

**KÍNA
A GLOBÁLIS KIHÍVÁSOK TÜKRÉBEN**

**CHINA
IN THE LIGHT OF GLOBAL CHALLENGES**

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Felelős kiadó: Hamar Imre

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CHINA
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A 2016 májusában Budapesten megrendezett,
„Kína a globális kihívások tükrében” című
konferencia tanulmánykötete

*Papers from the conference “China in the Light of Global
Challenges” held in Budapest in May 2016*

Szerkesztő: Dr. Besenyő János ezredes – Prof. Dr. Hamar Imre
Edited by: Col. János Besenyő, PhD – Prof. Imre Hamar
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Szerzők / Contributors

Ferenc BÁNHIDI

Guest Researcher

Modern East Asia Research Group, Pázmány Péter Catholic University
fbanhidi@gmail.com

Ramachandra BYRAPPA, PhD

Assistant Professor

Department of Modern and Contemporary History, Faculty of Humanities,
Eötvös Loránd University
rama.byrappa@gmail.com

Shizhong DENG, PhD

Chinese Director

Confucius Institute at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University
Southwestern University of Finance and Economics
shizhongdeng@gmail.com

Viktor ESZTERHAI

Senior Researcher, China

Pallas Athéné Geopolitical Foundation
eszterhai.viktor@pageobudapest.hu

Csaba Barnabás HORVÁTH, PhD

Research Fellow

Interactions of Cultures and Religions along the Silk Road – research group,
MTA – ELTE – SZTE
keluolang@hotmail.com

Éva JAKUSNÉ HARNOS, PhD

Head

Centre for Foreign Languages, Faculty of International and European Studies, National University of Public Service

jakusne.harnos.eva@uni-nke.hu

Péter KLEMENSITS, PhD

Senior Researcher, South- Southeast Asia

Pallas Athéné Geopolitical Foundation

klemensits.peter@pageobudapest.hu

Lukács KRAJCSÍR

PhD student

Doctoral School of Modern History, University of Szeged

krajcsir89@gmail.com

Gyula KRAJCZÁR

Journalist, PhD student

Corvinus University of Budapest

krajczar@hotmail.com

Sándor Zoltán KUSAI

Former Ambassador of Hungary to China, Mongolia & the DPRK

Modern East Asia Research Group, Faculty of Humanities, Pázmány Péter

Catholic University

kusaisanyi01@hotmail.com

Qikeng LI, PhD

Chinese Director

Academic Confucius Institute, Georg-August-University Göttingen

School of English & International Studies, Beijing Foreign Studies University

liqikeng@bfsu.edu.cn

Katalin MUSZKA

PhD student

Pázmány Péter Catholic University

info@kmuszka.com

György NÓGRÁDI, CSc

Security Policy Expert

Institute of World Economy, Faculty of Social Sciences and International Relations, Corvinus University of Budapest

Faculty of Military Science and Officer Training, National University of Public Service

gyorgy.nogradi@uni-corvinus.hu

Youmu PAN, Sr. Col.

Associate Research Fellow

Department of Military Strategic Studies, Academy of Military Science

Fruzsina SIMIGH

Research Fellow

HDF General Staff Scientific Research Centre

simigh.fruzsina@gmail.com

Ambrus Gábor SZENTESI

PhD student

Doctoral School of Management Sciences and Business Administration, Faculty of Business and Economics, University of Pannonia

szent.gabor@gmail.com

Endre SZÉNÁSI, Lt. Col.

Senior Desk Officer

Defence Policy Department, Hungarian Ministry of Defence

endre.szenasi@mod.gov.hu

Mariann VECSEY, Captain

J2 Analyst, PhD aspirant

NATO Force Integration Unit Hungary

NFIU HUN

vecsey.mariann@mil.hu

Zoltán VÖRÖS, PhD

Assistant professor

Department of Political Science and International Studies, University of Pécs

voros.zoltan@pte.hu

Guifang WANG, Sr. Col.

Senior Research Fellow

Department of Military Strategic Studies, Academy of Military Science

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A konferenciáról

A Honvéd Vezérkar Tudományos Kutatóhely és az ELTE Konfuciusz Intézet közös szervezésében 2016. május 25-én Budapesten, a Stefánia Palota – Honvéd Kulturális központban rendezték meg a „Kína: a globális kihívások tükrében” című konferenciát.

A szimpózium az egyik legősibb, de napjaink egyik legdinamikusabban fejlődő civilizációs terének történelmi, gazdasági, biztonságpolitikai folyamataira fókuszált. A feltörekvő kínai gazdaság megalapozta az állam nagyhatalmi pozícióját, átstrukturálva a globális erővonalak térszerkezetét. Kína befolyásával, érdekérvényesítő képességével minden globális és regionális aktornak számolnia kell.

Mindemellett azonban szükséges a belső, az államteret meghatározó tényezők – vallási, etnikai, politikai, gazdasági jellemzők – helyes értelmezése is, amelyek jelentősen módosíthatják Peking jövőbeli nemzetközi szerepvállalását.

A konferencia témája a kínai gazdasági-társadalmi tér aktivitásának, geopolitikai-geostratégiai érdekartikulációjának sok-szempontrú elemzése volt, amely meghatározó lehet mind az eurázsiai, mind pedig a globális hatalmi kapcsolatok bonyolult rendszerére. A konferencia célja az volt, hogy átfogó képet adjon a kínai gazdaság jelenlegi és jövőbeli helyzetéről, ezzel összefüggésben a Peking által percepcionált világrendről.

About the Conference

The conference “China – In the Light of Global Challenges” was organized through the cooperation between HDF General Staff Scientific Research Centre and ELTE Confucius Institute on 25 May 2016 at Stefania Palace – Military Cultural Centre, Budapest, Hungary.

The symposium focused on the historical, economic and security processes taking place in China, one of the most ancient, but nowadays also one of the most dynamically developing civilizational spaces of the world. The emerging Chinese economy has laid the foundations of the state's position as a great power, re-structuring the spatial structure of global lines of force. Every global and regional actor must now take China into account, considering its influence and capacity for advocacy.

Meanwhile, it is also necessary to give a correct interpretation of the domestic factors – such as religious, ethnic, political and economic characteristics – that define the sphere of the state and may significantly modify Beijing's future international engagement.

The theme of the conference was the multilateral analysis of the activities, as well as the geopolitical and geo-strategic articulation of interests, of the Chinese economic and social space, as these can determine the complex structure of power relations on both the Eurasian and the global level. The purpose of the conference was to provide a comprehensive picture of the current and future state of the Chinese economy and, in relation to this, of the world order as perceived by Beijing.

Belső kihívások

Domestic challenges

Kína innovációs rendszere – Jelenlegi helyzet és eredmények – Tervek és prioritások

1. A tényezőhatékonyság alakulása Kínában 1991–2020

Az innovációs tevékenység mérése nem könnyű feladat. Ami a ráfordítási oldalt illeti, itt még egyszerű a helyzet. Egyik leggyakrabban használt mutató a kutatás-fejlesztési kiadások részaránya a bruttó hazai termékben (GDP), amely összesítve tartalmazza a kormányzati, illetve a vállalati szféra kiadásait.¹ Az innovációs folyamatok eredményességének mérése már jóval nehezebb feladat, ebben a tekintetben a nemzetközi szakirodalomban alkalmazott gyakorlat sem egységes. A nemzetközi gazdasági szervezetek, így az OECD, illetve a Világbank elemzéseiben leggyakrabban e célra alkalmazott mutató az úgynevezett tényezőhatékonyság. A tényezőhatékonyság a GDP növekedésnek a termelési tényezők (munka, tőke) növekedési hatásán felüli része, a makroökonómiai elmélet ezt az elemet tulajdonítja az innováció hatásának. A maradék elv alapján történő definíció leegyszerűsíti a mutató számítását, mert minden olyan növekedési hatás, amely nem vezethető vissza a két alapvető termelési tényező, a tőke és a munka növekedésére, az innováció hatásának minősül.

A tényezőhatékonyság az innovációs folyamatok hozzájárulását mutatja a gazdasági jólét növekedéséhez. A maradék alapon történő számítás miatt azonban ebben a hatásban keverednek nagy, különböző karakterű innovációs tevékenységek eredményei. A tudományos alap kutatásokon alapuló innováció vagy a gyökeresen új technológiák bevezetését megalapozó fejlesztések jelentősen eltérnek a termékek fokozatos fejlesztését, a meglévő gyártási folyamatok finomítását célul kitűző fejlesztésektől. Az előbbiek jóval hosszabb időt és nagyobb anyagi és humán ráfordításokat igényelnek és inkább a fejlett, a technológiai fejlődés élvonalában lévő országokra jellemzőek. A lépésről-lépésre történő termékfejlesztés, a gyártási folyamatok finomítása sokkal kisebb ráfordításokat

¹ A kutatás-fejlesztési kiadások a nemzetgazdasági statisztikákban beruházási kiadásnak számítanak, tehát részei a bruttó hazai terméknek.

igényel és inkább olyan fejlődő, a technikai fejlődés élvonalától még elmaradó országokra jellemző, mint Kína.

A tényezőhatékonyság egy ország gazdasági növekedési pályájának egyik legfontosabb mutatója, ezért mielőtt rátérnék az ígért nemzetközi összehasonlításra, röviden kitérnék a kínai növekedési modell jellemzésére. Ebben a tekintetben a kínai és a nyugati szakirodalom álláspontja eltér egymástól. Kínában meghatározó súlya van Justin Yifu Lin a Világbank korábbi főközgazdásza, a kínai kormányzat egyik kiemelt tanácsadó véleményének, aki a reform bevezetése, 1978 óta elért gazdasági növekedést egyfajta „csodának”, egyedi jelenségnek tartja, amely nem követi más országok példáját.² A szerző személyes véleménye,³ megegyezően a nyugati elemzések többségével, ezzel ellentétben az, hogy a kínai növekedési modellnek van nemzetközi mintája, mégpedig a kelet-ázsiai országok sikeres felzárkózása a múlt évszázad ötvenes-kilencvenes éveiben.

Ország	Időszak	GDP éves növekedése százalékban
USA	1950–80	3,5
Japán	1950–80	8,0
Dél-Korea	1960–95	8,1
Tajvan	1960–95	8,6
Thaiföld	1960–95	7,5
Malajzia	1960–95	6,9
Kína	1978–2005	9,6

Forrás: Anderson 2006.

Ezt bizonyítja többek között, hogy bár a kínai GDP növekedési üteme 1978 nemzetközi összehasonlításban is kiemelkedően magas volt ugyan, de ezt a sikeres kelet-ázsiai országok gazdaságai is elérték, Japán harminc évvel, a többi kelet-ázsiai ország húsz évvel Kína előtt.

2 A szerző több publikációja közül ezt a véleményt a legmarkánsabban Lin et. al. 1996. fejtette ki.

3 Ezt a véleményét a szerző a budapesti Konfuciusz Intézetben tartott előadásában fejtette ki. Lásd: Bánhidi 2008. és Bánhidi 2014b.

Hozzájárulás a GDP növekedéshez 1960-95 időszakban, százalékban	Tényező- hatékonyság	Egyéb hatás
Ázsia felzárkózó országok	2,1	5,4
Japán	2,0	3,8
EU	1,9	2,1
USA	1,2	2,3

Forrás: Anderson 2006.

Erre a felzárkózási periódusra ugyanakkor, ahogy a fenti táblázat is bizonyítja, nem az innovációnak (a tényezőhatékonyságnak) a fejlett országokénál magasabb szintje volt jellemző, az megfelelt a nemzetközi átlagnak, a fejlett országokénál gyorsabb növekedést ezek az országok a jóval magasabb megtakarítási rátának, illetve ennek következtében magas felhalmozási rátának köszönhették.

Hozzájárulás a GDP növekedéshez 1978-2000 között százalékban	Ázsiai felzárkózó országok	Kína
Tőke	3,5	5,0
Munka	1,2	0,6
Migráció	0,8	1,2
Tényezőhatékonyság	1,5	1,5

Forrás: Anderson 2006.

Kínát a sikeresen felzárkózó kelet-ázsiai országokkal összehasonlítva nagyfokú hasonlóságot tapasztalunk. A tényezőhatékonyság növekedése nem kiemelkedő, ugyanakkor meghatározó elem a tőketényező hozzájárulása, ami Kína esetében még a többi kelet-ázsiai ország szintjét is meghaladta.

A nyugati szakirodalomban gyakran találkozhatunk olyan megállapításokkal, hogy Kína elsősorban a politikai rendszere, a szólásszabadságot, a szabad véleménynyilvánítást korlátozó előírásai⁴ miatt szükségszerűen marad le a nemzetközi kutatás-fejlesztési versenyben, hosszabb távon képtelen lesz a tartós gazdasági növekedéshez szükséges innovációra. Tagadhatatlan, hogy ennek az egyoldalú értékelésnek vannak bizonyos történelmi alapjai. A kelet-európai volt szocialista országoknak a rendszerváltáskor kellett szembesülniük a tudományos-technikai lemaradásuk óriási mértékével, amelyet az elmúlt években csak

4 A legnagyobb vitát, illetve negatív nemzetközi visszhangot kiváltó ilyen intézkedés az internethasználat korlátozása.

kisebb mértékben voltak képesek csökkenteni. Az idézett statisztikák és nemzetközi elemzések ugyanakkor azt bizonyítják, a kínai innovációs folyamatok eredményessége semmiben sem maradt, illetve marad el más országok hasonló fejlettségi szinten elért eredményeitől. Ebből a szempontból különösen meggyőző a politikai elfogultsággal aligha vádolható OECD országjelentése.

Év	Tényezőhatékonyság százalékban
1995	5,2
1996	4,0
1997	3,5
1998	2,4
1999	2,3
2000	3,3
2001	3,0
2002	3,9
2003	4,5

Év	Tényezőhatékonyság százalékban
2004	3,8
2005	4,5
2006	5,5
2007	6,4
2008	2,7
2009	2,8
2010	3,6
2011	2,7
2012	1,6

Forrás: OECD 2015: 35.

A tényezőhatékonyság az 1995 és 2012 közötti időszakban a GDP növekedéshez átlagosan évi 5%-kal járult hozzá. Ez nemzetközi összehasonlításban igen magas értéknek minősíthető. Ami az idősor alakulását illeti, a következő megállapításokat tehetjük:

- A közgazdasági elmélet szerint a tényezőhatékonyság szintjének egy ország fejlettségi szintjének növekedésével csökkennie kellene, hiszen ahogy csökken a fejlett országok élenjáró technikai, technológiai szintjétől való elmaradás, úgy mérséklődik a fejlett technikai, technológiai megoldások alkalmazásából származó hatékonyság-növekedés. Ez a hatás Kínában az 1995 és 2007 közötti időszakban nem érvényesült, ami azzal magyarázható, hogy Kína még távol van a fejlett országok színvonalától, a fejlett technológiák egy jelentős részét különböző okok (munkaerő képzettségi szintje, intézményi feltételek hiánya) egyelőre nem alkalmazzák.
- 1999 és 2007 között háromszorosára, 2%-ról 6%-ra nőtt a tényezőhatékonyság hozzájárulása a GDP növekedéséhez. Ez egyértelműen egy eseményhez, Kínának a Világkereskedelmi Szervezetbe történő belépéséhez köthető. Ismeretes, hogy a belépésről szóló megállapodást 1999-ben írták

alá és az 2001 végétől várt hatályossá. Azt a közgazdasági elmélet is igazolja, hogy a nemzetközi nyitottság jelentősen hozzájárul a tényezőhatékonyság növekedéséhez, hiszen lehetővé teszi a fejlett külföldi technika importját. Kínában ezt a hatást még fokozta, hogy ellentétben más kelet-ázsiai országokkal (Japán, Korea) erőteljesen támogatták a külföldi működő tőkeimportot, ezen belül a belépés után már nem volt akadálya a kizárólagosan külföldi tulajdonban lévő vállalatok alapításának sem. Ezek a vállalatok a 2001–2007-es időszakban meghatározó szerepet játszottak a gyorsan bővülő exportban és már csak emiatt is érdekeltté váltak a legkorszerűbb nemzetközi technológiák alkalmazásában.

2008-ban a világgazdasági válság begyűrűzésének hatására már egy új szakasz kezdődött a kínai gazdaság fejlődésében, ami önálló elemzést igényel.

Hozzájárulás a GDP növekedéshez százalékban	Munka	Tőke	Tényezőhatékonyság
2007	0,2	6,6	6,4
2008	0,2	6,4	2,6
2009	0,2	5,8	2,8
2010	0,2	6,2	3,6
2011	0,2	6,0	2,7
2012	0,2	5,6	1,6

Forrás: OECD 2015: 32.

2008-ban és 2009-ben a korábbi kétszámjegyű növekedés 9%-ra esett vissza, és ezzel párhuzamosan a 2007-es évben 6,4%-os tényezőhatékonyság is 2,6%-ra csökkent. Ez a visszaesés részben szükségszerű volt. A Világkereskedelmi Szervezetbe való belépés után a kínai GDP közel 10%-a exporttöbbletként realizálódott, ami a nemzetközi piacok összeomlása után tarthatatlanná vált. A foglalkoztatás látványos csökkenésének megakadályozására a kínai kormány látványos infrastruktúrafejlesztésekbe kezdett. Ennek egyik példája egy országos nagysebességű vasúti hálózat kiépítése, amellyel egy új technológiát honosítottak meg ugyan, de ennek a gazdasági jólét (GDP) növelő hatásai csak évek múlva jelentkeznek majd. 2010-ben rövid időre úgy tűnt, hogy a helyzetet sikerült stabilizálni, de az elmúlt években a helyzet folyamatosan romlik, 2012-ben a tényezőhatékonyság már csak 1,6%-ot ért el.

A 2012-ben hatalomra került új politikai vezetés, valamint a hazai és külföldi szakértők egyetértének abban, hogy az évtized eleje óta a kínai gazdaság egy új „normál állapotba”⁵ került. Ebben az új növekedési szakaszban a GDP növekedése tartósan alatta marad a korábbi évekének, ami megfelel a sikeres kelet-ázsiai felzárkózó országok tapasztalatának, amelyek a felzárkózási folyamat végéhez közeledve hasonló növekedési lassuláson estek át. A legfontosabb változás az, hogy míg a korábbi években a GDP-növekedés nagyobb része a tőketényezőnek, a folyamatosan emelkedő megtakarítási, illetve felhalmozási rátának volt köszönhető és csak egy kisebb rész a tényezőhatékonysággal reprezentált innovációnak, a jövőben ennek az aránynak meg kell fordulnia. Abban is egyetértés van, hogy ha ez az átalakulás nem történik meg, akkor ez a jövőben a gazdasági növekedési ütem tartós és jelentős visszaesését fogja eredményezni.

Az új „normál állapothoz” való eljutáshoz két változásnak kell megtörténnie. 2009-2010-ben, a válságkezelést a fokozott állami szerepvállalást jegyében hajtották végre. Az akkoriban meghatározó politikai irányvonal „a sajátosan kínai színezetű szocializmus” megkülönböztető jegyének tartotta az állami tulajdon, illetve az állami beavatkozások nyugati országokhoz képest nagyobb súlyát. Az állami vállalatok kiemelt támogatása a fejlesztési programokban, a kis és közepes méretű magánvállalatok kiszorítása olyan illúzió volt, amelynek eredményeként, ahogy a fenti grafikonból is látszik, jelentősen csökkent a tényezőhatékonyság, mérséklődött a gazdaság innovációs képessége. Ezt a hibás irányvonalat azóta korrigálták. A 2013-ban elfogadott új politikai program kulcsmondata: „A piacnak meghatározó szerepet kell játszania az erőforrások elosztásában”.⁶ A másik szükségszerű változás Kína innovációs rendszerének teljes körű átalakítása. Ez a folyamat még nem fejeződött be, a meghatározó szerepet ebben a 13. ötéves fejlesztési terv és ennek ágazati programjai fogják játszani.

5 Ezt a kifejezést a nemzetközi szakirodalom nem használja, de a kínai nyelvű gazdasági elemzések egyik alapfogalmának számít.

6 Idézet a Kínai Kommunista Párt Központi Bizottságának 2013. november 9. és 12. között tartott ülésén hozott határozatból. A határozatról és annak várható hatásáról lásd Bánhidi 2013.

2. „Made in China 2025” fejlesztési program jellemzői⁷

A kínai kutatás-fejlesztési politika és intézményrendszer főbb irányait egy 2006-ban elfogadott tizenöt éves közép- és hosszú távú tervben fektették le. Ez alapján dolgozták ki a 11. és 12. öt éves terv ágazati programjait. Ennek a stratégiának a kulcskategóriája a hazai innováció volt, amelynek a támogatására koncentrálták a legtöbb erőforrást és ez alapján jelölték ki azt a hét stratégiai ágazatot, melyekre nézve a fejlődési célokat is rögzítették. Ezeknek az ágazatoknak a részaránya GDP-ben 2015-ben 8%-ot kellett volna, illetve 2020-ban 15%-ot kell elérnie. Ez a terv a hagyományos tervgazdálkodási szemléletnek megfelelően azonosított néhány perspektivikus, gyorsan fejlődő új technológiát, amelyeket aztán állami programokkal, illetve a vállalati kutatás-fejlesztés támogatásával részben meg akart honosítani az országban, részben csökkenteni szeretne volna e területeken a fejlett országokkal szembeni lemaradást.

A 2015. májusban publikált „Made in China 2025” fejlesztési program szakított ezzel a technológia- és államközpontú koncepcióval. A technológiák közvetlen támogatása helyett, a teljes ipari értékláncot át kívánják alakítani, nem csupán az új iparágak meghonosítására koncentrálnak, hanem legalább ugyanolyan mértékben odafigyelnek a hagyományos iparágak technológiai folyamatainak átalakítására, így a digitalizálásra, illetve az egyes iparágak közötti integráció erősítésére. A cél egy a jelenleginél jóval hatékonyabb, innováció-vezérelt ipari rendszer kialakítása, amely alkalmas lesz arra, hogy nagyobb szerepet kapjon a nemzetközi értékláncokban. Ebből a szempontból mennyiségi célokat is meghatároztak, a hazai alkatrészek és részegységek arányát 2020-ig 40%-ra, 2025-ig 70%-ra kell emelni a beszállításokban.

A korábbi tizenöt éves tervhez képest átalakulnak az állam feladatai is. Az állam továbbra is felelős marad az általános keretek meghatározásáért, a programokhoz rendelt költségvetési erőforrások elosztásáért és felhasználásáért, de előtérbe kerülnek az állam szolgáltató funkciói, így a jogszabályalkotás, illetve a szükséges infrastruktúra biztosításának funkciói. Kiemelt szerepet kap a szellemi tulajdonjogok védelme, különösen a kis és közepes vállalatok számára. A piaci mechanizmusok jobb érvényesülését segítené az is, hogy a program szerint a kormányzat nagyobb mozgásteret kíván biztosítani az egyes érintett cégek számára a műszaki, technológiai szabványok meghatározásában, ugyan-

7 A program elemzését lásd CSIS 2015.

akkor segítené őket abban, hogy ezek a szabványok elfogadásra kerüljenek a kapcsolódó nemzetközi szervezetekben.

A „Made in China 2025” fejlesztési program nem titkoltan a német kormány által 2013-ban publikált „Industrie 4.0” programját⁸ tekintette mintának. Ez a program tematikájában szűkebb, kidolgozottságában viszont részletesebb, mint kínai megfelelője. Az alapvonulata az Internet of Things⁹ fogalmára épül, ezt a rendszert kívánja felhasználni arra, hogy segítse a német kis- és középvállalatok bekapcsolódását a nemzetközi termelési és innovációs láncokba. A hálózatba szervezett vállalatok képessé válnak nemcsak bizonyos termékek tömeggyártására, hanem arra is, hogy a tömeggyártás költséghatékonyságát megőrizve ezeket a termékeket egyes vevők egyedi igényeihez igazítsák. A kínai program cél- és eszközszerrendszere hasonló, de természetesen figyelembe kellett venniük, hogy a kínai feldolgozóipari vállalatok technológiai színvonala nem homogén, ágazonként és vállalat-típusonként nagyon eltér egymástól, emiatt a nemzetközi értékláncokba való bekapcsolódás idő- és fejlesztésgénye is nagyon különböző.

3. Kína lehetőségei az innováció négy alapkategóriájában

A neves nemzetközi tanácsadó cég, a McKinsey kutatóintézete 2015 októberében publikálta 120 oldalas tanulmányát Kína innovációs rendszeréről. Ez az igényes tanulmány ágazati, illetve vállalati szinten vizsgálta az innovációs folyamatokat. A makroszinten elért komoly fejlődést elismerve azt vizsgálta, hogy a kínai gazdaságban azonosíthatók-e a nemzetközi innovációban élenjáró ágazatok, illetve vállalatok, és ha igen mi az oka, hogy ezek előbbre járnak, mint a gazdaság többi része.

A tanulmány első részében már utaltam rá, egy nemzetgazdaság innovációs folyamatai nagyon eltérő karakterű tevékenységeket foglalnak magukba. A tudományos alapkutatásokon alapuló innováció vagy a gyökeresen új technológiák bevezetését megalapozó fejlesztések jelentősen eltérnek a termékek fokozatos fejlesztését, a meglévő gyártási folyamatok finomítását célul kitűző fejlesztésektől. Az előbbiek jóval hosszabb időt és nagyobb anyagi és humán ráfordításokat igényelnek, az utóbbiak a változó fogyasztói igényekhez alkalmazkodva gyakran csak a termék értékesítésének üzleti modelljét alakítják át,

8 GTAI 2014.

9 A kapcsolódó magyar publikációk általában az angol kifejezést használják, amelynek a magyar fordítása Dolgok Internete.

a termék műszaki jellemzői, előállításának költségei nem változnak. Ez utóbira talán a legjobb példa az Apple iPhone elnevezésű okostelefonja, amely alig néhány év alatt gyökeresen átalakította a mobiltelefonok piacát. A McKinsey tanulmánya a nemzetgazdaság ágazatait innovációs folyamatainak természete alapján négy kategóriába sorolja: hatékonyság-orientált, fogyasztó központú, technológia-vezérelt, végül tudományos alapú innovációt alkalmazó ágazatokba. Ez a megkülönböztetés azért volt rendkívül célravezető, mert ha ezek alapján értékeljük a kínai gazdaság innovációs potenciálját, akkor igen eltérő eredményeket kapunk a négy nagy ágazati csoportra nézve. Kína lemaradása a fejlett országokhoz képest nem jelentős a hatékonyság-orientált és fogyasztó központú ágazatokban, sőt egyes termékek tekintetében már piacvezetőknek tekinthetők. Ezzel szemben komolyan elmaradnak az élvonaltól, mind a technológia-vezérelt, mind a tudományos alapkutatást igénylő ágazatokban. A tanulmány legfontosabb megállapításait foglaltuk össze az alábbi táblázatban:

Szempont	Hatékonyság orientált	Fogyasztó központú	Technológia vezérelt	Tudományos alapú
Kína erősségei	Széleskörű és magas színvonalú feldolgozóipari ökoszisztéma Szállítók, munkaerő, infrastruktúra	Nagyméretű fogyasztói piac lehetőség a kísérletezésre	Állami kereslet generálás, lehetőség a tanulásra	Gyorsan fejlődő alacsony költségű K+F kapacitások
Jelenlegi teljesítmény a nemzetközi versenyképesség alapján	Magas színvonalú nemzetközi versenyképesség Napelemek (51%) Építőipari gépek (19%)	Gyorsan javuló nemzetközi versenyképesség Háztartási gépek (36%) Internet szoftver (15%)	Változó nemzetközi versenyképesség Nagy sebességű vasút (41%) Kereskedelem, repülőgépipar (1%)	Lehetőségek egyes területeken Szabadalmaztatott gyógyszerek (1%) Félvezető gyártás (3%)
Jövőbeni lehetőségek	Új generációs feldolgozóipari technológiák alkalmazása	Internet alapú innováció a szolgáltatásokban	Lehetőségek egyes megcélzott ágazatokban (nukleáris energia, orvosi műszerek)	Biotechnológiai alapú gyógyszerkutatás

Forrás: McKinsey 2015. A szerző kiemelései

Azt már más tanulmányokból, így a Világgazdasági Fórum versenyképességi rangsoraiból is tudjuk, hogy a kínai gazdaság két fő erőssége a nagyméretű és viszonylag egységes belső piac, valamint az a széleskörű és fejlett színvonalú feldolgozóipari ökoszisztéma, amely a két kiemelt exportzónában, a Gyöngy-folyó völgyében, illetve a Jangce folyó torkolatában működik. Mindkét zónában meghatározó szerepet játszanak ugyan a külföldi tulajdonú összeszerelő tevékenységet végző nagy vállalatok, de ezek mögött egy magas hatékonysággal dolgozó, zömében hazai tulajdonú beszállítói kör áll. Ezek a beszállítók a felmerült alkatrész, vagy részegység igényeket igen magas minőségi szinten képesek kielégíteni.

Azokban az innovációs folyamatokban, illetve ágazatokban, ahol a kínai gazdaság fenti erősségei fontos tényezőnek számítanak, ott a kínai vállalatok a nemzetközi élmezőnyhöz tartoznak. A hatékonyság-orientált ágazatok közül ide tartozik a napelemek gyártása, ahol a kínai cégek részesedése már eléri a világpiac 51%-át, vagy az építőipari gépek termelése, ahol a részesedésük 19%-os. Ez utóbbi ágazatban működik például az a Sany nevű cég, amely Nyugat-Európában is valósított már meg vállalatfelvásárlást.

Talán a kínai vállalatok legnagyobb erőssége a fogyasztó központú innováció. Itt nemcsak a piacméret a meghatározó elem, hanem azok az üzleti hagyományok is, amelyek már a 18–19. században virágzó országos cégeket hoztak létre olyan ágazatokban, mint a tea- vagy só-kereskedelem, illetve a pénzügyi szolgáltatások. A háztartási gépek kínai piacát még a kilencvenes években is a nagy japán és koreai márkák uralták, ma már az olyan hazai cégek az uralkodók, mint a Haier, TCL, vagy a GREE. A kínai cégek részesedése a háztartási gépek piacán ma már eléri a 36%-ot, az említettek közül a Haier nevű cég piacvezetőnek tekinthető. A kínai fogyasztók igényeihez igazított innovatív üzleti megoldásokat vezetett be az elektronikus kereskedelemben működő Alibaba nevű cég, amely az ezredfordulón még az Ebay kistestvéreként működött Kínában, de az utóbbi néhány év sikertelen versengés után kénytelen volt elhagyni a piacot.

A technológia-vezérelt, illetve a tudományos alap kutatásokat igénylő ágazatokban viszont jelentős a kínai cégek elmaradása a nemzetközi élvonaltól. A kereskedelmi repülőgépgyártásban az óriási állami támogatás ellenére még mindig nem rendelkeznek működőképes termékkel. A fejlesztés egyetlen állami tulajdonú óriáscégnél folyik, de a vállalt határidőket nem tudják tartani. Kicsit kedvezőbb a helyzet, de nagy az elmaradás a saját fejlesztésű gépkocsik

piacán is, ahol a legnagyobb piaci részesedéssel a vegyes tulajdonú cégek által gyártott, de külföldi (német, japán, amerikai) fejlesztésű márkák rendelkeznek. A technológia-vezérelt termékek között az egyetlen sikertörténet a nagysebességű vasúti rendszerek gyártása, ahol kezdetben japán és német szabadalmakat használtak, de az elmúlt hét-nyolc évben sikeresen kiegészítették azokat hazai fejlesztésekkel. Itt a hazai állami megrendelések komoly ösztönzést jelentettek a fejlődésben, de az továbbra is kérdéses, hogy az egyetlen kizárólagosan állami tulajdonú gyártó cég mennyire lesz képes a nemzetközi piacok elvárásainak megfelelni.

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Felemelkedési alternatívák: Kína politikai ideológiája és célkitűzései Xi Jinping elnök hivatalba lépése óta

Bevezetés

Az ókori és a középkori Kína egy jól működő és prosperáló állam volt, míg az ipari forradalom kezdetével elvesztette determináns pozícióját az akkori globális érdektérben. Az ópiumháborúk során elszenvedett vereséget a császárság bukása és polgárháború követte, amit a Kínai Népköztársaság megalapítása zárt le.

A kulturális forradalom után a Deng Xiaoping 邓小平 által útjára indított „reform és nyitás” politikája sikeresnek bizonyult, Kína elindult a fejlődés és a modernizáció útján. Egy sajátos jellegű modell jött létre, mely egypártrendszerben az állam irányítása számos területre – köztük a gazdaságra is – kiterjed, miközben szabad piacgazdaság jött létre a reformok által.

Kína visszaköveteli régi helyét a világban, és Xi Jinping 习近平 elnök hivatalba lépésével biztosítja a Kínai Kommunista Párt politikai-hatalmi kontinuitását, míg személyében már nem csupán egy pártfőtitkárt, hanem egy szuperhatalom vezetőjét is tisztelhetjük. Xi elnök Kínája már nem csak egy magából olcsó exportot ontó gyárüzem országa, ez a Kína már aktív résztvevője a világpolitikának, maga emel ki más fejlődő régiókat a szegénységből, jelentősen növekvő középosztállyal rendelkezik, nemcsak gyárt, hanem befektet és innovál. Kína aktív résztvevője a világpolitikának és proaktív külpolitikát folytat.

A „kínai álom” kifejezést Xi Jinping kínai elnök 2013-as hivatalba lépésével tették meg az új elnöki ciklus politikájának legfőbb szlogenjévé és ideológiájává, ámbár maga a kifejezés ókori eredetű és már 20. századi értekezésekben is használták. A kínai nemzet céljainak körülírására szolgál, s bár mutat közös jellemvonásokat az „amerikai álom” mögött rejlő elképzelésekkel, ellentétben azzal nem az individuum érvényesülése áll fókuszban, hanem a mindig is kollektív gondolkodású társadalomban kollektív nemzeti, politikai és társadalmi célkitűzéseket fogalmaznak meg.

Az legfőbb prioritás Kína régi helyének visszakövetelése a nagy nemzetek sorába. A Kínai Kommunista Párt elméleti folyóirata, a Qiusi 求是 szerint a kínai álom (Zhongguo meng 中国梦) nem más, mint a kínai jólét, kollektív erőfeszítés, szocializmus és nemzeti dicsőség összességének ideológiája.¹ A jelenlegi kínai politikai vezetés elképzelései szerint a kínai álom ideológiája megfelelő arra, hogy átalakítsa Kínát fejlődő országból egy gazdaságilag stabil és fejlett állammá, közepes jövedelmű és harmonikus társadalommá (xiaokang shehui hexie Zhongguo 小康社会和谐中国) – mindvégig megőrizve az állam eddig is szignifikáns szerepvállalását mindebben. A kínai vezetés még több évtizednyi kudarcokkal teli kommunizmus után is annak elengedhetetlen fontosságát hangsúlyozza hivatalos közleményeiben, miközben a 21. századi kínai állam számos vonásában alig különbözik a történelmi Kína konfuciánus állam-eszményétől és egy olyan jóléti, piacgazdasággal rendelkező államot kíván létrehozni, melyben az újonnan létrejövő intézmények és intézkedések összhangban maradnak a jelenlegi vezetés céljaival és támogatják annak kontinuitását.

Kína a 21. századba lép

A kínai államban meghatározó az elnök személye, és az ő politikájának legfőbb csapásvonalainak szlogenek által történő kijelölése és népszerűsítése. A kínai kultúrában mindig is kedvelték az egyes számokat – például hármas, nyolcas, tízezer –, a szimmetrikus és tömör kifejezéseket, melyek alkalmasak arra, hogy egy-egy koncepciót röviden és frappánsan körülírjanak.

Egy kinevezés két ciklusra történik és összesen tíz évre szól. Mao Zedong 毛泽东 halála óta mindegyik kínai elnök hivatalát jellemezte egy ideológiai háttér és gyakorlati eredmények. Deng Xiaoping megnyitotta az utat a kulturális forradalom (wenhua geming 文化革命, 1966–1976) idején szinte porig rombolt ország számára a fejlődéshez a reform és nyitás politikájával (gaige kaifang 改革开放), így jött létre Kínában a szocializmus kínai jegyekkel. Ugyanakkor Deng volt az is, aki a hatalmi kontinuitás és a polgári elégedetlenség megakadályozásának érdekében 1989-ben a Tiananmen téren eloszlatta a híressé vált tüntetést. Döntése felháborodott visszhangra lelt a nagyvilágban, s a nyugati világ, napjainkban is számos alkalommal felhánytorgatja a múltat, az akkori kínai kormány erőszakos fellépését a tüntetők ellen.

1 Shi 2013.

A Denget követő Jiang Zemin 江泽民 kihirdette a „három képviselőt” (sange diaobiao 三个代表) és ezzel lehetővé tette a magánvállalkozók párttagságát és megerősítette a vállalkozói szektort. Hu Jintao elnök idején rendezték a pekingi olimpiát, sanghaji világkiállítást és számos rangos eseményt, melyek visszahelyezték Kínát a világtérképre, ezért az ő elnökségét egy globális Kína születése jellemezte, melynek jelszavai a harmonikus társadalom (hexie shehui 和谐社会), békés felemelkedés (Zhongguo heping jueqi 中国和平崛起), valamint a tudományos szemléletű fejlődés (kexue fazhan guan 科学发展观).²

A jelenlegi elnök, Xi Jinping 2012 novemberében lett a Kína Kommunista Párt Központi Irodájának főtitkára, majd pedig 2013 márciusában elnöki hivatalba lépett, s ezzel elérkezett egy újabb fejezet Kína történetében: régi-új globális hatalomként cselekszik, s elérkezett az új idők és kihívások miatti reformok ideje.

1. A kínai álom

Xi Jinping elnökségének kulcsszava a *kínai álom* lett. Ahogyan maga Xi elnök megfogalmazta: „[a fiatalok] merjenek álmodni, kitartóan dolgozni, hogy valóra váltsák álmaikat és hozzájáruljanak a nemzet újjáéledéséhez.”³ Noha a kínai álom könnyen keltheti azt az érzést, hogy csupán egy üres propaganda szlogen, melyet az amerikai álom mintájára felkapott a sajtó, sokkal több tartalmat hordoz magában, ezért szükséges, hogy kísérletet tegyünk a kifejezés eredetének felfedezésére, valamint a magába foglaló ideológia legfőbb célirányainak és az azon alapjául szolgáló ideológiák megértésére.

1.1. A kifejezés eredete

Első hallásra a kínai álom az amerikai álom lokalizált változatának tűnhet. A köztudatba pedig igazán Thomas Friedman újságíró cikkének apropóján került be. Sokan Friedmannak tulajdonítják a kifejezést, de ez távolról sem így van. Friedman előtt is már több más kiadványban szerepelt. A kínai álom eredete egészen a Déli Song-dinasztiáig nyúlik vissza. A viharos korszakban élt költő, Zheng Sixiao 郑思肖 írta költeményében „Szívem megtelt a kínai álommal, az ősi Folyó Patak dalával”. Az említett vers a Dalok Könyvében 诗经 szerepel, s egy kétségbeesésében álmából felriadó költőről szól, miután az a már leáldozott

2 "China." Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs.

3 Yang 2013.

Nyugati Zhou-dinasztiáról (Xi Zhou chao 西周朝) álmodott, mely az ókori Kína egyik legvirágzóbb korszaka volt. A vers a költő vágyát fejezi ki arra, hogy a kaotikus Song-korban az ország újjáéledjen, és visszanyerje régi fényét – akárcsak a szocializmusból és évszázados mellőzésből ébredő modern Kína. Huszadik század eleji színdarabok szintén megemlítik a kínai álmot, míg az amerikai álom fogalma 1931-ben született meg.⁴

2008-ban jelent meg Neville Mars és Adrian Hornsby könyve *A kínai álom – egy épülő társadalom* címmel, melyben azt vizsgálják, hogy a nyolcvanas és kilencvenes évek rendkívüli körülményei hogyan voltak kombinálhatók progresszív tervezési koncepciókkal és egy rohamosan változó társadalommal. Bevezették az MUD (*market-driven unintentional development*), azaz piaci ösztönzésű spontán fejlődés fogalmát. Tézisük szerint a nem megfelelő és töredezett kínai urbanizációs minta csökkenti a hatékonyságot és növeli az energiafüggőséget. Egyrészt évekkel előre helyesen beazonosították az egyik legfőbb kínai problémakört, másrészt az ő értelmezésükben a kínai álom egy jól felépített társadalmat, urbanizációs folyamatokat és fenntarthatóságot jelent.⁵

2010-ben megjelent Helen H. Wang *A kínai álom* című könyve, melyben középosztálybeli kínai emberekkel tett beszélgetéseit adta közre. Nem próbálta meg definiálni a kínai álmot, csupán az individuális vágyakat és reményeket dolgozta fel. Az előszavában Lord Wei teszi fel a lényeges kérdést:

„Vagy képes lesz a kínai nép maga Kínán kívül-belül megalkotni egy új, fenntartható kínai álmot, melynek alapja az olyan ősi értékek, mint a kultúra, a család és a természet tisztelete, a technológia és a kreativitás hasznosítása?”⁶

Wang Thomas Friedmannak ajándékozott egy kötetet a könyvből egy díszvacsorán, amit Peggy Liu üzletasszony szervezett. Friedman saját bevallása szerint a kínai álmot Peggy Liutól vette át, aki egy általa működtetett civil szervezet mottójaként használta a fenntarthatóság kínai koncepciójának bevezetéséhez.⁷

4 Wang, Qiang 2013: 19.

5 Mars – Hornsby 2008: 11.

6 Wang, Helen 2010: 57.

7 Wang, Helen 2010: 57; Friedman 2012.

James Fallows újságíró felhívta a figyelmet arra, hogy Friedman előtt a múltban már többször említették a kínai álmot, például Deborah Fallows *Kínaiul álmodni* és Gerard Lemo *A kínai álom vége* című könyvében. A *The Economist* egy, a kínai állami Xinhua hírügynökség által közzétett cikkekre hivatkozik Friedman szerepének kiemeléséhez:

„Vajon az amerikai álmotól eltérő álma lesz-e Kína következő vezetőjének? A politikai átmenet évében a világ figyelő tekintetét Kelet felé fordítja. A 18. [párt]kongresszus estjén egy Thomas Friedman nevű amerikai újságíró egy cikket írt, melyet a kínai álom elemzésének szentelt, s a „Kínának szüksége van egy saját álomra” címet kapta. Kifejezte abbéli reményeit, hogy [az álom] összeházasítja az emberek elképzeléseit a prosperitásról egy fenntartható Kína képével. Hirtelen a kínai álom nagyon divatos lett a kommentátorok körében idehaza és külföldön egyaránt.”⁸

A Xinhua (Xinhua Tongxun 新华通讯) cikke ugyan nem arra utal, hogy Friedman találta fel a kifejezést, de mindenképpen szerepe volt a kínai álom nyugati sajtóban létrejött népszerűségében. Ugyanakkor elmondható, hogy a kifejezés kínai eredetű, s az amerikai álommal való egybecsengésének tulajdonítható jelenlegi népszerűsége és félreértelmezése.⁹

1.2. A kínai álom interpretációs alternatívái

Nem sokkal azután, hogy a Kínai Kommunista Párt főtitkárává nevezték ki, Xi Jinping kijelentette, hogy hivatalának fő jelszava lesz, „a kínai álom a kínai nemzet nagy megfiatalodása.” Célja a „két 100”, tehát 2021-re, a Kínai Kommunista Párt alapításának századik évfordulójára elérni a „közepesen tehető társadalmat”, míg 2049-re, a Kínai Népköztársaság kikiáltásának századik évfordulójára egy teljesen fejlett nemzetté válni.

8 Friedman 2012.

9 Fallows 2012.

1.2.1. A négy Kína arca

Robert Lawrence Kuhn *Hogyan gondolkodnak Kína vezetői: Kína reformjainak belső története, és hogy mit jelent ez Neked* című könyvében a kínai álomnak négy fő támasza van: az erős Kína (gazdaság, politika, diplomácia, tudomány), civilizált Kína (egyenlőség és igazságosság, gazdag kultúra, magas elvek), szép Kína (egészséges környezet, alacsony szennyezettség), végül pedig a harmonikus Kína (az egyes társadalmi osztályok barátságos együttélése). Mindegyik Kína elérésének kulcsfontosságú eszköze a modernizáció, mely által Kína visszanyeri vezető pozícióját a világ tudományos és technológiai életében, az üzleti és gazdasági életben egyaránt, a kínai civilizáció, kultúra és katonai hatalom újjáéledése – s legfőképpen Kína aktívan részt vesz az emberi kiválóság összes területén végzett tevékenységekben.¹⁰

1.2.2. First lady mint szimbólum

David Gosset francia sinológus a *Huffington Post*-ban kifejtette, hogy a Liyuan-stílus, azaz Peng Liyuan first lady feltűnése és aktív részvétele Xi elnök hivatalos programjaiban nemcsak egy új hagyomány kezdete (korábban a kínai *first lady*-k teljesen háttérbe húzódtak), hanem a *first lady* illusztrálja a kínai álmot könnyed, világi eleganciájával és szerepvállalásával azt, amit Gosset úgy nevez, hogy „modern Kína”, „civilizációs Kína”, illetve „globális Kína”.¹¹

1.2.3. Fenntartható fejlődés

Peggy Liu és a JUCCCE nevű civil szervezet a kínai álmot fenntarthatósági mozgalmukhoz vette elő újra, s nyert népszerűséget Friedman New York Times-ban megjelent cikkének hála. Laikus szemnek úgy tűnhet, a kínai álmot Peggy Liunak köszönhetjük, valójában a népszerűséget köszönheti neki, nem a de facto eredetet. Mindenesetre, Peggy Liu kínai álma egyáltalán nem áll távol az állam által kijelölt prioritásoktól.¹²

Jelenleg Kína egyik legégetőbb problémája a környezetszennyezés és az élelmiszer-biztonság. Kínában napról napra nő a középosztály, mely 2025-re várhatóan több mint 500 millió főt fog számolni, s egyre növekvő fogyasztása hatalmas terhet jelent majd az ország egyre inkább szűkösebb forrásainak. Liu

¹⁰ Fish 2013: 55

¹¹ Gosset 2013.

¹² Liu, Peggy 2012.

szerint a kínai álmom a zöld technológiák népszerűsítésével és a pazarló fogyasztás visszaszorításával érhető el. A jelenlegi szűkös források és nagymértékű környezetszennyezés destabilizációhoz vezethet, így a kínai álmom egy prosperáló, de fenntartható életstílust jelent.¹³

1.2.4. Nemzeti megújulás

Többen úgy látják a kínai álmodat, mint felhívást Kína növekvő nemzetközi befolyására. Maga Xi elnök is többször úgy utalt a kínai álomra, mint „nemzeti megfiatalodásra”. A kínai fiatalok irigységgel szemlélik az Egyesült Államok kulturális befolyását, s remélik, hogy egy napon majd Kína léphet a helyébe, mint a kulturális export nagyhatalma. Kína jelentős létszámú katonaságának is megvan a maga *erőskéz-álma*, ami egy erős állam képét vetíti maga elé. John Kerry amerikai külügyminiszter többször népszerűsítette a csendes-óceáni álmom elgondolását, melyben a felemelkedő Kínát egy regionális együttműködés középpontjában helyezi el, olyan közös érdekek mentén, mint a környezetvédelem és gazdasági növekedés.¹⁴

1.2.5. Egyéni álmok

A *New York Times*-ban megjelent Friedman-cikk után sokan úgy gondolták, hogy nem kínai álomról, hanem a kínai álmokról beszélhetünk. A kínai álmom 1,3 milliárd kínai egyéni vágyai és álmai. Guo Sujian és Guo Baogang szerint „nagymértékben, az amerikai álmodat exportálták Kínába, s kínai álommá vált”, míg a Kínai Kommunista Párt hivatalos lapja, a *Qiushi* szerint a kínai álmom nem az egyéni dicsőségről szól,¹⁵ hanem a kollektív erőfeszítésről.

1.2.6. Gazdasági és politikai reform

Ahhoz, hogy Kína fejlődése fenntartható maradjon, elengedhetetlenek a reformok, melyek irányítják az elszabadult urbanizációt, csökkentik a felduzzadt bürokráciát. Egy liberális kínai hetilap, a Déli Hetilap (Nanfang Zhoubao 南方周报) a kínai álomban a kínai alkotmányosságot látja, és a hatalmi ágak leválasztása mellett állt ki (de később cenzúrázták). A vezetőség nagy erővel

¹³ Liu, Mingfu 2015.

¹⁴ Fallows 2013.

¹⁵ Guo – Guo 2010: 20

támogatja a gazdasági reformokat, ugyanakkor a politikai jellegű reformok kevésbé hangsúlyosak, de az egyes hivatalos pártforrások szerint a kínai álmom így is „a szocializmus esszenciája kínai jellemvonásokkal”. George Osborne brit kancellár szerint a kínai álmom politikai reformjai „elviszik az egyensúlyt a befektetésről a fogyasztásra”.¹⁶

1.3. Kínai álmom – Amerikai álmom?

Helen H. Wang kötötte össze először a kínai álmom az amerikai álmommal. Szerinte a kínai emberek álmai nem különböznek az amerikaiakétól. A hasonlóság első pillantásra tényleg hangsúlyos, hiszen mind a kínai, mind pedig az amerikai álmom hangsúlyozza a vállalkozó szellemet és az önmegvalósítást. Úgy is értelmezhető, mint a kínai emberek kollektív tudata a társadalmi átrendeződés és gazdasági fejlődés korszakában. Jelzi, hogy az utóbbi időszakban a kínai politikai gondolkodás az egyenlőségelvűség helyett egy liberálisabb, individualistább szemléletet kezd felvenni. Ugyanakkor érdemes megjegyezni, hogy a koncepció még mindig a kollektívizmuson alapul, és a kínai álmom az egész nép perspektíváján keresztül szemléli az individuum helyett.¹⁷

Összegzés

Bár számos kiváló sinológust köszönhetünk a Nyugatnak, a nyugati média néha kissé egysíkú képet fest Kínáról: ellenpólusként, vetélytársként gondolnak Kínára és a nyugati világ gondolatvilága és értékrendje mentén elemzik, holott Kína bár ismeri, tanulmányozza és csodálja a Nyugatot, nem kívánja utánozni és saját eszméi mentén kívánja magát a világpolitikában pozícionálni. A kínai források felhasználása továbbra is szükséges és fontos. Nem kintről kell Kínára tekinteni, *hanem belülről kell szemlélni ahhoz*, hogy igazán megismerhessük. Ezért a jelenleg hivatalban lévő Xi Jinping elnök politikájának mélyreható ismerete és elemzése mellett az ókori kínai állam eszméjének, a Kínai Kommunista Párt ideológiájának és az eddigi kínai elnökök reformjainak és politikai stratégiájának ismerete is elengedhetetlen. További kutatásokhoz elengedhetetlen a nyugati és kínai forrásokat is, de elsősorban kínai politikaelméleti elem-

¹⁶ Zhou 2011: 126.

¹⁷ Wang, Helen 2010: 57; Shi 2013: 22.

zéseket, a jelenlegi vezetőség beszédeit és hivatalos pártfolyóiratának és napilapjának írásait elemezni.

Xi Jinping elnök Kínája a régi Kína és egy új Kína szintézise. Ugyanakkor, hogy pontosan hogyan fog megvalósulni ez a szintézis, azt még elnöksége elkövetkező évei során fogja a világ megismerni. Ezen értekezés fő célja nem pusztán Xi Jinping elnök vagy a Kínai Kommunista Párt ideológiájának elemzése, bár ezek ismerete és forrásként való felhasználása elengedhetetlen, hanem arra kell keresni a választ, hogy Kína milyen állammá kíván válni és hogy ebben a 21. századi kínai államban milyen szerepet szánnak a Kínai Kommunista Pártnak, az államnak, a reformoknak, a polgári társadalomnak.

Ezen értekezés keretein belül nem cél azt vizsgálni, hogy Kínának szüksége van-e demokráciára, vagy hogy a demokrácia megvalósítható-e Kínában, ahhoz, hogy a „nyugati” követelményeknek megfelelően integrálódjon a globális politikai közösségbe – noha ez több szempontból és valamilyen szinten azért szükséges. Azt sem ezen értekezés tiszte eldönteni, hogy jobb-e a kínaihoz hasonló autoriter rendszer a liberális demokráciánál. Értekezésem célja csupán annyi, hogy azt elemezze, hogyan vegyíti Kína a kommunista ideológiát és államberendezkedést a piacgazdasággal és a jóléti állammal, és hogy az erre irányuló szándékát milyen ideológiai háttérrel támogatja, megvizsgálja reformjai előnyeit és hátrányait, lehetőségeit, történeti kontextusba helyezze a kínai állameszményt és vezetést, hogy elgondolkodjunk a kérdésen: milyen állammá akar válni Kína a 21. században?

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Péter Klemensits

Military Reform and Army Modernization through the 2015 Chinese Defense White Paper: The People's Liberation Army in the 21st Century

Introduction

By the 21st century the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) became one of the most powerful militaries of the world, and the contrast between the former communist mass army and the present Chinese forces is beyond doubt. Although we can find many sources concerning the modernization and development of the Chinese armed forces, the official defense white papers still considered to be the most important amongst them.

The author aims to present in detail the last issue of the series titled "China's Military Strategy" which is a key document considering the views of the General Staff in 2015. The Chinese military modernization and force development also forms an important part of the document, which gives us substantial information in these subjects.

The Chinese Defense White Papers

In November 1995, the Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China issued for the first time a defense-related white paper under the title "Arms Control and Disarmament." Three years later in 1998, the first "defense white paper" was published, entitled simply "China's National Defense." Since that time a new defense-related white paper has been issued biennially.¹

The essence of these documents can be correctly summarized as the "official statements of Chinese government policy, published by the State Council

1 Only the 2012 edition was delayed by a year. Blasko 2015.

Information Office and approved by the Central Military Commission, Ministry of National Defense, and State Council [...] They are written by a select group of individuals over many months' time and coordinated throughout the Chinese government".² These are mainly explanatory documents providing additional detail to policies that have previously been proclaimed. Although there are other important sources in connection with China's defence policy and the People's Liberation Army, the white papers still remain the most revealing documents of all-time.

The 1998 white paper established the structure to be followed for later years: the international situation, defense and security policy, defense budget issues, international security cooperation and arms control. According to the document, peace and development are "major themes of the present era", themes that still remain true. As the foundation of Chinese strategic military thought the strategies of active defense and people's war were established and been included in additional white papers as well. Finally, that was the first occasion when "China systematically expounded on its defense policies and explicitly expressed its new outlook on security."³

Regarding the most recent defense white papers, the 2010 report ("China's National Defense in 2010") introduced first the "military modernization drive" though consisted considerable repetition from prior issues.⁴ The 2013 white paper on the "Diversified Employment of China's Armed Forces," was the first thematic issue which actually contained previously unknown facts on the composition of the armed forces. It revealed for the first time the designations of the 18 Group Armies in the Army, the size of the Army's operational troops, and the other branches as well.⁵ Some statements, for example "China is a major maritime as well as land country" set the stage for the stronger arguments of the latest copy of the series.

2 Blasko 2015.

3 "Overview of all China's white papers on national defense." *China Military Online* 2015-05-27.

4 "Overview..." 2015.

5 According to the report, the number of personnel in the Army's "18 combined corps, plus additional independent combined operational divisions (brigades)" were 850,000. The Navy had 235,000 personnel – smaller than previous foreign estimates – though the Air Force was larger than supposed at 398,000. *The Diversified Employment of China's Armed Forces*. People's Republic of China Information Office of the State Council, April 2013.

The 2015 White Paper

On May 26, 2015, the tenth defense-related white paper was released called “China’s Military Strategy”. The paper has continued the trend of using a thematic title initiated by the 2013 edition. The document also tracks closely with the latter and contains no major revelations about China’s military strategy or modernization, though this was the first time that Beijing publicly unveiled the main components of its military strategy. As we can conclude, it contains some new guidance and enlightens certain aspects of its strategy, providing insights into China’s own security perceptions and its evolving security priorities.⁶

The main chapters of the new white paper are the following: “Preface”; “I. National Security Situation”; “II. Missions and Strategic Tasks of China’s Armed Forces”; “III. Strategic Guideline of Active Defense”; “IV. Building and Development of China’s Armed Forces”; “V. Preparation for Military Struggle”; “VI. Military and Security Cooperation”.⁷

At the forefront of the document in the preface we can find some interesting statements and the core concept of the paper is that:

“A prosperous and stable world would provide China with opportunities [...] China will unswervingly follow the path of peaceful development, pursue an independent foreign policy of peace **and** a national defense policy that is defensive in nature, oppose hegemonism and power politics in all forms, and will never seek hegemony or expansion.”

And „China’s armed forces will remain a staunch force in maintaining world peace.”⁸

6 Campbell 2015.

7 *China’s Military Strategy*. The State Council Information Office of the People’s Republic of China, May 2015, Beijing.

8 *China’s Military Strategy*, Preface.

National Security Situation and the Strategic Goals

As in the previous papers, the new document also sheds light on China's "national security situation." Its conclusion is very similar to the 2013 paper's description: China's security outlook is favorable but faces localized threats. In China's view the world is becoming a more peaceful place, and the risks of large-scale war are declining: "In the foreseeable future, a world war is unlikely, and the international situation is expected to remain generally peaceful." However, the potential for localized wars and "hotspot issues, such as ethnic, religious, border, and territorial disputes" is growing. Nontraditional threats like terrorism, piracy, natural disasters, and epidemics are also growing, according to the paper. It also includes the revealing point that China is experiencing "an important period of strategic opportunity" during which it has to prepare itself to address these threats.⁹

China's perception of its own vulnerability can be discerned from emphasizing a complex security environment with multiple traditional, nontraditional, external, and internal threats. For China it is a "long-standing task to safeguard its maritime rights and interests" and beyond the threats constitute by the external powers (United States, Japan),¹⁰ the document mentions the possibility of "color revolution" as a main internal security threat, which can damage seriously the optimal environment for a continuing economic growth and the sustainability of Chinese Communist Party rule.¹¹

In Chapter II the white paper sums up China's national strategic goal of the "two centenaries" as realizing the Chinese Dream of achieving "the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation". The complex security environment necessitated to articulate several "new requirements" for China to accomplish its missions and strategic tasks in light of the "new situation".

The "new requirements" demands China's armed forces to "work harder to create a favorable strategic posture;" "provide a solid security guarantee for the country's peaceful development;" "constantly innovate strategic guidance and operational thoughts;" "pay close attention to the challenges in new security domains;" "seize the strategic initiative in military competition;" "actively par-

9 *China's Military Strategy*, I. National Security Situation.

10 For China "hegemonism, power politics and neo-interventionism" are real threats due to the political behavior of the great powers.

11 *China's Military Strategy*, I. National Security Situation.

ticipate in both regional and international security cooperation and effectively secure China's overseas interests;" while

"continue to follow the path of civil-military integration [...] and firmly maintain social stability, so as to remain a staunch force for upholding the Chinese Communist Party's ruling position."¹²

After that, the document goes into details about the main strategic tasks China's armed forces have to accomplish in the future. Its major revelations can be summarized as follows: "To deal with a wide range of emergencies and military threats, and effectively safeguard the sovereignty and security of China's territorial land, air and sea"; "To safeguard China's security and interests in new domains"; "To safeguard the security of China's overseas interests";¹³ "To participate in regional and international security cooperation and maintain regional and world peace"; "To strengthen efforts in operations against infiltration, separatism and terrorism so as to maintain China's political security and social stability"; and "To perform such tasks as emergency rescue and disaster relief [...]".¹⁴

The Strategy of Active Defense

The white paper defines active defense as the following: "The strategic concept of active defense is the essence of the CPC's military strategic thought [...] the people's armed forces have developed a complete set of strategic concepts of active defense", which are: "the adherence to the unity of strategic defense and operational and tactical offense; adherence to the principles of defense, self-defense and post-emptive strike; and adherence to the stance that "We will not attack unless we are attacked, but we will surely counterattack if attacked."¹⁵ There we can see an important message: although in Southeast Asia a potential military conflict would be the interest of no one, China especially does not

12 *China's Military Strategy*, II. Missions and Strategic Tasks of China's Armed Forces.

13 This is a new and oft cited task which signals clearly the evolution in Chinese military strategy.

14 *China's Military Strategy*, II. Missions and Strategic Tasks of China's Armed Forces.

15 *China's Military Strategy*, III. Strategic Guideline of Active Defense.

want to be an aggressor, and she hopes to solve the territorial disputes through negotiations with the ASEAN countries as well.¹⁶

The strategy of active defense was formulated in 1949, to be followed by in 1993 a new military strategic guideline according to the new era, “which took winning local wars in conditions of modern technology”. Finally in 2004, the basic elements for preparation for military struggle was modified to “winning local wars under conditions of informationization”.¹⁷

Implementing the military strategic guideline of active defense, necessitates that China's armed forces be upheld several principles for example: “[...] adhere to the national defense policy that is defensive in nature, [...] and positively cope with comprehensive security threats the country possibly encounters”; “[...] safeguard national territorial sovereignty and maritime rights and interests, and maintain security and stability along China's periphery”; “To actively expand military and security cooperation, deepen military relations with major powers, neighboring countries and other developing countries, and promote the establishment of a regional framework for security and cooperation.” To “uphold the CPC's absolute leadership over the military” is also an important issue for China, and it is a recurring idea of the latest white paper.¹⁸

Development of the People's Liberation Army

The modernization and development of the PLA is a momentous chapter in the document and its strategic implications also deserves thorough study. Regarding the army, the white paper makes the following statement:

16 Hong 2015.

17 *China's Military Strategy*, III. Strategic Guideline of Active Defense.

18 *China's Military Strategy*, III. Strategic Guideline of Active Defense.

“the PLA Army (PLAA) will continue to reorient from theater defense to trans-theater mobility. In the process of building small, multi-functional and modular units, the PLAA will adapt itself to tasks in different regions, develop the capacity of its combat forces for different purposes, and construct a combat force structure for joint operations. The PLAA will elevate its capabilities for precise, multi-dimensional, trans-theater, multi-functional and sustainable operations.”¹⁹

Considering the future role of the services however, the greatest change can be seen in the assigned tasks of the People’s Liberation Army Navy (PLAN), which has to transform itself from a mere coastal force to a formidable force that is capable of playing a role of a blue water navy. The document includes a statement, which makes obsolete the traditional strategic and operational approach:

“The traditional mentality that land outweighs sea must be abandoned, and great importance has to be attached to managing the seas and oceans and protecting maritime rights and interests.”

In consequence of that, according to the paper the Navy

“will gradually shift its focus from ‘offshore waters defense’ to the combination of ‘offshore waters defense’ with ‘open seas protection,’ and build a combined, multi-functional and efficient marine force combat structure.”²⁰

In comparison with the 2006 white paper the evolution is also salient, because nine years ago there could be read the following: “Navy aims at gradual extension of the strategic depth for offshore defensive operations.”²¹ In the Na-

19 *China’s Military Strategy*, IV. Building and Development of China’s Armed Forces.

20 *China’s Military Strategy*, IV. Building and Development of China’s Armed Forces.

