



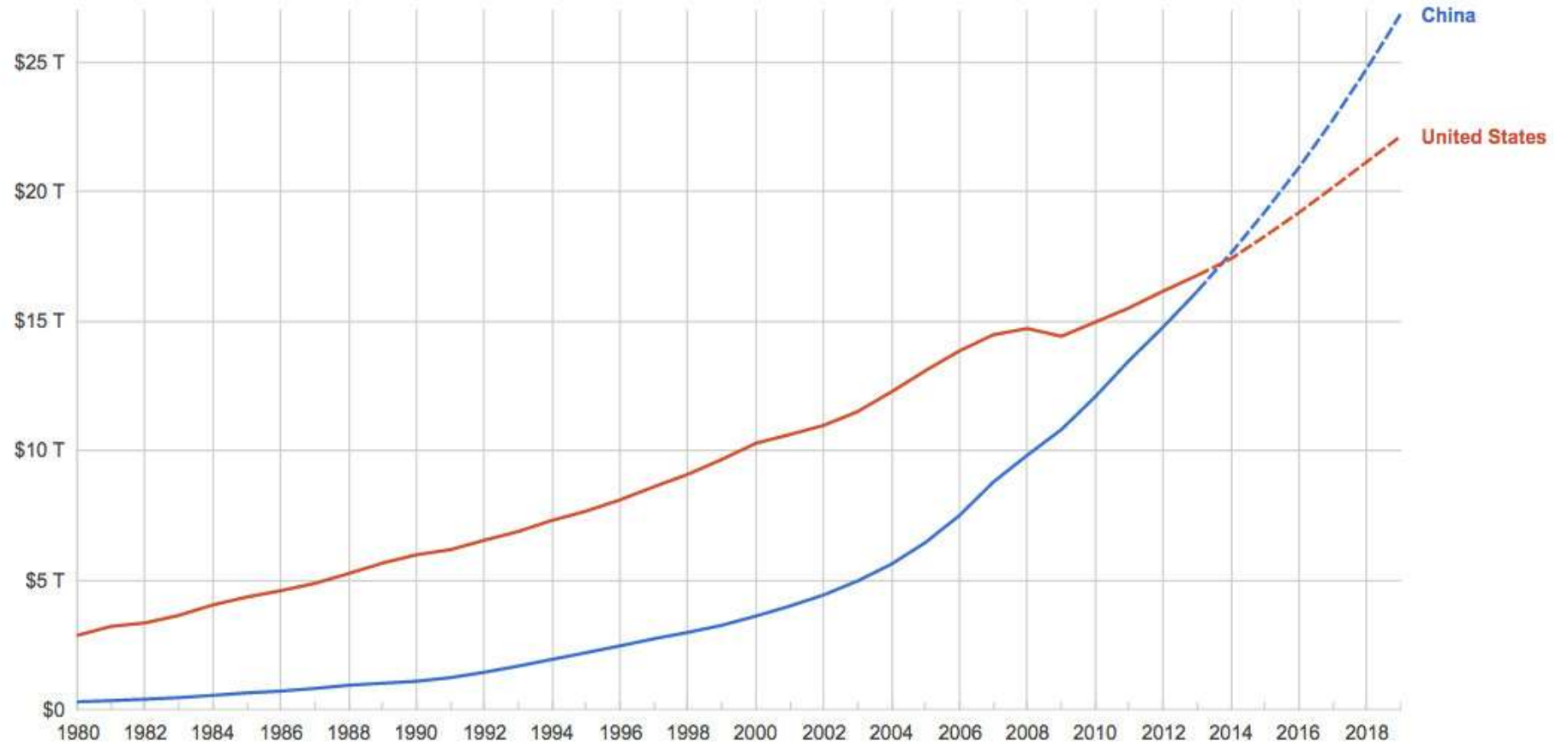
PEACEFUL VS ASSERTIVE

" China's Rise and its Contradictory Foreign Policy"

"China is a sleeping lion. Let her sleep, for when she wakes she will move the world"
Napoleon Bonaparte

"The lion has already awakened, but it is a peaceful, amicable and civilized lion."
Xi Jinping

GDP based on PPP valuation of country GDP ?



