



DECEMBER 2005

## More In This Issue

### \* PUBLICATIONS

"China's Evolving Regional Security Strategy" by Bates Gill

"More Strait Talk: Ten Years after the Taiwan Missile Crisis" by Bates Gill and Chin-Hao Huang

### \* CONFERENCES

November 15 The Dragon's Underbelly? Assessing China's Soft Power

### \* FREEMAN FACTS

Social Unrest in China (cont pg 5)

## Quotes Of The Month

"The KMT (Nationalist Party) did not beat the DPP (Democratic Progressive Party). The DPP was defeated by itself...The people have cast a vote of no-confidence in the DPP government." ~ KMT Chairman Ma Ying-jeou speaking after his party's landslide victory over the ruling DPP in Taiwan's local elections held in early December. The KMT and its allies won 16 of 23 county magistrate and city mayoral positions, while President Chen Shui-bian's DPP only took 6. Many believe that the DPP defeat has put Chairman Ma in a strong position ahead of the 2008 presidential election.

Source: China Daily, December 04, 2005

## Trivia Question

How many corrupt Chinese officials have been punished in the past two years? (cont pg 3)

## FEATURE ESSAY

### The East Asia Summit: Much Ado About Nothing--So Far

BY ALAN D. ROMBERG

The United States appeared to be of at least two minds about the December 14th East Asia Summit in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, eventually involving the ten states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), China, Japan, and Korea plus Australia, New Zealand and India. At one point Washington seemed to resent being left out, and was seen by others as chasing an invitation. (American officials deny this.) Later it adopted a stance of indifference, broadly hinting it would not show up even if invited as an observer.

In large part this vacillation stemmed from uncertainty about the real purposes of the summit. Would it do anything other institutions do not already do? Perhaps even more important, did it reflect an effort by China to carve out a more influential regional role for itself at American expense? In the end, the U.S. said it welcomed all regional groupings *as long as* they do not replace broader membership institutions (where the U.S. is an important presence), such as the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC).

If Washington appeared schizophrenic about the summit, Asians might be seen as afflicted with multiple personality disorder. They disputed even the origins of the summit idea (parentage is claimed *at least* by Malaysia, Korea and Japan). More important, arguments raged also about its purposes, its relationship to other regional institutions (most particularly to the ASEAN Plus Three grouping, or APT), its role in working toward an East Asian Community (or "community," depending on your preference), its composition (including, but not limited to, the issue of American participation) and, relatedly, the requirements for summit membership, and even the definition of "the region."

(cont pg 2)

## In The News

**HARBIN** Around 100 tons of pollutants containing hazardous benzene spilled into the Songhua River after a chemical plant explosion on November 13 in Jilin Province. The incident has forced cities along the river, including Harbin, capital of Heilongjiang Province, to suspend water supplies for its residents. In the wake of the Songhua disaster and local officials' initial coverup of the toxic spill and health hazards, China's top environmental official Xie Zhenhua resigned from leadership of State Environmental Protection Administration (SEPA). Meanwhile, as the pollutants are also expected to flow into a major border river between China and Russia, diplomatic efforts and environmental cooperation are now underway to minimize the impact of trans-border pollution.

**WASHINGTON** The second session of U.S.-China senior dialogue was held from December 7 to 8. The two-day talks focused on strategic and long-term bilateral issues and were described by U.S. officials as "constructive". The two sides found common ground on contentious issues but agreed they sometimes will use differing policies to reach mutual goals. Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick headed the U.S. side in the talks and his counterpart for China was Executive Vice Foreign Minister Dai Bingguo. The senior dialogue series grew out of a suggestion by President Hu to President Bush, and the first session was held in Beijing last August.

In the end, two overarching issues were played out: ASEAN's insistence on being at the center of all regional efforts and competition between China and Japan over the summit's composition and role, a competition related to their broader rivalry for power and influence. The result was something of a muddle, but a muddle that everyone can live with for now.

