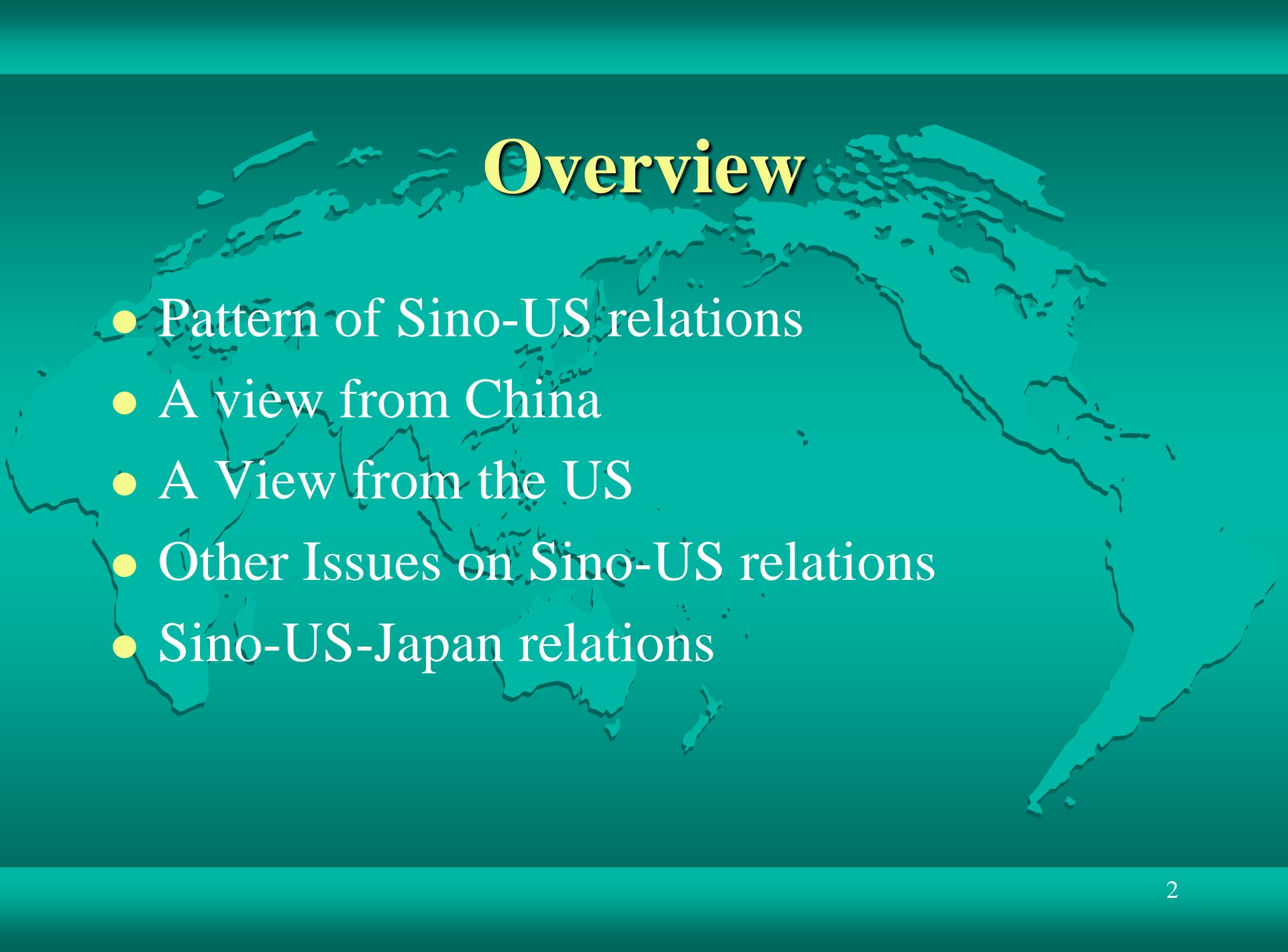




# Sino-US-Japan Relations

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# Overview



- Pattern of Sino-US relations
- A view from China
- A View from the US
- Other Issues on Sino-US relations
- Sino-US-Japan relations



# A pattern of Sino-US relations

# Normalization in 1979

- In 1972, U.S. President Nixon visited China, to **resume full diplomatic relations between the two nations and to end the formal U.S. ties with Taiwan. The Nixon administration acknowledged the 'One China policy.'**
- On the Chinese side, normalization of relations was instrumental to China's effort to enhance its security vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and was seen as a tactical necessity to promote Chinese military and economic interests. The United States was equally motivated by national security concerns.
- In **1979, The U.S. cuts formal links with Taiwan and agrees to abide by China's "one China" policy**

However, the US supports for Taiwan under the Taiwan Relations Act.

