

# The **RISE** of **CHINA**

A Butchering of Prof. Goemans' Notes

By William Spaniel

Slides available online:  
[wjspaniel.wordpress.com](http://wjspaniel.wordpress.com)

Note: looking ahead may spoil my poor  
attempts at humor.

# Overview

1. Theory and Policy

2. The Players

**3. CHINA**

4. A Self-Fulfilling Prophecy?

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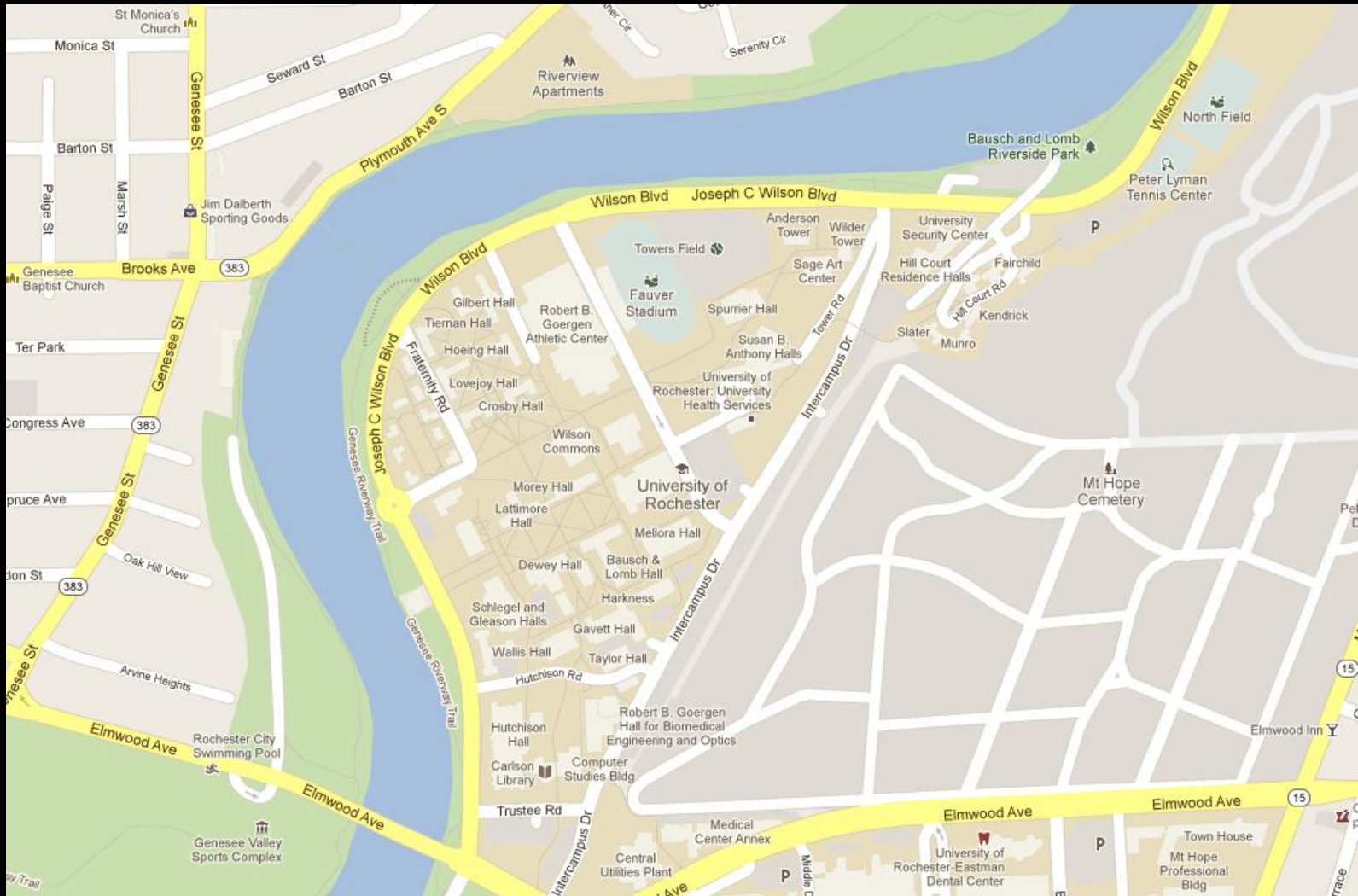
# Political Science: Two Worlds