According to various official statements, ASEAN will be the "driving force" of regional community building, APT will "continue to be" the "main vehicle" in working toward that (admittedly long-term) goal, while the summit, as a complement, "could play" a "significant role" in community building "in this region" (but without specific reference to an East Asian Community).

One of the reasons all of this is so muddled is that it overrides the original concept that the summit was to *replace* the APT, eventually morphing into a "community." One goal of the Northeast Asians, who agreed to this, was to make the grouping less ASEAN-centered and more "East Asian." But everyone eventually caved in to ASEAN's insistence that it be the "core" organizer, door-keeper, and always the host. As one prominent Northeast Asian observer put it, given the overlapping and even conflicting roles of the summit, the APT and other Asian institutions, the result has been the introduction of more disagreement and confusion than progress into regional affairs.

That said, from China's perspective the result has been favorable. When Malaysian Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi announced that the inaugural East Asia Summit would take place in Kuala Lumpur in 2005, China offered to host the second meeting in 2006. Although, as noted, ASEAN wanted to keep control and turned the offer down, Beijing then deftly adjusted its position and offered its "continuing support" of ASEAN's "dominant role," disavowing any intention of seizing leadership of the summit.

More important, when ASEAN agreed to a larger East Asia Summit membership that might dilute Beijing's influence, China worked assiduously—and ultimately successfully—to ensure not only the continued existence, but the central guiding role, of the APT. At the same time, to deflect fears about its clout under these arrangements, Beijing promoted its "good neighbor" image by denying any intention to "seize the initiative" for regional cooperation or to "pursue privilege" and affirming its opposition to turning the region into "an enclosed and exclusive bloc."

It was, of course, precisely because the broader summit could better balance off Chinese influence that Japan (and others) worked not only for a larger membership but also for a larger summit role in future regional community building. In explaining Tokyo's success in the first effort but its failure in the second, Southeast Asians say they have looked to Japan to balance China, but report frustration at Tokyo's refusal to "move in a helpful way." Among other things, they criticize Japan for tensions caused by Prime Minister Koizumi's continuing visits to the Yasukuni Shrine, which led to cancellation of the traditional trilateral meetings in Kuala Lumpur among Japan, Korea and China. And they report a "perceptible shift" of attention and solicitude in the region from Japan to China.

All of this presents a dilemma for the United States, which must figure out where its interests in the region lie and how best to serve them. The American post-9/11 laser-like focus on countering terrorism, the invasion of Iraq and the general posture of unilateralism have cost the U.S. greatly in terms of its "moral authority" in Southeast Asia. That ASEAN's terms for participation in the summit (which included signing the ASEAN Treaty of Amity and Cooperation—or TAC—which the U.S. had refused to do) automatically excluded the United States is seen by many as a consequence of this loss of American standing.

Still, many Southeast Asians stress that, much as they value their relationship with Beijing, they are not comfortable with China as the dominant regional player and are wary about being drawn into its orbit. Beyond some enhanced U.S.-ASEAN cooperation, already under way, they see in the East Asia Summit the nub of a structure that can effectively balance China's weight. But, especially with Japan's declining influence, they believe that balance requires the U.S. being there. And, for that to happen, the United States must sign the TAC.

Not to confront China, but to promote American interests, this would seem a wise course.

**Alan D. Romberg is Senior Associate and Director of the East Asia Program at the Henry L. Stimson Center, a non-partisan, non-profit think tank in Washington, D.C. He is author of *Rein In at the Brink of the Precipice: American Policy Toward Taiwan and U.S.-PRC Relations* (Washington: Stimson Center, 2003).**

## PUBLICATIONS

*"China's Evolving Regional Security Strategy"*, in *Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics*. University of California Press: 2005.  
By **Bates Gill**, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

The chapter, published in the new book—*Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics*—edited by David Shambaugh, examines China's evolving regional security strategies, defined as Beijing's contemporary political and diplomatic efforts (not strictly its military posture) with its immediate regional neighbors. The chapter concludes that while current trends favor a strengthened regional security role for China, and China's relative strength and influence are likely to grow in Asia, this process is still open to contradictions and complications over the longer term. Nevertheless, China's increasing regional security influence has been overlooked by many analysts and deserves closer scrutiny.

