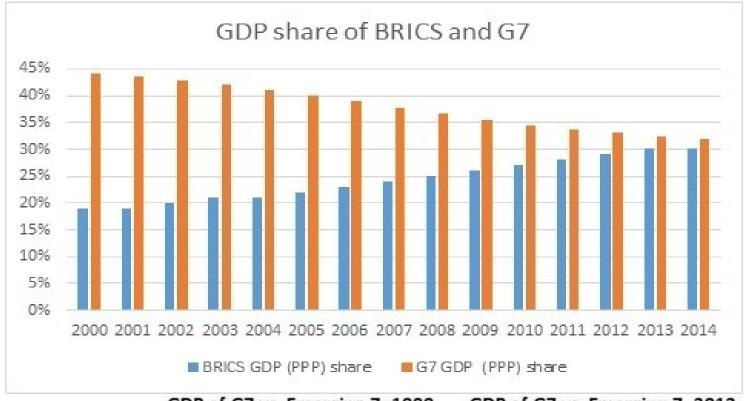
# Chinese foreign policy drivers

Richard Q. Turcsanyi

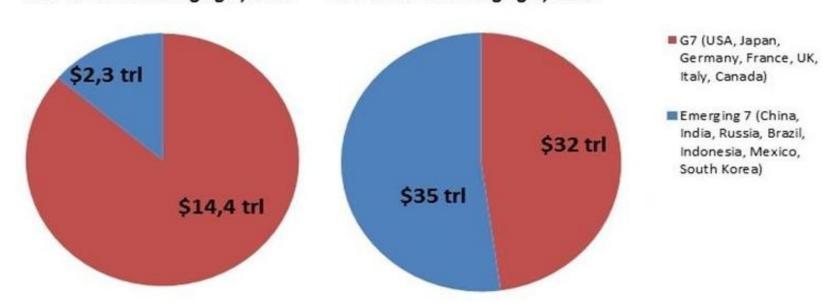




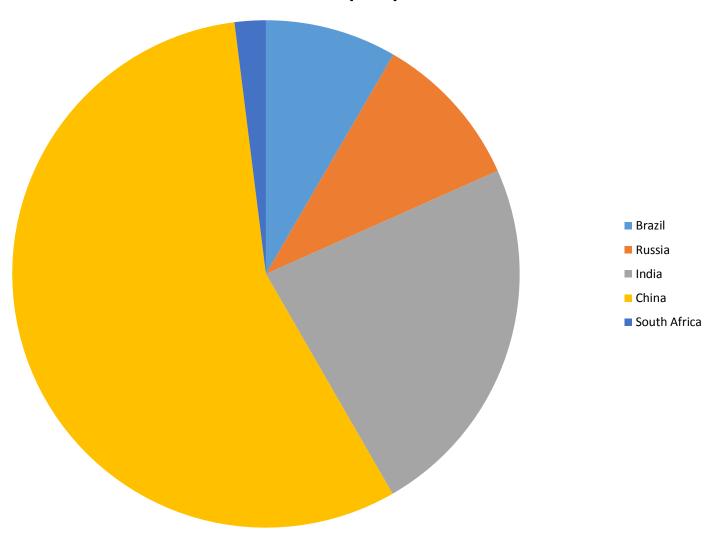




GDP of G7 vs. Emerging 7, 1990 GDP of G7 vs. Emerging 7, 2013



BRICS: GDP (PPP)



## Rio Rio de Janeiro, 1993

heles planete

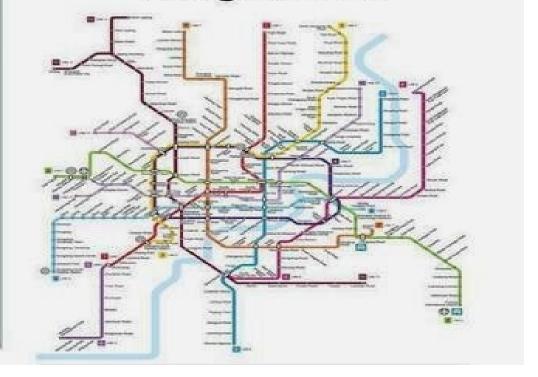
Xangai, 1993

(sem metrô)

Rio de Janeiro, 2013

Alla Maria alamentalla

Xangai, 2013



## **HDP**

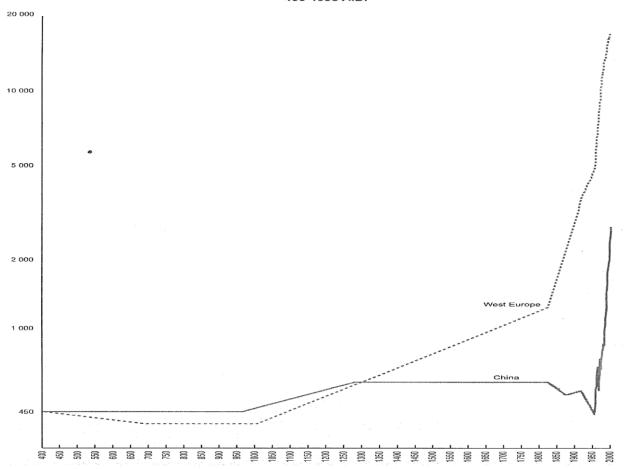
	0	1000	1820	2000
Western Europe	11,1	10,2	163,7	6 961
Western Offshoots	0,5	0,8	13,5	8 456
Japan	1,2	3,2	20,7	2 582
Group A	12,8	14,1	198,0	17 998
Latin America	2,2	4,6	14,1	2 942
SSSR and Eastern Europe	3,5	5,4	60,9	1 793
Asia (ex. Japan)	77,0	78,9	390,5	9 953
Africa	7,0	13,7	31,0	1 039
Goup B	89,7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

## **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
Group A	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
Goup B	444	440	573	3 102
World	444	435	667	5 709