21 *China’s National Defense in 2006*. The State Council Information Office of the People’s Republic of China, December 2006, Beijing, II National Defense Policy.

vy's recent acquisitions, training, and operations this priority shift also can be tracked, demonstrating the service enhanced prestige within the Chinese armed forces. According to a military analyst, the new document officially

“acknowledged the need to shift the balance in PLA thinking from ground operations to joint naval and aerospace operations—something that has been signaled for years but will require change in all aspects of future military modernization.”²²

In the case of the Air force, the white paper argues that „in line with the strategic requirement of building air-space capabilities and conducting offensive and defensive operations, the PLA Air Force (PLAAF) will endeavor to shift its focus from territorial air defense to both defense and offense [...]” The document also attaches great importance to the development of the Second Artillery Force namely “the PLA Second Artillery Force (PLASAF) will strive to transform itself in the direction of informationization.”²³

The following section lists the critical security domains for the PLA. The paper repeats again that “The traditional mentality that land outweighs sea must be abandoned...” and the protection of maritime rights and interests is crucial for the country. Although China may aspire to play greater role in the oceans of the world, protecting the strategic sea lines of communications has the greatest importance in this context.²⁴

The second and third critical domain are space and cyberspace, the latter is the newest element in military strategy.²⁵ As the paper notes “Outer space have become the new commanding heights in strategic competition,” and though China always “advocated the peaceful use of outer space” the country has to achieve the necessary defence capabilities in line with her strategic interests. As “cyberspace has become a new pillar of economic and social development” and “China one of the major victims of hacker attacks [...]” developing a cyber force allows of no delay due to the continuing growths of reliance on global space and cyberspace operations.

22 Blasko 2015.

23 *China's Military Strategy*, IV. Building and Development of China's Armed Forces.

24 Hong 2015.

25 Austin 2015.

In the sphere of nuclear capabilities it is evident that China is purely a defensive actor who “always pursued the policy of no first use of nuclear weapons and adhered to a self-defensive nuclear strategy [...]”. Similarly to the earlier white papers, it also declares that

“China will unconditionally not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon states or in nuclear-weapon-free zones, and will never enter into a nuclear arms race with any other country.”²⁶

The final section in the latest white paper concerns with a specific issue namely military force building, human resources and civil-military integration. For the successful defense policymaking and force development, a more unified and coordinated systems has to be attained, where the communist party’s “absolute leadership over the military” is fundamental.

Preparation for Military Struggle and the Security-Military Cooperation

The chapter “Preparation for military struggle” focuses on preparing to fight and win wars in the 21st century for which “combat training in realistic conditions” is needed. In reality the keyword is training, because China’s armed forces has not participated in war since 1978, and the lack of combat experience can be considered as weakness. The need for enhanced integration of the command system is also highlighted in the paper, but the main message is that in the future China will lay increased emphases on non-military operations like terrorism, disaster relief, emergency rescue together with “international peacekeeping, and international humanitarian assistance”.²⁷

The last chapter shed light on China’s role in the international military-security cooperation. In contrast with the previous white papers, a new strategic partnership with Russia, the United States and other major countries is envisioned.²⁸ Developing “cooperation with the Russian military within the

26 *China’s Military Strategy*, IV. Building and Development of China’s Armed Forces.

27 *China’s Military Strategy*, V. Preparation for Military Struggle.

28 Sullivan – Erickson 2015.

framework of the comprehensive strategic partnership [...] to promote military relations in more fields and at more levels” is a number one goal. In the case of the USA, China wants to establish a “new model of major-country relations between the two countries” and “strengthen mutual trust, prevent risks and manage crises” but its details are not fully displayed in the text.²⁹ The paper also affirms the need to raise the level of military relations with European counterparts, and also to continue the traditional friendly military ties with their African, Latin American and Southern Pacific countries.³⁰

About China’s international obligations and responsibilities we can read:

“China’s armed forces will continue to participate in UN peacekeeping missions [...] maintain its commitment to the peaceful settlement of conflicts, promote development and reconstruction, and safeguard regional peace and security.”³¹

Beyond doubt, in the future the peacekeeping missions will become one of the most important operations of the PLA according to the recent policies of the leadership.³²

Conclusion

Although the most recent Chinese defense white paper concentrates on mainly the strategic issues, it includes every aspect of the official Chinese opinion about defense policy, national security and military modernization. Basically, this document contains no major revelations considering the previous editions, but in some special topics the advance is salient. In some aspects the new elements of the modernization and changes relating to the armed forces appears in a more definitive manner, as “the US carries on its “rebalancing” strategy and enhances its military presence and its military alliances in this region”, while some new statements also have been prioritized like “The traditional

29 *China’s Military Strategy*, VI. Military and Security Cooperation.

30 For details about the importance of Africa see: Kasznár 2013.

31 Kasznár 2013.

32 See for example: Michael – Brunnstrom 2015.

mentality that land outweighs sea must be abandoned [...]”. Of course in reality modernizing the Chinese army is an enormous mission and the country’s leaders have a lot to do if they would like to achieve the goals of “China’s Military Strategy”.

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Endre Szénási

The Energy Policy of China

“I have little doubt that if we have the capacity to limit our birth rate, then we should consider doing that”... “We have a finite environment — the planet. Anyone who thinks that you can have infinite growth in a finite environment is either a madman or an economist.”¹

/Sir David Attenborough/

This article consists of five core parts. The first part places Chinese energy policy in a broader context, since energy policies are interconnected with the needs of societies. In case of China the energy needs of a truly great world power are being satisfied. The second part examines the current Chinese energy mix, providing a snapshot of where we are. In the Chinese energy mix coal consumption still plays a major role that has multiple consequences, which would be examined later. The third part provides data and analysis of China's place in global energy systems – production and consumption, export and import, reserves and capacities – focusing on coal, petroleum, natural gas, and electricity. Such a systematic analysis based on the charts of EIA² allows us to get a fact-based picture of China's energy production and consumption in reference to top players of the world. Part four outlines some essential aspects environmental and climate implications that shape energy policies, since energy policies must take into consideration issues different from economic arguments. Climate change does and will have very severe consequences, which would alter world economy and ultimately the fate of humanity, including China. The fifth part summarises some major, foreseeable Chinese energy production and consumption trends, providing hints to what we can expect.

1 Cardwell 2013.

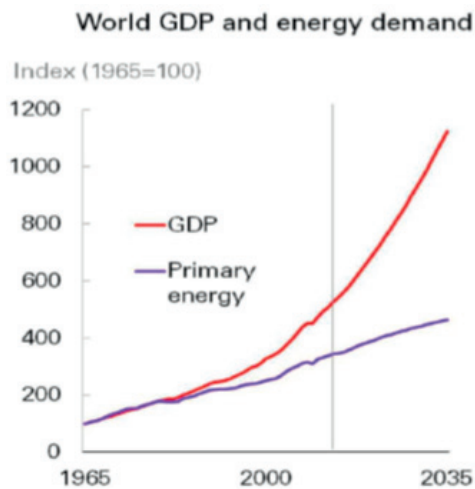
2 U.S. Energy Information Administration – EIA.

1. Broader context: China, as a rapidly rising Superpower^{3,4} in a new, multipolar world order

Energy policies, production and consumption have to fit broader issues, such as satisfying the needs of a certain population (households), also supporting a wide range of economic activities, etc. All contemporary societies require a reliable, sustainable and affordable energy supply to maintain our way of life.

GDP levels and energy consumption have a correlation, dependent on levels of technology. The more advanced the technologies might be, the more they decouple from energy consumption. This is good news for the world economy, for the Chinese energy consumption, and for the environment as well.

The decoupling of global GDP growth and energy demand

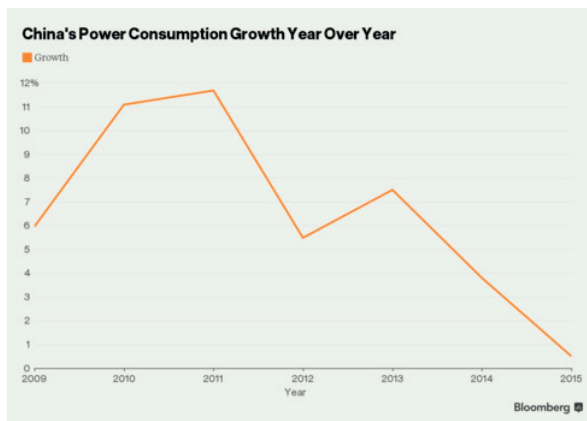


Source: BP Energy Outlook 2035 (As of April 2016)

Decoupling of GDP growth and emissions works: good news for the Chinese economy and the environment

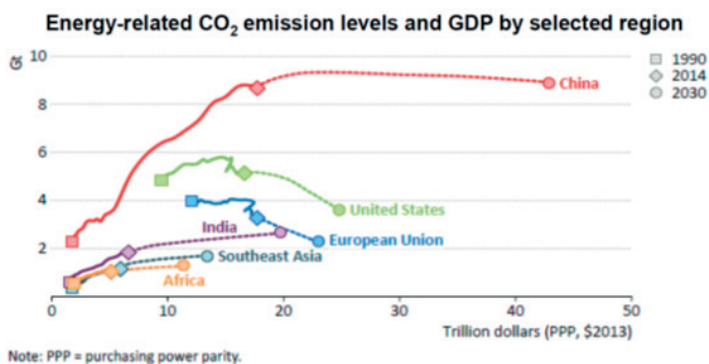
3 Subramanian 2011.

4 Churchman 2016.



Source: <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-01-19/china-s-slowing-power-consumption-highlights-clean-energy-gains>

The decoupling of GDP growth and CO₂ emission levels



Sources: International Energy Agency, World Energy Outlook 2015

There is a tendency in the Western world not to acknowledge, or at least to downplay the fact that the Chinese economy is number one in the world in GDP terms. To acknowledge that, GDP should at this stage be measured in Purchasing Power Parity (PPP), rather than in USD. Later on, any measurement methods would produce the same result: Chinese economy is and will be number in the world in GDP terms.

“Within two decades, even on quite modest assumptions about economic growth it will have an economy twice the size of the US with personal living standards equivalent to those of the US in 1980.”⁵

PPP is by far fairer measurement of GDP, than doing so based on a particular currency, such as the US Dollar. PPP takes into consideration different price levels in different economies. For example, if the same soap costs twice as much in the US than in China, that does not mean, that US GDP in this case is twice as big as that of China.

Even when the fact, that the Chinese economy is the number one in the world in GDP terms is accepted in the Western world, its policy implications are mostly downplayed. It is very difficult for the sole Superpower after the demise of the Soviet Union to acknowledge, that we are not witnessing the “New American Century”,⁶ because communist China is the new leader in world economy. China is a rapidly rising Superpower in an increasingly multipolar world that has enormous implications on Chinese energy production and consumption.

Chinese economic growth rates, that are still remarkably high, make China a leading player in world economy, when the relative decline of the West^{7,8} becomes increasingly obvious and undeniable. It also implies, that Chinese energy policies, however they might be shaped, would play an ever increasing role in the world economy.

Needless to say, that the most populous country in the world with the biggest economy in GDP terms – that is China – does and will have global ambitions, including energy policies. The Western world, with the leadership of the US can do “too little, too late” when attempting to “contain” China.⁹ Such attempts are bound to fail and reflect the destructive nature of policies of the diminishing “sole Superpower”, that is the US.

5 Butler 2015.

6 Stockbauer 2003.

7 “Why Britain Joining China-Led Bank Is a Sign of American Decline.” 2015. *The World Post*.

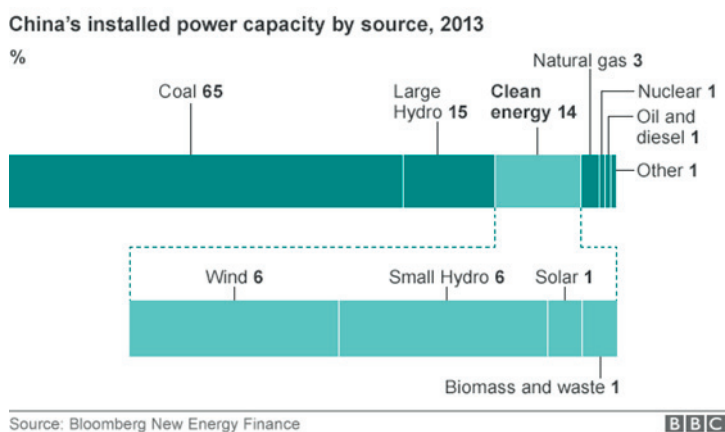
8 Ikenberry 2008.

9 Dyer – Parker 2015.

2. The current energy mix

The current energy mix of China is dominated by coal, which provides roughly two thirds of the total energy consumption.¹⁰ According to the chart, large hydropower and clean energy sources provide the remaining little bit less, than one third of the Chinese energy mix, when natural gas, oil, nuclear power and other power sources play an ignorable role. The chart raises several policy issues, especially when we name “clean” energy sources.

The current energy mix of China



Source: <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-31689722>

Large hydropower for example on this Western chart is not considered to be “clean”, even though the greenhouse gas emission implications of such an energy source, that are central when we evaluate a power source in relation with environmental effects, especially climate change, provide a powerful argument to brand “large hydropower” as a clean energy.

Chinese nuclear power plants should also be considered, as clean energy, based on similar arguments referring to the lack of greenhouse emissions that are the most important, when we talk about environmental and climate change effects. The effects of possible nuclear accidents are incomparable with military nuclear tests, still scientifically uncomparared with the effects of accidents in nuclear power plants, or the hazards of greenhouse emissions in relation to cli-

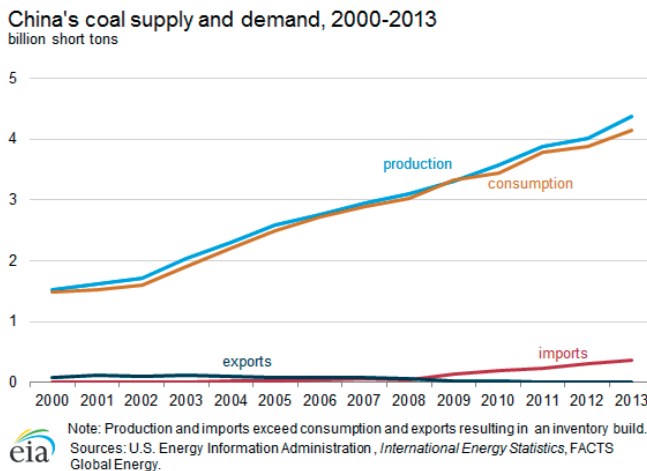
¹⁰ Sudworth 2015.

mate change, when it comes to the survival chances of mankind. Meanwhile, “small hydropower” is considered to be clean energy.

Wind power is considered to be “clean energy”, when negative effects on the environment, such as disturbing, injuring and killing flying animals (birds and bats) are ignored. Wind power stations also ruin landscape, while water power stations are a radical intervention to both the landscape and the natural life of rivers. Water turbines harm fish and other creatures, living in water. Water power stations also change underground water levels and have other harmful effects to the environment, such as limiting the migration of fish. It applies not only to China, but any other countries in the world. If the sole requirement to determine, whether an energy technology is “clean” or not, is the greenhouse emission, then “yes”, wind and water turbines are “clean”.

Once we remove the flawed Western efforts, when branding the Chinese energy mix, as described before, the picture becomes much brighter. According to my analysis, even though coal, oil and gas under no circumstances could be branded as clean energy, the remaining one third (as a rule of thumb) should be seen as clean energy.

Coal energy perspectively plays a diminishing role in China, since the government acknowledges the negative effects of excessive usage of such a fossil energy source and invests heavily to alter the energy mix.¹¹



Source: <http://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis.cfm?iso=CHN>

11 Rose 2015.

3. China's place in global energy systems – production and consumption, export and import, reserves and capacities (coal, petroleum, natural gas, electricity)

The U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA) provides a huge number of systematic graphs concerning China's place in the world energy data. I recommend the systemic approach followed by EIA, since it includes energy production and consumption, export and import, reserves and capacities of coal, petroleum, natural gas and electricity that are worth of consideration. Due to the enormous amount of charts available and the space restrictions of this article, I had to develop my own summaries, where China's place in the world energy data can be viewed only in three tables.

China's place in global energy production and consumption (coal, petroleum, natural gas, electricity)

China's place in the world	Production				Consumption			
	coal	petroleum	natural gas	electricity	coal	petroleum	natural gas	electricity
1	2015			2013	2015	2013		2013
2								
3								
4		2014	2014				2012	

Source: EIA, the author

<http://www.eia.gov/beta/international/>

China's place in global energy export and import (coal, petroleum, natural gas, electricity)

Place in the world	Export				Import			
	coal	petroleum	natural gas	electricity	coal	petroleum	natural gas	electricity
1					2013	2014		
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8				2014				
9								
10								
11								
12							2012	
13								
14								
15	2013							
Other		49 (2013)*	41 (2013)**					31 (2013)***

Source: EIA, the author

<http://www.eia.gov/beta/international/>

* <http://www.indexmundi.com/g/r.aspx?c=ch&v=95>

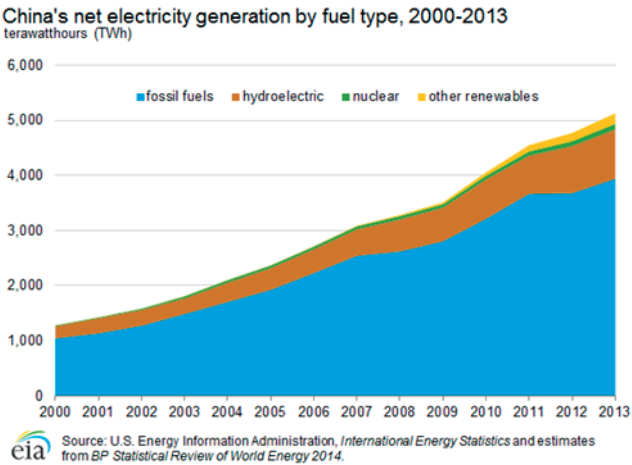
** <http://www.indexmundi.com/g/r.aspx?c=ch&v=138>

*** <http://www.indexmundi.com/g/r.aspx?c=ch&v=83>

China’s place in global energy reserves and capacity (coal, petroleum, natural gas, electricity)

China’s place in the world	Reserves & Capacity			
	coal	petroleum	natural gas	electricity
1				2015
2				
3	2011			
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9			2015	
10				
11				
12		2015		

Source: EIA, the author
<http://www.eia.gov/beta/international/>



Source: <http://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis.cfm?iso=CHN>

Global and country specific, up to date, complex, professional energy data is mostly available on a paying basis, or scattered in various sources, focusing on particular issues, but not complex systems, as a whole. I made the decision to abstain from sources that are on paying basis, and used free, open sources to make verification easy and available for everyone. It comes with a compromise on timeliness of data quoted, which I believe is acceptable.

My approach to data sources prefers single sources with the same policies of collection and interpretation, rather than varying sources, when we compare data of countries, regions etc. The reason is that different methodology of data collection and interpretation could easily make data incomparable, or at least incorporate misleading differences. Such an approach has the advantage of unity of concept, but compromises on data verification, since the comparison and the analysis of the differences does not fit the space requirements of this article.

I would argue, that the core issues in China's place in global energy systems are production and – even more importantly – consumption. Of course, imports and exports, reserves and capacities matter, but they are either consequences of core data, or supplementary, referring to secondary aspects of energy policies. It is by no means a coincidence that the table that summarises data I consider core to understand China's place in the world regarding energy issues is the shortest, since China ranks within the first four countries in the world, often number one.

Concerning coal, petroleum and electricity consumption, China globally ranks first, while ranked fourth in natural gas consumption in 2012. China globally ranks first in production coal and electricity, while ranked fourth in production of petroleum and natural gas in 2014. Such data combined leads us to the conclusion, that the number one economy in the world – that is China – matches GDP output with energy consumption, and energy production.

4. Environmental and climate implications

Climate change is a subject of worldwide debates. We have to deal with it, since environmental effects including climate change must be an essential aspect when shaping energy policies around the world. Since the survival of the most powerful lobbies producing and consuming fossil energy – that result in

greenhouse gas emissions ultimately causing climate change – data on climate change and analysis is subject to a lot of manipulation.

Another trap when we talk about climate change is that greenhouse emissions do not immediately result in disastrous effects, that would awaken humankind in a short time to fundamentally change energy policies, thus being able to avert runaway climate change. Greenhouse gas emissions produce long term effects, when balance sustains for a while before various feedback mechanisms play an increasing role. For this reason humanity faces consequences of climate change with a great delay that is often more, than 10 years and the results of the feedback mechanisms are difficult estimate correctly.

If we reach runaway climate change,¹² human actions become marginal when attempting to alter climate change tendencies, since various feedback effects produce a vicious circle that reinforces itself. Such processes include the melting of the snow and ice in the Arctic, dramatically increasing the heat absorption of sunlight on sea and land. It is debated how many billions of tonnes of frozen methane we have under the sea, in the frozen tundra, muds and lakes etc. Once frozen methane starts to melt at epic levels, getting into the atmosphere, the release of one of the most potent greenhouse gas – methane – would change the climate of the Earth beyond recognition. Drying forests burn more frequently, resulting in greenhouse emissions, erosion, etc. that is a self-reinforcing a vicious circle again. There are more examples of self-reinforcing tendencies, that are not too difficult to understand, but it is indeed difficult to adequately simulate them all together with most of the interconnections taken into account.

The most immediate effect of climate change on humankind would be the disastrous destruction of the food production, resulting in food shortages, starvation and questioning the survival of billions of people.

I would abstain from debilitating estimates of the possibility whether human activities play a role at all in climate change or not, done by the IPCC,¹³ heavily manipulated by governments. I also view any climate change predictions beyond 2100 very problematic, no matter how famous and widely respected a research organisation or a scientific newspaper etc. might be. It applies to Nature (magazine) that refers to a possible unstoppable arctic sea

¹² Mann 2016.

¹³ Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change – IPCC

ice collapse that might start to take place by 2500 (!)¹⁴ if greenhouse emissions continue to grow. This is nonsense, since (a) we do not have reliable computer models that can adequately take into consideration a wide range of complex feedback mechanisms in such a time scale, (b) if greenhouse gas emissions continue to grow similarly to what we witness, the fate of sea and land ice collapse would be determined far earlier, if we take into consideration growing pace of sea and land ice loss that is already occurring, (c) no matter who is right or who is wrong, beyond 2500 nobody could take the author or the journal responsible for entirely false predictions, that are good news today for industries, that view climate change considerations as a threat for their survival, (d) even with the most honest and best intentions we cannot be seriously concerned about events by 2500 since our economy and way of life will surely change beyond recognition, and a lot of “big unknowns” will unfold.

Illustration of expected global fossil energy consumption in reference to greenhouse gas production, that is causing climate change

Figure 16. World petroleum and other liquid fuels production in three cases, 2010 and 2040

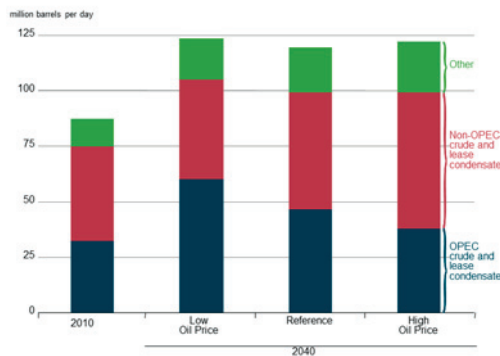


Illustration of expected growth in fossil fuel consumption resulting in more greenhouse gas output: all the three cases (depending on oil prices) point to higher consumption in comparison to 2010 levels.

Sooner or later worst case scenarios of climate change would come.

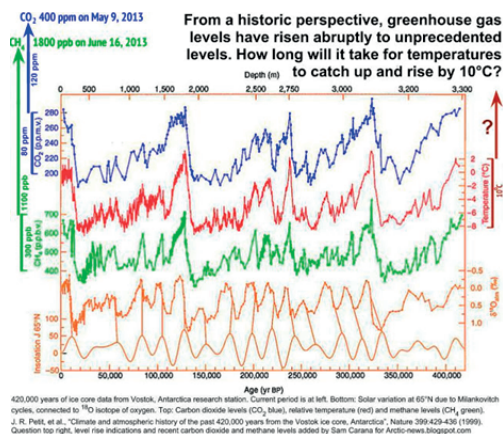
Source: http://www.eia.gov/forecasts/ieo/more_overview.cfm

14 Tollefson 2016.

I abstain from providing concrete data on the probable timeframes, scenarios, when and how climate change would become disastrous regarding of the survival of billions of people. However, we can safely conclude that humanity is “playing” a very dangerous game against “Mother Nature”, leading not only a mass extinction of species that is already occurring, but endangering our own survival. The probable consequences of climate change are so severe, that the effects of WWII are “pale” as a comparison.

I’m grateful for Sam Canara for his chart from 2013, since it is entirely fact based and the greatest questions of climate change – such as the timeframe and the ultimate extent of temperature rise – are left open (Annex 13). The chart itself powerfully suggests, that we have already passed the historical chance to avoid worst case scenarios to avert runaway climate change and if we cut all emission with a “magic stick” right now, once and for all – that is clearly absolutely impossible – climate change would still go far beyond any officially “acceptable” levels, such as 2 degrees Celsius. Anything beyond that would be disastrous, even according to “politically correct” and widely accepted analysis.

Climate Change “Off Scale”?



Are we already late to avert disastrous, runaway climate change?

Anything above a 2 degrees Celsius rise in global average temperature is officially a disaster.

The explanation is quite simple. The chart shows the tight correlation between the greenhouse gas levels (CO₂ and methane) and temperature on Earth du-

ring the past 400 thousand years. If the tight correlation is convincing, since it is based on scientific facts, we might also find convincing the following. If greenhouse gas levels go “off chart”, the temperature rise would also go “off chart”. Otherwise the tight correlation that existed through 400 thousand years, would be broken. The result is a “big unknown”, since feedback mechanisms, such as the unprecedentedly fast release of methane from the Arctic, could make things even worse.

Chinese energy production and consumption is not an exempt, when we evaluate the probable effects on climate change. For example rising sea levels due to melting ice on land would be disastrous for not only the eastern megapolises of the US, but to Chinese megacities as well such as Shanghai.

Here we reach an important issue: it is quite common in the Western world to blame China for environmental and climate change related issues, most importantly for the high levels of coal consumption in the energy mix. This “blame game” against China is deeply unfair for several reasons:

The Western world has undergone the stage of huge coal consumption during the classic industrial revolution in the 18th–19th century.¹⁵ China had to go through similar developments at a later stage, when producing an enormous GDP growth in the past forty years. It is unfair to implicitly suggest, that China does not have the right to significant economic development and high living standards, similar to what the West has achieved.

China is an “economic powerhouse” of the world where production of goods necessarily requires energy consumption. The Western world invested heavily in China when outsourced production of various goods originally mass produced in Western countries. Such Western policies intended to gain more profit utilising the skilled, cheap and relentlessly hard working Chinese labour force. Western companies also gained profit due to less requirements of environment protection in China that allowed them to avoid certain investments that lessen negative effects on the environment.

The Western world itself produces a huge amount of greenhouse gases due to high levels of economic development, high living standards and whatever comes with it. Examples stretch from widely used, individualist forms of transportation (many cars), heating, cooling, huge food consumption per capita, relentless advertising of ever higher consumption levels of virtually everything,

15 Manolopoulou 2008.

“built in” technical solutions in a variety of products, that necessitate their breakdown after the guaranty expires and ultimately their replacement, fashion necessitating to change goods etc. Such “achievements” and “inventions” of the Western capitalist system both morally and technically undercut the credibility of any Western criticism against Chinese energy consumption, in connection with its environmental consequences.

China is indeed making a remarkably good job when it comes to both investments in clean energy,¹⁶ and installed capacity, ranking number one globally, ahead of the US and other well developed countries¹⁷.

Clean energy investment by country				
Country	2014 (\$bn)	Country	2004-2014 (\$bn)	Total Installed capacity (MW)
China	89.491	US	447.642	121,660
US	51.770	China	427.617	224,788
Japan	41.342	Germany	244.949	86,946
Germany	15.299	Japan	189.188	32,679
UK	15.229	Italy	103.436	8,774
Canada	8.971	UK	101.030	23,346
India	7.937	Spain	100.038	23,014
Brazil	7.864	Brazil	78.943	22,852
France	7.017	India	72.828	36,753
Netherlands	6.727	France	56.931	9,194

Source: Bloomberg New Energy Finance, GlobalData

<http://www.bbc.com/news/business-31689722>

“The company running China’s power grid is proposing a \$50 trillion global electricity network to tackle pollution and climate change. If it goes ahead the network would use advanced renewable solar and wind technology and be operating by 2050. Beijing’s network will be the world’s biggest infrastructure project, if given the green light. The State

16 “China’s Slowing Power Consumption Highlights Clean Energy Gains.” 2016. *Bloomberg News*.

17 Sudworth 2015.

Grid has already signed a memorandum of understanding with the Russian energy grid Rosseti, Korea's Electric Power and SoftBank Group of Japan. According to State Grid's Chairman Liu Zhenya, the planet is facing "three major challenges", which are energy scarcity, environmental pollution and climate change. Liu added that smart grids, ultra-high voltage (UHV) grids and clean energy are the only way to a green, low carbon, economical, efficient and open energy system with sustainable supply. Liu also said the global network could boost the share of clean energy to 80 percent of global consumption, displacing fossil fuels as the main energy source."¹⁸

5. The future of Chinese energy production and consumption

The ever growing Chinese economy faces challenges when determining energy policies. On one hand there is acceptance regarding the importance of taking into consideration environmental and climate change effects. On the other hand, a growing economy requires ever more energy until technological development allows an increasing level of decoupling of GDP from energy consumption. The global trend suggests, that decoupling is already going on for more, than 40 years while its pace is increasing. The pace of decoupling is expected to increase further. In case of China, if we measure GDP in PPP, and related CO₂ emissions, we are currently witnessing a plateau where GDP growth is expected to grow without resulting increase in CO₂ emissions,¹⁹ rather anticipating a mild decrease.

The most important issue of future Chinese energy policies is the fate of the excessive coal consumption. China cannot abandon massive coal consumption in a short term,²⁰ but coal consumption is already capped, and soon to be restricted to acceptable and sustainable levels.

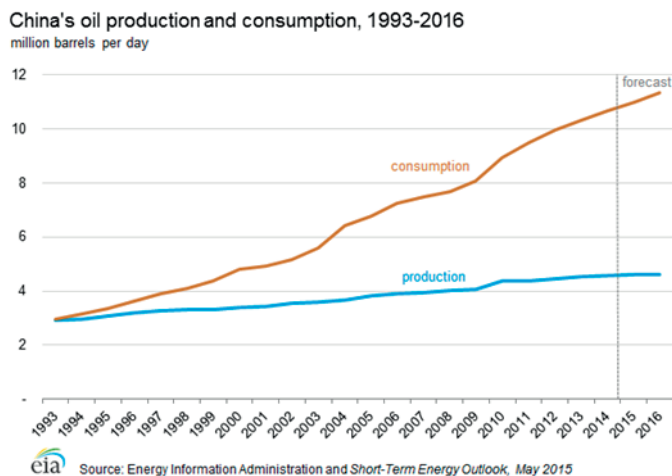
18 "China proposes \$50tn global renewable energy network." 2016. *Russia Today*.

19 "China's electricity mix: changing so fast that CO2 emissions may have peaked." 2016. *Energy Post*.

20 Butler 2015.

“Fitch estimates that the Chinese coal sector will have up to 3.3 billion tonnes of excess capacity within the next two years, versus declining annual consumption of less than 4 billion tonnes per annum for the past two years. This calculation is based on 1.4 billion tonnes of existing idle capacity at end-2014, plus up to another 1.9 billion tonnes of capacity under construction... The central government is taking steps to reduce capacity in the industry... However, the phase-out target is less than one-third of the likely excess capacity in the system... implementation of the phase-out target is likely to be slow. This is because local governments – which control state-owned coal producers accounting for around half of the country’s coal production – need to balance phase-out measures against issues of social stability.”²¹

China invests heavily in clean energy (solar, wind, hydro), that clearly makes China world leader in this field. The technically recoverable shale gas reserves of China are the largest in the world that is also promising, when it comes to determination of the future energy mix of the country. Nuclear, oil and other energy sources are also under development, but from a relatively small basis within the Chinese energy mix. Both China’s oil production and consumption

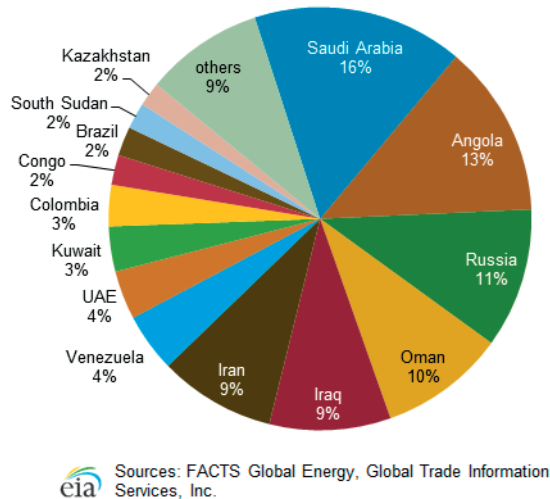


Source: <http://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis.cfm?iso=CHN>

21 “Fitch: Persistent Overcapacity to Prolong China’s Coal Sector Downturn.” 2016. Fitch Ratings.

are steadily growing, however there is an increasing gap between production and consumption, that is likely to remain and it requires increasing amounts of oil imports.

China's crude oil imports by source, 2014



Source: <http://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis.cfm?iso=CHN>

Conclusions

China is a rapidly rising Superpower that produced enormous development in terms of GDP growth during the past four decades. Energy policies of China should be viewed taking into consideration future development, when even according to moderate economic growth, Chinese economy would be twice that of the US in two approximately decades. Any Western – especially US – attempts to contain China are efforts in the wrong direction and are bound to fail.

Energy production – and especially consumption – are key characteristics of Chinese energy system, where China is ranking amongst the first four in terms of coal, oil, natural gas and electricity: often ranking first.

Coal plays a leading role in Chinese energy consumption, but due to mainly environment and climate change concerns its role is diminishing. It is unfair to blame China for the excessive usage of coal since the same historic path had been accomplished by Western industrial revolutions earlier that lead to the

rise of their economic power. On the other hand, China is doing a remarkably good job when promoting clean energy sources.

Western sources that do not consider large hydropower a clean energy source when judging the Chinese energy mix, are deeply mistaken since key to determine whether an energy type is clean or not should be attached to greenhouse emissions, that play a key role in climate change. Any other considerations are secondary, since climate change poses the greatest threat for the survival of humanity.

Decoupling of GDP growth and energy consumption is a promising trend, which is good news for China, the environment and climate change. China is the number one country globally in production and installation of clean energy sources, and the country's leading role in clean energy installation is expected to be further strengthened.

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PR China's Pursuit of a Blue-Water Navy¹

Introduction

The development of the navy and the extension of connected capacities is one of the focuses of the military evolution in the People's Republic of China (later on: China). The directions of the improvement appear to be clear, though achieving their aims are a question of decades, not years. These Chinese steps, the progress they make, new ship classes they develop, advanced technologies they produce will take the upcoming decades to reach their goals – even if sometimes the Western media exaggerates the potential threat posed by the Chinese army.

The paper shortly presents the geopolitical environment of the country, after that analyses the necessity of a blue-water navy, the development they have already started and tries to project ahead their capacities and the relevance of that future Navy.

Geopolitical Environment

Although China is not a landlocked country, its potential to enter the world market is limited – to the South China Sea, through which Beijing can facilitate its trade. The historical ties, political realities made it harder (or even impossible) for China to trade through mainland neighbours: the break-up with the Soviet Union (including Central Asia) closed the routes towards Europe, the relations with India made it impossible to use southern ways, the situation in Southeast Asia and the location of South Korea, Japan and the presence of the US Army in these countries let no other option for Beijing.

1 "EFOP-3.6.3-VEKOP-16-2017-00007- Young researchers from talented students – Fostering scientific careers in higher education"



Graph 1. China's Geopolitical Environment

Source: cdn.shopify.com, edited by the author

So the South China Sea and the maritime trade routes are exceptionally important for China, especially in the recent decades, achieving outstanding economic successes. To fuel its economy and to supply the oil consumption of the terribly growing number of cars, China imports from various oil exporters of the world, among the biggest are Saudi Arabia, Angola,² Iran, Oman, Iraq, Sudan and Russia. Although Beijing imports oil via pipelines from Russia and Central Asia, approximately the 80% of the imports arrive on China's most important trade route on the Indian Ocean via the South China Sea. Of course it is not just about raw materials. China can reach the market with its export goods through the Indian Ocean as well.

Beijings feels, its trade through the Ocean is vulnerable and would be in danger during a global crisis.

Beijing has several national and international objectives according to its maritime trade routes. First of all, it is elemental to secure these waterways to feed the economy to maintain the economic growth (and the supremacy of the Communist Party). To reach this, Beijing supports the principle of the free waterways, but its main sea line of communication (SLOC) is vulnerable. This trade route erecting from African, European and Middle Eastern markets via the Indian Ocean through the Malacca Strait (or other Straits in the region) and the South China Sea is threatened by several actors. The South China Sea

2 Besenyő, Búr, Horváth 2013.

is important for China as a Gate to the raw materials and also as a potential oil and gas producer area, and the shipping through the sea is endangered by the different claims of the countries in the region. The Malacca Strait as a narrow route is dangerous because of pirates and the closing of the Strait would add expensive extra kilometers to the route. Beijing fears that its objectives will be jeopardised by the emerging India on the Indian Ocean, and the trade route is also under threat at the Strait of Hormuz and at the Horn of Africa where piracy is 'crucial' than ever.

Recently China's ability to defend and secure its SLOC is limited, the Chinese Navy is still limited in size, scope and equipment and Beijing is unable to maintain presence far from its borders, especially on international waters. To solve its weaknesses, China cooperates with regional countries to secure the routes, develops additional trade routes to diversificate and builds up international ports and bases that could be used for Chinese vessels to dock and to control the waters and routes. But their ultimate goal is to be able to react by their own, with the help of their well-equipped navy.³

Cooperation or Uncertainty

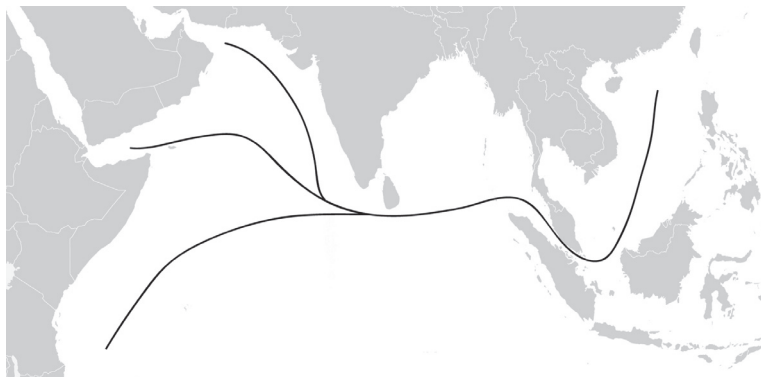
While international cooperation can guarantee the safety of the trade routes, as the reaction of global actors on piracy at Somalia shows⁴, a global power has to be able to react by his own – the traditionalist view claims in China. This logic still builds upon Alfred Mahan's view on Sea Power, and the *mahan's logic* is still recognisable at the Chinese Navy.⁵ According to this view, the powerful navy you have, the easier it is to control and use freely the waters.

“Whether they will or not, Americans must now begin to look outward. The growing production of the country demands it.” – a quote originating from Alfred Mahan from the late 19th, early 20th century. Just replace 'Americans' with 'Chinese' and the outdated mahan's logic introduces itself.

3 This sections already published: Vörös 2012. See more about this maritime trade route in that paper.

4 See more: Besenyő – Kiss 2009; Vörös 2012.

5 Till, 2012: 66



Graph 2. Trade route through the Indian Ocean

Source: Edited by the author

On one hand, the need to secure trade routes is understandable. In case of an international crisis, disruption of trade could danger the economy and the political system. On the other hand, uncertainty is not just a one-way street: growing number of fregatts and submarines on one side means growing fear and uncertainty on the other. And that spiral may lead to conflicts. About uncertainty I have already noted:

“China has growing influence on shipping lanes throughout the Indian ocean, leading several countries to express unease about the safety of oil and supply shipments in the region. Beijing wants to safeguard its maritime lines of trade, and to reach this aim, they started to develop a blue-water navy. [China] faces with the emerging India looking for the same sources, with Delhi developing and upgrading its navy. India’s situation and aspirations are similar to Beijing’s. India also has a rapidly developing economy and also relies heavily on imported oil and as estimates suggests, Delhi would need to import more than 90% of its oil demand in two decades.”⁶

As we will see, Beijing is not refusing cooperation, but the goals of their developments are undoubtedly pointing towards a future, where they are able to defend their sea line of communications by their own.

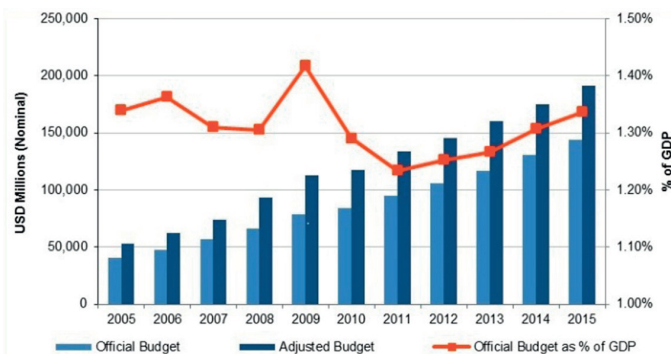
6 Vörös 2012.

Army Development

The development of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) is a complex, ongoing process, started in the 80s realizing their army falling behind international standards. The improvement is slow, complex (focusing on the technologies, training, on the Navy, Air Force, etc.) and there are endless number of monographies and papers about it. What is important for us, is the scale of this development, the reactions, and the share of the Navy, especially the evolution of the blue-water capacities.

The military budget of China is growing in a shocking way, with 10-16% per year⁷, serving ammunition for western websites and news centers about the threat China poses. The facts, that the military budget of the country is still less than half of the US's expenditures, or that the money they are spending on the army, is proportionally less from year to year, according to their total expenditures⁸, are not really mentioned.

Of course, the pace of the growth is huge and there is the possibility that the official figures are far from the truth: the defense spending is far from transparent, the official numbers don't include such categories of expenditure (expenses for strategic forces, military-related research and development, etc.) which should be included in these numbers. The real budget can be 40-72% higher, than the official numbers.⁹



Graph 3. Chinese Military Budget

Source: janes.com

⁷ Liff – Erickson 2013: 808.

⁸ Liff – Erickson 2013: 809.

⁹ Vörös 2014.

One thing is clear from the development: we cannot expect dramatic changes, China's plans are for the long term, and the whole process may take several decades. The question is not if China is going to have a blue-water navy, but when and what quality they are going to have.

They are building up capacities (mostly by their own), which can defend the country and their trade routes from non-traditional threats. As Kang Geng, the political commissar of the South Fleet said in 2009: "China has thousands of enterprises spreading over the globe. We must seriously consider how to effectively protect [them]"¹⁰.

China's New Defense White Paper, 2015

On 26th May 2015 Chinese government released its newest defense white paper, entitled 'China's Military Strategy'. As Caitlin Campbell Senior Policy Analyst from US Security and Foreign Affairs notes in her brief, although these White Papers, public strategies published by nation states and international actors are there to make their developments transparent and their steps clear and less threatening, this White Paper "contains no major revelations about China's military strategy or modernization".¹¹

On the other hand, there are some interesting points about the changing strategic thinking. The White Paper rejects the priority of mainland capacities, turns towards maritime military in relation with seas and oceans.¹² The Paper introduces the concept of active defense, communicating that they have recognized the new threats "and anticipates its most likely conflict scenarios will take place at sea".¹³ Campbell introduces the active defense concept as well:

10 Till 2012: 224.

11 Campbell 2015: 1.

12 Háda 2015: 4.

13 Campbell 2015: 1.

“According to the DWP, <the strategic concepts of active defense> are <adherence to the unity of strategic defense and operational and tactical offense; adherence to the principles of defense, self-defense and post-emptive strike; and adherence to the stance that ‘we will not attack unless we are attacked, but we will surely counterattack if attacked.’>”.¹⁴

Modernization of the Navy – Focusing on the Blue-water capacities

The history of the Navy (People's Liberation Army Navy – PLAN) started in 1949 – but its role remained limited thanks to the doctrine, prioritizing regular forces. Modernizatory processes are originating from the 80s, focusing on homeland construction capacity and technology in order to create active presence on regional waters. Blue-water goals were among the future plans.

The first decades of development were slow and inefficient – the lack of doctrinal background and the still prioritized regular army blocked the renewal of the Navy. As we could see, on doctrinal level the change was slow and just in the recent years they realized the importance of the Navy.

The evolution of the PLAN is also a slow, but more and more successful process. Military and navy officials decided about parallel progress, buying new technologies (from abroad) and initiating Chinese production capacity.

Development started with the renewal of destroyer and frigate class ships.

“Chinese destroyers lacked the AAW capability to defend themselves beyond the range of land-based anti-aircraft missile batteries. With this in mind, China did not possess a ‘blue water’ navy. In order to expand the effective range of its naval forces and to acquire the ability to project power farther out to sea, the PLAN needed modern warships that could both protect themselves and defeat an opponent.”¹⁵

14 Campbell 2015: 1.

15 “Military Analysis: The Type 052D Class Guided Missile Destroyer.” 2016. *South Front*.

Beside buying two Sovremenny-class destroyers from Russia, the production of their new destroyer-class, Type 051 had started. Type 051-class ships (a total of 16) were never competitive, lacked modern technologies – but helped the PLAN in one way: providing precious information and experience in production. The next class was the Type 052, with several sub-classes (like 052B, 051B, 051C, 052C and 052D). While still trying to develop the destroyer they need and which is capable of using modern techniques, the Navy built a dozen of ships in these sub-classes until reaching the quite modern 052C and the so-called *game changer*, 052D. Game changer, since that is the first destroyer of PLAN which makes it possible to expand its area of operations further out at sea. “The Type 052D is a true blue water navy warship. Its hull and propulsion provide good seaworthiness, maneuverability and speed. Her AESA radar has obviously been improved with the most advanced such radar that China has produced”.¹⁶ They have already finished nine (planning at least 12), out of which three is already active: on the South China Sea. Although not connected to blue-water capabilities, testing and actively using these destroyers on regional waters can help future applicability. Type 052Ds on the South China Sea

“sends a clear message to other claimants to disputed South China Sea islands and waters that China has the power and intention of backing their claims with force if necessary. These vessels also act as a strong access/area denial tool with their capable AESA radars and powerful AAW and ASW capabilities. With these vessels, the PLAN can create a large air defense umbrella over Chinese military operations and building projects in the region.”¹⁷

Still talking about destroyers, they have been working on an even larger and powerful destroyer, the Type 055. If the 052D is the game changer, 055 is the *joker* at the PLAN, an absolute up-to-date technology:

16 “Military Analysis...” 2016.

17 “Military Analysis...” 2016.

“Although called a destroyer, a design displacement of over 10,000 tons (some sources suggest a displacement as large as 14,000 tons) would put the vessel into the category of a guided missile cruiser (CG). The vessel would most likely be designed as a fleet command vessel and powerful air defense platform for a future aircraft carrier strike group.”¹⁸

Frigates are also under development. Type 053-class was the first Chinese product, copied from Soviet Riga-class. The class is still active (14¹⁹), but has several handicaps. The improved frigate class is the Type 054 and 054A. Two and twenty-two ships have already been deployed in these classes. Type 054A-class is an outstanding Chinese product – though “its hull form, its engines, and most of its major weapons and sensors systems were directly derived from foreign models or technology”.²⁰ PLAN actively uses these ships on its anti-piracy mission (more about this mission later on) since 2008 and no reports have arrived about engine failures or other mechanical problems, making it a reliable ship.

“[The Type 054A] represents an exponential improvement in the quality and capability of the PLAN’s frigate force, [...] [it] has performed well handling lower intensity long-range mission In this regard, it has arguably surpassed the capabilities of the French Lafayette-class frigate that influenced its original design [and its successor], the Type 054B will likely improve upon this design through. Key changes [...] include larger hull size to accommodate equipment additions, a vertical launch system that is physically larger capable of launching larger missiles and holding more missiles [...]. It is also likely that the Type 054B will use a more capable radar system and a longer range anti-air missile.”²¹

The PLAN has also introduced a new class, the corvette Type 056 class in 2012 and already produced 25 ships²², with many more to come. Corvettes are mid-

18 “Military Analysis...” 2016.

19 “Chinese Naval Power.” 2016. *South Front*.

20 Collins – Erickson 2015.

21 Collins – Erickson 2015.

22 “Chinese Naval Power.” 2016.

range ships, especially built for littoral duties and anti-piracy missions – meaning they are not suitable for blue-water operations, might show up in a mission at the Guld of Aden, but the main goal is to use them on the regional seas.

For blue-water missions, a Navy needs submarines.

“Despite its already impressive size, the PLAN submarine fleet is one of the fastest growing and modernizing forces in the world, with the ONI estimating that the submarine force will eventually expand to include 75 vessels. Other reports indicate that China’s submarine fleet totals up to 70 boats, with plans to add 20 more within the next 10 years.”²³

According to the most recent information, China has 66 active submarines, 57 diesel attack (out of which 12 Kilo-class submarines are considered modern), 4 nuclear attack SSN and 5 nuclear ballistic missile submarine.²⁴

According to the diesel submarine fleet, beside the Russian Kilo-s, there are several Chinese-made submarines as well, out of which the Type 039 is an interesting example of PLAN modernisation. They had serious problems deploying the submarines, and still outdated, though they are very quiet during slow speed: a very famous incident occurred in 2006, a Type 039 surfacing at a distance within firing range of the US Kitty Hawk battle group. The next generation is the Type 041, according to reports, as quiet as its Western (or Russian) counterparts, still is a station of a long road, which will lead to have excellent diesel submarines.

PLAN has 4 nuclear powered attack submarines (SSNs), two Type 091 and two Type 093 class, more modern submarines. Both classes are their own products (there were no countries willing to sell a nuclear submarine to Beijing), Type 091 is way outdated. In the case of 093, even if it is a recent design, there are concerns about its noise-level. There are sources which claim, that its noise level is equal to western nuclear submarines built at the end of the seventies, others refuse to accept this, but according to future plans, a new hull-design just a few years later they introduced the class, foreshadows problems with the Type 093. Type 095 and 097 classes are already under planning, with the 095

23 “China Submarine Capabilities.” 2016.

24 “Chinese Naval Power.” 2016.

to be the one they can use in the future for possible blue-water operations, with more advanced and more quiet nuclear reactor.

They have 5 SSBNs, nuclear ballistic missile submarines. They have one Type 092 class submarine, already out of date, and four Type 094 submarines. Each of these submarines can mount 12 ballistic missiles, which allows China to target parts of the US for the first time. News about the class are ambiguous: they can provide deterrent force, but according to the *Military Today*, the Type 094 class “boats are as noisy as Soviet submarines of the 70s, [while] some sources claim that these Chinese ballistic missile submarines were plagued with various problems and design flaws”.²⁵ They are planning to have a fleet of five to ten 094 class submarines, though (of course) Type 096, the successor is already under development, and if there are problems, with the recent class, that might change the plans of the Navy. Thomas Spypek suggests that it is most likely that China would have four to six 096 nuclear submarines operational by 2020.²⁶ According to *Global Security*,

“Type 096 will be somewhat larger than the Type 094, and carry a larger number of missiles, [...] it will be the quietest, most heavily-armed submarine the Chinese Navy has ever built. The design will incorporate technological advancements to provide improvement in ship quieting”.²⁷

Its hull will be similar to US SSBNs according to guesses.

Summarizing the huge submarine fleet, it is visible, that the PLAN is investing a lot in the undersea fleet, but, according to analyst Ben Ho, their quality is still inferior:

25 “Jin Class.” *Military Today*.

26 Spypek [é.n.].

27 “Type 096 ballistic missile submarine.” *Global Security*.

“The key issue is to what extent can the Chinese catch up with the Americans in the realm of undersea warfare? Opines Owen R. Cote perceptively in a 2011 study: <The Chinese are still far from that position, but as in other areas, it would almost certainly be a mistake to assume that they won’t eventually get there if they decide to try>.”²⁸

A blue-water navy is non-existent without an aircraft carrier. The story of the ex-Varyag-now-Liaoning carrier is well known by experts interested in China’s military moves. The question is about the future of this type of ship in the PLAN. The Liaoning, with an active status, is a training ship – not more. And for a decent blue-water navy, they would need at least three carriers, beside the training ship Liaoning, in order to keep up presence at their marine interests. This number matches to US strategies about carriers. Du Wenlong, military expert

“offered the view that one is too little, two not enough, and three might just meet the demand. If China had only one aircraft carrier, it would not conform to China’s status as a world power, nor to the demands imposed by the length of the coastline. Considering China’s ocean environment, two aircraft carriers are not enough to safeguard marine interests. If China has three aircraft carriers, they can maintain a sustained combat capability: maintenance, safeguarding and patrol respectively.”²⁹

There is an aircraft carrier-program in the Chinese Navy, but the details were secret for years. There were news in 2013 about a nuclear powered carrier, just a few weeks after they “announced” further two (beside Liaoning) carrier with regular engines.³⁰ Finally Senior Colonel Yang Yujun, spokesman for the Ministry of National Defense of China confirmed in a news conference the construction of a second carrier:

28 Ben 2015.

29 “How many aircraft carriers should China have?” 2014. *Global Times*.

30 See more: Vörös 2014.

“Relevant authority started the research and development of China’s second aircraft carrier, which is currently under independent design and construction. [...] The second aircraft carrier is designed independently by China and is being built in Dalian. It has a conventional power plant with a displacement of 50,000 tons. It will carry J-15 fighter jets and other ship-based aircraft, and the fixed-wing aircraft on-board will adopt ski-jump take-off mode. Various types of equipment will be installed to meet the needs of fulfilling its missions. The design and construction of the second aircraft carrier, having drawn on a lot of useful experience from the scientific tests and training of the first aircraft carrier, Liaoning, will have new improvements in many aspects.”³¹



Graph 4. China's first domestic carrier under construction in Dalian shipyard

Source: [http://www.debatepolitics.com/military/](http://www.debatepolitics.com/military/239422-chinas-first-domestic-carrier-under-construction.html)

239422-chinas-first-domestic-carrier-under-construction.html

31 Defense Ministry's regular press conference on Dec. 31. Ministry of National Defense, PRC, 31.12.2015.

But we have to remember, one is too little, two is not enough, three they need at least. To projected active status of this soon-to-be-a-carrier hull after the sea trials is around 2020-2022. A possible second carrier they started to build in Jiangnan shipyard, though this was not confirmed so far, and it is not expected to have three carriers by 2030.

With the Liaoning as a training ship, PLAN already put together China's very first Carrier Battle Group and photos were made available on China-Defense blog.



Graph 5. Carrier Battle Group, China

Source: <http://china-defense.blogspot.hu/2014/01/>

photo-op-of-year-plans-1st-carrier.html

Three destroyers, three frigates, three (Type 093) submarines and an amphibious assault ship (which is useless in a carrier battle group). As several analysts noted, the picture shows the weaknesses of the PLAN: lack of experience, missing logistics which makes the Carrier Battle Group unserviceable far from the ports³² and limited arms systems.

As we have already analysed, China is about to have excellent destroyers and frigates, still far from such submarines and the proper carriers yet to come.

32 "The true secret to American naval power is not the numerous and powerful front-line warships, but the less visually impressive vessels that you rarely see on TV or read about in the news. They are logistics ships, including tankers, dry stores vessels and ammunition ships. The Pentagon's three-dozen active combat-support vessels, manned mostly by civilian mariners, busily crisscross the globe, carefully plotting their courses to regularly meet up with the carriers and other task forces in order to refuel and resupply them. Without logistics ships, the U.S. Navy would never venture far from its major home ports in Virginia, Florida, California and Hawaii. These vital but unattractive supply vessels occasionally enjoy the privilege of appearing in carrier battle group photo ops." "China Flaunts First Carrier Battle Group Photo Op." 2014. *War is boring*.

In the case of logistic ships, China has Type 903A support ships, but they are small, only have a few and PLAN is using them for counter-piracy missions at the Gulf of Aden, as we will see. Of course they are planning the next generation of support ships, possibly in order to serve in a carrier battle group: the Type 901.

“Thirty-one-and-a-half meters wide and over 200 meters long, the first Type 901 class supply ship will have a full displacement of around 40,000-45,000 tons. That’s a similar size to the U.S. Navy’s 49,000-ton Supply class replenishment ships, which can carry over 17,000 tons of jet and ship fuel, and 1950 tons of ammunition.”³³



Graph 6. Type 901

Source: http://htka.hu/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/type_901.jpg

As we could see China has steadily modernized its navy over the past decades in order to have Blue-water Navy capabilities (of course beside the aim of having a Navy which can control and dominate the countries regional seas). They already have, or are planning ships which are on par with western navies, though finishing the process still take one or two decades. As David Axe noted on War is Boring: PLAN “acquired a lot of new equipment in recent years but is still learning and growing – and still trails the U.S. Navy by nautical miles.”³⁴

33 “Giant New Supply Ship Extends China’s Reach at Sea.” 2015. *Popular Science*.

34 “China Flaunts First Carrier Battle Group Photo Op.” 2014.

Implications on the future

When trying to project the steps by PLAN, the presence at the Gulf of Aden and the waters off Somali coast does help a lot. The United Nations Security Council adopted several resolutions (before and in 2008) calling on all countries to help patrol the gulf and waters off Somalia, where piracy has endangered shipping in one of the world's busiest sea lanes. Beijing was among the first states to react – sending a Task Force to the region.

The PLAN's participation is juicy at first sight: they are acting unilaterally, but parallel with international groups and efforts. As Andrew Erickson and Austin Strange noted,

“multilateral coordination mechanisms have enabled China to maintain its status as an independent public goods provider while actively strengthening bilateral naval relations and helping build a 21st-century architecture for global maritime governance”.³⁵

This means that they are operating separately from international task forces in the region, like Combined Maritime Forces (CMF), NATO's Operation Ocean Shield or the EU's Operation Atalanta, but they are closely cooperating with these forces. This type of participation is not unique, beside China, India, Japan and Russia also decided to join in this way.

The first Chinese naval escort Taskforce left in 2008, and the participation is so successful, that on the 7th April 2016, already the 23rd Taskforce had left for the Gulf of Aden and off Somali coast.³⁶

Usually these Taskforces are consisted of three ships: 2 destroyers or frigates (in most of the cases, 1-1 from each type) and a support ship. Two Type 054A frigates and a Type 903A support ship left the Chinese port Zhouzhan in April.

According to the Chinese news agency, the former 22 Taskforces

35 Erickson – Strange 2013.

36 “23rd Chinese naval escort taskforce leaves for mission.” 2016. *Chinmil.com.cn*

“have provided escort for 6,139 Chinese and foreign merchant ships in 922 batches. Besides, they have fulfilled various missions successfully including providing escort for the evacuation of Chinese nationals from Libya and ships transporting Syria’s chemical weapons in the Mediterranean Sea, offering emergency water supply assistance to Maldives and evacuating Chinese and foreign personnel from conflict-jolted Yemen.”³⁷

So what are the implications on the future?

First of all, these Taskforces and the operation of the PLAN in the region are the signs of capacity-improvement. These missions and the time spent on international waters will consent to a successful development, providing invaluable information for the Navy.

Secondly, their independent participation might be worrying, but we have to note one thing: “PLAN’s coordination with Western antipiracy forces suggests that China can contribute in parallel with, rather than threaten to destabilize, existing maritime governance mechanisms in the Far Seas.”³⁸ So even if the will to develop an independent and well-equipped navy is there, the possibility is still there to have China as a cooperative partner in international missions.

Conclusion

China depends on preventing trade routes – in order to be able to pursue economic growth through exporting goods, and to import the much needed energy. At present, Beijing lacks the naval power necessary to protect its sea lines of communication: they fear that during an international security crisis the main maritime routes could be in danger, which would endanger their economy.

The country has a few options to react on this possible threat, like cooperating with international actors, states and organizations, but as a parallel activity, they are about to develop a navy that can maintain presence at important chokepoints, can react on possible incidents, and is able to defend Chinese interests.

37 Ibid.

38 Erickson – Strange 2013.

The modernizing steps are clearly implicating the directions of the development: to develop blue-water capacities within the Chinese Navy. How and what they are developing, where and how they are cooperating and testing their techniques, shows, their ultimate goal is to gain this power – in the future. This project is definitely not a short-term commitment, they can only have successes in the mid- and long-run and by navy-standards, they have just started to act.

But Beijing should not forget, having a powerful navy is not equal with safety, and bigger power might come with more threats and can create wider uncertainty.

Maybe that is why, the PLAN started a world-tour: the 21st Taskforce, after finishing its actual mission at the coasts of Somalia, left for a global relationship-building tour in Africa, Europe, US and Asia. A Type 052C guided-missile destroyer, a Type 054A guided-missile frigate and a Type 903 fleet oiler support ship visited Sudan, Egypt, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, the US and Indonesia as a goodwill project.



Graph 7. A Type 052C destroyer (152) in Finland

Source: yle.fi

Beside working on partnerships, the global tour can also advertise: World, we are coming to the oceans.

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Globális biztonsági kihívások

Global security challenges

Nógrádi György

Kínai stratégiai célok alakulása a hidegháború után

„Kína alvó oroszlán, amikor, felébred, a világ beleremeg”

/Napóleon/

*1949-ben a Szovjetunió megmentette Kínát.
Az 1980-as években Kína megmentette a szocializmust
a 2000-es években Kína megmentette a kapitalizmust.*

/Kínai közmondás/

Történelmi áttekintés

A történelmi változások során Kína sokáig küzdött az egységesítéssel, az univerzális társadalmi struktúrák felépítésével vagy az egyenlőbben elosztott gazdasági előnyökkel (nagy hiányként jelent meg például a földosztások elmulasztása, amely révén adott régiókban a mezőgazdasági lehetőségek jelentősen beszűkültek). 1912-ben Szun Jat Szen teremtette meg az egységes modern Kínai Köztársaságot, amely azonban a következő évek polgárháborúi és hatalmi harcai során nem tudott megszilárdulni. Az 1917-es orosz forradalom hosszú távú hatást gyakorolt a királyi fejlődésre és Kína formailag az első világháborút lezáró békeszerződésekben mint győztes hatalom jelent meg. Az 1919-ben meginduló kínai sztrájkhullám során a kínai nemzeti identitás megerősítésére helyeződött a hangsúly, a megerősödő értelmiségi rétegből kiemelkedett több jelentős személyiség is, akik a tömegekkel együtt a versailles-i békeszerződés megkérdőjelezését hangoztatták.

A nyugati hatalmaktól való elfordulás mellett a kommunista befolyás növekedése is egyértelmű folyamat volt, 1921-ben megalakult a Kínai Kommunista Párt (KKP), amely támogatása fokozatosan növekedésnek indult. Hozzá kell ten-

nünk, hogy a közeljövőben komoly politikai vezetőként feltűnő Mao Ce Tung ugyan az alapítók egyike volt, de az első vezetői csoportba¹ nem került be.