- In 1979, the **Taiwan Relations Act** passed the US Congress after the establishment of relations with the People's Republic of China and the breaking of relations between the United States and the Republic of China on the island of Taiwan by President Jimmy Carter. It more clearly defines the American position on Taiwan and its cross-strait relationship with Beijing.
- The US has repeatedly assured the Taiwan leader Chen that they will not cut a deal with China at the expense of Taiwan. The US continues to sell arms to Taipei and have re-affirmed the US-Taiwan security agreement.

# Taiwan Relations Act

1. Provides for Taiwan to be treated under U.S. laws the same as "foreign countries, nations, states, governments, or similar entities".
2. Stipulates that the US will "consider any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means, including by boycotts or embargoes, a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific area and of grave concern to the US " but does not mandate that the US intervene in these situations.

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3. Requires the US “to provide Taiwan with arms of a defensive character”, and “to maintain the capacity of the United States to resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the security.” ⇒U.S. governments have sold arms to the ROC in compliance with the Taiwan Relations Act.

The PRC views the Taiwan Relations Act as "an unwarranted intrusion by the United States into the internal affairs of China."

# China threat syndrome in US strategic thinking

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

# Chinese-American conflict and cooperation since 1949

1. Taiwan was critical in putting US relations with China on a bad footing in 1949, and it remains important today.
2. Every US administration has wanted to keep the PRC from unifying Taiwan with the mainland.
3. The wars in Korea and Vietnam were American proxy wars seeking to contain the spread of Chinese nationalism (communism) in Asia – Those wars and the Cold War kept the US and China apart for two decades.

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4. The collapse of the Soviet Union deprived the US of a clear rationale for maintaining good relations with China.
  5. The Sino-US relations revived because the business coalition was strong enough to replace the strategic logic with an internationalist rationale of opening the China market and integrating China into the world economy, and into multilateral organization in which the US plays a preponderant role (World Bank, WTO).
  6. The 'War on Terror' has offered new opportunities for easing tensions between China and the US based on shared concerns in central Asia. In broad terms China supports the US led initiative as it also suits the Chinese objective of crushing a separatist movement.

# Summary

- The roles in their relations have changed from "non-enemy and non-friend" to "stakeholder," and then to the current "constructive cooperator."
- The two countries now communicate at all political levels.
- Bilateral trade volume has grown from nearly zero to about \$350 billion in 2007, creating real and deep interdependence.
- The two countries have begun to explore military and security cooperation on issues like antiterrorism and the nuclear programs in North Korea and Iran.

Holistically speaking, is the Sino-U.S. relationship mature and stable?

A world map with a red outline of China overlaid on it. The map is centered on the Pacific Ocean, showing the Americas on the left and Asia on the right. The red outline of China is prominent, extending from the coast of East Asia across the continent. The text "A View from China" is centered over the map in a bold, serif font.

# A View from China

# Major issues

- China celebrated the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic and the installation of the Chinese Communist Party government.

Is the grand military parade to show transparency of military capabilities or to show strong military power?

*US will remain as a “Hyper Power” or China will seek leadership in North Asia?*

- China parade marks anniversary
- <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jWm5DkIlsG4&feature=PlayList&p=5B84FBC8FFE460D9&index=9>
- Happy Independence Day China Celebrates 60 Years Anniversary
- <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MLcQKtmwcY0&NR=1>

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- The current relations with the US are the best since the end of the Cold War. Yet....
  - The US is seeking global hegemony and preventing China from rising to a position to challenge American supremacy (China is rising as an economic, political, and military power and has expanded its diplomatic activism beyond Asia).
  - American unilateralism and unipolar worldview.
  - Bush Administration's double standard in American foreign policy; American hypocrisy. (China accused the US of double standards after the US navy fired a missile to destroy a failed satellite 150 miles above the Pacific in 2008).
  - US-Japan alliance: A keystone of the US strategic position in North Asia. Is this the US policy to contain China?

