

Chinese foreign policy drivers

Richard Q. Turcsanyi

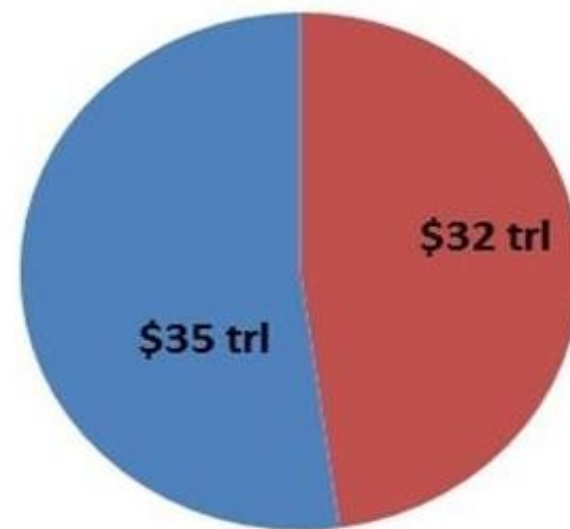
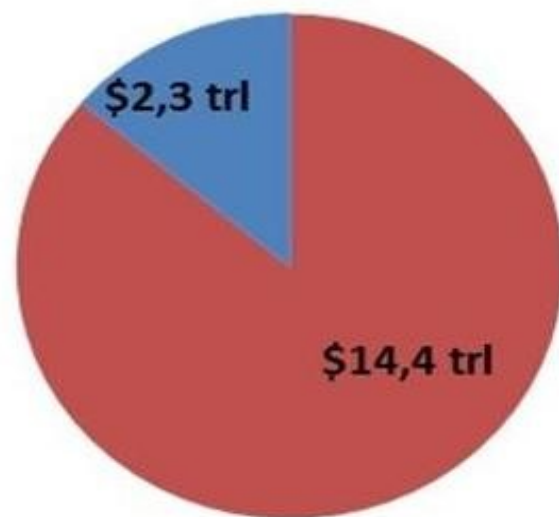


GDP share of BRICS and G7



GDP of G7 vs. Emerging 7, 1990

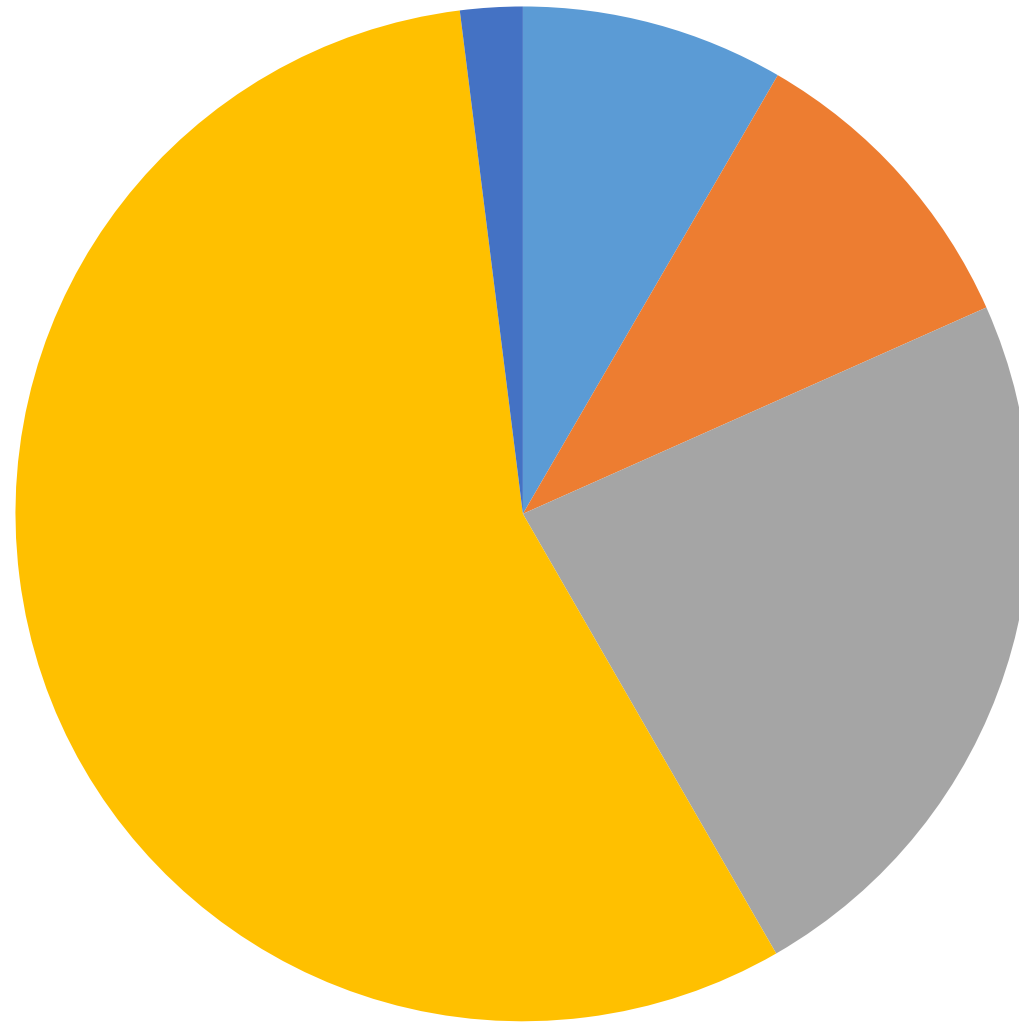
GDP of G7 vs. Emerging 7, 2013



■ G7 (USA, Japan, Germany, France, UK, Italy, Canada)

■ Emerging 7 (China, India, Russia, Brazil, Indonesia, Mexico, South Korea)

BRICS: GDP (PPP)



- Brazil
- Russia
- India
- China
- South Africa

Rio

Rio de Janeiro, 1993



Xangai, 1993

(sem metrô)

Rio de Janeiro, 2013



Xangai, 2013



HDP

	0	1000	1820	2000
Western Europe	11,1	10,2	163,7	6 961
Western Offshoots	0,5	0,8	13,5	8 456
Japan	1,2	3,2	20,7	2 582
<u>Group A</u>	12,8	14,1	198,0	17 998
Latin America	2,2	4,6	14,1	2 942
SSSR and Eastern Europe	3,5	5,4	60,9	1 793
Asia (ex. Japan)	77,0	78,9	390,5	9 953
Africa	7,0	13,7	31,0	1 039
<u>Goup B</u>	89,7	102,7	496,5	15 727
<u>World</u>	102,5	116,8	694,4	33 726

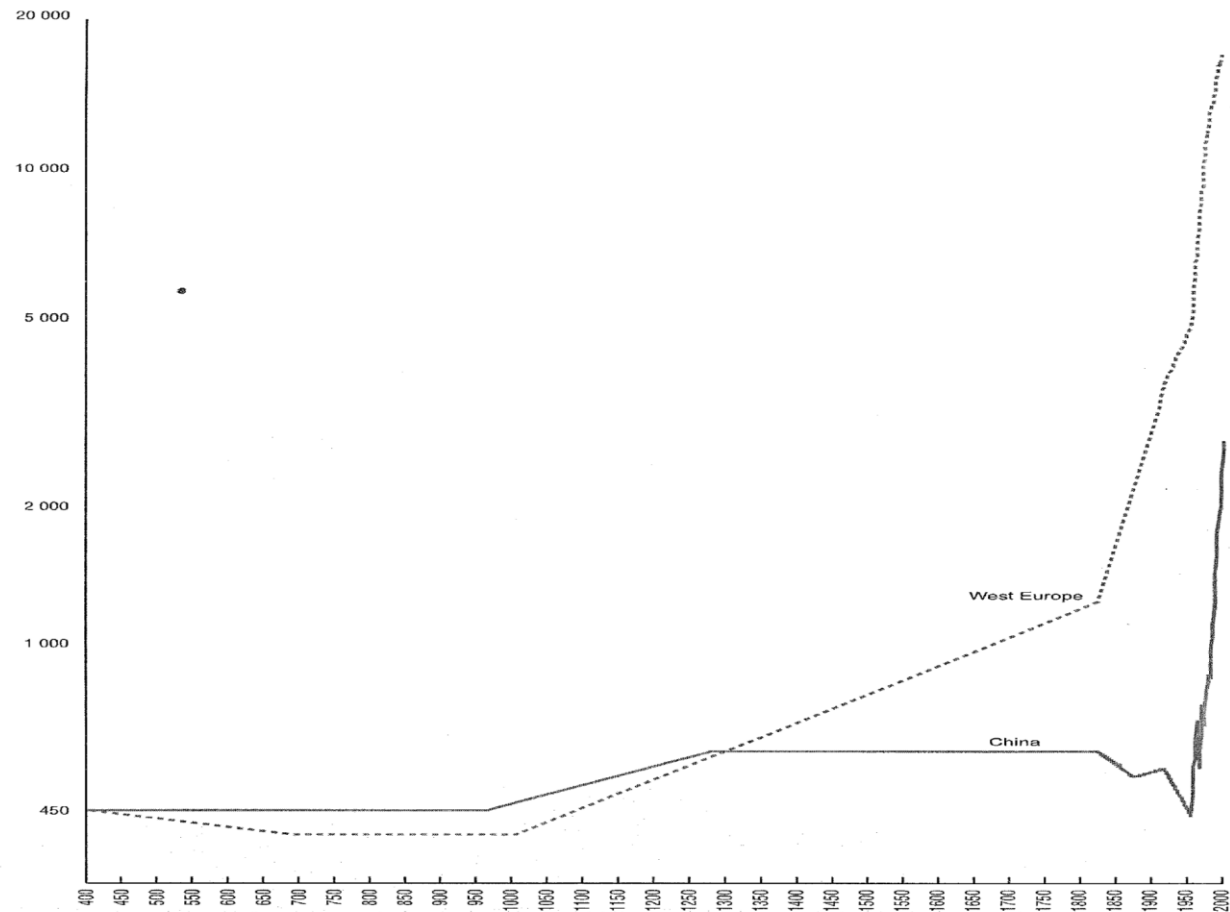
Bill. USD 1990

HDP per capita

	0	1000	1820	2000
Western Europe	450	400	1 232	17 921
Western Offshoots	400	400	1 201	26 146
Japan	400	425	669	20 413
<u>Group A</u>	443	405	1 130	21 470
Latin America	400	400	665	5 795
SSSR and Eastern Europe	400	400	667	4 354
Asia (ex. Japan)	450	450	575	2 936
Africa	425	416	418	1 368
<u>Group B</u>	444	440	573	3 102
<u>World</u>	444	435	667	5 709