Az 1900-as évek nehéz társadalmi viszonyai, a Tajping- és a Boxer-felkelés, valamint az ópium-háborúk emléke rányomta a bélyegét a következő évekre. 1923-ban Szun Jat Szen szovjet segítséget kért,² hogy az 1911-től kezdve kisebb-nagyobb átalakításokat és sok belföldi kihívást – például a hadurak hatalma alá kerülő területek önállósodása – megélő Kuomitang (népfront) megújuljon és sikeres szervezeti átalakulások során megerősítse hatalmát.

A kommunista párt akkori létszáma három- és ötszáz fő között volt³ és döntően a haladó értelmiség pártjaként működött. A pártban már ekkor találkozott a 20. század három meghatározó kínai politikusa: Mao Ce Tung, aki a paraszt osztályt vezette, Csang Kai Sek, aki a katonai osztályt vezette és Csou En Lai, aki a katonai osztály vezetője helyettese volt. 1924 és 1927 között valós együttműködés csak a parasztságot érintő kérdésben volt. 1927-re a KKP taglétszáma már túllépte az ötvenezer főt.⁴ A politikai megosztottság és a labilis társadalmi viszonyok azonban egy kirobbanó forradalmi helyzethez vezették az országot. Csang Kai Sek a felkelést leverte, és több mint százezer munkást végeztetett ki.

Mao ekkor fogalmazta meg híres tételét, hogy „a falu bekeríti a várost”.⁵ E nézete alapján Mao felfedezte a parasztságban rejlő lehetőségeket, az eljövendő időszakban a politikai hangsúlyt az értelmiségi rétegek helyett a szegényebb társadalmi csoportok helyzetének javítására, az ő támogatásuk megszerzésére helyezte. 1928-ban a KKP kongresszusát Moszkvában tartották, azonban a társadalmi és politikai helyzet továbbra sem stabilizálódott. A '30-as években sor került a Kommunista Párt életét gyökeresen befolyásoló Hosszú Menetelésre. A párt létszámát jelentősen megritkító eseménysorozat (vándorlás) során a 120 ezer főre duzzadt kommunista pártból harmincezer fő kemény mag maradt meg. Az emberveszteség történelmi pozitívuma, hogy a fennmaradó szervezet kitört a területi bekerítésből, valamint megemlíthető még, hogy a vezetésben maradó tagok nagy tiszteletnek és elismertségnek örvendtek a Nagy Menetelés teljesítése után.

1 A vezetést elsődlegesen Chen Duxiu és Li Dazhao vette a kezébe. Saich [é.n.].

2 Chan 1979.

3 McGrath 2006: 16.

4 Alexander 1991: 164.

5 Teng 2016.

Az 1936-os japán támadás a kínai belpolitika számára azt jelentette, hogy a korábbi ellenségek összefogtak és elkezdődött a taktikai együttműködés a szovjet mintát előtérbe helyező vezetői csoportokkal. Az ellentétek a résztvevő erők között tisztán megmutatkoztak, többek közt, hogy a KKP azt kérte az akkori szovjet vezetéstől, hogy hadianyaggal csak a hadsereg kommunista részét, a 8. hadtestét segítse, és ezzel változtassák meg a koalíción belüli erőviszonyokat. A stabilizálás során 1928 és 1945 között a Kommunista Párt nem tartott kongresszust, a vezetés 1943-ig német győzelmet várva az Egyesült Államokkal történő szövetség gondolatát próbálta realizálni. Ez a külpolitikai stratégia kihatott az akkori és a későbbi szovjet–kínai kapcsolatokra is.

A korábban jelzett hangsúlyáthelyezés (az értelmiségről a parasztság felé) eredményeül felhozható, hogy a Kínai Kommunista Párt tagjainak ekkorra már 90%-a paraszti származású volt, a kommunista kiáltvány legendás utolsó mondatát „világ proletárjai egyesüljete” úgy fordították le kínaira, hogy „világ elnyomottjai egyesüljete”. 1949-ben került sor Mao első moszkvai útjára, ahol láthatóvá vált a két fél közötti stratégiai gondolkodásban fennálló különbség.⁶

Kína külpolitikáját tekintve elengedhetetlen továbbá megemlíteni az 1949-es fordulatot, amely során a kirobbant polgárháborúból a kommunisták kerültek ki győztesen, Csang Kai Sek a Kuomintang maradék csapataival visszaszorult Tajvan szigetére. A Kuomintang a Kínai Köztársaságot (Tajvan, Penghu, Kinmen és néhány más kisebb sziget) Tajpej központtal kormányozta. A terület fölötti Kuomintang vezetés legitimitása mai napig is kérdéses.

Politikai-gazdasági stratégiák a hidegháború alatt Kínában

Az ötvenes-hatvanas évek

Kína a világ legősibb folyamatos civilizációja. Ők fedezték fel az iránytűt, a nyomtatást, a papírt, a puskaport, a porcelánt és a selymet. Ezen felfedezések évszázadokkal előzték meg Európát. Nem csoda tehát, hogy amikor az '50-es évek végén a kínai vezetés meghirdette a „nagy ugrás” politikáját, gyakorlatilag nyíltan megfogalmazták, hogy Kína vezető szerepre törekedett szűkebb értelemben a szocialista világrendszeren belül, tágabb értelemben pedig a nemzetközi hatalmi struktúra vezető szereplőjévé emelkedett.

6 Radchenko 2013.

Az akkori megítélés szerint a fejlődés lehetséges lassan és hosszan (ez a szovjet modell), valamint gyorsan és röviden, a kínai modell szerint mehet végbe. A politikai szintéren történő eltávolodást kifejezte az a döntés is, miszerint a gazdasági átalakulással párhuzamosan eltávolították a vezetésből a Szovjetunióban végzett politikai személyiségeket. A gazdaság fellendítésére népi kohókat építettek vidéken, és ötvenszeresére akarták emelni a mezőgazdasági termelést. Deklarált céljuk az volt, hogy 15 éven belül lehagyják Nagy-Britanniát.⁷ A program következménye éhhalál volt, mire Mao felelőssé tette és eltávolíttatta a középvezetést.

1962-ben előírták, hogy a hadsereg tagjai kötelesek Mao műveit olvasni, az ifjúság és az értelmiségi réteg gondolatai is összhangban voltak Mao terveivel. Mao végül az ifjúságra támaszkodva szétverte a Kommunista Pártot. A Vörös Gárda tízezer számra vert agyon embereket és az új jelszó, a „tüzet a parancsnokság ellen” szellemében indították meg a kínai reformokat.⁸

A '60-as évek végén az ideológiai eltávolodásból kiéleződött a kulturális forradalom, gyakoribbak lettek a szovjet-ellenes határprovokációk, a felfokozott hangulatban pedig Mao Ce Tung és köre meghirdette a forradalom exportját és a háborúk szükségességét. Mivel ez a program is katasztrofális bukáshoz vezetett, 1969-ben Mao engedélyével sor került Koszigin (a Szovjetunió Minisztertanácsának elnöke) és Csou En Lai között a miniszterelnöki találkozóra.

1962. október 20-tól november 21-ig a Kína és India közötti határkonfliktus (háború) nehezítette meg a stabil nemzetközi kapcsolatok kialakítását. A következő években tapasztalható India–Kína kapcsolatok feszült viszonya annak is köszönhető volt, hogy Kína Pakisztán felé fordult, aminek ellenpólusaként India a Szovjetunióval vette fel a kapcsolatot.

A szocialista piacgazdaság kiépülése, konszolidáció

1971-ben Kína 26 év után bekerült az Egyesült Nemzetek Szervezetébe, szeptemberben megbukott a vezetés erős embere, Lin Piao (repülőgépe a kínai mongol határ közelében tűnt el, a pontos okok még ma sem ismertek), és kezdetét vette egy új kínai külpolitika.

Kína meghatározó szerepet játszott és játszik a koreai válság kezelésében és rendezésében. A koreai háború kezdete után (1950) az észak koreai csapatok

7 Anderlini – Thomas 2015.

8 Guo et al. 2015: 211.

elfoglalták Dél-Korea szinte egészét, majd a partra szállt amerikai csapatok a dél-koreai hadsereg maradékával az észak-koreai erőket visszanyomták a kínai határig. A harcokhoz csatlakozott kínai „önkéntesek” a frontvonalat visszanyomták a kiindulási pontra. Az igazsághoz hozzátartozik, hogy a második világháború végén Korea északi részét a szovjet, míg a déli részét az amerikai csapatok szabadították fel. A megosztottság jó hetven évvel a második világháború után szinte mindenütt megszűnt (Németország, Vietnám), de Korea esetében a mai napig fennmaradt. Észak-Korea ipari termelése kezdetben gyorsabban növekedett, mint Dél-Koreáé, ennek egyik eredménye, hogy a két ország közül az atomprogramot Dél-Korea indította el korábban. Időközben ugyanakkor a dél-koreai vezetés leállította a programot, míg Észak-Korea folyamatosan folytatta a stratégiai fegyverek kifejlesztését.

1978 óta beszélhetünk Kínában szocialista piacgazdaságról. Teng Hsziao Ping reformjai és gazdasági intézkedései biztosították a gazdaság folyamatos, évi 8-10%-os növekedését.⁹ A stabilizálódó gazdaság mellett a külpolitikai kapcsolatrendszer is valamelyest kiegyensúlyozódni látszott. A kínai-amerikai kapcsolatok kiválóak voltak az ifjabb Bush elnök éveiben, ennek egyik oka az amerikaiak pragmatizmusa, amely miközben jelentősen rontotta az USA szövetségi kapcsolatait, Kína felé sikeresnek bizonyult.

Nagyhatalmi szerepvállalás a nemzetközi rendszerbe ágyazva

Kína mint a világgazdaság motorja

Kína meghatározó szerepet játszott és játszik a BRICS együttműködésben. Ennek az együttműködésnek három meghatározó tagja ázsiai, vagy részint ázsiai állam: Kína, India és Oroszország. Ezen együttműködés keretében a kínai–orosz kapcsolatokkal kívánja elérni, hogy az USA ne tudja – kínai megítélés szerint Oroszország felhasználásával – Kínát bekeríteni. Kína további stratégiai célja, hogy a térségben meglévő vákuumokba benyomuljon, ilyennek tekinti Afganisztánt¹⁰ és a Csendes óceáni szigetek egy részét.

9 Simon 2001.

10 Afganisztán precedens a kínai politikában, hiszen az országba, gyakorlatilag Kínán kívül, a világon senki nem akart beruházni. Kína nyilvánvalóan a jövőre tervez a térségben. Figyelembe kell venni, hogy az afganisztáni beruházás alapvetően érinti a NATO jövőjét is.

A BRICS segítségével el akarja érni a kínai gazdasági stratégia érvényesülését is. Ilyen például a turizmus és az élelmiszerbiztonság is. Kína minden fórumon meghirdeti a korrupció visszaszorítását és rendszeresen, látványosan bejelenti, valamint számos kutatás is alátámasztani kívánja, hogy bruttó GDP-ben legkésőbb 2027-re a világ vezető hatalma lesz.¹¹ A kínai cél monetáris szinten egyértelmű, Japán semlegesítése, az USA fokozatos gyengítése a térségben, a kínai nemzeti valuta, a Yuan további erősítése és fokozatosan világpénzzé tétele.

Kína már régóta nem a „gagyi” termékek exportálásában érdekelt. A világ elektronikai termeléséből 2008-ban Kína 28%-kal részesedett (a kínai fogyasztás 10% volt), míg 5 évvel később a termelésből 32%-kal, míg a fogyasztásból 12%-kal szerepelt.¹² Kína hosszú távú stratégiáját jól jellemzi, hogy anyagilag támogatja a volt császári dinasztiát, ezzel is jelezve, hogy a mai kínai vezetés ebben a kérdésben is egyfajta jövőbeni népfront-politikát folytat. Kína tökéletesen tudatában van Ázsia felemelkedésének és azzal is tisztában van, hogy a sikeres kínai politikához rövid és középtávon békére van szükség a térségben. A kínai diákok tömege tanul külföldön, ez a szám már 2014-ben is elérte a 460 ezer főt.¹³ A következő generáció számára az angol nyelvtudás már realitás és a világon egyre többen tanulnak kínaiul. Jelzi ezt a folyamatot továbbá, hogy a világ legjobb egyetemén már kínai tanszékek is működnek, valamint a kínai kultúrát közvetítő Konfuciusz intézetek száma 230-ról több mint 1000-re nőtt a világban.¹⁴

A környezetvédelem részeként a levegőszennyezés ellen teret nyernek az elektromos autók és motorok, és teret hódít a szelektív szemétgyűjtés is. Pekingben mintegy napi 1,5 ezer új kocsit állítanak forgalomba.¹⁵ Ezeknek meg kell felelniük a legkorszerűbb nemzetközi követelményeknek, mint például hogy a gépkocsik motorjai nem lehetnek idősebbek 10 évesnél.

Kína számára a fő exportpiac az Európai Unió. A második legfontosabb térség az Egyesült Államok és csak a harmadik Ázsia.¹⁶ Kutatás-fejlesztésre a GDP évi 9,1 százalékát fordítják.¹⁷ Kína ma már a külpiacokon nemcsak

11 Centre for Economics and Business Research 2015. "World Economic League Table 2016 Highlights."

12 Jiaying – Yangon 2015.

13 ICEF 2015. "Number of Chinese outbound students up by 11% in 2014."

14 HanBan Confucius Institute 2016. "About Confucius Institutes."

15 Friedman 2007: 572.

16 European Commission 2016. "Countries and regions – China."

17 McLaughlin 2016.

nyersanyagokat, de technológiát is keres. Számára az amerikai gazdaság és a kétoldalú kapcsolatok fontosabbak, mint az USA maga. A közös gazdasági érdekek mellett érvényesül a politikai és katonai szembenállás is, valamint érzékelhető az a feszes interdependencia, amely alátámasztható azzal a ténnyel is, hogy amikor az amerikai gazdaság változást él meg, Kína azonnal válságtanácskozást hív össze.

Kína gőzerővel tör előre az indiai piacon is, szabályosan kiűtötte Japánt.¹⁸ India, függetlenül a negatív történelmi tapasztalatoktól, nem számol középtávon kínai katonai fenyegetésekkel. Ugyanakkor ezt a lehetőséget hosszútávon figyelembe veszi. India árgus szemekkel figyeli a két ország közötti aszimmetrikus kapcsolatokat, a lappangó határvitákat, valamint a kiváló kapcsolatokat Kína és Pakisztán közt. India befogadta a Dalai Lámát és ez szintén nem javította a kétoldalú kapcsolatokat. Kína Afrikában is jelentős szereplő, nemcsak a fejlődése fenntartásához elengedhetetlenül szükséges nyersanyagok felvásárlásában, hanem egyre több piacot is megszerez.¹⁹

Társadalmi változások a modern Kínában

Kína számára óriási feladat volt az áttérés a hagyományos kínai modelltől a 21. század világára. Ezt a problémát meg kellett oldani makroszinten, tehát a Kínai Népköztársaság politikája szintjén, valamint egészen mikroszinten, a családok szintjén is. Széles középréteg alakult ki, amely a nemzetközi trendeknek megfelelően itt is fogyasztani akar. Drasztikusan nőtt a magán személygépkocsik száma, valamint megfigyelhető az a folyamat is, amely során Peking iparvárosból igazi „nyugati” metropolisszá változik. Az ipari kapacitásokat ugyanis fokozatosan kitelepítik a városból. A mélyszegénységben élők aránya a lakosság kevesebb mint 12%-a. Ez a szám folyamatosan csökken.²⁰

Kínában több mint 5 ezer újság, közel 40 országos TV csatorna és 100-nál több milliós város van. Amíg 1949-ben a várható élettartam 35 év volt, napjainkra túllépte a 80 évet. Kína megváltozott súlyát jól jellemzi, hogy képes volt megszerezni az olimpia és a „Better City – Better Life” mottóra felépített világkiállítás (Expo 2010 Shanghai China) megrendezésének jogát. A kínai emigráns közösség kapcsolatot tart fenn az anyaországgal és jelentős mérték-

18 Chietigj 2016.

19 Besenyő, Búr, Horváth 2013.

20 The World Bank: Poverty & Equity.

ben elősegíti a kínai célok globális sikerét. Jelenleg több mint 50 millió kínai él az anyaországon kívül.²¹

Nemzetközi reakciók a Korea-kérdésre (globális külpolitikai szerepvállalás)

Az esetleges katonai akciók megelőzésére és a lehetséges megoldások mielőbbi megtalálására hatoldalú tárgyalások folynak, amelyek során Oroszország szerepe periférikussá szorult vissza, mivel a térségben sem számottevő gazdasági, sem katonai potenciája nincs.

Dél-Korea álláspontját meghatározza, hogy hagyományos tüzérsséggel, Észak-Korea területéről a nagyvárosok zöme elérhető. A kiélezett helyzetre reagálva az észak-koreaiak felépítették közvetlenül a dél-koreai határnál a világ egyik legnagyobb víztározóját, amellyel adott esetben műszaki hibára hivatkozva, el lehet önteni Dél-Korea jelentős részét. Dél-Korea hajlandó élelmisszert, üzemanyagot és egyéb javakat adni ingyen Észak-Koreának, amennyiben utóbbi leáll katonai programjaival. Ezt nevezi a dél-koreai vezetés „Napsugár Diplomáciának”. Az újraegyesítés gondolatának nemzetközi szintén való képviselőjére, az egyesülés, mint folyamat tanulságainak elemzésére több száz dél-koreai delegáció utazott el Németországba, de persze a két Korea között álló szakadék még nem adott lehetőséget az újraegyesítés lehetőségeinek tényleges értelmezésére.

A hatoldalú tárgyalások lényege, hogy a résztvevő felek mindegyike más és más stratégiai célt követ. Észak-Korea úgy ítéli meg, hogy ha Kubának, vagy Iraknak lett volna atomfegyvere, akkor el tudták volna hárítani az amerikai támadást. Az a véleménye, hogy 1945-ben Japánt csak atomfegyverrel lehetett legyőzni és ugyanez a helyzet jelenleg Észak-Korea esetében is. Észak-Koreában a lakosság mintegy 20%-a kötődik a hadsereghez, óriási szárazföldi erővel, harckocsikkal, páncélozott szállító harcjárművekkel, tüzérsségi ütegekkel, légvédelmi lövegekkel, hajókkal és repülőgépekkel rendelkezik.²² A mennyiség azonban nem találkozik a minőségi mutatókkal. Észak-Korea számára a stratégiai sikert a rakéták és az atomtöltetek léte jelenti. Meg nem erősített hírek szerint az atomtölteteket szétszedett állapotban tárolják, föld alatti raktárakban az ország északi, Kínához közeleső területein. Az országban háborús bűnnek

21 Vörös [é.n.]

22 Global Fire Power 2016. "Military power comparison results for North Korea vs. South Korea."

számít a külföldre szökés és Kim Ir Szen halála után 100 napos gyászt rendeltek el, amely időszakban tilos volt többek közt a mobiltelefon használata is. Észak-Korea politikai céljai érdekében hajlandó volt külföldi pénzek hamisítására és japán állampolgárok elrablására is, akiknek feladata – évtizedeken keresztül – a koreai kémek japán nyelvre való tanítása volt. Az észak-koreai politika célja az alacsony intenzitású konfliktus fenntartása Dél-Koreával és ezzel a zsaroló potenciál növelése. A jelenlegi politika fenntartásával azonban a most is nehéz helyzetben lévő társadalom további megszorításokra számíthat.²³

2009-ben az amerikai és dél-koreai hírszerző szolgálatok jelezték, hogy Észak-Korea legyártotta első atomtölteteit. A jelenlegi helyzetben a koreai kérdés a stratégiai fegyverek tényének felfedése nélkül is sürgető lett volna, azonban ezzel együtt egyértelműen a kínai külpolitika egyik súlyponti eleme maradt. Kína alapvető célja, hogy egy térségbeli katonai konfliktust elhárítson. Lezárta észak-koreai határait, mivel nincs szüksége nagy mennyiségű kényszerrel észak-koreai migránsra. Jelezte, hogy mivel az észak-koreai atomtöltetek és rakétaeszközök a kínai határ közelében vannak, ezeket éles helyzetben el fogja foglalni. Peking nem ellenzi a koreai újraegyesítést, de kiemeli, hogy ez a folyamat nem mehet végbe amerikai vezetéssel. Kína számára a koreai régió meghatározó fontosságú, hiszen az Egyesült Államok célja, hogy USA és japán vezetéssel regionális szövetséget hozzanak létre Kínával szemben és ebben a szövetségben hadserege és gazdasági teljesítőképesége révén igen fontos szerepet játszana Dél-Korea. A térség államaiban többek között a 20. századi japán politika térségre gyakorolt hatása miatt mindmáig lehetetlennek bizonyult egy ilyen szövetség létrehozása.

A robbanófejek összeszerelése egy-két napot venne igénybe. Eddig az észak-koreaiak a rakéta-kísérletek előtt mindig értesítették Pekinget, és Peking azonnal továbbította az információkat Washington felé. Az USA, mint a világ egyetlen globális hatalma, 28 ezer fős hadsereget állomásoztat Dél-Korea területén és érvényes kétoldalú védelmi szerződése van Szöullal.

Japán a területét ért két amerikai atomcsapás után rendkívül óvatos és bizalmatlan, a regionális konfliktusok eszkalálódását súlyos kockázatként szemléli. A szigetország mindent megtett és megtesz, hogy meggátoljon egy, a területe

23 Észak-Korea külkereskedelme döntően három ország felé irányul: Kína, Dél-Korea és Japán. Ha ezek a források befagynak, a gazdaság nem stabilizálható. 1997-ben bejelentették, hogy a szocializmus legfejlettebb szakaszát építik, ettől kezdve növekedett az éhhalál és a halálbüntetések száma. Mintegy 200 ezer fő van börtönben, napirenden vannak a nyilvános kivégzések és rendszeresen provokálják Dél-Koreát.

ellen végrehajtandó észak-koreai katonai csapást, gyors ütemben fegyverkezik és USA vezetéssel egy térségbeli katonai szövetséget akar létrehozni. 2015 májusában Japán szorosabb katonai együttműködést kötött az Egyesült Államokkal, amely részint Észak-Korea, részint Kína ellen irányult.

Az ENSZ Biztonsági Tanácsának Észak-Korea elleni szankciói érdemleges sikerhez nem vezettek. Az eddigi észak-koreai politika hatására a dél-koreai lakosság kétharmada a saját atomfegyver kifejlesztése vagy beszerzése mellett foglalt állást.

Nemzeti külpolitikai prioritások

Tajvan továbbra is az egyes számú prioritás a kínai politikában. Kína konzekvensen ragaszkodik az „Egy Kína elvhez”, amelynek központi eleme, hogy csak az idő kérdéseként kezeli, hogy egyesüljön Tajvannal és ezzel az 1949-ig tartó kínai polgárháború végleg lezáruljon.

Kína aktív Afrika-politikát folytat. Afrika a Nyugat számára az elmúlt évekig leértékelt, elfelejtett kontinens volt. Kína és India megjelenésével a kontinens elkezdett felértékelődni, ahol a kulcsfogalmak a nyersanyag import, az áruexport és a válságkezelés lettek. Kína először vitatható szerepet töltött be a darfuri konfliktusban, majd mára már nemcsak Szudánban, de az afrikai kontinens más konfliktuszónáiban is egyre több békefenntartóval van jelen.²⁴ Kína saját haditengerészeti erővel részt vett a szomáliai kalózkodás elleni háborúban,²⁵ több afrikai államban a Szovjetunió szétesése után a vákuumot Kína töltötte be. Ebben a térségben a kínai exportot a mennyiségi és nem a minőségi mutatók határozták meg. Kína rendszeresen hív össze csúcstalálkozókat az afrikai vezetőikkel és ezeken tovább érvényesíti stratégiai céljait.

Az Egyesült Államokkal kiépített kétoldalú kapcsolatokban egyidejűleg van jelen az együttműködés és a konkurencia. Jól jellemzi a helyzetet, hogy 1972. február 21-től 28-ig látogatást tett Kínában az akkori amerikai elnök, Richard Nixon. A közös közleményben egymás után szerepelt a kínai és az amerikai fél helyzetértékelése a világról. Ugyanakkor a közös közlemény nagyon jól mutatta, hogy az ellentétes nézetek mellett megtalálták azokat a közös

²⁴ Besenyő 2006.

²⁵ Besenyő 2010.

pontokat, amelyek mentén hosszútávon lehet a kétoldalú kapcsolatokat és a globális erőviszonyokat alakítani.

Kína a világ azon kevés államának egyike, amely stratégiáját nem választási ciklusokhoz köti, hanem hosszútávon alakítja. Amíg az európai ember kifelé forduló individualista, addig a kínai befelé forduló és közösségi. Kínának óriási munkaerő-tartalékaik vannak, képessége van a modernizáció keresztülvitelére és képzett politikai elittel rendelkezik. Ugyanakkor az ország stratégiai hátránya a rendelkezésre álló szerény természeti erőforrások, a kis százalékosan megművelhető földterület, az országon belüli fejlettségi szintkülönbségek és a környezetvédelem területén meglévő problémák. 2009-ben egy kínai vezető úgy fogalmazott, hogy 1949 óta a 60 éves kínai fejlődést meghatározta 30 év pusztítás Mao alatt és 30 év reform. A reformoknak és a viszonylagos gazdasági prosperációnak köszönhetően Kínában ma már több tízmillió gazdag kínai család él és a tengerparton élő több százmillió ember életszínvonala elérte a volt szocialista államokban tapasztalható szintet.

Kína aktívan szerepet vállal az ENSZ stabilizálási mechanizmusában, a Biztonsági Tanács oszlopos tagjaként a globális biztonság és fejlődés egyik alapja lett. 1992-ben 400 fős megfigyelői csoportot küldött az ENSZ Kambodzsa missziójába, 2003-tól 175 fős műveleti egységgel – amelyből 43 fő orvos volt – aktív részvételt vállalt a kongói misszióban, 2003-tól pedig a libériai misszióban segítette a rendezést. 2015-ben önálló békefenntartó zászlóaljat küldött Dél-Szudánba, 2009-ben ENSZ békefenntartó képzési központot létesített Pekingben.²⁶

Magyar-kínai bilaterális kapcsolatok

A magas szintű politikai együttműködések soha nem voltak még olyan jók, mint napjainkban. Folyamatosak a vezetői konzultációk, a magyar miniszterelnök 2010 óta minden évben folytatott egyeztetést kínai partnerével. A kooperáció magas szintjét jelzi továbbá, hogy Magyarország az egyetlen olyan állam a közép-európai régióban, amelyben kínai részről hivatalos látogatást tett mind az előző, mint pedig a jelenlegi államfő és miniszterelnök. Wang Yi külügyminiszter 2015 júniusában tett hivatalos látogatást Magyarországon. Az egyezte-

26 Jordán 2011.

tések során aláírásra került az együttműködési megállapodás a „Selyemút Gazdasági Övezet” kiépítésének közös előmozdításáról.²⁷

A magyar kínai kapcsolatok szempontjából igen pozitívan hat, hogy Magyarország képzett munkaerővel rendelkezik, valamint hogy sikeres magyar kis- és közepes vállalkozások támogatják a gazdasági együttműködés fejlesztését. A 2016-ban meglévő statisztikai adatok alapján az év első három hónapjában 23%-kal nőtt a Kínába irányuló magyar export.²⁸

Egyre több kínai vállalat választja Magyarországot európai hídfő-állásának. A magyarországi kínai befektetések kumulált értéke több mint 3,5 milliárd dollár. A kínai nagyvállalatok több mint hatezer magyar állampolgárt foglalkoztatnak. Az eddigi legnagyobb kínai befektetés a Wanhua Csoport, amelynek 1,6 milliárd dollár értékű akvizíciója volt 2011-ben és ezzel 96%-ra növelte tulajdonrészét a Borsod Chem vállalatban. Ezzel létrejött a világ 3. legnagyobb izocionát-gyártó vállalata. A kínai telekommunikációs óriásvállalat, a Huawei 2015-től teljes európai exportját Magyarországon keresztül bonyolítja. A cég havonta háromezer kamiont indít Európa-szerte.²⁹ A Bank of China, amely a világ 4. legnagyobb bankja, 2014 decemberében Magyarországon hozta létre regionális központját, amellyel Budapestet London, Párizs, Frankfurt és Luxemburg után az 5. legnagyobb pénzügyi központtá emelte Európában.

Dinamikusan fejlődnek a turisztikai kapcsolatok is, öt év alatt megduplázódott a kínai turisták száma és 2015-ben már több mint 125 ezer turista érkezett Magyarországra.³⁰ Az erősödő kapcsolatok intézményesülésének folyamatában kiemelkedő, hogy 2014 májusában Budapesten megnyílt a Kína-Közép-Kelet-Európa Turisztikai Regionális Központ.³¹ 2015. májusától pedig újraindult a Budapest és Peking közötti légi járat, amely télen heti három, nyáron pedig heti négy alkalommal szállítja az utasokat a két főváros között. A budapesti Hungexpo rendezvényhelyszínén évi rendszerességgel megrendezésre kerülő

27 Kína Magyarországi Nagykövetsége 2015. „Kína és Magyarország aláírta az »egy övezet, egy út« egyetértési nyilatkozatot.”

28 Magyarország Kormánya 2016. „Elérheti a 100 millió dollárt a Kínába irányuló magyar élelmiszerexport az idén.”

29 Magyarország Shanghaji Főkonzulátusa 2016. „Sziijártó Péter külgazdasági és külügyminiszter nyitotta meg 2. Magyar-Kínai Befektetési és Kereskedelmi Fejlesztési Fórumot Ningbóban.”

30 Magyarország Kormánya 2015. „Még soha nem volt olyan jó Magyarország és Kína együttműködése, mint most.”

31 Magyar Turisztikai Ügynökség 2014. „Közép-Kelet-Európa összehangoltan készül a kínai turisták fogadására.”

„Utazás” kiállítás díszvendége 2016-ban a Kínai Népköztársaság volt, amely esemény kapcsán megnyitották a Kínai Nemzeti Turisztikai Hivatal Budapesti Regionális Központját is.³²

A modern Kína külpolitikai aktivitásának rövid összegzése

Összességében megállapítható, hogy Kína a világ 2. globális hatalma. Stratégiai prioritásként kezeli, hogy az 1962-es indiai háború kivételével elfogadja szárazföldi határait. Ugyanakkor nem engedi megkérdőjelezni Tibet státuszát, annál kevésbé, mivel ott található a kínai édesvíz készletek egyharmada. Ugyanígy nem lehet vita tárgya az ujjur területek kérdése. Ma már mindkét területen kínai többség van. Kína nem fogadja el tengeri határait, ugyanúgy, ahogy a térségben egyetlen állam sem, mivel egy zátony megszerzése kőolaj- és földgáz-lehetőségeket, valamint halászati jogot jelent. Kína számára ezen két lehetőség mellett a katonai bázis létrehozása is kulcsszerepet játszik.

Peking hosszú időn keresztül senkivel nem kötött szövetségi szerződést és büszke volt arra, hogy nem állomásoztatott határain kívül katonai erőket. Fejlődő államként deklarálta önmagát. Annak hatására, hogy az Egyesült Államok évente ad ki jelentést az emberi jogok helyzetéről és ezekben rendszeresen elítéli Kínát, Kína is hasonló jelentéseket tesz közzé. Külpolitikai prioritás Peking számára viszonya a nagyhatalmakkal, szomszédság-politikája és a fejlődő világgal kialakított kapcsolata. Kína számára a fő stratégiai partner az Egyesült Államok, ugyanakkor minden Kína ellen irányuló támadásra, előnytelen gazdasági változásra aktívan és arányosan reagál. Ha Kínát, akár belföldön, akár külföldön terrortámadás éri,³³ alapvetően saját területén csap vissza.

Tajvannal kapcsolatban három kínai forráskönyv létezik

- Kína tovább erősödik és egyesül Tajvannal
- Az Egyesült Államok szerepe a térségben lecsökken, és nem fogja (nem tudja) megvédeni Tajvant – tehát a legvalószínűbb feltételezések szerint ebben az esetben is egyesülnek
- Katonai erő alkalmazása Tajvan részéről, ennek a valószínűsége minimális.

32 Turizmus Online 2014. „Budapestén megnyílt a regionális kínai turisztikai központ.”

33 2007-ben a pakisztáni Peshawarban és Beludzsisztánban, még ugyanebben az évben Jemenben, 2008-ban pedig Algériában volt terrortámadás kínaiak, vagy kínai érdekeltségek ellen.

A kínai külpolitikát tekintve elmondható továbbá, hogy a folyamatok nemzetköziesedése révén – a többi államhoz hasonlóan – sokkal inkább a globális szerepvállalást és az interdependens viszonyok egyengetését tűzi ki célul, mint a regionális vezető szerep alakítását, a régió belüli gazdasági-politikai viszonyok megerősítését és az ottani nagyhatalmi státusz hangsúlyozását. Gyors ütemben fegyverkezik és felkészül arra, hogy 2020-ig az Egyesült Államok haditengerészeti és légierijének 60%-a a Csendes-óceán térségében fog állomásozni.³⁴ Ugyanakkor észrevehető, hogy az utóbbi időben nagyhatalmi pozíciója az ENSZ BT tagsága ellenére a világ gazdasági (és a nemzeti gazdasági mutatók) helyzetének romlása okán több alkalommal megkérdőjeleződött. Alapvető dilemma így, hogy elfogadja-e azt a kialakult világrendet, amely a mostani nemzetközi kapcsolati hálóban szerepét valamelyest meggyengítette. Kína azonban továbbra is aktívan részt vesz a nemzetközi stabilizálási folyamatok egyengetésében, mint például (1970-től megfigyelőként, 1988 óta tényleges résztvevőként) az ENSZ békefenntartó misszióiban, ezzel is támogatva a világ nagyhatalmi és regionális erőviszonyainak kiegyensúlyozását.

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³⁴ Varga 2014.

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TAJVAN: ahol a hidegháború kiolvad?

A 21. században a Kína környéki tengereken kialakuló feszültségfókuszpontok számos tekintetben a hidegháborús időkre emlékeztetnek, az amerikai-szovjet szembenállást felváltó amerikai–kínai rivalizálás képében. A Kínát átölelő feszültséglánc egyik legérzékenyebb szeme Tajvan. A következő rövid tanulmányban – amely a Budapesti Gazdasági Egyetem (BGE) Külkereskedelmi Karának Kiválósági Műhely programjában végzett kutatásom részterméke – azokra a kérdésekre keresem a választ, hogy a 21. századi távol-keleti (és délkelet-ázsiai) konfliktusok sorában a Tajvan-kérdés kialakulásában, fennmaradásában, kiéleződésében milyen szerepe van a hidegháborúnak – és ezáltal közvetve milyen felelősség terheli a hidegháború résztvevőit. Visszavezethetők-e a ma feszültséget okozó konfliktusforrások a hidegháború időszakára? Tovább él-e a hidegháború a Tajvan-kérdésben? Segít-e a hidegháborús mentalitás a konfliktusok megoldásában, vagy további jegelésében? Mi lehet a helyes irány?

Ahhoz, hogy lássuk, a hidegháború-e a Tajvanhoz kötődő konfliktusok első számú forrása, érdemes támpontként először a meghatározó időszakokban – a hidegháború kezdeténél, fordulópontjainál, végénél – megvizsgálnunk a térség már létező feszültségeit, és összevetnünk azokat korunk kibontakozó szembenállásaival. Amennyiben azok éles eltéréseket mutatnak a hidegháború kezdetének állapotához képest, akkor érdemes a konfliktusokat végig követve, azok átalakulását vizsgálva keresni az összefüggéseket. Ha azonban a konfliktusok alapvetően hasonlítanak egymáshoz, akkor okkal feltételezhetjük, hogy a hidegháború meglévő feszültségeket, kezeletlen sebeket jegelt le évtizedekre. Jelen tanulmány a BGE-n folytatott kutatás eredményeire támaszkodva egy összefoglaló képet kíván nyújtani a kutatás lehetséges további irányairól, illetve arról, hogy az eddig levont következtetések milyen tágabb kontextusok felé mutatnak. A jelen tanulmánynak tehát nem célja a mélyen elemző vizsgálat. A tanulmány szerkezete a következőképpen épül föl:

- Először vázolom a második világháború vége és a kínai polgárháború vége közti (1945-1949) időszak Kelet-Ázsiájának hatalmi térképét: „Közvetlenül a világháború után”.

- Ezután részletesebben foglalkozom Tajvan helyzetével és problémáival (1949–1950), számba veszem azokat a problémákat, amelyek meghatározzák a jelen (2016) Tajvanját, s összehasonlítom a kapott két problémásort a hidegháborús szemüveggel: „Tajvan”.
- Majd röviden szemléltetem Tajvan aktuális geopolitikai helyzetét – ugyan-csak ügyelve a hidegháborús kontextusokra: „Új hidegháború?”.
- Végül megkísérlek legalább részleges válaszokat adni a fenti kérdésekre, néhány politikai ajánlással kiegészítve: „(Rész)válaszok”.

Közvetlenül a hidegháború után

A második világháború után a kelet-ázsiai térség hatalmi helyzetét két állítással alapjaiban le lehet írni.

1. A világháború után Kelet-Ázsiában nem volt olyan potens ázsiai erőközpont, amely képes lehetett volna térségi – katonai vagy gazdasági – integráló hatást kifejteni.

- a. Kína:** a távol-keleti térség – a 19. századig – évezredekken át vezető gazdasági, politikai, kulturális, sőt civilizációs központja a „megaláztatás évszázada”¹ után saját belső gondjai kötik le. A világháború és az utána kibontakozó polgárháború az egész országot végletekig megviselték, a háború által kevésbé sújtott térségei pedig technológiailag és infrastrukturálisan rendkívül elmaradtak. Ki van szolgáltatva a szovjet (technikai és gazdasági) segítségnyújtásnak.²
- b. Japán:** 70 évnyi gazdasági szárnyalás és katonai expanzió után megsemmisítő vereséget szenved a szövetségesektől. A világtörténelem két atomtámadása nemcsak fizikai, hanem maradandó mentális károkat is okozott a szigetországban.³ Gazdasági és politikai jövője teljes mértékben amerikai kezekben van.⁴

1 Kínában így hívják az első ópiumháború lezárulásától a második világháború végéig tartó időszakot (1842–1945), melynek során Kínán jelentős területei kerültek gyarmatosító hatalmak befolyása, időszakra uralma alá kerültek.

2 Meisner 1999.

3 Saito 2006.

4 Parisi 2002.

- c. **Korea:** a négy évtizedes japán okkupáció után nagyhatalmi ütközőzónává válik a kaotikus félsziget, meghasadva Észak és Dél a távol-keleti hidegháború jelképévé válik.
- d. **Tajvan:** ugyan Tajvan a világháborút viszonylag épen vészelte át,⁵ a 17. század óta állandó gyarmati sorban volt a sziget. Soha nem játszott sem vezető, sem meghatározó szerepet a Távol-Kelet történelmében. A hatalomra kerülő, a kínai polgárháborút elvesztő Kuomintang (KMT) amerikai protektorátus alatt irányítja Tajvant.⁶

2. A tátongó hatalmi vákuumot két külső erő tölti be, amelyek szembenállása az esélyét is elveszi annak, hogy rendeződjenek az ázsiai szereplők egymás közötti lezáratlan konfliktusai, évtizedekre befagyaszttva ezzel a történelem sebeit a térségben. Melyek a legfontosabb lezáratlan konfliktusok, feszültségfocikuszok?

- a. **Kína–Japán:** A japán expanzió a világtörténelem folyamán elsőként valósította meg, hogy egy nem kínai hatalom Kínán kívüli központtal hozzon létre Kínát – pontosabban annak jelentős részét – is magába foglaló birodalmat.⁷ Ezt a csorbát, és annak velejáróit – például a nankingi mészárlás – a mai napig nyögik a kétoldalú kapcsolatok, amely a távol-keleti térség legfontosabb relációja. A kínai–japán viszonylatban nem történt meg az a történelmi feloldás, ahogy a német–francia vagy német–lengyel relációban igen.⁸ Shi Yin hong rámutat, hogy ennek fontos eredője, hogy Japán történelmileg nem volt rákényszerítve a háborús múltjával való szembenézésre,⁹ az Egyesült Államoknak ugyanis erős szövetségesekre volt szüksége a térségben a koreai háború alatt.
- b. **Koreai-félsziget:** ez a térség, ahol az 1950-es évek elején teljesen egymásnak feszült a két tábor, amely egy teljes nemzet máig tartó, ideológiai-hatalmi alapon történő földrajzi kettészakítását hozta magával. A koreai háború jelentette a hidegháború vasfüggönyének végleges leereszkedését Kelet-Ázsiában, így Tajvanban is.

5 Abramson 2004.

6 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, „Taiwan”.

7 Szentesi 2015.

8 Rienzi 2015.

9 Kemenade 2006; Tsai 2009.

- c. Tajvan:** példája nagyban hasonlít Japánéhoz, de Tajvan minden szempontból különleges.

Tajvan helyzete

A japán gyarmatosítás és uralom messze nem hagyott olyan sok és mély sebet Tajvanban, mint Koreában vagy Kínában,¹⁰ a sebeket azonban magával hozta a KMT a szigetre. Azzal, hogy a kínai szárazföldön zajló polgárháború végén 1949-ben a párt teljes apparátusával, hadseregével együtt Tajvanra menekült, tulajdonképpen exportálták, vagy inkább lezáratlanul áthelyezték a polgárháborút a szigetre. A koreai háború kitörése miatt Washingtonnak szüksége volt erős távol-keleti szövetségesekre, a KMT – akiket már a polgárháborúban is támogatott – által vezetett Tajvan pedig kitűnő bástyának bizonyult. 1950-ben félő volt, hogy a kommunista Kína elfoglalja a Tajvan által kontrollált szigetekeket (Kinmen, Matsu), így Truman elnök úgy döntött, hogy a Tajvani-szorosba küldi a hetedik flottát.¹¹ Ekkor került Tajvan effektív amerikai katonai védnökség alá, és ez az a történelmi inflexiós pont, ahonnan a Tajvan-kérdés globális jelentőségű üggyé emelkedett. Ez egyúttal az a fagyási pont is a hidegháborúban, amikor a fent felsorolt kelet-ázsiai feldolgozatlan sebek és lezáratlan konfliktusok hibernálódtak. Lássuk azt a négy potenciális konfliktusforrást tehát a hidegháború kezdeti szakaszában, amelyeket jórészt a KMT exportált Tajvanba.

- 1. KMT – KKP** (Kínai Kommunista Párt): a kínai nacionalisták (KMT) és kommunisták szembenállása, ami tulajdonképpen a kínai polgárháború időben és térben való – bár egyelőre valódi összecsapásoktól mentes – meghosszabbítása.
- 2. KMT – Japán:** a Kuomintang – időnként a kommunistákkal karöltve – éveken át harcolt a japán megszállók ellen a kínai szárazföldön, ellenszenvéket Japánnal szemben nem felejtették Kínában.¹²
- 3. KMT – Tajvaniak:** a többségi, nagyban japanizált tajvani társadalom meglehetősen ellenszenvvel fogadta a szárazföldi Kínából menekvő KMT-t,

¹⁰ Abramson 2004.

¹¹ Copper 2013: 47.

¹² Erre Dean Karalekas, a tajvani Center for Security Studies által kiadott Strategic Vision biztonságpolitikai magazin szerkesztője mutatott rá számomra.

amely hozta magával teljes hatalmi apparátusát, és Chiang Kai-shek vezetésével erőskezdő diktatúrát épített ki.¹³

- 4. Kommunizmus – Kapitalizmus:** a két táborra szakadó világban Tajvan helyét a kommunista Kínával szemben elfoglalt pozíciója jelölte ki, amely szintén a KMT–KKP szembenállásból eredeztethető. Ezáltal az amerikai biztonsági védőernyő éppannyira veszélyforrás Tajvan számára, mint amilyen védelmet az ad.¹⁴

Mekkora az átfedés a hidegháború kezdetén beazonosított négy fő potenciális konfliktusforrás, és a ma fennálló problémák között? A bevezetőben említett időbeli ugrással vizsgáljuk most meg, hogy mik azok a konfliktusgócok, amik 2016-ban meghatározzák Tajvan helyzetét.

- 1. Gazdasági integráció – Politikai függetlenedés:** Tajvant a 2010-es években alapvetően két ellentétes irányú erőkar feszíti egyre növekvő intenzitással: egyfelől gravitálja magához Kínának az óriási gazdasági vonzereje – kiegészülve a KKP-nek az újraegyesítés irányába mutató politikai nyomásgyakorlásával¹⁵ –, míg a másik a tajvani demokratikus berendezkedésből fakadóan is erősödő tajvani identitástudat, amely pedig az (politikai) elszakadás, függetlenedés irányába hat. Mindkét folyamat egyre erőteljesebb és komplexebb, de alapvetően ellentétes irányúak. Ha megnézzük az elmúlt két évtized arra vonatkozó statisztikáit, hogy hogyan alakultak a tajvani *vs.* kínai identitástudat arányszámai a sziget lakosságán belül, azt láthatjuk, hogy 2016-ban már a tajvaniak túlnyomó többsége tajvaninak, vagy elsősorban tajvaninak tartja magát – nem pedig kínainak.¹⁶ Ez egy olyan faktor, amely az újraegyesítés felgyorsítása felé hajtja Pekinget, minél előrehaladottabb ugyanis a tajvani identitástudat, annál nehezebb dolga lenne Pekingnek integrálni Tajvant.

13 Wei J. 2008.

14 Más kérdés, hogy amennyiben a KMT a kínai szárazföldön megsemmisítő vereséget szenvedett volna – és nincs módja a szigetre menekülni –, úgy Tajvant minden valószínűséggel a KKP által vezetett Kína uralma alá hajtotta volna.

15 Hernández 2016.

16 Gerber 2016.

- 2. Kékek – Zöldek:** Tajvant belülről is feszíti egy igen erős politikai törésvonallal.¹⁷ A sziget demokratizálódásával a politikai szcéna alapvetően két táborra oszlott. A kékeket a KMT vezeti, amelynek hivatalosan továbbra is Kína újraegyesítése a célja – a Kínai Köztársaság égisze alatt. A zöldek táborának leg-erősebb, 2016-tól kormányzó párta a Demokratikus Progresszív Párt (DPP), amely erősen hajlik Tajvan teljes függetlensége felé.¹⁸
- 3. Washington – Peking:** Tajvan egy Kína és az Egyesült Államok között kibontakozó globális sakkjátszmájának egyik legfontosabb bábuja is. A bábuhoz mindkét játékosnak van hozzáférése, magának a figurának – Tajvan-nak – viszont meglehetősen korlátozott a saját nemzetközi mozgástere,¹⁹ így annak színe nem fekete vagy fehér, hanem a szürke váltakozó árnyalatai. A nemzetközi kontextust a következőkben bővebben tárgyalom.

Ha tehát összevetjük Tajvannak a hidegháború kezdetén tapasztalt helyzetét a most meghatározó problémáival, érdekes képet kapunk. Azt látjuk, hogy egy potenciális konfliktusforrásnak tartott ellentét marginalizálódott – a KMT–Japán ellentét –, a többi háromnak azonban a mai napig tartó kontinuitása figyelhető meg.

- 1.** Tajvan és Kína szembenállását tekintve azt mondhatjuk, hogy bár a KMT és KKP közötti szakadék csökkent,²⁰ a sziget – egyébként KMT által elindított – demokratizálódása következményeként megerősödő függetlenségi mozgalom harapófogóba taszította a KMT-t, amely, úgy tűnik, sem a befejezetlen polgárháború lezárására, sem a tajvani függetlenség kivívására nem képes. A befejezetlen polgárháború 2016-ban is meghatározza a KMT és a KKP viszonyát – és Tajvan biztonsági helyzetét –, a szárazföldi Kína és Tajvan szembenállásának képletébe azonban új elemek kerültek a hidegháború kezdetéhez képest, i.e. a DPP párt megerősödése.²¹ Kérdés, hogy a hidegháború bármilyen módon befolyásolta-e az újabb konfliktusok megszületését. Ennél azonban érdemes lehet azt megvizsgálni, hogy átöröklődnek-e, és ha igen, hogyan öröklődnek át a hidegháború által befagyasztott (kínai) polgárháborús mechanizmusok az új szereplőkkel ki-

17 Chu 2011.

18 Chao 2016.

19 Winkler 2011.

20 Phillips 2015.

21 Lee–Lin–Culpan 2016.

bővült tajvani-kínai viszonyrendszerbe: KMT–KKP szembenállás, illetve DPP–KKP szembenállás vizsgálata.

2. A sziget belső ellentétjeit tekintve egyértelmű a kapcsolat a KMT negatív tajvani fogadtatása és a mai kék-zöld megosztottság között. Érdekes azonban megvizsgálni, hogy a hidegháború főszereplői – elsősorban az Egyesült Államok – mekkora szerepet játszott abban, hogy ezek az ellentétek a hidegháború túlnyomó hányadában nem kerülhettek a felszínre.
3. A hidegháború megszűnte után a 2000-es évekre az amerikai-szovjet szembenállás helyébe fokozatosan lépett, lép be az amerikai-kínai rivalizálás, amelynek egyelőre regionális (ázsiai) vetületei a leghangsúlyosabbak. Tajvan helyzetének jobb megértése érdekében a BGE-n folytatott kutatás alapján a következőkben röviden kitérek a folyamat történelmi (hidegháborús) előzményeire, illetve a rivalizálás mostani főbb színtereire.

Új hidegháború?

A kommunizmus térnyerésének megállítását célzó Truman-doktrína folytán az Egyesült Államok a Szovjetunió mindkét földrajzi végén erős szövetségi rendszert épített ki. Így nyugat-európai és kelet-ázsiai szövetségesei is élvezték az amerikai biztonsági védőháló és piac előnyeit. Nyugaton a Marshall-terv, Keleten a helyben megszülető fejlesztő állam koncepciója²² vitte előre a gazdaság felépülését, minden hagyományosan konfuciánus kelet-ázsiai állam, Japán, Tajvan, Dél-Korea és Hongkong is óriási léptékű gazdasági felemelkedést vitt véghez amerikai segítséggel²³ a hidegháború alatt. A koncepció sikerét jól szemlélteti, hogy az Egyesült Államok gazdasági fölényével volt képes végül megnyerni a hidegháborút a Szovjetunióval szemben. A korunkban kibontakozó amerikai-kínai rivalizálás sok tekintetben hidegháborús jegyeket hordoz, sőt bizonyos értelemben a hidegháború terméke is. A sors iróniája, hogy a Szovjetunió sakkban tartása céljából megindult amerikai-kínai közeledéssel az Egyesült Államok maga kezdte el kinevelni a Szovjetunió utódját. Ennek két nagyon fontos aspektusa van:

- **Politikai:** Kína (Peking) szélesebb körű diplomáciai elismertsége, beleértve az ENSZ-ben és annak Biztonsági Tanácsában elfoglalt állandó pozícióját, alapvetően az Egyesült Államok kezdeményezésére – Henry Kissinger és

22 Chalmers 1982; Kasahara 2013.

23 Copper 2013: 157; Kim – Lim 2007: 71; Solomon 2005.

Nixon elnök látogatásai – és jóváhagyásával történt. Ez a diplomáciai elismertség a jogi alapja Kína nemzetközi pénzügyi, kereskedelmi, gazdasági és egyéb rendszerekbe való mai beágyazottságának.

- **Gazdasági:** az 1980-as évektől több mint három évtizeden át tartó kínai gazdasági csoda a kínai reform és nyitás politikájának köszönhető, annak beindításában, megalapozásában, felgyorsulásában azonban kulcsfontosságú szerepet játszottak az amerikai cégek és azok a távol-keleti kistigrisek²⁴ – elsősorban Tajvan, Hongkong és Dél-Korea, valamint Japán –, amelyek „Amerikától tanulták a kapitalizmust”, gazdaságilag az Egyesült Államok védnöksége alatt és támogatása mellett nőttek fel.

2016-ban kevesen kérdőjelezik meg, hogy az Egyesült Államok félti globális szupremáciáját Kínával szemben, és ez nem véletlen. Kína felemelkedésével egy potenciálisan jóval nagyobb és veszélyesebb kihívója van Washingtonnak, mint a Szovjetunió volt. Kína nemcsak népességszámban jóval nagyobb, hanem – ahogy az előző pontban írtam –, gyorsan „megtanulta a kapitalizmust” is. Ez a két tényező – méret és erős gazdaság – együtt már önmagában, szükségszerűen kikezdi az amerikai globális dominanciát, Kína felemelkedése minden szinten feszegeti a második világháború után alapvetően amerikai dominanciával megalkotott nemzetközi politikai és gazdasági keretrendszert. Gazdaságilag már most lehetetlen lenne Kínát úgy térdre kényszeríteni, hogy közben ne rogygyanna meg ugyanúgy az amerikai gazdaság is. A hidegháborús beidegződések azonban az amerikai döntéshozókban még élénken élnek, és a 2010-es évektől egyre látványosabban aktiválja újra az Egyesült Államok – immár Kínával szemben – hidegháborús távol-keleti – és nyugat-európai – szövetségi rendszerét. A legfőbb gond az, hogy ezek a szövetségesek már egytől-egyig rendkívül erősen kötődnek a kínai gazdasághoz. Tajvan ezeknek az ellentétes irányú folyamatoknak az egyik legjelentősebb és legérzékenyebb színtere – ahogy azt a fentiekben láttuk. A következőkben csak a két fél legfontosabbnak ítélt lépéseit pontokba szedve lássuk, hogy a gazdasági vetülettel kibővült amerikai-kínai rivalizálás miként idézi meg a hidegháborús időket:

24 Wei S. 1996.

Az Egyesült Államok részéről:

- „hangsúlyáthelyezés Ázsiára” – pivot to Asia, az Obama-adminisztráció által 2012-ben meghirdetett külpolitikai stratégiaváltás²⁵
- TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership), a térséget átfogó szabadkereskedelmi és beruházási szerződés, Kína kihagyásával²⁶
- Katonai szövetségek megerősítése: Japánnal,²⁷ a Fülöp-szigetekkel²⁸
- THAAD-rakétavédelmi rendszer kiépítése Dél-Koreában²⁹
- Új szövetségek alapozása, legújabban Vietnammal³⁰
- Behajózásokkal³¹ és bep어들ésekkel³² a feszültség folyamatos fenntartása a Kelet- és Dél-kínai-tengereken
- India kegyeinek keresése³³

Kína részéről:

- OBOR: az Egy öv, egy út kezdeményezés, amely az egész eurázsiai térséget kívánja gazdaságilag összefogni³⁴
- AIIB, RECEP: az Ázsiai Infrastrukturális és Beruházási Bank, illetve a Regionális Átfogó Gazdasági Partnerség, amelyek az OBOR céljainak elérését szolgálják, az Egyesült Államok kimaradásával
- ASEAN-ban szövetségesek erősítése – Kambodzsa, Laosz – ezzel megakadályozva, hogy a szervezet egységesen lépjen fel az egyes tagjai és Kína között fennálló területi viták ügyében³⁵
- Orosz-kínai hadgyakorlatok, a Dél-kínai-tengeren is³⁶
- Dél-kínai-tengeri szigetépítések³⁷

25 Campbell – Andrews 2013.

26 BBC 2016.

27 Mehta – Kallender-Umezu 2015.

28 Whaley 2016.

29 Kim 2016.

30 Harris 2016.

31 Panda 2016a.

32 Sonawane 2015.

33 Smith 2016; RT 2016.

34 Sahoo 2015.

35 Kundu 2016.

36 Blanchard 2016.

37 Watkins 2015.

- A japán partiőrség folyamatos ébren tartása a Senkaku/Diaoyu-szigetek környékén³⁸
- Halászflootta-invázió vitatott hovatartozású vizeken és szigetek körül is, kínai hatósági kísérettel

(Rész)válaszok

Tajvan 2016-ban történetében először törekszik politikailag saját lábakra állni – függetlenedni –, mindezt azonban egy rendkívül nehéz időszakban teszi. Tajvanban ma minden korábbi és új törésvonal összeérni látszik. Zárásként röviden megkísérlek (rész)válaszokat adni a tanulmány elején megfogalmazott kérdésekre.

Visszavezethetők-e a ma feszültséget okozó konfliktusforrások a hidegháború időszakára?

Részben. Három fő konfliktus- és feszültségforrást azonosítottam be ma Tajvanban, melyek egy hármás harapófogóban tartják a szigetet: 1. létezik egy erős belső feszültség a zöld és kék frakciók között, amely a KMT és az eredeti szigetlakók közötti törésvonal maradványa; 2. Igen intenzív a szárazföldi Kína és a Tajvan között húzódó politikai törésvonal; 3. Tajvan egyúttal az egyre erősödő amerikai-kínai regionális rivalizálás metszetében van. A három terület közül az első kettő nem hidegháborús eredetű, ugyanakkor a hidegháború döntő szerepet játszott abban, hogy ezek az ellentétek konzerválódtak, nem pattantak ki vagy oldódtak meg jóval korábban, pl. az 1950-es években. A harmadik feszültségforrás ugyanakkor, ahogy láttuk, jóval inkább származtatható a hidegháború időszakából, egyrészt az amerikai hidegháborús mentalitás továbbélése – globális szupremáciájának féltése öröklődött –, másrészt azért, mert Kína politikai és gazdasági felemelkedésének megalapozásában, ezáltal az Egyesült Államokkal szembeni kihívó hatalommá válásában, jelentős szerepet játszott az amerikai hidegháborús stratégia az 1970-es és 1980-as években.

38 Panda 2016b.

Tovább él-e a hidegháború a Tajvan-kérdésben?

Igen, hiszen 1950 óta tartó kontinuitása van a sziget amerikai katonai védnökségének. Ugyanakkor csak egy réteggel mélyebbre ásva azt is meg kell állapítanunk, hogy a „Tajvan-kérdés” legalább annyira a lezáratlan kínai polgárháború, mint a hidegháború öröksége. A hidegháború mindössze konzerválta azt. A Tajvan-kérdésben tehát egy belső – kínai polgárháború – és egy tágabb – hidegháborús – konfliktus is tovább él.

Segít-e a hidegháborús mentalitás a konfliktusok megoldásában, vagy további jegelésében?

Nem, mert a konfliktusoknak új szereplői vannak, akik kikezdi a (hideg) háborús mentalitás sikerességét. A nagyobb spektrumú szembenállást tekintve – amerikai–kínai – azt látjuk, hogy a hidegháborúban sikeresnek bizonyult amerikai stratégia Kínával szemben – amely a Szovjetuniót váltotta – nem működik, mert Kína nemcsak katonailag, de gazdasági erőben és potenciálban is felnő az Egyesült Államok mellé. A kisebb (belső) konfliktust tekintve pedig azt tapasztalhatjuk, hogy már régen nemcsak a kínai polgárháború lezáratlan konfliktusa okozza a Peking és Tajpej közötti feszültséget, hanem a tajvani politikai porondon megjelent új szereplő, a DPP is, amelynek esze ágában sincs a szárazföldi Kínával való egyesülés, akár demokratikus, akár nem. A DPP kormányzó szerepe azért meghatározó jelentőségű, mert az a 2010-es évekre már – véleményem szerint – visszafordíthatatlanul megerősödött tajvani identitástudatnak a manifesztációja. Ezt a folyamatot Peking képtelen a polgárháborúból maradt attitűdjével kezelni. A régi hozzáállás, mind amerikai, mind kínai oldalon tehát nem képes megoldást kínálni a fennálló konfliktusokra. Ugyanakkor jegelni sem képesek azokat, mert a rendkívül szoros és tovább sűrűsödő gazdasági kötelékek fenntartása mindegyik fél érdeke, ez azonban már középtávon sem mutatkozik lehetségesnek a problémák kezelése nélkül.

Mi lehet a helyes irány?

A „Tajvan-kérdés” tekintetében, ha először a nagyhatalmi szembenállást vizsgáljuk, akkor azt mondhatjuk, hogy az Egyesült Államoknak fel kell hagynia hidegháborús mentalitásával, és kelet-ázsiai jelenlétét arra kell használnia, hogy a – részben általa is előidézett és/vagy konzervált – konfliktusokban kiegyensúlyozó, közvetítő, konstruktív szerepet töltsön be. Kínának a másik oldalon

el kell ismernie, hogy az Egyesült Államoknak a 20. század történelmi kontinuitásából adódóan elemi érdekeltségei vannak térségében, és ilyen alapon jogot formál arra, hogy kivegye részét a konfliktusok megoldásában. Pekingnek tehát a konfliktusok megoldása mentén kell korlátoznia a washingtoni szerepvállalást. Ez a megközelítés azonban nagyon messze van a realitásoktól. A helyes irány megtalálásának így szükségszerűen kisebb szintről kell kiindulnia: a kínai-tajvani viszonylatból, amelyet a feleknek részben függetleníteniük kell az előbbi – tágabb – kontextustól:

Goldstein azt írja,³⁹ hogy a Tajvani-szoros egyensúlya nem jelenti egyúttal annak stabilitását is, egyszerűen azért, mert a felek hosszú távú céljai alapvetően ellentétesek. A meghatározó folyamatok – a fokozódó amerikai-kínai regionális rivalizálás, a tajvani identitás megszilárdulása, a kínai-tajvani gazdasági integráltság magas és növekvő foka – így nem a *status quo* fenntartása, hanem a problémák kezelése irányába kell, hogy orientálja a feleket. Ez a korábbiaktól markánsan eltérő megközelítést követel meg mind Pekingtől, mind Tajpejtől. A pragmatizmus ma már nem elegendő a 21. század problémáinak jegelésére, kezelésére, az asszertív fellépés még kevésbé; a kihívások, illetve a korábban egymástól jobban elkülönülő problémák összeérése egyre erősebben konstruktív hozzáállást követel meg a felektől. Pekingnek meg kell értenie, hogy erődemonstrálással nem lehet képes – már – sikert elérni Tajvannal szemben, Tajpejnek ugyanakkor azzal kell tisztában lennie, hogy Kína erősebb, és a sziget saját jóléte érdekében áll, hogy ezer szállal kötődjék hozzá. Peking akkor tudná leginkább megmutatni erejét Tajvannak – és a világnak –, hogyha képes őt politikailag elengedni. Semmi nem lehet ennél erősebb demonstrációja Kína erejének, mint egy ilyen lépés, Tajvan függetlenedésének elfogadása. Bármennyire is valószínűtlen egy ilyen lépés Pekingtől, az mégis teljesen logikus lehet. Ezzel valószínűleg beverné az utolsó szeget a KKP ősi riválisának, a KMT-nek koporsójába is, a szigetet kormányzó DPP bizalmát viszont megnyerné, és jó eséllyel elindítana egy korábban nem látott közeledési folyamatot.

39 Goldstein 2015.

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Differentiating Economic Interests of China and their Influence on the Chinese Foreign and Security Policy

1. Introduction

The new international role and more assertive foreign and security policy of China is one of the most studied and debated phenomena of contemporary international situation. There are different standpoints and extremely divergent opinions on immediate and long term influence of the rise of China on the global and regional strategic and geopolitical balances and the future structure of international order and governance as a whole. Among myriad of research works, this short study is aimed at clearing a little the shadow covering the economic components of China's foreign and security policy and contributing to the understanding of their influence on defining China's national interests and formulating its international – global and regional – strategic attitudes and practical steps.