- (Most) Political scientists do one of two things: theory or policy.
  - Theorists are in academics.
  - Policy makers are in government.
- Overlap: theory should inform policy.

# Theory

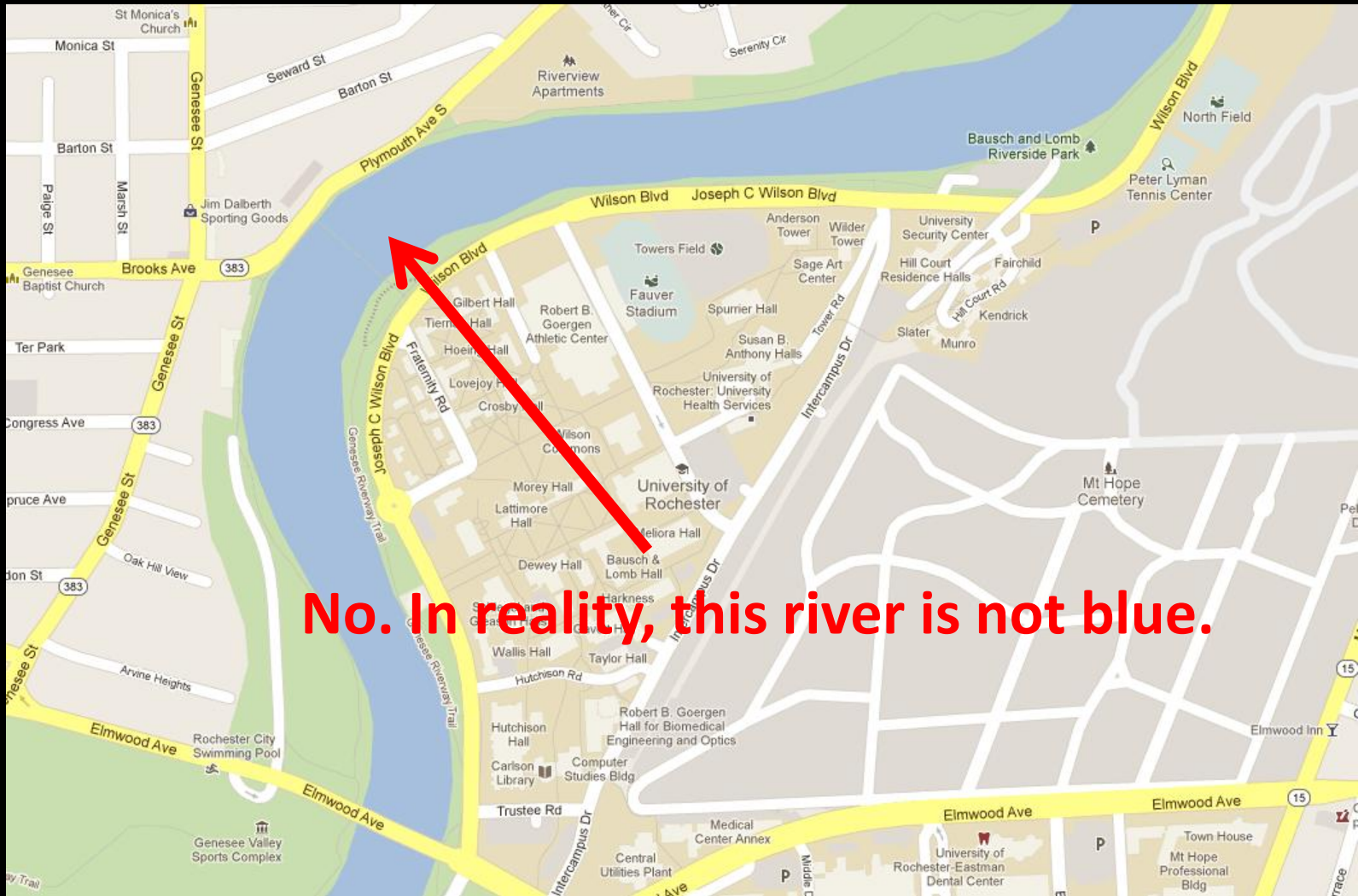
- History is informative.
  - “Those who don’t know the past are doomed to repeat it.”
- But the details of every historical story are always going to be substantially different.
- Theory highlights the important features of an interaction.