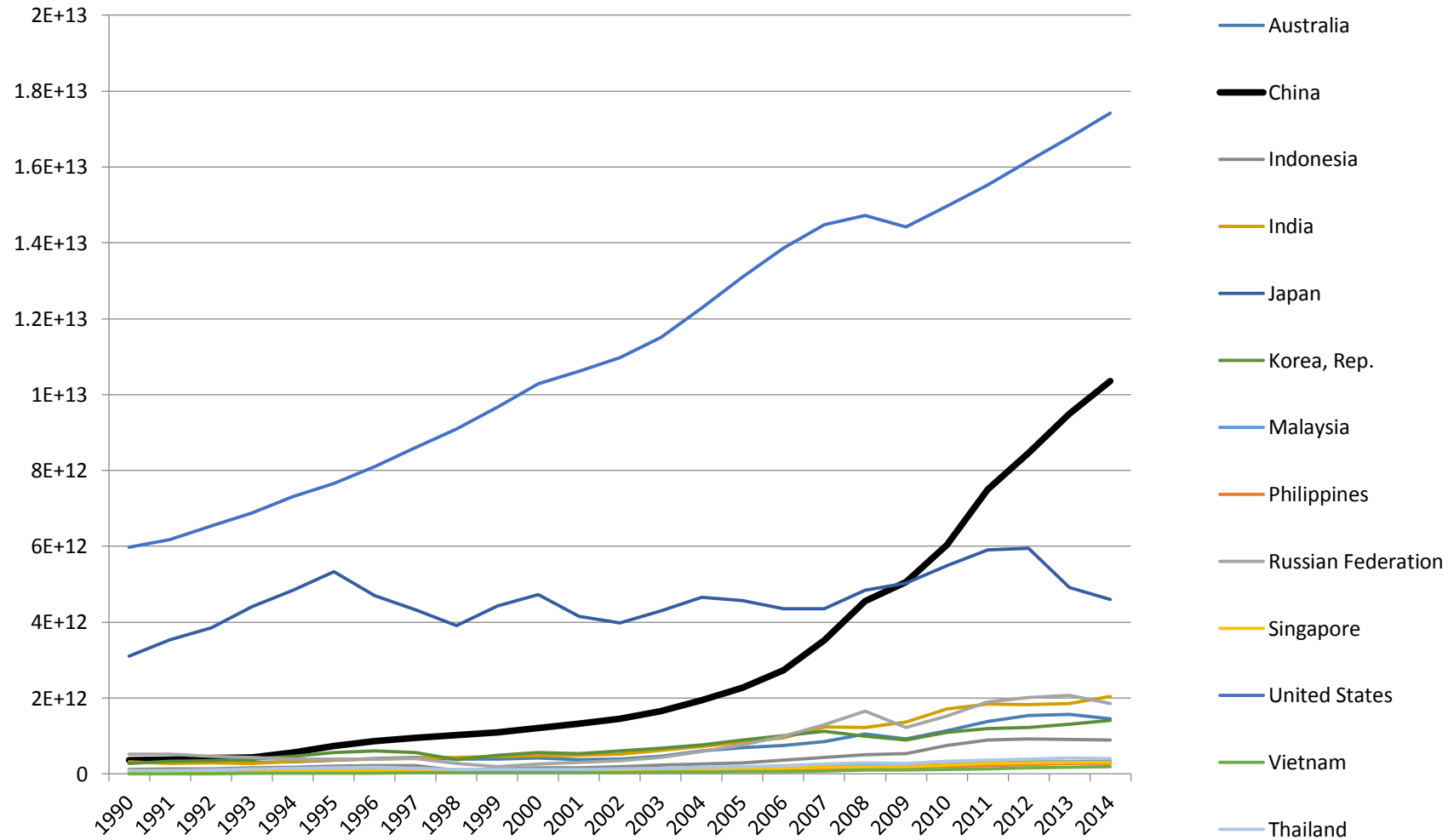
Income per capita USD 1990

Figure 1-4. Comparative Levels of GDP Per Capita: China and West Europe, 400-1998 A.D.

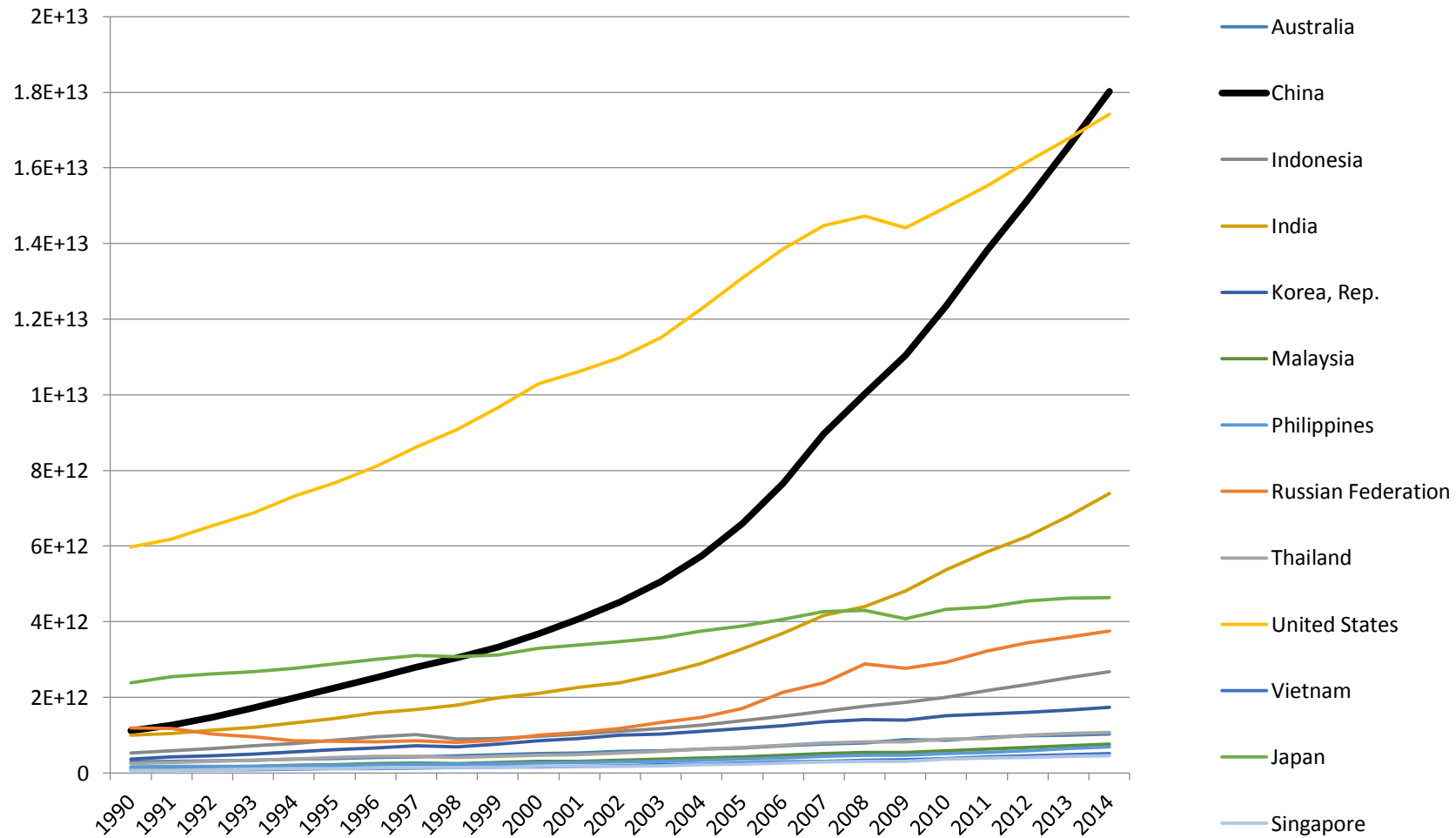


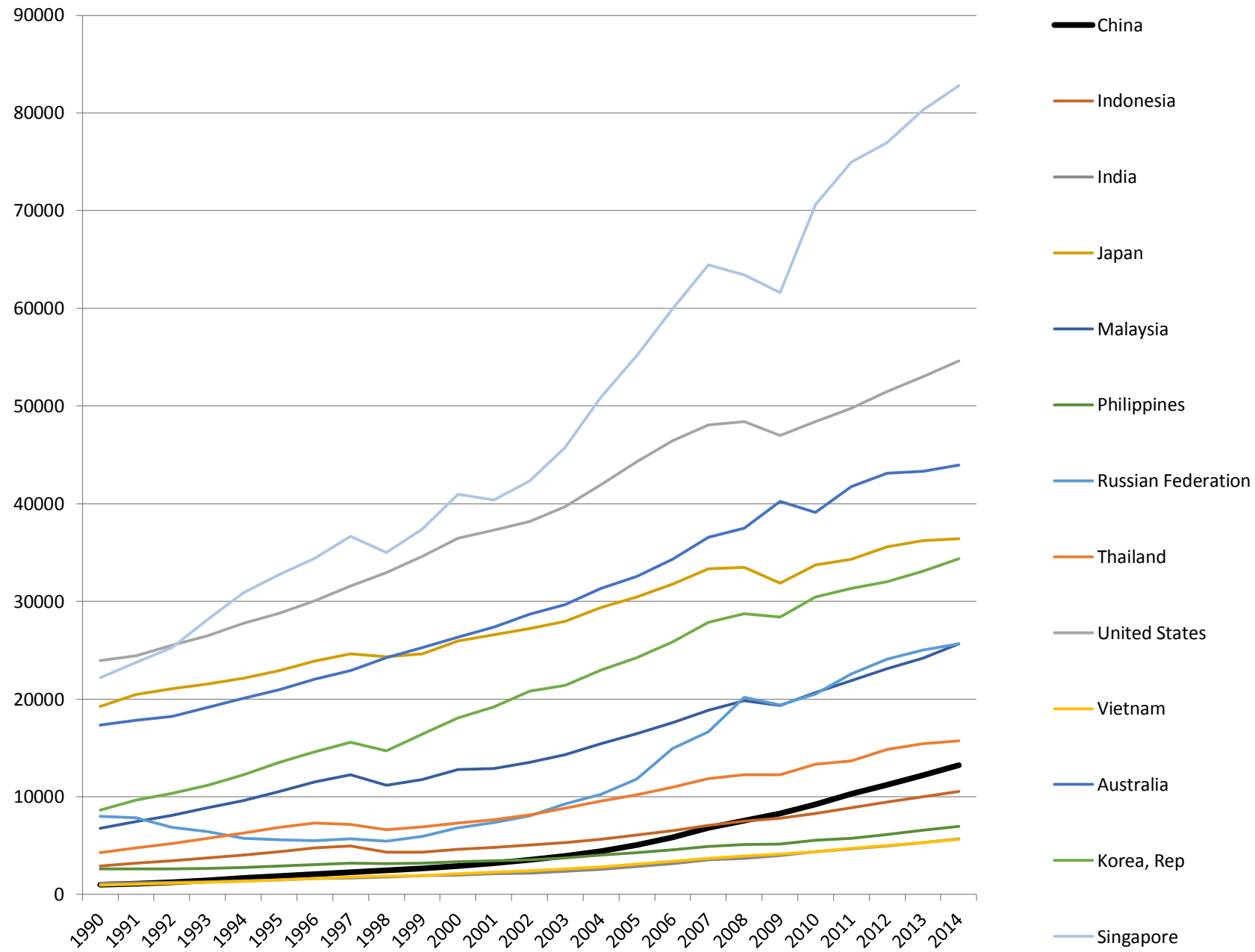
Source: Appendices A, B and C. Vertical scale is logarithmic.