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- Sino-US relations have improved after 9/11. At that time, China was concerned about terrorism in Xinjiang in connection with the secessionist movement. Uighur separatists in Muslim-majority Xinjiang province have waged a low-level insurgency against the Chinese government for many years. The Chinese government frequently claims it faces "international terrorism" in Xinjiang.



# **A View from the US**

# The China crisis during the Clinton and Bush Administrations

- Both Bush and Clinton administrations were negative and rigidly critical. Clinton looked at China mostly from the perspective of human rights and Bush's considerations were more those of global strategy.
- Clinton regarded China as a prop in his Asia Policy. In 1988, he visited China unexpectedly by-passed Japan. This became known as "Japan-passing" instead of "Japan-bashing" during the Reagan and Bush era.
- Bush Administration: allies come first
- The April 2001 incident — American EP-3 surveillance plane incident off Hainan Island. This increased tensions.
- Improvement of relations immediately after the incident was settled, but sales of arms to Taiwan proceeded as planned.
- Tensions arising also from sales of arms to Taiwan

# Post-September 11 cooperation on the war on terrorism

- The 9/11 terrorist attack marked a turning point in Sino-US relations – The US and China found anew strategic value, Anti-terrorism.
- David Shambaugh (*The Reader*, pp. 361–67) argues that China's cooperation with the US in fighting terrorism certainly helped improve bilateral relations and began a dedicate process of engagement with each other.

# Bush's China policy

- A policy of active engagement aimed at establishing a more stable, cooperative and enduring relationship with China - a shift from a policy that sees China as “a strategic competitor” and “a potential adversary.”
- Against this, there is a more hawkish attitude displayed by Cheney and Rumsfeld.
- A China policy embedded in a broader framework of relations with US allies and friends in the region.

# Obama's China policy



- Continuity and engagement rather than confrontation
- Develop "positive, cooperative and comprehensive" ties with China.
- The Obama administration has emphasized common interests more than differences in its China policy.

# Summary

- If China became a superpower, China would only want to challenge the US for global supremacy and would not share global stability.
- The main theme in Sino-US relations should still be engagement, with integrating China into global institutions in which the US remains preponderant.



# **Other Issues on Sino-US relations**

# The Taiwan issues

- A shift from “strategic ambiguity” to “strategic unambiguity”; but it is a double-tracked policy
- Continued sales of arms to Taiwan
- An extent of integration of the US and Taiwanese militaries. Bush approved the largest arms sales package for the Taiwanese military including submarines.
- Cheney’s straight talk on arms sales and Kelly’s warning to Taiwan. (Kelly is U.S. assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs. He warned that "the potential for a response from China- a dangerous, objectionable and foolish response - that could destroy much of what Taiwan has built and crush its hopes for the future."



- In view of their common interest in preventing conflict over Taiwan, China and the US have developed a tacit agreement:

1. There is to be no use of force against Taiwan by China
2. The US is not to recognize two China, or one China and one Taiwan.
3. The US can continue to have ‘unofficial’ relations with Taiwan.
4. Taiwan cannot declare itself independent.

# Strategic issues



- China's proliferation of ballistic missiles and missile components to other nations
- Missile defence
- Over the number of BM interceptors deployed in Alaska
- Theatre missile defence in Northeast Asia – deployed on or around Taiwan.
- Growing US military presence around China's periphery; Deployment in Pakistan, Central Asia, Afghanistan, rapidly improving US-India military relationship, improved security partnerships in countries in Asia.

# China and Tibet

## What are the underlying issues?

- The Chinese Government has long claimed suzerainty over Tibet and that the Chinese constitution lists Tibet among areas constituting the territory of the Republic of China. Any Tibet issues should never be a foreign policy issue since it involves the domestic affairs of China.
- Many Tibetans disagree, pointing out that the Himalayan region was an independent kingdom for many centuries, and that Chinese rule over Tibet has not been constant.
- Tibet declared itself an independent republic in 1912. Although its status did not receive widespread recognition, Tibet functioned as an independent government until 1951.
- China sent troops to Tibet in 1950 and summoned a Tibetan delegation the following year to sign a treaty ceding sovereignty to China. Since then there have been periods of unrest and sporadic uprisings as resentment to China's rule has persisted.

## **Will the two sides be able to resolve their differences?**

- China insists that the Tibetans in exile, led by the Dalai Lama, want nothing less than to separate Tibet from the motherland.
- The Dalai Lama - Tibet's spiritual leader - says he wants nothing more than genuine autonomy for the region.