# Theory as a Map



*Is this reality?*

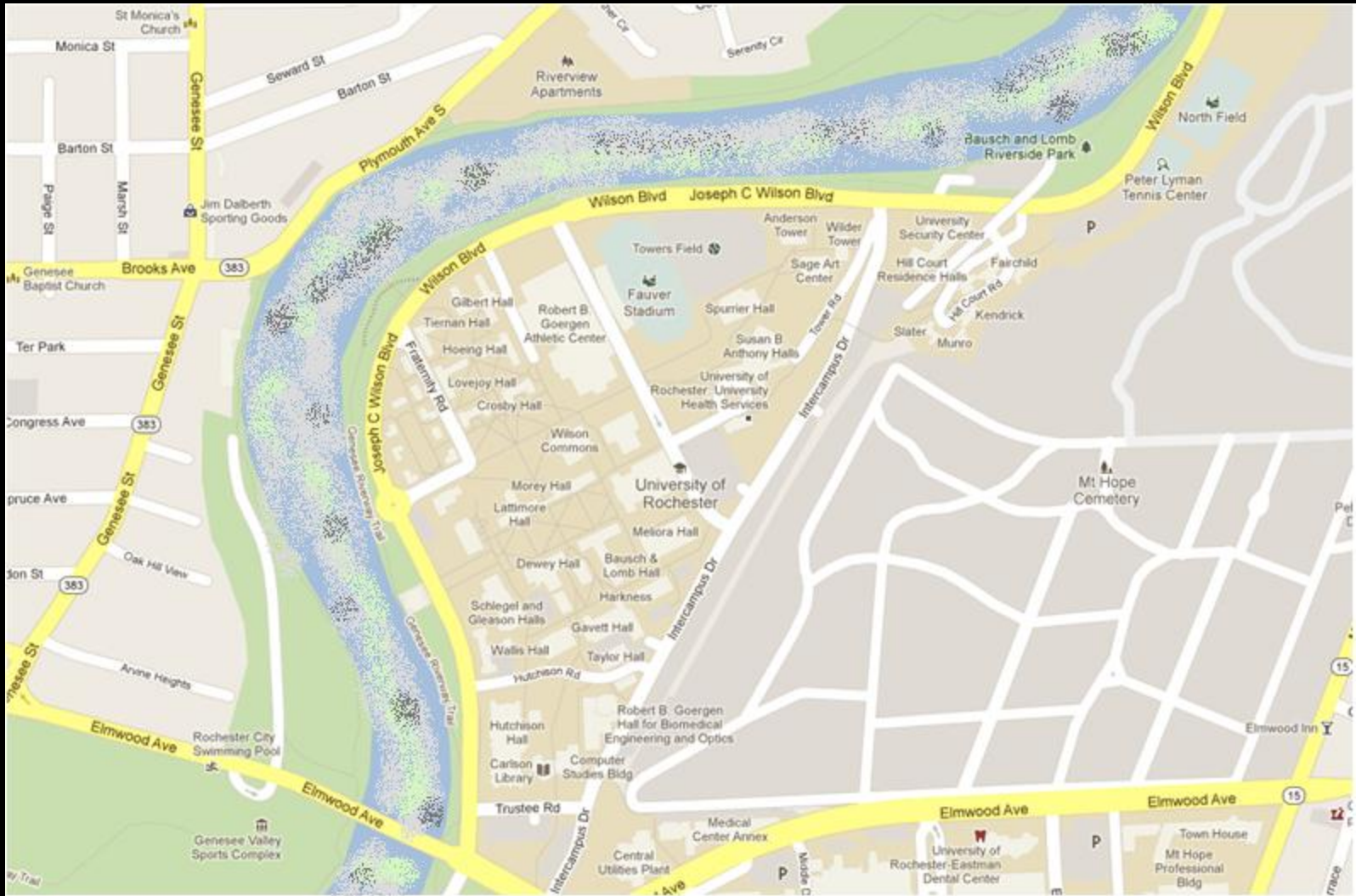