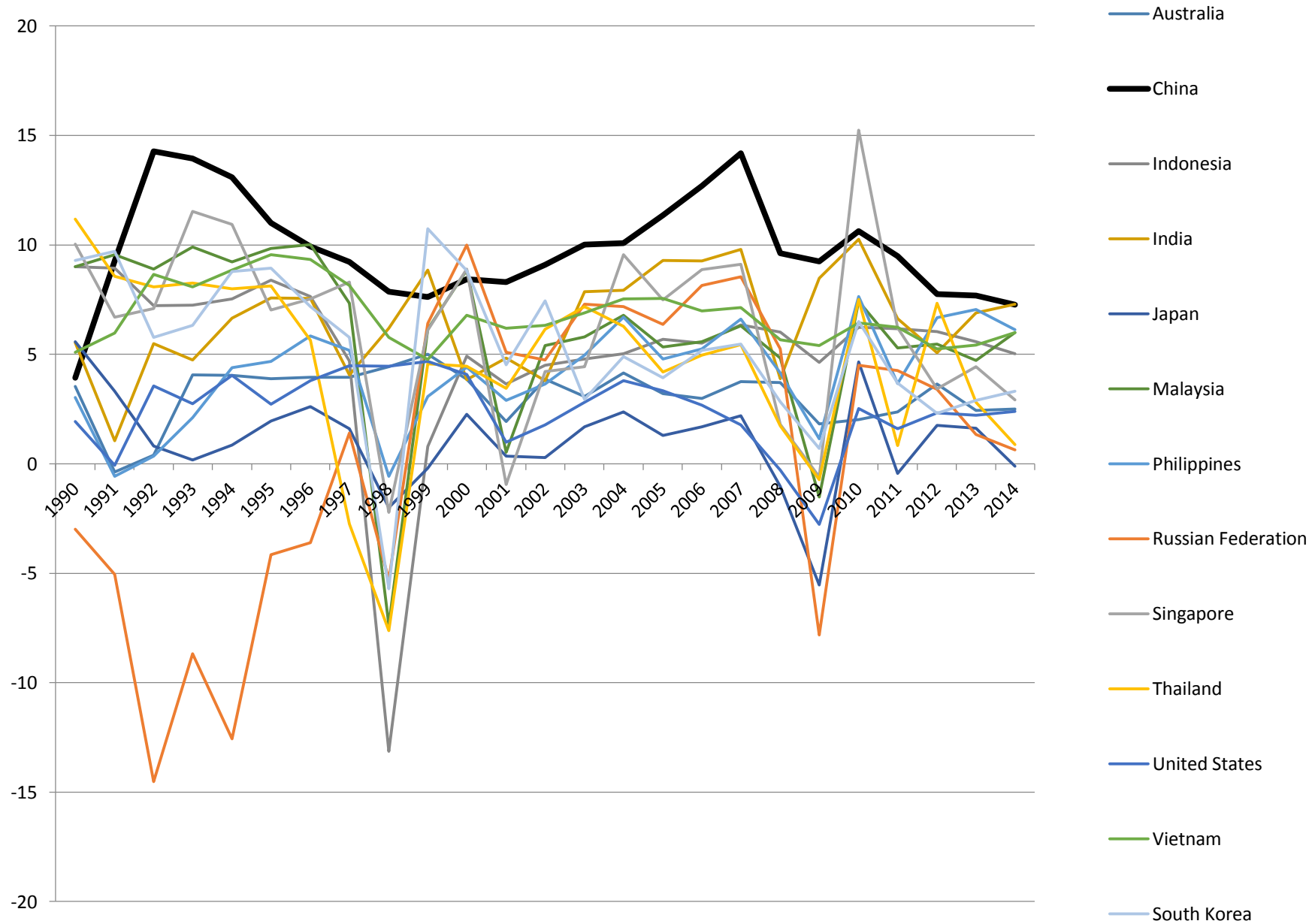
GDP (nominal)

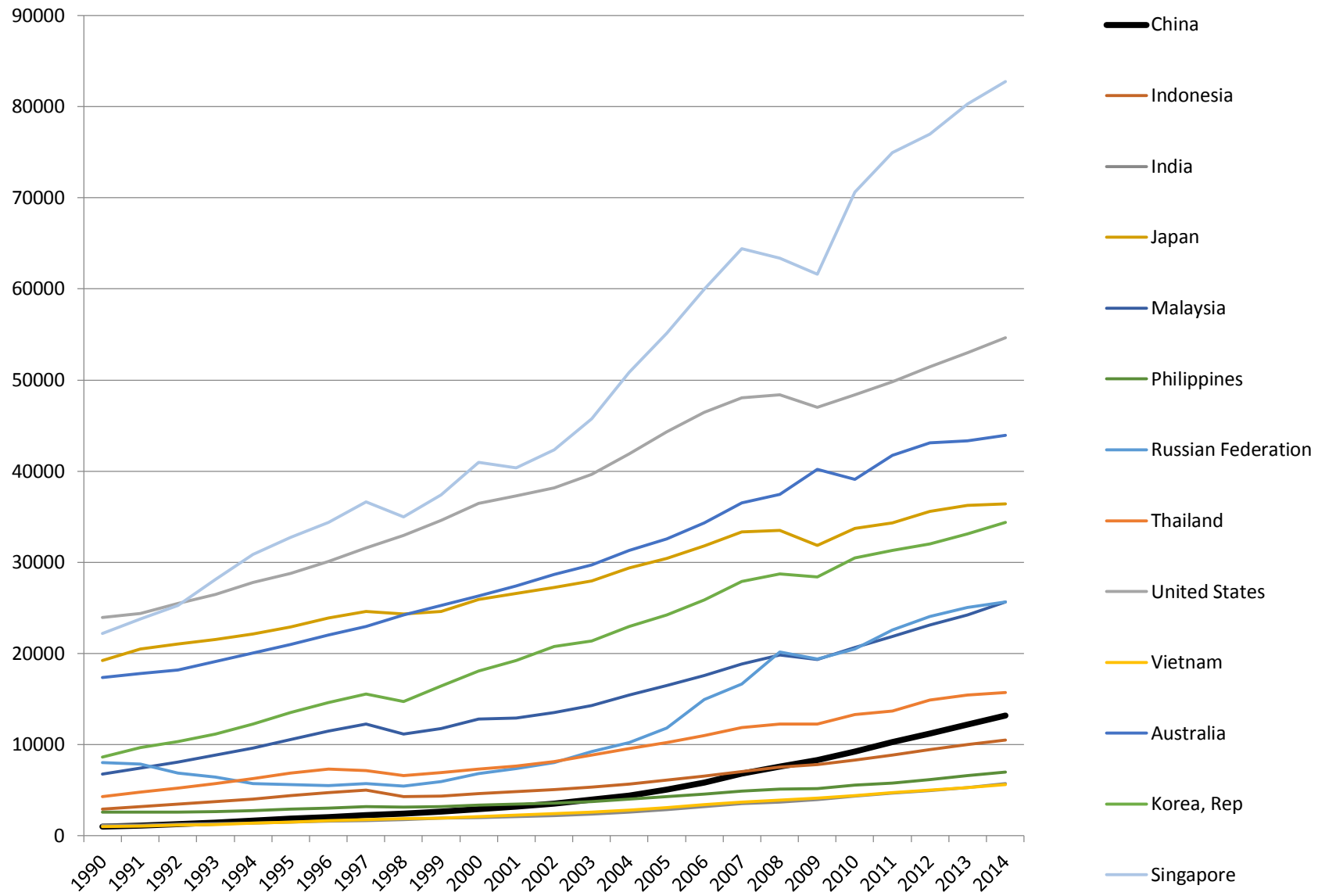


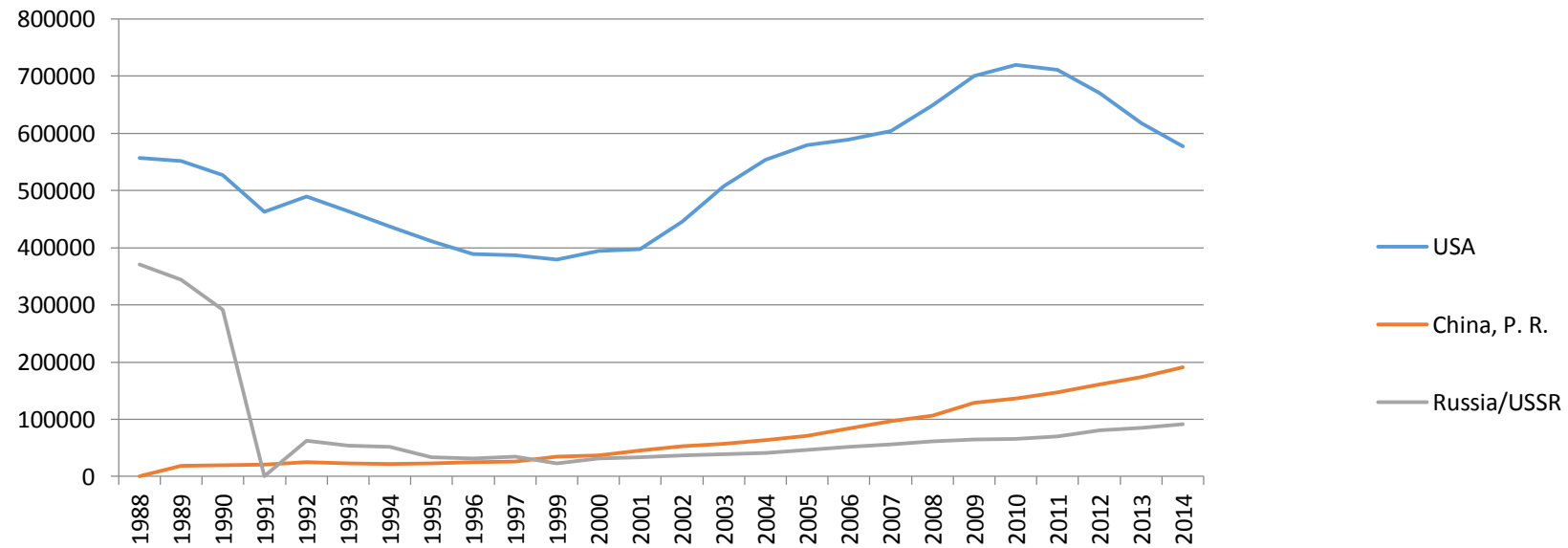
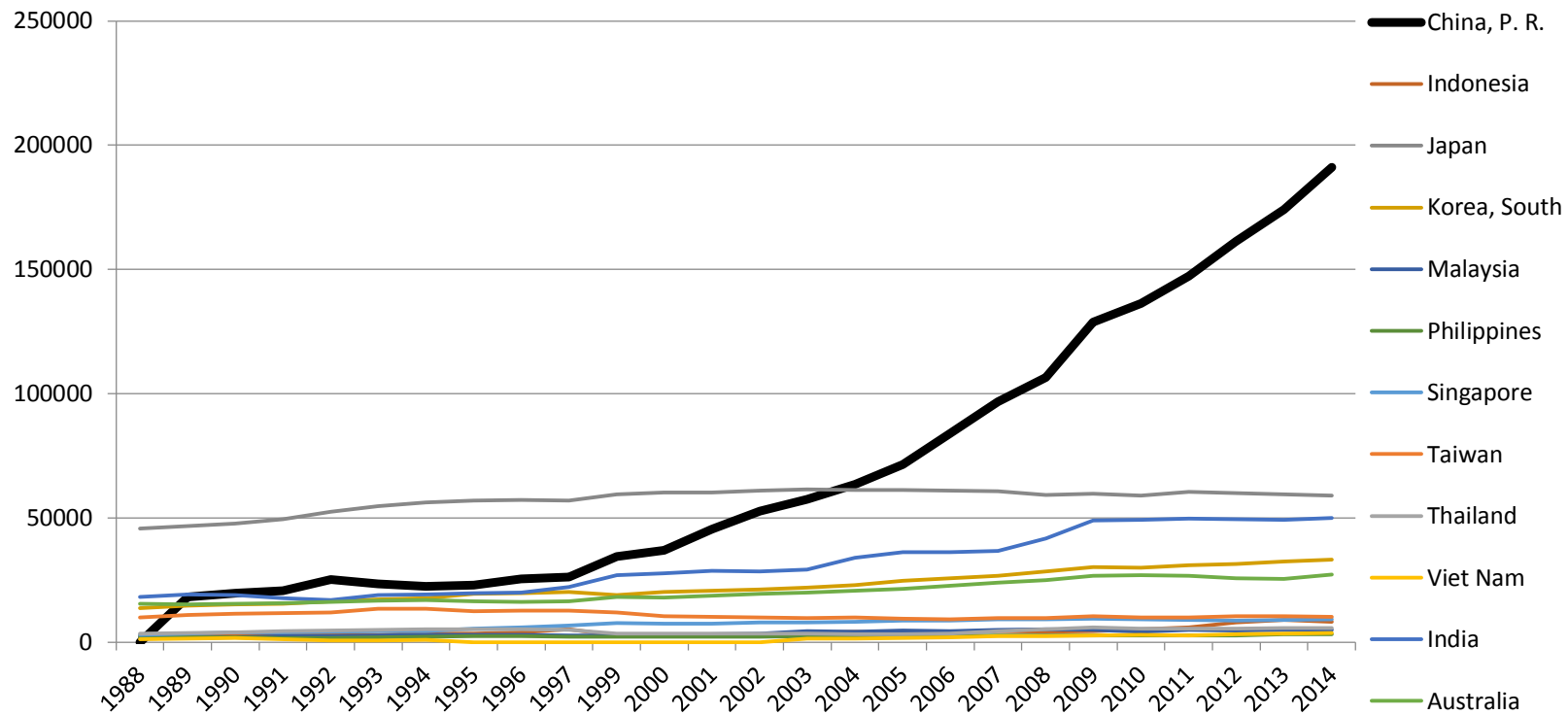
GDP (PPP)