Contents of Dissertation

PART I – Why China Could Become Assertive

- A History of China
- A History of the World
- IRTs and the ‘Normal Competition’ in World Politics

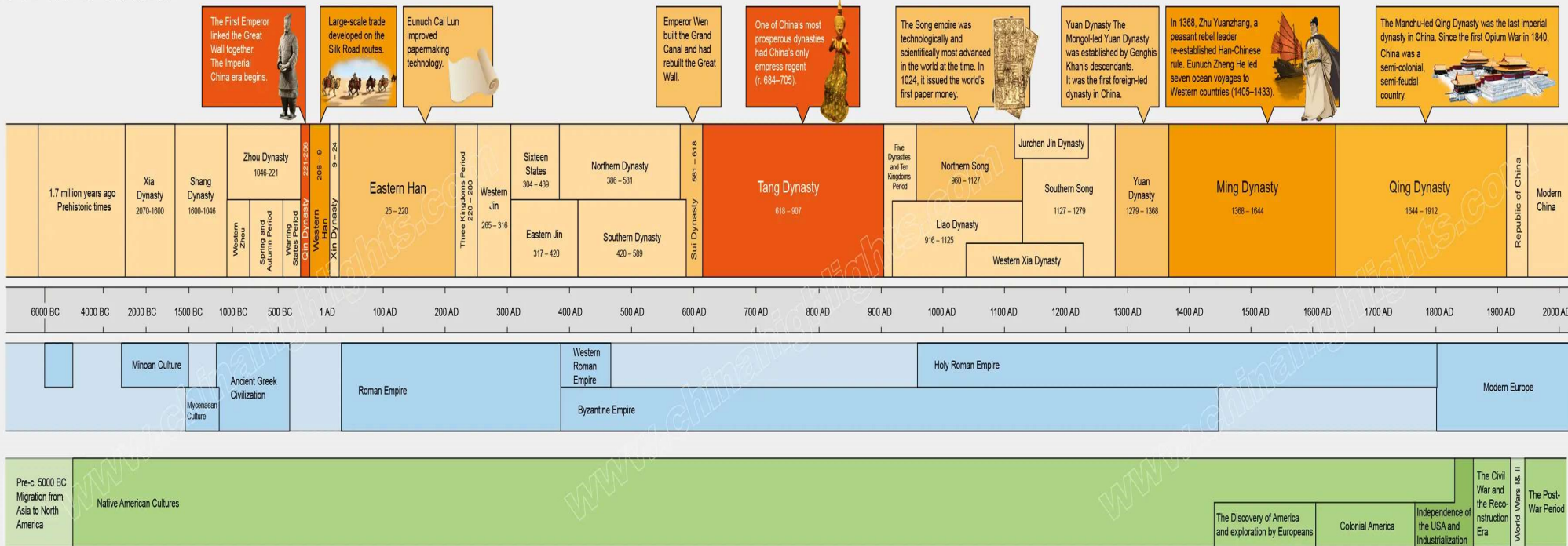
PART II – Grand Strategy: Understanding China’s Intentions

- Core Interests & Relevant Threats
- Peaceful vs Assertive Grand Strategy
- The Most Salient Policies and Convergence with *or* Divergence from China’s Peaceful Development Grand Strategy

CONCLUSIONS: Is China still committed to its Peaceful Development Grand Strategy?

A History of China

Timeline of World Cultures



China = 'Zhongguo' = Middle Kingdom = 'A mission for civilization'

A History of China – ‘The Tributary System’



Tributary System =

The main expression of Chinese honor =

A network of loose international relations which facilitated trade and foreign relations.

