

CHINA 中国 TODAY

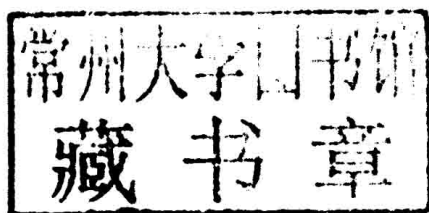
CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY

STUART HARRIS



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To Pamela



Chronology

1839–42	First Opium War
1857–60	Second Opium War
1894–5	First Sino-Japanese War
1900–1	Boxer Uprising
1911	Chinese Republican Revolution and the fall of the Qing dynasty
1912	Republic of China established under Sun Yat-sen
1927	Split between Nationalists (KMT) and Communists (CCP); civil war begins
1931	Japan invades Manchuria
1937–45	Second Sino-Japanese War: Japan invades China
1937	Nanjing massacre
1945–9	Chinese Civil War between the Nationalists (KMT) and Communists (CCP)
1949	Mao Zedong founds People's Republic of China (PRC), KMT retreats to Taiwan
1950–53	Korean War: North Korea invades South Korea
1953–7	First Five-Year Plan: PRC adopts Soviet-style economic planning
1954	First constitution of the PRC; first meeting of the National People's Congress
1955	Afro-Asian (Bandung) Conference
1957	Hundred Flowers Movement: Brief period of political debate followed by repressive Anti-Rightist Movement

- 1958–60 Great Leap Forward: Chinese Communist Party aims to transform agrarian economy through rapid industrialization and collectivization
- 1959 China invades Tibet; Dalai Lama flees to India
- 1959–61 Three Years of Natural Disasters, widespread famine with millions of deaths
- 1960 Sino-Soviet split
- 1962 Sino-Indian War
- 1964 First PRC atomic bomb detonation
- 1966–76 Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and its Effects
- 1971 PRC regains UN seat and Security Council membership
- 1972 President Richard Nixon visits China; 'Shanghai Communiqué' pledges to normalize US–China relations
- 1976 The Great Tangshan Earthquake: Largest earthquake of the twentieth century by death toll
- 1976 Death of Mao Zedong
- 1976 Ultra-leftist Gang of Four arrested and sentenced
- 1978–89 Democracy Wall Movement
- 1978 Introduction of one-child policy restricting married, urban couples to one child
- 1978 Deng Xiaoping assumes power; launches Four Modernizations and economic reforms
- 1979 US and China establish formal diplomatic ties
- 1979 PRC invades Vietnam
- 1980 China joins International Monetary Fund, World Bank
- 1980 China joins Conference on Disarmament
- 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration agreeing return of Hong Kong to China in 1997

- 1989 Tiananmen Square protests culminate in 4 June military crackdown
- 1989 Fall of the Berlin Wall
- 1991 Dissolution of the Soviet Union
- 1992 Deng Xiaoping's Southern Tour re-energizes economic reforms
- 1992 China accedes to Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
- 1993–2002 Jiang Zemin President of PRC
- 1996 China signs the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty
- 1996 Missile 'crisis' across the Taiwan Strait
- 1999 China initiates its 'going out' overseas investment policy
- 1999 US missile hits Chinese embassy in Belgrade
- 1999 Falungong demonstrations in Beijing
- 2001 Collision of US EP3 surveillance plane and Chinese fighter plane
- 2001 China accedes to membership of World Trade Organization
- 2002–12 Hu Jintao President of PRC
- 2003 SARS outbreak
- 2006 First Forum on China–Africa Cooperation
- 2007 China overtakes the US as world's biggest emitter of CO₂
- 2008 Sichuan earthquake
- 2008 Summer Olympic Games in Beijing
- 2010 Shanghai World Expo
- 2010 Google closes its self-censored mainland China search engine service
- 2013 Xi Jinping President of PRC

Preface

This is a book about China's foreign policy. It is not about China as a whole. The distinction is important. To implement foreign policy, states need to deal bilaterally and multilaterally with a wide range of countries. With some they will be comfortable; with others there may be elements of moral distaste or a lack of trust. States need to be able to co-habit with both, even where warmth and mutual trust are lacking, if they are to pursue effectively their interests and maintain peace. Mao Zedong and Richard Nixon were prepared to deal with each other despite the fact that China had long seen Nixon as a 'war-monger' and Americans did not trust Mao. Commonly, foreign policy involves dealing with people who think differently from us. Yet having been involved in international dealings with other countries over much of my career, I was often surprised by assumptions of colleagues that there is a similarity in how problems are seen and approached; or, at times, that others ought to think like us. Knowing not just where your counterparts differ, but understanding why they differ, facilitates handling of differences and makes cooperation possible.