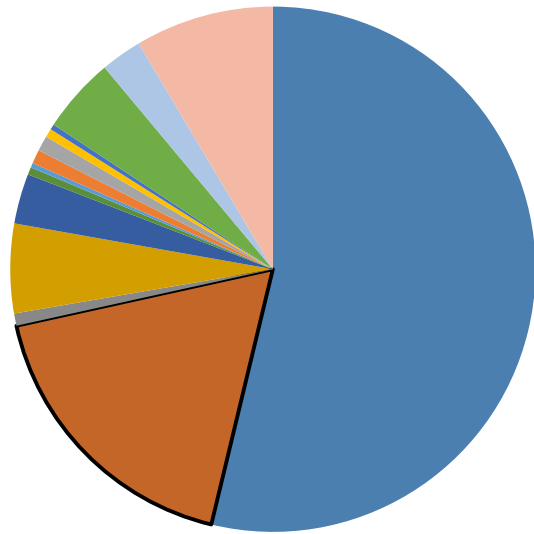






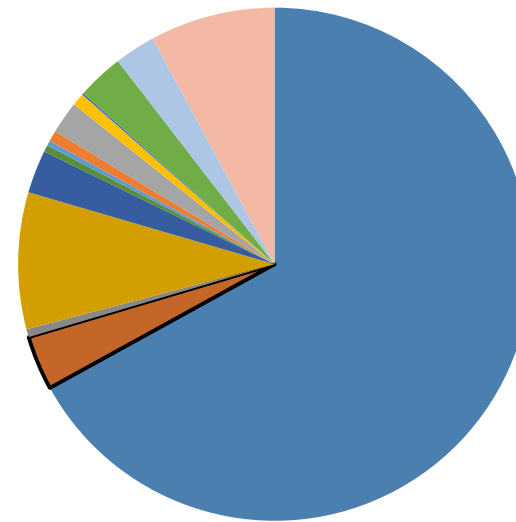


2014



- USA
- China, P. R.
- Indonesia
- Japan
- Korea, South
- Malaysia
- Philippines
- Singapore
- Taiwan
- Thailand
- Viet Nam
- India
- Australia
- Russia/USSR

1994



- USA
- China, P. R.
- Indonesia
- Japan
- Korea, South
- Malaysia
- Philippines
- Singapore
- Taiwan
- Thailand
- Viet Nam
- India
- Australia
- Russia/USSR

Foreign policy analysis

- 1. What China has been doing in the foreign policy?
 - **History** (1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1989)
 - **Bilateral relations** (Rapprochement with the US, Korean War, Vietnamese War, Third Taiwan crisis, relations with Japan)
 - **Concepts and directions** (War and revolution, Peace and development, Taoguang Yanghui=Low profile FP, Peaceful rise/development, Chinese dream, Assertive FP)
 - **China-CEE** (late start, golden age in 1950s, sino-soviet split, improvement in 1980s, post-1989 divergence, post 2008 crisis improvements)
- 2. Why China has been doing this?

FP levels of analysis

- Systematic level
 - Character of the international system, power distribution
- State level
 - Strategic culture (ideas, identity - „irrational“ factors)
 - Bureaucratic structure (material - „rational“ - factors)
 - Media and public opinion
- Individual level
 - Personality of leader



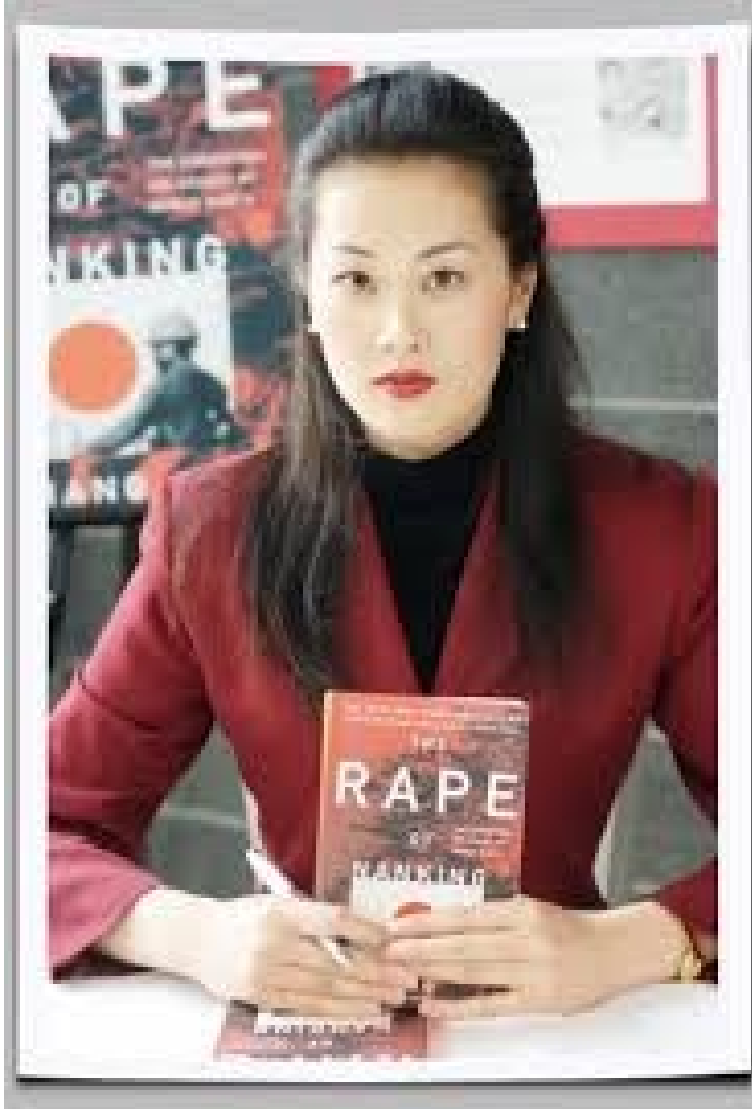
Foreign Spheres of Influence in China

(prior to 1911 Revolution)



	Russia		Foreign Trade Treaty Port
	Japan		Manchuria Occupations
	Britain		Russia 1900-05
	France		Japan 1905
	Germany		

Map Center: 35°N, 105°E
© All Rights Reserved
www.mapsofindia.com





Chinese foreign policy since 1948

- 1950s: “Leaning to one side”
- 1960s: “Fighting with two fists”
- 1970s: “United front”
- 1980s: Opening up and reform - Peace and development
- 1990s: “Taoguang yanghui” (Biding time, keeping low profile – hiding brightness, cherishing obscurity)
- 2000s: Peaceful rise/development
- 2010s: Assertiveness, Winning political allies vs achieving economic interests, Soft power

Future outlook

- “Europe’s past will be Asia’s future”
 - J. Mearsheimer, A. Friedberg
- “Asia’s past will be Asia’s future”
 - D. Kang

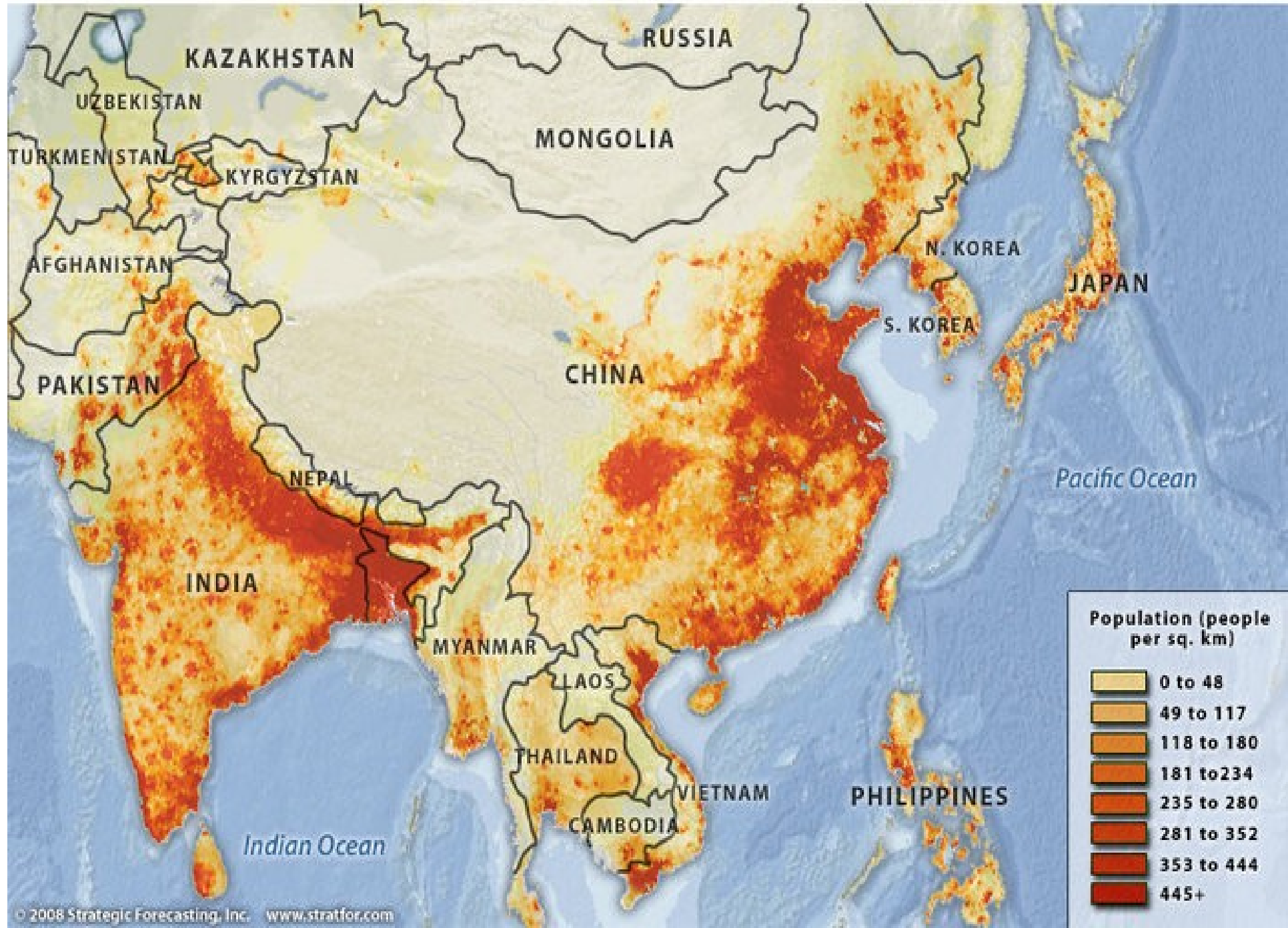
Chinese strategic culture

- Confucian
 - Traditional philosophy, morality, benevolence, justice, harmony, order
- Realpolitik
 - A. Johnston
 - Historical preference of aggressive solutions
- Dualistic
 - Peaceful self-perception vs. pro-active/aggressive behavior
 - Cult of defense