A History of China – ‘The Century of Humiliation’



China and Western Powers

- 1790s Europe seeks trade with China: **Industrial Revolution** = Need new markets!
- **China self-sufficient**: Does not need ‘strange objects’ from Europe
- **Unequal Treaties**: Divided China into spheres of influence

A History of China – ‘The Century of Humiliation’



Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall, built in 1985

China and Japan

1. (1895) 1st Sino-Japanese War:

-many seizures (Taiwan, Pescadores, Manchuria)

-vast compensation cost (China heavily borrow)

2. (1915) **The 21 Demands:** plan to extend Japan's political & economic influence over China

-**May 7, 1915:** China acceded the 21 Demands

: **The Day of National Humiliation**

3. (1937) 2nd Sino-Japanese War:

-full-scale invasion

-Nanjing (capital) Massacre

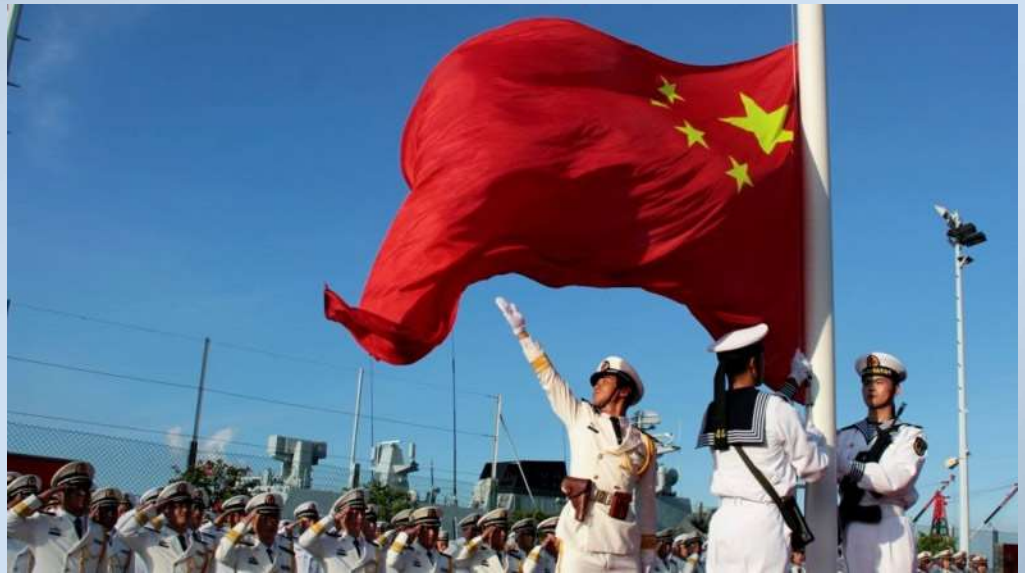
“Never forget National Humiliation”

The national anthem of the PRC is quite explicit:

Arise, ye who refuse to be slaves;

*With our very flesh and blood
must roar his defiance.*

Arise! Arise! Arise!



China must rise again!

IRTs and the ‘Cyclical Nature of War’

Modelski’s ‘Theory of Long-Cycle’,

Every 100 years

Gilpin’s ‘Hegemonic Stability Theory’

→ Hegemon’s relative power unravels

Organski’s ‘Power Transition Theory’

→ Intensive competition to control ‘the rules of the game’

→ New global war

→ New hegemon

Historical – Structural Approaches to World Politics:
“HISTORY TENDS TO REPEAT ITSELF”

A History of the World

LC	Global war	Hegemon	Outcome	Institutional Innovation	Rising powers
1	Italian wars (1494-1517)	Portugal (1517-1580)	Treaty of Tordesillas (1494)	Exploration and discovery, Carreira da India, Antwerp entrepot	Spain
	Spanish wars (1579-1609)	Netherlands (1609-1713)			
2	French wars - Wars of Louis XIV (1688-1713)	Great Britain I (1714-1815)	Treaty of Utrecht (1713)	Command of the sea (Navy), European Balance of Power, Indirect control of world trade, Bank of England, National Debt	France, Great Britain
	French wars - Napoleonic wars (1792-1815)	Great Britain II (1815-1945)			
3	Germans wars WWI (1914-1918)	United States (1945-....)	Treaty of Versailles (1919)		Germany, United States, Russia
	WWII (1939-1945)		Yalta, San Francisco, Potsdam Conferences (1945)	United Nations, Strategic nuclear deterrence, Multinational corporations, Decolonization, Space exploration	Germany, Japan, USSR, United States
4	Cold War (1950-1992)		Demise of the Soviet Union (1992)		

