

The Basis of Chinese Foreign and Security Policies

Dr. Masayo Goto

Summary

1. Some Basic Features of China
2. Mao Zedong (1893 -1976) and Establishment of the Communist China
3. Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975) and Taiwan
4. Maoism/Mao Zedong Thought/Marxism-Leninism-Maoism
5. Mao's socio-political reforms
6. The post-Mao economic reforms by Deng Xiaoping
7. Chinese foreign policy and strategy since the 1980s (Grand strategy, Military build-up, UNPKO, Multilateralism, Calculative strategy)
8. "China Threat" or a "Peaceful Rise of China"?
9. Will the Balance of Power in North Asia be altered by China?

Some Basic Features of China

- Officially China is a communist state
- Official language is called *putonghua* or Mandarin
- Population: Han Chinese comprise about 94%

Beginning of the People's Republic of China

Mao Zedong (1893 -1976) and Establishment of the Communist China

During the Second World War, Mao well-organized guerrilla forces. As soon as the Japanese surrendered, Communist forces began a war against the Nationalists led by Chiang Kai-Shek. In 1949, the Communists were victorious, and Mao Zedong established the People's Republic of China and became the Chairman of the Communist Party of China.

Mao is a great Marxist and a great proletarian revolutionary, strategist and theorist (and a great murderer?).



Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975) and Taiwan

In 1949, the Communists established the People's Republic of China. Chiang and the remaining KMT forces fled to the island of Taiwan. There Chiang established a government in exile which he led for the next 25 years. This government continued to be recognised by many countries as the legitimate government of China. Taiwan controlled China's seat in the United Nations until the end of 1975.



Maoism or Mao Zedong Thought or Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

It is a variant of Marxism derived from the teachings of Mao Zedong and widely applied as the political and military guiding ideology in the Communist Party of China. In Marxism-Leninism, the urban proletariat was seen as the main source of revolution and the countryside was largely ignored. However, Maoism focused on the peasantry as a revolutionary force which could be mobilised by a Communist Party with "correct" ideas and leadership.

Mao's socio-political reforms

Great Leap Forward

Mao launched the Great Leap Forward (1958-1961) to increase agricultural and industrial production. This reform programme included the establishment of large agricultural communes containing as many as 75,000 people.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-76)

Mao launched a ten-year political campaign. Mao alleged "liberal bourgeois" elements were permeating the party and society at large, and wanted to restore Capitalism. He insisted that these elements be removed through post-revolutionary class struggle by mobilizing the thoughts and actions of China's youth. The movement subsequently spread into the military, urban workers, and the party leadership itself.



Both Failed

The post-Mao economic reforms by Deng Xiaoping

The Four Modernizations

Deng Xiaoping (1904 –1997) became the communist leader in 1978. He acknowledged the failure of the Chinese economic system. He then promised a new kind of socialism “Socialism with Chinese characteristics” under the government control to make China rich and powerful. Those reforms were agriculture, industry, science and technology and the military.



The background is a solid green color with a subtle, fibrous texture. A white silhouette of the map of China is positioned in the upper left quadrant. A white silhouette of a mountain range with jagged peaks runs diagonally across the right side of the image. The text is centered in the middle of the frame.

Chinese foreign policy and strategies since the 1980s

Grand strategy

The basic approach to political military security

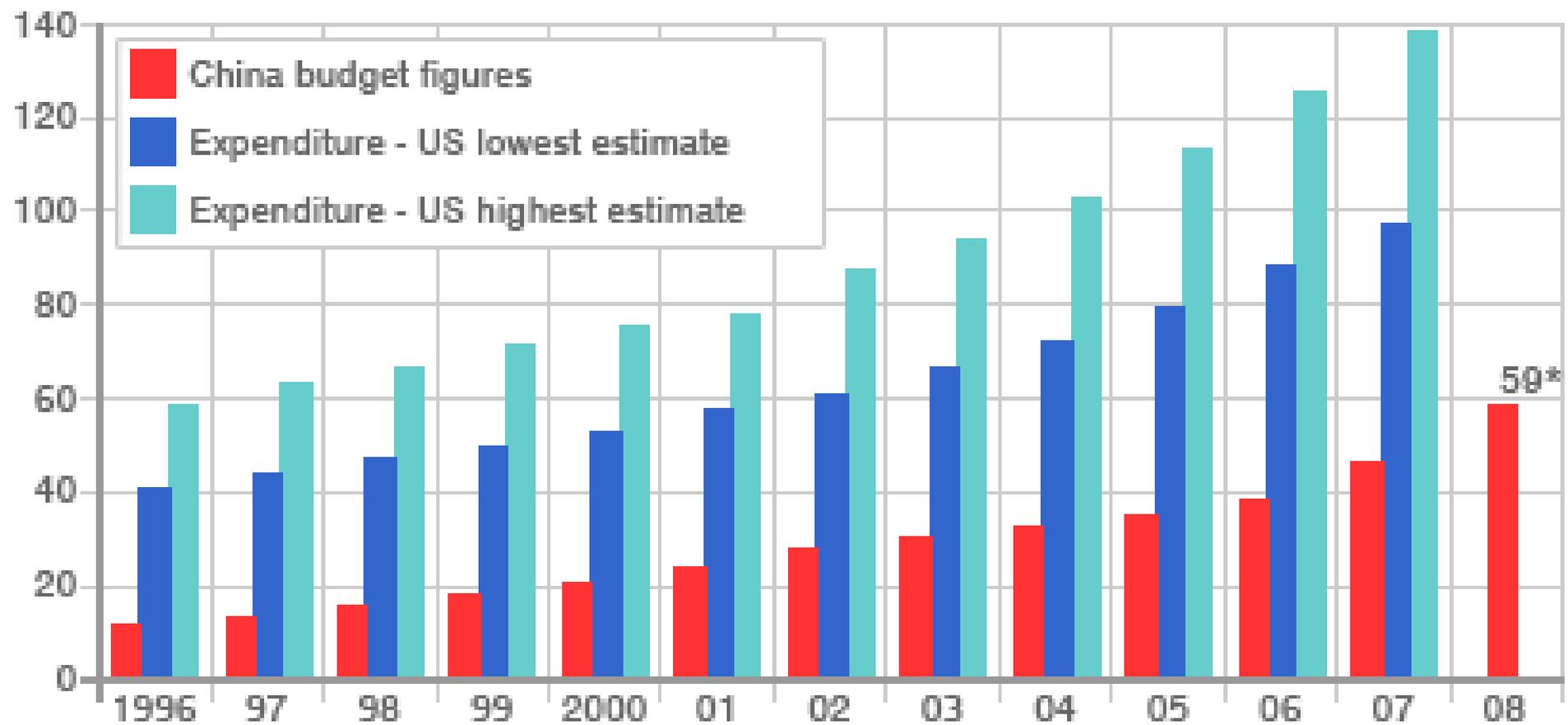
1. To control the periphery and ward off threats to the ruling regime
2. To preserve domestic order and well-being in the face of different forms of social strife
3. To attain or maintain geopolitical influence as a major, or even primary, state.