Southern Asia



POPULATION DENSITY MAP OF ASIA



CHINA ETHNOLINGUISTIC GROUPS

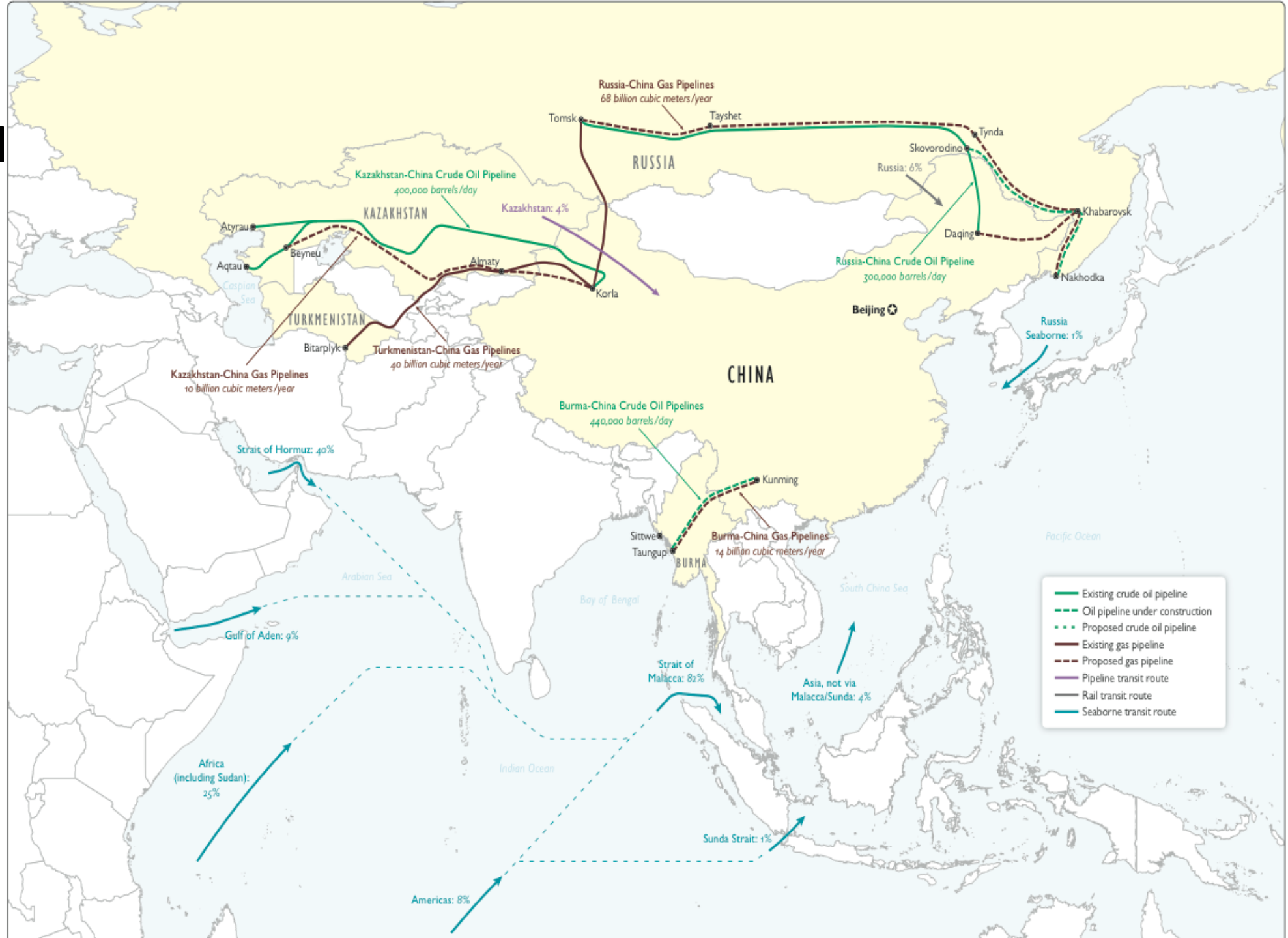


CHINA AS AN ISLAND

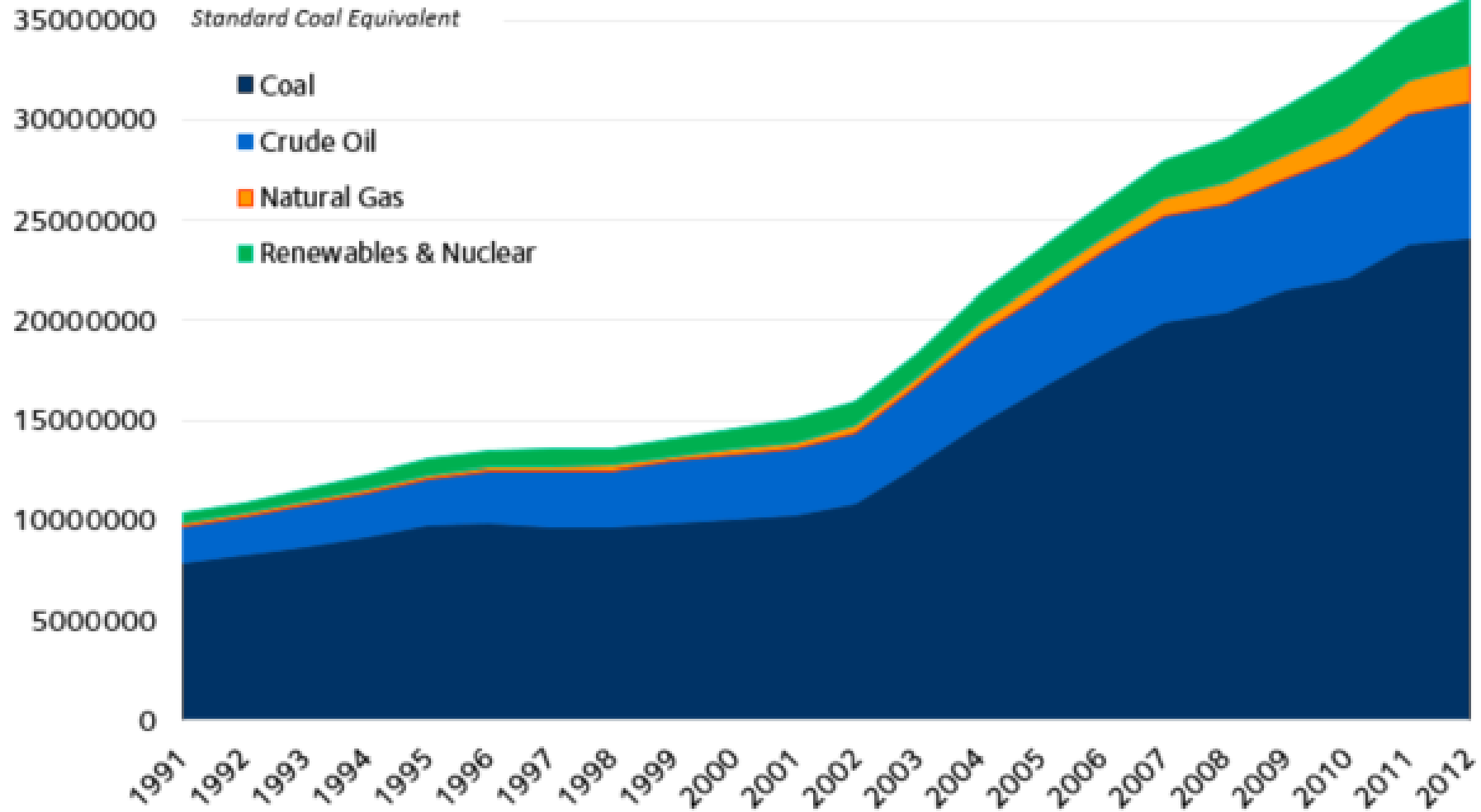




EI

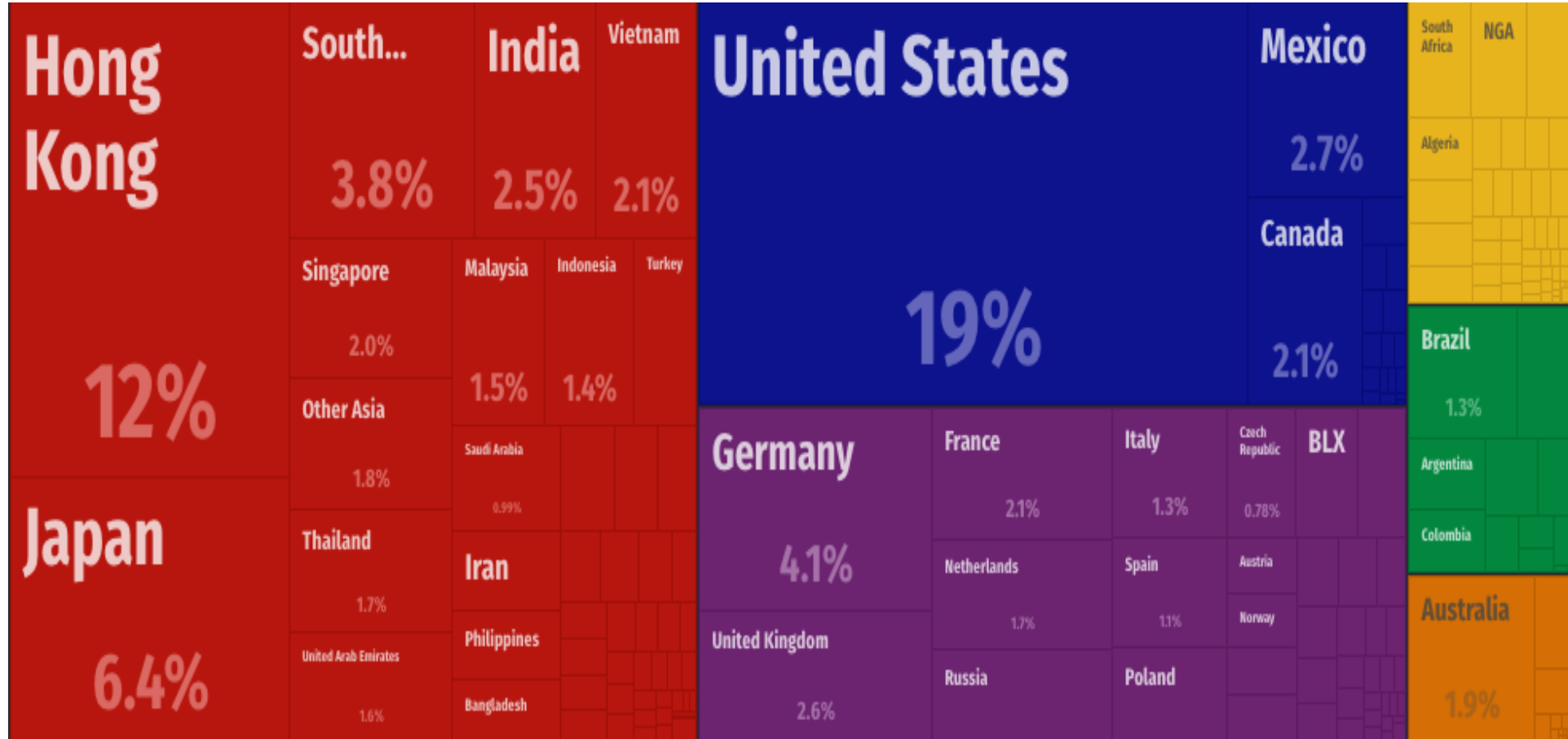


China: Energy Demand Growth By Source



Source: National Bureau of Statistics of China

Chinese export partners





<http://transitoriented.design/chinese-metro-evolution/>

Rio de Janeiro, 1993



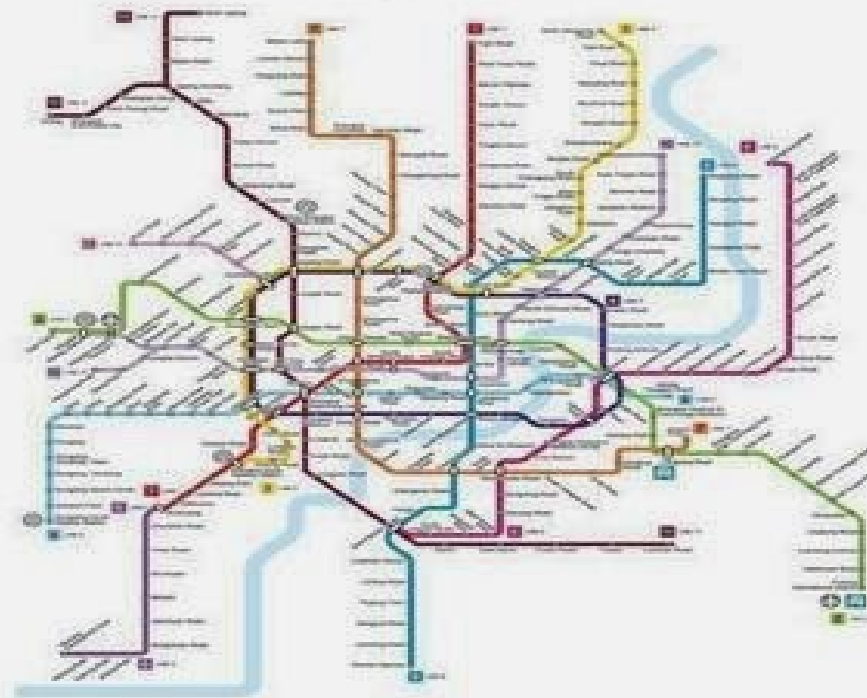
Xangai, 1993

(sem metrô)