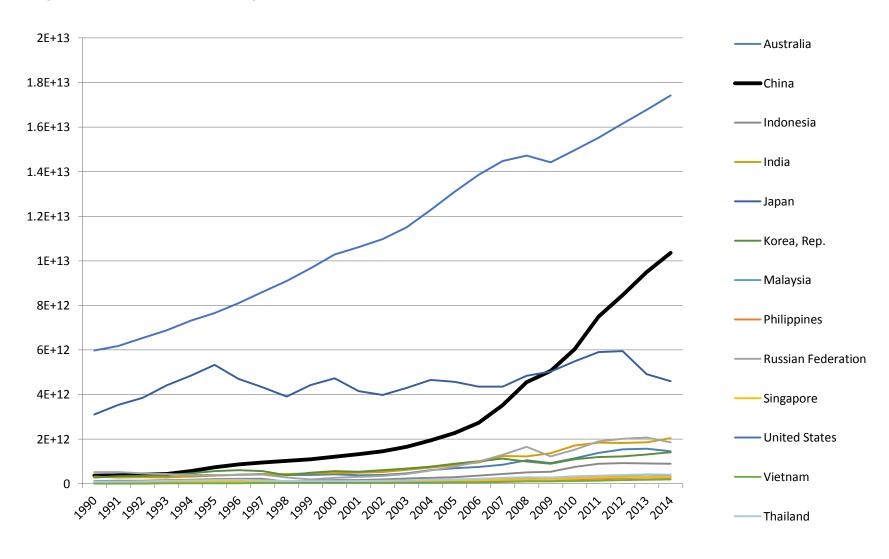
Income per capita USD 1990

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

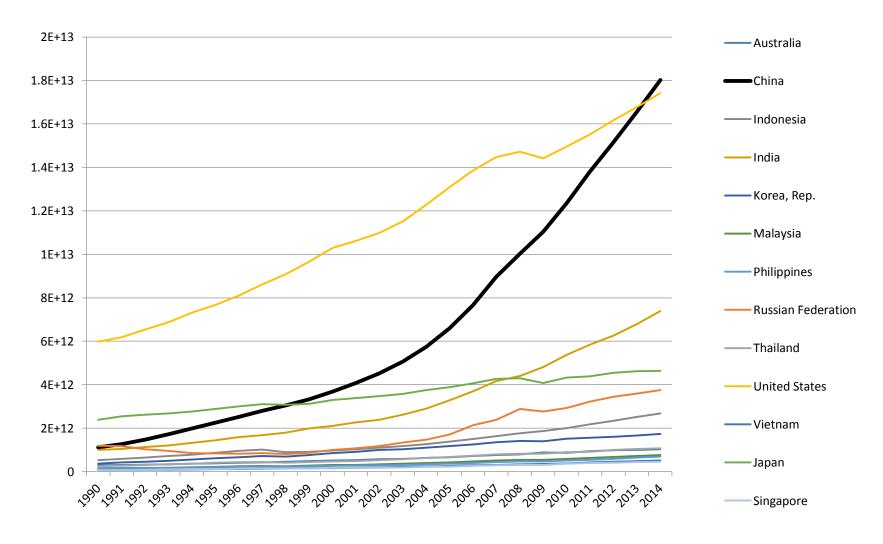


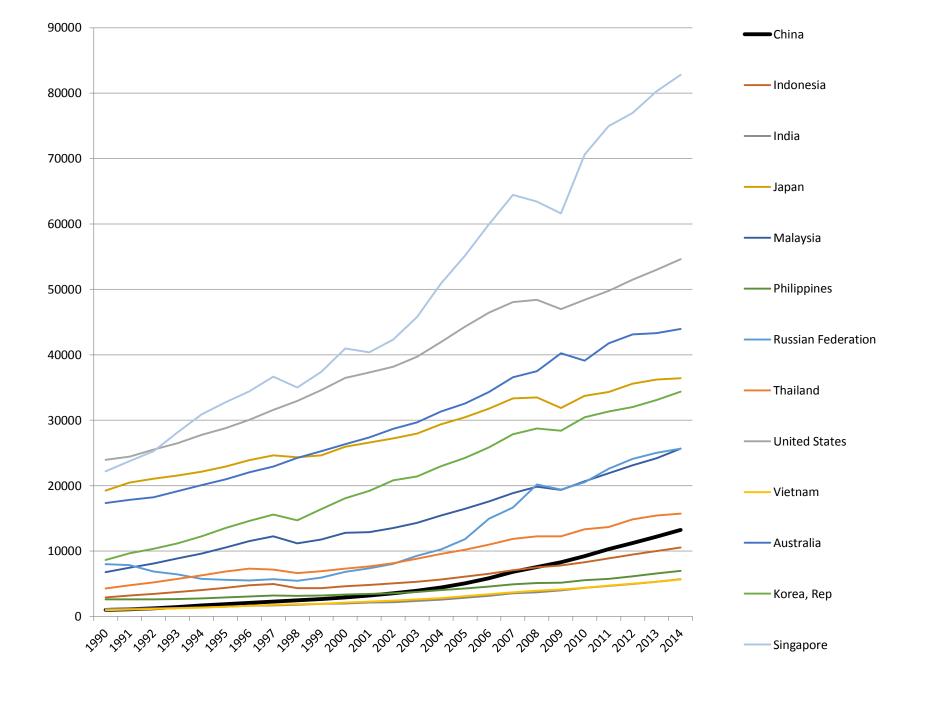
Source: Appendices A, B and C. Vertical scale is logarithmic.

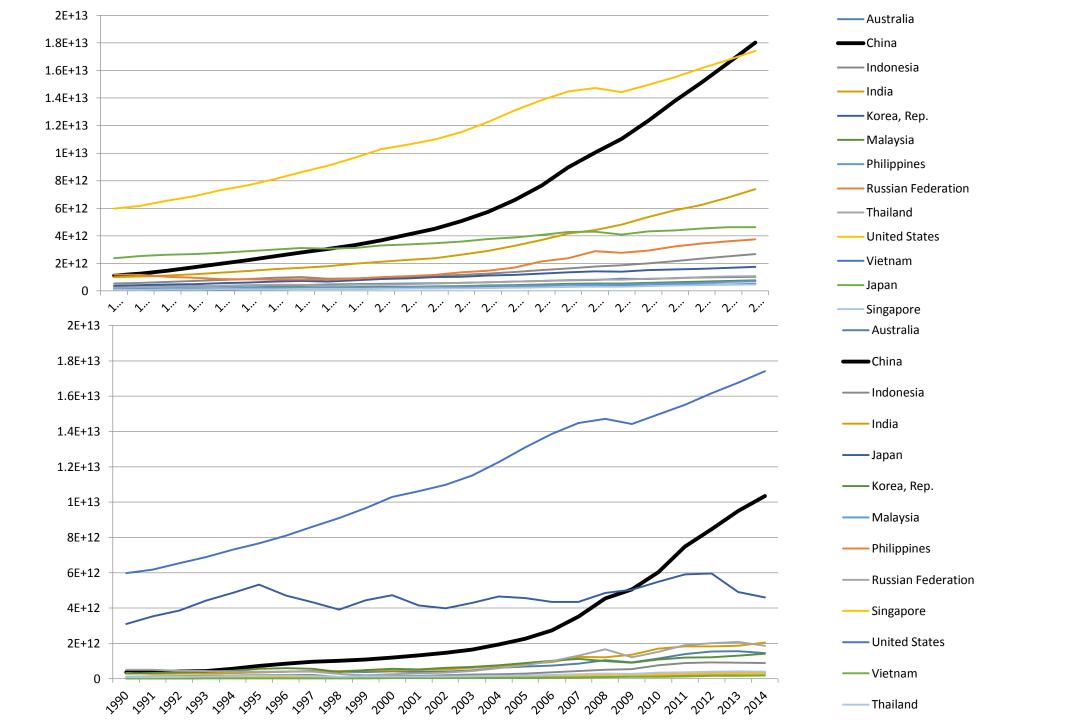
# GDP (nominal)

