To follow the trend of times, China has actively participated in global economic governance and supply of public goods. China’s foreign relations present the new vision, new idea and new strategy under the leadership of President Xi Jinping. It is a new starting point for China to further integrate itself into the world and open itself wider to the world. China takes an active part to participate in global governance and plays important role in these following issues areas.

I. Constructive Participation in Global Governance

China is already deeply involved in the existing global financial and economic system. For example, after the IMF reform was finally approved at the end of last year by the US Congress following a five-year delay, China’s quota and voting rights in the IMF have increased significantly. At the beginning of this year, China became a full member of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. China will continue to play her due role in the existing international economic and financial system. At the same time, China took the initiative to establish the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB).^② But

① Zheng Bijian, “China’s Peaceful Rise to Great-Power Status,” *Foreign Affairs*, September-October, 2005, Volume 84 No. 5, pp. 18 – 24.

② The bank was proposed by Chinese President Xi Jinping in October 2013. A year later, and 21 Asian nations, including China, India, Malaysia, Pakistan and Singapore had signed an agreement to establish the bank, headquartered in Beijing. On March 12, 2015, Britain applied to join the AIIB as a prospective founding member, the first major western country to do so. France, Italy and Germany quickly followed suit. “AIIB, a Paradigm Power Shift,” Xinhuanet, March 21, 2015, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-03/31/c_134114065.htm.

some countries were skeptical at first, and suspected that China wanted to create an Asian version of the Monroe Doctrine. In fact, China welcomed the participation of all countries rather than limiting membership to the region, and over half of the 57 founding members of the AIIB are non-Asian countries.^① The developed countries, such as the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Australia and Italy have joined the bank. China has worked with all members to make sure that the AIIB is of international standard, professional, less bureaucratic, and devoted to addressing financing bottlenecks that hinder Asia's infrastructure development. The AIIB would supplement the existing international financial institutions rather than replacing them.

As an emerging country, China promises its continuing supplies of public goods to the world. China will establish a South-South cooperation aid fund, continue to increase investment in developing countries to implement the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. China will carry out larger-scale, higher-level and in-depth regional cooperation through "Belt and Road" initiatives to jointly build an open, inclusive, balanced and all-beneficial regional cooperation framework. As a developing economy with the largest population and most vigorous economic growth, China's rate of contribution to global economic growth is over thirty percent. Therefore, its promise of growth and development is the best public goods. China will connect its domestic development with international responsibility and give full play to its influence of economic growth so as to bring positive energy to global economic growth. In fact, China has dramatically increased global supply of public goods since global financial crisis broke out in 2008. China also put forward new global and regional proposals like "Belt and Road" initiatives,^② Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), "Silk Road" fund, China-Latin America capacity cooperation

① "21 Asian countries sign MOU on establishing Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank," Xinhua-net. 24 October 2014, "Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank-Articles of Agreement," *Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank*, Retrieved 21 July 2015

② "China's Proposal on World's Biggest Issues in 2015," <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2015chinaproposal>.

fund and South-South cooperation aid fund this year. All these actions demonstrate China's active participation in global economic governance and its assumption of international responsibility and obligation aimed at letting the world share the dividend of China's development and promoting equal and rational international order.

China now has over 30,000 Chinese companies have set up operations across the globe. ①Several million Chinese citizens are now working or living in all parts of the world. Non-financial direct investment from China is rising rapidly, and it reached 120 billion dollars in 2015. This figure is close to or may be even bigger than overseas investment into China. Every year, about 120 million Chinese travel abroad. ② This may be the largest flow of people in the world. The Chinese government certainly has a responsibility and obligation to protect the lawful rights and interests of these institutions and personnel. China's diplomacy is to enhance our ability to protect our lawful rights and interests abroad.

Global Climate Issue: China and the United States have played a positive role in facilitating the 2015 Paris climate conference and the subsequent Paris climate deal. Despite significant disagreements and unaddressed challenges, the Paris conference is a pivotal international event for global climate governance and the Paris accord is an important institutional arrangement for future global climate governance. Sino-American climate cooperation is the primary driver of the global climate governance process. ③The cooperation and effective dispute management regarding climate issues between the United States and China will not only positively contribute to a stable bilateral relationship but also help China learn from best practices for its deeper participation in global governance.

① "A Changing China and Its Diplomacy," Speech by Foreign Minister Wang Yi at Center for Strategic and International Studies, Feb. 26, 2016, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb.

② Ibid.