One of Britain's most distinguished historians, Michael Howard, in his 1988 E.H. Carr memorial lecture, said that '[t]he first duty both of the theorist and of the practitioner of international relations . . . is *empathy*: the capacity to enter into other minds and understand ideologies which have been formed by environment, history and education in a very different mould from our own'.¹ This book is sensitive, however imperfectly, to that requirement, and seeks to place foreign policy

decisions in the context of the challenges and vulnerabilities that Chinese leaders believe they face in their international environment. It is less sensitive, for space reasons, in the use of the term 'China' despite acknowledging that in reality there are many Chinas; even more problematic is the use, lacking an alternative, of the ambiguous term, the 'West', often meaning the developed world and, for China, usually now the US and its allies in the developed world.

Looking at China, it is not hard to find examples of the good, but also the bad and the ugly. I have tried to avoid judgements about China and its policies, although clearly there are policies that reflect values that conflict sharply with our own. While there are many reasons for criticizing the Chinese Communist Party's often abused monopoly of political power, its claims to have maintained social and political stability in China, at least since 1989, improved the material wellbeing of its citizens, and increased China's standing and status in the world are not without substance. I have also been inclined to assess China's foreign policy responses not against absolute criteria, but relative to the general practice of other countries. While not done systematically, it is useful to remind ourselves from time to time that, where interests are involved, few, if any, countries are totally trustworthy or compliant with international rules and norms. The following study reflects a view that the international discussion on the rise of China underestimates its governing regime's perceptions, valid or not, of international and domestic challenges and vulnerabilities. It also draws out some of the implications of Western foreign policy that is looking for regime change.

When I first became interested in China, as a government official in the 1960s, most around me were sceptical that it could progress or were fearful of it – a yellow peril or a communist threat. I first visited China in 1973, during a period commonly seen as the latter part of the Cultural Revolution, and have returned on numerous occasions since. I come to this subject not as a Chinese linguist, but as one who

has dealt extensively with China in the foreign policy field and studied China on and off for over four decades, both as a government official and an academic. I have negotiated with Chinese officials on a diverse range of subjects, including various bilateral issues (from export contracts to human rights), broad regional, political and economic cooperation issues, and specific issues related to Cambodia, Taiwan and Japan. Over the years, and on innumerable occasions, I have discussed many of the issues in this book with officials and scholars in China. I have also discussed and debated China extensively, at the official and scholarly level, with colleagues in the West, notably in the US and in Australia.

I wish to acknowledge the considerable support and encouragement I received in undertaking this study from the Department of International Relations at the Australian National University, under the headship of Professor Bill Tow. I have also been greatly assisted in writing this book by colleagues who have been good enough to read drafts. Special thanks are due to Kathy Morton who read a full draft and to Pete Van Ness who read almost every chapter. Both made many valuable suggestions. Others who read and commented helpfully on chapters or significant parts are Shiro Armstrong, Greg Austin, Paul Dibb, Frank Frost, Ian Hall, Michael Harris, Ron Huiskens, Kirill Nourzhanov, John Ravenhill, David Shambaugh, Brendan Taylor, Ramesh Thakur and You Ji. Their input was substantial and is gratefully acknowledged here. Helpful comments were also received from two anonymous reviewers. I have benefited substantially from discussions on the ChinaPol listserv as I did from the earlier ChinSec listserv. Numerous translation sites, especially China Wire and BBC Monitoring, were very helpful.

Particular thanks are due to two special people. Mary-Louise Hickey, the Publications Editor of the Department of International Relations, was a continuing help throughout the development of the

study and brought the manuscript into its final shape. My wife Pamela not only read each chapter and greatly improved the logic and consistency of the argument, but also provided sustained support and understanding of the demands of the book at the expense of time we would otherwise have spent together.

Abbreviations

APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASAT	anti-satellite
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEM	Asia–Europe meeting
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CAFTA	China–ASEAN Free Trade Agreement
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CD	Conference on Disarmament
CMC	Central Military Commission
CMI	Chiang Mai Initiative
CMIM	CMI Multilateral
DDA	Doha Development Agenda
DoC	Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea
EAEC	East Asia Economic Caucus
EAS	East Asia Summit
EEZ	exclusive economic zone
EU	European Union
FALSG	Foreign Affairs Leading Small Group
FOCAC	Forum on China–Africa Cooperation
G2	Group of Two
G7/8	Group of Seven/Eight
G20	Group of Twenty
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GDP	gross domestic product
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICCPR	International Convention on Civil and Political Rights
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LSG	leading small group
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MOFCOM	Ministry of Commerce
MTCR	Missile Technology Control Regime
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDRC	National Development and Reform Commission
NOCs	national oil companies
NPC	National People's Congress
NPT	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
NSA	National Security Agency
ODA	official development assistance
ODI	outward direct investment
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PBSC	Politburo Standing Committee
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	People's Republic of China
R2P	responsibility to protect
RCEP	Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership
RMB	renminbi
SARS	severe acute respiratory syndrome
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organisation
SOE	state-owned enterprise
TND	New Tang Dynasty television station
TPP	Trans-Pacific Partnership
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WTO	World Trade Organization

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