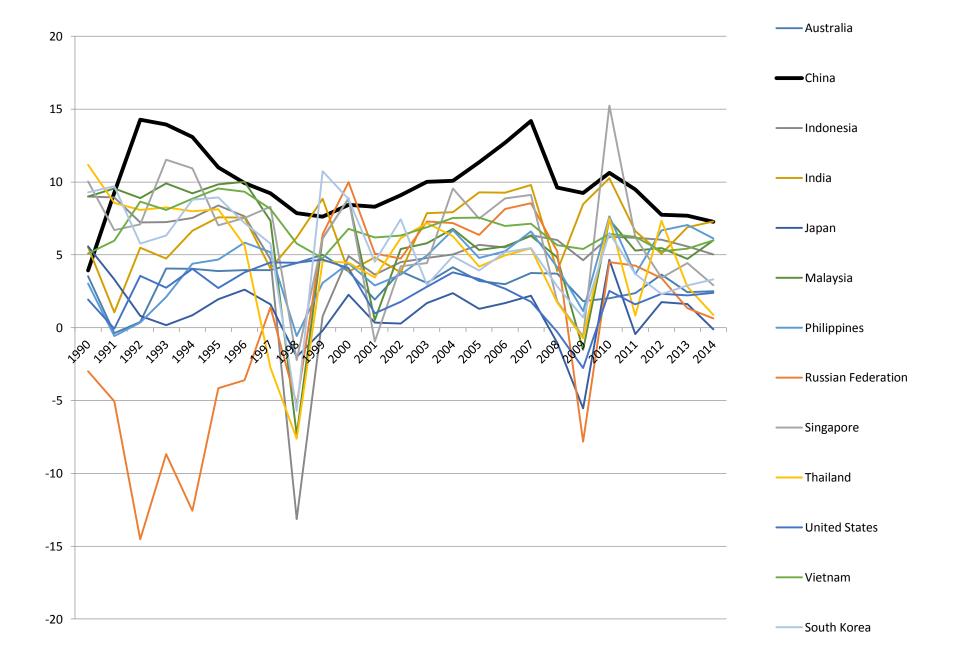


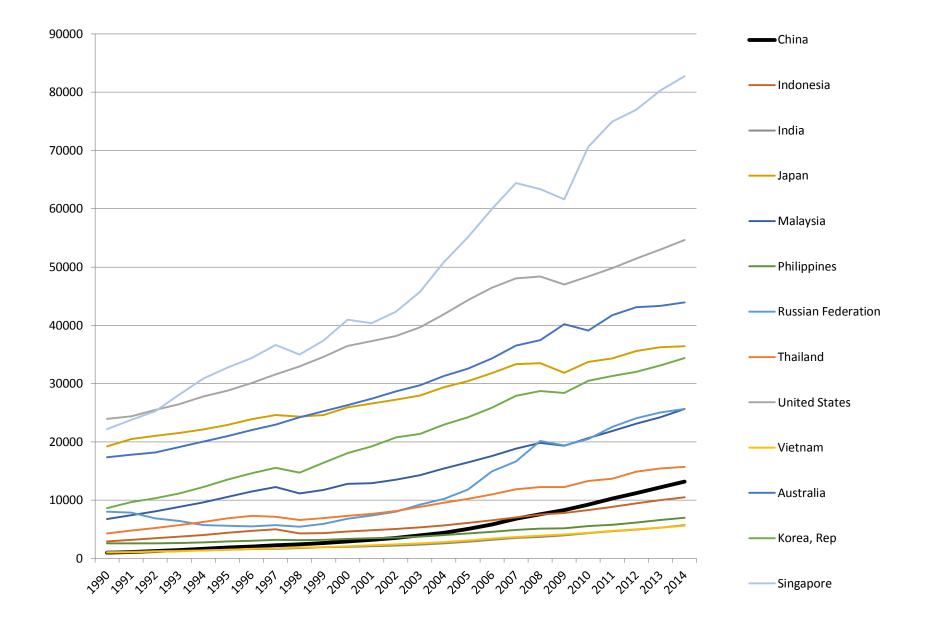
# GDP (PPP)