Grand Strategy: a fundamentally realist concept

<u>Drivers</u>	<u>China's Core interests</u>	<u>Components</u>	<u>Threats</u>	<u>Policies</u>
<i>Fear</i>	Security/Survival			
	national security	Xinjiang, Tibet, Taiwan, disputed territories	existential threats, terrorism, separatism, extremism	military
	state sovereignty			
	territorial integrity			
	national reunification	Taiwan, Hong-Kong, Macau	separatism	
social & political stability	CPC rule, socialism with Chinese characteristics	ideological opponents: Western values		
<i>Interest</i>	Economic and Social Development	2 centenary goals	access to natural resources and markets, key sea lines of communication	economic
<i>Honor</i>	Great-Power Status	Chinese dream of national rejuvenation	'China threat', China's containment, hegemonism, power politics, 'Cold War mentality'	diplomatic

China's disputes



"Two Centenary Goals"



‘Malacca Dilemma’: A threat to China’s economic development



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China's Peaceful Development Grand Strategy

- Since 'Reform and Opening Up' in late 1970s

Deng Xiaoping's 24-character foreign policy

"make cool observations;

... secure our position;

... calmly cope with issues;

... conceal our capacities and bide our time;

... be good at maintaining a low profile;

... and never claim leadership...."



China's Grand Strategy: *The American Viewpoint*

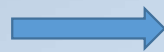
		<u>A 'Calculative' Grand Strategy</u>	<u>An 'Assertive' Grand Strategy</u>
Period		1970s	2020s
Main Policies	1	A non-ideological policy keyed to market-led economic growth	Augment its military capabilities
	2	Amicable international relations, especially with the U.S.	Develop a sphere of influence/ Underwrite the protection of others
	3	A deliberate restraint in the use of force; Efforts to modernize the Chinese military	Acquire new or reclaim old territory
	4	Expanded involvement in interstate politics and international fora; Emphasis on attaining asymmetric gains	Redress past wrongs
	5		Rewrite the 'rules of the game'
	6		Prepare to thwart preventive war <i>or</i> to launch predatory attacks

China's Grand Strategy: *The Chinese Viewpoint*

	From <u>'Keeping a Low Profile'</u>	To <u>'Striving For Achievement'</u>
	'Making Friends instead of Making Money'	
Top National Goal	Economic Development	National Rejuvenation
FP Goals	Economic (<i>making money</i>)	Political (<i>making 'friends'</i>)
FP Initiatives	Passively adapted to changes	Shape external environment
FP Principles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Undertake no leadership • Insist on non-alliance • Give 1st priority to U.S. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Undertake international responsibility • Being close, credible, benefiting and inclusive
Regional Cooperation	Economic	Economic, political, cultural, security & military: 'A Community of Common Destiny'
FP Guidelines	Economic profit	'A New Concept of Morality & Interest'*

China's Peaceful Development Grand Strategy

'A new concept of Morality and Interest'



'A different kind of Great Power'

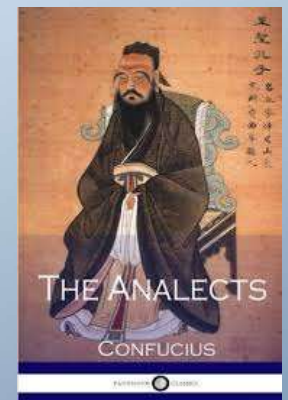
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A Humane Authority