③ Liu Yuanling, "Sino-U. S Climate Cooperation in the Post-Paris Agreements Era," *Global Review*, Feb. 2016.

Regional Issues: The continuing search for a peaceful and stable regional order, China has played an even more constructive role in the settlement of international and regional issues. This is primarily because, as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, China shoulders important responsibilities for international peace and security. Besides, the resolution of hot-spot issues can create a more enabling environment for China's development. In Africa, China is helping to mediate the dispute in South Sudan. In Asia, China is facilitating peace talks in Afghanistan and the reconciliation process in Myanmar. China has worked with other parties to conclude the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on the Iranian nuclear issue. And China is an active participant in the process of seeking a political settlement of the Syrian issue.

The North Korean nuclear issue is a concentrated focus of Northeast Asia's international relations, and the challenge for the Korean Peninsula is not simply about how to improve bilateral relations between the North and the South. There are several major powers that have played historically significant roles on the Korean Peninsula. China's position on the Korean Peninsula nuclear issue is consistent and clear-cut. China is committed to the denuclearization of the peninsula, its peace and stability, and settlement of the issue through dialogue and consultation. Over the years, China has made tremendous efforts to facilitate the process of denuclearization of the peninsula, safeguard the overall peace and stability there, and realize an early resumption of the Six-Party Talks. In January and September 2016 North Korea conducted two nuclear tests and launched missiles of various types, violating UN Security Council resolutions and running counter to the wishes of the international community. China has made clear its opposition to such actions and supported the relevant Security Council resolutions to prevent North Korea further pursuit of nuclear weapons. ①

① *China's Policies on Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation*, The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, January 2017, first edition 2017, <http://www.scio.gov.cn/ztk/dtzt/36048/35875/35998/Document/1538938/1538938.htm>.

China took decision in 2013 to co-draft United Nations Security Council Resolution 2094 with the UN right after North Korea performed its third nuclear test. The cooperation between China and the United States was remarkable, because such conjunction between the two countries on resolution-drafting on the North Korean nuclear issue was unprecedented. China's decision to co-draft United Nations Security Council Resolution 2094 was driven by a combination of China's need to establish itself as a bigger and responsible player in order to achieve continued economic growth.^① At same time, China is strongly opposed to THAAD(Terminal High Altitude Area Defense) deployment in South Korea. The major reasons are China believes that THAAD is intended to intercept missiles launched, not from North Korea, but from China and Russia.

Because of its geopolitical factor, the Korean Peninsula situation is critical to China's security. China worries that by deploying THAAD, South Korea could share data with the United States and Japan on air traffic control, air defense, and early warning. This may help to integrate South Korea-based systems with U. S. and Japanese sensors and sea-based Aegis systems, with the goal of forming a trilateral strategic alliance to contain China at China's door steps. In fact North Korean nuclear tests were only an excuse used by the United States to deploy THAAD, the real U. S. intention being to drive a wedge between South Korea and China at a time when China-South Korea relations were improving substantially.^② THAAD deployment would bring the United States and South Korea closer at the expense of China's security. This could help the United States to stabilize U. S. - South Korea relations and prevent the possible loss of the U. S. military foothold on the Korean Peninsula. It is "more insidious motive behind the US push to deploy THAAD: containment of China with a regional missile defense network and increased US-Japan-ROK security

① Danitsja. Sidona Nassy, "Shifting Tides: Understanding China's Foreign Policy during the Third North Korean Nuclear Crisis," *Erasmus University Thesis Repository*, March 11, 2015.

② Nan Li, "THAAD Deployment Would Bring the United States and South Korea Closer at the Expense of China's Security," *The National Interest*, January-February 2017.

cooperation".^①

The Iran nuclear deal is an important precedent in multilateral efforts to address global challenges like nuclear proliferation. China played a pivotal role throughout the decade-long process and China will continue to be a critical player in the maintenance of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) in the decade to follow.^② Therefore, it is worth reviewing some key characteristics of the political settlement as influenced by China's participation. Although Iran and the P5 + 1 bloc-China, France, Germany, Russia, the Great Britain and the United States-have held numerous rounds of talks, significant differences still exist between negotiators, which prevent a comprehensive deal to end the nuclear standoff. In order to keep the talking going on, China has showed a flexible diplomatic approach to encourage negotiators to give more thorough reflections on this longstanding issue. China has participated in several rounds of mediation between parties, especially between Iran and United States. China can persuade Iran and U. S. to reach a compromise, on Iran's Arak heavy water reactor, and China can also persuade Tehran to make a concession in exchange for assistance to Iran in many fields including construction of projects. China offered some concrete proposals during the talks and tried to promote parties to expand consensus and narrow differences, adding that their response to China's proposals was positive. China has always had an objective, fair and responsible attitude towards the Iranian nuclear issue and maintains that the issue should be resolved via dialogue.^③

South China Sea Issue: From the ancient history, China has established sovereignty over Nanhai Zhudao and relevant rights and interests in the South China Sea. The strategic importance of South China Sea has been rising in re-

① Jacky Park, "This is Why China Fears THAAD," *The National Interest*, March 30, 2016.