2. China as a global and Asian economic power

2.1. A major global economic power with systemic influence on world economy

According to IMF data, as a result of three decades of its fast development, since 2014, China has become the largest national economy in the world on purchasing-power-parity (PPP) terms, with its GDP standing at US\$ 18.088 trillion in that year, consisting almost 17 percent of the global GDP.¹ The Chinese economy contributed around 50 percent to the global GDP growth between 2008 and 2014 and continues to contribute at least 25-35 percent in

1 IMF World Economic Outlook Database, October 2015. International Monetary Fund, 6 October 2015.

the upcoming years until 2020.² In 2014, China became the largest export power and the second largest importer in the world, with exports reaching US\$ 2.342 trillion and imports standing at US\$ 1.959 trillion.³ It has the largest currency reserves, counting US\$ 3.305 trillion in March, 2016.⁴ By the latest finished quota reform, China has become the holder of the third largest voting share in IMF with 6.071 percent.⁵ The Chinese currency (RMB) is to become the third largest weighted component of the currency basket of the IMF SDR, with 10.92 percent share from October 1, 2016.⁶ All that clearly testifies that China's economy has become a global factor with deep systemic influence on international economic, trade and financial processes. It is recognized by China's important role in key institutions of global economic governance like IMF, World Bank, WTO and G20.

Simultaneously, China is an influential participant of the BRICS grouping, producing 55 percent of its combined GDP (PPP), which makes up around 31 percent of the global output.⁷ China played role in key decisions of BRICS, such as the establishment of the New Development Bank and the BRICS Contingent Reserve Arrangement, which influenced considerably some changes in global economic governance as well.

2.2. Key role in the economic development and prosperity of East Asia

Due to recent economic changes, China has become the largest regional economy, with a share of 51 percent in combined regional GDP of East and South East Asia in 2014, which in turn produced 33 percent of the global GDP (PPP).⁸ China's share reached 44 percent in combined foreign trade turnover of the region in 2014, and China was the largest trading partner for 11, and the second largest for 6 countries of the region.⁹ In 2014, China was the largest outward direct investor in the region, by yearly outward direct investment

2 Calculated upon data in IMF World Economic Outlook Database, October 2015.

3 WTO Statistics Database, Trade Profiles. World Trade Organization.

4 IMF Data Template on International Reserves and Foreign Currency Liquidity, May 6, 2016. International Monetary Fund, May 6, 2016.

5 "Historic Quota and Governance Reforms Become Effective." *IMF Press Release* 16.25. 27 January 2016.

6 "Review of the Special Drawing Rights (SDR) Currency Basket." *IMF Factsheet*, November 30, 2015.

7 Calculated upon data in IMF World Economic Outlook Database, October 2015.

8 Calculated upon data in IMF World Economic Outlook Database, October 2015.

9 Calculated upon data in WTO Statistics Database, Trade Profiles.

amounting to US\$ 116 billion.¹⁰ In June 2015, China owned 58 percent of the combined currency reserves of East and South East Asian countries.¹¹ China is a major participant in the regional currency swap arrangement, the Chiang Mai Initiative.

China's role in the prosperity of East Asia can be summed up rightfully as *"the guarantor of economic development"*¹² for countries of the region.

2.3. Remaining a developing country for a long time

A major economic power in absolute terms, China remains a developing country. Its Human Development Index (HDI) was 0.727 in 2015 putting the country on the 90th place globally.¹³ Similar international position is shown by China's per capita GDP (PPP) of US\$ 13,224 in 2014, which ranks 85th globally.¹⁴ The general technological level of the Chinese economy is medium, and the country lags behind major developed economies on a medium low place of the global value chain. For the last three decades, China has managed to alleviate hundreds of millions of people from poverty, but another 70-90 million still live under the Chinese official poverty line. The Chinese society experiences serious regional and social imbalances and inequalities, which need further considerable efforts to decrease.

The developing status is reflected by the formulation of two centenary goals for the further development of the country by its governing party, the CPC, namely

"[...] building a moderately prosperous society in all respects when the Communist Party of China celebrates its centenary" (2021)

and

10 UNCTADSTAT Country Profile, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

11 Calculated upon data in IMF Data Template on International Reserves and Foreign Currency Liquidity, July 25, 2015. International Monetary Fund, 2 July 2015.

12 Stanzel 2016: 7.

13 "UNDP Human Development Report 2015, Statistical Annex.": 209, 211.

14 Calculated upon data in IMF World Economic Outlook Database, October 2015.

“[...] turning China into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced and harmonious when the People’s Republic of China marks its centennial.” (2049).¹⁵

These goals are typically the goals of a developing country with the historic task of catching up with the more developed part of the world. It is a historically unparalleled situation, challenge and controversy in itself that China is a major economic power integrated deeply into the world economy, and, at the same time, it remains an underdeveloped country in comparison with many other major economic powers.

3. Controversies in the Chinese perceptions of the international role of China

3.1. Increased national pride with a traditional worldview

As a result of undisputable progress in development and upgraded international standing, many signs of rapidly increasing national pride emerged within the Chinese public opinion, among the growing urban middle class, the business, administrative, governmental, academic, media and even political and military elites. It is not surprising that after the “century of humiliation”, the controversial events and political crises of past decades, the Chinese public is eager to find emotionally elevating achievements for its self-confidence and national pride. This spiritual need moves the revival of traditionalist values, the reemergence of Confucianism and Sino-centrism as theoretical approaches to foreign-related issues. In recent years, there were signs of increased perception of China’s uniqueness, and it flourishes further, getting close to Chinese exceptionalism, partially in response to the theory of American exceptionalism.¹⁶

This change in public opinion exerts considerable pressure on foreign policy decision-makers. On one hand, they must provide the outside conditions for

¹⁵ Hu 2012: 15–16.

¹⁶ Late Gyula Jordán gave a substantive analysis of ideas of China’s uniqueness in his last published article: “The ‘China Model’ and the Question of China’s Uniqueness” (in Hungarian) in *Külügyi Szemle*, February, 2012. The detailed argumentation for the suggested assessment of those ideas developing further since 2012 towards a form of Chinese exceptionalism goes beyond the framework of this study.

continued development; on the other hand, it is unavoidable for them to fulfill some of the high expectations related to the elevated international status of their country. The Chinese leadership formulates its views on new complexities of China's international standing. Xinhua News Agency's report on the National Work Conference on Foreign Policy, held in November 2014, features the following statement by President Xi Jinping:

“Xi noted that China has entered a crucial stage of achieving the great renewal of the Chinese nation. China's relations with the rest of the world are going through profound changes; its interactions with the international community have become closer than ever before. China's dependence on the world and its involvement in international affairs are deepening, so are the world's dependence on China and its impact on China.”¹⁷

3.2. Globalization and differentiation of China's economic interests

China's economic interests became globalized both on macroeconomic, national level and on the level of different sectors and companies' microeconomic functioning. This kind of globalization may be called qualitative and structural. At the same time, due to China's interaction with all continents and regions, the globalization of its economy may be characterized quantitative and geographical. The globalization and regionalization of economic interactions resulted in historically unprecedented extension of Chinese economic interests in scope and range as well.

With globalization, the Chinese economic interests got differentiated both in qualitative and quantitative regard. Today, China is deeply interested in influencing the global and regional economies' functioning, practical interactions and their systemic conditions and rules, which makes it an active participant in institutions of global and regional economic governance. Being a major economic power and a developing country, China's participation in real economic exchanges and processes of rule-creation shows double-edged char-

17 “Xi Eyes More Enabling Int'l Environment for China's Peaceful Development” (3). *Xinhua net*, November 30, 2014.

acter. Regarding the rules of international trade, investment, competition, capital and financial flows, China's interests are a complex mix of those of a major exporter and outward investor and those of a major technology and foreign direct investment importer, so they are complex and differentiated very much.

3.3. Increasing influence on Chinese foreign policy by new social actors

The evolution and expansion of social forces influencing foreign and security policy of China evoked serious attention.¹⁸ Although the traditional central actors, primarily the leaders of the Communist Party of China, the People's Liberation Army and the State Council with its Ministries concerned, still exert decisive influence on making and executing foreign policy decisions, the influence of new social actors expands daily. Academic researchers, think tanks, influential media outlets and the public opinion, all shape the understanding of external issues by the Chinese society. Regional and local governments also play an increasing role.

The most influential new actors are undoubtedly the business groups, including state owned enterprises of the financial, construction, telecommunications, energy, mining, manufacturing, logistics and other key sectors. The influence of large private companies also increases rapidly and representatives of small and medium-size enterprises stand up with unseen strength for taking into consideration their external business interests as well. These actors exert their influence in all phases of shaping the country's foreign policy, including their direct involvement in determining the national interests, formulating foreign economic policies, and indirect influence on shaping approaches of the academic and public opinion, the media and even regional and local governments.¹⁹

18 Foreign Policy Decision Making and Implementation. China. U.S. Library of Congress, and Jakobson – Knox 2010.

19 The author's personal experiences of 18 years of diplomatic service in China stand as a proof to that.

4. Continuing integration of China into the global economy and the further structural reforms of its economy

4.1. Maximization of positive outside factors for continued internal development

The key component of the “*Chinese Dream*”, “*the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation*” is the continued fast development of the economy for decades to come. The interrelation between the internal economic development and the international economic conditions were described by President Xi Jinping in 2014 as follows:

“All factors considered, we can see that China is still in an important period of strategic opportunity for its development endeavor in which much can be accomplished. Our biggest opportunity lies in China's steady development and the growth in its strength. On the other hand, we should be mindful of various risks and challenges and skillfully defuse potential crises and turn them into opportunities for China's development.” [...] “Therefore, in projecting and adopting plans for reform and development, we must give full consideration to both domestic and international markets, both domestic and foreign resources and both domestic and international rules, and use them in a coordinated way.”²⁰

The maximization of positive involvement of outside economic factors, i.e. markets, energy and other resources, capital and technologies, trade and transportation routes, etc., into the development of the country results in further and even deeper integration of China into the globalized economy. That leads to further globalization and differentiation of Chinese economic interests, both in qualitative and quantitative aspects, which in turn increase further the influence of economic factors on determining the national interests.

This was expressed by important political decisions and large international initiatives put forward by China in recent years. Two major examples may clarify it extremely well.

20 “Xi Eyes More Enabling Int'l Environment...” (3).

The first is the decision of the CPC's 18th Congress (2012) to make China a major maritime power, securing the increased capacity to utilize marine resources:

"We should enhance our capacity for exploiting marine resources, develop the marine economy, protect the marine ecological environment, resolutely safeguard China's maritime rights and interests, and build China into a maritime power."²¹

The second is the Belt and Road Initiative (OBOR) put forward by President Xi Jinping in 2013 and emphasized further in 2014:

"We should step up results-oriented cooperation, actively advance the building of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road, work hard to expand the converging interests of various parties, and promote win-win cooperation through results-oriented cooperation."²²

Both examples show overwhelmingly economic motivations behind important strategies and concepts of China's foreign policy that turned out to have major consequences in its security policy and evoked great international attention and controversial practical reactions not only in economic but also in geopolitical and security fields as well.

Similarly, the active stance of China in global economic governance for changing some rules of international trade, investments and finances²³ and its efforts to build regional free trade areas and currency swap arrangements²⁴ evoked active countermeasures from some other major economic powers, like initiating and concluding the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) by the United States. It was made clear by the Statement of President Barack Obama issued in October 2015, after the closure of negotiations on TPP:

21 Hu 2012: 39.

22 "Xi Eyes More Enabling Int'l Environment..." (4). *Xinhua net* November 30, 2014.

23 See paragraph 2.1.

24 See paragraph 2.2.

“When more than 95 percent of our potential customers live outside our borders, we can’t let countries like China write the rules of the global economy. We should write those rules, [...]”²⁵

China’s further integration into the globalized economy is an absolute prerequisite of its further development, and it has a complicated character and direct geopolitical impact and security implications as well.

4.2. Decreasing speed of growth and the structural reforms of the economy

Although China managed to weather successfully the global financial and economic crisis of 2008-2010, its economy faces serious challenges nowadays. The continued cyclical problems on global markets keep on pressuring Chinese manufacturing industries. The large stimulus packages of the crisis era created and exaggerated some serious macroeconomic problems, i.e. financial and other imbalances, indebtedness, overcapacities, etc. The focus on crisis management resulted in postponing planned structural reforms, further enhancing the need for changing the growth model and speeding up technological development and innovation. The complex problems’ accumulated effect brought about declining annual growth rate, standing now between 6 and 7 percent. In turn, it brings up potential problems with employment and other social issues. The slower but steady growth was declared the “*new normal*”, with emphasis laid on better balancing and more sophisticated social management.²⁶

The Chinese government faces interconnected challenges: in short term, it has to manage the actual cyclical problems on the level of economic policies; for longer term, it has to move forward with deep, market-oriented structural reforms aimed at creating conditions for the further steady development. The comprehensive plans for solutions came in 2013 with the Decision of the Third Plenum of CPC Central Committee on *Comprehensively Deepening the Reform*; in 2014 with the Fourth Plenum of CPC CC deciding on measures to

25 Statement by the President on the Trans-Pacific Partnership. The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 5 October 2015.

26 Analysis of the economic situation and problems of China requires separate studies. It is touched upon here only as a factor influencing the formulation of international economic interests and policies of the country.

develop law-based governance; and in 2015 with approval of the *13th Five Year Plan* mapping up new practical economic and social policies. Nowadays, the implementation of those decisions moves forward with considerable efforts and speed, but not without social and internal political contradictions, tensions and risks.²⁷

Under the present economic, social and political situation, it may be concluded that there is a mutually enhancing correlation between the solution of internal economic problems, the implementation of further comprehensive, market-oriented reforms and the continued successful integration of China into the globalized world economy.

5. Development in the mechanism of formulation of China's national interests

5.1. Creation of the National Security Commission

The establishment of the National Security Commission (NSC) has been one of the biggest changes in the mechanism of political decision-making for recent years. The new body's establishment was decided by the Third Plenum of CPC CC in November 2013, and the NSC held its first meeting in April 2014. President Xi Jinping formulated the urgent need for the new body in 2013, and the tasks and character of it in 2014, as follows:

“National security and social stability form the basis for further reform and progress. Currently we are challenged by pressure from two sources: Internationally we must safeguard state sovereignty, national security and our development interests, and domestically we need to maintain political and social stability. All kinds of foreseeable and unforeseeable risks are increasing significantly, [...]. We need to establish a strong platform to coordinate our security work. For this purpose, establishing a National Security Commission to strengthen unified leadership of national security at the central level has become an urgent matter.”²⁸

27 Detailed analysis of social and political processes and tensions within China goes beyond the framework of this study.

28 Xi 2013: 99.

“We need to acquire an accurate understanding of new developments and trends of the situation of national security, adhere to a holistic view and develop national security with Chinese characteristics.”²⁹

Although the Chinese NSC’s establishment was designed after studying similar foreign examples, especially the NSC in the US system of federal government, it has some distinctly unique features. Most important of them is the close combination and coordination of issues related to internal and external security.³⁰

Another important feature of the Chinese NSC is the holistic approach to security corresponding to the advanced understanding of national security, showing an important step forward in Chinese security theory and practice. That approach was explained by President Xi Jinping in 2014 as follows:

“Therefore, we must maintain a holistic view of national security, take the people’s security as our ultimate goal, achieve political security as our fundamental task, regard economic security as our foundation, with military, cultural and public security as means of guarantee, and promote international security so as to establish a national security system with Chinese characteristics.”³¹

This interpretation of security is not only comprehensive and holistic but also functional, as it formulates the goal, task, foundation, means and outside conditions of the national security.

Putting economic security to the important place of “*foundation*” demonstrates not only the materialist ideology of China’s leaders, but also the close interconnection of security with economic aspect of the “*two centenary goals*”.³²

29 Xi 2014: 221.

30 Detailed analysis of special political reasons of that close interconnection and the emphasis on some internal challenges goes beyond the framework of this study, so they are set aside in further explanation of the NSC.

31 Xi 2014: 222.

32 See paragraph 2.3.

5.2. Changing tactics and strategy of foreign and security policy

Recent international actions of China disclose certain modifications in progress for some years. The most important of those are the openly undertaken great power stance in international affairs,³³ the increased activity in global and regional security affairs, the open and clear formulation of national interests and political positions in international economic, political, security, environmental, and other issues, the clearer positions taken in UN Security Council, and the decisive actions in cases related to China's national interests. The world and China's neighbors are faced with a stronger, more decisive China when they come across issues of any political, security, economic or other importance, and have to cooperate with China, or find common interests for solving outstanding issues amicably. It is not surprising that a complete analytical literature has been published worldwide recently on the more assertive, if not aggressive, international standing and behavior of China.³⁴

On level of foreign policy strategy or doctrine, China shows a considerable degree of ambiguity, as the last principal guideline was formulated by Deng Xiaoping in the early 1990-s in form of the famous "*24-character strategy*"³⁵ of cautious passivism. Although there have been many signs of gradual changes in that doctrine since the late 1990-s,³⁶ no coherent, new guiding strategy has been formulated yet by any generation of Chinese leaders. It does not necessarily mean that there is no such new guideline in existence, but surely means that the Chinese leaders do not consider it timely to publicize it yet.

Anyhow, the gap and contradiction between the old strategic guideline and the new assertiveness of China's foreign policy in every field, i.e. economic, political, security and humanitarian issues, become greater day by day. Further, the official line of "*China's peaceful rise*" and the absence of a new and transparent foreign and security policy doctrine with a changing practice may harm international trust unavoidably.

33 It should be especially noted that China does not use the term "great power" in English with regard to itself as it brings about historic connotations of past bad experiences of the nation, but uses the term "major country", the meaning of which practically equals for the outside world to the meaning of the term "great power".

34 Detailed analysis of that literature goes beyond the framework of this study.

35 Deng Xiaoping's "24-Character Strategy" *GlobalSecurity.org*.

36 Fravel 2012.

6. Foreign and security policy of China influenced by its economic interests

6.1. Continuing adjustment of social forces influencing foreign and security policy

China's international rise continues with the economy taking a leading role in it. The transformation of the Chinese economy and society moves forward by every step of "*the deepening of the reform*"³⁷ policy. Foreign-related activities of Chinese businesses and foreign travel and connections of Chinese citizens grow with extreme speed. That leads to continuing adjustment of social forces influencing the foreign policy of the country. It is seen in the daily activities of the Chinese diplomacy, and the special attention the Chinese government pays to ideas and assessments related to foreign affairs, expressed by the public.

Nowadays, there are two major segments of new social forces exerting serious influence on foreign and security policy in China: the business circles and the public opinion. Business exerts its influence mainly via institutionalized channels of its organizations and formalized consultations with the government institutions, especially in issues related to bilateral economic relations and international economic governance. The general public, even some individuals, influence the decisions mostly via the Internet, the social media.

Those two social actors, i.e. the business and the public, became so influential that the Fourth Plenum of CPC CC included the protection of their rights and interests overseas into tasks of law-based governance, besides the emphasis on the country's rights and interests:

"We need to improve our work concerning foreign-related laws, use legal means to safeguard our country's sovereignty, security, and development interests, and protect the legitimate rights and interests of Chinese citizens and legal persons overseas and foreign citizens and legal persons in China."³⁸

37 See paragraph 4.2.

38 Communiqué of the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 23 October 2014. *Theory China*, 10.

6.2. Dynamically unfolding assertive implementation of national interests

The continued rise of China, based on its international economic position, foreshadows its further assertiveness on the international arena. The Xinhua News Agency highlighted from President Xi Jinping's speech in November 2014 the following sentence, declaring the great power status of China:

"Xi stressed that China should develop a distinctive diplomatic approach befitting its role of a major country."³⁹

President Xi Jinping further formulated his very decisive policy stance, clear and assertive message on the same occasion in 2014:

"While pursuing peaceful development, we will never sacrifice our legitimate rights and interests or China's core interests. No foreign country should expect China to trade off its core interests or swallow bitter fruit that undermines China's sovereignty, security or development interests. China is pursuing peaceful development, and so are other countries. This is the sure way for all the countries in the world to seek common development and peaceful coexistence. We should let the world learn more about China's strategy of pursuing peaceful development and let the international community view China's development for what it is and treat it accordingly. China will never seek development at the expense of any other countries' interests, nor will it shift its problems to others. We will actively pursue peaceful and common development, uphold the multi-lateral trading system and participate in global economic governance."⁴⁰

That statement, besides the strong assertion of basic national interests of China, puts a special emphasis on the economic interests, includes the development interests into the group of the three "*core*" interests ("*sovereignty, security, devel-*

39 "Xi Eyes More Enabling Int'l Environment..." (3). See also footnote 33.

40 Xi 2014: 273.

opment”), and especially focuses on peaceful development and participation in global economic governance.

7. Some conclusions

The importance of economic interests is enhanced within the system and structure of national interests of China and the development is included into the group of its “core interests”, the highest priorities of the country’s foreign and security policy.

Consequently, it should be expected that China will show further increased economic motivations in its assertive political, diplomatic and even military posture, positioning and practical actions, both globally and regionally.

It is high time for China’s international partners to pay appropriate attention to full understanding of the international economic interests and motivations of that great power, as they will influence its foreign and security policy for long time to come.

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Qikeng Li

Striving for a Reunified and Neutral Korea – China's Security Strategy on the Korean Peninsula

The past months have witnessed escalating tensions on the Korean Peninsula, triggered by North Korea's nuclear tests and satellite launchings, followed by the tough counter-measures on the part of the United States and South Korea. The situation seems to be on the brink of war. Yet, other than supporting the UN Security Council Resolution 2270, China has not drastically changed its policy towards North Korea. To solve the North Korea nuclear issue once for all and ensure lasting peace on its northeastern border, China should strive immediately for a reunified and neutral Korea, similar to the solution of the Austrian issue in 1955 and German reunification in 1990.

Definition: a reunified and neutral Korea

A reunified Korea means that the two Koreas are reunified under Republic of Korea (ROK), following the German model in 1990. The two Koreas are comparable to the two Germans during the Cold War in several important ways, political, economic, social, and humanitarian. Reunification can be realized under the South.

A neutral Korea means that the reunified Korea remains permanently neutral, following the Austrian model in 1955, signing peace treaties with China, Japan, and other relevant countries, terminating all existing treaties of alliance with any other country, with no foreign troops or military bases in Korea.

Roadmap

The key actors in bringing about a reunified and neutral Korea include China, ROK and the US, with North Korea, Russia and Japan playing a less important role.

To achieve the goal of a reunified and neutral Korea, China should first negotiate with ROK. China can inform ROK that China would support and work for Korean reunification under ROK, on the condition that the reunified Korea remains permanently neutral, without foreign troops or military bases on the Korean Peninsula. China should make it explicit that it will never accept a reunified Korea with foreign troops and military bases, even south of the 38th parallel. This should be China's bottom line. The rationale of the US-Korea alliance and US military presence in ROK is to deter North Korea from attacking ROK. A reunified Korea would naturally disqualify such an alliance. The goal cannot be achieved nor further steps can be taken without the endorsement of ROK for a reunified and neutral Korea.

With the likely endorsement of ROK, the three key players, China, ROK, and the United States can negotiate for a US approval of such a goal. This may turn out to be rather difficult, but not unlikely. ROK should have the final say regarding the future of the Korean Peninsula and its people. China needs to show great wisdom and tactics in the process. During or before the negotiations, China may get the support of Russia and Japan, which also requires diplomatic wisdom. After the US approves of the goal, the three countries can then discuss the means of achieving it.

There may be two approaches to a reunified and neutral Korea, one peaceful and the other military. The peaceful way is to persuade North Korean leader Kim Jong-un to accept the inevitable. If he does, he can take the credit of promoting a reunified Korea, leaving a great political and historic legacy in history. The three key actors can even promise him an honorary role in the reunified Korea, and guarantee the safety of his family. If he does not, he should know the fate of Saddam Hussein and Muammar Gaddafi. The military option should be the last resort. To prevent civilian casualties and minimize loss of lives, a decapitation strike is preferred. With a successful decapitation strike and corresponding psychological warfare, North Korean military forces would likely lay down their weapons. Either Kim Jong-un steps down peacefully or he is killed in decapitation strikes, the obstacle to Korean reunification is removed.

Reasons

The first and foremost reason for China to strive for a reunified and neutral Korea is that North Korea has become a liability rather than an asset for China in several important aspects. First, North Korea's nuclear ambition is a threat to regional instability and China's national security. China's geographic proximity to North Korea means that a nuclearized North Korea is a potential threat to China's national security in case of a nuclear accident or nuclear war. China might also become a target of North Korea's nuclear weapons. It is reported that Kim Jong-un is very angry with China over a number of issues, the most important being that China "betrayed" North Korea in cooperating with North Korea's enemies.¹ Furthermore, North Korea's openly declared nuclear ambition and successive nuclear tests and missile launchings have increasingly deteriorated stability in Northeast Asia, prompting Japan, ROK and the US to take counter-actions and strengthen their alliance and military capacity, both defensive and offensive, which is a great threat to China's national security. Washington has been in talks with Seoul to deploy a missile defense system (Terminal High Altitude Area Defense, also known as THAAD) to boost regional security. This is a great threat to Chinese national security. It is no wonder that China has held firmly its principle of a non-nuclear Korean Peninsula. Second, North Korean leader Kim Jong-un's intransigent and unpredictable behaviors is a waste of China's diplomatic capital and resources, diverting China's attention from other more important issues. He would generally play hardball, showing off North Korea's military power, threatening to take preventive actions against ROK and the US to wipe out his enemies. Such aggressive remarks and actions are only bluffing. He is fully aware that if North Korea starts any offensive military action, he will be doomed. That explains why he has expressed willingness to hold peace talks from time to time. It seems that Kim Jong-un is fooling around or blackmailing other countries, yet, China, as well as other four parties involved in the Six-Party talks, has to deal with the North Korean issue from time to time, diverting its attention from other issues. Third, North Korea's quest for nuclear weapons and other policies have drained its economy, creating a severely impoverished society. There has been a constant inflow of Chinese resources into North Korea. North Korea has be-

1 North Korea's leading newspaper, *Labor News*, has criticized China a number of times, implicitly and explicitly, over the past few years, one recent case being on April 2.

come an increasingly financial burden on China. Fourth, regarding the North Korean issue, China has been under international pressure on two fronts, political and humanitarian. The political pressure is that China has been continuing to support North Korea or unwilling to use its leverage on North Korea despite Kim Jong-un's continuous provocations. The humanitarian pressure is that, on one hand, China faces the challenge of dealing with an influx of refugees in case of crisis, and, on the other hand, China is in a dilemma on how to deal with North Korea defectors.

Second, North Korea as a buffer zone for China has become less valuable than it was during the Cold War years. First, since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1992, China and ROK have become good neighbors, with ever increasing exchanges and ties in political, economic, and cultural fields. Second, the nature of China-US relations is drastically different from that of US-USSR relations in the Cold War. US-USSR relations were more confrontational than cooperative, while US-China relations are more interdependent, cooperative, with few, if any, elements of confrontation.

Third, a divided Korea is a result of the Cold War. Though the Cold War came to an end more than a quarter century ago, the Korean Peninsula still remains divided. Vietnam, which was once divided like Korea, was reunified, though in a different way. Germany, which was also divided in the Cold War, became reunified in 1990. Korea may be the only exception. The Korean people both north and south share the same language and culture. They have the right to live on a reunified Peninsula.

Urgency: Dangerous Developments on the Korean Peninsula

Sharing a border of close to 1400 kilometers with North Korea, China undoubtedly has the greatest geo-political interest on the Korean Peninsula. Therefore, China has announced that it would never allow war or chaos to occur on the Korean Peninsula.² However, developments on the Peninsula will most likely lead to war or chaos if China continues to be passive and reactive.

The situation on the Korean Peninsula might develop in four directions.

2 Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi made such a remark when meeting with US Secretary of State John Kerry on February 14 and reaffirmed this stance in Munich on 12 February 2016.

First, despite the outcries for war, curse hurling, and provocative actions on both sides, North Korea and the US/ROK, the consequences of war will deter both sides from initiating an offensive attack. In this case, though the situation may remain basically unchanged, it will continue to be tense and unpredictable. The danger of war lingers on, like the Sword of Damocles.

Second, the US and ROK will take sudden military actions to topple the North Korea leadership. In such a case, the Korean Peninsula will be reunified under ROK, the US-Korea alliance will continue, and likely strengthen. With careful planning and full preparation, the US and ROK may realize their goal in days, with limited losses on the US and ROK side.

Third, North Korea, while sensing immediate threats from the US and ROK, will take preemptive military actions. In such a case, the US and ROK may suffer some losses, but North Korea leadership will be toppled, and the North Korea military will be destroyed. After heavy fighting, Korea will be reunified under ROK, and the US-ROK alliance will continue.

Fourth, North Korea regime may collapse as a result of internal rebellion or chaos. Since his succession to power, Kim Jong-un has ruled the country in a tyrannical manner, ruthlessly executing those suspected of opposing him. The North Korean army and people are living in great fear and wrath, which, once ignited, may turn into consuming flame. Recent cases of North Korea defectors can illustrate the vulnerability of the North Korea government. In case of North Korean chaos or collapse, the North Korean people may demand reunification under ROK while resisting Chinese intervention.

In view of all these likely scenarios, China should immediately take the lead in striving for a reunified and neutral Korea, since any of these developments may severely hurt China's national interest. It might be too late if China sends its troops to North Korea to protect China's national interest after a war, chaos or collapse breaks out on the Korean Peninsula.

Opportunities and Challenges

The idea of a reunified and neutral Korea faces great opportunities as well as challenges.

First, the idea of reunification and neutrality (which also means security assurance) may appeal to the Korean people, both south and north, and

ROK president Park Geun-Hye. The Korean people have historically longed for reunification. Though some South Koreans worry about the economic cost of reunification, the historical and political implications of reunification will likely lessen their worries.

Second, in his Address to the Central Conference on Work Relating to Foreign Affairs on November 28–29, 2014, Chinese President Xi Jinping remarked that China should “develop a distinctive diplomatic approach befitting its role of a major country” and that China must “conduct diplomacy with a salient Chinese feature and a Chinese vision.” Xi’s remark signals that China might reconsider its policy towards North Korea. China’s decision to establish diplomatic relations with ROK in 1992 serves as a precedent of China’s vision and flexibility in its policies towards the Korean Peninsula.

Third, the United States can find no convincing reason to oppose the idea of a reunified and neutral Korea, despite its alliance with ROK. The US has traditionally voiced strong support for peace and national self-determination. A reunified and neutral Korea fulfills both ideals. A US objection to a reunified and neutral Korea can be criticized as hypocritical.

Fourth, the other stakeholders, Japan and Russia would be more than happy to see a reunified and neutral Korea, as such a scenario brings about benefits for them, such as regional stability, security, and more economic opportunities, while posing no threat whatsoever.

Challenges for a reunified and neutral Korea are threefold. The first is from the United States. The United States declared its “rebalancing” in Asia-Pacific policy in 2014, targeting China, so the US will most likely try its best to keep its military presence on the Korean Peninsula. Think tanks have already recommended that the US should keep the alliance with ROK after reunification. Scott A. Snyder, Senior Fellow for Korea Studies and Director of the Program on U.S.-Korea Policy at Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) recommended that the US can promise to reduce the overall number of U.S. troops on the Korean Peninsula after the Korean reunification, but must affirm that the U.S.-South Korea alliance will remain strong.³ However, whether the US-ROK alliance will remain or not after reunification is a decision to be made by the ROK, not the US. Though the ROK may face a dilemma, with pressure

3 Snyder 2015.

from the US and China, it is likely that the ROK will choose permanent neutrality, which is the best choice for its national interest.

The second challenge is undoubtedly from North Korean leader Kim Jong-un. History and recent experiences have shown that a dictator seldom willingly gives up his monopoly of power and his control over the people. However, if one has to choose between the fate of Saddam Hussein and Moammar Kadafi or peaceful retirement, a man without insanity is likely to choose the latter.

The third challenge is from China itself. China has traditionally upheld the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries in dealing with foreign affairs. In his Address to the Central Conference on Work Relating to Foreign Affairs on November 28–29, 2014, Chinese President Xi Jinping repeated this principle. It is hard to predict whether China will make an exception over North Korea.

It is clear that in striving for a reunified and neutral Korean Peninsula, the opportunities outweigh the challenges. The key lies in China's hands.

Benefits

A reunified and neutral Korea will bring about various benefits, to the Korean Peninsula, to China, to the region and to the rest of the world.

The most obvious benefit may be humanitarian. A reunified Korea will not only save the North Korean people from poverty and dictatorship, but also fulfill a long cherished dream of the Korean people, both north and south. Under the dictatorship of the Kim family, whose major concern is to ensure its own security and wellbeing and maintain its monopoly of power over the Korean people, the North Korean people have long lived in destitution. Those who have expressed dissatisfaction or challenged the dictatorship were punished in a ruthless manner. The North Korean people have the right to freedom from want and from fear, the basic rights alongside with sheer existence. Also deeply influenced by Confucianism culture which highly regards unification, the Korean people have longed for reunification for long.

Furthermore, a reunified and neutral Korea will definitely ameliorate China's national security. At present, the Korean Peninsula poses various potential threats to China's national security, the possible nuclearization of North Korea, the US military presence, the possible influx of North Korea refugees, the

possibility of a hot war, etc. A reunified and neutral Korea will rid of all these threats once for all.

In addition, China's initiative in striving for a reunified and neutral Korea will improve China's international image. China has been criticized for not exerting its influence in solving the North Korea nuclear issue, or even not seriously punishing North Korea for its repeated provocations against international community. If China takes the lead in striving for a reunified and neutral Korea, China can take the credit for dissolving a major security threat to regional and world peace, scoring high diplomatic points. China can be regarded as the leading contributor to the reunification of a nation which highly cherishes unification.

Above all, a reunified and neutral Korea will ensure lasting peace and prosperity in East Asia, contributing to world peace and prosperity. For years, North Korea and the US have been accusing each other as triggering regional instability in the region. North Korea's quest for nuclear weapons is the major cause for the escalating tensions, and North Korea feels insecure because of US military presence and the US-ROK joint military exercises. As a result of the tensions, China, Japan and the two Koreas have to spend more money on defense, sacrificing the economy and wellbeing of the whole region. A reunified and neutral Korea means that not only countries in East Asia, but also the US can cut down their military budget, leading to lasting peace and prosperity in the region, contributing to world peace and prosperity.

In conclusion, it is high time that China made the strategic and historic decision to strive for a reunified and neutral Korea, strategic because it will drastically improve China's national security and contribute to regional and world stability and prosperity, historic because it will mark a departure from China's long held principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries as well as a breakthrough in China's diplomacy. If China does not act soon, it may be too late.

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An Introduction of China's Participation in U.N. Peace-keeping Operations

By May 29, 2016, the Chinese army had been participating in U.N. peace-keeping operations for 26 years, increasing the scope of its contribution both in terms of military strength and in terms of the range of types of units deployed. Thanks to its outstanding performance, the Chinese peace-keeping force has enjoyed a high reputation with both the United Nations and people in mission countries, becoming the backbone force in U.N. peace-keeping operations.

1. Development of China's Participation in the U.N. Peace-keeping Operations

The history of the Chinese army's participation in U.N. peace-keeping operations is one of exploration, development and even glory. Generally speaking, the period of China's participation in these operations can be approximately divided into three stages:

1. Observation stage. On October 25, 1971, the People's Republic of China was restored to its rightful seat in the United Nations. As the Chinese government lacked adequate knowledge of U.N. peace keeping operations to play an active part on the U.N. stage, and also because historically U.N. peace-keeping operations had been utilized by some powers to the detriment of the Chinese people's image, the Chinese government chose to act as an observer, and maintained this role until the end of 1981. During this period, the United Nations took on a total of three peace-keeping operations, but the Chinese government did not vote on peace-keeping resolutions in the UNSC and, at the same time, declared that it did not assume any fiscal obligations related to peace-keeping operations.
2. Recognition stage. Having adopted a policy of reform and openness towards the rest of the world, China had more chances to get to know the outside world, and from a broader perspective. It thus brought a "flexible stand for

differential treatment” to the U.N. peace-keeping operations and expressed its willingness to cooperate in relevant fields. On November 27, 1981, Ling Qin, China’s permanent representative at the United Nations, clearly stated that the Chinese government would take a flexible stand for differential treatment to U.N. peace-keeping operations, in future in view of its responsibility to both the United Nations and to world peace and human progress. From November 1, 1982, China began to share the burden of payment for the U.N. troops in the Middle East and would actively support and seriously study and treat any U.N. peace-keeping operation that was established in strict accordance with the United Nations Charter, and favored the maintenance of international peace and security, or of national sovereignty and independence.

3. Participation stage. In September 22, 1988, Li Luye, the permanent representative of China at the United Nations, addressed a letter to the U.N. secretary-general with a request to join the U.N. Special Committee on Peace-keeping, pointing out that since

“the special committee has become an effective instrument of the United Nations to maintain world peace and security and promote the relaxation of regional conflicts and the peaceful settlement of disputes, China is willing to make contributions to the peace-keeping operations together with the U.N. Special Committee on Peace-keeping.”

In December of the same year, China was accepted as a member of the U.N. Special Committee on Peace-keeping by the 43rd UNGA. In November 1989, China officially applied to dispatch military observers to the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), marking the start of the Chinese army’s participation in U.N. peace-keeping operations. Since then, China has continually enlarged the scale and broadened the scope of its participation in such operations.

2. Milestones in China's Participation in U.N. Peace Keeping Operations

- On December 6, 1988, the 43rd General Assembly of the United Nations unanimously agreed to allow China to join the U.N. Special Committee on Peace-keeping.
- In April 1990, the Chinese army first dispatched 5 military observers to UNTSO.
- In April 1991, the Chinese army dispatched 15 military observers to the United Nations Iraq/Kuwait Observer Mission (UNIKOM) .
- In September 1991, 20 Chinese military observers joined the UN Mission on the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO).
- In April 1992, the Chinese army dispatched an engineering battalion consisting of 400 persons to the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), which marked the start of active participation by Chinese units in U.N. peace-keeping operations.
- In December 2001, the Office of Peace-Keeping Affairs of the Ministry Of National Defense was established to ensure the uniform coordination and administration of the Chinese army's participation in U.N. peace-keeping operations.
- In February 2002, China officially joined the U.N. peace-keeping preparations first-level standby arrangement mechanism; that is, to dispatch personnel and equipment within 90 days of receiving the request from the United Nations.
- In April 2003, China dispatched an engineering unit of 175 persons and a medical unit of 43 persons to MONUC, extending the range of its peace-keeping units to the medical field.
- In December 2003, China dispatched an engineering unit of 275 persons, a transport unit of 240 persons and a medical unit of 43 persons to the United Nations Mission in Liberia, extending the range of peace-keeping units to the field of transport.
- In April 2006, the Chinese army dispatched its first peace-keeping troops to Lebanon.
- In May 2006, the Chinese army dispatched its first peace keeping troops to Sudan.

- In September 17, 2007, Zhao Jingmin, an officer of the Office of Peace-keeping Affairs of the Chinese Ministry of National Defense, took command of MINURSO, becoming the first Chinese senior commander of a United Nations peace-keeping force.
- In November 2007, China dispatched a multi-function engineering unit of 315 persons to UNAMID, including a well-boring detachment.
- In June 2009, the Peace keeping Center of the Ministry of National Defense was established in Beijing, becoming the first professional training and international exchange institution for peace-keeping in the Chinese army.
- In December 2013, China dispatched a 155-person engineering unit, a 170-person escort unit and a 70-person medical unit to the United Nations Mission in Mali; the escort unit was the first organized security detachment of the Chinese army to take part in United Nations peace-keeping operations.
- In November 2015, for the first time China dispatched an infantry unit to the United Nations mission in South Sudan for peace-keeping operations, arousing wide interest in international public opinion.

3. China's Administration and Training of Peace Keeping Operations

The first task was to establish the necessary institutions. In December 2001, the Office of Peace-keeping Affairs of the Chinese Ministry of National Defense was officially founded, specifically to take charge of the coordination and administration of the Chinese army's participation in U.N. peace-keeping operations. In June 2009, the peace-keeping center of the Chinese Ministry of National Defense was officially established in Beijing, not only providing standardized training for Chinese army units in armed peace-keeping operations, but also becoming an important platform for training foreign peace-keeping forces and for international exchange. After several years of development, the Peace-keeping Center of the Chinese Ministry of National Defense was designated by the United Nations as the core peace-keeping training base of the world.

The second step was to enact relevant regulations. In 2012, on the basis of the analysis of many years of experience, the “Ordinance Of The Chinese People’s Liberation Army to Participate in U.N. Peace keeping Operations (Trial)” was promulgated, giving systematic and well-defined specifications for the mission scope, organization, dispatch, withdrawal, training, administration and logistic support of our army in peace-keeping operations. It also provides strong a strong legal basis for the normalization and institutionalization of peace-keeping operations. Subsequently, our army has also successively established relevant regulations on peace-keeping officers, financial affairs, personnel treatment, uniforms and so on, providing the necessary references for strengthening peace-keeping force administration, improving funding for peace-keeping forces and protecting peace-keeping forces’ rights and interests.

The third task was to establish relevant training systems. The training system is divided into three levels: elementary, intermediate and senior. The senior level is for higher commanders in the Peace-keeping Center, with trainees from colonels to major generals who have peace-keeping experiences. The intermediate level is for military observers, staff officers and peace-keeping force cadres in the Peace Keeping Center. The elementary level is for military observers, peace-keeping standby troops and peace-keeping pre-deployment training in the University of International Studies.

4. China’s Contributions to U.N. Peace-keeping Operations

By May 2016, China had dispatched a total of 15 peace-keeping battalions of altogether 2,787 persons to 6 mission areas of the United Nations, and 95 military observers and staff officers to 9 mission areas, for a total of 2,882 persons, becoming the country with the largest peace-keeping force among the permanent members of UNSC, and ranking 7th among 121 countries providing troops for United Nations operations.

According to the Office of Peace-keeping Affairs of the Chinese Ministry of National Defense, by November 2016, in all the Chinese army had provided about thirty thousand person-days in peace-keeping operations, and ten soldiers have given their lives: four officers and six other ranks. Chinese peace-keeping troops have carried out 2,350 patrol, escort and guard missions, built and repaired over 13.9 thousand kilometers of roads and 328 bridges, removed

over 11,000 mines and other unexploded ordnance, treated over 0.15 million person-time patients, transported 3.1 million tons of supplies and equipment, with a total transport mileage of more than 12.8 million kilometers.

As the country with the highest share of United Nations peace-keeping operations among all developing countries, China paid out 0.562 billion dollars in 2015, taking the 6th place among all countries paying for peace-keeping operations.

During the Chinese army's 25-year participation in U.N. peace-keeping operations, "high responsibility" and "strong endurance" have often been mentioned in other countries' appraisals of Chinese peace-keeping troops. "Chinese speed" and "Chinese quality" have become examples and models in some mission areas of the United Nations.

In November 2004, during a meeting with former President Hu Jintao in Paris, Kofi Annan, then U.N. Secretary General, praised the positive roles played by China in peace-keeping operations in Africa. In November 2007, while visiting China, the deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations in charge of peace-keeping affairs spoke very highly of the professional skills and dedication of Chinese peace-keeping troops. He emphasized that the United Nations needed precisely such troops, with strict discipline and professional skills, as the Chinese. Ban Ki-moon, the current United Nations Secretary-General, said that "I am very proud of the job that the Chinese peace-keeping force is doing, for it is precisely their work that makes our world more peaceful, safe and free".

5. Prospect of China's Participation in the U.N. Peace-keeping Operations

While attending the series of summits marking the 70th Anniversary of the United Nations, President Xi Jinping declared that China would join the United Nations' new standby mechanism to facilitate peace-keeping operations and decided first of all to organize a regular standing peace-keeping police force and an 8,000-person standby peace-keeping force. Over the next 5 years, China will train 2,000 peace-keeping operative and develop 10 mine-clearance assistance projects for different countries. It is already ready to deploy helicopter detachments to the U.N. mission areas.

According to the distribution of costs of the U.N. budget and peace keeping operations agreed by the UNGA in August 2015, China would pay 7.921% of the U.N. budget and 10.2% of the costs of peace-keeping operations over the next 3 years. At current levels, China has become the third highest contributor to the U.N. budget after to the United States and Japan, and the second highest contributor to peace-keeping operations after the United States.

It is to be believed that, in parallel with the enhancement of its own capacities, China will continue to increase its participation in peace-keeping operations and will contribute ever more to world peace.

Fruzsina Simigh

Undermining the International World Order: China's Peacekeeping Operations in Africa¹

Introduction

The world has watched China's rise and her influence expand with apprehension. This anxiety and suspicion grew recently as China started to build a system of shadow-institutions, like the One Belt One Road initiative, the Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank, or the BRICS Bank, and started to worry that China aimed to overthrow the current world order.

On the other hand there is Chinese President Xi Jinping's generous offer made at the 70th UN General Assembly, that China increases the number of her peacekeeping forces and the financial support of the peacekeeping operations. He underlined the necessity of developments in the peacekeeping system, to ensure that the UN is able to respond more quickly to conflicts. In addition, he made a stand for the African continent and its institutions, particularly for the support of the African Union.

The gesture has eclipsed for instance the USA's offering, namely the doubling the number of its officers – from 6 to 12 –, even though it additionally gives further technical, aerial and financial support, and gives 28 percent of the UN peacekeeping budget. Many European countries (except the United Kingdom) haven't even offered that amount of sacrifice, mainly referring to the migration-wave that affects the European Union. President Xi's offering clouded the leading role the US plays in the reform of the peacekeeping system. What is exactly the content of the Chinese President's announcement, and why is it particularly important for Africa? President Xi's undertakings were the following:²

1 This is a revised and expanded article based on Czirják Ráhel – Eszterhai Viktor – Polyák Eszter and Simigh Fruzsina 2016. "Aiming for a global role: Chinese peacekeepers in the UN" (In Hungarian). *geopolitika.hu*. 12 March 2016. <http://www.geopolitika.hu/2016/03/12/globalis-szerepvallalasra-torve-kinnai-bekefenntartok-az-ensz-ben/> (accessed: 10 May 2016.).

2 "President Xi addresses U.N. General Assembly, pledges \$1B in aid." 2015. *youtube.com*.

1. expansion of the number of standby troops to 8,000 persons;
2. provision of Chinese engineering, logistics and medical capacity in accordance with the UN demand;
3. de-mining training for 2,000 personnel in China, and the launch of 10 mine clearance programs;
4. 100 million USD support in the next 5 years for the development of the African Union's crisis forces;
5. provision of helicopter forces to help the UN activities in Africa;
6. establishment of a „China-UN Peace and Development Fund” to finance UN operations.

There are remarkably complex reasons and objectives in the background of the ever more assertive Chinese activity, such as China's representation of a globally responsible and credible great power committed to the present international order and its institutions, and secure her investments in Africa. Through the example of a case study of Darfur (UNAMID) this article presents the shift in China's attitude and participation in UNPKOs arguing that Chinese politics challenges the western countries within the system of the extant international institutions.

The challenges of UN peacekeeping missions

Peacekeeping has proven to be one of the most effective tools available to the UN to support certain war-torn countries' transition from conflict to peace. UN peacekeeping is guided by three basic principles: mutual consent of the parties; impartiality; non-use of force – except in self-defence and defence of the mandate. UN peacekeeping forces operate in conflict zones since 1948, the first mission was the supervision of the compliance of ceasefire between the Israelis and the neighbouring Arab states. The standard practice of the missions has several advantages: it is legitimate, it allows the share of responsibilities, and troops can be mobilized anywhere around the world, also by involving civilian peacekeepers.³

Traditional peacekeeping was a method of the post-World War II world order, mostly sculpted out with US leadership, to eliminate recurrently occurring anomalies. In the beginning, the scope of missions was limited to ensure

3 “What is Peacekeeping?” *un.org*.

the compliance of ceasefires and local stabilisation, serving as an instrument of peaceful intervention. Within their tasks the prevention of border-wars between young nation-states played significant role, for example during the Pakistan-India conflict. It proves the success of traditional peacekeeping that in 1988 many missions have ended their operations, and in the same year their achievements were awarded by Nobel Peace Prize.

However, in spite of such success and the more cooperative international framework established after the Cold War, there emerged more bloody conflicts as well. That posed new challenges for the international community: there was a need not only for peacekeeping, but also for *peace enforcement* and *humanitarian interventions*. UN missions became more complex, more expensive and more dangerous, as the Somalian case had showed. Several missions got extended competences, partly due to the pressure from the increasingly well-informed public opinion. The modern, diverse peacekeeping thus established actively supports not only the guarantee of peace and security, but also the defence of civilians, and the development and detachment of political processes. Its aim is to promote democratic elections, re-establish the rule of law, and protect human rights.

The applied policies of the operations have been formulated in 2008, on the 60th anniversary of peacekeeping, adjusted to the modern-age challenges, since before that it operated only according to common law.⁴ The document neither contains exact regulations, nor intends to overwrite the military doctrines of the member states, but helps the preparation process, and makes the operation of peacekeeping more transparent. Each UN operations are determined by the 1945 UN Charter, in this case, along with human rights and international humanitarian rights as well as UN Security Council Resolutions. These form the basis of the conflict prevention, peace-making, peacekeeping, peace enforcement and peacebuilding activities. For the missions' effectiveness, they have to keep their legitimacy and credibility, which also caused serious problems in the last few years during the prolonged operations.

Beside the policies, successful peace-making has further criteria: it is impossible to resolve peace without the contribution of the conflicting parties, furthermore, there is a need for positive international environment and a supportive neighbourhood. The Security Council's complete agreement is of par-

4 "United Nations Peacekeeping Operations. Principles and Guideleines." zif-berlin.org.

ticular importance as well, since – though processes can be initiated already with only nine votes – the partial support can easily undermine the legitimacy of a mission. Following the agreement, there have to be defined clear and achievable goals, together with the necessary financing.

Missions and Largest Contributors

According to the UN's 31 March 2016 Fact Sheet, more than 104 thousand of uniformed personnel and 16 thousand civilian personnel serve in the current 16 operations, gathered from 123 countries. The present annual budget exceeds 8 billion USD. The largest missions take place in African crisis-zones, in South-Sudan (UNMISS) with almost 16 thousand personnel, in Darfur in co-operation with the African Union (UNAMID) with 21 thousand personnel, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) with 22.5 thousand personnel, in Mali (MINUSMA) with 13 thousand personnel, and the latest mission, started in 2014, operates in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA⁵) with 12 thousand personnel. In spite of the huge numbers, the missions struggle with many deficiencies. The main reason of that is that the African region is strategically the least important for most parts of the world, therefore, the intention to offer support decreases accordingly.

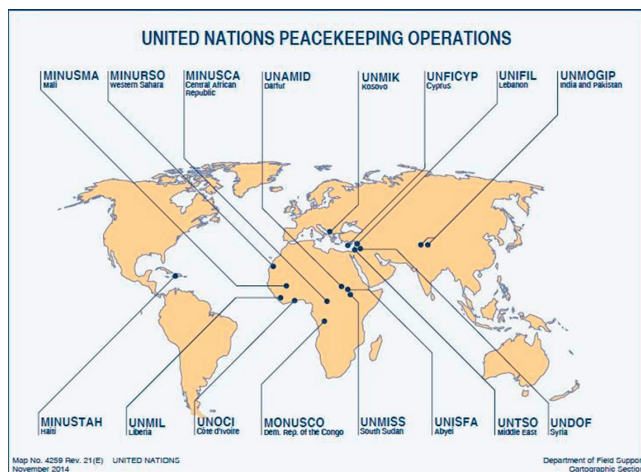


Figure 1: Geographical location of UN peacekeeping operations, *un.org*⁶

5 "Peacekeeping Fact Sheet." *un.org*.

6 "United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." *un.org*.

According to the UN data March, 2016, the largest contributors of the number of personnel are Bangladesh, Ethiopia, India, Pakistan and Rwanda.⁷ As these countries are in the middle of the conflicts, it is a given for them to achieve the greatest result by mobilising local troops. In this case, only the impartiality of said troops is questionable. The top human resource contributors are the developing countries, the first table clearly shows the overrepresentation of countries located in conflict zones (*table 1*).

	Country	Military	Police	Military expert	Total
1	Ethiopia	8187	31	103	8321
2	India	6730	895	71	7696
3	Pakistan	6903	304	91	7298
4	Bangladesh	5862	1118	71	7051
5	Rwanda	5136	974	31	6141
6	Nepal	4306	725	53	5084
7	Senegal	2320	1395	12	3727
8	China	2833	171	38	3024
9	Burkina Faso	2515	373	13	2901
10	Ghana	2520	303	63	2886

Data Source: Ranking of Military and Police Contributions to UN Operations, [un.org](http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2016/apr16_1.pdf), http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2016/apr16_1.pdf (2016.05.15.)

Table 1. ranking of TOP 10 contributors, 31 March, 2016

Source: "Contributors to United Nations peacekeeping operations." un.org.

The above mentioned ten countries give more than half of the personnel contributions. Although many developed countries send a negligible number of soldiers compared to their population, still they provide most of the financing. The contribution of the United States stands out even among them (*figure 2*).

⁷ "Troop and Police Contributors." *un.org*.

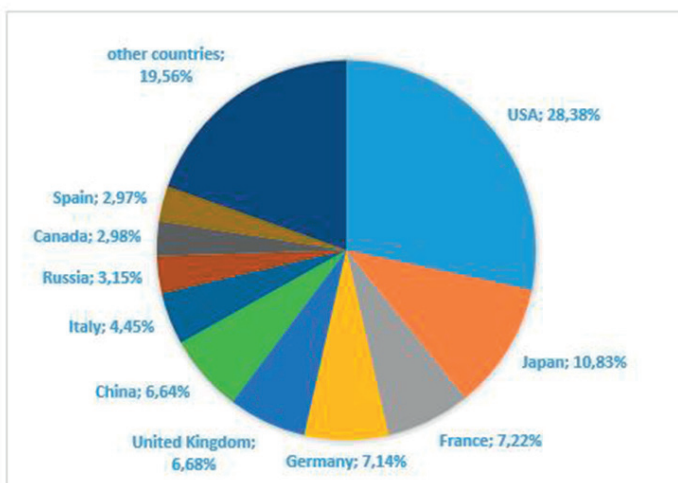


Figure 2. Most important financing countries of peacekeeping operations (2013–2015) UN.org
Source: "Financing peacekeeping." un.org.

China's Participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations

For many years, China did not participate in UN peacekeeping operations either with personnel, or with financial contribution. The reason behind that has changed over time, although the recurring reason that China has always referred to, did not, namely the respect of state sovereignty and the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs. On top of that, China insisted that primarily the participating countries should settle the conflicts among themselves, or if it isn't working, the settlement should be done with the help of a competent regional organisation. In case that fails, should only the UN be involved. However, along with the expansion of traditional peacekeeping activities, China also found herself facing a serious dilemma in Cambodia, Somalia and then in Sudan. The country had to manoeuvre within the current international political and economic framework in order to avoid isolation, to ensure her national interests, maintain face as a globally responsible power, and on top of that also not to contradict her own principles.

The Chinese participation in peacekeeping operations can be divided into three phases: (1) the rejection of the participation in it along with a phase of slow transition and distant observation; (2) limited participation in the traditional peacekeeping; and (3) the present-day phase with increasing activity.⁸

Origins – 1949-1981

During most of the first phase, the continental China was non-UN member, and in peacekeeping activities was even less relished to participate because she was convinced of the intervention's politicised manner. Since significant share of the peace-missions were limited to the third world, China saw them as projections of the superpower's rivalry legitimated by the UN.

The stand for sovereignty and the territorial integrity hasn't changed even when in 1971 the People's Republic of China took over the UN membership from the Republic of China (Taiwan). China wanted to avoid the creation of any precedent for any external power to intervene in her internal affairs, neither in relation with Tibet, nor Taiwan. China has consistently avoided the participation at UNSC votes. Partly due to her lack of information about how the organisation works, partly due to her lack of financial and human resources, as she has constantly prepared for the next world war, together with her efforts to achieve economic self-sufficiency.

However, during the 80s the foreign policy orientation has gone through some dramatic changes, and thus the attitude toward the international peacekeeping operations has changed as well. Its framework was secured by Deng Xiaoping's reform and opening up policy, as well as the concept of peaceful coexistence, adopted at the XII. National Congress of the Communist Party of China. The following directives have been defined as conditions where peacekeeping activities are acceptable: (1) for any interventions, the consent of the country concerned is needed; (2) the peacekeeping operation has to be neutral, which means no country or party could obtain benefits from peacekeeping through intervening in internal affairs; and (3) continued to underline the respect of state sovereignty and territorial integrity.

From then on China participated in the votes and contributed to the peacekeeping financially as well.

8 Jordán 2011.

After the Cold War

The appearance of non-traditional peacekeeping was difficult enough for China. After the Tiananmen Square events, the country primarily tried to find the way out from international isolation, and the active contribution for peace and security helped a lot in that progress. China tried to make forget not only the unpleasant domestic policy episodes, but also those foreign policy decisions which formed the international judgement, such as the support of the Cambodian regime. The exceptional participation in UNTAC (United Nations Transnational Authority in Cambodia) mission reflects this: between 1992 and 1993, China sent 47 military observers and 400 engineers (*figure 3*). Nevertheless, China still insisted to her three principles, which, in other words, meant that China still maintained the maximised support of traditional peacekeeping operations, according to the principles of the UN Charter, and clearly rejected the addition of any other conceptual aspects, in the form of humanitarian intervention or peace enforcement.

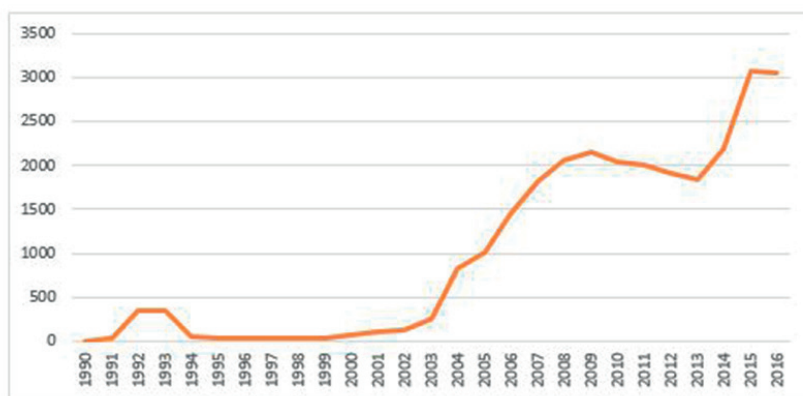


Figure 3. China's contribution to UN peace missions (police personnel, troops and military observers) (1990–March, 2016), un.org
Composed by using UN peacekeeping data.
"Troop and police contributors archive." un.org.

New millennium and adaptation

Since China's primal interest is still the maintenance of the country's economic development, in a world built on interdependencies she had to realise that her

interests increasingly overlap with other great powers' interests. In the new millennium, many UN Security Council members rather contributed to the peacekeeping activities only financially, which left a vacuum in the field of human resources, which China undertook to fill (*figure 4*).⁹ The importance of the international role of China has increased due to the fact that she can exploit her strong bonds in relations and trust among developing countries established during the Cold War. Therefore, during the interventions she may be able to soothe the destination country's suspicion, affirming that the peacekeeping mission is more than another mean of the serving Western interests.

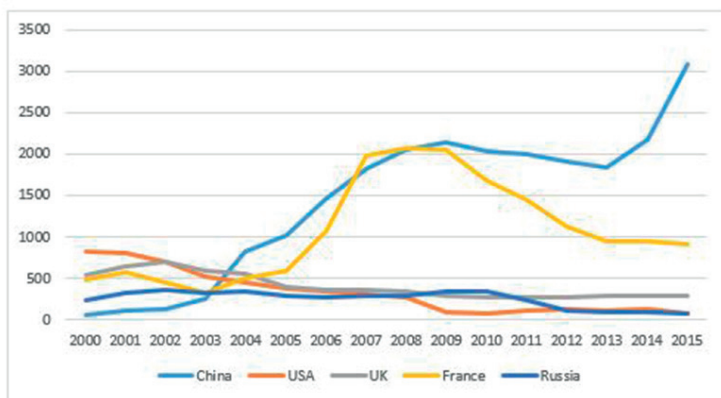


Figure 4. Contributions to UN peacekeeping operations by UNSC permanent members (personnel) (2000–2015) un.org

Source: "Troop and Police Contributors." un.org. (accessed: 20.04.2016.).

In addition, China gradually consolidates the image of a responsible emerging power, committed to a harmonious world order, who takes the grievances of the developing world to heart – that is partially a reason behind the participation of Chinese peacekeepers in Africa (*figure 5*). Another would be the growing economic interests in the continent that serves as a good example of the dilemma of what happens when the pragmatic 'business is business' and non-intervention policy clashes with China's economic and international interests of keeping face. This would be illustrated through the case study of the UNAMID peacekeeping mission.

9 Taylor – Wu 2011.

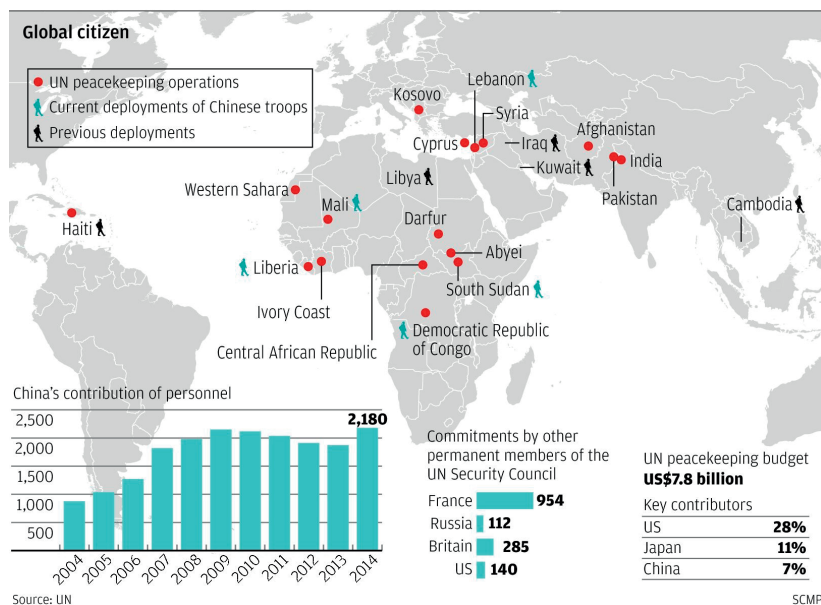


Figure 5. China's contribution in UN PKOs

Source: Chan 2014.