Military build-up

1. China's defence spending has increased by double-digit figures since 1989.
2. China plans to increase its defense budget by 14.9 percent in 2009. The planned defense budget is \$70 billion.
3. Defense spending accounts for 6.3 percent of China's total fiscal expenditure in 2009.

CHINA'S DEFENCE SPENDING 1996-2007

\$bn



*Announced 2008 budget

SOURCE: Pentagon report on China's military 2008

An active permanent UN Security Council member (UN peacekeeping)

China's inactive policy on UN peacekeeping in the 1970s was largely based on its unswerving normative concerns regarding state sovereignty, nonintervention and its disagreement with the two superpowers. In the 1980s, China quickly adjusted its attitude towards UN peacekeeping mainly due to its improved security outlook and need for a favorable international environment which could benefit its own economic development-oriented reform and opening up strategy.

Multilateralism

NPT, CTBT, (SCO)

1992: Acceded to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)

1993/1997: Signed and ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC)

1996: Signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)

1997: The Zangger Committee

2001: The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) was founded by the leaders of China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. SCO is an intergovernmental mutual-security organisation

“Calculative” strategy

The calculative strategy is designed to allow China to increase its power in a variety of issue areas in as nonprovocative a fashion as possible.

1. policies toward the United States and other powers
2. policies toward military modernization
3. policies toward territorial claims
4. policies toward international regimes

"China Threat" or a "Peaceful Rise of China"?

China threat

The Chinese often suspect that U.S. and Japan are the originators of a variety of "China threat" arguments.

United States

The reason for American concern mainly arises from its hegemonic status in the world politics and the ideological incompatibility of China with the Western value system.

1. Ideological and cultural factors make China a threat.
2. Geopolitical and geoeconomic factors
3. The collapse of China

Japan

1. China's nuclear threat - China's modernization of its nuclear arsenal
2. China's increased defence expenditure over the years
3. China's rapid economic expansion
4. Lack of transparency concerning China's military modernization programme
5. China's 1992 Territorial Waters Law by which China claimed sovereignty over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands
6. The Chinese navy's increased maritime operations in the South China Sea
7. China's testing of nuclear weapons
8. The Chinese military large scale war games and launch of missiles near Taiwan
9. Strong anti-Japanese sentiment in China

China's fear

1. US containment of China
2. The nuclear development on the Korean peninsula
3. Taiwan's rise (independence)
4. Japan's constitutional amendment (revision of the pacifist constitution)

China Arms Race - China

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ldG1hfWf_Hs&NR=1&feature=fvwp

Peaceful Rise of China

China's key strategic concept is "Peaceful Rise." This is important to maximize China's development opportunities by countering the international perception of "China threat."

"Peaceful Rise" = "Peaceful development"
(to remove the negative connotation of the words 'rise')

1. Multilateralism
2. Economic diplomacy
3. Good neighbourliness

The Chinese government has conducted active diplomacy at four different levels:

1. Creating strategic partnerships with the second-tier powers.
2. Promoting "good neighbor policy" in the Asian Pacific region.
3. Seeking cooperation and avoiding confrontation with the U.S.
4. Neglecting Japan.

Will the Balance of Power in North Asia be altered by China?

China is altering the balance of power in Asia by continuing to develop “disruptive” military capabilities, including cyber and anti-satellite technologies

China and Japan are escalating mutual threat perception as in a mirror game leads to an upscale in regional tensions

Conclusions

Too early to say...

End of Lecture