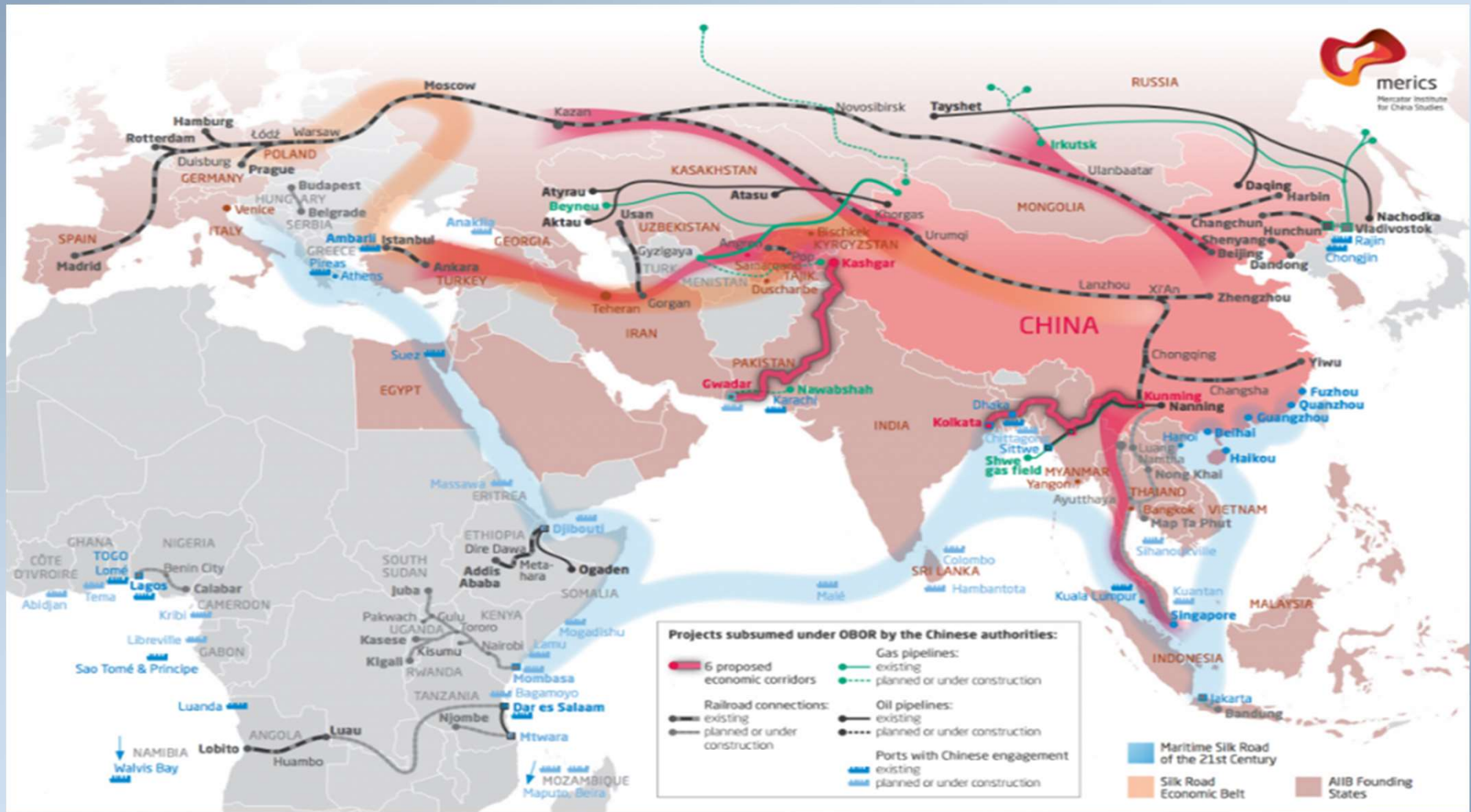


- 1) Increase Moral Reputation
- 2) Let 'friends' benefit from China's growth

"The gentleman understands what is moral. The small man understands what is profitable."