China's involvement in the Darfur crisis – a case study

The Darfur conflict is a resource-based, interethnic conflict between the black and Arabic population of the region, in the context of a wider Sudanese conflict. The fighting between the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), that also involved the Khartoum government and other militias broke out just as the government and the SPLM (Sudanese People Liberation Movement) signed a Comprehensive Peace Agreement. There are varying statistics on the number of casualties during the conflict, but according to the UN about 300,000 people died or was killed, and 2,850,000-3,000,000 were displaced. On the other hand, according to the Sudanese government these numbers are 10,000 and 450,000 respectively.¹⁰

It is a major component of any UN peacekeeping mission's deployment that the host country's government would comply with its actions. However,

¹⁰ "Darfur conflict." 2014. *news.trust.org*.

due to the general sense of distrust towards PKO's, and the idea that they are only a mean to the vindication of Western interests, it was vital in the Darfur crisis that China, a non-Western, permanent member of the UNSC had one of the greatest influence on Sudan.

From the 1990's China has developed a fruitful relationship of trade with the Khartoum government. China has had vital interests in Sudanese oil infrastructure: the state-owned China National Petroleum Corporation was the majority owner of the country's Greater Nile Petroleum Oil Company, and Sudan ranked as fifth among China's greatest oil importers (average 6.5% of the full Chinese oil import, 65-82% of the Sudanese oil export).¹¹ However, it still significantly lagged behind for example Saudi Arabian and Angola's oil reserves, especially with the slower-than-expected oil production in 2006. Even with the trade in oil, and even though the year on year figures had shown significance improvement in bilateral trade, in relative terms Sudan was still far from being a significant trade partner of China.

Then there was a stable military relationship between the two countries, however "Sino-Sudanese military relations are far less extensive than Khartoum's relations with other governments, notably Russia."¹² China had also helped to establish the Sudanese arm industry, which grew to be third greatest in the African continent. Shinn¹³ notes that "between 2003 and 2006, China was Sudan's largest supplier of small arms, selling each year an average of \$14 million worth." Later, as in 2004-5 the UNSC initiated an arms embargo, China abstained during the votes, and claimed, that China only sold arms to the government that were not to be used in the Darfur region. It agreed to the embargo against different militias in the region, but claimed that it would be counterproductive and harmful if the regular forces were to be disarmed as well.¹⁴ China also maintained that the escalation of the conflict was not due to Chinese arms, but can be rather attributed to Western weapons.

However, by 2005 it became quite uncomfortable for China to maintain such good relations with Khartoum, and by late 2006 China started to alter its position on Darfur under growing Western pressure and also keeping in mind how China's possible failure to appear as a responsible world power could

11 Shichor 2007.

12 Shichor 2007.

13 Shinn 2009.

14 Holslag 2007.

affect the success and the attendance of the 2008 Beijing Olympics. In order to preserve her international image, and also having realized that there is a clear limit to the 'business is business' rhetoric, China has gradually started to distance herself from Sudan. Meanwhile she sought a way to maintain the principle of respecting state sovereignty, and to protect her economic, political and security interests.

As Jonathan Holslag¹⁵ explains in his article China's evolving posture on peace enforcement had gone through three stages. First, the PRC was merely "passing the message" of other UN members. She spent half of 2006 echoing the pledges of other states instead of making any propositions of her own. Only by the second half of the same year did China take a more active role in persuading the Sudanese government to allow the UN peacekeeping forces to replace the African Union forces (AMIS) who became unable to provide the necessary services in order to build peace in the turmoil of the region.

China had continuously upheld the stance that external pressure, and threats such as embargos and other economic sanctions would only further complicate the possible resolution of the conflict.¹⁶

The diplomatic pressuring started in November, 2006, during the Beijing FOCAC meeting, where Hu Jintao told Sudanese President, Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir that China "hopes Sudan will strengthen dialogue with all its parties, coordinates stances, and strive to reach an appropriate solution."¹⁷ Also, then-Vice President Xi Jinping "told a visiting Sudanese envoy in Beijing that the parties involved in the Darfur conflict should fully respect the voices of the African Union, Arab League and African and Arab countries."¹⁸

African Union's mission in South Sudan and Darfur

The African Union, successor of the Organization for African Unity has a shifted focus from decolonization to social-economic development and security issues. Its Constitutive Act established and mandated the AU to maintain continental peace and security, including the respect of the principle of non-interference. However, in line with the organization's strong commitment to hu-

15 Holslag 2007

16 Shichor 2007.

17 Shinn 2009: 91.

18 Shinn 2009: 94.

man rights Article 4 (h) explicitly provides “the right of the Union to intervene in a Member State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity”.

The Peace and Security Council is a collective security and ‘early warning’ mechanism, and under Article 7 it is the PSC that is entitled to recommend the AU Assembly to deploy peacekeeping missions „in member states when acts of genocide and other crimes against humanity are committed.”¹⁹

While the AU took pride in taking action to secure peace in the Darfur region, the crisis also proved that the AU didn’t have enough experience, or enough logistic and financial resources to act according to the circumstances. The AU faces constant lack of funds, be it the debt it inherited from the OAU, or the problems of member states’ insufficient payments.²⁰

On the other hand, initially the AU’s peacekeeping operation had been praised by international actors, but as the conflict dragged on it had been proved that alone the AU forces aren’t sufficient enough to resolve the conflict. For example Sharamo quotes a UN official commenting on the impact of the AU peacekeeping force stated, “the AU has been very effective in decreasing violence in areas where it maintains presence in the Darfur region. It has also prevented some attacks from happening through local negotiations on the ground. However, it has not prevented general insecurity due to its inability to deploy in large numbers”,²¹ also it failed to apply diplomatic pressure on Khartoum, due to the member states’ own regional and internationally competing interests.

It became more than clear that after the resolution of the conflict failed within the country itself, it also failed on regional level, and international co-operation was needed.

19 Sharamo 2006: 51.

20 In 2016 the PSC disposes of nearly 800 thousand (797 216) USD, which is being used in total for the implementation of programmes. In sum, Xi Jinping’s offer of \$100 million subsidy for the development of the standby force and the capacity building for the next five years, means \$20 million annual aid in general, which is twenty-five times the amount of the PSC’s annual budget! Beyond the examination of the organisational share of the budget, another important aspect is the share of payments by member states and external partners. As in the previous years, the payments of member states haven’t reached the amount of the external partner’s payments in 2016: the share is 170 million USD to 247 million USD (member states vs. external partners). (The Chinese offering is not included in these amounts.)

21 Sharamo 2006: 52.

Chinese diplomatic success

As the Western powers grew frustrated and more willing to deploy a peacekeeping mission even without Khartoum's assent, it bore a new pressure on Chinese diplomacy to act in defence of Chinese interests and principles. During his African tour in February 2007 Hu Jintao made a crucial visit to Khartoum, where along with the financial assistance, he privately insisted that Khartoum relented, and in cooperation with the hybrid UN-AU mission resolved the conflict.

It was there that he also laid down the four principles of handling the Darfur crisis:²² 1) respect for Sudan's sovereignty, territorial integrity and the continuation of Sudan's unity as set in the constitution; 2) the parties involved in the conflict should resolve it via dialogue, negotiating as equals; 3) AU and UN should play a constructive part in the peacekeeping process; and 4) stability, and the living standards of the Sudanese people in the Darfur region should be improved. To provide practical help, which according to China is far more important than to argue about abstract values such as human rights,²³ Hu Jintao offered a \$50 million loan to build water facilities, a \$13 million interest-free loan, \$4.8 million in the form of humanitarian assistance to Darfur, and also wrote off \$70 million of Sudan's debt to China.²⁴

"China always maintains that a 'double track' strategy – a balanced combination of political process and the peacekeeping mission should be applied in resolving the Darfur issue", said Jiang Yu, Foreign Ministry spokesperson on 24 January, 2008.²⁵ As a result of this pragmatic strategy, al-Bashir and his government finally agreed to allow the UNAMID's operation in Darfur. The current authorization is valid until 30 June, 2016.

Among the UNSC permanent members China was the first and only one (except for three French and one UK persons) to send peacekeepers to Darfur, which is due to Sudan's suspicion of possible significant numbers of Western troops. In 2009 that meant 324 troops and 1 police official (in 2016 it was 234 contingent troops, 16th of all contributors, but first among the Security

22 "Hu puts forward principle on Darfur issue." 2007. *chinadaily.com*.

23 Ren 2008.

24 Shinn 2009.

25 "Linking Olympics with Darfur issue opposed." 2008. *china.org*.

Council permanent members). At the peak, Chinese contribution reached 15 observers, 15 police officers and 443 engineering units.²⁶

While China has faced a lot of criticism for her holding up UN intervention and watering down Security Council resolutions, supplying the government with arms, disrespecting human rights' violations and denying support to bring the Darfur crisis to the International Criminal Court, it is undeniable that without China's diplomatic persuasion there might have been a far more bloody, complicated and more dangerous UN intervention which would have resulted in far more deaths. China became a mediating face, a great power with economic ties at its disposal and relationship capital which she could turn into trust. She acted as a bridge between Sudan and "trustworthy friends" such as the African Union and the Arab League. China clarified options, and made sure that Khartoum was ready and well-informed of the possibilities, and eventually create a feasible consensus.

China's Geopolitical Aims

China acts and has always acted along the lines of its own national self-interests, namely the peaceful development of the state – but that should not be surprising or warrant contempt. According to the international relations theory, in an anarchic world like ours, there is no place for altruism within the countries' motivations. Therefore, China's attitude has to be in accordance with the state's national interests. In other words, the UN offerings, and the greater participation within the UN and its peacekeeping missions serve the country's own interests, namely:

1. The Western countries often criticize China for being a selfish power: she exclusively deals with her own rise and makes no contribution for the sake of the international community. The global perception of China particularly deteriorated due to the intensified tensions over the South China Sea conflict and possession of the Diaoyu/Senkaku islands. But President Xi's gesture at the UN General Assembly shows that China is a reliable power. The offering at the same time makes absurd the American criticism articulated after the press conference of the US-Chinese meeting, but before President Xi's UN speech. Obama declared:

²⁶ Jordán 2011: 58.

“we can’t treat China as if it’s still a very poor, developing country, as it might have been 50 years ago. It is now a powerhouse. And that means it’s got responsibilities and expectations in terms of helping to uphold international rules [...]”.²⁷

2. Secondly, with the UN offering, China puts herself in the role of a great power making strong efforts to maintain the international order. Because China is often accused of intending to change the US-led world order, to which the so-called parallel or shadow-institutions are cited as examples, which – according to the critical opinions – could serve as alternatives of the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank. Among these institutions are the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, the BRICS Bank, or the Silk Road Fund. The support of the UN, the establishment of which the US played key role in, is a symbolic decision of the Chinese leadership, not underestimating the importance that the UN General Assembly is in the centre of global attention, therefore could send its message to wide audience.
3. President Xi’s announcement at the UN served great opportunity to increase China’s soft power as well. Because the speech highlighting the Chinese co-operation stood in sharp contrast with the American and Russian presidents’ speeches on the possibilities of interventions in Ukrainian, Syrian and other conflicts in the Middle East. Although the Western media was more interested by the former, within the developing countries the latter attracted a greater deal of public interest. Through the announcement, the Chinese leadership intended to underline that the country’s intention is still to play leading role among developing countries. Although these goals had been articulated by Mao Zedong in his Three World Theory, so far the PRC has never had enough power to achieve this goal. China’s generous offering suggests that this has changed. China is a great power, which is truly concerned by the global South’s grievances. In addition, the offering justifies China’s previous anti-Western accusations, according to which the Western powers are concerned only about their own problems – that seems

27 The White House, Office of the Press Secretary: “Remarks by President Obama at U.N. Peacekeeping Summit.” whitehouse.gov.

- negligible compared to the problems of developing countries –, and are not willing to provide support for developing countries.
4. President Xi's offering could improve the stability of the African continent, which is essential for the increase of Chinese investments and trade, and for the political influence. The role of Chinese peacekeeping forces is particularly important in those countries where the Chinese investments are threatened by the unstable political environment or civil wars (e.g. Sudan). An action within the UN frameworks could solve China's challenge, raised by her increasing external economic exposure, that it becomes increasingly harder to justify one of her most important foreign policy directives, the non-intervention policy in other countries' internal affairs.
 5. China's aim is to play an assertive role in the UN peacekeeping activities. China's overweight role – due to the low-numbered peacekeeping contingents of the Security Council member countries – enables her to effectively influence every peacekeeping operational decision of the UNSC, which gives significant political weight to the Asian country.
 6. The UN peacekeeping operations also mean great help for the army training. The Chinese army hasn't been involved in combat missions since the Chinese-Vietnamese war in 1979, and military and logistics experience would be of key importance for a country longing for superpower status. Therefore, China seeks those kinds of conflicts where she can commit her army without serious military or political risks (e.g. with the disagreement of Western countries or Japan).
 7. Chinese peacekeeping forces achieve high professional standards compared to other contingents, primarily from developing countries (e.g. Bangladesh, Ethiopia), who send troops mainly only to gain payment from wealthy countries. Their participation in certain conflicts allows them to represent excessed weight compared to their number. Due to the generally low-equipped UN peacekeeping forces (e.g. the lack of air reconnaissance and transport equipment), China's offering for helicopter forces and air transportation tasks means – in addition that it complements these deficiencies –, further increase of the troops' combat value and their weight within the missions.
 8. Due to the Chinese troops' high combat value and great equipment, they can be more probably involved in conflicts, which increases China's global military and political significance. As a result, China can send considerable

- military forces (even an 8,000 personnel peacekeeping as well as engineering and support units) abroad, and be able to dominate the events on the spot while other great powers could not effectively influence them.
9. Part of Mr. Xi's offering, the 100 million USD for the development of the African Union's crisis forces presumably fits the Chinese aid-policy practice that targets the support of not only the countries in need, but also her own economy (in accordance with the principle of mutual benefits). Expectedly, China will fulfil her contribution primarily not in money, but through offering devices, which means significant order for the domestic industry, as well as makes the Chinese weapons better known internationally, also increasing the demand for them in the long run.
 10. From a geopolitical point of view, a more active role within the UN peacekeeping operations means that China could militarily break out of the regional confinement (as a result of the USA's "pivot to Asia" policy) and to appear on a global scale in a way that not necessarily initiates conflict with the neighbouring countries, therefore does not pose a threat to the US-led world order. This possibility could frustrate the US in the long run, who makes great efforts to counterweight China more effectively. In addition, China's military presence abroad does not require the establishment of expensive military bases, in order to be on the spot at global conflict zones.
 11. Finally, the drastic strengthening of Chinese peacekeeping forces could be a counterweight in the missions between the increasingly co-operating USA and India. During John Kerry's trip to India on 22 September the two countries agreed about joint interventions in African conflicts, which has disadvantageous effects on the Chinese interests.²⁸

Conclusion

If China wanted to overthrow the current world order and the institutions it is based on why would she invest so much resources and effort into the UN and the peacekeeping operations? She wants to rather present a new attitude, new possibilities, an alternative within the present framework, but such change doesn't necessarily mean hostility. As it was shown in Darfur, highlighting possibilities can lead to new feasible consensus and reforms.

28 "Joint Statement on the First U.S. – India Strategic and Commercial Dialogue." state.gov.

According to the Chinese President's offering, it seems like the UN peacekeeping has different importance for China and the Western countries. While the latter basically takes into consideration the costs of peacekeeping troops and the political consequences of the possible casualties, according to China's approach, it is part of a complex – economic, political, military – strategy, targeting different, long-term objectives. The ultimate aim of this long-term strategy – in addition to the fact that China does not share the Western countries' opinion about human rights and democracy – is to support the further rise of China, and obliquely, use the Western institutional structure to erode the US-led world order.

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Guifang Wang

China's Anti-terrorist Situation and Anti-terrorism Policy

Terrorism has been a buzzword in international politics for over ten years; indeed, it is a major threat to international, regional and national security, including that of China and its neighbors.

1. The Situation

What is terrorism? There is no universal definition in today's world, no unified way of understanding the phenomenon, but rather a number of different interpretations. In China, terrorism is defined as an opinion and a kind of behavior through which certain people make use of violence, destruction, intimidation and other means to create social panic, to threaten public safety, to endanger individuals and their property, or to menace state bodies and international organizations, in order to achieve some political purpose. Since the beginning of the new century, terrorism has become increasingly widespread. In China, the situation with regard to terrorism is deteriorating, and future prospects are bleak. China is a victim of terrorism, a country with a high incidence and frequency of terrorist attacks. As for the causes of terrorism: there are real historical reasons, both internal and external. If we survey China's anti-terrorist situation, it can generally be analyzed from two points of view.

Firstly, we can consider terrorism in geographical terms. To start with, the entire international security environment, especially in the immediate surroundings of China, is becoming increasingly unstable and complex. Central Asia, South Asia and Southeast Asia, all bordering China, and West Asia, which is in the vicinity, are all areas which suffer from terrorism. Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq and Syria are particularly hard-hit. Not only is the original Al Qaida still developing, but Islamic State (IS) too has suddenly arisen as a new force. Unlike most terrorist organizations, IS has a clear goal: to establish a state and administer it; thus it has a greater impact and does more damage over a wider area than Al Qaida. In 2014, the moment when IS founded a state was a watershed in the already

grim international situation with regard to terrorism. Since then, IS has expanded rapidly, especially in Afghanistan, which is adjacent to China's border. IS has claimed Xinxiang as part of its historical territory. During the past two years, the widening danger posed by IS has not been reduced and the terrorist infiltration of Xinxiang China has not been interrupted: the extremist religious ideology is still spreading. In November 2015, IS brutally slew a number of Chinese citizens, and directly threatened and harmed overseas Chinese citizens as well. Secondly, domestic terrorism, separatism and extremism are growing in the shadows. In recent years terrorists belonging to the East Turkistan Liberation Organization (ETLO) have not only carried out several violent attacks in Xinxiang, but have also extended their terrorist activities to other parts of the country, from attacks in the capital Beijing to the less famous southwestern city of Kunming. While the types of outrage change constantly, it is clear that the area subject to attack is expanding.

Secondly, we should consider the historical background. In a period of globalization and regionalization, at a time when society favors networking and sharing information, domestic and international terrorist organizations collude with each other and interact closely, achieving serious negative impacts by destabilizing and harassing China. The principal manifestations of this are the eastward advance of a body of terrorists represented by IS and the westward advance of Three Evil Forces, including the ETLO terrorist organization. These two currents come together in the turbulent countries and regions in the center and on the edges of Eurasia, forming a huge shockwave, which expands and extends into the surrounding regions, even spreading into the hinterland of Europe. One obvious sign is that the terrorist groups centered on ETLO are actively expanding in search of space for survival and development. A few years ago, ETLO had its lair in certain Central Asian countries, from where its members went to Afghanistan and Pakistan for training and then appeared on the battlefields of Afghanistan. In recent years, ETLO has been active on the battlefields of Syria and Iraq, becoming a partner and supporter of international terrorist organizations. According to a foreign media report, ETLO is now engaged in the Iraq war. It was recently reported that there were ETLO militants fighting in Northeast Syria, in the area near the Turkish border, where they now constitute a number of independent battalions. In the last two years, the Iraqi government has been paralyzed and Syrian civil war has continued, with the result that IS has taken the opportunity to gather strength. Extreme

terrorism and radicalism have become the greatest threats in the world, and have afflicted people with tremendous psychological shock. Another important reason is that global society has not yet established a truly united front against terrorism. The differing and selective stances towards terrorism that have been adopted by certain major powers provide space and scope for terrorist organizations including IS and ETLO to expand. The characteristics of terrorism include effective concealment, high-profile actions, great danger and swift collusion, and its trend towards extremism and radicalization is increasingly obvious. In the future, the greatest challenges to China lie, on the one hand, in the collaboration between internal and external terrorist organizations, and on the other hand, in terrorists returning to China. As the local situation changes, terrorists fighting abroad may sneak back home and wait for a chance to launch new attacks.

2. Policies and Proposals

China has consistently maintained a very clear and steady attitude towards the issue of combating terrorism; the policies and proposals of China can be summed up in five points.

Firstly, the proliferation of terrorism and extremism is a severe challenge for peace and development. Only if the specter of terrorism is completely eliminated will the sunshine of peace, development and progress be seen in the world.

Secondly, the struggle against terrorism and extremism requires the international community to reach a consensus. Learning from the baptism of the two World Wars in the last century, human civilization has indeed reached a consensus. Although debate and even conflict exist between different civilizations, each of them must respect human life, which should be a fundamental value of civilization and should form the common basis of global cooperation in the fight against terrorism in spite of all differences. China promotes regional and international anti-terrorist cooperation, makes full use of current international and regional security mechanisms to determine the agenda for anti-terrorist cooperation, and engages in combined efforts, especially through the exchange of information and intelligence, to take joint action in the fight against terrorism.

Thirdly, terrorism knows no national boundaries and there is no such thing as “good or bad” terrorism: counter-terrorism should not apply double standards. China’s stance on this issue is not swayed by political considerations; it opposes all forms of terrorism, resolutely opposes terrorist attacks against innocent people, and believes that terrorism is by nature opposed to humanity and to civilization: terrorism in all its forms is the common enemy of mankind and the enemy of the world. We must avoid situations where certain terrorists are regarded as real threats by some people, but become freedom fighters in the eyes of others.

Fourthly, terrorism should not be linked with any particular nation or religion, because doing so will only lead to division between different nations and faiths. China believes that religion and civilization are born equal; they may differ from each other in strength, but not in merit. It is the openness, the tolerance of civilization that promotes human communication and social development between different civilizations. The doctrines of Islam are peaceful, and there is no direct or necessary relationship between the Islamic faith and terrorism and extremism. The current reality is that extremist militant groups have commandeered Islam, and have made it into the driving force of their own movements, mobilizing and inciting the masses of believers with a malicious misinterpretation of Islamic doctrine.

Fifthly, there is no policy that can be fully effective on its own: counter-terrorism must employ a variety of measures and means, in order to eliminate both the symptoms and the causes of terrorism. China believes that regardless of its underlying causes and aims, all terrorism must be resolutely resisted, but China is opposed to the indiscriminate use of violence. It is vital to pay more attention to global development and equity. China maintains that counter-terrorism should abide by the basic norms of international relations, that it should respect the sovereignty of all countries. It is important to deal with both symptoms and causes, and all countries should devote themselves to the eradication of the breeding grounds for terrorism.

3. Actions

China has been discussing, summarizing and reflecting on the issue of terrorism and has faced the threats and challenges that it poses in a rational way. As a victim of terrorism, China responds firmly to it, prevents it from prevailing, and strives to find suitable and effective action plans to effectively protect national security and public safety and to defend people's lives and property.

The first aim has been to reinforce the struggle against internal terrorism. This has happened in the first place through anti-terrorist legislation, introduced in 2014-2015, which represents an important stage of Chinese pro-security law-making. Legislation at the national level was relatively concentrated: a number of bills were introduced, including the anti-terrorism law, which was passed in China in 2015. This covered a number of national security areas, supplying the specific legal norms and principles for counter-terrorism. China has brought counter-terrorism within the national security strategy. In 2014, the Central Committee for National Security was founded, establishing the new approach to security which embodies the overall concept of national security, specifically to guide comprehensive counter-terrorism operations in an orderly manner.

The second aim has been to establish a cooperative, multi-level international counter-terrorism system. The threat of terrorism is increasingly severe, and the situation is becoming more and more complex, thus the development of international cooperation in the field is an urgent necessity. China promoted the new idea of cooperative security and common security, strengthened cooperation with other countries in the United Nations, and reinforced various mechanisms promoting cooperation at the regional level, including the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and ASEAN 10+1 (3), to prevent terrorists from forming internal and external networks, to establish a cooperative international anti-terrorist front. In particular, this happens through cooperation in the field of policy discussions, information exchange, law enforcement and international financial supervision and by sharing anti-terrorism information and resources with the experienced countries in the world, to form an effective network that will prevent the spread of terrorism. In November 2015, at the G20 summit in Antalya, President Xi and President Erdogan of Turkey held talks during which they agreed to strengthen international cooperation in combating terrorism. At the same time, China and the United States, which are the

two major network countries, reached a consensus on a cooperative network for counter-terrorism activities. China, Russia, India and other countries are strengthening anti-terrorist cooperation.

The third aim is to improve the whole approach to combating terrorism. Terrorists tend to adopt an asymmetrical, unconventional way of fighting; many terrorist attacks occur in public places, and are directed at ordinary civilians, causing social shock and unrest. Counter-terrorism is a protracted war. China has continuously improved her approach to fighting terrorism, strengthened her comprehensive treatment and prepared for a long struggle using political, economic, cultural, legal and diplomatic means. The Chinese government has adjusted its policies, established mechanisms for cooperation, and relied on mobilizing village committees and residents' committees, enterprises and institutions, social organizations, striving together to establish a united front against terrorism front. Last year, in Xinjiang, 30 thousand people helped to hunt down a gang of terrorists, showing that the idea of uniting all ethnic groups in the struggle against terrorism is sound, and can lead to success.

The final aim is to take forceful action against the sources of terrorism. In order to defeat terrorism it is essential to eradicate its causes, otherwise it is difficult to achieve a good effect. The roots of terrorism lie underdevelopment, and the ultimate means of countering terrorism depend on development. Poverty is the soil that nourishes terrorism, and it is generally agreed that the Islamic world suffers from chronic underdevelopment. This creates a powerful link between ETLO and extremists in the Middle East and Central Asia. At the same time, they collude with each other. Overall, the Islamic world includes two regions and 57 countries. Only two of these countries, Turkey and Saudi Arabia, joined G20. Statistics show that in 2014, the Islamic nations accounted for one quarter of all the least developed countries. Since the 1970s, Islamic terrorism has been continuously on the rise and cannot easily be eradicated; we need to start from the foundations. China argued strongly that both the symptoms and the root causes of terrorism should be dealt with, and that basic, effective measures are required to help those countries and regions which are prone to terrorism to escape from poverty, and to promote their social and economic development. China proposed the "Belt and Road" policy, to strengthen the balanced domestic development of the eastern and western regions, to provide a realistic way forward which offers low risks and high yields for the Eurasian countries that lie along the "Belt and Road", gradually eliminating terrorism.

Globális stratégiai kihívások

Global strategic challenges

Az ujkurok és a kínai–török viszony

Törökország az elmúlt másfél-két évtizedben egyre fontosabb, stratégiai szerepet játszik Európa életében. A NATO-ban betöltött katonai szerepe után nagy jelentőségre jutott mint energia mediátor, majd az elmúlt években mint migrációs mediátor. Közvetlen és közvetett befolyása és hatása azonban nemcsak nyugati, hanem keleti irányban is nagy távolságokba ér el. 2015. augusztus 17-én bomba robbant a thai fővárosban, Bangkokban, a hindu Erawan szentély mellett, amely megölt 20 személyt, míg 125-öt megsebesített. Az ügyet máig nem zárták le, ám a számos értelmezés között a legvitálisabb, hogy törökök, illetve ujkurok álltak mögötte. A két letartóztatásban lévő gyanúsított, Adem Karadag és Yusufu Mieraili ujkurok, hamis török útlevéllel – tagadják a vádat. Az ügyben magyarázatként a nemzetközi média egy korábban nem sok figyelmet keltő esetet hozott fel: a thai hatóságok kiadtak Kínának mintegy száz ujkur nemzetiségű személyt, akik végső soron Törökországba kívántak eljutni.

2009-től szaporodtak meg azok a szórványos sajtó-információk, amelyek arra utaltak, hogy az ujkur migráció egyre inkább Kína déli határait célozza meg az addigi közép-ázsiai útvonal helyett.¹ Szinte nincs hátsó-indiai állam, amely még ne toloncolt volna vissza ujkurokat. Viszont elég ritkásak azok a sajtóinformációk, amelyek sikeres törökországi megérkezésről és letelepedésről szólnak.² 2011-ben az akkori pekingi török nagykövet azt nyilatkozta, hogy összesen 300 ezer ujkur él Törökországban, míg a kínai hatóságok 100 ezerre teszik a számukat. Ez a tömeg azonban az 1950-es évek óta halmozódott fel ott.³

Kína sokáig kizárólag belső ügynek, szuverenitása integráns részének tekintette az ujkur kérdést, s alapvetően ennek tekinti ma is. A probléma a hagyományos csatornákon (emberi, nemzetiségi és egyéb jogvédelem, aktív politikai és kulturális emigráció) túl akkor internacionalizálódott jobban, amikor

1 Zenn 2014.

2 Kizil 2015.

3 "Some Uyghurs travel to Turkey to connect with local culture, religion, but fail to find what they hoped." *Global Times* 27.08.2015.

megjelent benne a terrorizmus, részben eleve több államot érintő problémaként is. Ezzel párhuzamosan Kína ösztönzi nemzetiségi országhatáron túlnyúló kapcsolatait mind gazdasági, mind kulturális téren, s ez kiterjed az ujugurokra is. Törökország változó intenzitással, de folyamatos szerepet játszik az ujugur ügyekben, ha másképpen nem, akkor az eseményekre való folyamatos reakcióival.

1. Az ujugur kérdés

A 2010-es népszámlálás szerint a valamivel több, mint 10 milliós ujugur nép alapvetően Kína Xinjiang tartományában él. A nagy területű, a sivatagok és magas hegységek miatt sajátos településszerkezetű vidék dél-nyugati részében élnek egységes, nagyobb tömbben, de szétszórtan megtalálhatók az egész tartományban. Kínán belül még Hunanban tartják nyilván nagyobb csoportjukat egy korábbi katonai migrációnak köszönhetően. A türk nyelvcsaládba tartozó nyelvet beszélnek, írásuk modernizált arab írás. Az iszlám szunni ágához, jórészt a hanafi iskolához tartoznak, jóllehet a vallásosság foka az ujugurságon belül nagyon eltérő. Kínában nemzeti kisebbségnek számítanak, melynek nincs „anyaországa”.

A kínai kormányzat 2015. szeptember 24-én úgynevezett „fehér könyvet” adott ki *Történelmi tanúság az etnikai egyenlőségről, egységről és fejlődésről Xinjiangban* címmel.⁴ Ebben közvetve vagy közvetlenül tisztázza a hivatalos álláspontot minden lényeges kérdésben, amely az ujugurokat érinti. Eszerint a mai Xinjiang tartomány területe i.e. 60-ban jelent meg először a kínai állam részeként, s azóta osztozott sorsában, a területén élő számtalan nemzetiséggel együtt. A legnagyobb létszámú nemzetiség a tartományban jelenleg az ujugur. 1952 és 1954 között létrehoztak egy összetett autonómia-rendszert. A tartomány maga ujugur autonóm régió lett, de ezen belül kialakítottak két mongol (Bayingolin és Bortala), egy kirgiz (Kizilsu), egy hui (Changji) és egy kazak (Ili) autonóm prefektúrát, továbbá hat autonóm megyét, melyből egy hui (Yanqi), egy xibe (Qapqal), két kazak (Mori és Barkol), egy mongol (Hoboksar) és egy tádzsik (Tashkurghan). Ezen kívül a tartományban még található további 42 etnikaiként megjelölt település. Erre a rendszerre még ráépítettek egy választási

4 *Historical Witness to Ethnic Equality, Unity and Development in Xinjiang*. The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, Beijing, 2015.

szisztémát, biztosítandó a nemzetiségek képviseletét a magasabb közigazgatási szinteken. Ez valójában azt jelenti, ahogy azt a dokumentum részletezi is, hogy a nemzetiségek képviselete fontos elve a különböző szintű népi gyűlések „kompozíciójának”, illetve a tisztségviselők kijelölésének. Az autonómia rendszert, melyet Kína más nemzetiségi területein is kiépítettek, bár messze nem ilyen szofisztikált módon, a dokumentum alapvetően sikeresnek tartja, s ismerteti a vele kapcsolatos folyamatos munkálatokat.

Külön jogi szabályozás készült a tartomány nyelvhasználatára. A lehető leg-részletesebben van előírva, hol milyen nyelvet kell, illetve lehet használni. Az autonóm egységekben az autonómia nyelve használható a kínai és az ujjur mellett, továbbá hét nyelvet használnak az alsó- és középfokú oktatásban, öt nyelven sugároznak rádió- és tévéműsorokat, hat nyelven adnak ki folyamatosan könyveket. Ugyanakkor 2010 óta a közszolgálatba újonnan belépőknek bizonyítaniuk kell, hogy jártasak az állam hivatalos nyelvében, a putonghuában.

Ugyancsak részletesen szabályozták a vallás szempontjából kritikus élelmiszer előállítását és forgalmazást (halal). Elősegítik a speciális temetkezési igények kielégíthetőségét. Támogatják a vallási és egyéb hagyományos ünnepeket, a legfontosabbakat hivatalos ünnepnapokká nyilvánították. A vallással, még inkább a vallási tartalmú, életmódot befolyásoló szokásokkal (viselet, nők státusza, ramadán, ima) kapcsolatos súrlódások számosak, bár nem súlyosabbak, mint másutt, ahol a muszlim lakosság nagyobb számú, de kisebbségben van. Ugyancsak ismert súrlódási terület a foglalkoztatás. Ugyanakkor a „fehér könyv” szerint különböző programok és szabályozások készültek a nemzetiségekhez tartozók foglalkoztatására és előmenetelére.

Xinjiang kínai kontextusban az elmaradottabb térségek közé tartozik, bár a tartományon belül erős fejlettségbeli eltérések tapasztalhatók. A kormány 1999-ben indította el úgynevezett nyugati fejlesztési programját, melynek része Xinjiang is. A program része többek között a külföldi beruházási szándékok nyugatra terelése. A viszonylagos elmaradottság ellenére meglehetősen látványos a térség gazdasági fejlődése. A „fehér könyv” szerint 1955 óta a tartomány átlagos éves növekedési üteme 8,3 százalék, ami 0,2 százalékkal magasabb, mint az egész országé. Ugyanez az adat 2010 és 2014 között 11,1 százalék, ami 2,5 százalékkal magasabb az országénál. A tartomány gazdaságának szisztematikus fejlesztése persze mindig erős társadalmi beavatkozásokkal járt, ahogy jár bizonyos mértékig ma is.

A nyitás politikája Xinjiang gazdaságát is jellemzi. Hosszú államhatára mentén magas színvonalú kereskedelmi átkelőket létesítettek, számos rendszeres nemzetközi vásárt rendeznek. A kínai kormány által kezdeményezett „Egy övezet, egy út” (One Belt, One Road) program egyik fő komponense, a „Selyem Út Gazdasági Övezet” (Silk Road Economic Belt) szempontjából stratégiai helyen fekszik a tartomány. Az elképzelés lényege Kína összekapcsolása Európával és a Közel-Kelettel főképp a szállítás, az utazás és a kommunikáció terén. Ez utakat, vasutakat, vezetékeket, távközlési kapcsolatokat jelent. Ez jelentős fordulat Xinjiang számára, hiszen a korábbi fejlesztéseket az ország belső, keleti és déli részeivel való összekapcsolás jellemezte.

Az ujjurok üggye azonban teljesen más dimenziót kapott 2009-ben. Ezen év július 5-én olyan méretű etnikai összecsapások színtere volt Urumqi, amelyek 197 halottat és mintegy 1700 sebesültet hagytak maguk után. Majd még ugyanebben a hónapban Kashgar (Kashi) Shache megyéjében 37 halottat és 13 sérültet hozó terrortámadás történt. Valójában sem az etnikai feszültségek, sem az erőszakos terrorista cselekmények nem jelentettek újat Xinjiang életében, ám az események masszív méretei érthetően sokkolták mind a szélesebb közvéleményt, mind a helyi és a központi vezetést. Ahogy a „fehér könyv” megfogalmazza:

„Az 1990-es évek óta a mind Kínán belüli és kívüli bázisokról működő három erő (etnikai szeparatizmus, vallási szélsőségesség és erőszakos terrorizmus) terror- és erőszak-sorozatokat tervezett és valósított meg, úgy mint robbantást, gyilkosságot, mérgezést, gyújtogatást, támadást és lázadást, Xinjiangban és másutt, nagy veszteségeket okozva minden etnikai csoport ártatlan polgárainak életében és vagyonában.”⁵

A dokumentum nem is említi meg az öt évvel későbbi következő sokkot, az ujjurok által elkövetett 2014-es kunmingi késes támadást, amelynek 29 polgári áldozata (négy támadót a helyszínen megöltek) és több mint 140 sebesültje volt, s amelyet a média immár másodszor (az urumqi-i események után) nevezett „kínai 9/11”-nek.

5 *Historical Witness to Ethnic Equality, Unity and Development in Xinjiang*. The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, Beijing, 2015.

A dokumentum egyébként leszögezi, hogy a támadók, s általában a nevezett három erő képviselői ténylegesen nem képviselnek semmiféle nemzeti vagy vallási érdeket. Hogy ez mennyiben esik egybe a tágabb kínai közvéleménnyel, az nagyon nehezen lenne megállapítható. Annak azonban van irodalma, hogy a han kínaiakban, főképp nyilván azokban, akik részei a közvetlen együttélésnek, az idők során kifejlődött az ujjurokról (s természetesen a tibetiekről és másokról is) egy kép (*racial profile*), aminek szintén szerepe van.⁶ (Fordítva ez nem biztos, hogy pontosan ugyanígy igaz, hiszen a hanokról kialakult profil feltehetően elválaszthatatlanul összekeveredik a hatalomról, a kultúráról, a hétköznapiakról kialakult képpel.) Az ujjurok profilját pedig minden bizonnyal jelentősen befolyásolják azok a kedvezmények, amelyeket éppen az egyenlő esélyek megteremtésének érdekében alkalmaznak (felsőoktatásba való bejutás kvótái, családtervezés, foglalkoztatási kvóták, stb.).

Ezzel szemben a másik oldalon felerősödnek a főképpen a vallással és a vallásgyakorlással, vallási tartalmat is hordozó szokásokkal kapcsolatos korlátozó szabályok. A kínai alkotmány biztosítja a szabad vallásgyakorlást az iszlám esetében is, itt inkább alsóbb szintű és helyi szabályozásokra kell gondolni, mint a pénteki szentbeszéd időbeli korlátozása, a mecseten kívüli, közterületen való ima korlátozása, a közszolgálatban dolgozók eltiltása a mecsetektől, a bűnttel kapcsolatos gyakorlatok esetenkénti akadályozása, ruházati előírások. Shan és Chen annak a nézetüknek adnak hangot, hogy több szabályozási probléma, nem teljes megértés abból fakad, hogy bár nyitottan, de lényegileg ateista alapon közelítik meg a vallásgyakorlást, s ettől válik korlátozóvá. Ugyanakkor azt is állítják, hogy az elmúlt évtizedben jelentősen enyhült az ellenőrzés.⁷

A három erő, az etnikai szeparatizmus, a vallási szélsőségesség és az erőszakos terrorizmus ugyan nem fedik le egymást, de jelentős a kapcsolódásuk. Ebben megjelenik az egész iszlám világban folyamatosan jelenlévő *qawmiyya–qabaliyya* vita, pontosabban eltérő megközelítés, vagyis hogy elsősorban vallási vagy nemzeti közösség részének tekintjük-e magunkat. A három erő, bármilyen keverék-skálán tekintjük is őket, csak sporadikusan van jelen a társadalomban, s a „fehér könyv” is kizárólag mint büntetendő elemeket tárgyalja. A mindenkor kérdés azonban az, hogyan rezonálnak a szélesebb közvéleményben.

6 Shan – Chen 2017.

7 Shan – Chen 2017.

2009 óta a kínai központi vezetés nagyon intenzíven foglalkozik az ujgur kérdéssel. Jelentős változások történtek a helyi vezetésben, 2010-ben és 2014-ben is külön tanácskozást szentelt a központi kormányzat Xinjiang ügyének, s maga a „fehér könyv” is ennek bizonyossága. Ezzel párhuzamosan jelentős diplomáciai erőfeszítések is kísérik a probléma menedzselését.

Miközben a „fehér könyv” számos, az ujugrok és a többi nemzetiség életével kapcsolatos problémát vesz sorra, köztük nyitott kérdéseket is, figyelemre méltó, hogy nem érint szuverenitási ügyeket. Ez általában is iránymutató a nemzetközi kapcsolatok terén, körülhatárolja azokat: csak az lehet a kínai külpolitika partnere, aki elfogadja a meghatározott szuverenitási feltételeket, s ezeken kívül bármi tárgya lehet az együttműködésnek. Ahogy más relációkban is, mindez azt jelenti, hogy a szuverenitáson kívül széles körben hajlandó internacionalizálni az ügyeket, a lehető legváltozatosabb intézmény-építés segítségével.

Az ujugrok, tágabb értelemben Xinjiang ügyét a megszokott keretrendszeren kívül, különböző formában, de éppen a három erő nemzetköziesíti, vagy esetenként próbálja nemzetköziesíteni. Ennek egyik oldalát az erők Kínán kívüli szövetségesei, inspirálói és támogatói jelentik, emigráns szervezetek, vállalati hálózatok és a nemzetközi terrorszervezetek. Míg a másik oldalon a kínai kormánynak azok a tényleges és potenciális szövetségesei, amelyek vagy maguk is küzdenek az említett hálózatokkal, vagy érdekeltnek látják magukat azok visszaszorításában.

Jelentősebb ujugur emigráció Törökországban és az Egyesült Államokban található. A létszámokról nincsenek igazán megbízható adatok, politikailag viszont meglehetősen fragmentált. A befogadó országok viszonylag kényelmes működési teret biztosítanak, kifelé azonban, legalábbis állami szinten nem biztosítanak nekik reprezentációt. Ebben jelentős szerepe van a kínai diplomáciának is, s az államközi kapcsolatok fontosságának. Ezek a viszonyok persze sosem voltak mentesek a hipokrizistól. A reprezentáció terén a differenciált politikai felépítésben mindig megvannak azok a személyek és szervezetek, akik felvállalják az ujugur emigráció érdekeinek legalább részleges képviseletét, s így az belpolitikai kérdéssé tud válni a befogadó országokban. Eközben a Kínában történő események megítélésében az egyértelmű terrorizmus- és szélsőség-ellenesség állami irányvonala mellett, mindig felbukkannak azok fél-hivatalos interpretációk, melyek az ujugur-kérdés kínai kezelésében találják meg a szélsőségek magyarázatát. Amiről sokkal kevesebbet lehet tudni, azok az iszlamista és a terrorista kapcsolatok.

2. A török–kínai kapcsolatok történelmi távlatban

Az ujugur–török kapcsolatoknak hosszú története van. A különböző pán–türk mozgalmak és politikák számon tartották a „türk” ujugurokat, annál is inkább, mert azon a területen élnek, ahol részben a türk „öshazát” is nyilvántartják. A 19. század második felében, amikor Yaqub Beg gyakorolta a hatalmat Kashgarban, közvetítők útján – ha jelképesen is – a távoli és gyengülő Ottomán Birodalom részévé tette a mai Xinjiang dél-nyugati részét. Ez inkább történelmi érdekesség, minthogy lett volna bármi jelentősége, viszont jelzi azt az exkluzív szellemi-kulturális kapcsolatot, amely politikai célok érdekében alkalmanként aktivizálható, s időnként aktivizálódik is. Később mindig attól függött a török hatás intenzitása az ujugurok között, hogy Törökországban éppen mennyire volt erős a pán–türkizmus. Az első világháború idején még erős volt, utóbb az ifjú törökök dominanciájának hatására jelentősen gyengült. Amikor 1933-ban létrejött a rövid életű Kelet Turkesztán Iszlám Köztársaság, akkor Törökország éppen semmilyen figyelmet sem szentelt ennek a fejleménynek.

A Kínai Népköztársaság megalakulása után gyorsan elomlott a két ország addig nem létező kapcsolata: Törökország egyrészt befogadta az elmenekült ujugur nacionalistákat, másrészt részt vett a koreai háborúban, az Egyesült Államok oldalán. Később több nemzetközi kérdésben is a front különböző oldalán találták egymást, végül csak 1971-ben vették fel a diplomáciai kapcsolatokat, nem függetlenül az amerikai–kínai kapcsolatok megnyitásától. Sokáig azonban nem érdeklődtek különösebben egymás iránt. Az majd inkább csak a kínai nyitás politikájával következik be.

Az említett évtizedek alatt Törökország volt az emigráns ujugur nacionalisták központja, ott élt két legismertebb vezetőjük, Mehmet Emin Bugra és Isa Yusuf Alptekin. Az emigránsok több hullámban érkeztek, bár valószínűleg a folyamatos, látens vándorlás produkálhatta azt a százezres nagyságrendet, amiről ma mindkét oldalon beszélnek. Eleinte, az 50-es években Ankara a befogadón túl semmilyen politikai támogatást nem adott az ujugur politikusoknak. Bugra és Alptekin nemzetközi elismertséget és promóciót szerettek volna az ujugur függetlenségnek, de ebből semmi nem lett, pedig valójában Peking sem törődött ezzel a problémával, nem is volt abban a helyzetben, hogy nyomást

tudjon gyakorolni. A nacionalisták sikere, anyagi ellátottsága mindig a török belpolitikai konjunktúráról függött.⁸

Kína az ujjur kérdést alapvetően belügynek tekintette, nem láttak benne olyan problémákat, melyeknek külső összefüggéseik is lehettek volna. A Szovjetunió összeomlását követően megváltozott a külső helyzet. Törökország (és az Egyesült Államok) jelentősen aktivizálta magát a közép-ázsiai térségben, s ez Kínát új regionális stratégia kifejlesztésére ösztönözte. Ankarának ugyan sem gazdasági ereje, sem katonai lehetőségei nem voltak arra, hogy jelentős szereplő legyen a régióban, a pán-türk kártyával, a nyelvi, vallási, kulturális rokonságból fakadó befolyásolási lehetőségekkel próbált meg élni. Több kutató is arra hívja fel a figyelmet, hogy miközben a hivatalos Törökország kerülte a pán-türk megnyilvánulásokat, nagyszámú nem kormányzati szervezet igyekezett a szorosabb szövetségen és a kulturális egymásra találáson munkálkodni. Ez a politika hosszabb távon nem bizonyult igazán sikeresnek⁹.

A '90-es években Törökországban jelentősen felerősödött az ujjur nacionalista aktivitás. Törökország próbálkozott, hogy az ENSZ-ben tűzzék napirendre az ujjur kérdést. Isztambulban megtartották az első úgynevezett Kelet Turkesztán Nemzeti Világkongresszust, a török parlament tárgyalta Xinjiang emberi jogi helyzetéről, satöbbi. A '90-es évek közepétől azonban érzékelhetően kezdett növekedni a kínai nyomás a török vezetésen, hogy tartózkodjanak a szeparatista elképzelések és emberek támogatásától. Ez nem független attól, hogy bizonyos értelemben kifulladás a török „keleti nyitás”. Ankarának a politikai, biztonsági, s főképp a gazdasági befolyásért való küzdelemben eleve nem volt sok esélye a geopolitikai szempontból természetesen jelen lévő Kínával, Oroszországgal és Iránnal szemben. A közép-ázsiai poszt-szovjet államok többsége stabilnak bizonyult, s a kulturális identitás tekintetében is öntudatosnak. Utóbbi azt jelenti, hogy a közös török gyökerek csak egy elemét képezik ennek az identitásnak, de ugyanolyan erősek a különbözőséget, az egyediséget erősítő elemek. Ez az ujjurokra pont ugyanúgy igaz, ahogy a többi közép-ázsiai népre.

1995-ben meghalt Alptekin, s a törökországi ujjur emigráció nemzetközileg ismert vezető nélkül maradt. Ottani tekintélyére jellemző, hogy volt török elnökök, Özal és Menderes mellé temették. Tíz évvel később az ankarai pol-

8 Landau 1995.

9 Shichor 2009.

gármester nem biztosított termet a róla való megemlékezéshez. Csendes fordulat állt be a török hivatalos viselkedésben. Shichor és az általa idézett kínai szerzők, Kuang Shengyan, Chen Zhihong és Pan Zhiping szerint a fordulatban a kínai nyomás mellett a kurd kérdés játszott szerepet:¹⁰ a nemzetközi megítélésben az ujjur és a kurd szeparatizmus között nem láttak különbséget, s ezt bizonyos országok, mint például Kína, igyekeztek is felerősíteni.

3. Megújult viszonyok a '90-es évek közepétől

A 90-es évek közepétől erőteljesen megváltozott a török–kínai kapcsolatok jellege. Felerősödtek a gazdasági kapcsolatok. Ez eleinte – ahogy azt sok más ország is megtapasztalhatta – lényeges mértékű kínai exporttöbbletet eredményezett, s a török politika leginkább a különbség mérséklésén serénykedett. A 2000-es évek közepén ez a politika megváltozott, s Törökország kezdett a kínai befektetések komoly befogadjává válni. Ugyanakkor Peking is bízta a török vállalatokat kínai befektetésekre.

A török vezetés, hosszú utat járva be, az ujjur kérdésben is változtatott politikáján. Recep Tayyip Erdogan, a jelenlegi török elnök, korábbi miniszterelnök, 1995-ben, még Isztambul polgármestereként szenvedélyes beszéddel maga avatta fel azt a parkot, melyet az akkor még élő Alptekintről neveztek el, s melyben felállították az ujjur mártírok emlékművét. 1997-től kezdett a viszony „barátivá” válni. 1999-ben a török kormány kiadott egy határozatot, mellyel jelentősen korlátozta az ujjur diaszpóra szervezeteinek tevékenységét.¹¹ 2003-ban Erdogan pártelnökként, választási győzelme után, de miniszterelnöki kinevezése előtt látogatott Kínába, ahol a legmagasabb szinten fogadták. Ő azt mondta, hogy az Egy Kína elvén áll, s Törökország tiszteletben tartja Kína területi integritását. Ettől kezdve mindkét fél általában arról beszélt, hogy nincsenek problémák a két állam viszonyában.

Később Abdullah Gül, aki 2009-ben az első török elnökként látogatott Kínába, azt mondta, hogy Xinjiang a „barátság hídjá” a két ország között. Ezzel jellemezte azt a politikát, melynek lényege, hogy Ankara elismeri Kína területi integritását, fellép minden szeparatista tevékenység ellen, elítéli az erőszakot, de védelmezi az ujjurok nemzetiségi és kulturális jogait. A másik oldalról Kína

¹⁰ Shichor 2009.

¹¹ Atli 2015.

maga is bátorítani kezdte a gazdasági és kulturális kapcsolatok fejlesztését nemcsak általában, hanem kifejezetten a török–ujgur relációban.

Hogy egy ilyen politika vitele milyen nehéz és bonyolult, azt megmutatták a 2009-es események. Az urumqi-i utcai harcokat követően az Olaszországban tartózkodó miniszterelnök, Erdogan a következőket nyilatkozta:

„Kifejtettem a nézeteimet az államfőknek és a miniszterelnököknek itt a mai találkozóimon. Már a rémtett (*atrocitiy*) szót használtam. Ragaszkodom a szavaimhoz. Nem hiszem, hogy bármely más szó jobban le tudná írni az eseményt, amely majdnem népirtás (*almost genocide*)...”¹²

Ezután kilátásba helyezte, hogy Törökország, amely akkor a Biztonsági Tanács nem állandó tagja volt, kezdeményezi az ujjur kérdés megtárgyalását. Peking ekkor nem vette fel a kesztyűt, az éles nyilatkozatnak nem lettek látható, nyilvános következményei. Még ebben az évben Törökországban járt Wen Jiabao akkori kínai miniszterelnök, s Erdogannal aláírtak egy úgynevezett stratégiai partnerségi egyezményt.

Ezt olyan megegyezések követték például, melyek alapján kínai állampolgárságú hallgatók mehetnek Törökországba magasabb szintű vallási iskolákba, s egyetemek teológia szakára. Imámokat képezhetnek Törökországban, s a két fél együtt működik a hajj (a mekkai zarándoklat) szervezésében. Mindez egyébként Kínában nem exkluzív ujjur politika. Hasonló kapcsolatok épültek és épülnek ki néhány Öböl menti állammal az ujjuroknál népesebb muzulmán kisebbség, a huik, s az ő autonóm tartományuk, Ningxia kapcsán is.

Ami azonban mindezeknél nagyobb nemzetközi érdeklődést váltott ki, az a katonai együttműködés. 2010 októberében megtartották az első közös hadgyakorlatot Törökországban, pontosan meghívták a kínaiakat a szokásos éves Anatóliai Sas nevű légi hadgyakorlatukra.

12 "PM: Incidents in China 'almost genocide'." *Hürriyet Daily News* 7.10.2009.

4. Megállapítások

A 2015-16-os év azt mutatja, hogy a két ország kiépített kapcsolatai működnek. 2015-ben voltak szórványos tüntetések és erőszakos akciók Kína és a kínaiak ellen Törökországban. Az ügy komolyságát mutatja, hogy ennek keretében megverték egy koreai turistát, valamint feldúltak egy kínai éttermet, melynek török a tulajdonosa és ujugrok dolgoztak benne. Mindez egyelőre inkább csak azt szemlélteti, hogy az ujugur ügy rendelkezik azokkal az adottságokkal, melyeket bármikor bárki képes lehet – erejéhez mérten – felhasználni a saját török belpolitikai érdekeinek megfelelően, nacionalista felhangokkal.

Maga az ujugur diaszpóra politikailag porózus, széttagolt, artikulálatlan képződmény, komoly vezetők nélkül. A Törökországban élő ujugrok többsége beilleszkedett, megtelepedett, lojális török állampolgárként él. Ugyanakkor az is nyilvánvaló, hogy jelenleg is Törökország az egyik természetes célpontja az ujugur migrációnak. Ez a migráció pedig magában rejt szélsőséges, szeparatista és terrorista elemeket is. A különböző terrorszervezetek, így manapság leginkább az Iszlám Állam, kisebb-nagyobb sikerrel verbuvál az ujugurság körében is. A terrorszervezetekhez való csatlakozásnak vannak ezen a téren hagyományai, de a korábbi út, a korábbi kiképzési és harci helyszín, Afganisztán és Pakisztán elvesztette a szerepét.

A közbiztonsági minisztériumra hivatkozva a kínai sajtó arról írt, hogy körülbelül 300 „kínai szélsőséges” harcol Szíriában, döntő többségük a Kéket-Turkesztán Függetlenségi Mozgalom, az ETIM „szíriai ágában”.¹³ Ugyanitt találhatunk egy 2015 közepi adatot, mely szerint 2014 óta Yunnanban, az ország délnyugati határtartományában, amely Vietnammal, Laosszal és Myanmarral határos, 132 illegális határátlépési kísérletet hiúsítottak meg, s 553 szélsőségest fogtak el. A próbálkozások jellegére rávilágít, hogy a forrás szerint a rendőrség „kimentett” 217 kiskorút, akiket „kényszerítettek” a határátlépési próbálkozásra, továbbá őrizetbe vettek 161 sofőrt, akik segédkeztek. Dong Jialu, a Yunnan tartományi közbiztonsági minisztérium helyettes vezetője a következőt mondta:

13 Li – Xu 2015.

„A rendőrségi nyomozás megállapította, hogy az illegális határátlépési kísérleteket nagyrészt külföldről koordinálták, összejátszottak külső és belső szervezők, hogy terjesszék a szélsőséges gondolatokat, s a szíriai harcokhoz való csatlakozásra csábítsanak.”¹⁴

2015 nyarán Erdogan, először államfői minőségében, Kínába látogatott. Közvetlen az útját megelőzően szórványos tüntetések robbantak ki Törökországban az ujjur ügyben, kiváltó oka az az információ volt, hogy a kínai hatóságok korlátozták a bőjtölési lehetőségeket ramadán idején. Ugyanekkor terjedtek el azok a hírek, hogy Délkelet-Ázsiában török diplomaták török dokumentumokkal látják el az arra menekülő ujjurokat, s ez idegesíti Pekinget. A nyugati sajtó általában is úgy harangozta be a vizitet, hogy az az ujjurokkal kapcsolatos feszültségek közepette történik. Erdogan maga elutazása előtt arról beszélt, hogy bizonyos erők felkavarják az ujjur ügyet, hogy aláaknázzák az ő kínai utazását.¹⁵ Ugyanakkor a kínai sajtóban is megjelentek olyan közlemények, amelyek a nehézségek legyőzésének lehetőségéről értekeztek.¹⁶

Biztonsággal megállapítható, hogy a két ország kifejlesztett egy-egy olyan politikát a másik irányában, amelyeknek nagyon súlyos és kiterjedt belső implikációi is vannak. Ez Törökország szempontjából a következőket jelenti:

1. Az ujjur kérdés elveszítette kizárólagosságát a török Kína-szemléletben azaz, hogy jelentősen kibővültek a gazdasági és a katonai kapcsolatok, valamint gyökeresen megváltoztak a kulturális-oktatási-vallási kapcsolatok lehetőségei.
2. Tartalmi-politikai változásokon ment keresztül a pán-türkizmus annak köszönhetően, hogy Ankara nem olyan mértékben és formában tudta növelni befolyását Közép-Ázsiában, ahogy azt meghatározó politikai erők előzetesen elképzelték.
3. A pán-türkizmus, s ezen belül az ujjurok iránt érzett felelősség továbbra is erős tényező a török belpolitikában, annak számos tartalmi és formai változata él és hat, amelyeket többé-kevésbé minden politikai tényezőnek interpretálnia kell, s melyek kapcsán időnként konkrét viták és egyéb (néha erőszakos) politikai akciók robbannak ki.

14 Li – Xu 2015.

15 Tiezzi 2015.

16 "Sino-Turkish Ties Can Overcome Conflicts." *Global Times* 30.07.2017.

4. Törökország általános politikai aspirációja a kelet-nyugati mediációra szükségessé teszi a sokrétű, kiegyensúlyozott, mérvadó kapcsolatok kialakítását minden irányban.
5. Ankara rendre mint a terrorizmus áldozatát mutatja be magát, s hangoztatja elkötelezettségét a terrorizmus elleni küzdelemben. Ennek következtében természetes részéről a terror-ellenes szövetkezés, együttműködés, a szolidaritás és a terrorcselekmények elítélése.
6. Törökország maga korlátozza a vallási szélsőségeséget.
7. Törökország maga is szembesül szeparatista törekvésekkel (bizonyos kurd mozgalmak).

Kína szempontjából pedig a következőket:

1. Mivel a kínai lakosság döntő hányadát egyáltalán nem érinti a probléma, az kulturális értelemben semmiképpen sem „nemzeti ügy”, viszont nagyon fontos – „tradicionális” – biztonsági kérdés.
2. Mivel azonban ujkurokhoz köthető terrorcselekmények kiléptek Xinjiangból, a velük kapcsolatos informálódás és a róluk kialakult kép terjedése minden korábbinál szélesebb.
3. Ugyancsak a kínai társadalom informáltságát növelte a belső migráció és a belső turizmus elképesztő mértékű növekedése az elmúlt másfél-két évtizedben.
4. A kínai belső propaganda és a média sokat tesz annak érdekében, hogy az erőszakos cselekményeket bűnöző elemeknek tulajdonítsák, s azok lehetőség szerint ne kötődjenek általában az ujkursághoz.
5. Az „Egy Övezet – Egy Út” az ujkurság lakóhelyét az eddigi „elérendő” pozícióból várhatóan a „közvetítőbe” teszi át.
6. Kína a világban követett „kereskedői” stratégiájának megfelelően ott is a kapcsolatai kiegyensúlyozására törekszik, ahol jelentős érdeksérelmeket érzél, sőt, ott még további aktivitásokra is sarkallja magát.

Meg kell állapítani azt is, hogy a kialakult politikai keretstruktúrák meglehetősen törékenyek, aminek elsősorban is az a következménye, hogy állandó reakciókat, reparálásokat igényel, tele van várható meglepetésekkel. Ugyanakkor látható, hogy olyan súlyos krízishelyzetek, mint amilyenek 2009-ben vagy 2014-ben alakultak ki, sem tudták lerombolni azokat a politikákat, amelyeket a két ország külön-külön és együtt is kialakított.

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A Sárkány Afrikában

Kína és Afrika több, mint hatszáz éve tartó kapcsolata során hol távolodott egymástól, hol közeledett egymáshoz. Ezek a ciklusok csaknem teljesen Kína belpolitikai váltoásaival függenek össze. Hosszú ideje már egy közeledésnek lehetünk tanúi, amely még korántsem ért véget. A jelenlegi szorosra fűzött együttműködés kezdete az 1950-es évekre tehető, amikor megkezdődött az ázsiai ország és a kontinens diplomáciai kapcsolatainak fejlesztése, amely mára lefedi Afrika teljes területét.

E hatalmas kapcsolatrendszer és Kína kivételes érdeklődése a kontinens irányában nagyobb figyelmet igényel, hiszen az ázsiai ország globális nagyhatalommá nőtte ki magát. Ezért gondolom fontosnak a kapcsolatrendszer megismerését. A kiterjedt együttműködés azonban nem teszi lehetővé az egész kontinens vizsgálatát, így tanulmányom két országra koncentrálna próbálja meg bemutatni a sino-afrikai viszonyok mélységét és összetettségét.

Történelmi áttekintés

Kína Európával nagyjából egy időben élte a felfedezések korát az 1400-as években. Ám míg az öreg kontinens nem elégedett meg a felfedezések tényével, a kínai szemlélet és a Ming dinasztia császárai a hét nagy felfedezőút, illetve az őket vezető Cseng He admirális halála után nem folytatták tovább a felfedező expedíciókat, sőt a flottát is megsemmisítették. Mindössze a part menti halászat kiszolgálására maradtak hajók.¹ A Cseng He admirális által 1413-ban vezetett expedíció elérte Afrika keleti partjait, ahol a mai Egyiptom területétől majdnem Mozambikig sikerült eljutnia. A következő, sorban ötödik expedíció 1417-től 1419-ig tartott és szintén érintette Afrika keleti partjait. 1421-ben, a hatodik felfedezőút során a kínai flotta ismét kikötött Afrika partjainál.²

1 Kissinger 2014: 27.

2 "Zheng He." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Ezek a felfedezőutak azonban korántsem biztos, hogy az elsők voltak az afrikai kontinensre, hiszen különböző írásos forrásokból és régészeti eredményekből arra lehet következtetni, hogy a kínai jelenlét, főként kereskedelem formájában már 500-tól jelen lehetett a régióban. Ekkor főként a privát szférában történt a kapcsolattartás, Cseng He útja tette hivatalossá a kapcsolatokat, hiszen ő követeket vitt a kontinensről Kínába, hogy ott különböző ajándékok kíséretében hódolatukat fejezhessék ki a kínai császárnak.³

A flotta megsemmisítése után a diplomáciai kapcsolatok visszaesése, majd teljes megszűnése következett. A hivatalos kapcsolatok csak a 19. században indultak újra Kína és Afrika között.⁴ A Kína és Afrika közti érintkezés azonban nem szakadt meg teljesen, hiszen a kereskedelem továbbra is működött, illetve az 1700-as években és a 19. század elején a kontinensre jelentős számú kínai munkás érkezett különböző infrastrukturális, bányászati és mezőgazdasági projektek megvalósításához brit, esetleg német segítséggel.⁵

Az európai jelenlét megerősödése magával vonzotta a kínai jelenlét megerősödését is a régióban, ám ez az 1950-es évekig nem volt igazán szembetűnő.

Az '50-es évek, Bandung és a nyitás

1955. április 18. és 24. között az indonéziai Bandungban került sor arra a konferenciára, amely a hidegháború miatt kialakult kettő nagy tömb egyikéhez sem tartozó, és mindkettőtől tartózkodni kívánó országok el nem köteleződését emelte hivatalos keretek közé. A konferencián többek között jelen volt Kína, a Tito vezette Jugoszlávia, valamint több afrikai és ázsiai nemzet is, szám szerint 29 ország, amelyek a világ össznépességének mintegy felét képviselték.⁶ A konferencia legfontosabb eredménye, hogy a mai Kína–Afrika kapcsolatok tekintetében is érvényben lévő irányelveket fogadott el. Az elfogadott tíz irányelv az ENSZ alapelveit, valamint az indiai miniszterelnök, Jawaharlal Nehru által javasolt irányelveket ötvözi, melyből a legfontosabbak a következők: kölcsönös tisztelet más nemzetek iránt, területi integritás és szuverenitás, más országok belügyeibe való be nem avatkozás, egyenlőség és közös fejlődés, békés

3 "China's long history in Africa." 2015.