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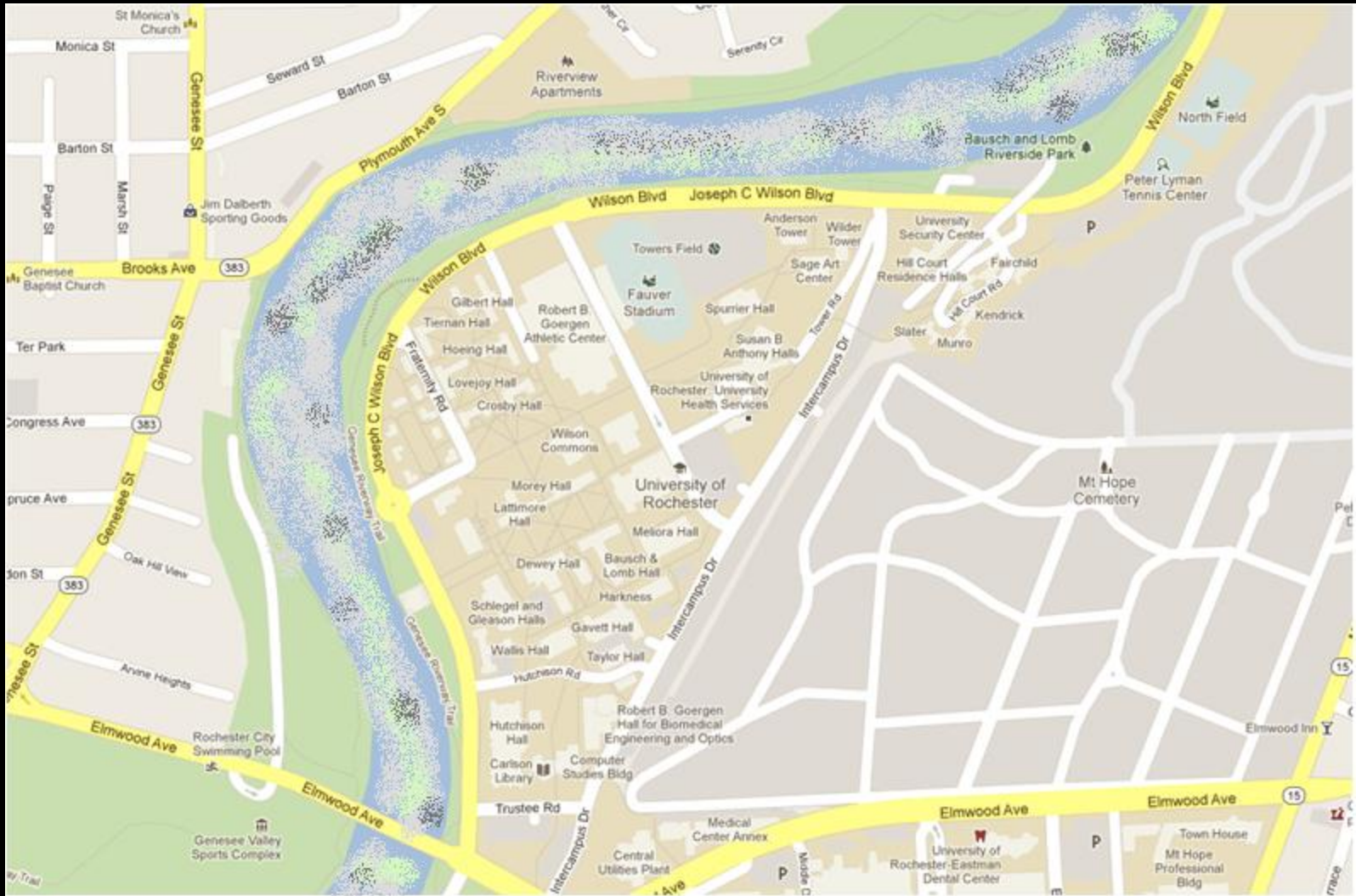