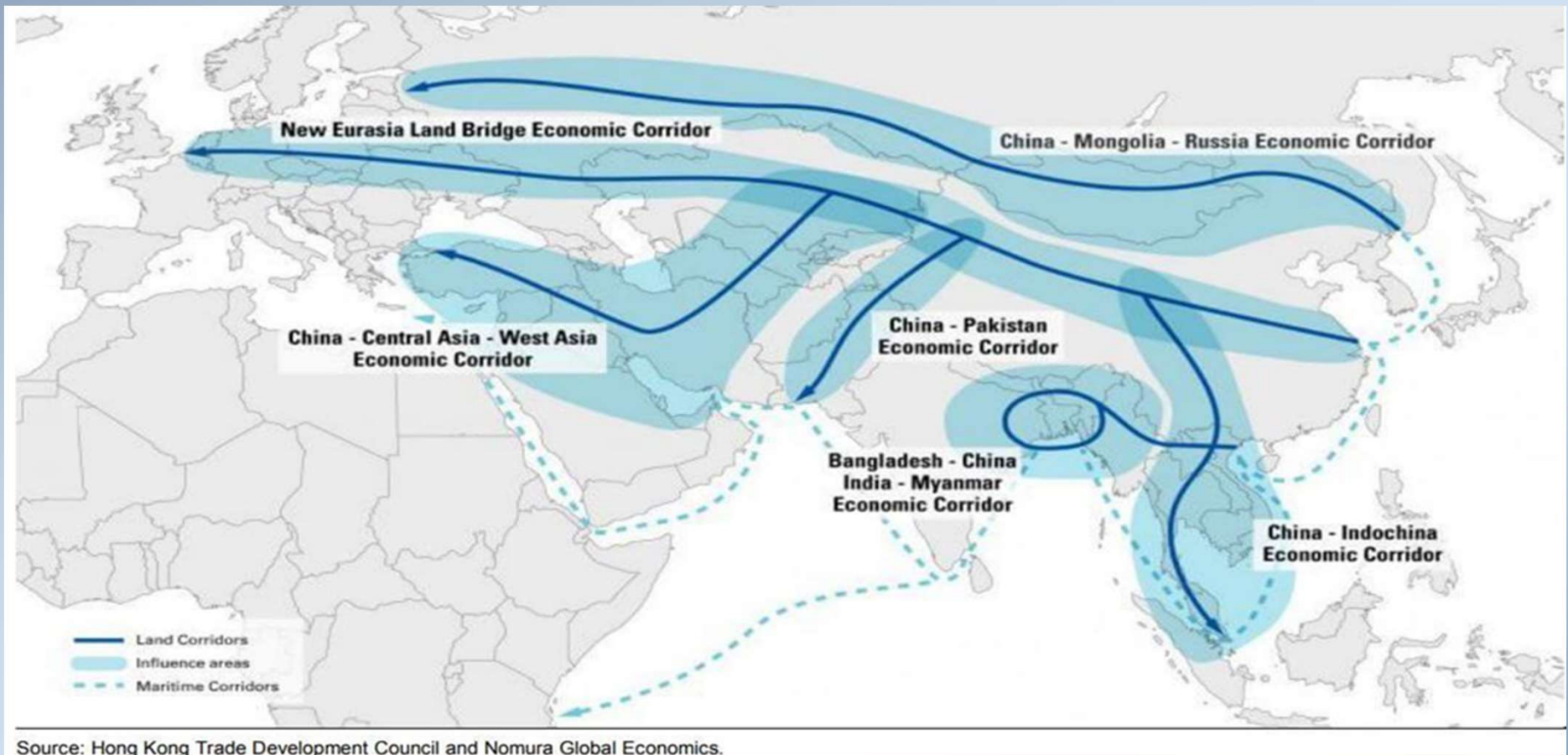
The most salient economic and diplomatic policies: BRI & AIIB