4 "China's long history in Africa." 2015.

5 Khan 2015.

6 Tarrósy 2008: 82.

egymás mellett élés. Ezek az elvek még ma is alapját képezik az összes Kína és Afrika között megkötött megállapodásnak.⁷

A bandungi konferencia megrendezésekor Kína még nem rendelkezett hivatalos diplomáciai kapcsolatokkal az afrikai kontinens országában. Az első hivatalos kapcsolat kiépítésére 1956-ban került sor Egyiptomban. A kínai közeledés ekkor ideológiával terhelt volt, és kifejezetten a hasonló politikai berendezkedésű országokkal vette fel a kapcsolatot, amelyre az afrikai országok függetlenedésének első hullámában rengeteg lehetősége adódott. Az 1960-as évek közepén, a Kínában kitört kulturális forradalom visszavetette a diplomáciai kapcsolatok építését, és gyakorlatilag lehetetlenné tette a már meglévő teljes kapcsolatrendszer fenntartását, így a futó programokon kívül minden más felfüggesztésre került.⁸

A kulturális forradalom végével indult meg ismét a hivatalos kapcsolatok ápolása a fekete kontinenssel, és ezt nem vetette vissza Kína Amerikai Egyesült Államokhoz való közeledése sem. Ebben az érásban nem a forradalom exportálása volt a kapcsolatépítés ideológiai háttere, hanem a feltétel nélküli segítségnyújtás az afrikai országok számára.⁹ Gyakorlatilag ez az ideológia tette Kínát sikeressé az afrikai kontinensen a nyugati államokkal szemben, hiszen az ázsiai ország nem kötötte különböző feltételekhez segélyezési programját, mint például az IMF.

A '70-es években új erőre kapott diplomáciai terjeszkedés eredményeképpen az évtized végére már 43 kínai misszió tevékenykedett a kontinensen.¹⁰ A nagyarányú terjeszkedésre hatással lehetett Kína ENSZ BT állandó tagjai közé való felvétele, melyre 1971-ben került sor, és amelyet 26 afrikai ország támogatott.¹¹

Az évtized Afrika számára legfontosabb eseménye a TANZAM/ TAZARA projekt megindítása volt. Az egyik legnagyobb szabású kínai befektetést Tanzánia és Zambia kérésére kezdte meg Kína. A két országot keresztülszelő vasútvonal Zambia rézlelőhelyeit és Tanzánia dél-nyugati nyersanyaglelőhelyeit köti össze Dar es Salaammal és a kikötővel. Ez a projekt bizonyult a legjelentősebbnek az sino-afrikai kapcsolattartás során, hiszen a kulturális forradalom

7 "Bandung Conference." *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

8 Li 2007: 70–71.

9 Li 2007: 71.

10 Li 2007: 72.

11 South African Institute of International Affairs: "China-Africa Factsheet", 2.

évtizedében engedélyezték, és az USA felé való nyitás időszakában valósították meg. Kína tehát új céljait a régebben kialakított kapcsolatai megtartása, ápolása, fejlesztése mellett kívánta megvalósítani.¹²

A '80-as évek elején visszaesést lehetett tapasztalni a kontinens felé irányuló kínai befektetések mértékében. 1982 végén Kína új politikai irányelvet kezdett el követni, és ismét erőre kapott az együttműködés a Csao Ce-jang által 11 afrikai ország számára meghirdetett „négy alapelv” által. Ez azonban nem volt hatással a beruházások volumenére, csak azok számára. Az, hogy Kína a befektetett tőkemennyiséget is megnövelje a kontinensen, a hidegháború végéig váratott magára. A '90-es években történt erőfeszítéseknek kedvezett az, hogy Afrikában fejlődött a befektetési környezet, valamint Kínában láthatóvá váltak a helyi vállalatok.¹³

Az új együttműködés keretei

A '90-es évek során új erőre kapott kínai–afrikai együttműködés egy szervezet létrehozását tette indokolttá, amelynek első ülésére 2000-ben került sor. A Kína–Afrika Együttműködési Fórum¹⁴ miniszteriális szinten jött létre, a kontinens 51 országával, valamint az Afrika Unióval teszi lehetővé a szoros kapcsolattartást.¹⁵ A FOCAC kettő fő irányelvet követ: az első a konzultáció megerősítése és az együttműködés kiterjesztése, a második a politikai párbeszéd és a gazdasági együttműködés elősegítése a közös fejlődés érdekében.¹⁶

A miniszteriális szintű találkozókra 3 évenként kerül sor, de alacsonyabb szintű találkozókra évente több alkalommal is sor kerül, valamint napi szinten is zajlanak tárgyalások a részes államok között. Az államok politikai képviselői mellett ezekre a találkozókra nagy számban érkeznek üzletemberek is.¹⁷

2003-ban, az Etiópiában megtartott második találkozón készült el a 2004–2006-os időszakra fókuszáló Addisz-Abeba Akcióterv. Az akcióterv az új Kína–Afrika együttműködés dinamikussá, hatékonytá tételét célozta, konkrét

12 Shi – Hoebink [2013]: 8–9.

13 Chun 2013: 11.

14 Forum on Chinese–African Cooperation.

15 “Member States.” *focac.org*.

16 “Africa – China.” *au.int*

17 Tarrósy 2008: 85–86.

intézkedések foganatosításával. Megemlíti és bátorítja a kínai katonai jelenlétet és együttműködést a kontinensen, meghatározza a gazdasági együttműködés irányelveit, de foglalkozik a befektetésekkel, az államadósságok elengedésével, valamint fejlesztési tervekkel mind a gazdasági, mind szociális téren.¹⁸

A lényegében 2006-ig tervező Addisz-Abeában készült dokumentum mellett 2006 januárjában kiadásra került Kína Afrika-politikája, amelyben lényegében mintegy megerősíti az akciótervben foglaltakat. Ebben Kína kiemeli az egyenlőséget, a közös fejlődést és az egymástól való tanulást. Gazdasági vonatkozásban a segítségre szoruló országok számára ajánl megoldást, miszerint ezen országok tekintetében támogatja az áruk vámmentes piacra jutását. Emellett támogatná egy szabadkereskedelmi övezet kialakítását. Az afrikai piacok megerősítése érdekében kedvezményes hiteleket kínál a befektetőknek, valamint a fenntartható fejlődést figyelembe véve támogatja a különböző kutatásokat is. Emellett az okmányban leszögezi, hogy a Kína és Afrika között továbbra is működtetni kívánja az ösztöndíj programot, és támogatja a kulturális értékek kölcsönös megismerését. Emellett nagy hangsúlyt fektet a katonai együttműködésre a békefenntartás és a technológiai csere és egyéb támogatás területén.¹⁹

Kína számára az 1900-as évek közepétől fontos volt az Afrikával való gazdasági együttműködés és folyamatosan fejlesztette a kontinenssel a diplomáciai és kereskedelmi kapcsolatokat. A kínai külpolitikában azonban Afrika a jelen pillanatban is csak a prioritási lista végén foglal helyet. Ez mindössze azt jelenti, hogy gazdasági szempontból az ázsiai ország rendkívül fontosnak tartja az afrikai kontinenst, de külpolitikai stratégiát még nem alkotott vele kapcsolatban. A sino-afrikai kapcsolatokat a jövőben még szorosabbra kívánják fűzni, így várható, hogy Afrika is magának tudhat majd egy szeletet Kína külpolitikai stratégiájából.²⁰

Kereskedelmi kapcsolatok

A Kína és Afrika közötti kereskedelmi kapcsolatok évszázadok óta töretlenek. A mértékükben állt be változás. A '70-es években indult útjára egy nagyobb befektetési hullám, amely csak 1980-ban tört meg, igaz, csak rövid időre,

18 "Forum on China-Africa Cooperation-Addis Ababa Action Plan." 2009. *focac.org*.

19 "China's African Policy." 2006. *focac.org*.

20 Sun 2014: 30.

hiszen 1982-ben új erőre kapott. A lendület kitartott az új évezredig, amikor megalakult FOCAC, hogy még szorosabbra fűzze és könnyebbé tegye az együttműködést Kína és Afrika között.

A FOCAC, valamint a 2006-ban kiadott Afrika-politika világossá teszi, hogy Kína az afrikai kontinens legnagyobb kereskedelmi partnerévé vált, és preferált export-import partnerként tekintenek rá. Az ázsiai ország számára is fontos a kontinens, habár Kína évi összes kereskedelmének mindössze 5%-át teszi ki.²¹

A kereskedelem mellett fontosak a hosszú távú befektetések, az infrastrukturális beruházások. A legjelentősebb projektek a '70-es években megépült TAZARA/TANZAM vasútvonal, valamint a 2009-ben elkezdett addisz-abebei Afrika Unió központ.²² Ezek mellett a beruházások mellett számos kisebb is indult a kontinensen, kormányzati épületek, stadionok, utak és hidak épültek jelentős kínai támogatással.

A projektek azonban a lakosság szemében nem voltak túl sikeresek. A kivitelező cégek általában kínaiak, akik nem a helyi munkaerőt alkalmazzák, hanem egyes esetekben a teljes személyzetet Kínából hozzák, így az Afrikában amúgy is magas munkanélküliséggel küzdő országok nem kerültek jobb helyzetbe. Amely vállalatok mégis alkalmaztak afrikai munkásokat, ott csak a szaktudást nem igénylő beosztásokat kaphatták meg. A kínai vállalatok tekintetében problémát jelenthet továbbá az, hogy nem minden esetben teremtik meg a megfelelő munkafeltételeket a dolgozók számára, egyes esetekben akár a munkások egészségét, testi épségét is veszélyeztetve.²³

A kínai politika azonban nem csak a lakosságban ébreszt elégedetlenséget. Már a kontinens újragyarmatosításával is vádolták Kínát, miszerint ugyanolyan módon használja ki a nyersanyagkészleteket, mint fél évszázaddal korábban a volt gyarmattartó államok és az olcsó kínai áru afrikai piacokra való betörésével a kontinens amúgy is gyengélkedő gazdasága még mélyebbre süllyed.²⁴

Emellett azonban fontos megemlíteni, hogy a befektetések beindítása érdekében Kína kedvezményes hiteleket hajlandó folyósítani afrikai cégek részére, valamint a FOCAC működésének kezdete óta 31, nehéz gazdasági helyzetben levő ország számára engedte el az államadósság egy részét, vagy egészét.²⁵

21 Sun 2014: 14.

22 Shi – Hoebink [2013]: 8.

23 French 2015.

24 Tarrósy 2008: 88.

25 Tarrósy 2008: 88.

Katonai aspektus

Kína és Afrika közötti együttműködés legérdekesebb eleme a katonai. Kína az elmúlt években jelentős erőfeszítéseket tett annak érdekében, hogy megvédje afrikai befektetéseit, akár katonai erővel is, hiszen az ázsiai ország a fekete kontinensre delegálja a legtöbb békefenntartót. Emellett fontos megjegyezni, hogy Kína mind finansiális, mind felajánlott erők szempontjából előkelő helyet foglal el az ENSZ tagállamai között, amely alapján a fejlődő és fejlett országok közé tehető félútra. Ennek következménye az a furcsa helyzet, hogy habár jelentősen járul hozzá a költségvetéshez, mégis inkább a fejlődő országok kontingenseivel jobbak az együttműködési mutatói. Ennek okai a nyelvi korlát, valamint az, hogy a legtöbb nyugati ország a NATO keretein belül, annak közös normarendszere alapján már dolgozott más nemzetközi környezetben. Így kínai részről felmerült az igény arra, hogy a későbbi közös munka megkönnyítése érdekében katonáit elküldené különböző európai tanfolyamokra.²⁶

A katonai együttműködés másik, több fórumon is hangsúlyozott része, a technológiai csere egyszerűen kínai részről történő fegyvereladást jelent, amelynek nem egy esetben volt negatív visszhangja a nyugati államoktól. Ez a Szudánban kialakult helyzet során volt a legszembetűnőbb. A fegyverkereskedelemmel Kína így a szudáni kormány belharcait támogatta.²⁷

Fontos azonban megjegyezni, hogy Szudán és Dél-Szudán szecessziója után Kína még 2011-ben kiépítette a diplomáciai kapcsolatokat Dél-Szudánal is, amely közeledés, és az ország belügyeibe való be nem avatkozás elve tette később lehetővé azt, hogy nagyszámú kínai békefenntartó érkezessen az országba.²⁸

Szudán mellett Maliban van jelentős kínai jelenlét, itt 395 katona teljesít szolgálatot a MINUSMA misszióban, amelyből 70 fő egészségügyi személyzet, 155 fő műszaki katona. A legfontosabb azonban, hogy Kína ENSZ missziókban való részvétele során először delegált egy 170 főből álló biztosító századot, amely a nemzetközi erők közelbiztosítását is végzi.²⁹

26 Putten 2015: 9–13.

27 Tarrósy 2008: 87.

28 African Institute of International Affairs: "China-Africa Factsheet", 2.

29 Putten 2015: 9.

Tanzánia

Kína és a mai Tanzánia területét is érintő Cseng He admirális által vezetett felfedezőutak jelentik az első kapcsolatot a két ország történelmében. Természetesen töretlen diplomáciai együttműködésről csak az elmúlt 50 év során beszélhetünk, mely így is a leghosszabb a sino-afrikai kapcsolatok között. Kína először a '60-as években jelent meg az országban különböző fejlesztési programok finanszírozásával, melyből több mint 140 indult már az afrikai országban. Tanzániához köthető a már korábban említett, ma is működő és a kínai–afrikai kapcsolatok jelképévé vált TAZARA/TANZAM vasútvonal megépítése, valamint a szintén nagy horderejű, bár kisebb költségvetésű Urafiki textil üzem.³⁰

A hosszú életű kapcsolat mintegy biztosította azt, hogy Kína igen előkelő helyet foglal el Tanzánia kereskedelmi partnerei között. Az exportpartnerek tekintetében a harmadik, míg import tekintetében a második helyet foglalja el az ország.³¹ A Kínával való nagyarányú kereskedelmi és diplomáciai kapcsolatok vezethettek odáig, hogy Tanzánia a különböző fejlesztési projektekből tőle kaphatott segítséget. Így a már korábban emlegetett kettő nagy beruházáson kívül még kettő jelentős befektetésre került sor az országban. Az elsőt a '90-es évek politikai bizonytalansága vonzotta be az országba, amikor a kínai kormány az ideológiájában is hasonló tanzániai Chama Cha Mapinduzi-nak mintegy ajándékkul nyújtotta át a Chalinze Vízerőművet. Az erőmű az eredeti tervek alapján naponta 105 000 ember számára biztosította a tiszta és biztonságos ivóvizet. Az építés mellett a karbantartásra is kötöttek szerződést a különböző állami szereplők Tanzániával, de Kína volt az, aki úgy döntött, hogy a szerződés lejártá után is teljesíti annak vállalásait.³²

A másik hosszú távú projekt a Morogoro Kínai Mezőgazdasági Technológiai Bemutató Központ volt, amelyről a FOCAC keretein belül, 2006-ban jött létre a megállapodás. A beruházás pontosan egyezik a legtöbb afrikai ország érdekeivel, a vidéki területek mezőgazdaságának fejlesztését tűzte ki célul.³³

A két ország vonatkozásában fontos megemlíteni a katonai együttműködést is, hiszen az is folyamatos. Legutóbb 2016. május 30-án került sor tapasztalatcserére a két ország hadereje között. Ezúttal a kínai haditengerészet

30 Shi – Hoebink [2013]: 3.

31 "Tanzania." Observatory of Economic Complexity.

32 Shi – Hoebink [2013]: 12–13.

33 Shi – Hoebink [2013]: 11–12.

osztotta meg a kalózkodás visszaszorításával kapcsolatos, Indiai-óceánon szerzett tapasztalatait.³⁴ Emellett azonban Kína haditechnikai eszközök terén is beszállítója lett az országnak, hiszen mind a szárazföldi- és légiere, valamint a haditengerészet járműparkjában található az ázsiai országtól vásárolt eszköz.³⁵

A mindenoldalú együttműködést Kína egy igen jelentős ösztöndíjprogrammal is kiegészítette. 2015-ben 6000 afrikai diák, köztük tanzániaiak is kaphattak lehetőséget arra, hogy az ázsiai országban folytassák felsőoktatásbeli tanulmányaikat.³⁶

Szudán

Szudán volt az afrikai kontinens negyedik országa, aki 1959-ben felvette a diplomáciai kapcsolatot Kínával. A nem túl zökkenőmentesen induló együttműködés a '70-es években normalizálódott. Itt is megfigyelhető, hogy a '90-es évek után ugrásszerűen megnőtt az érdeklődés Kína irányából, de ez nemcsak az ország külpolitikai nyitásának, hanem a szudáni olajkincs feltárásának is betudható.³⁷ Ez gyakorlatilag azt eredményezte, hogy Kína vált Szudán legnagyobb kereskedelmi partnerévé mind az export, mind az import terén.³⁸ Az országnak nagy a részesedése a kínai befektetésekből is, hiszen az összes beruházásból rájutó 4,7% a hatodik legnagyobb finanszírozási keretet jelenti.³⁹

Szudánban a jelentős olajipar fejlesztési projektek mellett, amely Kína egyik fő csapásiránya volt a '90-es évek végétől, itt is történtek infrastrukturális beruházások. Kettő hidroelektromos beruházás indult el, a Merowe-gát, valamint a Kajbar-gát. Ezen kívül Szudán több szerződést kötött kínai vállalatokkal különböző infrastrukturális fejlesztések kivitelezésére, utak, hidak, valamint vasútvonalak építésére.⁴⁰

A kereskedelmi és diplomáciai kapcsolatok mellett Szudán büszkélkedhet a legnagyobb és legvitatottabb kínai katonai jelenléttel. Szudánban már ko-

34 Yao 2016.

35 "Tanzanian navy commissions new vessels." 2015. *defenceWeb*.

36 Tarrósy 2015.

37 Large 2008: 1–2.

38 "Sudan." Observatory of Economic Complexity.

39 Chun 2013: 4.

40 Large 2008: 7.

rábban is hajtottak végre feladatot kínai békefenntartók. 2012-ben Kína ide küldött először harcoló alegységet, egy lövész szakaszt, a delegált műszaki és egészségügyi személyzet biztosító alegységeként.⁴¹

2015-ben Dél-Szudánban egy 700 fős kontingenssel képviseltette magát Kína. Ez egy teljes lövész zászlóaljat jelent. Emellett felmerült a lehetősége, hogy az ázsiai ország helikopterekkel is hozzá kíván járulni a misszióhoz, amelyre eddig még nem volt példa.⁴²

Kína nemcsak a missziós hozzájárulással hívta fel magára a figyelmet, hanem az országgal való katonai technológiai cserének titulált fegyverkereskedelemmel, amelyet az ENSZ-embargó ellenére folytatott. A kézfegyverek és lőszer mellett tűzérési eszközökhöz és légi járművekhez, valamint hozzájuk tartozó fegyverrendszerekhez is könnyedén hozzájuthatott Szudán a nemzetközi szankciók bevezetése ellenére.⁴³

Összegzés

Kína és Afrika hosszú közös múltra tekint vissza. A diplomáciai kapcsolatok nem voltak állandóak, de a kereskedelmi szálak folyamatosan jelen voltak a két fél között. Kína és Afrika jelenkori kapcsolatának is főként a gazdasági oldala az erőssége, habár igen erős a diplomáciai is.

Kína számára külpolitikai értelemben véve Afrika nem számít nagy partnernek, de ez fordítva teljesen más arcot mutat. A fekete kontinens legnagyobb befektetője és partnere Kína, ezért ragaszkodik a mindenoldalú kapcsolatfejlesztéshez, csereprogramokhoz, és szorgalmazza a katonai együttműködést is. Az ázsiai ország sikerének alapjait a bandungi konferencia teremtette meg. A konferencián elfogadott alapelvek közül az egyenlőség és a más országok belügyeibe való be nem avatkozás lehetett a legszimpatikusabb az afrikai országok számára.

Kína a legnagyobb befektető a kontinensen, annak minden országával kapcsolatban áll. Igyekszik támogatni a fenntartható fejlődést és az afrikai belső piacok megerősödését. Érdekeltségeinek védelméért hajlandó kockázatot is vállalni, hiszen a legnagyobb békefenntartó kontingensekkel Afrikában szerepel.

41 Putten 2015: 8.

42 Putten 2015: 20.

43 "Darfur: New weapons from China and Russia fuelling conflict." 2008. Amnesty International.

A kínai befolyásnak azonban ára van. A betelepült cégek magukkal hozzák a munkásokat, helyi erőket nem, vagy csak kis mértékben alkalmaznak és a Kínában megszokott munkakörülményeket biztosítják, amelyek nem feltétlenül felelnek meg a nemzetközi követelményeknek. Kínának tehát el kell döntenie, hogy milyen példát mutat az afrikai kontinens számára. Emellett Kínát olyan vádak is érik, hogy egy újkori gyarmatosításba kezdett az afrikai kontinensen. Tud-e Kína a jövőben olyan következetes politikát folytatni, amellyel ezt megcáfolhatja?

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Ramachandra Byrappa

BRICS and the New World Order – The Dance of the Elephant and the Dragon

Everyone thought 2001 had brought rule-changing paradigm in international relations until we received 2008 which sent us reeling around, thinking we were about to enter yet another paradigm change. Changing paradigms so often in a single decade could leave everyone feeling out of place and uncomfortable with the international system. It's like changing the rules of the game every five minutes in a football match, the rule maker would be the obvious winner and everyone the evident losers. The obvious long-term result would be that there will be fewer and fewer players or fans of football. Of course the international system is no football match, in a globalised world the stakes are high and many tens of millions of lives and billions of livelihoods depend upon the system working well and fairly.

Everyone knew that the system set-up after the Second World War and frequently tinkered was not a perfect one but the pretence of trust was kept alive, with the hope that things will eventually improve one day. This was especially true with the newly developed Asian countries like India and China, and many of the poorer developing countries, who generally started to believe that globalisation could work miracles for them as well. This was topped by the countries who had thrown off the yoke of communism in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Their membership and the fact of belonging to the international community reinforced their newly regained sovereignty. This was one of the main facts that lead them to believe and support the current system, although the benefits of globalisation were surely not beneficial to all of them. In this perspective a stable global system was an integral part of their nationalism, which is quite often misunderstood. China and later India had little to complain as long as the system did not touch the fundamental principles of their sovereign integrity, staying true to the notion that globalisation and the international system was about free countries engaged in a free and fair economic competition in the global trading system. The economic crisis of 2008 had greatly damaged the system but fortunately it did not collapse, it was a very close call.

The BRICS organisation was created by those countries who had much to lose from such a failure, if it repeated itself. It was the frustration that they did not have enough power to strengthen the current system that led to BRICS countries to imagine their gathering as a possible safety-valve. But in no way was it a challenger to the current system. The motivation behind the BRICS group was to better coordinate their demands for reform of the international economic regime, use the group to add pressure on the West to step-up the reform process. To side-step the current system would mean putting the principal source of trade and economic intercourse at risk. For most of the BRICS countries, the United States and Western Europe still represent the biggest markets and sources of investment. It is impossible to believe that any of the BRICS countries would come anything close to wanting to pull down the current system, where each and every one of them is so deeply implicated and entangled. Implying that the BRICS wants to supplant and gang together to create a new system still does not make economic sense. This would happen only on one condition, when the principles of national sovereignty and integrity are jeopardized.

The Arab Spring which started in 2010 might just be bringing us close to such a scenario. Although political and defence analysts might suggest that we are yet again in another of those paradigm shifts, this time it might be for real. There is a qualitative difference between this one and the previous ones. Through the game of proxies, the very fundamental principles of the United Nations, namely that of national sovereignty and integrity came directly under attack. Although there were immediate assurances that it was the result of a spontaneous burst of demands for democracy, the whole episode put international law in a grey zone, signalling the next step where proxy wars will be replaced by real conflicts that no longer respect the territorial integrity of nations, especially the smaller ones. A disturbing pattern of civil outbursts followed by immersion and resurgence of terror groups to challenge the status of established nation-states. The media systems of certain Western countries even started giving credence to terror groups, promoting them to statehood.

These changes in the international climate have radically changed the prospects of the BRICS group. It is pushed into becoming a serious candidate to explore the possibilities of somehow bringing order where chaos has erupted. When the United Nations was established the main architect was one predominant power, which was unchallenged in its will to push through a new world

order. The BRICS even if they wanted, do not possess the political will, the military back-up or the economic resources to push forward a new world order to stabilise the international system. At least for the moment, no one country of the group comes close to the power enjoyed by the United States of America after the Second World War, in 1945. The way forward is a partial world order in the Asian continent built around the BRICS group.

The dynamics for such an eventuality are not there and have to be put together, mainly by a Chinese initiative. To do this it has to understand the real workings of India, without whose partnership it will be very difficult to make any substantive progress. As history has shown several times, by concentrating too much on the Silk Road initiative and the northern flank, China might leave the southern flank open to the encroachment of powers from outside. This would put the long term plans of making Asia a stable and peaceful economic sphere into disarray. The relationship with India has to be one of the central element for China and a cornerstone to the development of its BRICS strategy.

Before going into details of the BRICS and the way forward it has to be made absolutely clear that most of its members have greatly benefited from the current international economic regime. It also has to be made clear that the BRICS does not want to damage or destroy a system that was at the base of its current international standing. China is incomparably the biggest industrial concentration that had ever existed. Much of this evolution can be credited to the existence of a very capable political elite, who had the insight and vision of how fast the world was evolving, the direction it was taking. However, China was greatly helped by the current international free trade system: "Seventy percent of China's economic achievements this decade can be attributed to our membership in the WTO," says Zhang Hanlin, head of the WTO Studies Institute at the University of International Business and Economics in Beijing.¹ In the year 2015 the country had a \$2.3 trillion-a-year export sector.² As the workshop of the world China could not have done so much without the structural help of the current trade regime. The WTO has done a monumental job in integrating China's productive capacity and spreading its goods across the globe in an unprecedented manner.³ Surely, China might optimise its possi-

1 Ford 2011.

2 Pomfret 2015.

3 Pomfret 2015.

bilities by reforming the current system but not pull it down or challenge the leadership of the United States of America.

Ana Palacio, a former Senior Vice President of the World Bank and member of the Spanish Council of State in a way agrees with the above situation when she says:

“There is something deeper going on here. The world’s seeming obsession with the BRICS’ perceived rise and fall reflects a desire to identify the country or group of countries that would take over from the US as global leader. But, in searching for the ‘next big thing’, the world ignores the fact that the US remains the only power capable of providing global leadership and ensuring some semblance of international order.”⁴

Ana Palacio thinks that after their initial semblance of success the BRICS has gone into insignificance:

“... recognising that economic power could translate into political influence, the BRICS held their first informal meeting in 2006, and their first leaders’ summit in 2009. The bloc was going places – or so it seemed. But seven years, seven summits, and one new member (South Africa joined in 2010) later, the significance of the BRICS remains hotly debated.”⁵

Ana Palacio credits much of the success of the BRICS to media hype when she elegantly declares: “Clearly, the BRICS are a thing. They are just not the thing.”⁶ Although this might seem cruel for the BRICS she might be right in the sense that one has to put the portrayed success of the BRICS into perspective, the West was bleeding in a prolonged economic crisis and the BRICS could steal the stage.⁷

Senora Ana Palacio could have stopped there, she did not, and she finished off by something very disturbing:

4 Palacio 2015.

5 Palacio 2015.

6 Palacio 2015.

7 Palacio 2015.

“The international order is at a crossroads. It needs the US to guide it – with ingenuity, initiative, and stamina – in the direction of peace and prosperity. Obsessing about who might eventually replace America is bound to get us all lost.”⁸

Firstly, her comment seems to exclude the possibility that the United States might have something to do with the current upheavals. Those who created and ignited the financial crisis of 2008 are American, those who supervised the financial system in the US at that time were naturally American. The United States has many very capable leaders but they did not curtail the American financial system turning into a grand casino. Ana Palacio does rightly enumerate the weaknesses of the BRICS but quite ignorantly forgets to question the professionalism of the United States as far as the running of the international financial system is concerned. It is because of such expert ignorance and arrogance that the BRICS is becoming increasingly credible in the eyes of the world's public. The expectations are immense, and this is something that the BRICS have to handle, to live up to. The simple truth that escaped Ana Palacio is that when the Wall Street boys were playing casinos, they were literally playing with the savings and livelihoods of billions of people around the world. With billions of people within their borders, China and India were the most sensitive to such calamities.

The years 2001 and 2008 have shown how the combination of financial chaos blended with international disorder, as a consequence of international terrorism, could be highly detrimental to economic stability and the modernization project of China. The BRICS started as an economic safety-valve but recently the priorities seems to be re-adjusted. Rather than diminish in importance the BRICS is taking extra responsibilities. In a very interesting study on the changing nature of the BRICS, Peter Van Ham made the following remark:

8 Palacio 2015.

“The discourse around the BRICS has been predominantly economic, and has only recently shifted into the domain of security. Starting off with the BRICS’ call to have a greater voice on global economic and financial governance (in the IMF and World Bank), the on-going war in Syria proved their growing role in security matters. In October 2011, Russia and China (backed by abstentions from Brazil, India and South Africa) blocked a European-drafted UNSC resolution that called for an end to Syria’s crackdown on protests. The BRICS acted in concert and as a strategic grouping to prevent a Western call for ‘regime change’ in Syria.”⁹

In 2008 the international economic system almost collapsed and the BRICS was put together to stop the contagion spreading to the developing regional powers. Since 2010 Arab Spring, the international political system is coming under increasing pressure. It looks as if the BRICS is not about projecting power, there is no hidden project to create a challenger to a system built by the West. It very much looks like an initiative that is trying to guard against the negative effects created by the indiscriminate use of morally suspect methods by the West.

As the leading member of the BRICS, China has several policy options to deal with eruptions of conflicts in areas otherwise considered politically stable. One of this option, privileged by China is the concentric outward expansion of its economic sphere. Again, there are precedents. The economic integration of South-East Asia by Japan, starting in the 1960s, acted as pacifier in a region where things could have flared up, especially due to the Cold War tensions spilling into the region. Through economic integration Japan imposed a modernisation agenda that forced the political elites of the region to concentrate on economic planning, and accompany it with political reforms to achieve an overall systemic transformation. What happened to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia during the height of the Cold War could have easily infected the rest of the region. The contribution of Japan in a sense was a trigger to a greater good. Japan might have done this for its own economic good, to have access to a pool of skilled labour but indirectly it pulled countries like Malaysia away

9 Ham 2015.

from political infightings and pegged the elite tightly into a healthy economic competition with other members of the South-East Asia region. In the process making them globally competitive.

China has to deal with labour shortages that might cause inflationary pressures inside the labour market which are having a dysfunctional effect on the rest of economy, leading to the possibility of a degradation of its international competitiveness. China should take the example of Japan in the 1970s and the 1980s when the Japanese economy started to face similar labour shortages and similar wage inflations. Although Japan was forced to build factories in Europe to escape regulatory and trade restrictions, the main bulk of its industrial expansion took place in concentric circles. As the Factory of Asia, Japan expanded its production capacity to Taiwan and the ASEAN countries. China was avoided initially because of political reasons, and in retrospective this could be interpreted as a mistake because the normalisation of relations between these two countries could have laid the re-foundation for long term Asian consolidation. Another lesson to be learned from the Japanese experience is that Japan's inability to manage the rapid rise in labour inflation lead to the creation of the property bubble, and generally the creation of the asset bubble which eventually burst in the late 1980s. Economic analysts differ in their interpretations unto why industrial production stalled in Japan, in what was called the "Lost Decade" but they all agree on the fact that wage inflation and the consequent property price rise lay at the base of the problem. What is more important to notice is that unlike Europe where unemployment keeps rising due to the lack of economic growth, Japan did not face serious problems of unemployment.¹⁰ China still has time to do things differently and avoid blockages to its international competitiveness.

It is very urgent that China reduce the inflationary pressures to remain competitive in the global market. As one commentator points out: "The era of cheaply made in China is coming to an end. But then the environmental consequences of that were devastating too."¹¹ The industrial heartland, Guangdong ideally situated to be connected with "One Asia" civilizational hub has to be regional and not follow a national logic. As one scholar observes: 'Guangdong accounts for one-third of China's exports and would rank as one of the

¹⁰ Sclesinger 2014.

¹¹ Kerry Brown in an interview for world finance: Industrial activism in China is 'a big enough issue' says author Kerry Brown, World Finance (online) 2014.

world's 10 largest exporters if it were a country in its own right. But the province's ability to attract and retain migrant labour from China's vast interior is slipping.¹² For all intents and purposes "The problem is particularly acute in southern Guangdong province and its Pearl river delta manufacturing heartland near Hong Kong, the region known as 'the workshop of the world'."¹³ China is in the process of working together with Burma, Bangladesh and India to link-up the eastern states of India to create an integrated economic zone. The basic Japanese method of integration means that this process has to be intensified before Asia confronts a 2008 style economic crisis. The well experimented Japanese method could easily become the BRICS method.

Oliver Stuenkel got it right when he argues that the BRICS is about the respective regions of each country on a primary level. Taking the BRICS debate directly to the global level is not understanding the fundamental vocational aspect of the group. It is about global governance but in a very indirect manner. The underlying idea of the group is that everyone does his/her homework at the regional level with an eye to all the other member regions. Asia as a region has several sub-regions and dominant players. Both India and China are too big to be restricted to their own regions, their influence has historically transcended their borders and will continue to do so, as long as their territorial integrity is maintained. Economically, China is way ahead of India and will continue to do so for a few decades more, but even then India cannot be neglected. India has had considerable civilizational influence in the South-East Asian region and things cannot be permanently done without India. Oliver Stuenkel sees the situation as follows:

"Each BRICS country's difficulty is three-fold. First, they need to develop a cohesive and compelling vision of what they want their region to look like – how to improve transport links, how to promote democracy or political stability, which regional institutions to establish, and how the region should relate to the rest of the world. Second, they need to convince neighbours that the implementation of such a project generates positive results

12 Mitchell 2010.

13 Mitchell 2010.

for the entire region, and that fears of regional bullying are unwarranted. Finally, they need to muster the diplomatic and financial muscle to turn their vision into reality – after all, infrastructure projects (roads, ports, etc.) to connect the region tend to be costly and complex. Over the past decades, none of the BRICS has been particularly successful in addressing the three concerns, largely due to internal development challenges.”¹⁴

My interpretation of the situation of the BRICS and Asia-Pacific is that both India and China should be conscious of their past civilizational roles; somehow, even thousands of years ago, the confluence of the two civilisations did take place. Disruption of the process came about when the two countries were attacked, China from the north, and India from the north-west and hundreds of years later the Europeans intensified this disruption and accentuated it the differences. The pull was so apart that by the 1960s both engaged in a minor war that even now seems inconceivable. Both the countries have to go back in time and see how things went wrong and then try to rebuild all that has been ignored, let to dereliction over the last couple of centuries.

The prescription by Oliver Stuenkel might look like a tall order but it is not. He is asking each country to have a cohesive vision, be convincing and use their financial muscle to pull things together. This is something that India has failed to do for more than half a century in South Asia. As a consequence this sub-region of Asia has become the most failed corners of Asia instead of being one of the central pillars as it was over the millennia. Without India and China Asia would never have been the dominant continent that it was and will never become one again without the two regenerating themselves. India has failed to realise its potential and failed in its responsibilities. There are historic reasons for this temporary change of trajectory. India is not even able to fulfil a fraction of what is required to give a minimum of dignity to its people.

There has been suffering and many things still have to be put right but China has been much more successful in preserving the dignity of its civilisation, even if it meant enormous material and human costs. It has got the country back on the civilizational rails. But China is only one half of the old civilizational matrix, India is the other missing half. From China's perspective things

¹⁴ Stuenkel 2014.

are not easy. It has to engage India for its own sake and at a higher level for the cohesion of Asia but because of the ambiguities and misunderstandings of the last half a century it has to be cautious. Everything it does could be misinterpreted by the Indian elite which for long has been ideologically fed by a foreign hand. The media in India and the West report daily on border tension between the two countries, and regularly political use is made of it. For this reason and many others, China has to leave aside ideology and take a functional approach towards its neighbour, in the interest of a long term perspective.

The first step towards further rapprochement between China and India is to take a simple and practical view about each other's needs and see what good neighbourly gestures can be taken. Both countries have big demographic problems, one because it has a rapidly aging population and the other because it has too much of a young population that could become idle without jobs. Something has to be done otherwise the stability of both countries will come under pressure. On 26 April, 2016 the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) put out a very interesting report on the demographic trends in the Asia Pacific region.¹⁵ According to the report, although most of the Asia-Pacific region is generally getting older, there is a clear divide between trends in South Asian sub-region and the rest of the region. This difference will have a significant impact on the economic life of the whole region. The UNDP report sends alarm bells ringing for most of the region but especially for China:

“Asia-Pacific has the world's largest number of older people at 489 million, of whom over 209 million live in China. By 2050, the region will have more than 1 billion older people. The share of older people in Asia-Pacific populations, having doubled from 6 percent in 1975 to almost 12 percent in 2015, is projected to reach about 25 percent of the population by the middle of this century.”¹⁶

It is positive that people in Asia are living longer like their Western counterparts but at the same time it could mean a period of painful adjustments on a massive scale: “The number of ‘oldest old’ will almost quadruple, from 58

15 UNDP in Asia and the Pacific: Official launch of the UNDP study.

16 Thangavel 2016: 120.

million in 2015 to nearly 246 million in 2050...”¹⁷ And a relatively high percentage of these ‘oldest old’ will come from the People’s Republic of China.

An aging population could not have been an issue had it not been for the fact that the population of China will peak out somewhere around 2027 and will take a downhill path to reduce the population to less than a billion in the year 2100.¹⁸ The aging population is a double-edged problem for policy makers, since a largely reduced population and working population will sooner or later lead to a subsequent reduction in the productive base of a country. And directly or indirectly, this will affect the pension payments and the revenues of the elderly. At the same time, in terms of costs, they will shoot up because of the pressure put upon the health and other related social services. The UNDP report indicates that the pension burdens surely have to be resolved:

“The overall dependency ratio, which was nearly 36 percent in 2015, could approach 43 percent in 2050, largely reflecting how the old age support ratio, or the number of working-age people per older person, is rapidly decreasing.”¹⁹

When the United States built the current international system after the Second World War, it was in the middle of a baby boom and had every prospect of maintaining the right balance between the pensioners and the working population. This surely influenced its decision to divert its energy to building an international system, and bear the costs of maintaining it. China is expected to step into big boots and bear the cost of reforming or building an alternative international system just when a big part of its population will no longer be actively involved in its economy. The picture can look bleak when China thinks strictly in terms of its national economic base.

China can solve its pensions crisis and keep the competitiveness of its economy by thinking in terms of economic spheres. These spheres can be far greater than what exist within its borders. It should think in terms of the spread of its market and its supply-base. China has managed its economic interests extremely well in the last thirty years and surely knows what to do but for the

17 Thangavel 2016: 120.

18 The Guardian Online (UK): World population by country: UN guesses the shape of the world by 2100.

19 Thangavel 2016: 120.

sake of current discussion on the BRICS group, one has to point out the possible scenarios that could allow China to leverage its power and bring solutions to a multiple of issues that require its urgent attention.

One such solution would be to think in terms of Asia first and only then think of the larger world. China could solve its demographic and pensions problems by turning to South Asia. According to UNDP report: “Subregionally, the share of older people is currently largest in East Asia and smallest in South Asia.”²⁰ There is more than thirty years gap between China and South Asia in terms of industrial development and population trends. South Asia does not add up to a quarter of China’s GDP although its population is much larger. This means that South Asia is much younger and markedly poorer, with substantial differences in wages. The UNDP report makes this very clear:

“An astonishing 34 percent of youth in Asia-Pacific are neither in school nor the labour market. Many face long periods of unemployment, which may delay their options to move into adult life, such as by starting a family, and depress life time earnings.”²¹

There is a huge pool of potential labour force ready to be employed in South Asia.

If China decides to alter its industrial planning and strategy to include these mass reserves of labour force available to it in South Asia, it could be equally assured of acquiring a better market. By moving surplus industrial capacity to Asia’s poorest sub-region, China will have a tremendous impact on the revenues of young households there. This would immediately create a much more prosperous market for its manufactories. Profits deriving from such operations could be channelled into the pension funds, if they are not already equity-based.

For China, demography should not be a national issue, it should be a regional issue. Some years ago the Economist online had this to say:

20 Thangavel 2016: 120.

21 Thangavel 2016: 120.

“Three forces will dictate China’s rise, Mr Subramanian argues: demography, convergence and “gravity”. Since China has over four times America’s population, it only has to produce a quarter of America’s output per head to exceed America’s total output. Indeed, Mr Subramanian thinks China is already the world’s biggest economy, when due account is taken of the low prices charged for many local Chinese goods and services outside its cities. China will be equally dominant in trade, accounting for twice America’s share of imports and exports.”²²

Since then demography has become an issue and a loud one at that, to keep its economy ticking and to convert its economic weight into political leverage, China needs to integrate India into the calculation, take India on-board its own growth trajectory and mutualise the destiny of both countries.

Arvind Subramanian of the Peterson Institute for International Economics argues that by 2030 China and India will represent 18% and 6% of world GDP respectively.²³ This means several things. First of all, with a population exceeding that of China, India will have plenty of catching-up to do, an enormous growth potential for the next 30 years or so, which can be tapped into by the neighbouring economy which will at the same be the biggest in the world. In the foreseeable future, together they will go to representing more than 40% of the world economy. If one were to add the rest of the Asia-Pacific region to the sum, the region will surely represent more than 60% of the world’s GDP, especially if countries like Indonesia, with a forecasted population of 300 million and a high-spending middleclass of 135-170 million is set to reach a 1.8 trillion USD²⁴ gross domestic product; and it will probably continue to produce high growth similar to India, also geared into the catch-up game. The ASEAN will in general stride ahead if no flare-up of conflict is organised in that dynamic region. This will mean that Asia will be back in the driving seat.

After more than two hundred years of “lost centuries” Asia will regain its former position as the biggest concentration of productive power, capital accumulation and consumer spending. According to Samir Saran, Senior Fellow

22 The Economist Online: “Spheres of influence – By 2030 China’s economy could loom as large as America’s in the 1970s” 2011.

23 The Economist Online: “Spheres...” 2011.

24 Oberman 2012: preface section.

and Vice President, The Observer Research Foundation: "...China, Japan and Korea between them have close to U.S. \$5.5 trillion in foreign exchange reserves..."²⁵ This pool of reserves will surely continue because the international political and economic environment will continue to be crisis-ridden. And as mentioned earlier a billion pensioners in the region will also mean that the pool of savings will be many times the official reserves. In a scenario where various sub-regions of Asia are neatly sewn together, everyone will be a stake-holder in all of the other sub-regions, giving greater solidity, synergy and coherence to all of the Asia-Pacific region. Talking of the resilience of Asia after the shock of Lehman Brothers and 2008 economic down turn, the governor of the Bank of Japan had the following to say and goes well to underline the point I am trying to make: "Intra-regional and cross-regional trade in ASEAN economies is growing much faster than the global average."²⁶ What he is trying to say is that by building "pipes" between the economic "tanks" Asia has managed create a system of stability, the free flow being one necessary condition.

Building Asia will mean a lot of inter-building, national policy will at the same time mean inter-regional policy. Tinkering and tailoring at the national level will no longer work if the inter-regional aspect is no longer integrated into the policy making process. The governor of the Bank of Japan expresses the situation as following:

"I would like to point out three structural changes supporting the strength of the Asian economies. The first change is that the supply chain in Asia has been enhanced. An intra-regional supply chain network, covering not just finished goods but also other areas of the supply chain ladder such as raw materials and intermediate goods, has been established by the relocation of firms, thereby underpinning the global competitiveness of the region."²⁷

He has said it all. China and Japan have to relocate part of their excess capacity to South Asia, as Japan did in the 1970s and 1980s in the case of the ASEAN.

25 Saran 2015.

26 Kuroda 2013: 1.

27 Kuroda 2013: 1.

If done in time, if policy makers understand the tectonic shifts in the world politics, world stability will depend upon the three biggest economies of Asia being integrated ever more. The combined GDP of Asia is expected to reach 50% of the world GDP by 2050. Enhanced systems of integrated stability could elevate this to 60% as Asian currencies start to appreciate to replace other minor world currencies like the British Pound. The Japanese Yen in the late 1980s and 1990s started to appreciate very rapidly, and today stands to be the third most prized currencies of the world. This would make the Asia-Pacific region a centre of multiple strands of capital accumulation, innovation, production and consumption. The European Union at one point tried and partially succeed in doing this, but unfortunately it lost its sovereignty to its transatlantic relation, Europe could not become the centre of gravity although it possessed the world's biggest GDP and technological edge. At that time Nokia was the prime mover not Apple. Europe was moving in all directions, failed to anchor itself and integrate the lesser parts; the bigger and richer countries were too much concerned for their own immediate interests. The logical steps were not taken to build viable long term structures. And there should be no big surprise that it has lost the confidence of its people.

China should learn from the mistakes made in the European adventure, either serious efforts should be made or one should not even think of commencing the whole thing. The best method to adopt would be to start by strengthening existing structures and later build new ones as the need arises. The European Union at the beginning was very salient with the Franco-German relation at the very centre of the construction. But when the United Kingdom joined the European Economic Community, the expansion of the EEC was disoriented, and expansion increasingly looked like rapid conquests of Alexander the Great, expansion without proper and well-thought-out consolidation. Germany and France should have taken more time to integrate each other's economies. The process was not seen positively by the new members either, since most of the opinion polls show that the public feels uncertain about the EU. The sporadic moves of the European Union are now regretted by everyone involved. China and India should avoid this. They have to deepen their integration and then try to integrate the rest through concentric circles. In other words the India-China relationship within the BRICS should be enhanced and Asia made the centre of gravity. Once Asia becomes the centre of gravity for the world economy, it can open up to the rest of the BRICS and the world.

This said, there is much rejoice in certain circles that China's economic growth is slowing down and at the same time other indicators like debt-to-GDP ratio are on the rise, and that the trend will not change any time sooner. 'The country's binge on credit since 2009, which has brought the debt-to-GDP ratio close to 300 percent, a perilous level for an upper-middle income country, has not triggered a financial crisis. Its real estate bubble, perhaps the largest the world has ever seen in terms of completed but unoccupied residential housing, is leaking air but has yet to crash totally.'²⁸ Minxin Pêi Tom and Margot Pritzker '72 Professor of Government at Claremont McKenna College thinks that the slowdown in China will make it less assertive and inward looking:

"Now that China's economic engine is finally stalling and its weaknesses are inescapably visible, the obvious question is whether China can continue to sustain its assertive foreign policy. Based on past Chinese behavior and existing hard constraints, it seems that, if there is anything positive coming out of China's economic unraveling, it will be a less assertive foreign policy."²⁹

Again, as in the case of Ana Palacio, Minxin Pei singles out China when similar things could be said about many other countries. What he forgets to tell us is that the debt he mentions is mostly private debt. The finances and the tax base of the central government in Peking are extremely healthy and central finances are very conservatively managed. To add insult to injury Professor Pei reiterates: "So the silver lining in China's economic maladies is that Asia's new sick man is not as threatening as when he was strong."³⁰ Indeed, such rhetoric is miss placed and reduces the academic value of the rest of what he says. Historically the evidence speaks against Pei, China rarely adventures into things and has seldom ventured outside its immediate neighbourhood. One thing is for sure, when the vital interests of the Chinese nation are threaten, the whole nation rises and saves the day. China is much healthier than most and whatever its apparent strength, whenever it wants to get something done it will get it done, whatever the odds.

28 Pei 2015.

29 Pei 2015.

30 Pei 2015.

BRICS is not an amplifier of Chinese power, intended to challenge the established world order. BRICS is built around the idea of regional responsibility and concert, it is a bottom-up approach to managing world affairs. If the world was well managed by the dominant power no one would have thought that an alternative was necessary. The indiscriminate and shambolic condition of the world post-2001, post-2008 and 2010 shows us that, after all it is not that bad to have a safety net like the BRICS to confront the consequences of the next flush of casino-economics. The value of such a safety net will be credible only if there are no weakness in the net of confidence between the member nations, especially India and China. BRICS, to be long-lasting has to be a strong and loyal partnership between China and India, and only then can it be anchored deeply into the Asian soil. The Asian corner pacified through integration and durable development will lead to a better world order, a solid brick to build upon.

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Shizhong Deng

Chinese Culture – How to Deal with the Challenges of Globalization

Globalization is an important feature of today's world. It affects all areas of human society: economy, politics, culture and daily life. The influence of globalization is very broad and extremely profound. Since the 1980s' reform and opening to the outside world, China has entered a rapid process of globalization. As a concomitant of economic globalization, cultural globalization means not only globally integrated culture, but also means that a culture of contradictions. Therefore, globalization has had a positive impact on the formation and development of contemporary Chinese culture, but also it has brought questionable side effects. It not only provides good opportunities, but it also has created serious challenges. What are the characteristics of culture globalization in contemporary China? How should the challenges of the cultural globalization be faced? How must the favorable factors offered by globalization to improve the formation of Chinese contemporary culture be actively utilized?

1. The phenomena of cultural globalization in contemporary China

Accompanying economic globalization is cultural globalization, which refers to the transmission of ideas, concepts, and values around the world to strengthen social relationships. Since the 1980s, China's Cultural globalization has reached an unprecedented peak. The phenomenon of cultural globalization first appeared in China certain forms of material culture, such as, food and beverage (Coca-Cola, KFC, McDonald's), clothes (jeans, makeup), daily necessities, household appliances, computers, television, and mobile phones. Even after about 20 years, these still maintain a steady growth trend.

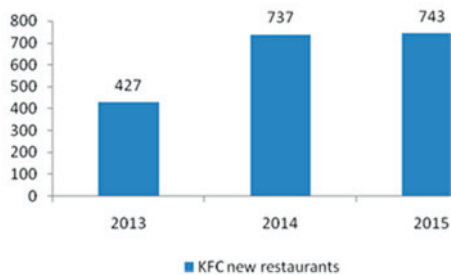


Figure 1. KFC New restaurants opened in China (2013–2015)

Sources: Yum! Annual Financial Report (2013, 2014, 2015)



Figure 2. Western food industry market turnover in China (2012–2014, [¥ million])

Sources: Chinese Western Food Market Research and

Development Trends Report (2016–2021)

In addition to material culture, cultural globalization also includes elements of spiritual culture, which manifests itself more subtly. In recent decades, English has been promoted rapidly in China for example. Sauna, golf, mouse, TOEFL, Email, CEO, and so on as well as a lot of English words continue to come into the Chinese language (of course, there are some Chinese words were used in English, such as Erhu, Jiaozi, gelivable, “People mountain people sea” and so on). The emergence and spread of pop music and other aspects of mass culture have happened very quickly in China along with large increase in foreign publications, western art and literature, film and TV programs, and network literature.



Figure 3. The total revenue of foreign publications in China's Press and Publishing Industry (\$ million)

Sources: China's Press and Publishing Industry Analysis Report

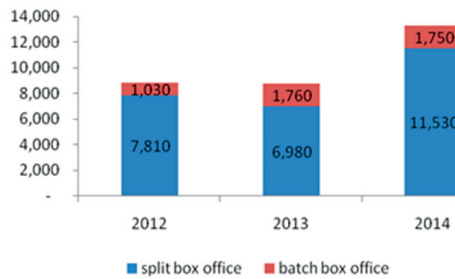


Figure 4 Chinese Imported films box office (2012–2014 [¥ million])

Sources: China Film Industry Report 2014–2015 (in brief)

The ideas and values of philosophy, religion, and aesthetics have been continuously affected by the West. A growing number of Chinese students who have studied abroad continuously bring Western culture into China.

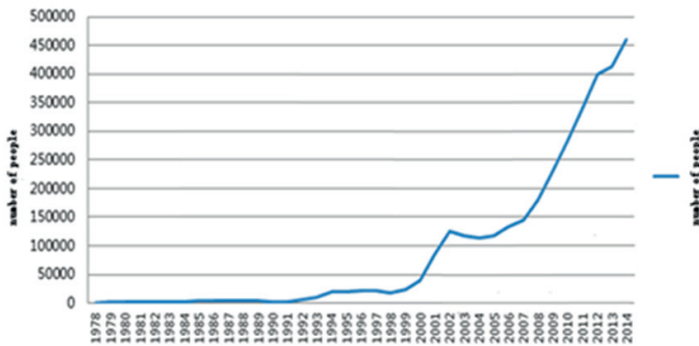


Figure 5. The total number of Chinese students studying abroad (1978–2014)

Sources: Chinese Students Studying Abroad Survey Report (2015)

All in all, both material and spiritual cultural globalization have greatly permeated contemporary Chinese life.

Globalization is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, cultural globalization has greatly promoted cultural communication and development in the world. It is beneficial to the mutual understanding among all people in the world and to the reduction of conflicts and contradictions. It is conducive to the spread and popularization of science and technology. It is helpful for people to enhance their global consciousness and to deal with the disasters human beings are facing. Globalization has brought unprecedented opportunities for all countries' modern cultural development. Subsequently, it will also greatly promote the development of Chinese contemporary civilization.

Globalization has caused an assimilation and melting together of the world culture. This has often led to a loss of the distinct characteristics of national cultures by making traditional culture elements fade away. Some even fear that China's cultural heritage will be severely damaged, especially its spiritual culture.

More and more young people like McDonald's, Disney, and Hollywood movies. However, they don't like the Chinese literary classics. The Confucian and Taoist philosophies and other aspects of traditional culture remain in the dark for them. Chinese aesthetics are gradually being Westernized. People are keen to celebrate Christmas, Valentine's Day, but they do not value China's own Lantern Festival or Mid-Autumn festival. All of the Chinese concepts of the morality, virtue, chivalry and lofty spiritual life are being challenged.

2. Coping with the challenges of globalization

Once reform is begun, it cannot be reversed. China is on the road of globalization and it is impossible to return. Since cultural globalization has not only its advantages but also disadvantages, then the question is how should Chinese culture face the challenges presented by the disadvantages? How can the favorable factors from globalization contribute to the formation of a new cultural pattern to enhance the vitality and competitiveness of Chinese culture? How can we make Chinese culture blend into the contemporary global culture and yet maintain its own, unique cultural identity. How can traditional Chinese culture maintain its distinct qualities in the world?

These questions can be considered from the following several aspects.

2.1. To carry forward Chinese excellent culture and strive to keep the distinctive national features

Since globalization is certainly not homogenous, it is, in fact, a unification of diversities. The vitality of a nation's culture, in a sense, lies in the unique characteristics of its identity.

In order to maintain France's great power status and its own cultural superiority, the concept of "cultural exception" was introduced by France into the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations in 1993 to assure treatment of culture differently than from commercial products.¹ This is a well-known example in the world.

In the context of globalization, China also needs to protect the independence of its national culture and its distinctive culture features. The position and influence of a national culture in the world depend on the depth and breadth of participation in the cultural exchange. Therefore, the excellence of Chinese culture should be promoted and Chinese people need to keep the Chinese culture's own characteristics and advantages. At the same time, Chinese people need to try to introduce the rich and colorful Chinese culture to the other people in the world, thereby making it a part of the diversity of world cultural. In this way the value of Chinese culture will be fully reflected on a global stage.

The connotations of Chinese culture are rich. There are not only the beautiful Chinese spoken and written language evident in many outstanding literary works, but also the rich panoply of philosophical thought. The Confucian pronouncements that "harmony is precious", "harmony but not uniformity", "promises must be kept and actions must be resolute", and "don't make others do things you don't want to do" and so on, maintain their cultural significance against the background of modern globalization. In addition to Confucian thought, there are Taoism, Buddhism, Legalism and Mohism and other philosophical schools. Chinese culture is richer because of the contributions of the nation's ethnic minorities. All of them are worth preserving and promoting in the process of globalization. Since the start of reform and opening up, China has restored the position of Confucius, set up the China Confucius Foundation and supported research into Confucianism at home and abroad. In recent 10 years many Confucius institutes have been established in the world. At home, there are special organizations and institutions which protect the cul-

1 Hacker 2006: 24–36.

tural relics and cultural sites of China, revive traditional festivals and so on. All of these are positive measures to carry forward the Chinese culture on a broader world stage.

2.2. To participate in cultural globalization actively and vindicate cultural multiformity of the world

Cultural globalization should not lead to a single, homogenized global culture, but to trends of cross-cultural exchange and integration. In the face of these trends, it is necessary to meet actively all challenges and to integrate Chinese culture into the broader global culture, and to try to adapt to the pace of progress. Since ancient times, China has had its pioneers who took the initiative to integrate into the world. Familiar examples are Zhang Qian's diplomatic mission to the Western Region, Xuanzang's travels to India seeking Buddhist scriptures, and Jianzhen's five sailing voyages to Japan and Zheng He's voyages to the Western Seas. With the development of globalization, more and more intercultural communications have appeared. Specifically in China, intercultural communication has also inevitably increased rapidly. Therefore, people should fully respect the diversity of different nationalities, different civilizations, and diversity, in general. All humans should promote mutual coexistence among civilizations. People should carry out mutual dialogue without conflict, communicate with each other without rejection, and learn from each other and seek the common progress.

Today, modern science and technology including communication technology have provided a channel for the Chinese people to join into and understand the international community. They have also provided a platform to the world of understanding China.. China's Internet is developing very quickly. By June of 2015, there were 3.57 million websites registered under the .cn domain. China's Internet penetration rate was 48.8% of the population and the total number of Chinese Internet users had reached 668 million.

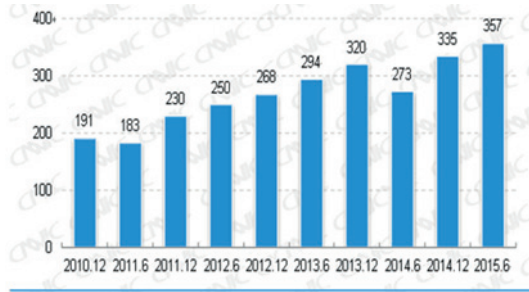


Figure 6. *The number of Chinese websites (2010–2015)*

Sources: *China Internet Development Survey, CNIC*

In addition, the number of people-to-people exchanges between China and other countries is growing. Many cultural enterprises have reached into the world market within the guidelines of international practice. China and the rest of the world interact within an atmosphere of mutual trust. The Confucius Institute is also a good channel to promote Chinese culture into the global culture.

2.3. To absorb higher quality culture from abroad and integrate it with native culture in order to enrich the culture of the world

The deep value of cultural globalization arises from the practice of cross-border cultural communication, through which a nation can remodel and build new cultural relations and cultural patterns through a period of coping with contradictions and of integration in terms of cultural values and patterns. Facing the challenge of the globalization, Chinese people therefore need a spirit of cultural innovation to construct the Chinese culture with new native characteristics on the basis of the innovations brought by cross-border integration. Only in this way, Chinese culture can keep its uniqueness and enrich the world culture.

Innovation is a fine tradition of the Chinese people. There is a sentence from the Rites of Confucius: “Improve visibly from day to day.” This thought reflects that the Chinese people always want to change their present condition and to turn over a new leaf. Chinese think that is an effective way to innovate culturally to absorb higher culture from abroad and to integrate it. There are a lot of examples in Chinese history which explain how to make foreign culture applicable in order to enrich the local culture of China. The absorption of Buddhism serves as the successful example of world cultural exchange and

amalgamation. Buddhism with Chinese characteristics has become an organic part of Chinese culture.

There is another, more mundane example of absorption of material culture: we know that McDonald's and KFC came into China about 20 years ago, but they are gradually changing. It is said that there are *youtiao* – deep-fried dough sticks – in KFC by breakfast time. People can also find egg drop soup and *mapo tofu* with rice there. Longer ago in history, Chinese people introduced tight clothing to replace the wide sleeve gown. They once replaced the custom of sitting on the floor with sitting on a chair, and so on. This is evidence of Chinese culture's inclusive force and assimilative capacity.

In the process of cultural globalization, Chinese people should consciously carry out modern transformation of the national culture in order to give up its negative and backward factors.

It should be admitted that, in Chinese culture, there are some rigid, backward, and negative elements which are not compatible with the international trends, but the culture has more positive factors, such as flexibility, receptivity to new ideas, self-regulation, and so on. People can learn best from their own mistakes and pursue adaption to the current situation.

Take an example again. Once, there was a very strong voice to support to give up Chinese characters in favor of an alphabetic writing system. Especially after the appearance of the computer, some people said that Chinese characters are a big obstacle to the modernization of Chinese culture. However, Chinese characters cannot be abandoned, although most people think that Chinese characters are hard to learn. In fact, there are rules to follow that facilitate their acquisition. Chinese characters contain a wealth of cultural content, much useful information, such as images, logic relationships, and even beautiful pictures. Finally, Chinese scientists integrated advanced technology and Chinese traditional culture to create a method of input for Chinese characters into the computer. Today the input speed of Chinese is even faster than English input speed. By now, the call eliminate Chinese characters in favor of an alphabet has disappeared. This simple example shows the regenerative ability of Chinese culture. Chinese culture can move with the times and can keep up with the pace of modernization and globalization. She can preserve her uniqueness and charm.

3. The role of the Confucius Institute

Globalization provides an international stage for Chinese culture to integrate with the rest of the world and provides a chance for other people to understand Chinese culture. At the historic background of globalization, the Confucius Institute was born. It offers an important platform from which Chinese people can cope with the challenges of globalization.

Over the last few years, the Confucius Institute's development has been energetic and it has provided a vehicle for people all over the world to learn about Chinese language and culture. In addition, the Institute has become a welcome platform for cultural exchanges between China and the rest of the world as well as a bridge reinforcing friendship and cooperation between China and other nations.

As of December 1, 2015, 134 countries (regions) have established 500 Confucius Institutes and 1000 Confucius classrooms. The Chinese language testing centers have spread all over domestic and foreign lands. There are 530 testing centers in 112 countries. Additionally, in 2013, about 5 million Chinese learners registered and attended the Institute's various tests.²

Accompanying the process of globalization, Chinese has become an increasingly important language in the world. So the globalization is a two-way process, in which the Confucius Institute plays an important role.

3.1. To spread and promote the Chinese higher culture.

A language is the carrier of a culture. Chinese language and characters are essential parts of Chinese national culture. Learning Chinese is the most effective and most direct route to understanding of the Chinese culture. The main work of the Confucius Institute is to recommend the higher Chinese culture to the world through teaching of the Chinese language and through other cultural promotion activities. The goal is to hope that more countries and more people will know and accept Chinese culture and appreciate the distinct character of Chinese culture in order to diversify the global cultural development. As mentioned before, the most important crystallization of the thousand-year-old Chinese culture encompass Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. Master Nan Huai-chin said, Confucianism is a fresh provision shop, we have to eat

2 [Hanban – Confucius Institute Headquarters:] http://www.hanban.org/tests/node_7475.htm

food every day. Taoism is a pharmacy, we needn't go there unless we are sick, but we have to visit it when we get sick. Buddhism is as a department store, there are a lot of objects inside. You can go around if you have money and time. Around the store, you can buy or needn't buy anything, even you need not go to there, but the society needs it.³ This metaphor is humorous but appropriate. Confucian, Buddhist and Taoist philosophies in China have already become the Chinese people's cultural personality.