## **Why is the Tibet issue so well-known?**

- Since fleeing Tibet following a failed uprising in 1959, he has travelled the world advocating more autonomy for his homeland. He won the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts in 1989.

## **Will there be further protests?**

- China responded to these protests with a show of force, and officials have vowed to "resolutely crush" pro-independence sentiment.

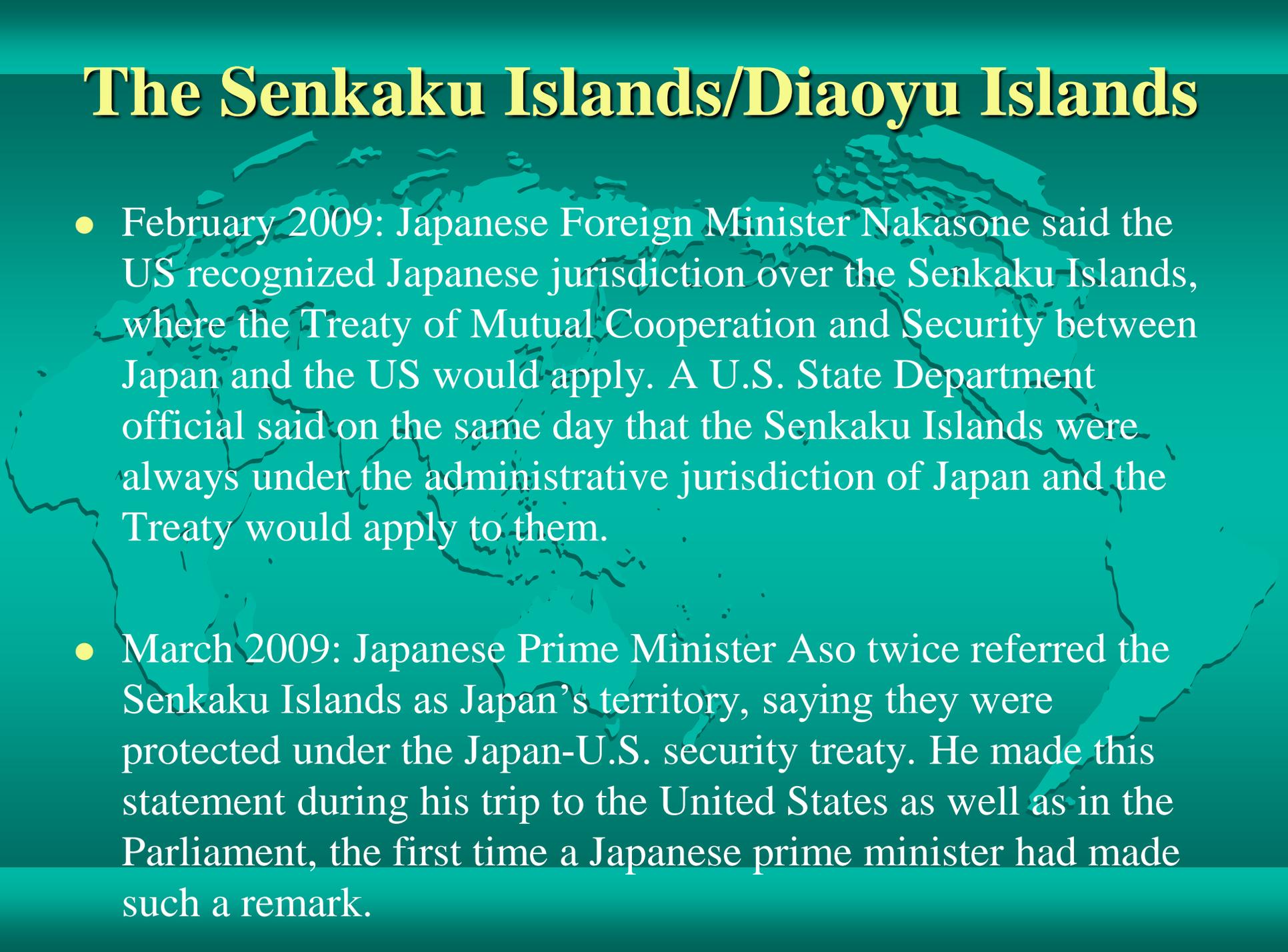
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- **What is the US official position?**
  - U.S. policy toward Tibet has operated on two levels. At the strategic level, the US has consistently supported the Chinese position that Tibet is part of China. At the pragmatic or tactical level, US has been opportunistic in its dealings with Tibet and has been prone to wide fluctuations, ranging from the provision of financial and military aid to Tibetan guerrilla forces in the 1950s and 1960s to neglect and almost no official contact in the 1970s and 1980s. Successive U.S. administrations consistently refused to accept Tibet's claim to independence