Rio de Janeiro, 2013



Xangai, 2013



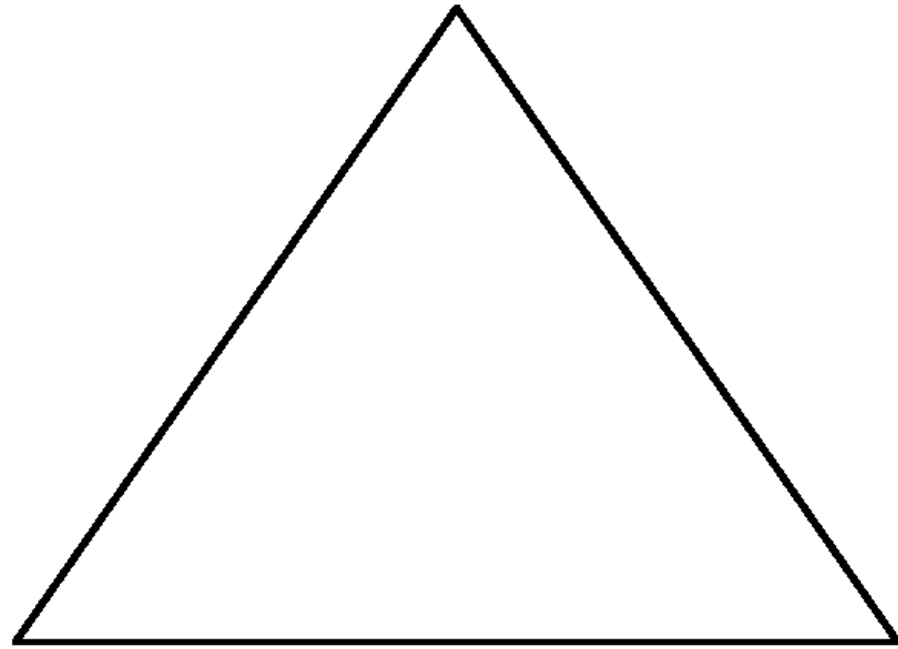
Actors of Chinese FP

- Party (Politbyro SC)
- State Council (Vice Premier for FP/State Councilor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
- Military

- → Coordination: small leading groups

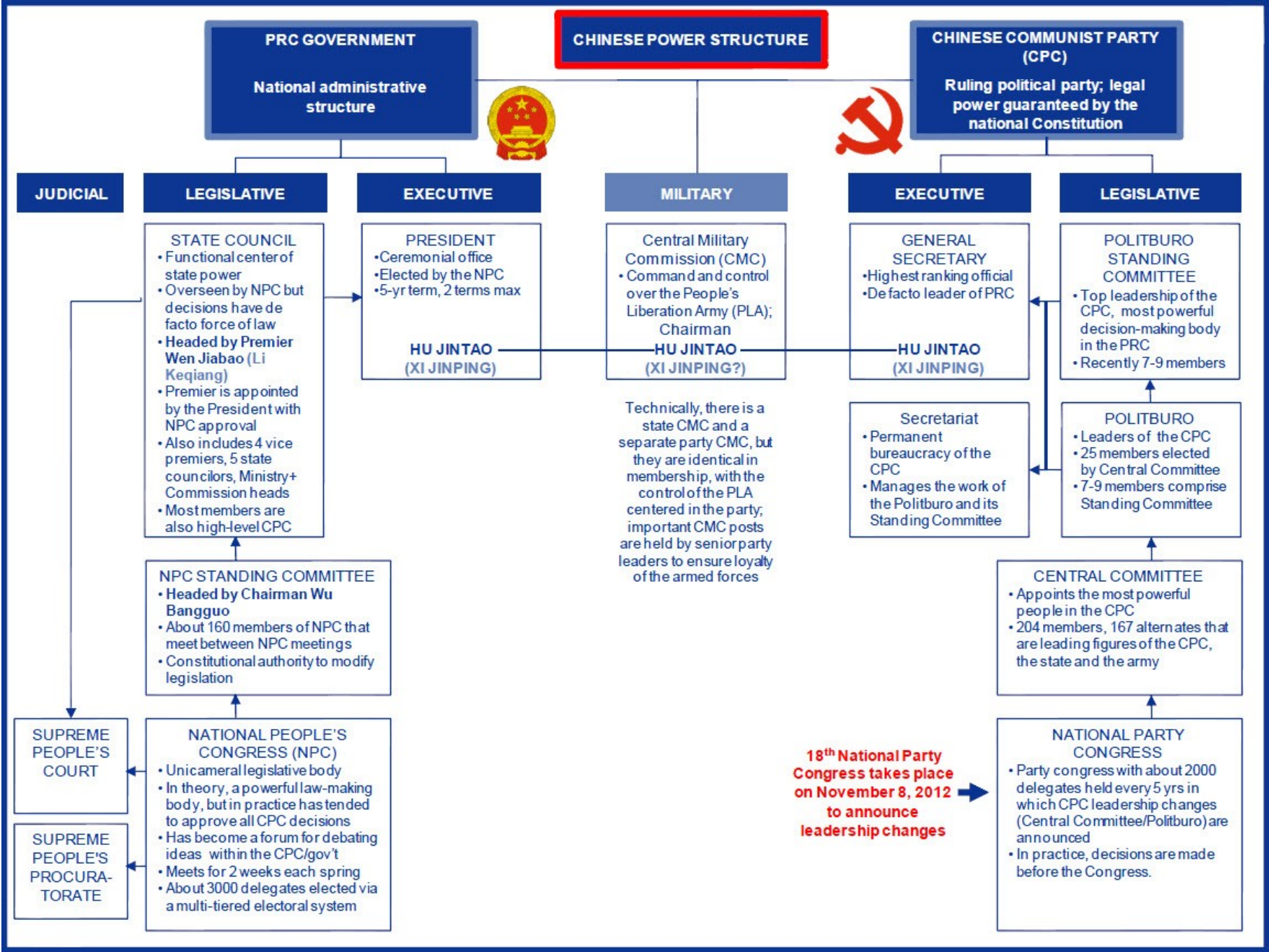
- New actors
 - Public
 - Media
 - Researchers, universities, think tanks
 - Provinces
 - Economic corporations

Party 



 Army

State 



Informal institutions

- Consensual decision making
- Generation 'core' and retirement
- Informal personal relations
- Interest groups
- Tendency to preserve status quo and keep the unity
- Risk aversion
- *„Collective leadership, democratic centralism, individual preparation, decisions made at meetings.“*

Changes in Chinese decision making process

- Professionalization and institutionalization
 - Rise of technical capabilities of personal
 - Development of relations with the rest of the world
- Pluralization and decentralization
 - Broadening and deepening of decision making structure
- Changes of the role of a leader
- Globalization



Xi Jinping (1953)

- Origin/experience: Shaanxi, Henan, Hebei, Fujian, Zhejiang, Shanghai
- Sent to countryside during Cultural Revolution
- His father Xi Zhongxun: revolutionary, vice-premier, purged and imprisoned during Cultural Revolution, then governor of Guangdong
- Technical and legal education (Tsinghua), study trip in the US (Iowa)
- Interest in FP, experience with army

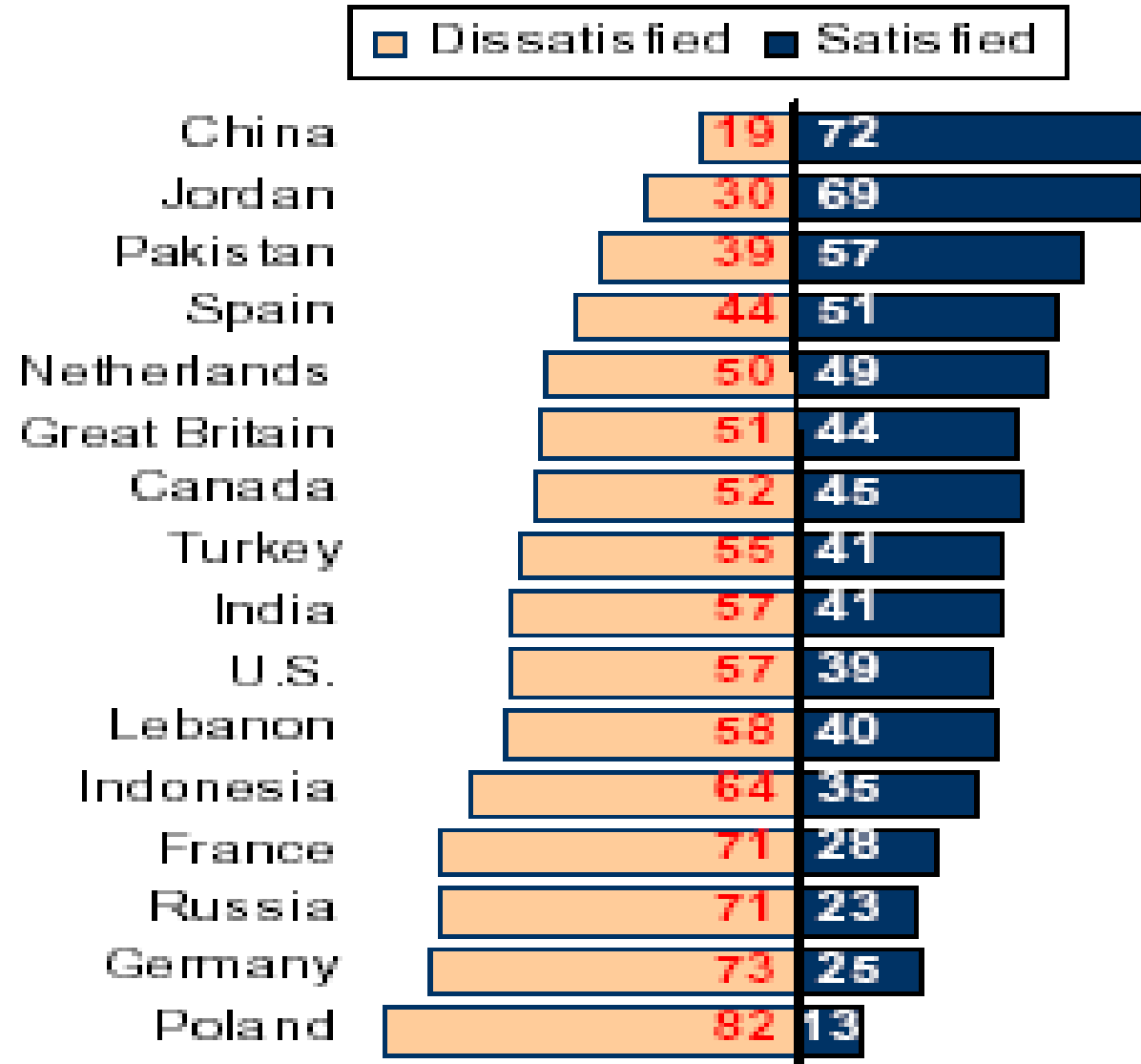
Who is Xi?