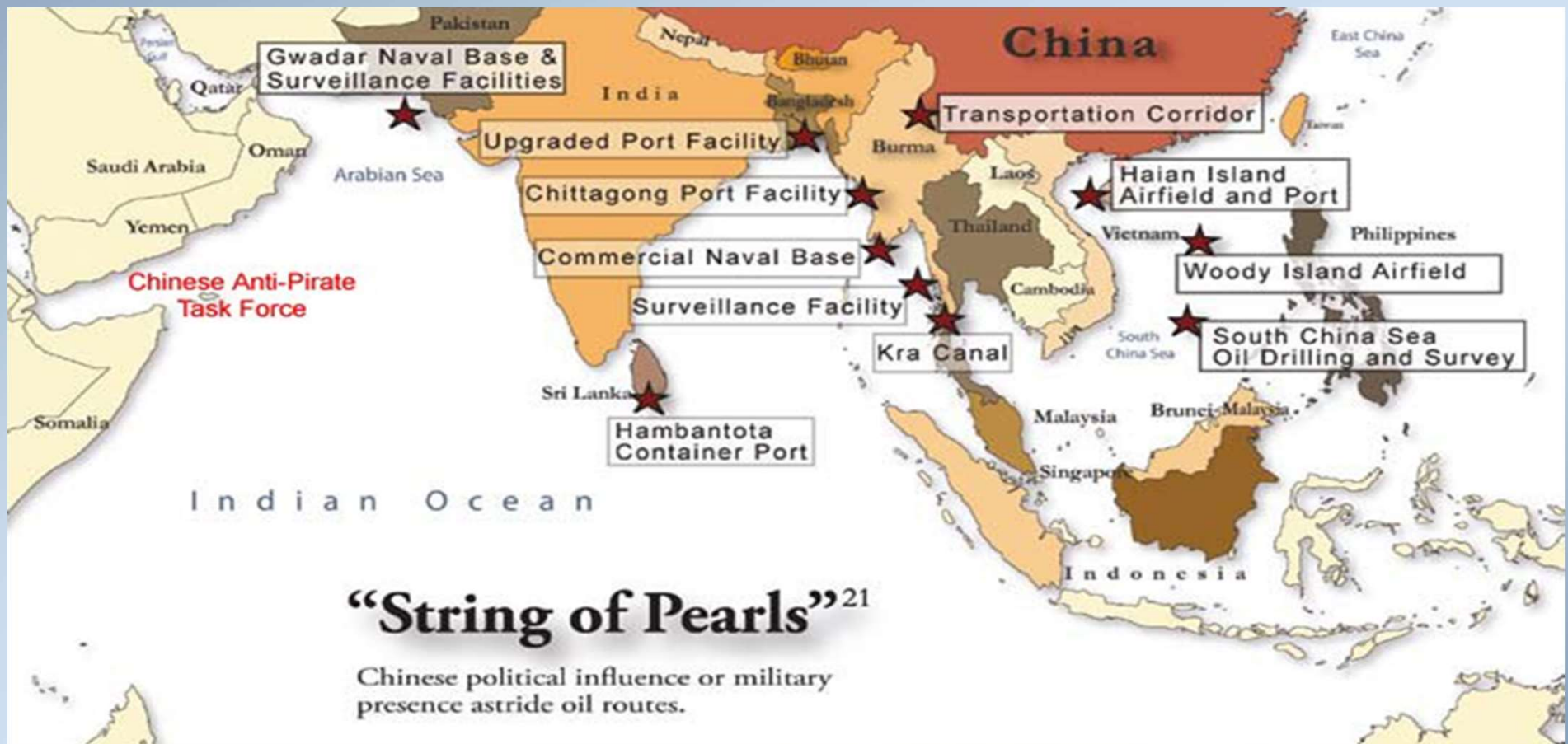
How the BRI & AIIB serve China's Core Interests

<u>Core interest</u>	<u>Relevant Threats</u>	<u>Policies: BRI & AIIB</u>
Security	<i>existential threats, terrorism, separatism, extremism, CPC rule</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peace and stability in China's periphery • Internal Unity • Acceptance of China's territorial claims in SCS
Economic Development	<i>access to natural resources and markets, key sea lines of communication</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to natural resources of the Developing World • Create jobs & projects • Markets for exports • Internationalize RMB • Reduce dependence on Malacca Strait • Expand influence in Indian Ocean ('String of Pearls')
Great-Power Status	<i>'China Threat', China's Containment</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International solidarity • A non-threatening China

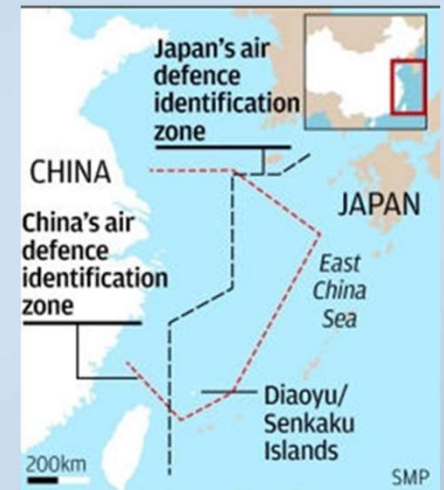
The Six Economic Corridors along the BRI