The Confucius Institute often offers the lectures to introduce various aspects of Chinese culture. In addition, the Institute conducts various activities to introduce Chinese festivals and folk customs. The Confucius Institute also organizes summer camps and visiting delegations to enable students to know China and Chinese culture in all their aspects

3.2. To make the cultural fusion with other countries and maintain cultural diversity and pluralism of the world.

The traditional Chinese culture has its precious qualities and profound inner wisdom, "Harmony without uniformity" is one of them. Former Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao has said:

"The Chinese nation has rich and profound cultural reserves. Harmony without uniformity is a great idea put forth by ancient Chinese thinkers. It means harmony without sameness, and difference without conflict. Harmony entails co-existence and co-prosperity, while difference conduces to mutual complementation and mutual support. To approach and address issues from such a perspective will not only help enhance relations with friendly countries, but also serve to resolve contradictions in the international community."⁴

One of the important jobs of the Confucius Institute is to follow the principle of "harmony without uniformity" to try to understand the local culture, and to develop relationships with the people of host countries in a spirit of harmonious coexistence.

3 Nan 2014: 13.

4 Remarks of Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao: "Turning Your Eyes to China." Harvard University, 10 December 2003.

The Confucius Institute has face to face communication with local people in other countries in order to find opportunities for cooperation in running schools, in writing teaching material and reference books, in exhibiting Chinese photography works, as well as in promoting literature and cultural products. In the process of dialogue and mutual learning, local people and Chinese people have enhanced the understanding of each other and obtained the opportunity for common development.

3.3. To study comparatively the similarities and differences between cultures and integrate and develop the excellent culture of the world.

Love, harmony, the doctrine of the mean and modesty are very important values in Chinese culture. In the Western culture there are universal love, freedom, equality, democracy, and other important values. Both of them can be integrated into the universal values and are revered and admired by the people all over the world. In its teaching and cultural activities, the Confucius Institute does comparative studies of Chinese cultural values and Western cultural values to find a road, through which, the universal values will be respected and the multinational culture will be maintained.

In the Chinese bridge competition held at the beginning of May 2016, a performance by our Confucius Institute students show an example of integration of values: a pas de deux named “love”, whose content combines the plots of “Peach Blossom Fan”, “Butterfly Lovers” and “Romeo and Juliet’s love story.” The dance blends tai chi fan, modern dance, and ballet. It told us a romantic and poignant love story and expressed the common emotional experience shared by both Eastern and Western people. The Western students learned Chinese in less than a year, but they had a great understanding of the culture of common values. In the Confucius Institute, therefore, the education and cultural project is a good way to achieve the goal of two-way communication and integration resulting in an amalgam of international cultures.

The cultural globalization means different cultural resources shared by mankind. With the development of information and network technology, cultural globalization will also continue to develop as an unstoppable trend. In the process of cultural globalization, the protection and development of national culture will inevitably be put forward. Only if we actively integrate into cultural globalization, create the new features of own national culture, can we build a new common global culture system. Therefore, we should not only adapt to the trend and actively integrate into the world cultural development,

but also strive to maintain Chinese cultural individuality and make contributions to the diversity of world culture. People will always look forward to and appreciate a magnificent prospect of pluralistic exchange, understanding and fusion.

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One Belt One Road: New International Rules and Values

A New Type of Foreign Policy and the One Belt One Road

Beyond doubt, one of the most important political event of the post-Cold War period is the re-emergence of China. Over the past decades, one of the most exciting question was if China would like to appear on the international scene as a rule-maker, or is she rather willing to accept the originally western-value based rules. It seems like Xi Jinping's election as President of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 2012 has answered the question: compared to its predecessors, the present Chinese leadership pursues a more active foreign policy, and according their argument, China has the right and duty to participate in the international rule-making process in accordance with her increased power.¹ In his speech held on March 23, 2013 at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, President Xi Jinping drew the attention of the audience to the fact that the world has changed, therefore to lay the foundations of the New Type of International Relations (*xinxing guoji guanxi*) is needed. According to President Xi, instead of the problems of the past and the historically outdated solutions, an effective and harmonic cooperation is needed between the countries.² Du Qiwen, member of the Foreign Policy Advisory Committee, clearly formulated that there is a need to transform those rules of the international relations, rooted in the Westphalian system. While the "Western" principles are based on divergence and competition, the new principles have to build on mutual benefit and win-win cooperation. In the 21st century, instead of looking for confrontation, we have to identify the areas of potential cooperation: we should not focus on factors that separates the certain countries, rather on those issues that could move them closer to each other.³ The most comprehensive explanation of China's new foreign policy objectives could be identified in

1 Shi 2015.

2 Xi 2013.

3 Du 2015.

the speech of Fu Ying, Chairwoman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the National People's Congress, held at the 2016 Munich Security Conference. Fu has stated that China is committed to change the current world order. The current world order consists of three parts: the Western values and rules; the United States (US) military alignment system; and finally the international institutional system (e.g. United Nations), formed after World War II. According to the Chinese view, presently these three pillars are not capable of solving the global problems, in fact in many cases they just further deepen them. Therefore, China supports only the remaining of the last pillar, since she participated in its development from the beginning and is a beneficiary of it as well. Nevertheless, the United Nations reform is inevitable, which is supported by many developing countries in order to represent their interests better. In fact, China's One Belt One Road initiative, and the established parallel institutional system (e.g. the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB)) are mechanisms to complement the deficiencies and the underdeveloped reforms of the current system.⁴

The importance of the "One Belt, One Road" (*yidai yilu*, hereafter OBOR), the central element of President Xi Jinping's foreign policy, is that it adopts the objectives mentioned by Fu Ying: to eliminate both the Western-type world order, and to reform the international institutes. The OBOR initiative consists of connecting of existing road and rail networks, oil and gas pipelines and optical networks, supplemented with cooperating industrial parks, logistic centres and maritime ports, thus totally restructuring the traditional connections between the production centres, markets and sources of raw materials of the Eurasian region. Besides the infrastructure, the programme includes additional trade, investment and financial cooperation. Beyond the economic aspect, the OBOR puts great emphasis on cultural, R&D and educational cooperation, providing scholarships and exchange programmes for students, experts, researchers etc., and promotes tourism as well. According to the Chinese hopes, the grandiose plan, covering more than sixty countries through a continental (Silk Road Economic Belt) and a maritime zone (21st Century Maritime Silk Route Economic Belt), within one or two decades will be able to

4 Fu 2016.

form such an economic zone that redefines the relations between Asia, Europe and Africa, taking China in its centre.⁵

One of the core issues of One Belt, One Road's implementation is the kind of principles, concepts and new rules it will be built on. Since during the past two centuries the international relations were based on western ideas and principles, these had no real challenger. It is hard to understand the real meaning of "non-western principles", communicated by the Chinese leadership. Though the Chinese government promotes actively these institutions, we have very few information about how do they like to manage them.

One Belt, One Road and the international rules

According to the *Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road (Vision and Actions)*, issued by the National Development and Reform Commission, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of Commerce in March 2015, the basic principle of the One Belt, One Road is given by the main foreign political principle of the People's Republic of China, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" as fundamental values of One Belt, One Road are: (1) mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity; (2) mutual non-aggression; (3) non-interference in each other's internal affairs; (4) equality and mutual benefit; (5) peaceful co-existence. According to these principles, the bigger and more prosperous states have to support the smaller countries, but basically each country has to define its own path of development. The bigger and more powerful country can never dictate.⁶

According to the *Vision and Actions* the initiative is open for cooperation. It is open to all countries, and international and regional organizations for engagement. The initiative is harmonious and inclusive: it advocates tolerance among civilizations, respects the paths and modes of development chosen by different countries, and supports dialogues among different civilizations on the principles of seeking common ground while shelving differences and drawing on each other's strengths, so that all countries can coexist in peace for common

5 "Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road" 2015.

6 "Vision and Actions..." 2015.

prosperity. The initiative follows market operation. It will abide by market rules and international norms, give play to the decisive role of the market in resource allocation and the primary role of enterprises, and let the governments perform their due functions. The initiative seeks mutual benefit. It accommodates the interests and concerns of all parties involved, and seeks a conjunction of interests and the “biggest common denominator” for cooperation so as to give full play to the wisdom and creativity, strengths and potentials of all parties.⁷ According to President Xi, following these principles, the harmonious inter-state relations and the common peaceful development could be ensured.⁸

According to the predominant views of international relations (e.g. Realism), the OBOR principles are too idealistic and unachievable in practice. In order to decide whether the new type of principles of the Chinese foreign policy could be really achieved, we would like to examine one economic corridor of the OBOR, the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). The CPEC’s eligibility is given on the one hand by the fact that the two countries’ leaders are frequently referring to CPEC as a game-changer event in international politics and as the precursor of the “new type” of Chinese foreign policy, on the other hand, the implementation of CPEC is more advanced compared to the other economic corridors.⁹

Pakistan Economic Corridor

Xi Jinping, President of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) during his Pakistani visit on April 20–21, 2015 announced the start of the construction of the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). The Chinese President described his Pakistani route as “visiting his brother”. Pakistani Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said about the Sino-Pakistani relationship that they are “iron brothers forever”¹⁰. Both leaders highlighted in their speeches that their countries’ relationship upgraded to a level that from now on will be based on “All-weather Strategic Co-operative Partnership”, and their relationship is “Taller than the mountains, deeper than the oceans, stronger than steel,

7 “Vision and Actions...” 2015.

8 Xi 2013.

9 Fazil 2015.

10 Sharif 2015.

sweeter than honey”.¹¹ As a result of the visit, the two countries concluded a document containing 51 agreements up to 45.7 billion USD,¹² which has been described by international analysts as a *de facto* alliance between the two countries.¹³ Though the amount of the investments has surprised the analysts, the agreement itself was not unexpected. Li Keqiang, on his 2013 February visit announced that the two parties have started the planning of the economic corridor,¹⁴ while the memorandum of understanding on the project implementation was signed during Nawaz Sharif’s Beijing visit on July 2013.

According to the plans the CPEC will be an economic corridor of road (partly expressway), railway, oil- and gas pipelines, and cross-border optical cable network, supplemented with cooperating industrial parks and logistic centres from the Chinese city of Kashgar to the Pakistani metropolis, Karachi and to the Chinese-run port of Gwadar.¹⁵ The Pakistani plans proposed to construct three variations of corridors south to the Karakorum Highway (Eastern, Central, Western), from which the Eastern line, the longest but also the safest and the easiest to implement has been selected as a first step in the development process.¹⁶ The total value of the infrastructural projects necessary to the western route (phase one) is 11.8 billion USD, the deadline for the implementation of phase one is in 2017. The necessary road developments for the implementation of the route include the second phase of Karakorum Highway (between Havelian and Thakot); the Karachi-Lahore motorway (Multan-Sukkur section); Gwadar East Bay expressway, 5.9 billion USD in total. Railway line developments include the renewal of the main Pakistani line (ML1), 3.7 billion USD in total, and the construction of a dry port in Havelian. In addition, the agreement includes the construction of an LNG (liquefied natural gas) import port in Gwadar and a Gwadar-Nawabshah LNG pipeline. Moreover, there will be built a new international airport in Gwadar, a metro line in Lahore (1.6 billion USD), as well as a high-speed optical network between Pakistan and China. In Faisalabad (Punjab), the parties will establish a joint

11 Xi 2015.

12 “Visit of president Xi to start a new chapter in Pak-China friendship: PM” 2015.

13 Brungs 2013.

14 “Chinese Premier Hopes for More Fruits in Friendship with Pakistan” 2013.

15 Jaffrelot 2011.

16 “Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hua Chunying’s Regular Press Conference on May 29” 2015.

industrial park, which, according to the plans, will be followed by a complete network of industrial parks in future development stages.¹⁷

The most significant item of the agreement concerns the development of the Pakistani energetic sector, worth up 38.8 billion USD in total, mainly through the provision of low-interest loans to Pakistani privately owned energy companies. According to the contract, with Chinese help to 2017-2018 10,400 megawatts of energy will be added to the national grid,¹⁸ increasing to 21,690 MW till the end of the programme.¹⁹ The first phase mainly builds on coal-fired power plants, with more than 7500 MW total capacity.²⁰ The remaining part, 2800 MW capacity will be provided by renewable sources. This includes two hydroelectric power plants (1590 MW²¹), two solar power parks (1000 MW²²) in Punjab, as well as four wind power plant projects²³ (250 MW).²⁴

Many projects concern the scientific, educational and cultural area, through which a research center (Joint Marine Research Center), a joint laboratory (Cotton Bio-Tech Laboratory), a technical and vocational training center (Gwadar), a hospital (Gwadar), and a Chinese Cultural Center will be founded. The cultural agreements cover the cooperation between the Chinese CCTV and the Pakistani television channels, and the establishment of sister-city relationships between Chengdu and Lahore, Zhuhai and Gwadar, and Karamay and Gwadar. Moreover, there will be established a National Education Center, with the help of the Ürümqi Xinjiang Normal University.²⁵

The project-financing institutes haven't been selected yet, but the negotiations with the China Development Bank, the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China and the Exim Bank have already started. The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and the Silk Road Fund also have started to ensure the

17 Rana 2015a.

18 Khan, I.M. 2015.

19 "Pakistan, China to collaborate in 21,690 MW projects under CPEC" 2014.

20 Port Qasim Electric Power Company (2X660) 1320 MW; Engro Thar Coal-fired Power Plant 660 MW; Sindh Sino Resources Power Plant of Thar Coal (unit 1) 1320 MW; Gwadar Coal Power Project 300 MW; Rahimyar Khan Coal Power 1320 MW; Muzaffargarh Coal Power 1320 MW; Sahiwal Power Plant 1320 MW.

21 Suki Kinari Power Project 870 MW; Karot Hydro Power Station 720 MW.

22 Quaid-e-Azam Solar 900 MW; Quaid-e-Azam Solar 100 MW

23 UEP Wind Power Project 100 MW; Sunec Wind Power Project 50 MW; Sachal Wind Power Project 50 MW; Dawood Wind Power Project 50 MW.

24 Kiani 2015.

25 Rana 2015b.

required capital for the implementation of certain project elements.²⁶ Among the first AIIB-financed projects there is the Shorkot-Khanewal Section of the M-4 National Motorway Project, as part of the CPEC (co-financed by the Asian Development Bank).

The economic corridor will be largely built on the so-called BOT (build-operate-transfer) basis. Through the BOT-method, the Chinese financial organisations give credit to certain Chinese (primarily public) companies for the implementation of the projects agreed both by the Pakistani specialised institutions and the parallel Chinese institutions. The Chinese companies, after the construction, will transfer the operation of the facility to local companies, or state bodies. Then, the operating revenues will cover the costs toward the Chinese financial institutes. According to the Chinese government, through this method the corruption could be decreased, because in fact the Pakistani partner do not get money, they get only the constructed facilities.²⁷

The Pakistani economic corridor from the aspect of the new principles

Can we make distinction between the Chinese and the Western type of foreign policy? Before the examination of the Sino-Pakistani relations, it is worth to overview the history of the Pakistani-American relations in order to understand the “novelty” of the Sino-Pakistani agreement more easily.

After the events of 9/11 2001, Pakistan claimed to be one of the most important US ally, one of the largest recipient of US aids. Through the aid programmes, the US has pumped into Pakistan approximately 30 billion USD since 2002.²⁸ But 70% of the aids between 2002-2009 (fiscal years) were spent for military purposes, only 30% of it could be spent for other purposes (economic development, education and other social inclusion programmes). The Enhanced Partnership for Pakistan Act targets declare that the aids given to Pakistan (5-year period, 7.5 billion USD) are mainly to support the economy and the people, because that is the only way to ensure the widespread support of the US policy. Despite these goals, between 2010-2014 still more than half

26 Ng 2015.

27 Sial 2014.

28 Sharma 2015.

of the total expenditures were allocated to military spending (59%).²⁹ It perfectly shows the failure of the US aid policy that only 14% of the Pakistani population thinks positively about the US.³⁰ The reason of the unsuccessfulness of the US policy can be found mainly in the fact that following its own national interest, it forced its will to Pakistan, not addressing the real needs of the country. This policy is well-reflected in the US approach to the Pakistani energy problems. The Pakistani government, recognizing the problems caused by energy shortages, asked the US party to help them solve the problem. In spite of the fact Pakistan was claimed to be an important partner for the US, they refused to help effectively, moreover, for political reasons they opposed the plans of an Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline, which could have cover the energy needs of Pakistan.³¹

Contrary to all these things, the most crucial element of President Xi's Moscow speech is the principle of mutual interests. Prime Minister Sharif, in accordance with the Chinese rhetoric, in his speech about the importance of the CPEC, he underlined the implementation of this principle.³² The assurance of mutual interests truly has been implemented during the negotiations about the construction of the CPEC: they have been decided not only about the construction of infrastructure important for China, but also have they taken into consideration the Pakistani needs. This appears most strongly concerning the energetic agreements of the CPEC. Since, China is willing to spend the 2/3 of the total contracted amount for this purpose, actually addressing the needs of the Pakistani society and economy. In addition, China has taken into account the Pakistani needs not only with regard to energetics, but also to other fields. For example, the original preliminary route, aligned before the conclusion of the contract and preferred by the Chinese party, caused conflict between the certain regions within Pakistan, since it excluded a lot of key cities. This problem was solved in March, 2015, with the alignment of a new route.³³ This example illustrates the constructive approach well, since the finally approved so-called Western route is the least favourable from the Chinese viewpoint, as it is longer than the other alternatives.

29 "Aid to Pakistan by the Numbers" 2015.

30 "Chapter 4: How Asians View Each Other" 2014.

31 Ashraf 2013.

32 Sharif 2015.

33 Khan, T. 2015.

China threatened Pakistan during the planning phase as an equal partner and did not dictate during the negotiations, which complies with the principles of equal rights of the countries and of “non-intervention” in domestic affairs. China in her communication could not emphasize enough that the agreement does not mean the replacement of the hegemonic power of the US, rather the joint effort of two equal countries to improve their destiny. According to the CPEC’s goals, the implementation complies with the principle of openness to every participant – for example, during the grant of the Shorkot-Khanewal freeway section the AIIB cooperated with the Japanese-led Asian Development Bank. In the light of these processes, the implementation of the CPEC is not against someone (e.g. the USA), even if in practice the success of the CPEC would cause decline in the US influence.

According to the critics of the CPEC, the Chinese rhetoric in fact obscures the serious asymmetry existing in the relations between the two states. While China is Pakistan’s most important trading partner, for China, Pakistan is not among the main partners.³⁴ The relationship is similarly one-sided, concerning the investments. While China is Pakistan’s most important investor, Pakistan could not play important role in the market of the Eastern Asian giant. China is also in advance regarding the technological and technical know-how, which poses serious threats in industrial co-operations, since it can result even the exclusion of Pakistani companies from domestic markets. In addition, not only their economy, but also each other’s perception is significantly different. While, according to the Pew Research Center’s survey, 78% of the Pakistani population thinks positively about China, Pakistan is much less popular in China (30%).³⁵ Beyond doubt, in spite of this asymmetry, China did not dictate, just led the two-state cooperation, realising the principle that it is the big and wealthy countries’ responsibility to help the smaller ones, a role that Pakistan voluntarily accepted.

However the exclusively peaceful character of the relations is less clear. The crucial emphasis of the two-state agreement is actually on the economic and cultural co-operation, and according to the transcript of the meeting in April 2015, there is no military agreement, in spite of the fact that the parties emphasised both during the April meeting and before that the importance of

34 “Value of Imports and Exports by Country (Region) of Origin/Destination” 2015.

35 Pew Research Center, 2014.

a military co-operation.³⁶ Actually, in the subsequent month, China has committed to sell Pakistan 6 submarines and 50 JF-17 fighters.³⁷ Moreover, the two state announced that they started to plan the military co-operation related to the CPEC.³⁸ These news understandably concern the neighbouring countries, particularly the major power of the region, India. They question the exclusively defensive nature of the agreement. There is no doubt, however, that the importance of the military co-operation is nowhere near the level of the US aids, and is dwarfed by the economic and social role of the CPEC.

Conclusion

The CPEC, as part of the One Belt, One Road initiative, seems to be the first spectacular, internationally resounding example of the new type of Chinese foreign policy, where the principles propagated by President Xi have been more or less transposed into practice. It is of course still early to talk about the results of the CPEC, because a countless number of factors could undermine them. However, in case of its successful implementation, it could become an example that paves the way for the relations of China and other countries as well.

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36 “Xijiping fang ba, gonggu ‘liang ge lunzi’ shang de hezuo” 习近平访巴, 巩固 “两个轮子”上的合作 [Xi Jinping’s visit to Pakistan, Strengthen the “Two Wheels” of Cooperation] 2015.

37 Ghulam 2015.

38 “Assistant Foreign Minister Liu Jianchao Meets with Chief of the Air Staff Marshal Sohail Aman of Pakistan” 2015.

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China and the Quadrilateral – Global Primacy out of Reach?

Introduction

This paper is about to analyze the apparent tendencies of strategic rapprochement and informal strategic partnership between the USA, India, Japan and Australia, and the impact that this trend seems to have on the strategic environment in which China is about to fulfill its' hopes of becoming a global power. Since at least 2007, the formation of an informal strategic partnership between the USA, India, Japan and Australia has been taking place, and this trend got a boost when the Abe administration took power in Japan, and the Modi administration took power in India. Certain external geopolitical factors seem to put India and Japan on a track of rivalry with China, and as a consequence, cooperation with the USA, and its' Anglo-Saxon Pacific ally, Australia, if not else, then at least of an "enemy of my enemy" basis. This coalition (except for a brief period around 2007-2008) lacks the form of an institutionalized formal alliance, and instead is formed by a network of bilateral and trilateral agreements between the four countries. The undeclared but apparent aim of this quadrilateral coalition seems to be the containment of China. Indeed, as we will see, despite of China likely soon becoming the single most powerful economy in the world, it is unlikely to surpass the combined influence of the USA, India and Japan, that are predicted to become the second, third and fourth largest economies in the world when China becomes the first one. The only way for China to avoid this scenario seems to be to attempt to reach a strategic compromise with India as well as with Japan, which however, seems to be a difficult task given the geopolitical and psychological factors as well as territorial disputes playing a key role in Sino-Japanese and Sino-Indian relations. This rivalry however takes place in a global system of mutual economic interdependence and the lack of clearly delimited spheres of interest between the great powers, factors that so far resulted in all major players showing con-

siderable self-restraint, and will hopefully determine the nature of rivalry in the same manner in the forecoming decades as well.

Formation of the Quadrilateral

Japan and Australia have been close strategic allies of the USA since at least the 1950s. The novelty of today's trends lies in two factors: One factor is that after decades of passivity determined by its' so called peace constitution, Japan is now having its comeback to the international scene as a major power on its' own right, under the aegis of the so called "normalization" policy. The other factor is the participation of India itself.

In the strategic aspect, Sino-Indian relations are burdened by a combination of border dispute between the two countries and an alliance between China and Pakistan that makes China being indirectly involved in the Indo-Pakistani feud. After a brief period of fraternal relations following the guidelines of Pancha Shila in the early days of Indian independence and the founding of the PRC, conflict of interest soon emerged between the two countries, thus at last tensions and border disputes culminated in a low intensity Sino-Indian border war in 1962. This was also the year, when China started its' alliance with Pakistan, lasting ever since then.¹ While in the 1950s, India pursued a policy of non-alignment, Pakistan joined the US-oriented Baghdad Pact together with Iran, Iraq and Turkey. So, by the time Sino-Indian relations deteriorated to war in the early 1960s, even though China was a communist state, and as such, an ideological enemy of the USA, it became a hardly possible option for India to seek American support against China, as the USA did by then ally itself with Pakistan, the archenemy of India. Thus, taking advantage of the Sino-Soviet split, India started to seek Soviet support against China.² This Indo-Soviet partnership became increasingly practical by the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, with the coming of the Sino-American partnership and the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. Before the Sino-American partnership, the USA was the supporter only one of India's two adversaries, Pakistan. With the establishment of the Sino-American partnership however, it became the supporter of both Pakistan and China, thus making it increasingly practi-

1 Siddiqi – Yang 2011: 563–579.

2 Malik 2012: 348.

cal for India to assist the Soviet Union. Pakistan was already a Baghdad Pact member in the 1950s, and as such, an ally of the USA and an adversary of the Soviet Union, but it was not until the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, that Pakistani-trained guerillas and Soviet soldiers directly fought each other, thus deepening the antagonism between Pakistan and the Soviet Union, and making it increasingly appalling for the soviets to support India against Pakistan. This coherent setting of the Soviet-Indian duo facing the American-Chinese-Pakistani trio ceased to exist with the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, and the with the Sino-Russian rapprochement since the mid-1990s. India did and to a certain degree, even today does efforts to keep the good relations with Russia, but Russia could no longer serve as a strategic counterbalance for India against China ever since then. At the same time, the Sino-US partnership broke up after the breakup of the Soviet Union, and as China became the most powerful potential challenger of the US lead world order, China and the USA bit by bit slid into a great power rivalry, thus the US became the most practical candidate to counterbalance China. Despite increasing economic interdependence between China and India, the Sino-Indian territorial dispute and the Sino-Pakistani alliance still exist even today, and a competition for influence in Southeast Asia and recently in the tiny but strategically crucial country of Nepal still shows major conflict of interests between the two powers. The rapprochement between India and the USA culminated in the security framework agreement already in 2005 and an agreement on nuclear cooperation in 2008³ both yet under the Congress Party government. This trend however got the major boost with the inauguration of the Bharatiya Janata Party government of Narendra Modi in 2014. Modi proactively intensified cooperation not only with the USA, but with Japan and Australia as well, and intensified Indian activity in Southeast Asia with the introduction of the “act east policy”.⁴

Regarding Japan, for most of the Cold War, the foreign and security policy of the country was determined by the Yoshida Doctrine. As a result of the psychological and political impact of Japan's role in the Second World War, this doctrine meant passivity in foreign and security policy with a unilateral reliance on the USA as the one and only guarantor of the country's security. This started to change during the Ohira and Nakasone administrations in the

3 Joshi 2013.

4 Panda 2014.

late 1970s and 1980s,⁵ and since the end of the Cold War, the country has increasingly turned to the process of the so called normalization,⁶ which meant restoration of an independent Japanese foreign and security policy. This trend was sometimes hesitant at first, but finally solidified and accelerated after the inauguration of the Abe administration in 2012. Besides major legislative efforts to enable Japan to take part in collective self-defense, this trend was also marked by physical arms-build up and development of the Japan Self Defense Force, especially since 2000. Since then, the largest warship class of the JSDF navy became one that is four times the size in metric tons of what was back then, the JSDF air force acquired AWACS surveillance aircraft, launched its' own reconnaissance satellites, and the JSDF navy acquired Aegis destroyers equipped with ballistic missile defense system.⁷ In its' foreign policy, Japan also started to pursue diversification instead of solely relying on the USA. It strengthened its' ties with the ASEAN, and last but not least, building partnership with India and Australia is also part of this process.⁸

Cooperation between the four countries was first initiated by Japanese prime minister Shinzo Abe during his first premiership, and formalized in 2007 as the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue.⁹ Due to protest by China, the formal quadrilateral cooperation was discontinued in 2008, but has de facto since intensified in the form of a net of bilateral and trilateral agreements. Japan and Australia are close and formal strategic allies of the USA ever since the 1950s, so where we could see new arrangements, were not these, but bilateral relations between Japan and Australia, India and Japan, India and Australia, India and the USA, as well as in the aspect of trilateral arrangements. Australia and Japan issued a joint declaration on security cooperation in 2007.¹⁰ Australia, Japan and the USA started their trilateral cooperation in 2002.¹¹ India and Japan signed their bilateral security pact in 2008, (still under the Congress administration) and during the September 2014 visit of Narendra Modi to

5 Singh 2013.

6 Soeya et al. 2011: 38–72.

7 globalsecurity.org

8 Wilkins 2011: 115–155.

9 Terada 2011: 8.

10 *Japan-Australia Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation* 2007.

11 Pollmann 2015.

Japan, they agreed to start a bilateral Strategic and Global Partnership,¹² and Japan agreed to invest 35 billion USD in India during the next five years,¹³ apparently attempting to counterbalance Chinese investments there. India and the USA signed their bilateral security framework agreement in 2005. US-Indian bilateral relations were also boosted by Modi, paying five visits in the USA during the first two years of his premiership, and under his administration, India had more military exercises with the USA, than with any other country.¹⁴ The USA, India, and Japan started their trilateral cooperation in 2011,¹⁵ and upgraded it to the ministerial level in 2015.¹⁶ India and Australia signed their own bilateral security pact in 2009,¹⁷ upgraded it to a framework agreement on security cooperation in 2014¹⁸ reached an agreement on Australia supplying India with uranium in November 2015. An other additional tool of cooperation between the USA, India and Japan is the regular naval exercise, “Malabar” in which Japan became a permanent member in 2015.¹⁹

Significance of the quadrilateral

The main significance of the quadrilateral is that it includes India and Japan. All predictions and hopes of China becoming a global power with global influence comparable with that of the USA are based on the economic growth of China, and on the assumption that economic power will sooner or later inevitably be converted to military power and political influence of a matching scale. China will certainly become the largest single economy in the world in the near future. According to the Center for Economic and Business Research, China will be the number one economy of the world by 2030 even on nominal Gross Domestic Product, with a predicted amount of 34,34 trillion USD by that year, compared to the 33 trillion output of the then second largest economy, the USA. If we look at the quadrilateral, the problem for China is that

12 *Tokyo Declaration for India–Japan Special Strategic and Global Partnership* 2014.

13 *International Business Times*, 2014.

14 *U.S.-India Security and Defense Cooperation*, 2015.

15 Parameswaran 2015.

16 *Inaugural U.S.-India-Japan Trilateral Ministerial* 2015.

17 Panda 2012: 130–156.

18 Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 2014.

19 Gady 2015.

the economic growth of India is as dynamic, as that of China, and soon after China achieves the place of the single largest economy in the world, India will achieve the third place after China and the USA, with a predicted nominal GDP of 10,13 trillion USD by 2030 according to the same forecast. Despite its' weak economic performance, Japan, also a member of the quadrilateral is predicted not to slide further back on the list than the still impressive fourth place, right after China, USA and India, with a predicted nominal GDP of 5,1 trillion USD.²⁰ Thus, while on one hand, China will certainly become the largest single economy in the world by 2030, the quadrilateral will include the top second, third and fourth economies of the world then, with a combined nominal GDP of 48,22 trillion USD, significantly exceeding that of China. If we assume that economic power will sooner or later inevitably be converted to military power and political influence, then we have to assume the same regarding India, and to a certain degree, regarding Japan as well. Thus if we assume that China's ascent to the largest economy in the world will be soon followed by its' military power becoming close to equal to that of the USA, than we also have to assume that if India becomes the third strongest economy in the world, then its' military power will also become that of a great power, even if not equal to that of China and the USA, but equal to that of Russia for example, thus India unquestionably becoming one of the great powers in the world. Also, if Japan manages not to slide further back than the predicted fourth place among the top economies of the world, then in case of a consistent continuation of the present "normalization" doctrine of the remilitarization of the country will inevitably lead to the country becoming a formidable regional middle power. One, that having all the strategic advantages of an island nation, thus being free of the burden of maintaining a major ground force, can focus its' resources on the buildup of a navy and an air force, which among the given circumstances could mean a navy and an air force likely to become at least the fifth strongest in the world, right after the USA, China, India and Russia. (Of course, we can also say that economic power is not likely to be converted to military power and political influence to such a degree, but then we also have to question the assumption of China reaching a global status close to that of the USA, since that assumption is also based on economic performance.) Thus in such an image of the future world of the 2030s-2040s,

20 Centre for Economics and Business Research, 2015.

with China being the largest economy of the world, and the USA, India and Japan becoming the second, the third and the fourth, China becomes a great power equal to the USA, but at the same time India becomes a military power equal to Russia, (Russia and India forming a kind of “second league” right below the level of the “first league” formed by China and the USA) and Japan having becomes a heavy-weight middle power having the strongest navy and air force after the named four. If the quadrilateral strategic partnership of the USA, India, Japan and Australia continues to exist till then, then this means that despite China being the single largest economy in the world, and having a military power equal to that of the USA, the combined economic and military power, and likely the combined global influence of the quadrilateral will still clearly exceed it. Of course, this still likely means that China’s power and global influence will be significantly greater than it is today. It still likely means that the global influence of the USA will considerably decrease compared to what it is today, and it still likely means that the USA will have to share power with China to a certain degree on the global level.²¹ But it likely means that these trends will considerably be decelerated by the existence of the quadrilateral compared to what one would assume on a one-to-one comparison of the economic prospects of China and the USA, and it likely means, that due to the quadrilateral, the global influence of the USA will remain significantly greater than that of China for decades even after China became the largest economy in the world. Since India and Japan are the two key countries in this game, the price for the USA for this will likely be concession of influence to these two countries, sharing power with them to a greater and greater degree in the future decades. This is already visible today, as the policy of the quadrilateral is pursued the hardest by nationalistic governments both in India and in Japan. The Modi and Abe administrations are strengthening their cooperation with the USA not because of some kind of commitment to a US-lead unipolar world order, but simply because of fearing China more than they fear the USA, and because this policy provides the most influence for them in a new multipolar world order. This way they can assure their regional positions against China by cooperating with the USA in the containment of China, but at the same time, they can achieve more power sharing from the USA within this partnership, and achieve approval of the USA to enhance their status as regional powers.

21 White 2012.

Again, this is already visible today, as the Modi administration is able to pursue its Hindutva policies, and the Abe administration is able to pursue its' revisionist policies with de facto approval by the USA. Thus the price that the USA has to pay for decelerating the expansion of the power and influence of China (the strongest emerging Asian power challenging the unipolar world order) by the quadrilateral is increasingly sharing power with, and assisting to the expansion of the power and influence of India and Japan (two emerging Asian powers posing less a challenge).

Difficulties for China

Of course, we can ask the question, why is India and Japan so willing to make such a deal with the USA, instead of doing the same with China? There are several geopolitical and psychological factors handicapping China in this situation. First, there is a general trend that Stephen M. Walt described as part of the broader phenomenon, "balance of threat" is that countries generally tend to view other countries in a closer geographic proximity as more of a threat, than they view countries of a more distant location.²² China is clearly in a closer geographic proximity of both India and Japan, than the USA is, which suggests that even if the USA and China have the same strength and show the same attitude, they will fear China more. Second, both India and Japan do have ongoing territorial disputes with China. Third, Sino-Japanese and Sino-Indian relations are burdened by additional practical factors as well. In Sino-Indian relations, China's alliance with Pakistan creates a trap. As long as India treats China mainly as a strategic competitor, it would be foolish for China to give up its' alliance with Pakistan. On the other hand however, as long as China is backing Pakistan, it would be foolish for India to give up its' cooperation with China's adversaries, the USA and Japan. Even if both parties were willing to improve their relations, it would be extremely difficult for any of them to do the first step. In Japan the issue of the Japanese peace constitution poses a similar trap situation. Even if Japan was willing to give up its' alliance with the USA, it could not do so without having a sufficient military at first, so that it would not need US support any longer. China is, however opposing the remilitarization of Japan out of concerns how Japan as a military

22 Walt 1985.

power on its own right would behave. Again a vicious cycle where even if both sides were theoretically willing to change it, it is incredibly difficult for any of them to make the first step. Fourth, questions of identity and psychology are also problematic. Even though China and India are both Asian countries, in fact the differences between the Confucian-Buddhist cultural heritage of China, and the Hindu background of India, combined with their history of geographical isolation by the Himalayas make them culturally so distant, that most analyses categorize them as two entirely distinct civilizations, with little more in common, than any of them have with the Western World.^{23,24} China and Japan would have much more in common regarding cultural heritage that among different circumstances could perhaps even be sufficient for a common East Asian identity, but in their case memories of the Second World War pose an identity gap, difficult to overcome. Thus significant geopolitical and psychological factors trap Sino-Indian and Sino-Japanese relations in a way that would be difficult to overcome.

Economic interdependence

A common argument on behalf of China's chances to dominate the Asia-Pacific is the economic interdependence between Japan and China, India and China, Australia and China, the ASEAN countries and China, to be more specific, the fact that China is the top trading power of most of these countries. The picture is not that clear on this front either. It is true that China is the largest single trading partner of Australia and Japan, and although India's top trading partner was still the USA in 2016, the volume of its' trade with China was already about the same (4450 and 4423 milion USD).^{25,26,27} On the other hand however, if at each member of the quadrilateral, we take a look at the volume it trades with the three others combined, then it usually is a larger, or at least close to equal amount, as the trade with China. In 2014, the volume of Australia's trade with China was 152 billion USD, while it was only 70 billion with

23 Huntington 1997.

24 Toynbee 1946.

25 *Trade at glance* 2015.

26 Government of India Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 2016.

27 Japan External Trade Organization, 2016.

its' number two trading partner, Japan. The volume of Australia's trade with India, Japan and the USA combined however, was 146 billion USD, roughly the same amount as its' trade with China. The case was similar in Australia's exports, where exports to China accounted 98 billion USD, and exports to India, Japan and the USA combined accounted 80 billion USD.²⁸ Regarding India, its' trade with China was 4223 million USD in 2016, while it was 6126 with the USA, Japan and Australia combined.²⁹ For Japan, while 270 billion USD of its' foreign trade was with China, and only 192 billion with its' second largest trading partner, the USA, its' trade with the USA, India and Australia combined was 253 billion USD, close to equal to that with China.³⁰ Therefore in economic interdependence as well, the combined weight of the quadrilateral is seemingly able to counterbalance the economic weight of China at least to such a degree, where they can rely on each other as much as they can on China. Of course, the portion of China in the foreign trade of these four countries is likely to grow due to its' dynamic economic growth, but so is the portion of India in the foreign trade of the other four members of the quadrilateral, as well as in that of China, since the growth of India is and likely to remain as dynamic as that of China.

The Russia-factor

We can not draw a full picture of this strategic complex without taking at least a brief look at the role of Russia. One could argue that on the side of China, Russia is seemingly playing the role of an ally, counterbalancing the role of India, Japan and Australia on the side of the USA. Russia's cooperation with China is however way less clear, than the cooperation of India, Japan and Australia with the USA. It is true, that at this moment to a certain degree, there is a kind of partnership between China and Russia, with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as its' main institution. If we compare it with the nature of partnership within the quadrilateral, we will see, that it is a different kind of situation. The present partnership between China and Russia is clearly not the close alliance the Japan and Australia has with the USA. The only case within

28 *Trade at glance* 2015.

29 Government of India Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 2016.

30 Japan External Trade Organization, 2016.

the quadrilateral, that could be seen as something similar to the China-Russia partnership is the partnership between India and the USA, as well as the India-Japan, and India-Australia partnerships. China and Russia do have a history of border disputes and conflicts on their border along the Amur and Ussuri rivers, also regarding the territories ceded by China to Russia in 1858-1860, known in China as Outer Manchuria, and in Russia as the Russian Far East, and over the status of Mongolia as well. In the past we have also seen periods of severe enmity between the two countries, the last one from the 1960s till the early 1990s. There is also a conflict of interests between China and Russia, a case of overlapping spheres of interest regarding the former Soviet republics of Central Asia. Russia's rejection of Chinese proposals of a free trade zone for the members of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization³¹ clearly shows Russian distress over China's economic advance in the region. All these factors point to the direction that the partnership between China and Russia is not something clearly determined by the existing strategic environment, and that there is even a potential of conflict and enmity between the two countries. In comparison, we can see no such structural problems neither between India and the USA, nor between India and Japan, or between India and Australia. No territorial disputes, border disputes, or contested spheres of interest exist between India and the other three countries of the quadrilateral, while they do exist however between India and China. Thus India's siding with the USA, Japan and Australia seems to be far more solid, than Russia's siding with China, and while on the long run, there clearly is a potential of conflict between China and Russia, there is no such thing between India and the three other members of the quadrilateral.

We can see two more factors that seem to exclude the possibility of Russia playing the role of a sufficient counterbalance on the side of China against India and Japan on the side of the USA. One is that while India is predicted to become the third largest economy of the world after China and the USA by the time China becomes the first, Russia in the contrary is predicted to slide down on the list of the top economies of the world. Thus in terms of economic weight, while India is on the track becoming one of the top industrial powers of the world, Russia is not. By 2030, Russia's GDP is predicted to be only the twelfth in the world, fourth of that of India, half of that of Japan, and in the

31 Wilhelmsen – Fikke 2011: 888–890.

same league as Australia, Canada, Indonesia, or Italy.³² The other factor is that if we include Russia on the side of China in the balance, then we also have to include US-allied members of the alliance that is Russia's number one adversary at this moment: NATO. Then the combined economic and military power of the USA, India, Japan, Australia and the European members of NATO is again still more (and will be more for the foreseeable future) than that of China and Russia (or China and the Russia-lead CSTO for that matter).

What China could do

What China could do to outmaneuver this trend could basically be reaching a strategic compromise with India as well as with Japan. Only this could assure India and Japan keeping an equal distance between the USA and China, thus eliminating the containing and encircling strategic coalition that the quadrilateral means today. This is a difficult task however, and analyzing options for it would exceed the frames of this paper. Basically however, this would most likely mean some kind of recognition of the remilitarization of Japan in exchange for it giving up its' alliance with the USA, and settling the border dispute and cease the support of Pakistan in case of India. These are not easy tasks to achieve, as deeply rooted emotional and psychological factors would have to be overcome at on all sides at first. At this point, the possibility that China will not be able to reach these compromises with India and Japan seems to be somewhat more likely, than the possibility of successfully reaching these. On the long run, a strategic compromise with Japan seems to be somewhat more achievable, than a strategic compromise with India, as China and Japan have more in common in cultural heritage, than China and India. Japan indeed was the part of the Confucian universe, the evolution of its' ethical system, its' imperial culture, its' writing system, its' language and its' religion, even the evolution of Japanese Buddhism has greatly been influenced by China's civilization. And indeed, before Japan's invasions of China in the 19th-20th century, the two countries lived side by side in peace for almost three centuries. If culture does count regarding identity, and identity does count regarding politics, then this could be the basis for a Sino-Japanese strategic compromise in the future, such a compromise in Asia, that the significance of what could only be compared

32 Centre for Economics and Business Research, 2015.

to what the Franco-German compromise had in Europe. There is a long way to go for such a compromise though, deep rooted psychological and emotional factors would have to be overcome on both sides, and at this point yet, it rather seems to be out of reach.

A new logic of great power competition

Of course all the trends described in this paper are taking place in a system and logic that differs greatly from that of the cold war era. The era of the bipolar world order was characterized by clearly, openly and formally defined alliances, blocks, and spheres of interest. The main characteristic of today's world order is the unwillingness of openly state such factors. For a great power, to openly delimit its' sphere of interest in a certain region in the manner as the US and the USSR did when they organized NATO and the Warsaw Pact would mean to distinct countries that the given great power views as parts of its' sphere of influence and countries that it does not. Today however, most great powers are unwilling to sort any significant country to the latter category. For small countries, pleading allegiance to a certain great power in the manner as members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact did, would also mean limiting its' own options, thus limiting its' own sovereignty by doing so. We can contribute these differences to certain changes: Alignment with a certain great power no longer means a certain socio-political system. During the cold war, in most cases this made it a must for a smaller country to make the choice between the two super-powers, since the safest way to secure its' own existing socio-political system. In our days, alignment usually no longer threatens the existing socio-political system of smaller countries, what makes it favorable for them to leave open as many options, as possible, thus resulting in a tendency of flexible balancing between great powers. This tendency among smaller countries makes it also less practical for great powers to clearly delimit their sphere of interest, since the requirement of such clear commitment would scare away many of them, that would otherwise be willing to cooperate to a certain degree. Dividing countries to those that are within and to those that are outside the sphere of interest of a certain great power would also require to name the countries outside of that, a move that would look like self-restraint in a world where most small countries would be ready to at least some degree of cooperation, and unwilling to com-

mit themselves not only on the side of any given great power, but on the side of its' adversary. This tendency is further enhanced by the apparently increased significance of soft power in our world today compared to that during the decades of the Cold War. While clearly and formally delimited blocks are suitable to provide access of the hard power of a certain player, and exclude that of its' adversary, it is neither needed to provide access of its' soft power, nor suitable to exclude the soft power of its' adversary.

An additional key difference compared to the cold war is that while the bipolar world order was characterized by antagonistic enmity combined with the prospect of mutual annihilation, today's multipolar world order is instead marked by economic and to a certain extent even geostrategic interdependence between the major players. Economic interdependence between China and the USA, China and Japan, China and India, as well as China and Australia is a well-known factor of our days, that inevitably softens great power rivalries between them. Economic interdependence between these major powers and the ASEAN countries plays a similar role. The other factor, that prevents the logic of mutual annihilation, is what we can describe as a certain degree geostrategic interdependence. This factor lies in the very nature of a multipolar system. While in a bipolar system, in case of a major conflict between the two major players, it is in their interest to aim the annihilation of the other one, since that would mean total victory, the case is very different in a multipolar system. In a multipolar system, in a conflict among any two major players, especially among the two strongest players, it is in their best interest, to show restraint. The reason for this is that if they do not, then the conflict may weaken both of them to a degree where other players of the multipolar system can take advantage of this, and challenge their positions. Even if there is a clear winner in such a conflict, the annihilation of its' defeated adversary may not be in its' interest, since if spared, the defeated adversary can still play the role of a counterbalance against other players of the multipolar system, while if it is annihilated, then the vacuum can be used by other actors to grow dangerously strong. For example, if in case of a hypothetical conflict between the USA and China, where Russia and India remains neutral, annihilation of the adversary in case of victory would be the interest of neither China, nor the USA. In case of a hypothetical Chinese victory, knocking out the USA from the ring of great powers could easily mean a dangerous increase of Russia's power, if it takes over Europe from the USA, with the prospect of mobilizing those

newly acquired resources against China in the future. At the same time, in case of a hypothetical US victory, knocking out China from the ring of great powers could strengthen India and especially Russia to a degree, where they could challenge the US in a way that is not possible for them right now. Same is the logic of a hypothetical China-Russia or US-Russia conflict. In case of a US-Russia conflict, annihilation of any of the two by the other one would provide a strategic vacuum where China could strengthen to a degree that could endanger the positions of the winner, while in case of a China-Russia conflict, the US could be the third who benefits.

A third special factor that we need to take into consideration is that on behalf of both India and Japan, the strategic cooperation with the USA for the containment of China happens along nationalistic trends in both countries. Neither the BJP administration in India, nor the LDP administration of Japan views the strategic cooperation with the USA as a unilateral commitment to a US-lead world order, even less to a commitment to a US-lead coalition. They rather view it as achieving US support to restore their place as respected actors in the concert of powers. In fact, in case of Japan, present trends are even accompanied by a decrease of dependence on the US. In a way this can even be viewed as part of the decay of the US-lead unipolar order, as the US spontaneously assists the emerge of two Asian powers, India and Japan, in order to counterbalance the emerge of the strongest Asian power, China. Therefore, if we wish to draw cold war analogies, the nature of the strategic cooperation between the USA, India and Japan is rather similar to the informal anti-Soviet partnership between China and the USA throughout the 1980s, than a classical formal strategic alliance.

So, what we can state is that the present Sino-American rivalry and the interconnected Sino-Japanese and Sino-Indian rivalries as well as the buildup of the informal coalition between the USA, India Japan and Australia take place in this strategic environment. This per definition gives these trends a certain nature, what is to a great extent different from that of the cold war. Due to the above reasons, the rivalry between China and the USA, China and Japan, as well as between China and India will most likely never take the form of a cold war style antagonistic enmity with the threat of nuclear annihilation, but will rather continue with considerable restraint on behalf of all these actors. The quadrilateral strategic cooperation between the USA, India, Japan and Australia will most likely never become a formal alliance, but will rather func-

tion in a manner similar to that of the informal USA-China partnership of the 1980s. The ASEAN countries will most likely avoid to make the choice between China and the quadrilateral coalition, and instead rather follow a policy of balancing between them. Therefore China and the quadrilateral coalition will most likely not delimit their zones of influence within Southeast Asia in a cold war manner, but the region will most likely be a fluid zone with various degrees of Chinese, American, Japanese, Indian and Australian influence and alignment. But even among such circumstances, great power rivalries do occur and do have a significance. Obviously Japan and India more likely have the confidence to oppose the will of China on certain strategic issues as they know that their moves are coordinated with each other and with that of the USA and Australia. Vietnam and the Philippines are more likely have the confidence to oppose China on the South China Sea as they know that they are backed by the quadrilateral coalition. China is less likely to become the hegemon in East and Southeast Asia among such circumstances, and its' global influence is less likely to become equal to that of the USA among such circumstances.

Conclusion

As we could see, an informal strategic coalition is being formed and deepened between the USA, India, Japan and Australia, and this process has been going on for years now. The undeclared, and publicly sometimes even denied, but apparent aim of this coalition seems to be the containment of China. Significant geopolitical and psychological factors in Sino-Indian and Sino-Japanese relations are, and for the foreseeable future are likely to be keeping Indian and Japanese policies on a track of viewing China a strategic competitor at best and viewing the USA at least as a strategic partner, if not an ally. Why this is especially significant, is that in the coming decades when China becomes the largest economy in the world, the USA, India and Japan are predicted to be the second, the third and the fourth. So, for the future, the partnership between the USA, India and Japan for the containment of China is likely to mean the coalition of the second, the third, and the fourth largest economies of the world against the first one. While China is almost certain to surpass the economic weight of the USA in the near future, it is unlikely to surpass the combined economic weight of these three countries in the foreseeable future. Thus these three countries coordinating

their strategic policies in this manner will likely mean that the global influence of China will still lag behind that of the USA for decades even after its' economy surpassed that of the USA. Russia is unlikely to counterbalance these trends because of two reasons: One is that while India is as a dynamic emerging industrial economy, as China, Russia is rather sliding down in rank on the list of the economies of the world, and is unlikely to be among the top 10 in the future decades. The other reason is that while due to geopolitical and psychological factors, India and Japan are likely to view China as a strategic competitor in the foreseeable future, but are not having such problems with the USA, at the same time, Russia does not have such a deterministic track as the ally of China, since Sino-Russian relations do have geopolitical and psychological factors that pose a potential for rivalry or conflict.

At the same time though, in India and Japan these trends are mostly pursued by nationalistic political forces, and their aim is not being the guardians of a US lead unipolar world order, but rather using this situation to maximize the influence of their own countries as regional powers in a new multipolar world. So, this trend does not seem to secure the US-lead unipolar world order, but rather simply somewhat decelerating the expansion of China, somewhat accelerating the expansion India and Japan, and somewhat decelerating the relative decline of the hegemony of the USA in a multipolar world. Due to the same reasons, the cooperation between India and the USA is unlikely to take the form of a formal strategic alliance, but rather an informal strategic partnership, similar to the US-China partnership of the 1980s.

Also, economic interdependence means a system of great power relations where this competition is unlikely to take the form of cold-war-style antagonistic enmity, but rather a softer (but still existing, and still significant) competition within a concert of great powers.

These trends draw a picture that is between what China and the USA is willing to see. It is a multipolar world, no longer the US lead unipolar world that Washington would favor to see, but at the same time, a multipolar world where the expansion of China's power is to a certain degree decelerated by a loose strategic coalition of the USA , India and Japan, and where the USA's global influence is still likely to be significantly greater than that of China for the foreseeable future, and where the ambitions of India and Japan are assisted, and the expansion of their influence is accelerated by the USA in order to counterbalance China.

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The New Silk Road Project in English Language Economic Analyses

The announcement of China's New Silk Road project seems to have attracted the attention of business investment analysts, economists and security political researchers. The average news consumer does not often encounter current political news reports on whether the programme is ongoing or what impacts it may have on global power relations. Nevertheless, the New Silk Road project, which was renamed as the One Belt, One Road project, has become a part of, and a subject of intercultural discourse. As a result of the language barrier to those news consumers who cannot speak Chinese, the globalised and prestigious English language media plays the key role of the *gatekeeper* by conveying its own narrative of the events. It is also due to the ideological distance between the Chinese operated English language home page of the OBOR project¹ and the Western sources of information. As it is known from the analysis of media discourse the choice of words and phrases, as well as the structure of the information in news texts, have a long-term effect on framing the facts in a certain context and on shaping public opinion.²

Economists like to point out that the special language of economics or business is factual and neutral and they usually refer to their special area as a science. Even though sometimes it is claimed that it overlaps with ideology and politics, the reader of economic analyses assumes that they bear some of the qualities of academic studies. These are factuality, neutrality, clear terminology, logical structure and informativeness. Research has proved that academic analyses use the same devices of classical European rhetoric as any argumentative texts which are produced in social discourse. For instance, they contain various types of reasoning, figures of speech and figures of thought.

1 Apart from the mentioned Chinese home page, <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/special/silkroad/>, the South East Asian online journal *The Diplomat*, <http://thediplomat.com>, offers a detailed coverage of the OBOR project.

2 Norman and Isabela Fairclough underline that political discourse represents 'facts of reality' or 'knowledge about reality' in harmony with the evaluative or ideological orientation of the text producer. Fairclough – Fairclough 2012: 93.

They are necessarily persuasive in nature, because they have to prove that their narrative and framing of the events are true to reality – or they stand for reality themselves.

Economic news writing may have an important role in informing the public (both experts and lay people) about the economic developments of our era. However, which article is offered on the internet can be a matter of persuasion. A recent scandal implicated the editors of Facebook in a case of deception: evidence was leaked out that news items are not ranked randomly, with an algorithm but selected by editors according to directives, just like in conventional media news production. Technology simply distracts the users' attention from this fact.³

If a news consumer types the phrase *New Silk Road* in Google, the Internet offers scores which include articles on well-known and well-respected economic and political news home pages. The assumption for this research can be that the ranking of the articles is not accidental: the online news providers have proposed a certain interpretation of the events, which they would like to disseminate. On the first two pages of the scores, articles are offered from the home pages of *Financial Times*, *The Economist*, *Forbes Magazine*, *Bloomberg* and *World Economic Forum*. The articles were published between 12th September, 2015 and 1st April, 2016.

In the period of time mentioned *Financial Times* published two major analyses dated 12th October, 2015 and 1st April, 2016, and the other four published one each. I applied the methods of discourse analysis to model and compare the content of the texts. The research was centred on four questions: 1. What information about the OBOR project do these texts convey? 2. Who or what are the texts arguing with? 3. What attitude can be detected from the framing of this information? (That is, from the style they use.) 4. What future of the project do the articles envision?

3 See the article by The Guardian entitled Facebook news selection is in hands of editors not algorithms, documents show. 12 May, 2016.

What information about the OBOR project do the analyses convey?

Surprisingly, the articles included very little factual information about the economic programme. Even the few data were diverse and they varied according to the source.

The Economist reported it would involve more than 40 countries, the investment of 2.5 trillion US dollars within a decade, and nearly one trillion of Chinese government money.

“Rhodium Group and the Mercator Institute, two other research firms, reckon that the total stock of Chinese direct investment abroad could rise to \$2 trillion by 2020, from less than \$800 billion at the end of 2014”

It also included a bar chart on total foreign investment by China.

The Financial Times complained that only semi-official maps were available on the countries participating and that its request to the Chinese Commerce Ministry for specific details was left unanswered. (Oct 12, 2015.)

Bloomberg reported that the programme involved 60 countries and two thirds of the planet’s population.

World Economic Forum and *Forbes Magazine* did not include comprehensive statistics in their articles.

In its April 1, 2016 article *The Financial Times* included and analysed diagrams and charts on Chinese bank lending to Africa and to New Silk Road countries, but overall statistics on finance were not included. A remark on the number of the countries involved said,

“The OBOR initiative was announced in 2013 by Mr Xi, who foresaw a leading role for China in financing and building infrastructure along a land-based “Silk Road Economic Belt” and its maritime counterpart, the “21st century Maritime Silk Road” in more than 60 countries in Asia, Europe and Africa with a combined population of some 4.4bn.”

then it added,

“the geographic scope of the project has been kept intentionally elastic”

As far as business information is concerned, very little is revealed in the articles. What are they about, then? Firstly, they raise and evaluate various aspects of the project; secondly, they draw parallels between the project and certain historical events from the past; thirdly, they summarise arguments assessing the possible advantages and dangers of the realisation of this large-scale economic project.

Who or what are the analyses arguing with?

Following the examination of the rhetorical structure of the articles, it can be concluded that they mostly argue with the announcements made by Chinese officials about the New Silk Road /OBOR project, its scale, financial background and feasibility. In one case, there is an indication that the authors are also involved in public discourse with each other. The article entitled “China’s Triple Wins” published on the *Forbes Magazine* home page (Jan 15, 2016), hints twice at the previously published *The Financial Times* analysis “China’s Great Game” (Oct 12, 2015).

I recently came across an interesting article by Financial Times, China’s Great Game: Road to a New Empire.

If successful, the New Silk Roads could be the largest economic development scheme on the face of the earth. The Financial Times article compares it to the US-led Marshall Plan after WWII.

The Economist offers three arguments for the project:

1. “some Chinese firms are already veterans of globalization”;
 2. “Chinese firms are getting better”.
 3. “China will contribute more merit and value to the world”;
- and one argument against:
4. “Chinese firms have few managers with international experience”; (“But Chinese firms are getting better.”)

The Financial Times (Oct 12, 2016) presents two arguments for:

1. “get contracts for Chinese companies overseas”,
 2. “economic development will remove radical Islam”,
- and six arguments against:
3. “it is likely to encounter significant resistance (Xinjiang and the Uighurs)”
 4. “One Belt, One Road is a clunkier name”
 5. “‘Visions and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-century Maritime Silk Road’ is a clunky document”
 6. “the security and military aspects of the project are unclear”
 7. “the projects in unstable areas might end with China’s entanglement in conflicts”
 8. “aggressive maritime claims by Beijing”

Bloomberg puts forward two arguments for:

1. “By improving infrastructure, China could help lift growth in poor nations—and the entire global economy.”
2. “The construction projects will potentially create business for engineering and other companies from the West, too.”

and five arguments against:

3. “In reality, OBOR is all about China. The program’s designed to forward Beijing’s strategic and economic interests around the world—at the expense of the West’s—and offer lucrative opportunities abroad for Chinese companies.”
4. “China is currently trying to create the story of an economic success, and if it has some public failures, that could be damaging to its brand.”
5. “Nor is there any guarantee that China’s cash will win it camaraderie.”
6. “Chinese soft power is relatively weak.”
7. “[if China’s projects don’t work out] That could turn China’s grand Silk Road dreams into an even grander disappointment.”

World Economic Forum discusses eleven arguments for:

1. “[The project] will help to alleviate China’s thirst for energy, with new gas pipelines in Central Asia and new deepwater harbours in South Asia to be constructed.”

2. "These massive infrastructure projects will also accelerate the renminbi's internationalization and its emergence as an alternative reserve currency, a strategic economic objective."
3. "...the commonality of China's economic interests with the corridor nations and a sound infrastructure bond will be the best way to prevent regional conflicts."
4. "It's also a viable way to export China's model of development: the right to develop irrespective of political systems."
5. "Based on a mixture of Marxist and Confucian traditions, the Chinese leadership has started to articulate more explicit policies towards regional and global governance, through concepts such as the Harmonious Society by former President Hu Jintao, and President Xi Jinping's 'new type of major power relations'. These concepts, mostly ignored by Western governments, are not just slogans."
6. "could offer major new markets to European firms, leveraging old European influence to both engage profitably with Chinese and local companies."
7. "Europe could also use it as a door-opener in the increasingly difficult but critical Chinese market itself, as China will need allies when engaging overseas."
8. "This would likewise be an intelligent move to bind Russia into a regional cooperation through these two initiatives, irrespective of the present conflict."
9. "China's economic power and political weight are strong arguments for Beijing that its development must not continue to be subject to rules mainly decided by industrialized nations."
10. "The ball is now in the hands of the EU to decide if and how to engage in these emerging processes.) Although Europe continues to struggle with its own crisis, it should make the Silk Road its own and its strategic priority."
11. "The EU has a unique opportunity to formulate its own respective interests and intentions, and offer concrete proposals to China for collaboration in the context of the Silk Road, making it a true Europe-China initiative, at both ends of the road."

and one argument against:

12. "This strategic shift is potentially a game-changer for global governance. Its explicit focus on the wide definition of inclusiveness, the right to development, and based on a relatively fuzzy management style, will inevitably challenge the current Western principles of global governance."

Forbes Magazine mentions five arguments for:

1. "The infrastructure projects will help absorb the country's overcapacity in steel and construction, and counter its economic slowdown back home."
2. "Beijing hopes that economic development will pacify the riots in the region (Xinjiang)."
3. "...the New Silk Roads will help boost China's soft power and establish greater influence in Asia. ...As the U.S. is bogged down by wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, and now in Syria, China will play the 'good guy' who promises to bring economic prosperity to the region."
4. "The New Silk Roads already have momentum."
5. "Of course there are many unknowns and uncertainties. But it has become clear that China has the plans as well as the means to carry out such gigantic projects!"

and no arguments against.

The Financial Times (April 1, 2016) offers two arguments against:

1. "Christopher Johnson, a China expert at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a Washington-based think-tank, also sounded a warning over China's rising influence. 'It seems equally clear that Washington has been slow to recognise the intricate lattice that the Silk Road projects are forming.'"
2. "He recommended that the US administration due to take power in 2017 should think about how best to respond to OBOR as it becomes a 'force to be reckoned with for the next decade and beyond'."

Statistics on the number of arguments and counterarguments are summarized in the table below:

Source	Number of arguments for	Number of arguments against
The Economist	3	1
The Financial Times Oct 12, 2016	2	6
Bloomberg Magazine	2	5

Source	Number of arguments for	Number of arguments against
World Economic Forum	11	1
Forbes Magazine	5	0
The Financial Times April 1, 2016	0	2

Table 1: The number of arguments for and against the OBOR project in the articles analyzed

The statistics on the supportive and opposing arguments reveal that *The Financial Times*, *The Economist* and *Bloomberg Magazine* presented arguments which were mostly opposed to the OBOR project, whereas *World Economic Forum* and *Forbes Magazine* published articles which supported it.

Nevertheless, the picture is not as clear. When examining the texts, shifts in point of view were noticeable: advantages and disadvantages of the OBOR projects were presented mixed, once taking the angle of the West European powers, then of China, then of the US. As far as text linguistics is concerned, the lapses in viewpoint should be detected. As to the reception and comprehension of news texts, however, it is not crucial. According to discourse analysts, the news consumers rarely remember who exactly stated some concrete information or a specific view.⁴ Rather, they can recall the source of information, especially if the information is repeated.