- Calm, comfortable in the position of the leader
- Man of the people, hard worker
- Reformer, but not democratic
- He likes literature , quotes Chinese classics (and Mao)
- His wife Peng Liyuan, his daughter studies at Harvard
- New trinity: Confucian-Daoist, Marxist-Maoist, Dengist-capitalist,
 - plus moralism vs. legalism
- Three historical comparisons: emperor Qin Shi Huang, Li Shimin (Tang dynasty), Mao Zedong
- Chinese dream, national rejuvenation, Belt and Road initiative

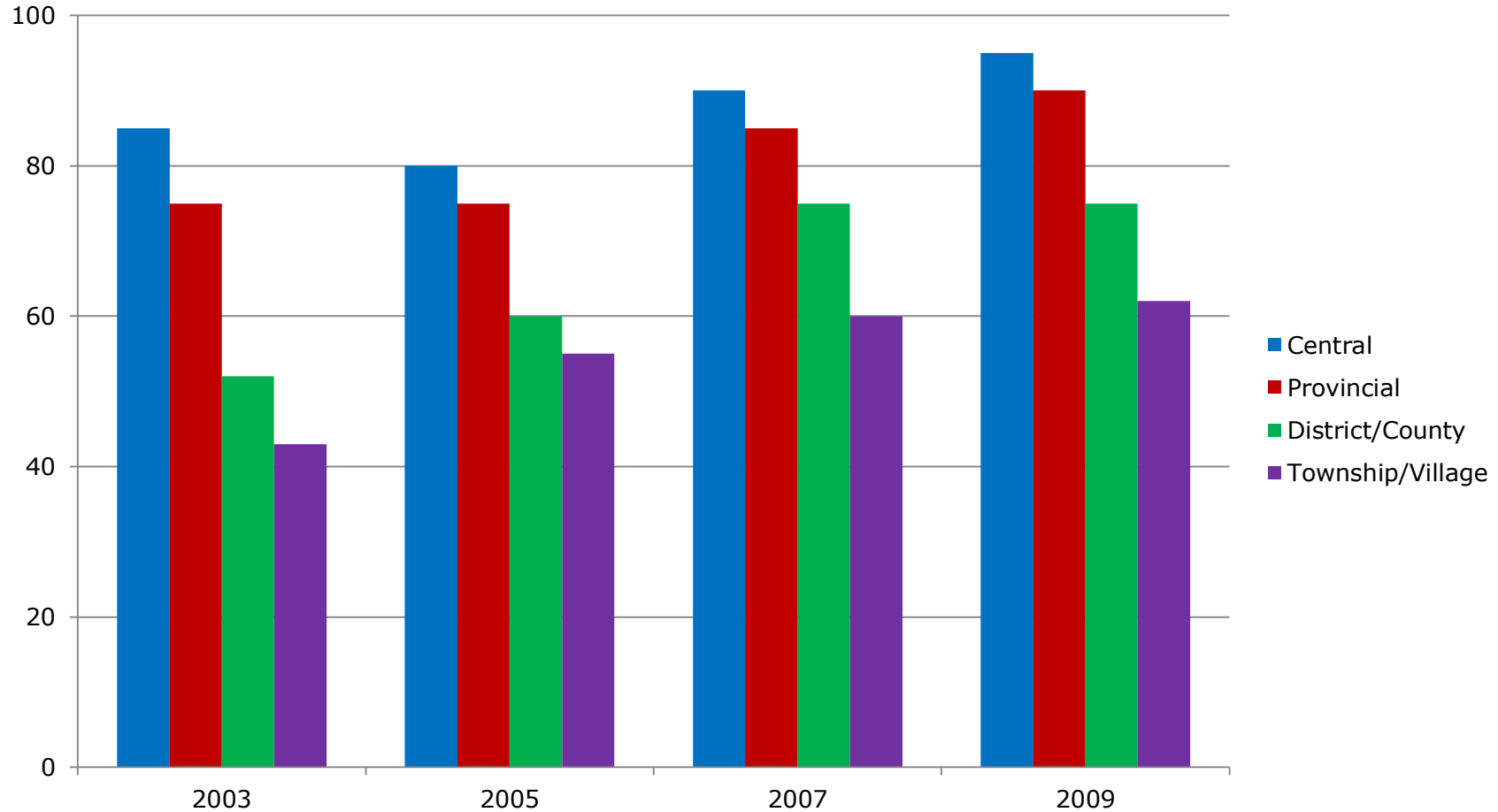
Public opinion in China

- Main goal of Chinese government?
- Regime security -> legitimacy
 - Economic development
 - Ideology (communism v. nationalism)
- -> Preventing a rival interest group from emerging
- FP: relatively open political space for public
- Government supporting of nationalism?

Satisfaction with National Conditions



Satisfaction rates with government

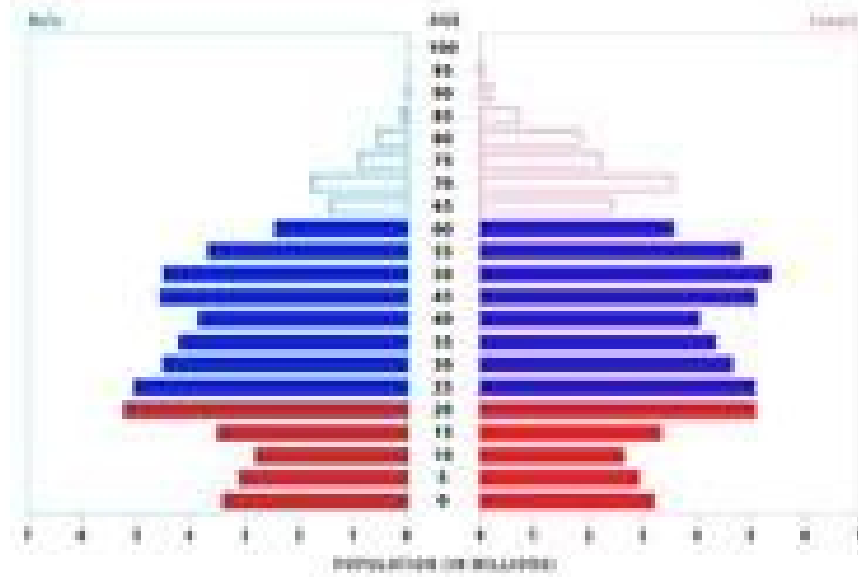
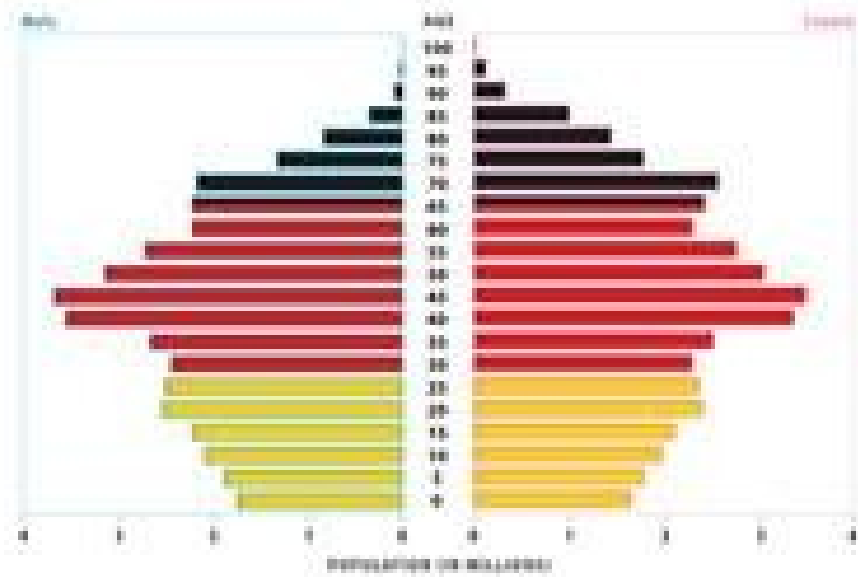
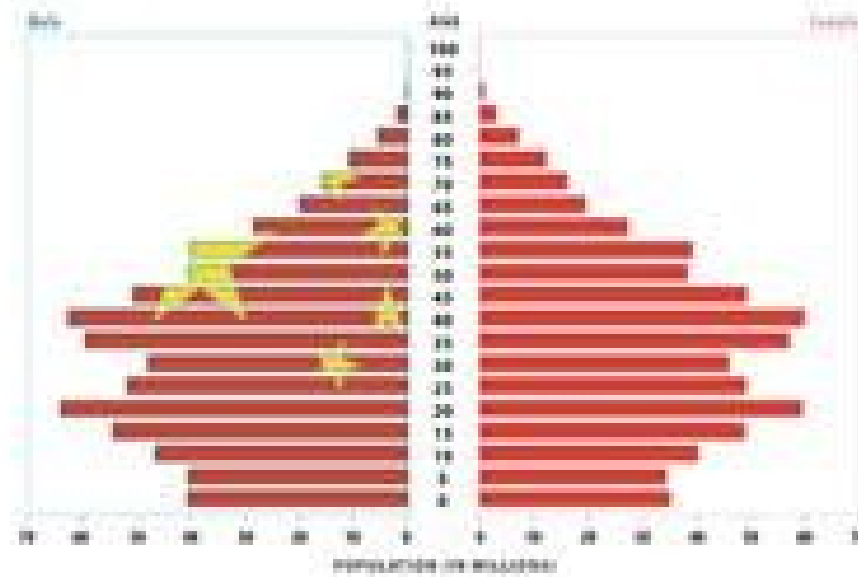
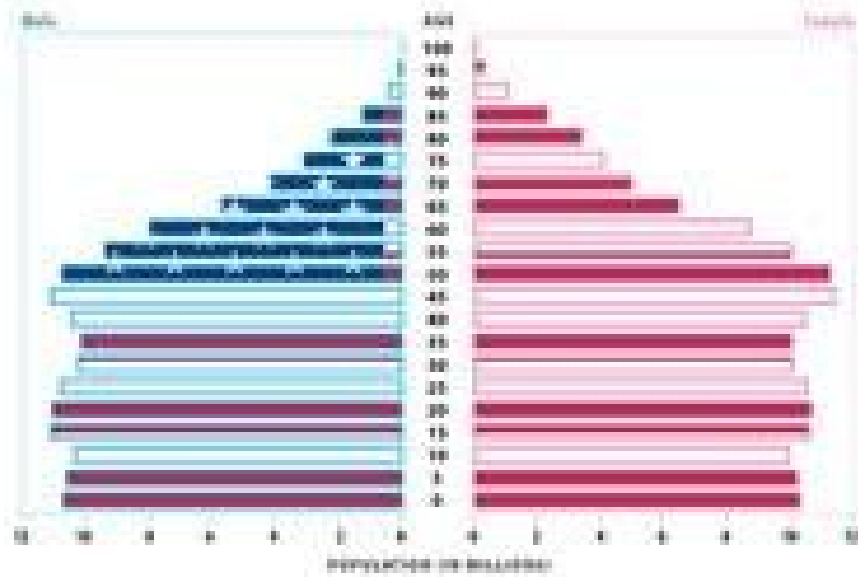