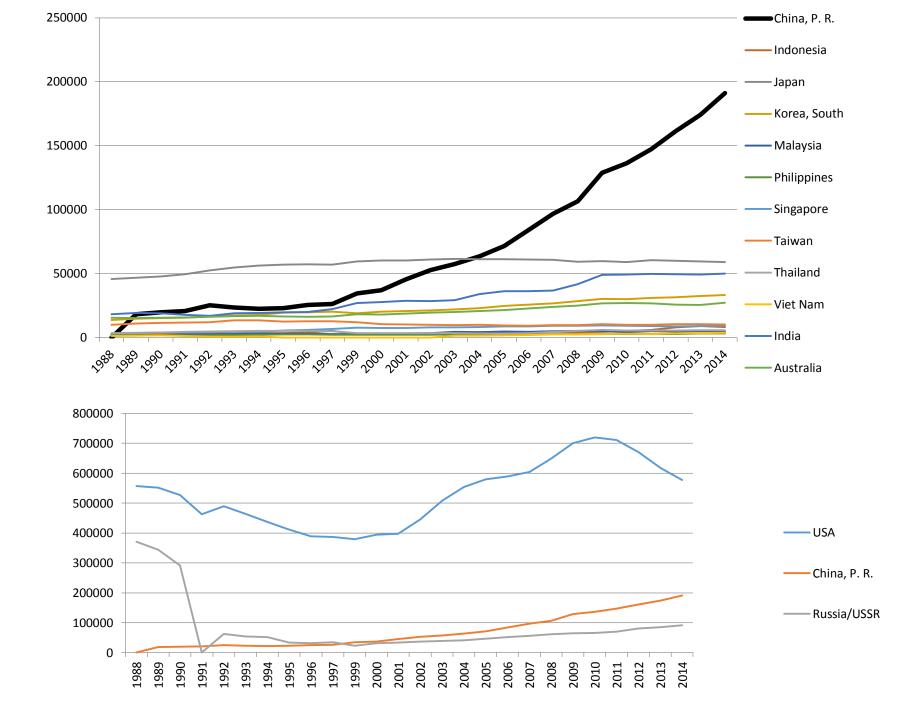


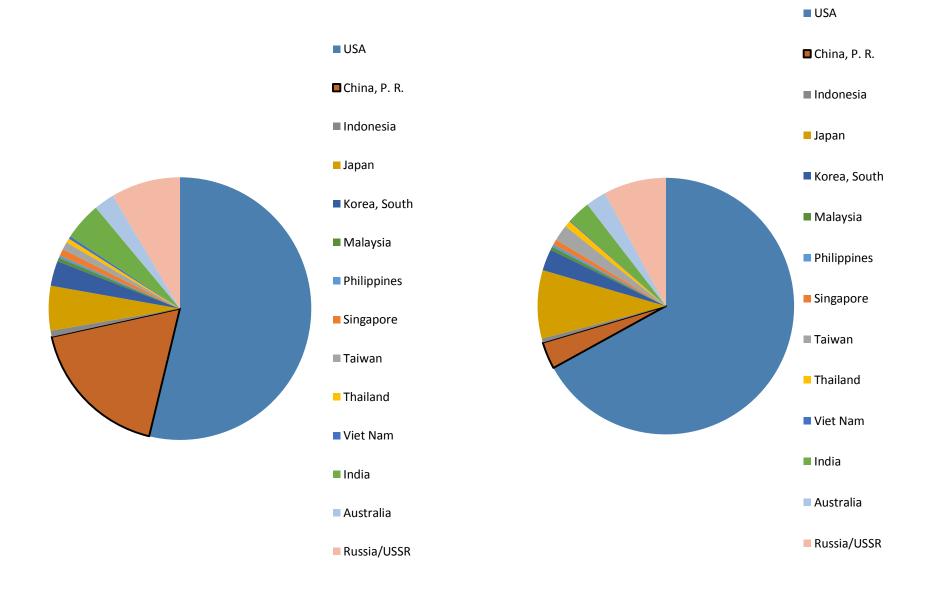












# Foreign policy analysis

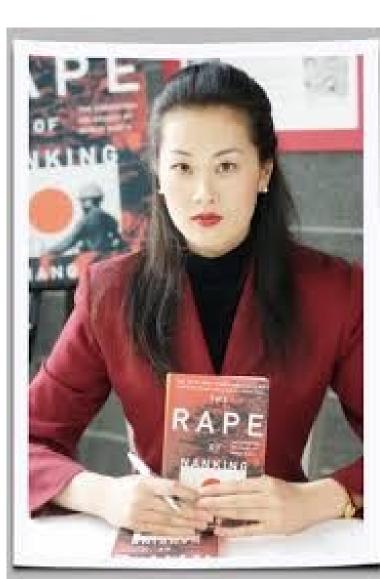
- 1. What China has been doing in the foreign policy?
  - **History** (1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1989)
  - Bilateral relations (Rapprochement with the US, Korean War, Vietnamese War, Third Taiwan crisis, relations with Japan)
  - Concepts and directions (War and revolution, Peace and development, Taoguang 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 divergance, post 2008 crisis improvements)
- 2. Why China has been doing this?

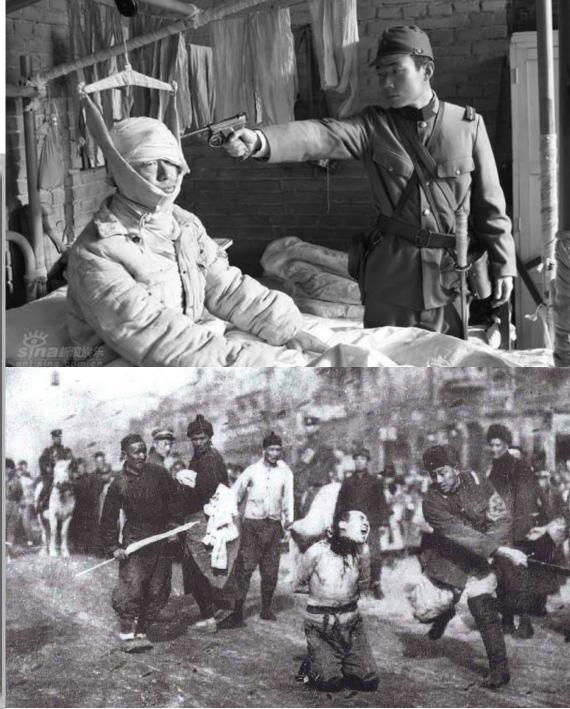
# FP levels of analysis

- 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











# 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

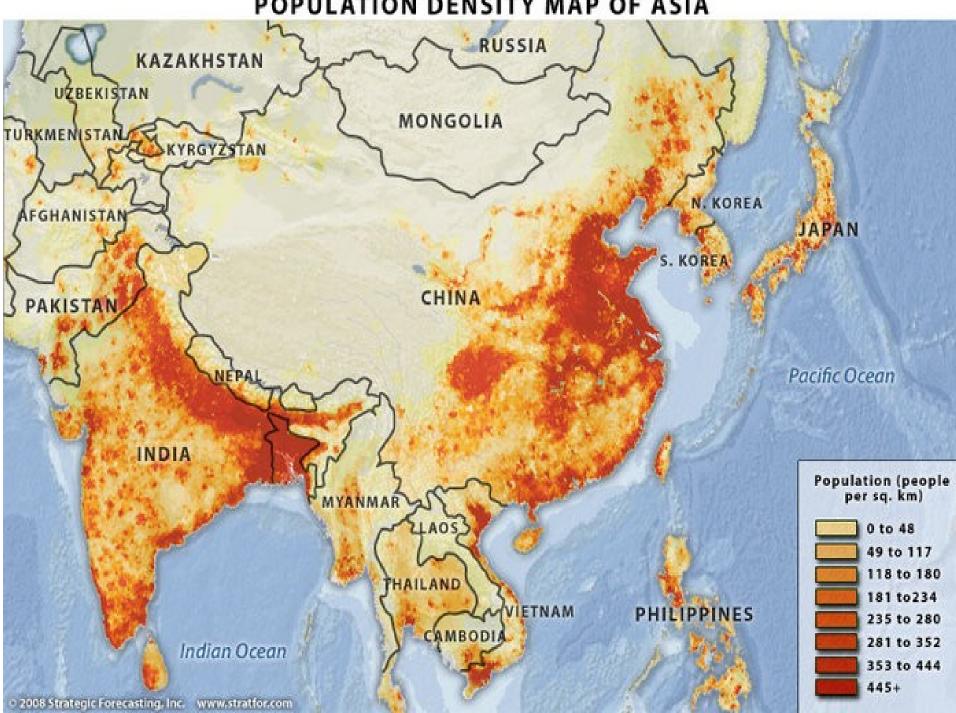
- "Asia's past will be Asia's future"
  - D. Kang