# Theory as a Map



*Is THIS reality?*

# Theory as a Map



No. But if you want to get around campus, it might as well be.



# Theory as a Map



*Is this reality?*

# Theory as a Map



No. But if you are playing an 8-bit RPG, it might as well be.

# Theory as a Map

- Theories allow us to investigate some issues while overlooking others.
  - Without these kinds of simplifications, we would never be able to draw parallels between one situation and another.
- We can use these theories to make cause-and-effect claims about the real world.

# Theory as a Map...For Policy

- What is the best policy to implement: A or B?
- Theory says:
  - A will cause bad things to happen.
  - B will cause good things to happen.
  - Therefore, we should implement B.

# China

- China is a rising power.
  - Huge economy.
  - Nukes.
  - Potential for a huge conventional military.
- We should care about China.

# Rising Powers

- There is a huge theoretical literature on rising powers.
- If we care about China and want to make good policy decisions, we should care about this literature.



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# Who's Playing

1. Japan
2. South Korea
3. North Korea
4. Indonesia
5. United States

**6. CHINA**

# Japan: Wants

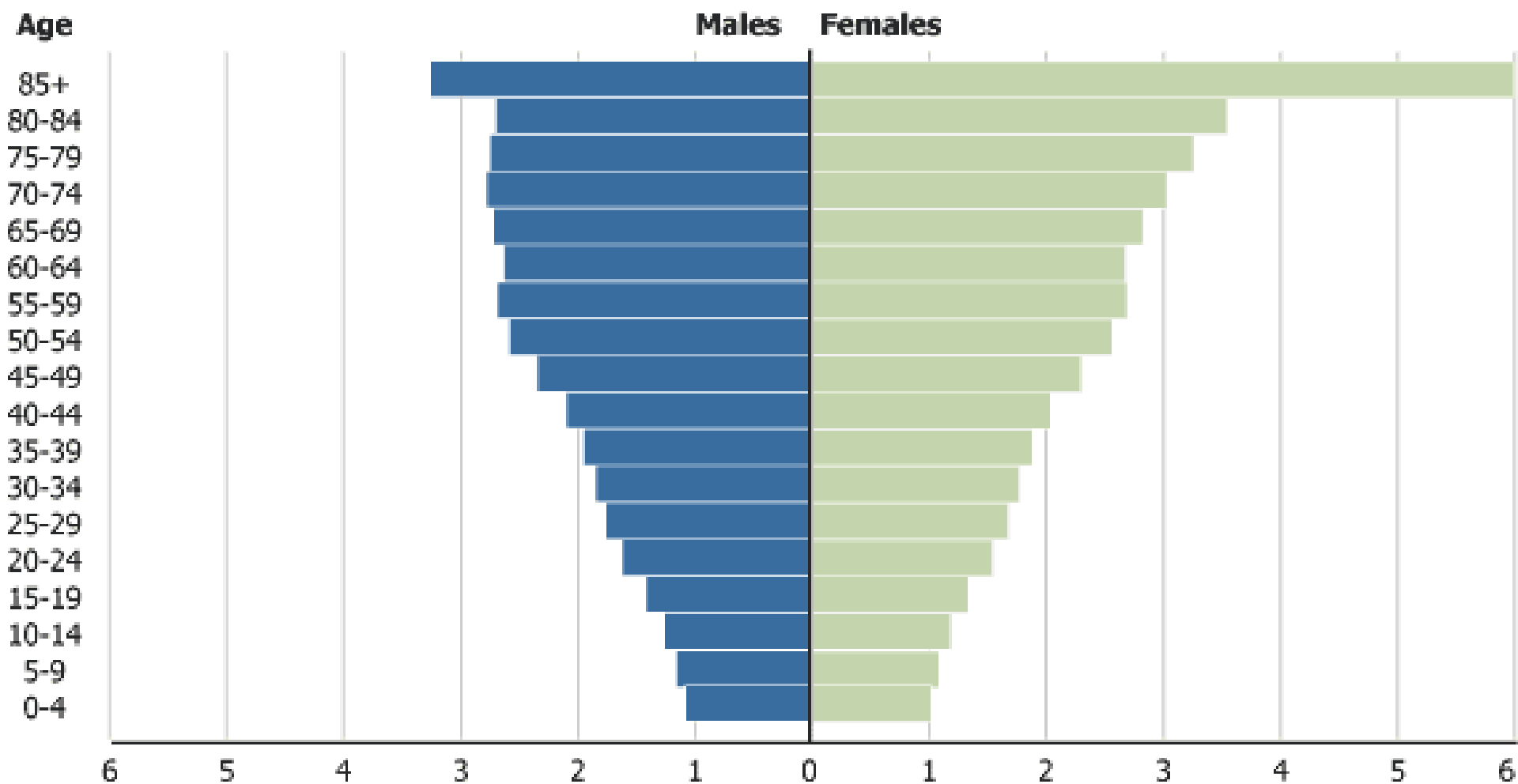
- Continued economic dominance.
- Access to China's markets to sell products.
- U.S. military assistance.
  - This is some truly ridiculous free riding.
- Status quo on territory (plus Kuril Islands)



# Japan: Fears

- Demographics.

Population in millions



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- Demographics.