The 'String of Pearls' along the Maritime Silk Road



The most salient military policies: Disputes in SCS & ECS



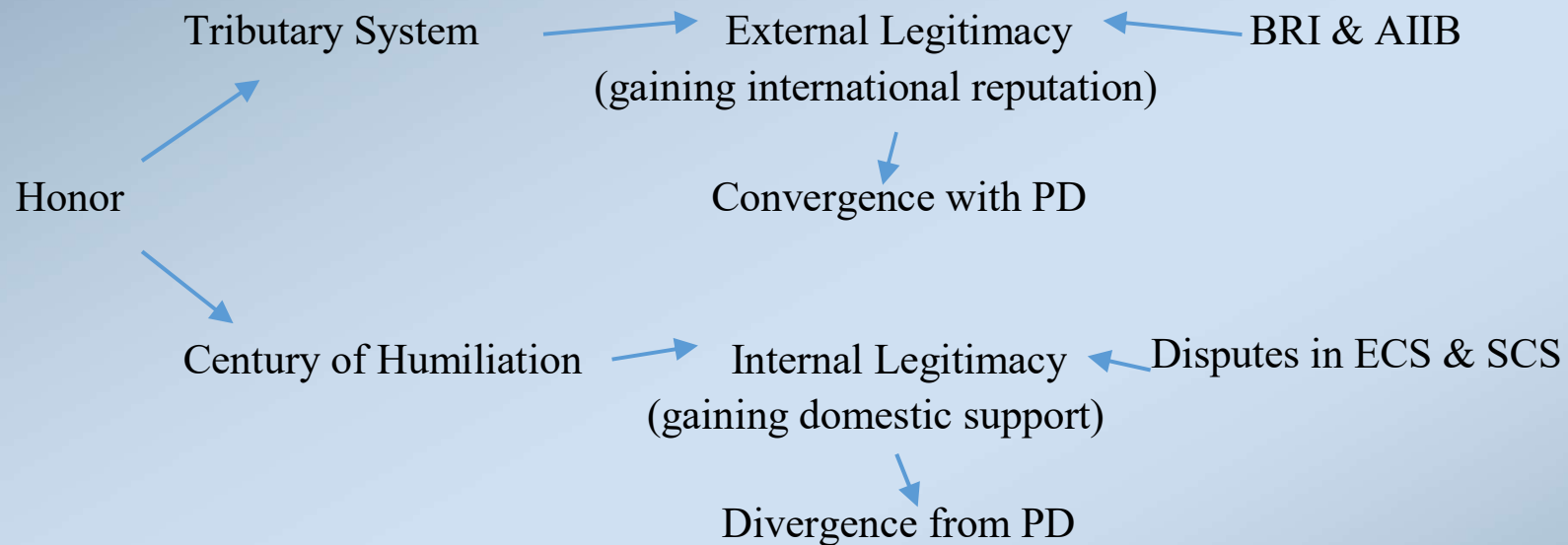
U.S. presence to balance the influence of China



Rising Nationalism within China



Explaining the Ambivalence in China's PDGS



Different interpretations of the same policies

	An 'Assertive' Grand Strategy	A 'Peaceful Development' Grand Strategy
1	Augment its military capabilities	"A strong army is part of the Chinese Dream"
2	Develop a sphere of influence/ Underwrite the protection of others	'A Community of Common Destiny' and 'Strategic Credibility' on security issues.
3	Acquire new or reclaim old territory	"Rejuvenation is also about taking back what has been stolen from China"
4	Redress past wrongs	
5	Rewrite the 'rules of the game'	The AIIB: a challenge to Bretton Woods Institution
6	Prepare to thwart preventive war or to launch predatory attacks	'Active Defense' - Preparation for ' Local Informatized Wars ' with an emphasis on ' Maritime Struggle '

Peaceful vs Assertive



"Our greatest glory is not in never falling, but in rising every time we fall"

Confucius, The Analects



"Let your plans be dark and impenetrable as night, and when you move, fall like a thunderbolt"

Sun Tzu, The Art of War

Thank you