## Chinese strategic culture

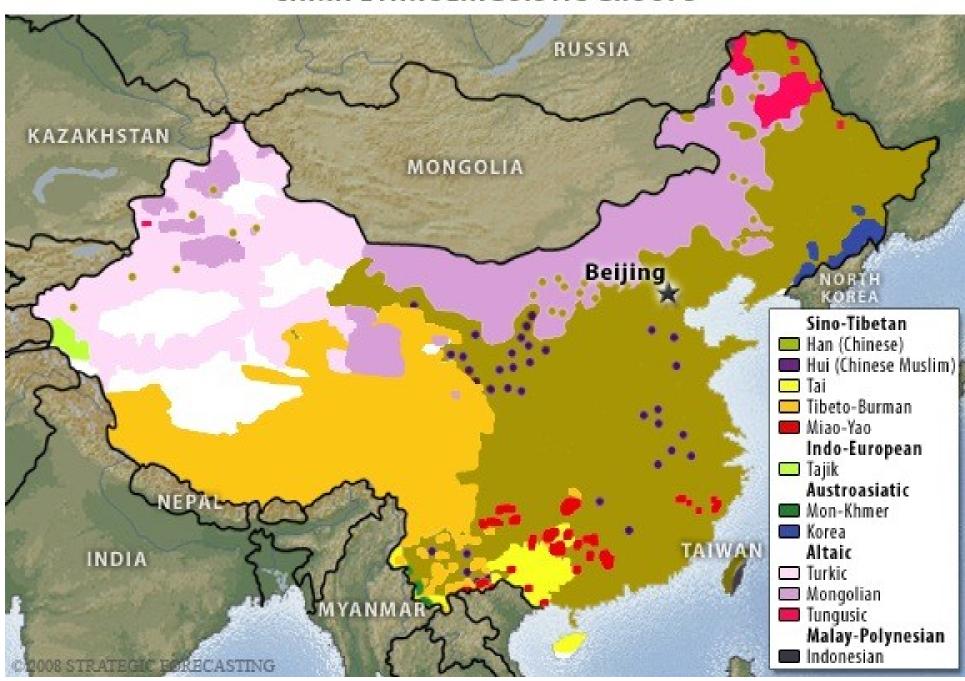
- Confucian
  - Traditional philosophy, morality, benevolence, justice, harmony, order
- Realpolitik
  - A. Johnston
  - Historical preference of aggressive solutions
- Dualistic
  - Peaceful self-perception vs. pro-active/aggressive behavior
  - Cult of defense

Southern Asia Perm'. Bratsk Nizhniy Novgorod RUSSIA Moscow\_ Omsk \*Novosibirsk .Tynda Baikal . Samara Irkutsk Sea of Astana + Okhotsk . Chita (Semipalatinsk Volgograd Hailar Ulaanbaatar, UKRAINE Khabarovsk KAZAKHSTAN Donets'k\* Burgin MONGOLIA Lake Balkhash . Harbin Almaty\_ Vladivostok Black Sea . Ürümgi UZBEKISTAN \*Bishkek Shenyang Ankara Beijing Sea of Yerevan TURKMENISTAN \*Kashi OREA Japan TURKEY Yinchuan . Tianjin • Pyongyang North Seoul SOUTH .Golmud JAPAN Lanzhou KOREA Mashhad SYRIA Tehran\* Pacific · Herât Kabul Tokyo Ocean CHI . Xi'an AFGHANISTAN Islamabad Baghdad IRAN Nanjing. . Lhasa . Wuhan New Chengdu East NEPAL Bandar China Delhi \* BHUTAN 'Abbās Sea BAHRAIN Manama
OMAN
Doha Jaipur\* Lucknow SAUDI Fuzhou. Okinawa Taipei Kunming Udaipur ARABIA Karachi Guangzhou Riyadh Muscat Macaus Hong Kong INDIA Kolkata. Mandalay Mecca BURMA Hanoi LAOS Port Sudan Mumbai Vishākhapatnam Northern Hyderâbâd\* Paracel Islands Mariana Khartoum ER TREA Sanaa Arabian Da Nang Rangoon THAILAND Philippine Chennai Bengal Bangkok (U.S.) Sea VIETNAM Sea Aden Socotra SUDAN South China Guam -Andaman I CAMB DJIBOUT Djibouti Andaman Sea PHILIPPINES (U.S.) Islands Lakshadweep : Phriom\* (INDIA) **ETHIOPIA** Ho Chi Spratly Minh City Islands FEDERATED STATES (INDIA) SRI OF MICRONESIA Addis Nicobar LANKA Phuket Islands \*Koror Colombo Ababa Seri (INDIA) PALAU Begawan Banda SOMALIA MALDIVES MALAYSLA KENYA Mogadishu SINGAPORE Borneo Chisimayu British Victoria Indian Ocean Guinea Territory Makassare Jakarta SEYCHELLES Dar es Salaam (U.K.) TANZANIA \* Diego Surabaya 2000 Garcia Port Moresby EAST TIMOR Gloridso Islands Moroni MALAWL Kupang Indian Ocean Christmas Island ntsirañana Lilongwe (AUSTRALIA) Ashmore and COMOROS Darwin Cocos : Cartier Islands Nacala 1 (Keeling) Islands (AUSTRALIA) Wyndham (AUSTRALIA) Cairns MOZAMBIQUE Antananarivo MAURITIUS Saint- Reunion Scale 1:60,000,000 MADAGASCAR AUSTRALIA Dampie Miller Cylindrical Projection Tropic of Capricom (FRANCE) 1000 Kilometers Boundary representation is Maputo 1000 Miles not necessarily authoritative. 803064AI (R00941) 5-04