Increasing Public Concerns in China

	<i>% Very big problem</i>			
	2008	2012	2013	08-13 Change
	%	%	%	
Safety of food	12	41	38	+26
Quality of manufactured goods	13	33	31	+18
Safety of medicine	9	28	27	+18
Old age insurance	13	28	30	+17
Air pollution	31	36	47	+16
Corrupt officials	39	50	53	+14
Education	11	23	24	+13
Water pollution	28	33	40	+12
Rich-poor gap	41	48	52	+11
Health care	12	26	23	+11
Worker conditions	13	23	23	+10
Traffic	9	18	19	+10
Crime	17	25	24	+7
Corrupt business people	21	32	27	+6
Unemployment	22	24	27	+5
Electricity shortages	4	8	8	+4
Rising prices	72	60	59	-13

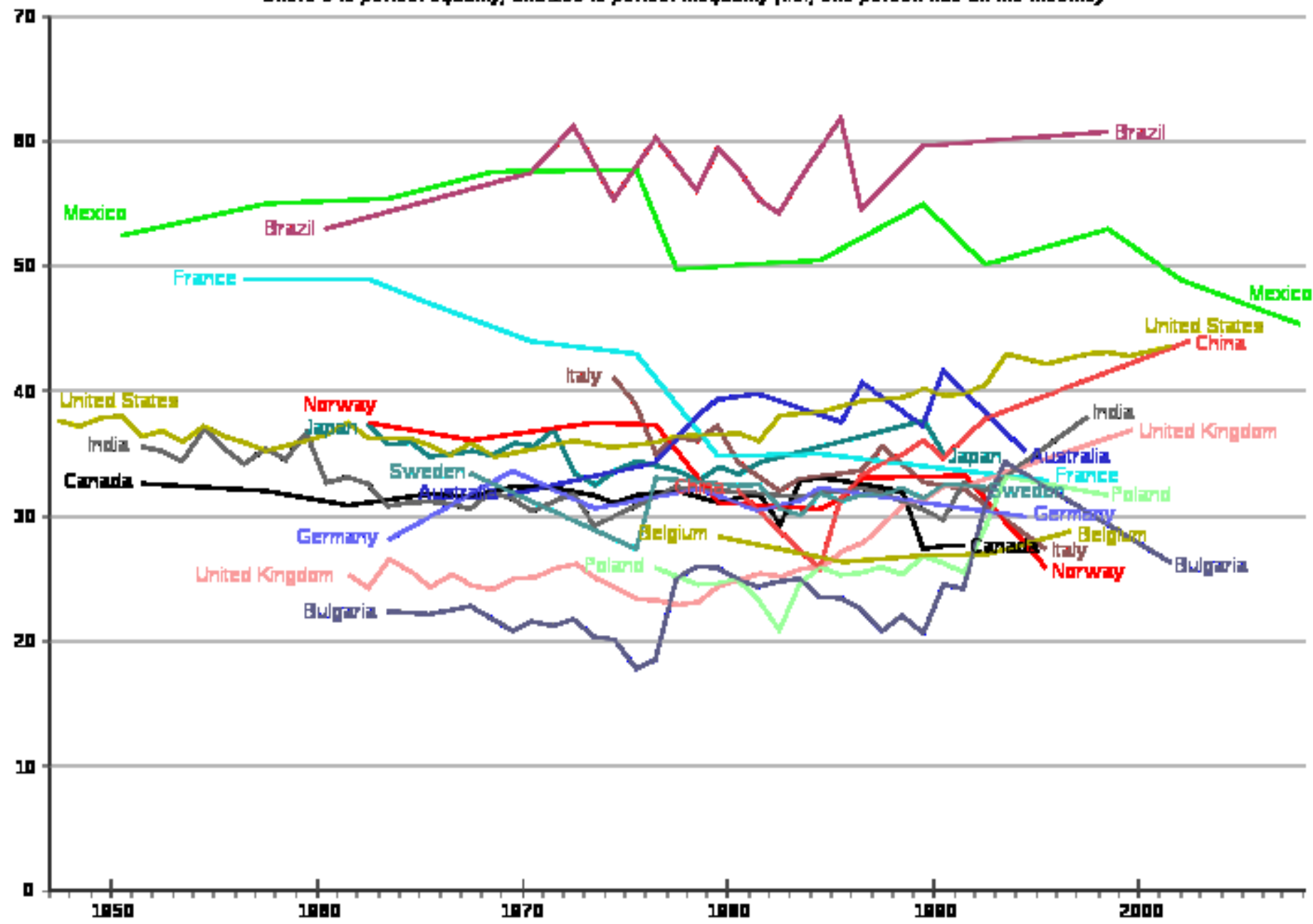


DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE UNITED STATES, CHINA, GERMANY AND RUSSIA: 2010



Gini Index - Income Disparity since World War II

where 0 is perfect equality, and 100 is perfect inequality (i.e., one person has all the income)



GINI (2013)

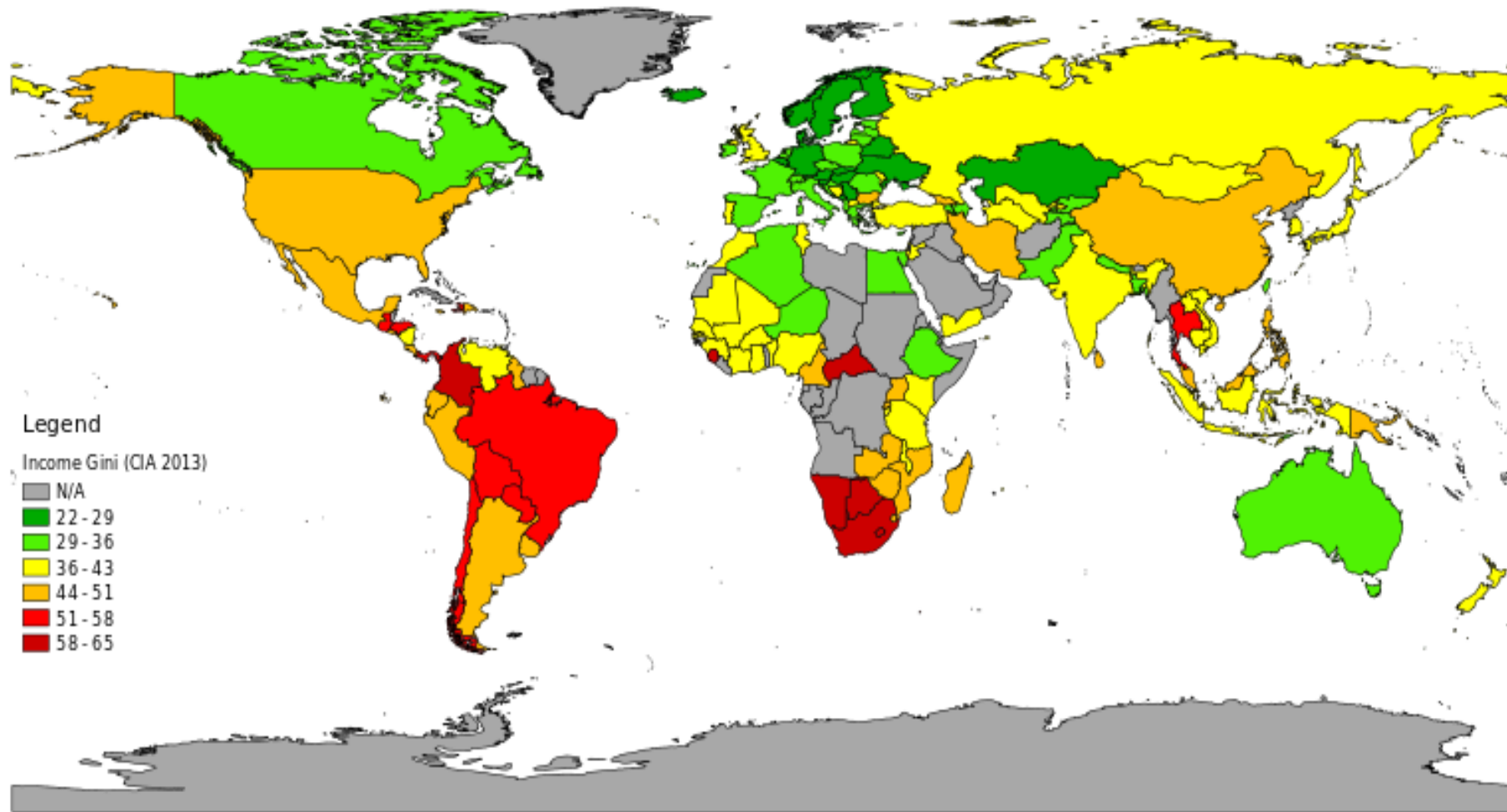
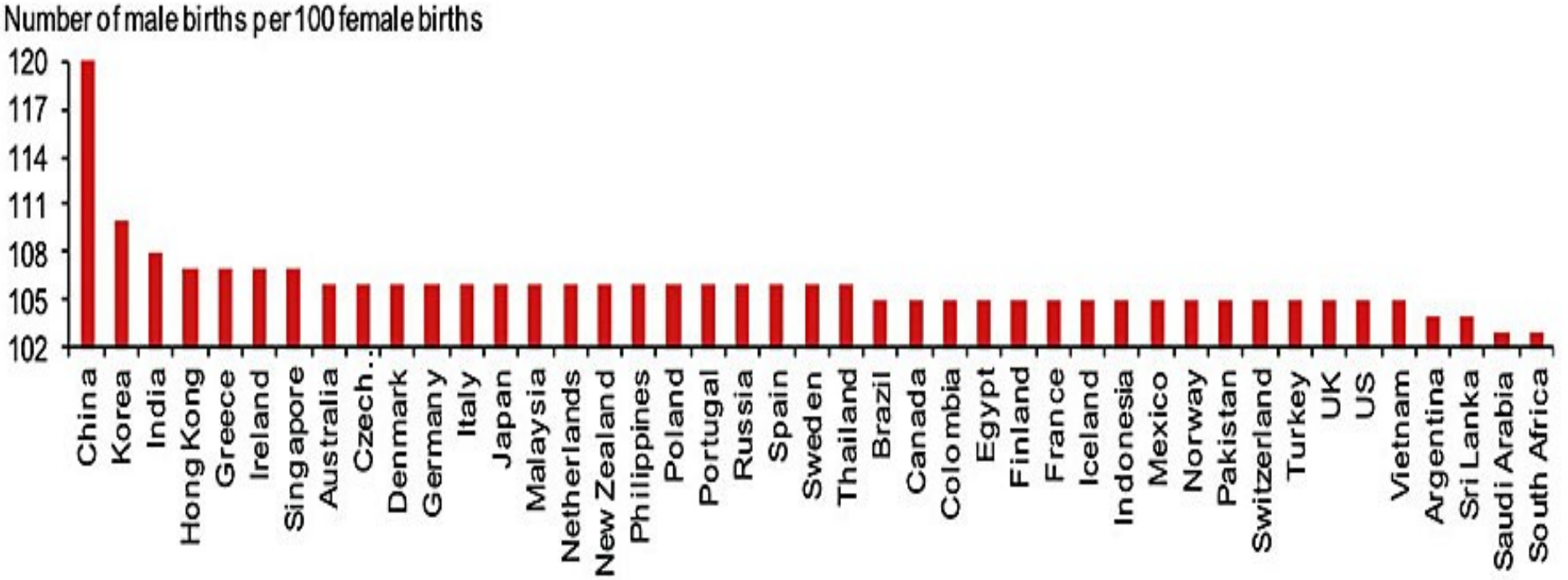


Fig. 39: Country rankings of sex ratio at birth



Source: United Nations and Nomura Global Economics.

Chinese foreign policy goals in 2010s

- Chinese foreign policy under Xi Jinping is oriented predominantly towards political goals (vs. economic)
- Chinese external national interests are closely linked with the Chinese domestic politics (international success = domestic stability)
- China is interested in soft power with “Chinese characteristics” (what Chinese people think others think of them)