② Roncevert Ganan Almond, "China and Iran Nuclear Deal: the Deal Offers Some Significant and Sobering Lessons on Multilateralism with Chinese Characteristics," *Diplomacy*, March 8, 2016, JCPOA is the short of the *Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action*.

③ "China to Make Further Contribution over the Iranian Nuclear Issues," *China Daily*, March 20, 2014.

cent years. The main factors boosting the strategic value of this maritime area have been, (1) access to oceanic energy resources, (2) territorial conflicts in the South China Sea and East China Sea, and (3) buildup of naval military power by countries in the region. Many countries in the region have been pouring effort into strengthening their naval power.^① It's true that there are disputes over some of the islands and reefs in the Nansha, where 42 of China's islands and reefs there have been illegally taken by others.^② Still, China wants to have a peaceful resolution of the issue through dialogue and negotiation, in accordance with international law, including the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea(UNCLOS). This is a firm and clear commitment from the Chinese government, which is an important factor in ensuring overall stability of the South China Sea. China hopes to work with ASEAN countries to implement the Declaration on the Conduct of parties in the South China Sea(DOC) and we're speeding up consultation on a code of conduct in the South China Sea(COC). China and ASEAN countries have every capability to maintain peace and stability in the South China Sea on our own.

II. Search for New Model of Major Country Relations

Sino-U. S. relations are one of the most important bilateral relations in contemporary international relations. The meeting between Xi Jinping and Barack Obama in 2013 announced that China's proposed "new model of major-country-relations" would be an important discussion point. The core premises of such a relationship are that major conflict between the U. S. and China is not inevitable, that it would be catastrophic for each country and for the world should it occur, and that the opportunity costs of simple noncooperation on key

① UENO Hideshi, "The Problems in the South China Sea," *Review of Island of Studies*, June 10, 2013.

② "China Adheres to the position of Settling Through Negotiation the Relevant Disputes Between China and the Philippines in the South China Sea," *The State Council Information Office of PRC*, July 13, 2016, Xinhuanet, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2016-07/13/c_135509153.htm.

issues are enormous.^① According to that proposal, China would like to work with the U. S. to implement the principle of no conflict, no confrontation, mutual respect, cooperation and common prosperity and make the new type of major-country relations between the two countries produce more benefits to people in the two countries and the world.^② President Xi also proposed the six priorities in China's diplomacy with the U. S. include the communication between high-level officials, mutual respect, cooperation in all aspects, management of disputes, collaboration in the Asia-Pacific and joint actions on global challenges.

China's economic, diplomatic and security cooperation with countries in the Asia Pacific has implications for U. S. influence. China is engaging countries the United States considers to be strategically important (i. e., for supporting military operations through economic and military-to-military cooperation) in an effort to complicate relationships between the United States and those strategically important countries. China uses economic engagement to achieve geostrategic and security objectives, Xi Jinping has also emphasized the importance of prioritizing the economic interests of countries that support Chinese core interests, even if it comes at a relative cost economically. The two countries should respect each other's sovereign and territorial integrity as well as political system and development path, instead of imposing one's will and model on the other, which is the important condition and foundation for the two countries to have a healthy, stable and sustainable relationship.^③ Since the September 11, China and the United States have strengthened cooperation in all aspects including trade, military, counterterrorism, law enforcement, energy, health and infrastructure, even the levels for governments, parliaments,

① David M. Lampton, "A New Type of Major-Power Relationship: Seeking a Durable Foundation for U. S. - China Ties," *Asia Policy*, No. 16, July 2013.

② "Xi talks with Obama, Pledges Commitment to New-Type of Major Country Relations," *China Daily*, November 12, 2014.

③ "China Marks Six Priorities for New Type of Major-Country Relations with U. S.," Xinhua Insight, Nov. 12, 2014, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2014-11/12/c_133785465.htm.