### POPULATION DENSITY MAP OF ASIA



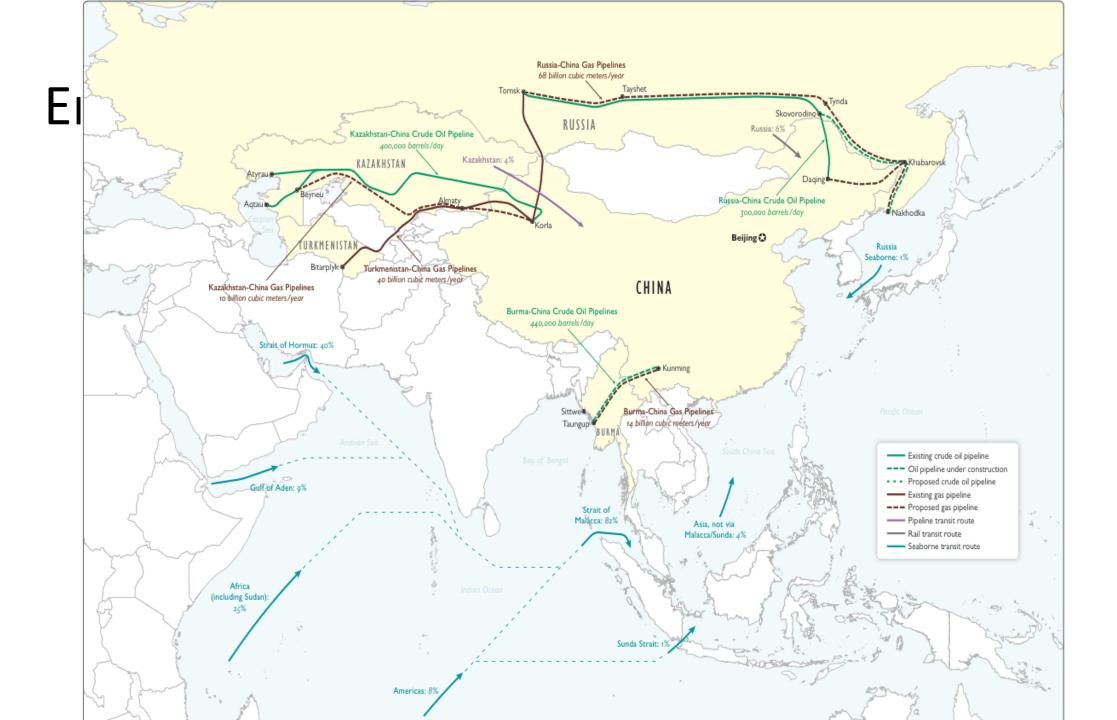
#### CHINA ETHNOLINGUISTIC GROUPS



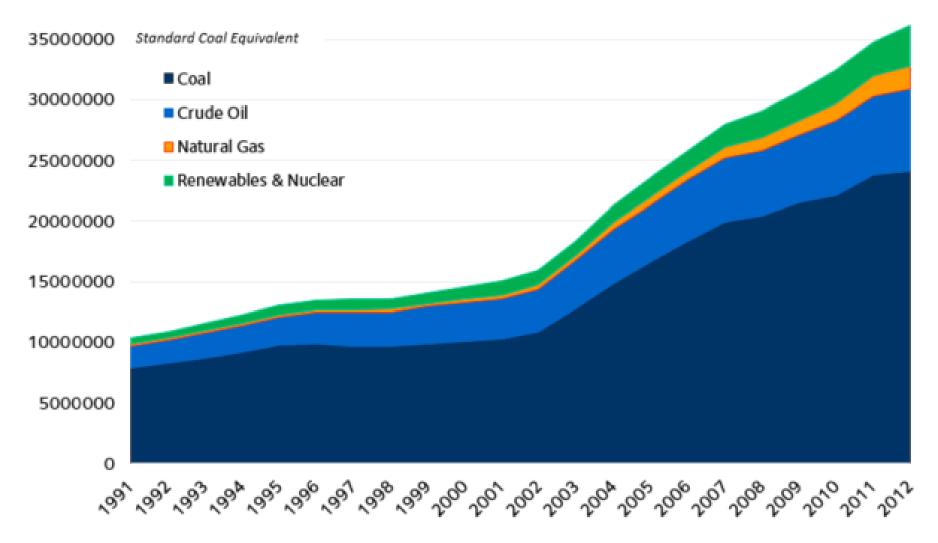
## **CHINA AS AN ISLAND**





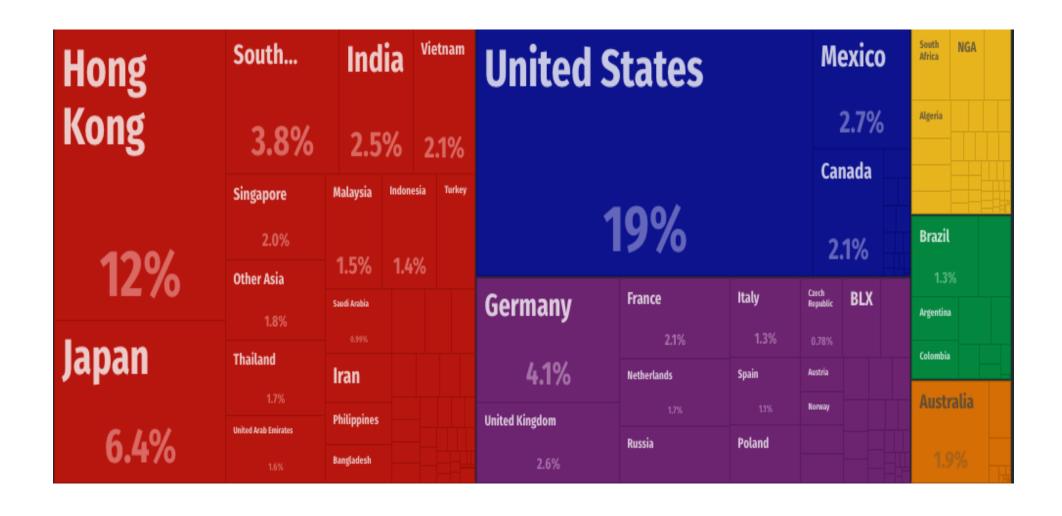


## China: Energy Demand Growth By Source

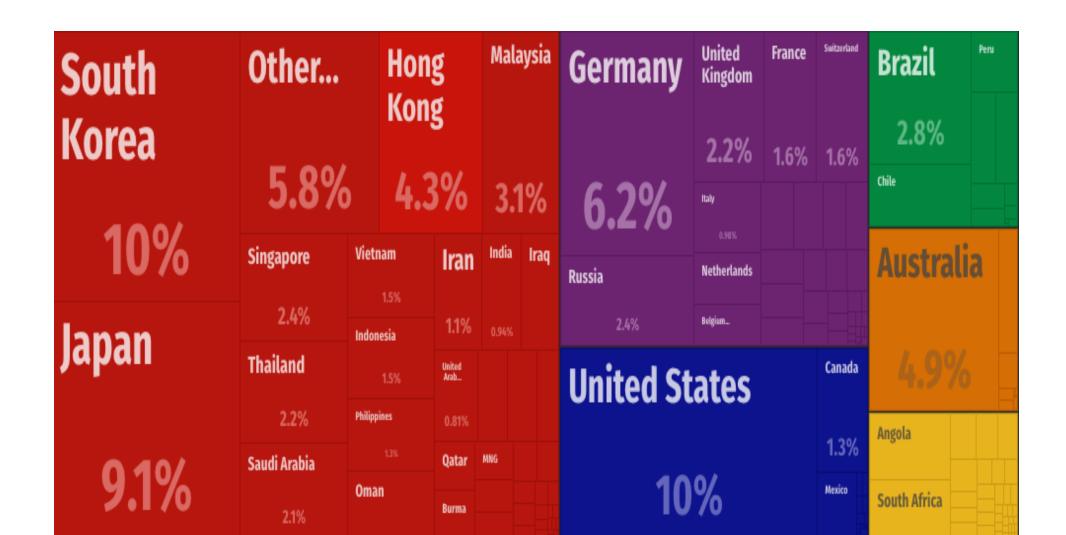


Source: National Bureau of Statistics of China

## Chinese export partners



# Chinese import partners









# http://transitoriented.design/chinese-metro-

evi

Rio de Janeiro, 1993

helis pluntu

Xangai, 1993

(sem metrô)