For simplicity it can be concluded from the explicit content of the articles that the economic news home pages took different stances concerning the New Silk Road program while they contributed to the global and intercultural discourse about it. Nevertheless, as they are prestigious and influential sources of information, most readers expect them to offer guidelines for describing and interpreting the events of the world. The clues they provide about the viewpoint and attitude of their authors may be identified by revealing implicit content.

4 On news comprehension, see, for example, van Dijk1988: 165–166.

What attitudes can be detected from the framing of the information on the OBOR project?

From the aspect of rhetoric, the articles use analogy from the past in order to describe the scale, the aim and the possible effects of the projects. These paraphrases are also discourse metaphors which focus the attention of the readers on shared or allegedly shared specific features of the historical events of the past and of the OBOR project. From the point of view of cognitive linguistics, whose theoretical background is also applied in discourse analysis nowadays, they reflect the ideological and conceptual framework in which the project is interpreted.

As it is known from discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis, ideology provides the sets of norms and values which form a common ground in society. This common ground is the basis for communication and social and interpersonal interaction. That is, discourse (spoken and written texts embedded in society) is produced and interpreted depending on the underlying ideology and power relations. Consequently, discourse contributes to both maintaining and changing the power relations.⁵ Sometimes ideology is so closely related to conventional conceptualizations of entities or events of reality that it is impossible for the members of a community to think about them in any other way. Thus, discourse may hinder our understanding of new phenomena. For example, if someone was brought up in Western culture, they will see *economy* as some kind of WAR or COMPETITION, owing to the ideology of social Darwinism, which capitalism is rooted in.

In the case of the OBOR project, the issue is represented in intercultural discourses, which are founded on very different ideologies, norms and values. Rhetorically, the language chosen to describe and discuss a phenomenon defines and delimits what is possible to say (and what is possible to do). For instance, the analogies from the past or the discourse metaphors focus the attention of the readers on some aspects of the topic while leaving others hidden.

The Economist, *The Financial Times*, and *Bloomberg* refer to the ancient Silk Road and the wealth and power of the ancient Chinese Empire. Reading these hints it becomes clear why the popular name of the project was altered to One Belt, One Road – probably to avoid associations with the expansion of the old Chinese Empire.

5 Dirven et. al. 2007: 1223.

“‘The granaries in all the towns are brimming with reserves, and the coffers are full with treasures and gold, worth trillions,’ wrote Sima Qian, a Chinese historian living in the 1st century BC. ‘There is so much money that the ropes used to string coins together rot and break, an innumerable amount. The granaries in the capital overflow and the grain goes bad and cannot be eaten.’” (FT, 12 Oct. 2015.)

Another parallel is drawn between the Marshall Plan and the OBOR program by *The Financial Times* and *Forbes Magazine*, as far as the measure of the two projects can be compared.

The World Economic Forum views the policy of China as building a *cordon sanitaire* of regional stability referring to the fact that China hopes to prevent regional conflicts in its geographical region by boosting economic development.

In the context of extending sphere of interest in Central Asia and Afghanistan, the Great Game between the United Kingdom and Russia lasting from the early 19th century to the early 20th century is mentioned by *The Financial Times* (12 Oct. 2015). However, the opponent, with whom China would compete for influence is not named. By this, China is not presented as an equal partner in political discourse and political action, and the ideological distance between the Western news consumers and the Chinese news providers is maintained.

These metaphors actually recall full scenarios from history depending on the level of education and historical knowledge of the news consumer. They may forecast similar outcomes as in history before, although analogy from the past is sometimes included among the fallacies (i.e. false arguments) in Western rhetorical theories: one cannot be sure that a repeated action always has the same result.

As illustrated by the above, all the reader gets to know from the analyses is that something relevant and large-scale is going on, and that it may have a great impact. These analogies from the past meet the commonplace that ‘history repeats itself’, and present the OBOR project in the frame of thinking founded on Western culture and Western interpretation of history.

Other metaphors may tell more about the attitude of the writers of the articles. How do they see China?

1. China is extremely strong and is trying to prove it.
“sustained muscle flexing by China” (*FT* 12 Oct, 2015)
2. China looks into the future but its forecasts are obscure.
“the Delphic utterances from Beijing” (*FT* 12 Oct, 2015)
3. China’s ambitions are too great and may be dangerous for the country itself.
“a gargantuan project” (*Bloomberg*)
4. China’s power is going to flood the Earth.
“opening the floodgates to Chinese economic dominance” (*FT* 12 Oct, 2015)
5. China is producing something (especially money) in enormous quantities.
“China’s banks and special funds [are] running full tilt.” (*Bloomberg*)
“Beijing and the financial institutions it backs are gushing loans and investments.” (*Bloomberg*)
6. China’s companies are huge mythical beasts (dinosaurs? dragons?).
“If there’s a business equivalent to the Cambrian period of explosion and extinction of species, China from 1991 to the present is it. Many have failed, but the survivors are straining at the leash.” (*The Economist*)
7. China is a huge mythical beast (a dragon?).
“China will be faced with some grim alternatives — either turn tail and leave, or risk getting bogged down in security commitments and local politics.” (*FT* 12 Oct., 2015)
8. China is a giant that embraces the world.
“One arm, the Silk Road Economic Belt, will pass from China to Europe through Central Asia, and the other, the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, will better link the country to Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Africa along vital sea lanes.” (*Bloomberg*)
9. China mesmerizes the rest of the world with its abundance of money.
“Anytime the Chinese dangle renminbi in the face of foreign officials, they kind of swoon.” (*Bloomberg*)
10. China is playing a game with the European Union.
“[China is] a game-changer”
“The ball now is in the hands of the EU.” (*World Economic Forum*)

The metaphors reveal that the OBOR project is assessed and interpreted in the context of Western culture and Western ideology. Few of the Chinese slogans and metaphors are translated into English and included in the analyses, except for the ‘*String of Pearls*’ (*The Financial Times* 12 Oct., 2015), with reference to

a string of possibly dual-use naval bases along the planned route of the OBOR belt. Apart from this, World Economic Forum quotes President Hu Jintao ('a peaceful rise with a low profile; Harmonious Society') and President Xi Jinping ('a new type of power relations') with the author of the article reasoning: "These concepts, mostly ignored by Western governments, are not just slogans. They have led to a number of visible changes."

In summary, the presentation of the OBOR project seems to be doubtful about its aims and possible outcomes. It is visualized as a threat which is posed by too much power and money streaming all over the Earth, which is also seen as hypnotic, or as a giant creature preparing to embrace or even gulp down the globe. China's efforts to establish the OBOR cooperation are seen as threats because they are interpreted as the reverse of the historical processes which were launched by Western powers in the past and are also viewed as actions changing power relations, which may endanger Western interests. The economic analyses lapse into speculation about China applying soft power and hard power in order to compete with the Western powers for spheres of influence.⁶ What future do they forecast for the OBOR project and for the world?

What future of the OBOR project do the articles envision?

The fact that the economic news articles all lapse into international security political analyses is especially remarkable. Giving forecast is probably a routine part of economic news writing, for instance, if it is founded on statistics or analyses of trends, but the political dimension seems to be different in this case.

The trending guidelines set for the Facebook editorial team, as it was reported by *The Guardian*, include the following definition: "A real-world event is something that happened recently, is happening now or will happen in the future."⁷

That is, psychologically, wording something in discourse means we create reality, or at least one possible reality. Taking into consideration that humans allegedly create mental spaces when they produce or receive a text,⁸ it can be

6 On hard, soft, and smart power, see, for example: Wilson 2008: 110–124.

7 See the article by The Guardian entitled Facebook news selection is in hands of editors not algorithms, documents show. 12 May 2016.

8 Sweetser – Fauconnier 1996: 8–13.

said that we can hardly make difference between real, virtual and hypothetical situations. This quality of human thinking is exploited by propagandists when they disseminate preparatory propaganda. They can suggest frames, schemata and scripts so that the target audience will think about a specific issue within the framework and limits they set. The frames and scripts which were triggered will also determine the interpretation and evaluation of future events, which will largely depend on what kind of paths have been created in the readers' mind and what is accessed through them.

According to the *Financial Times* (Oct 12, 2015), with the OBOR project China wants to establish a new sphere of influence and to expand its sphere of influence. But it makes the following comment:

“As China seeks to expand its sphere of influence, it is likely to encounter significant resistance.”

“Attempts to tame the energy-rich Xinjiang region may be stoking unrest from the Uighurs.”

Then the FT predicts the security dimension of the OBOR:

“As the country's economic interests expand abroad, its massive security apparatus and military will probably be pulled into a greater regional role. China has no foreign military bases and steadfastly insists that it does not interfere in the domestic politics of any country. But a draft anti-terrorism law for the first time legalises the posting of Chinese soldiers on foreign soil, with the consent of the host nation.”

“A push into central Asia will partly fill the vacuum left by the retreat of Moscow after the cold war, followed by Washington's military pullback from Afghanistan next year. With Beijing saying it is facing a rising terrorist threat, stabilising the wider region is a priority.”

Bloomberg sees danger lurking in investment in unstable regions:

“In Africa, where China has a long record of investment, a Gallup poll released in August showed the approval rating of Beijing’s leaders had dropped among Africans in 7 of the 11 countries included in the survey. ‘The goodwill expressed at the highest levels doesn’t trickle down into warm sentiments,’ says J. Peter Pham, director of the Africa Center at the Atlantic Council, a think tank based in Washington. ‘Chinese soft power is relatively weak.’”

Finally, it sums up the objections:

“That could turn China’s grand Silk Road dreams into an even grander disappointment.”

Bloomberg states clearly:

“[The OBOR project] could draw more emerging countries closer to Beijing, including regions where the West would like to gain influence, such as Central Asia.”

But *Bloomberg* also points out some advantages to the US:

“The construction projects will potentially create business for engineering and other companies from the West, too. ‘We shouldn’t freak out too much about what the Chinese are doing,’ Kennedy says. ‘There’s a huge strategic opportunity for the U.S.’”

As it was proved by statistics above, *World Economic Forum* supports OBOR, seeing it as one that

“...could offer new markets to European firms.”

However, it adds:

“[it] will inevitably challenge the current Western principles of global governance.”

Forbes Magazine acknowledges:

“... like the Marshall Plan, the New Silk Roads will help boost China’s soft power and establish greater influence in Asia. ‘Economic development, as strategists in Beijing argue, will remove the appeal of radical Islam in China and Pakistan, Afghanistan and central Asia.’ As the U.S. is bogged down by wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, and now in Syria, China will play the ‘good guy’ who promises to bring economic prosperity to the region.”

The Financial Times warns:

“Christopher Johnson, a China expert at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a Washington-based think-tank, also sounded a warning over China’s rising influence. ‘It seems equally clear that Washington has been slow to recognise the intricate lattice that the Silk Road projects are forming,’ Mr Johnson wrote in a new paper on OBOR.”

“He recommended that the US administration due to take power in 2017 should think about how best to respond to OBOR as it becomes a ‘force to be reckoned with for the next decade and beyond’.”

On the whole, it appears that the economic forecasts end with the assessment of the means of soft power and hard power available to China (again, using the concepts of Western political science for framing) and predictions about the possible obstacles to the realization of the OBOR project. They forecast potential conflicts along the route which may or may not reveal the opposing interests of China and others, especially the West European countries and the

USA. In other words, the weaknesses of the project are assessed, which carries the potential identification of possible counteraction. However, the discourse presented in the economic articles comprises positive attitudes to the project, mostly depending on the degree of the predicted involvement of the Western countries concerned and their prospects for profits.

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China's New Grand Strategy for the Middle East

Introduction:

China-Arab Policy Paper

A week before Chinese President Xi Jinping's 2016 round trip in the Middle East the Communist Party of China (CPC) brought forth the first document in its history entirely focused on Arab countries: the China-Arab Policy Paper. Although the President of China had already made public the so-called "1+2+3 cooperation scheme", the policy guideline for the region in 2014, it still took two further years for the model to become official foreign policy strategy. One of the reasons behind this is symbolic: 2016 is the sixtieth anniversary of the commencement of modern-age Arab-Chinese diplomatic contacts. Beside this, the document stands as a reflection to ongoing events in the Middle East, as newer and newer hubs of tension have appeared in the region. After the wars in Iraq, Yemen, and Syria, and the gaining of power by Muslim extremist groups (e.g. the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant), conflicts intensified between the medium-strength powers of the region. In early 2016, the execution of Saudi citizen Shiite imam Nimr an-Nimr led to the significant deterioration of Iranian-Saudi relations, which also had a negative effect on Beijing, as both countries have been important elements in China's Middle Eastern strategy. As a result of all these, Chinese leaders published a document and initiated a type of foreign policy in the region which is primarily aimed at strengthening the region's stability and security as well as at the reduction of tension between states.

Before a detailed description of the "1+2+3 cooperation scheme", China's former Middle Eastern policy: the five-dimensional paradigm needs to be introduced. It is also relevant to devote separate sections to events that contributed to its reformation such as the Arab Spring, terrorism, or the new Chinese Silk Road project. The last part of the present paper will contain the discussion of Xi Jinping's 2016 Middle Eastern tour of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Iran, which may be seen as the practical implementation of the 1+2+3 cooperation scheme.

China's "Five-dimensional Paradigm"

The "five-dimensional paradigm" is a term coined by Caliph University (Emirates) international studies specialist dr. Olimat to designate China's foreign policy for the MENA-region (the Middle East and North Africa) from the beginning of the 20th century to the Arab Spring. It contains the following elements: energy policies, trade, investments, arms supplies, cultural links, and political cooperation.¹

a) *Energy policies*: in the late 1990s only less than 15% of China's crude oil import derived from the MENA region. Although it was as early as in 1993 that the Far Eastern country imported more fuel than it could produce by itself, Beijing primarily concentrated on the recently independent former Soviet states, Subsaharan states (Angola and Nigeria), or "peripheral" (Oman and Yemen) and "pariah" states (the Sudan and Iran), which exhibited low or non-existent presence of Western and Japanese energy firms. Significant changes occurred as late as the beginning of the 21st century: due to political reasons (such as the Iraqi war), and the simultaneous strengthening of the Chinese economy, the Gulf monarchies began to forge stronger energy policy ties to China. As China's energy demand kept rising (in 1993 the Far Eastern country would use up 2.5 million barrels of crude oil, whereas in 2015, 12 million barrels), import from the MENA region also soared. The figures rose from 3.2 million barrels per day in 2007 to 6.1 million barrels in 2014. In the year 2014 16% of total crude oil import for China came from Saudi Arabia, 10% from Oman, 9% from Iraq and Iran, 4% from the United Arab Emirates, and 3% from Kuwait.² The other important fuel type China imported from the MENA region was liquid natural gas (LNG). By 2014 the Far Eastern state rose to be the third largest importer of LNG; 41% of total Chinese liquid natural gas imports came from the Middle East: Qatar 34%, Yemen 5%, and Algeria 2%.³ Since then LNG export by Qatar has kept rising, as the monarchy in the Persian Gulf has built its own LNG terminals on the Eastern coastline of China, and supplies the raw material with its own fleet. At the same time, export from Yemen stopped entirely as a result of the civil war raging in the country from early 2015.

1 Olimat 2013: 34.

2 "China international energy data and analysis." Energy Information Administration. 14 May 2015.

3 "China international energy data and analysis."

b) *Trade and investments*: China's trade volume with the MENA countries was as low as 35 billion USD, which, despite the financial crisis, rose to over 100 billion USD by 2009. After the global financial crisis Arab exports to China rose by 25 per cent.⁴ The volume of trade between China and the Arab states rose to 240 billion USD by 2014; Xi Jinping declared his wish to increase it further to 600 billion USD by 2024.⁵ It is nevertheless important to note that trade with the MENA region is rather unevenly distributed: over half of it is represented by Chinese imports. Although Arab countries exported raw materials goods in the value of 114 billion USD to the Far Eastern state's markets in 2014, more than two-thirds of this sum went to fuel, with the remaining third consisting largely of raw material and foodstuff (exotic fruits). China mainly exports low-priced household and electronic appliances, machinery (especially cars) and textiles to the region. Excessive import of Chinese and other Far Eastern textiles and handcrafted goods has a damaging effect on the region's economies, because it results in the loss of ground for local producers in foreign (e.g. European) as well as domestic markets. The biggest Middle Eastern trade partners for China in 2015 were: Saudi Arabia, (80 billion USD), the United Arab Emirates (55 billion USD), Iran (50 billion USD), and Egypt (11 billion USD). The recent years have seen a boost in Chinese investments as well as trade in the region: in 2005 the volume of Chinese investments was still below one billion USD, but in 2014 it amounted to 50 billion USD. China is the current leading investor in Algeria (10 billion), Iraq (16 billion), Iran (20 billion), and Saudi Arabia (14 billion). Chinese investment is focused in three main areas: energy (SINOPEC, CNPC), infrastructure (high velocity trains, ports and underground networks) and telecommunication (mobile phones). It is primarily not Chinese state-owned but private companies that invest in the MENA region. Chinese investors are popular in the region due to the fact that Beijing provides low-interest loans with large sums available and no political demands posed (e.g. the improvement of the human rights situation or the introduction of democratic elements) for gaining credit and aid. A part of these investments is the construction of two special economic zones (SEZ) by China between 1990 and 2012. The aim of these SEZs is to

4 Chen 2011: 2.

5 Sun 2015: 21.

boost economic ties, the number of Chinese investments and bilateral trade between Beijing and the involved states through special tax discounts, the creation of jobs, the improvement of infrastructure, tight cooperation with the local governments, and simpler administration. Although the creation of the Algerian SEZ has been suspended, the Suez Economic and Trade Cooperation Zone (SETZ-zone) in Egypt is already in function and is currently undergoing enlargement.⁶

- c) *Military cooperation and arms trade*: while as a result of the Tienanmen Square events Western countries have introduced an arms embargo against China, the weapons trade has continued with the states of the MENA region. China's arms export to the Middle East soared in 1990s: to Iran (1.4 billion USD), Egypt (164 billion USD), Yemen (150 billion USD) Algeria (130 billion USD) and Tunisia (38 billion USD).⁷ At the same time, several Arab countries (Syria Lybia and Egypt) started a common military techniques cooperation scheme with China; among other things, Beijing took part in local missile programs and the development of ballistic missiles. From the beginning of the 21st century, however, Chines arms trade volumes have dropped. MENA states bought Chinese weapons only in the value of 45 billion USD in 2012. At the same time, a transformation process also took place: although now China exports fewer weapons to Middle Eastern states, they are willing to raise the quality and modernity of these to cater for the needs of armies in the region. This change is primarily visible in the case of pilotless planes (drones)⁸ and the navy⁹. Joint military exercises were also held with Iran in the Persian Gulf in 2014 and military exchange programmes were introduced with Egypt between 2001 and 2014

6 The Chinese government commissioned a company named TEDA (Tianjin Economic-Technological Development Area) Investment Holding with the construction of the Egyptian SETC-Zone. Although the project was made public as early as the 1990s, the first phase was completed only in 2012. This means the presence of 38 Chinese enterprises in the SETC-Zone, with an investment of 500 billion USD and about 2000 Chinese working in the area. On 27 April 2013 TEDA announced the next phase: the enlargement of the zone by an additional six square kilometres over a forty-five-year period and an investment of 2 billion USD in SETC-Zone, a maximum of 180 Chinese enterprises and the creation of approximately 40, 000 new jobs.

7 SIPRI Arms Transfers Database. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

8 In the 2015 Yemen intervention the participating Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates used drones in the fight against Houthi rebels. In Iraq CH-4 Caihong (Rainbow) pilotless planes were used to bomb the strongholds of the terrorist organisation Islamis State. Cruickshank 2016._

9 In early 2016 Algeria deployed its two Chinese corvettes (C28A), and is expecting the arrival of a further one from Chinese military shipyards.

(29), Turkey (20), Syria (10) and Jordan (9). In addition, it is also important to note that China takes part in several UN missions within the region: it has deployed its own navy units since 2008 to support the military action against Aden and Somali pirates. According to the Chinese government, it sent 19 warships to the region between 2009 and 2015, and escorted up to 5670 vessels, saving sixty from pirate raids.¹⁰ Approximately 1150 Chinese are involved in a UN mission: in Lebanon (UNIFIL) 418, South Sudan (UNMISS) 1061; *Darfour (UNAMID) 235 persons serve; in addition, nine observers were sent to the Syrian surveillance mission (UNSMIS) in 2012.*¹¹

d) *Cultural*: China did not use to be a main destination for study trips for Arab students, and the presence of Chinese students at Arab universities was just as marginal. It is only since 2009 (when Beijing invested 8.8 billion USD in “soft power”) that involvement in cultural links has intensified. The number of exchange programmes rose sharply and Arab students have a wider variety and more attractive range of schemes to choose from – especially those who consider low costs and state support relevant when studying abroad. In 2012 10, 000 Arabs studied at Chinese universities; 1500 of these were Saudis, which means a 70% rise compared to 2010.¹² The Chinese Scholarship Council (CSC) has several cooperation schemes with Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Qatar, Morocco and Saudi Arabia. At the same time, the number of Chinese students at Arab universities is still negligible: they numbered only around 500 in 2012, with 270 studying in Saudi Arabia.¹³ The Confucius Institutes also play an important role in the development of cultural ties and in the evaluation of the reputation of China as a country. The first Chinese-language school and Confucius Institute was founded in Cairo in 2002. They numbered seventeen in 2016: Turkey (4), United Arab Emirates (2), Egypt (2), Jordan (2), Israel (2), Morocco (2), Bahrain (1), Iran (1), Lebanon (1).¹⁴

By 2015 China's image had changed for the positive in the MENA region. A Pew Research Center global survey in 2015 showed that 52% of those asked in the Middle East evaluated China's present role as positive. Israelis

10 “China Sends 18th Escort to Somali Waters.” Xinhua, 1 August 2014.

11 *UN Mission's Contributions by Country*.

12 Olimat 2013: 145.

13 Rakhmat 2014.

14 Confucius Institute/Classroom. Confucius Institute Headquarters (Hanban).

(55%) and Palestinians (54%) had the best opinions about China, while in Jordan 33% and in Turkey only 18% of those asked declared a positive opinion about the Far Eastern state.¹⁵

- e) *Political*: as opposed to the Cold War era, Beijing now puts less emphasis on ideological and political relations. China is no longer bent on exporting its own system, and creating a “global revolution” and as no Middle Eastern country now acknowledges the independence of Taiwan, propagating the “One China” principle is superfluous. The Chinese government now mostly strives to build good ties with all Middle Eastern countries with interstate or religious tensions like the Israeli-Palestinian controversy or the Irani-Saudi feud kept to a minimum in bilateral contacts with China. Beijing prefers a negotiated settlement of conflicts, condemns unilateral foreign military intervention and considers the application of international law to all acts of military intervention.

At present China maintains strategic relations with six Middle Eastern states: Iran (1991), Egypt (1999), Saudi Arabia (1999), Algeria (2010), Turkey (2010) and the United Arab Emirates (2012). Between 2002 and 2012 the highest-ranking members of the Chinese government – President Hu Jintao and Prime Minister Wen Jiabao – had three trips to Egypt and Saudi Arabia, two official visits to Morocco and the United Arab Emirates, and one respectively to Qatar and Turkey. They strive to maintain good relations on a regional level, especially with Arab states: in 2004 The Chinese-Arab Cooperation Forum was founded (CASCf) in Cairo, with all Arab states as members.¹⁶ The forum rests on four principles: political ties based on mutual respect; common goals for the development of trade and economic links; cultural exchanges and tight cooperation in international affairs.¹⁷ Meetings are held every other year: in 2006 the main topics were the creation of energy sector investments and the creation of free trade zones; in 2008 the emergence from the financial crisis; in 2010 common

15 The most divided Middle Eastern country was Lebanon, where 52 per cent of those asked said China's role was positive but religious denominations had entirely diverging opinions about the Far Eastern state: 81 per cent of Shiite Muslims, 47 per cent of Christians and only 29 per cent of Sunnite Muslims saw Beijing's role as positive. Poushter et. al. 2015.

16 The North African states are at the same time members of the China-Africa Cooperation Forum (FOCAC) and CASCf.

17 Kuangyi 2014: 28.

strategies.¹⁸ The latest meeting was in Beijing in 2014, where Xi Jinping mapped out the new Chinese Middle Eastern policy.

The Consequences of the “Arab Spring” for China

As the largest part of the world, China was also surprised by the chain of events that started at the end of 2010 in the Middle East. The intensity and speed of the phenomenon called the “Arab Spring” surpassed all previous expectations and started to fundamentally transform the connections of the region’s states not only to each other but also to the great powers. Differently from Western states, Beijing first concentrated on itself, not the MENA-region: Chinese leaders feared that this type of unrest would spread to the immediate neighbours of China, with dissatisfaction showing up in the Far Eastern state in the worst case.¹⁹ Only when the immediate danger of the breakout of a “Chinese Spring” was over did Beijing turn more attention to the Middle East. By that time however President Ben Ali had been toppled in Tunisia and Hosni Mubarak’s power in Egypt had started to crumble spectacularly. The events in Tunisia had little or no effect on Beijing’s MENA policies as Ben Ali was a politician friendly to the West, only maintaining minimal economic contact with China. The case of Egypt, however, was far more complicated. Mubarak was one of the few Arab statesmen who had very good contacts with the Beijing leadership and was called China’s “old friend”. For this reason Chinese diplomacy initially severely criticised UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon and Western heads of states for demanding the Egyptian President’s exit from power. Beijing – like Moscow – harshly criticised online communities such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube or Google, saying these had caused the crises.²⁰ When it was plain to see that the Egyptian army would not back the President and violence esca-

18 Chester 2015: 61.

19 In February 2011 members of the opposition started to gather at a McDonald’s near Tienanmen Square, but relatively few people arrived to the place and the “crowd” was not nearly characterised by the revolutionary mood that had been present in 1989. The Chinese government nevertheless judged the event as a dangerous one and the authorities arrested the participants a little later. Many articles about the reactions of the Communist Party of China and the possible breakout of the “Chinese Spring” were published in Western media (*Bloomberg*, *The Atlantic*, *The Diplomat*) at the beginning of 2011. The Chinese government tried to contain this: official Chinese news sites were ordered to use material on the Middle Eastern events edited by the Xinhua state press agency and avoid Western or other Far Eastern sources. The sale of jasmine flowers was banned for a few days in Chinese cities and for a short time search words “Egypt” and “jasmine” were also blocked.

20 Page 2011.

lated, Beijing abandoned Mubarak's support and accepted the change of rule. In addition, a few weeks later Foreign Minister Zhai Jun – proving China's pragmatist stance – took part in a Middle Eastern tour in April 2011, bringing a six-million-dollar aid package to Tunisia and a ten-million one for Egypt.²¹ Beijing's attitude to the Lybian "spring" was entirely different. China had large interests in the North African state: 26 Chinese firms invested in the value of over 20 billion USD with almost 36, 000 Chinese working in the country.²² For this reason and based on its foreign policy principles – non-intervention, the condemnation of external military interventions – Beijing could not support the violent toppling of the Gaddafi régime and the military operations of Western states (France and Britain, and, later, the US). Beijing and Moscow refused to accept UN Resolution No. 1973 of 17 March 2011, which officially meant the creation of a "no-fly zone". Although both states abstained at the vote, this was more like a gesture to the Arab League, as most Arab states supported the sanctions to Tripoli. At the same time, both Chinese and Russian diplomacy asserted that after Lybia they would use their veto rights.

The experience of the Lybian civil war led China and Russia to refuse any allowances to Syria.²³ Between 2011 and 2014 the Chinese ambassador to the UN passed four vetoes on Syria²⁴ especially on those resolution drafts that would have led to possible external intervention or the fall of the Syrian government. China at the same time took a flexible stance on several occasions; it backed some UN resolutions and is in frequent consultation with the Syrian opposition.²⁵ Moreover, the Syrian-Syrian negotiations took place in Beijing in late 2015, where the Chinese Foreign Minister received he delegations of the

21 "China offers \$9 millon aid to Egypt." Xinhua News Agency, 21 April 2011.

22 Copper 2016: 117.

23 Beijing did not nearly back Damascus with the force that Moscow did. The two countries did not have good contacts in the Cold War era at all. The Chinese government considered Damascus a "satellite of the Kremlin" and contacts started to significantly improve in the mid-2000s. Chinese-Syrian economic ties were at a low level; their trade volume was 2 billion USD before 2011. The number of Chinese investments also fell significantly behind Irani, Russian, Turkish, and also Saudi investments.

24 As concerns the four Chinese – and Russian – vetoes connected to Syria: 4 October 2011 – Resolution S/2011/612; 4 February 2011 Resolution (S/2012/77); 4 July 2012 Resolution S/2012/538; 22 May 2014 Resolution S/2014/348.

25 For example China agreed to SC Resolution No. 2043 in 2012. As a result, the UN set up a Mission of Council (UNSMIS) and an almost 300-strong surveillance team set off for the Middle Eastern country to gather information on the status of the ceasefire and the process of the fights. The draft was hallmarked by the name of former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, and contained six points, which roughly coincided with the Chinese standpoint.

Syrian government and opposition, with preliminary agreements conducted for the 2016 Geneva conference. In the background mostly stood China's reluctance to deteriorate relations with Gulf monarchies, who were the foremost supporters of forcing Basar al-Asad out of power.

Chinese analysts and decisionmakers continue to think that with the forceful toppling of the Damascus government the power that holds Syria together would vanish and the country would lapse into anarchy. This in turn would not be contained within the borders of the Arab state but would spread to the whole region, endangering the lives and interests of Chinese citizens. In the course of the "Arab Spring" Beijing had to rescue its citizens from an Arab state on several occasions. First they rescued 1800 Chinese citizens from Egypt. When fights intensified between the government and the rebels in Lybia, and the British-French and American air forces started bombing, Beijing ordered the evacuation of its citizens from the North African country. This went down in Chinese history as the Country's largest ever evacuation operation: in the course of two weeks they managed to rescue 35, 860 persons in seven ships, military and civil transport airplanes and convoys to Egypt, without the loss of a single life.²⁶ The first Chinese citizens were evacuated from Syria in September 2011; in September 2013, when it seemed that foreign intervention would start after the chemical raid at Goota another 2000 Chinese left the country. In 2014, after the terrorist group called the Islamic State captured Mosul and pressed for Baghdad, 1200 oil workers were rescued by bus, helicopter and armoured vehicles from Samarra with the help of the Iraqi military.²⁷ In addition the Chinese government prepared to get all Chinese citizens – an estimated twenty thousand people – out of Iraq if necessity arises. In 2015, after the Houthi rebels in Yemen had started for the South and the Saudi-led Sunnite coalition started an air campaign, China commanded three warships to the port of Aden. Under the protective umbrella of special troops nearly 570 Chinese were rescued, with an additional 225 non-Chinese citizens transported out of the Arab country.²⁸

26 Braunel et. al. 2014: 46.

27 Meng – Zhou 2014.

28 Linczer 2015.

The Effect of Terrorism of Chinese Foreign Policy

The other main reason for the transformation of Chinese Middle Eastern policy was terrorism. The appearance of militants of Chinese citizenship – of Uyghur and nationalities – in the wars of the MENA region; their return to China and the more frequent terror attacks in the Far Eastern country: these all pointed to the fact that Beijing is far from being able to distance itself from the events in the region. Since the 1990s China has had serious trouble with the Xinjiang Uyghur Province in Western China, where Muslim Uyghurs – a nearly ten-million-strong population of Turkic origin – fight for independence. A significant turn took place in 2011: terrorist attacks were now performed by Muslim extremists instead of nationalist and secular separatist Uyghur groups. After a July 2011 bombing a black flag with an Arabic inscription was found by the authorities, and not the traditional Eastern Turkestani blue flag.²⁹ Muslim militants of Chinese citizenship started surfacing in Syria and Iraq. In 2012 the Syrian ambassador warned the Chinese government that the Syrian secret services were aware of thirty Uyghur warriors, who had arrived in the country via Pakistan and Turkey. In 2013, as the Syrian crisis was developing into fights between the extremist groups and government forces, Beijing took increasing care of its own safety. Border controls became stricter – especially on the border with Afghanistan – at the same time, fewer and fewer Chinese Muslims were allowed abroad, not even for the Hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca). Instead of the tightening, official Chinese sources (Global Times) declare that 300 Chinese citizens were known to be fighting in the Middle East in 2015; other sources mention numbers close to 1000.³⁰ They primarily fought in Iraq, after being trained in Afghanistani and Pakistani camps.³¹ Apart from Uyghurs the Hui – an ethnic group of Han origin counting ten million, who adopted Islam – warriors also appeared in the MENA region. From a certain respect their presence worried the Chinese authorities more than that of the Uyghurs: the Hui are fully integrated into Chinese society; they speak Mandarin and have a flexible attitude to religious issues, whether the ban on alcohol or the Friday prayer. At the same time, there is not even the slightest estimate of the

29 Ren 2014: 271.

30 Keinon 2014.

31 One of the most famous Uyghur militants was Amin Muhammed, a man in his eighties, of whom the Islamic State (ISIS) even made a propaganda video in which the old Uyghur called on his people to fight against “the faithless Chinese”. Crowcroft 2014.

number of their warriors, and, with a few exceptions, they are not mentioned in international media.³²

The foremost security problem for China is the return of these armed men, who perform organised or individual, lone attacks in the country. It is especially the Eastern Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM), also called the Turkestan Islamic Party (TIP) that poses a serious threat. Although the extremist Islamist party already appeared in the Far Eastern country in the 1990s and were held to be responsible for several attacks, the number of terrorist attacks orchestrated by them has significantly risen since 2013. On 28 October 2013 a jeep drove into the crowd on Tienanmen Square, which is now considered a historic location. The Uyghur terrorists sitting inside jumped out, poured petrol on the vehicle and ignited it. The driver and his four passengers – his wife and mother among them – perished in the attack. On 1 March 2014 at the railway station of the city of Kunming thirty-three people were stabbed to death and more than a hundred were injured by terrorists wielding knives. Abdullah Mansur, the leader of TIP claimed responsibility for the attack.³³ The third major act of terrorism was also committed by TIP when its warriors attacked the mine near Akshu on 18 September 2015. Nearly fifty died in the attack – mostly Han miners and security staff. As a response to the terror attack Chinese People's Liberation Army special troops destroyed a TIP camp in Xinjiang-Uyghur Province, killing 28 militants.³⁴

Although TIP is considered the Chinese wing of the al-Qaeda terrorist group, many joined the Islamic State in 2015. The self-appointed “caliph” of ISIS, Abu Bakr al-Bagdadi surprisingly named China as the primary potential target in his speech held in the Mosul mosque on 4 July 2014, as “Muslims must be liberated” there. ISIS nevertheless conducted only propaganda activities against China, as it avoided immediate confrontation with the Far Eastern country for a long time.³⁵ The change occurred at the end of 2015, when Chinese

32 The first famous Hui fighter was Bo Wang: the *New York Times* reported on him in March 2012. Bo, who would call himself Yussufnak, considered himself a follower of Said Qutb – the Egyptian theologian who is called the father of modern Islamism.

33 Saud – Golovnina 2014.

34 “China forces used flamethrower to hunt Xinjiang ‘terrorists’: army newspaper.” Reuters, 23 November 2015.

35 At the same time, the propaganda warfare against China was in full swing. The magazine titled *Dabiq*, the English-language newspaper of ISIS has discussed China in several issues since July 2014. In December 2015 the Al-Hayat Media Center – the non-Arab language “press agency” of ISIS – published a song in Mandarin, in which Muslims in China were called to take up arms against “the atheist com-

citizens also fell victim to terrorist attacks perpetrated by ISIS and other extreme Islamist groups. In the background to these attacks on the one hand stands the rivalry between ISIS and other terrorist groups (e.g. al-Qaeda), because this was a way they tried to “lure over” Uyghurs and Huis. On the other hand, they have always liked to organise terrorist attacks in China in the name of ISIS, thus paralysing and terrorising the Chinese people. Thirdly, they hoped that this would trigger off a Muslim uprising in Xianjiang-Uyghur Province, which would allow Uyghurs to clash with Han Chinese and ISIS could take over the leadership of the uprising. The first casualty was a Chinese tourist wounded in the 13 November 2015 Paris rampage. A few days later in a hotel for diplomats in Bamako (the capital of Mali) 170 foreign citizens – among them, two Chinese – were taken hostage by armed groups loyal to ISIS. The hostage rescue action cost the lives three Chinese engine drivers. The Chinese hostage Fan Jinghui was executed by ISIS at the end of November 2015. He was “put up for sale” on the internet for days, but when no “acceptable offer” came, he was beheaded. The Chinese government denounced the attack on Chinese citizens and promised closer co-operation with the international community in the global war on terror, but in reality Beijing reacted with great calm. Although many voiced their demands in Chinese media and on the internet for China to launch military action against ISIS, the Chinese leadership showed reluctance: instead of taking external steps decisionmakers opted for internal tightening – e.g. surveillance and legislation.³⁶ In December 2015 CPC passed the new anti-terror act after a long debate; the act had been severely criticised by international human rights organisations, as Section 106 renders any peaceful protest against the Chinese government impossible. The new act sanctions those who provide information to terrorists – whether in person, on the internet or by voice recording – with a prison sentence of up to five years. The most interesting point of the anti-terror act passed in 2015 is in fact Section 76, which authorises the Chinese People’s Liberation Army to launch military action in case citizens and interests are put in danger abroad: then Beijing may take military action and cooperate with the local government to defend them. This may result in significant changes not only in Chinese Middle Eastern policies but also in one of the most important Chinese projects: the construction of the New Silk Road.

munists”. In 2016 ISIS-activists hacked the website of Tsingua University, which is one of China’s most prestigious education institutions, and called on Muslims to “follow jihad”.

36 Tatlow 2015.

“One Belt, One Road” in the Middle East

In his September 2013 speech in Kazakhstan, Xi Jinping talked about the creation of a “Silk Road trade belt”. This marked the birth of the initiative called One Belt, One Road – OBOR), which is aimed at resurrecting the trade route (Silk Road) that once stretched across Asia and Europe. Although this plan would primarily serve to connect China and Europe, including Russia and Central Asia, it would also present great benefits to Middle Eastern and African countries. This is because the creation of OBOR could involve two routes: one on land, the other at sea. The New Silk road over land would mean the construction and development of motorways and rail networks in Russia and the former Soviet republics of Central Asia, but these routes would cross Iran and Turkey as well. The new Silk Road waterway would connect South-East Asia, Africa and Europe through the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, which would especially boost the geopolitical significance of Persian Gulf states and Egypt (as a result of the Suez Canal). The Chinese government has already set up the Silk Road Fund to finance the project, while the regional Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) also run by Beijing as well as the global Asian Infrastructure Improvement Bank (AIIB) contribute to its support. The importance of the Middle Eastern countries in the OBOR project is well represented by the fact that at the 6th CASCF conference held in 2014 Xi Jinping discussed in detail the advantages the Arab countries could gain by the creation of the New Silk Road.³⁷ Five Middle Eastern states (United Arab Emirates, Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Turkey) are already full AIIB members. The accession treaty has also been signed – but not yet ratified – by such regional states as Egypt, Iran, Qatar, Kuwait, and Oman.³⁸ AIIB disposes over a capital of more than 100 billion USD, with over one third of this sum allocated to the MENA region. For this reason Beijing on the one hand views OBOR as a type of tension-controlling mechanism, which could bring enemies closer to one another and may mitigate conflicts between countries like Iran and Saudi Arabia.³⁹ On the other hand the New Silk Road may bring very important economic advantages, as it could usher in a boom in trade with China and boost the number of Chinese investments. Considering OBOR, it is not by

37 The CASFC conference had other significances as well: the Chinese President took the occasion to announce his ambitious idea of raising the trade volume of the two regions to 600 billion USD in ten years, and it was also the first time he mentioned the 1+2+3 cooperation scheme.

38 “Signing and Ratification Status of the AOA of the AIIB.” Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank.

39 Luft 2016.

accident that Xi Jinping visited Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Iran in 2016: all three countries feature as cornerstones to Beijing's new Middle East policy and OBOR.

Conclusion:

Xi Jinping's Middle East Tour

A week after the publishing of the China-Arab Policy Paper the Chinese government set out to implement it: in January 2016 Xi Jinping took part in a Middle East tour. This was the last region to be visited by the Chinese President since he came into office in 2012.⁴⁰ The timing was not arbitrarily chosen either: on the one hand, it was on 1 January 2016 that the economic sanctions against Iran were temporarily lifted, which Beijing wanted to utilise at once. On the other hand a new and far more severe crisis was unfolding between Iran and Saudi Arabia.⁴¹ Beijing strove to act as mediator, as an escalating and open Irani-Saudi conflict would have rather badly affected Chinese foreign policy. First and foremost because China “would have had to choose” between Tehran and Riyadh, while both had been assigned instrumental roles in China's Middle East policy. This is why it was no question for the Chinese President which countries to visit: the major destinations were Saudi Arabia and Iran as well as Egypt, which is also of key importance for China's MENA-policy both from a geopolitical and an economic aspect.⁴²

Xi Jinping first travelled to Saudi Arabia, where he conducted talks with Saudi ruler Salman bin Abdulaziz Al Saud. The Gulf monarchy is important to Beijing because Riyadh has a leading role in the Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council and, in a certain sense, the whole “Sunnite world”. They

40 It is important to note that the Chinese President was already preparing for a tour of the Middle East in 2015. This had to be cancelled due to the escalation of the civil war in Yemen and the evacuation of Chinese citizens.

41 In the background of the crisis there stands the execution of Shiite theologian Nimr al-Nimr (a man at the end of his fifties) on 2 January. The Saudi sheik had fought for decades for the rights of Shiites, who amount to 15–20 per cent of the monarchy's population, but who are basically regarded as second-rate citizens. The case led to an attack on the Saudi embassy and consulate in Tehran and the breakup of diplomatic ties. The situation was aggravated by the fact that other MENA countries also entered the debate: Bahrain, the United Arab emirates, Kuwait, and Sudan supported the Saudi diplomatic moves, while Shiites around the region held demonstrations against Saudi Arabia, and countries like Lebanon and Iraq denounced the execution.

42 The last occasion a Chinese President had visited Egypt was in 2004-ben (Hu Jintao), Saudi Arabia in 2009 (Hu Jintao) and Iran in 2002 (Jiang Zemin).

made agreements in almost all dimensions of bilateral relations: from increasing industrial production to the support of OBOR to energy cooperations.⁴³ The major step forward from a political view was Beijing's acceptance of Riyadh's stance with respect to the war in Yemen, which meant supporting the return of formerly expelled Yemeni President Abd Rabbuh Mansur Hadi to power.

Xi Jinping's next stop was in Egypt. The leaders of eleven Chinese firms accompanied the President to the Middle Eastern country and fifteen projects were announced. China provided a one-billion-dollar loan to the Central Bank of Egypt, and a further 700 million dollars credit was also given to the country's oldest financial institution, the Egyptian National Bank. Furthermore, Beijing would invest in Egypt's "New Capital" project, which is aimed at the construction of a separate new district for administrative and government institutions near Cairo. Up to 17.7 billion USD of investment was promised for this by four Chinese firms, including the building of a new Houses of Parliament for Egypt. Xi Jinping's most important speech on his Middle East tour was also delivered in Cairo: on 21 January in the Arab League Building he read a lecture on common efforts to stabilise the region, the prevention of unilateral action by foreign powers, and the New Silk Road. The Chinese President added that according to new Chinese Middle East policies the Palestinian Authority would receive support in the value of 7.6 million USD, the Arab countries would get a 10-billion-dollar loan with favourable conditions and the war-torn states of Syria, Lybia and Yemen would be given a 35-million humanitarian aid package.⁴⁴

The last stage of Xi Jinping's tour was Iran; this was decided only after the temporary lifting of sanctions.⁴⁵ The Chinese President sealed seventeen agreements of twenty-five years each with Tehran; among other things they agreed that in ten years the trade balance of the two states could reach 600 billion USD. Similarly, China wished to double the number of its Irani investments,

43 The biggest agreements were made in the energy sector: Chinese Sinopec and Saudi Aramco set up a joint venture under the name *Yasref* in the western part of the country (Janbu Province) with a capacity of 400, 000 barrels per day. The other main step forward was taken in the area of nuclear energy. Saudi Arabia had announced its new nuclear programme years before – the building of 16 nuclear reactors within 20 years – and CNEC (China Nuclear Engineering Corporation) would take on the building of one of the reactors. "China, Saudi Arabia agree to build HTR". *World Nuclear News*, 20 January 2016.

44 Singh 2016.

45 Beijing played a crucial role in the Irani nuclear pact sealed in Vienna on 14 July 2015. For a more detailed discussion see: Scott 2015.

while taking on the construction of two nuclear power plants in southern Iran. The Chinese initiative One Belt, One Road was also touched upon, and the full support of Tehran was secured as well as its contribution to the creation of the New Silk Road.⁴⁶

Xi Jinping's tour of the Middle East was in fact the presentation in practice of the points contained in the China-Arab Policy Paper, among other things, the "1+2+3 cooperation scheme". Recognising the events happening in the region and the existing – or just unfolding – crises, Beijing moved quickly to limit their escalation. It is clear to see that the Chinese government looks to OBOR as a mechanism to check tension and bring enemies closer to each other. It is primarily not by exercising great political pressure or military action that China seeks to ease tension between the states of the region but by the acceleration of trade activities. For the present China wishes to stay out of anti-terror military operations in the region, but in the near future this rather aloof Chinese policy may easily change. With view to the rescue of Chinese citizens from conflict zones as well as the defence of Chinese victims of foreign and domestic terror attacks Beijing may opt for a far more active role to play. One indicative of this is the fact that at the end of 2015 the Communist Party of China passed the new terror act, a section of which secures legal authorisation to launch military action beyond the borders if Chinese lives and interests are under threat.

With respect to all these facts, it is highly probable that Xi Jinping's words were no exaggeration when he declared in Luxor, Egypt, that "from now on a new era begins not only in Egyptian-Chinese relations abut also in China's foreign policy".

46 The first Chinese "Silk Road" train arrived at the Tehran railway station in March 2016 via the Yiwu-Tehran route. It took the 32-container traction unit 14 days to cover the distance of more than 6500 kilometres. The Yiwu-Tehran route is an important element of OBOR as it is only a sideway to the Yiwu-Madrid route. Ramachandran 2016.

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Abstracts

Ferenc Bánhidi

The Innovation System of China – Current Situation and Results – Plans and Priorities

One of the main purposes of the newly introduced 13th Five-Year Plan is the development of China's innovation capacity, especially the break-through in some main areas such as digital economy. In the present study I will examine the current situation of China's innovation system based on international analyses.

In the international literature central significance is assigned to the analysis and measurement of the macroeconomic impact of innovation. The term most usually used for that purpose is the so-called total factor productivity. Using total factor productivity for analytical purposes is very popular amongst international economic organizations such as OECD or the World Bank, but recently it turns up more and more usually in Chinese professional analyses as well.

As proven by the 2015 Country Report of OECD, Chinese innovation processes between the 1990s and the world economic crisis show a positive development, however, the strategy applied by the Chinese government between 2008 and 2010 to manage the world economic crisis already caused a pull-back for innovation. Reversing of this unfavourable development trend would require strategic change in the economic policy. Chinese political leadership has recognised this requirement as it is obvious from the innovation strategy of the 13th Five-Year Plan. Beside the comprehensive national economic plan there are specific programs for the development of some high-priority sectors and technologies. From these I will analyse the "Made in China" program in detail, the main purpose of which is the comprehensive digitalisation of the economy. The model of this strategic program is the German government's so-called Economy 4.0 program which is based on the wide-scale cooperation of the state and market actors, thus it differs significantly from previous state-centred Chinese programs.

The Chinese innovation program can only be called successful if we can prove that in Chinese economy there are sectors and corporations that are forerunners of innovation on international level. My reference for this study is also a work of Western literature. The McKinsey paper (2015) is analysing

successful sectors in this regard, like consumer electronics and electronic trade, presenting the characteristics of the Chinese market which supported the rapid development in these sectors.

I will conclude that China still possesses great development potentials on the field of innovation processes. In order to use this potential, Chinese government should make the right choices in two areas. Regarding strategic priorities, the programs of the new Five-Year Plan published so far can be considered promising, however, much depends on the content of the programs for specific sectors going to be published later this year. Beyond that, structural changes in the regulation system of innovation processes would also be necessary, as well as changing the role of the government, strengthening the government's service provisioning function on the one hand, and market mechanisms, as well as the financial support of private corporations on the other. Although the Chinese government is, on the theoretical level, engaged in strengthening market mechanisms, there is still much work to do on the side of practical implementation.

Ramachandra Byrappa

BRICS and the New World Order – The Dance of the Elephant and the Dragon

Many in the political, as well as academic circles believe that the BRICS grouping is a direct challenge to the global position of the United States of America. And the same group believes that China is the driving force behind this move. After the economic collapse of 2008–2009, Russia, followed by China saw the need to build a safety-valve to the current international economic system, which was built and dominated by the USA. China has benefited enormously from the actual world economic system and was not aiming to pulling it down. China's fears were related to the uncertainties of the current system. By increased complexities and a shady regulatory system the US had made it into a gigantic casino where countries like China were structurally cornered to lose. China's response to this was to support the BRICS initiative, which was purely economic. Recently however, things have taken a new turn. It has become evident that the United States can no longer sustain its dominance in the economic sphere and cannot supplement its deficit of influence through military means, so it has to resort to "terror" as a means to regulate world affairs, although it is certainly not the author or instigator of such

acts. Terror has taken the centre stage in world affairs. This makes the BRICS a safe haven and a safety net for a new world order, but everything depends on the attitude of India and the “China–India” relationship.

Shizhong Deng

Chinese Culture – How to Deal with the Challenges of Globalization

Globalization is an important feature of today’s world. The influence of globalization is very broad and extremely profound. Beginning with the 1980s’ reform and opening to the outside world, China has entered a rapid process of globalization. As a concomitant of economic globalization, cultural globalization means not only globally integrated culture, but also gives rise to a culture of contradictions. Therefore, globalization has a positive impact on construction and development of contemporary Chinese culture, but also it has brought side effects. It not only provides a good opportunity, also puts forward a serious challenge.

What are the phenomena of culture globalization in contemporary China? How should the challenges of the cultural globalization be faced? How should advantage be taken of the favorable factors offered by globalization to improve the construction of Chinese contemporary culture? How to play the role of the Confucius institute in the cultural globalization process? These will be the main contents of this paper.

Viktor Eszterhai

One Belt One Road: New International Rules and Values

The One Belt One Road initiative, announced in 2013 by Xi Jinping, the President of the People’s Republic of China, represents fundamental changes in China’s “low profile” type foreign policy. However, the One Belt, One Road initiative is more than an assertive foreign policy, but symbolizes China’s ambition to appear as a rule-maker in international politics and also the motivation to transform the current western-value based international order. The officially cited fundamental values of One Belt, One Road are: (1) mutual respect for each other’s sovereignty and territorial integrity; (2) mutual non-aggression; (3) non-interference in each other’s internal affairs; (4) equality and mutual bene-

fit; (5) peaceful co-existence. The present paper introduces these new types of international rules through the examination of the formulating China-Pakistan Economic Corridor.

Csaba Barnabás Horváth

China and the Quadrilateral – Global Primacy out of Reach?

Prospects of global primacy are a key issue regarding the rise of China, and its' comparison with the USA. Regarding this matter, it is a key question, how China can handle the issue of the "Quadrilateral", the informal strategic partnership between Australia, India, Japan and the USA. Strategic partnership between the four countries is ongoing in different forms ever since 2007, and its' undeclared aim seems to be the containment of China. Despite the economy of China surpassing that of the USA as the largest in the world being only a matter of time now, it is also likely that China will not be able to surpass the combined economic weight of India, Japan and the USA any time in the foreseeable future. As of now however, Japan and India (the second and third largest economies of Asia) are more concerned of the power of China, than they are of that of the USA, and thus are seeking strategic cooperation with the USA, rather than with China. An interesting factor of this trend is that it was boosted by the rather nationalistic governments of Shinzo Abe and Narendra Modi, and in this case, the aim is apparently not the guardianship of a US lead unipolar world order, but rather maximizing the influence of India and Japan themselves as regional powers. To achieve this aim however, the Abe and Modi administrations see it more practical to seek support for it from the USA, than from China, and they assume more opposition to it from China, than from the USA. Whether if China will ever be able to take over global primacy from the USA, seem to greatly depend on the issue of strategic partnership between these countries.

Éva Jakusné Harnos

The New Silk Road Project in English Language Economic Analyses

China's New Silk Road project, which was officially announced in 2013, has been considered by analysts as one with long-term economic and geopolitical impacts. The discourse analytical study of the articles on economic home pages reveals both their explicit and implicit content. Explicit content is represented by the structure, the stated topics and the rhetorical devices of the articles, and can be summarised as mostly arguments against the realisation of the project. The attitudes, assumptions and forecasts of the analysts are encoded in the texts implicitly. These can be detected in the use of discourse metaphors and analogies from the past as well as in the construction of future situation models. On one hand, they represent a clash of interests, on the other hand, they forecast possible counteraction and future conflicts along the route.

Péter Klemensits

Military Reform and Army Modernization through the 2015 Chinese Defense White Paper: The People's Liberation Army in the 21st Century

According to China's increasing international influence, the country makes great efforts to boost its military power as well. From the 1990s, the stable economy permitted the organizational, doctrinal reforms and the technical developments of the world's largest military force to be achieved, which resulted in by now that the People's Liberation Army ranks among the most powerful armies. There are many sources concerning the modernization and development of the Chinese armed forces, but the official defense white papers still considered to be the most important amongst them. The latest of the series called "China's Military Strategy" released in 2015, concentrates on mainly the strategic issues, but includes every aspects of the official Chinese opinion about defense policy, national security and military modernization, offering essential information in the above-mentioned subjects.

Gyula Krajczár

The Uyghurs and Sino–Turkish Relations

As different ideologies of and efforts for Uyghur independence (from another perspective: Uyghur separatism) keep turning up again and again, they are continuously causing problems requiring resolution in Sino–Turkish relations, too. These generally tense relations loaded with conflicts were normalized by the 2000s. This normalization, however, did not dissolve ethnic problems but put them into a different, indeed much more manageable, framework. Problems of international terrorism, the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) declared to be a terrorist organization, Chinese (Uyghur) citizens' appearance on different battlegrounds as members of Islamist armed groups, as well as terrorist atrocities within China have been generating tensions in the relation of the two countries. Despite 2015 street demonstrations against China, conflicts in Thai–Turkish relations caused by (Uyghur) Chinese citizens extradited to China, and despite the terror attack against the Erawan Church in Bangkok in 2015 still not completely resolved so far, the two countries are still making significant efforts for keeping their relations in a moderate state. Keeping up balance and normality requires great efforts, as the “natural” handling of different problems by one party often conflicts with the political principles of the other. The *status quo*, as well as international balances of power and positions, keep the Chinese party in countenance, still, considering its international political and economic interests Beijing is seeking to develop the best possible relations with Turkey.

Lukács Krajcsír

China's New Grand Strategy for the Middle East

2016 marks Chinese President Xi Jinping's first visit to the Middle East, namely to three important states of the region: Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Israel. Negotiations covered political, security as well as economic and trade cooperation issues. Although the Chinese Head of State's tour took place in a rather tense geopolitical situation, he still successfully completed several deals. The Middle Eastern region is of pivotal importance to Beijing not only from the aspect of energetics and economics, but also in geopolitics, being a crucial element of the One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative. It is thus a major consideration for

China to follow events in this region: the negative consequences of the Arab Spring, renewed tension among the states of the region, or the ground gained by terrorism pose a serious challenge to China's Middle Eastern policy and the very security of the Chinese state itself. As a result of this, Beijing has decided to introduce major changes in its Middle Eastern policy.

Sándor Zoltán Kusai

Differentiating Economic Interests of China and their Influence on the Chinese foreign and Security Policy

In 2014, China became the largest national economy on purchasing-power-parity terms, but it still remains a developing country placed much lower on the global value chain than other major powers. That situation exerts deep influence on foreign policy thinking of the Chinese society and elites. The continued integration of China into the globalized economy and the deepening reforms of its economic structure result in further differentiation of its economic interests. There are substantive changes in the mechanism of formulating national interests, including the increased influence of business groups. Consequently, the globalized and differentiating economic interests influence China's foreign and security policy more than ever before, creating considerable shifts in its strategy and practice. The assertive Chinese foreign and security policy will continue to modify dynamically in the foreseeable future, with the economic interests of development elevated onto the rank of one of its core interests.

Qikeng Li

Striving for a Reunified and Neutral Korea – China's Security Strategy on the Korean Peninsula

Faced with unpredictable developments in the Korean Peninsula, China should take the initiative to strive for a reunified and neutral Korea. North Korea has become a liability rather than an asset for China, in terms of national security, economy, diplomatic capital and resource, and international image. Contrary to traditional and Cold-War mentality, a divided Korea is no longer beneficial to China's national security. If China continues to be reactive and passive, the

situation on the Korea Peninsula is likely to go beyond China's control, severely damaging China's security interest. It is high time that China started negotiating, secretly if possible, with ROK and the United States, putting pressure on the DPRK if necessary, keeping the other stakeholders like Russia and Japan properly informed, to reach a consensus for a reunified and neutral Korea. The ideal solution would follow the model of Austria in 1955, and to a certain extent, German reunification in 1990. The Korean people would cherish the idea of a reunified Korea. A neutral Korea would mean that the reunified Korea pledges permanent neutrality and signs peace treaties with its neighbors, with its security internationally guaranteed and foreign troops withdrawn. A reunified and neutral Korea can ameliorate China's national security, improve China's international image, and above all, ensure lasting peace and prosperity in East Asia.

Katalin Muszka

Alternatives to Rise: Political Ideology and Purposes of China Since President Xi Jinping's Accession to Office

In antiquity and in the middle ages China used to be a well-functioning and thriving state, while at the time of the industrial revolution the country lost its determinant position in the global sphere of interests. China's defeat at the Opium Wars was followed by the fall of the imperial system and a civil war that ended with the founding of the People's Republic of China.

After the Cultural Revolution, the policy of "reform and opening up" launched by Deng Xiaoping proved to be successful and China started its progress in the direction of development and modernization. A unique model was formed, in which state control of a one-party-system could be spread on many different spheres including economy, while the reforms made the emergence of a free market economy possible.

The expression "Chinese dream" was made the slogan and ideology of the new presidential period at president Xi Jinping's accession to office in 2013, although the term itself has its roots in antiquity and was also used in 20th century treatises. The expression is aimed to describe the purposes of the Chinese nation, and although it has some common properties with the notions characterizing the "American dream", it is, in contrast to the latter, not focused on the dominance of

the individual, but formulates the collective national, political and social purposes of a society that has always been characterized by collectivist considerations.

György Nógrádi

The Conformation of Chinese Strategic Aims after the Cold War

Looking back on China's history, several breakpoints – that deeply influenced international relations – can be mentioned. Those did not only act as temporary, regional shaping powers, but had triggered major social, political, economic developments across the entire international community as well. Considering for example the creation of the symbolic 1428 km-long Great Wall of China, we can mention its role in defending and securing the society and the culture from external influences, but on the other hand, we also have to highlight the after-effects of the separation, which made China greatly locked from the outside world. For today, the regional superpower became a main factor of the increasingly dependent international community and as a key member of the world economy and a prior power in the UN Security Council, it tries to enhance international stability and security. In my analysis I would like to briefly present China's economic indicators, besides, my main aim is to outline its foreign policy strategy, through which we can get a little closer to the Asia-Pacific foreign and security policy approaches, thereby understanding may further support the established bilateral and multilateral relations.

Youmu Pan

An Introduction of China's Participation in U.N. Peace-keeping Operations

By May 29, 2016, the Chinese army had been participating in U.N. peace-keeping operations for 26 years, increasing the scope of its contribution both in terms of military strength and in terms of the range of types of units deployed. Thanks to its outstanding performance, the Chinese peace-keeping force has enjoyed a high reputation with both the United Nations and people in mission countries, becoming the backbone force in U.N. peace-keeping operations.

Fruzsina Simigh

Undermining the International World Order: China's Peacekeeping Operations in Africa

China considers the activity of various United Nations (UN) Peacekeeping operations increasingly important as it was shown in President Xi Jinping's speech at the 70th UN General Assembly where he announced that China is going to extend the range of her personnel and financial contribution to the UN peacekeeping operations. Furthermore he also voiced his support for the most concerned African continent and its institutions with special regard to the African Union (e.g. 100 million USD for the development of the African Union's crisis forces). There are remarkably complex reasons and objectives in the background of the ever more assertive Chinese activity such as China's representation of a globally responsible and credible great power committed to the present international order and its institutions, and secure its investments in Africa. Through the example of a case study of Sudan and Darfur and UNAMID (United Nations – African Union Mission in Darfur) this article presents the shift in China's attitude and participation in UNPKOs (UN peacekeeping operations) arguing that Chinese politics challenges the western countries within the system of the extant international institutions.

Endre Szénási

The Energy Policy of China

The analysis consists of five core parts. The first part places Chinese energy policy in a broader context, proving that the energy needs of a truly great world power are being satisfied. The second part examines the current Chinese energy mix, where coal consumption still plays a major role. The third part provides data and analysis of China's place in global energy systems – production and consumption, export and import, reserves and capacities – focusing on coal, petroleum, natural gas, and electricity. Part four outlines some essential aspects environmental and climate implications that shape energy policies. The fifth part summarises some major, foreseeable Chinese energy production and consumption trends, providing hints to what we can expect.

Ambrus Gábor Szentesi

TAIWAN: Where Cold War Melts?

The DPP's sweeping victory in the 2016 Taiwanese elections pointed out what has been already perceived long earlier: the island's political identity matured to an extent that it has distanced it from that of mainland China irreversibly. The only way for a peaceful future reunification seems to remain within the highly unlikely chances that the PRC switches political course towards a more democratic system that could accommodate the democratic Taiwan. At the same time, China's growing economic might gravitates the island to the mainland ever stronger, and President Xi Jinping is pursuing a geopolitical agenda that is way more assertive than those of his Communist predecessors. The most sensitive part of that agenda is Taiwan, and it is also one of the core cards in the United States' struggle to contain China's rise. The current paper seeks to present current geopolitical frictions across the Taiwan-strait in the historic context of the Cold War era.

Mariann Vecsey

The Dragon in Africa

China's interest in the African continent is not a novelty. The last decades were the most significant in the Sino-African relationship development. This essay is dedicated to give an insight to the reader about the beginning and the building of this cooperation.

After introducing the common relations between the African continent and China, I would like to veil the depth of these connections via two countries. These two countries are Tanzania and Sudan.

Zoltán Vörös

PR China's Pursuit of a Blue-Water Navy

The development of the navy and the extension of connected capacities is one of the focuses of the military evolution in the People's Republic of China. The directions of the improvement appear to be clear, though achieving their aims are a question of decades, not years. These Chinese steps, the progress they make, new ship classes they develop, advanced technologies they produce will take the upcoming decades to reach their goals – even if sometimes the Western media exaggerates the potential threat posed by the Chinese army.

The paper shortly presents the geopolitical environment of the country, after that analyses the necessity of a blue-water navy, the development they have already started and tries to project ahead their capacities and the relevance of that future Navy.

Guifang Wang

China's Anti-terrorist Situation and Anti-terrorism Policy

Terrorism has been a buzzword in international politics for over ten years; indeed, it is a major threat to international, regional and national security, including that of China and its neighbours.