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- U.S. departure from the region.
- Chinese nationalism.
- A strong, unified Korea.

# Japan: Fears

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# South Korea: Wants

- Unification.
  - Nukes post-unification?
- Maintaining “developing country status.”

# South Korea: Fears

- Unification.



# South Korea: Fears

- Unification.
  - Unification *will* be economically disastrous for South Korea—just like it was for West Germany after integration with East Germany.
  - Aid-for-nukes?
- Absence of U.S. military.

# North Korea: Wants

- Survival.
- Something that resembles an economy.
- Food.
- Nukes?
  - Probably a threat so the U.S. will give it more food.
- Unification, allegedly.

# North Korea: Fears

- People who don't stand inside of neat rectangles.





# North Korea: Fears

- People who don't stand inside of neat rectangles.
- Modernization could lead to revolution.
- “Axis of Evil” encroachment.

# Indonesia: Wants

- Economic modernization.
- Stable transition into democracy.
- Domestic unity.

# Indonesia: Fears

- Ethnic rivalries turning into civil wars.



# ETHNIC GROUPS IN INDONESIA

SOURCE: BASED ON "PETA Suku Bangsa di Indonesia" (ETHNIC GROUP MAP) IN ETHNOGRAPHY ROOM, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF INDONESIA, JAKARTA

# Indonesia: Fears

- Ethnic rivalries turning into civil wars.
- Islamic extremism.
  - Indonesia is a moderate country—but it has the world's largest Muslim population.
- Chinese power projection.
  - Indonesia has a Chinese minority.