Rio de Janeiro, 2013

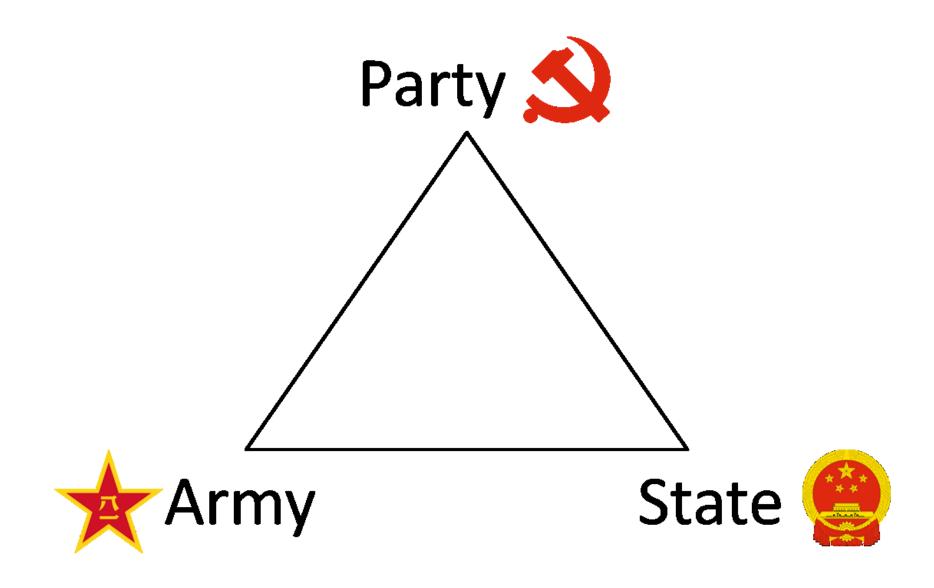
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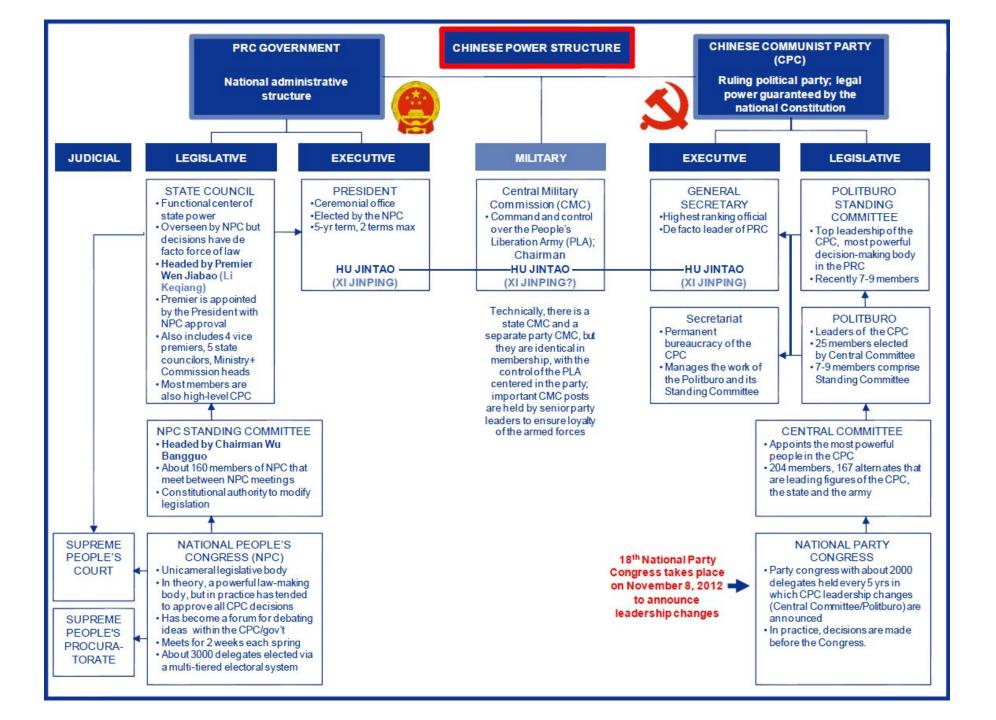
Xangai, 2013



#### 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





### 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

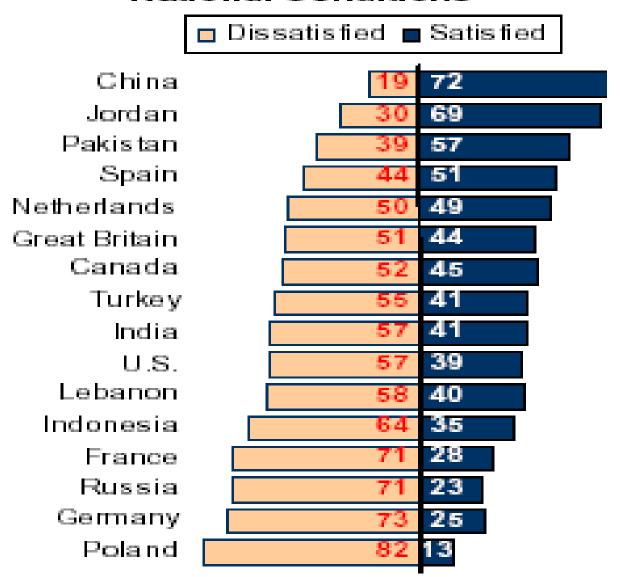
### Who is Xi?