**The Tibet question has not faded away. For the foreseeable future, this issue will likely remain an irritant to the Chinese in the international arena and a potential danger-point in Sino-American relations.**

# Bilateral trade disputes

- US trade deficit with China – ballooned to US\$124 billion in 2003.
- China's trade tiff with US over increased tariffs on alleged Chinese dumping of such products as TV sets, semi-conductors and wireless computing, technology and timber bedroom furniture, and over imported American beef and poultry.
- Chinese piracy of trademarked and patented goods and other intellectual property.
- China pressured to revalue the RMB, pegged to US\$8.26, and to float it.
- China's firm resistance and defence of a stable currency against speculation and over-investment.
- In 2009, the Chinese-made, low-end tires sold in the U.S. for use on cars and light trucks are flooding the market in a way that "disrupts" domestic production. 5,000 jobs have been lost since 2004 as a result. - A new 35 percent tariff on Chinese tires

# The Senkaku Islands/Diaoyu Islands



- February 2009: Japanese Foreign Minister Nakasone said the US recognized Japanese jurisdiction over the Senkaku Islands, where the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the US would apply. A U.S. State Department official said on the same day that the Senkaku Islands were always under the administrative jurisdiction of Japan and the Treaty would apply to them.
- March 2009: Japanese Prime Minister Aso twice referred the Senkaku Islands as Japan's territory, saying they were protected under the Japan-U.S. security treaty. He made this statement during his trip to the United States as well as in the Parliament, the first time a Japanese prime minister had made such a remark.

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- March 2009: China's Foreign Ministry spokesman said "China has indisputable sovereignty over the Diaoyu Islands and adjacent islets which have been China's inalienable territory since ancient times. The Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States should not undermine the interest of any third party including China. Any attempt to cover the Diaoyu Islands under the Treaty is absolutely unacceptable to the Chinese people.
  - February 2009: Japan's Maritime Safety Agency stationed for the first time PLH (patrol vessels large with helicopter) in the waters of Senkaku Islands, saying that the action was aimed to defend against "invasion" from Chinese marine survey ships.



# **Sino-US-Japan relations**

# Major concerns

- Japan's fear about abandonment and entrapment. Long at issue in the US-Japan alliance are abandonment fears from the "Nixon shock" to president Clinton's "Japan-passing" and entrapment fears from the era of Vietnam to the present day where "areas surrounding Japan" may includes Taiwan. On the other hand, Japan worries about being left out in the cold as the US engages China. Japan also worries about being dragged by America into a conflict with China.
- China 's increasing significance in international affairs. With the rapidly growing Chinese economy and military and political influence, the world has shifted a focus to US-China relations. China is demanding international respect and attention.

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- America's role in North Asia: The matter of relative importance of US-Japan and US-China relations raises questions about the US's role in the region. Is that role primarily to stabilize the political-military environment? Or will the US focus on expanding trade, increase investment, opening market, and spreading freedom by promoting democracy and human rights?
  - The strategic priorities of the US, Japan and China apparently have a good deal in common concerning regional stability. The free flow of goods and services, the confidence of investors and the low costs of cooperation that come with stability are so valuable to these economies.

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- China does not have a comprehensive industrial base that can be compared to any of the advanced industrial nations (US, Japan, Germany), but it may have soon – That is when Sino-US relations may come to a flash point. It is likely that **China will be in a partnership with the US.**
  - The US and Japan trust each other whereas the US and China, and China and Japan do not. Lack of trust can be attributed factors such as unresolved historical antagonism, unclear present intentions, and undeveloped vision for the region's future.

**The US, Japan and China need to pursue their strategic priorities in ways that avoid conflict and build trust.**

# Conclusion

- **Continued improved ties and cooperation expected between the US and China, but not without occasional tensions**
- **More trade tiffs also expected, as China is coping with the WTO regime**
- **Above all, the Taiwan issue will be the eventual test of the relationship.**



**End of Lecture**