# United States: Wants

- Democratic Taiwan.
- Maintaining the world order—the *American* world order.
- Free trade with Japan and South Korea.

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# United States: Fears

- Economic meltdown—global economy means US suffers from Asian recessions.
- Growing Chinese influence.
- Increasing commitments to allies but growing domestic reluctance to send troops abroad.

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# The Problem

- As states grow more powerful, they start demanding more stuff.
- China is a growing power.
- Therefore, China will start demanding more stuff.

# Flashpoints

- Senkaku Islands



# Flashpoints

- Senkaku Islands
- Spratleys





# Flashpoints

- Senkaku Islands
- Spratleys
- Taiwan



# A Brief History of Taiwan

- In the 1920s, China fought a civil war between nationalists and communists.

# A Brief History of Taiwan



**Chiang Kai-shek**  
**Leader of Nationalists**

# A Brief History of Taiwan



**Chiang Kai-shek**  
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- Purges communists in 1927.

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**Mao Zedong**  
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**Communists**

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- Civil war goes on hold through the 1930s and early 1940s due to war with Japan.

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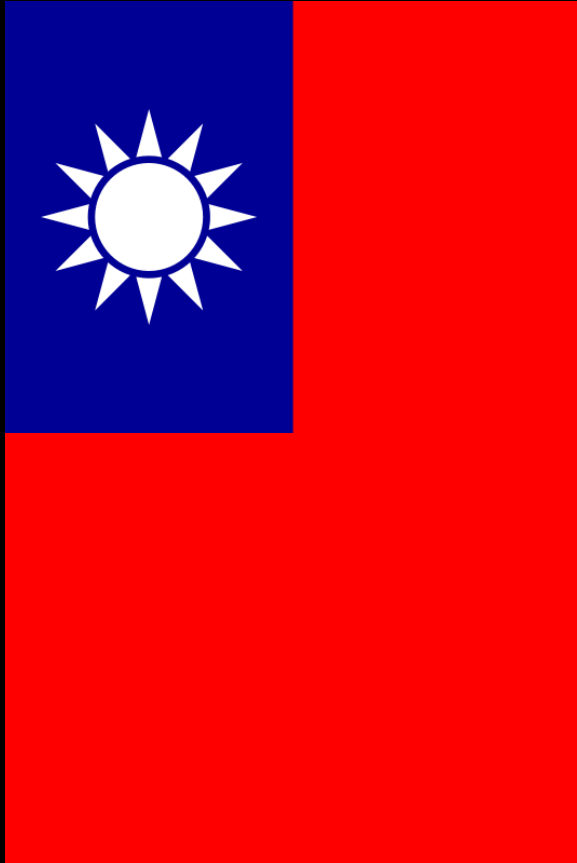


# A Brief History of Taiwan

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- Civil war goes on hold through the 1930s and early 1940s due to war with Japan.
- Fighting resumes after World War II.
- Nationalists retreat to island of Taiwan in 1949.