- 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

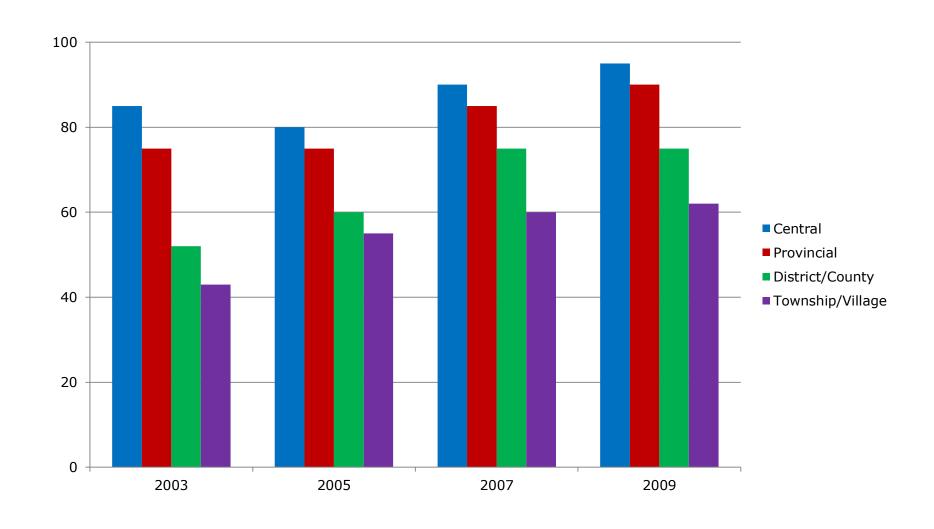
### Public opinion in China

- 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

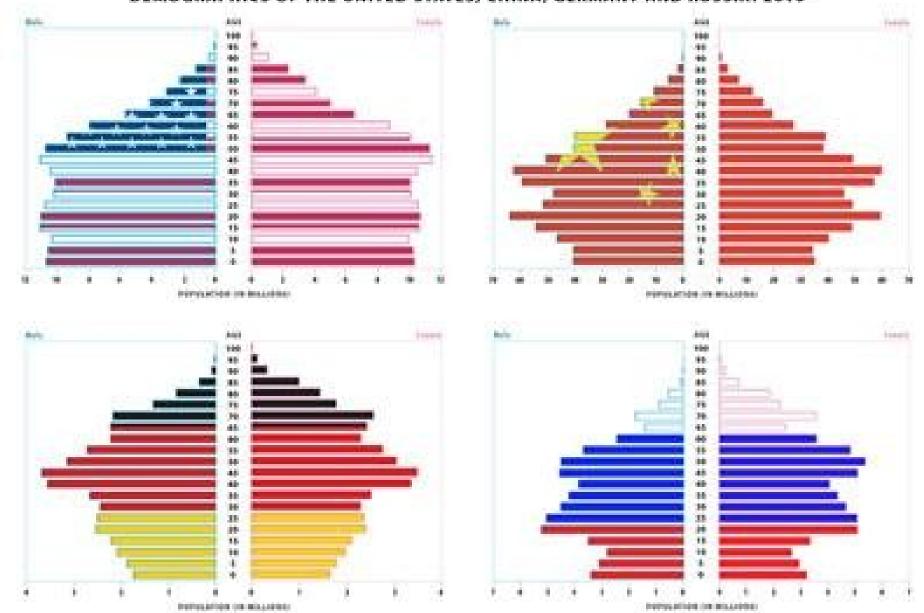
% Very big problem

	70 VCI y Dig pi coiciii			
				08-13
	2008	2012	2013	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

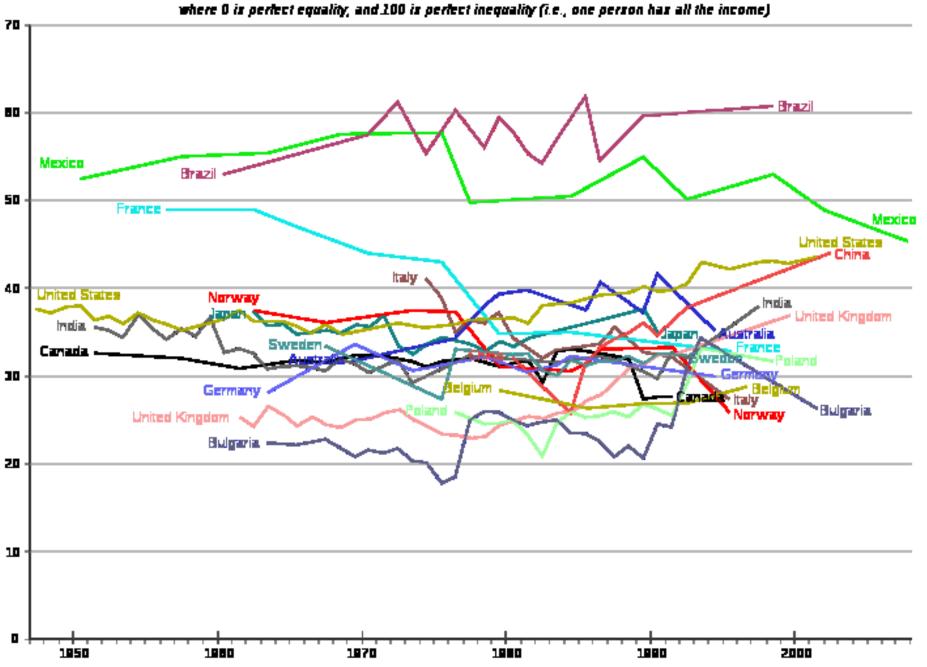
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q17a-o & Q21a,c.



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



#### Gini Index - Income Disparity since World War II



# GINI (2013)

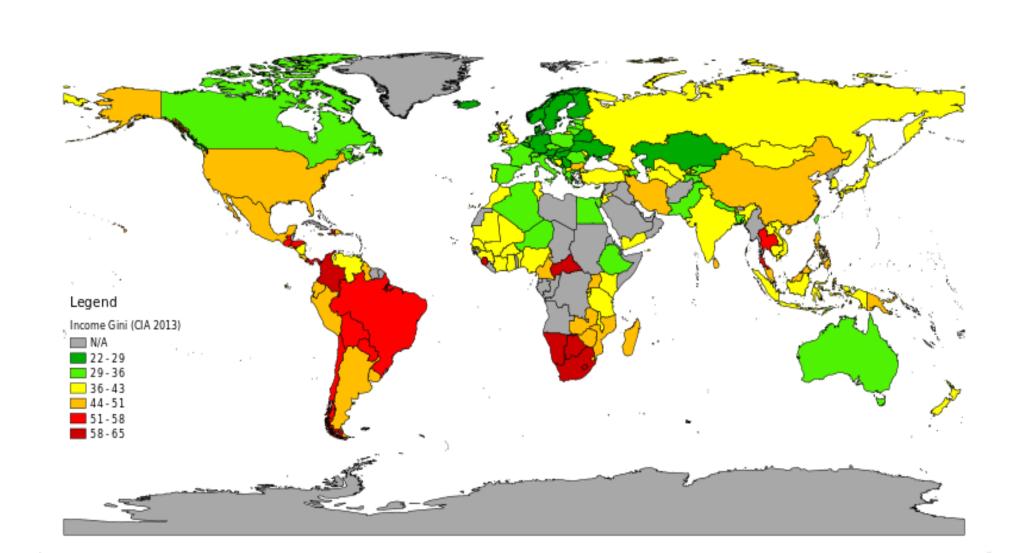
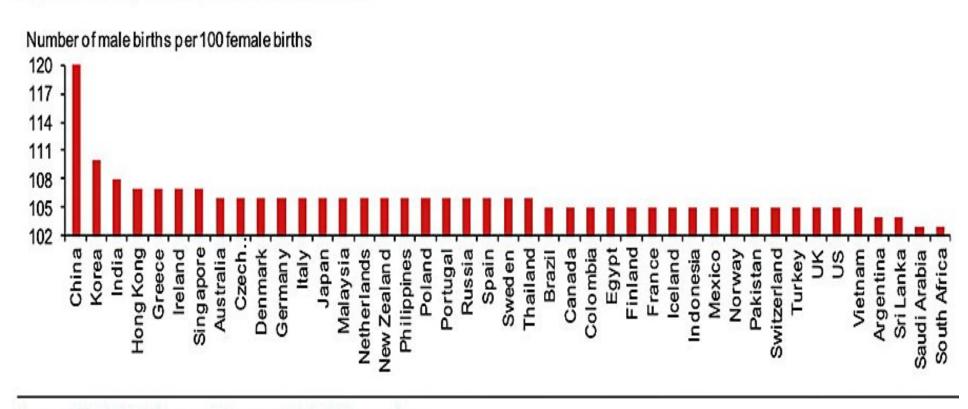


Fig. 39: Country rankings of sex ratio at birth



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)

Regime security ~ legitimacy

Material (economic) satisfaction

Stable international environment ~ good image of China Non-material (ideological) satisfaction

Domestic perception of government as securing national interests ~ nationalism

Benign behaviour in SCS

Actual Foreign Policy actions

Pro-active behaviour in SCS