# Two Chinas



**Republic of China  
(Taiwan)**

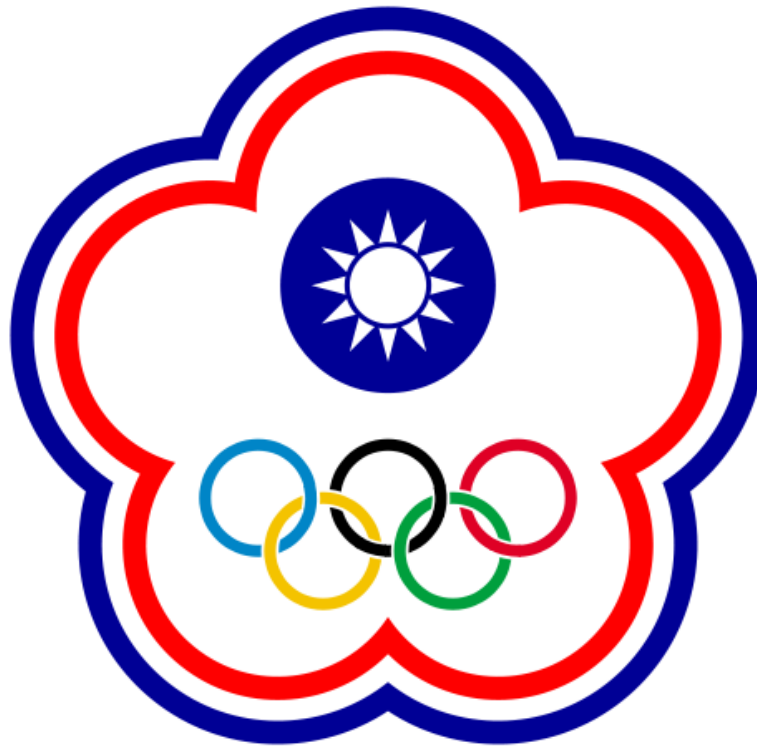


**People's Republic of China  
(China)**

# “One China” Policy

- Mainland China still claims sovereignty over Taiwan.
- Only 23 countries recognize Taiwan as “China.”
- Mainland China does not like this much.
  - Vetoes UNSC resolutions involving these countries.
  - Refuses to participate in international sporting competitions with “Taiwan.”

# One China



# Taiwan: Political Realities

- Taiwan is basically a sovereign country.
- China's policy on Taiwan is hands-off.
  - Believes that Taiwan will eventually fold into China.
  - Has pledged a diplomatic approach unless peaceful reconciliation becomes impossible.
    - Don't even think about getting nukes.
  - But will China still play nice in years to come?

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# How Do We Deal with China's Rise?

- American and Chinese do not share the exact same interests.
- But economically...
  - China needs the U.S. to sell goods.
  - China holds a huge chunk of our national debt.
  - We need each other.

# How Do We Deal with China's Rise?

- War isn't much of an option.
  - Trade makes peace.
  - They have nukes anyway.

# How Do We Deal with China's Rise?

- Option 1: Fear.





# Aircraft Carriers



- Without aircraft carriers, it is hard to project power.
- The US has an epic fleet of aircraft carriers.
- Therefore, the US is the big bad dude.



# Aircraft Carriers

- Uh oh. Now China has one.



# Facts about China's Scary Aircraft Carrier



- Built in 1985...by the *Soviet Union*.
- Left in Ukraine with the USSR dissolved.
- Stripped for parts because Ukraine was broke after the Cold War.

# Facts about China's Scary Aircraft Carrier

- Sold at auction in 1998...without an engine, rudder, or much of an operating system.



# How Do We Deal with China's Rise?

- Option 1: Fear.
  - Trying to fight China at every turn will only make the Chinese more belligerent.
  - Conflict is a self-fulfilling prophecy.

# How Do We Deal with China's Rise?

- Option 2: Play ball.
  - The US was in charge of the world system at a critical juncture in world history.
  - It will be impossible for China to completely unravel the world system.
  - China still has to solve its domestic problems anyway.

# GDP (PPP, from IMF)

## United States

- 1990: \$5,800,525,000,000
  - First in world.

## China

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  - Third in world (India).

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  - First in world.
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  - Third in world (India).
- 2011 *Per Capita*: \$48,387
  - Sixth in world (Qatar, Luxemburg, Singapore, Norway, Brunei).

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- 2011: \$11,299,967,000,000
  - Second in world.
- 2050: \$205,321,000,000,000
  - First in world.
- 2011 *Per Capita*: \$8,382
  - 92<sup>nd</sup> in world, in between Ecuador and Belize.