*"More Strait Talk: Ten Years after the Taiwan Missile Crisis"*, *China Brief*, Jamestown Foundation, October 25, 2005  
By **Bates Gill**, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS and **Chin-Hao Huang**, Research Intern, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

Gill and Huang examine cross-Strait relations since the Taiwan missile crisis in 1995. They observe that in the past decade Beijing and Taipei have indefinitely suspended the dialogue initiated in the early 1990s on basic functional issues, such as repatriation operations and counter-smuggling. Gill and Huang argue that today the questions of maritime safety and illegal activities in the Taiwan Strait call for closer cooperation between the two sides. It is in the best interest of Beijing and Taipei to engage in constructive dialogue on simple, functional, and non-contentious issues.

*"China's Soft Power in Africa: From the 'Beijing Consensus' to Health Diplomacy"*, *China Brief*, Jamestown Foundation, October 13, 2005  
By **Drew Thompson**, Assistant Director of the Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

Thompson argues that evolving from ideologically-driven interactions during the Cold War, today's China-Africa relations combine pragmatic economic and political means to achieve China's objective of establishing a world order that is peaceful and conducive to continued economic growth and stability at home. While trade and diplomacy are driven by China's newfound economic strength and subsequent demand for raw materials, China continues to support longstanding programs that deliver aid to underserved African citizens, such as sending teams of doctors and providing medicines. This long term medical cooperation builds person-to-person relations between Africans and Chinese, brings benefits to both sides, and helps China expand its influence on the continent.

## CONFERENCES AND EVENTS

**December 2**      *Meeting with Chinese Think-Tank Delegation*

The Freeman Chair hosted a welcome meeting for a visiting Chinese think-tank delegation, led by the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS). A group of experts from CSIS had a roundtable discussion with the Chinese visitors on the recent U.S.-China senior dialogue held at the State Department and U.S.-China relations. For more information on this event, please contact Savina Rupani at [srupani@csis.org](mailto:srupani@csis.org).

**November 15**      *The Dragon's Underbelly? Assessing China's Soft Power*

**Bates Gill**, Freeman Chair in China Studies, and **Yanzhong Huang**, a recent Visiting Fellow with the Freeman Chair, and currently Assistant Professor at the Whitehead School of Diplomacy, Seton Hall University, presented their paper, co-authored with Sheng Ding of the Center for Global Change and Governance at Rutgers University. Drawing on the "soft power" framework first articulated by **Joseph Nye**, Distinguished Service Professor of Harvard University, the paper assesses the scope and prospects for Chinese soft power. For more information on this event, please contact Savina Rupani at [srupani@csis.org](mailto:srupani@csis.org).

## TRIVIA ANSWER

**According to the Supreme People's Procuratorate, China has prosecuted and punished nearly 50,000 corrupt officials at various levels in the ongoing nationwide anti-corruption campaign in the past two years.** In addition, China has signed 71 judicial assistance agreements with 47 countries in order to improve anti-corruption measures, investigation and prosecution.

**Source:** "50,000 officials punished in anti-corruption campaign", Xinhua News Agency, December 11, 2005

## PUBLICATIONS FROM THE FREEMAN CHAIR 2005\*

\* Please visit our website to access archived publications dating back to 2002.

### October

"*Injecting and Infecting: Stigma and Zero Tolerance in China*", Global AIDSLink, September/October 2005 - #93  
By **Drew Thompson**, Assistant Director of the Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS  
[Chinese Translation is available online.]

"*Taiwan: When No News is Good News*", Asia Times, October 8, 2005  
By **Chin-Hao Huang**, Research Intern, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

### September

"*Diverging Paths Hurt U.S. and Europe*", International Herald Tribune, September 6, 2005  
By **Bates Gill**, Freeman Chair in China Studies and **Robin Niblett**, Director of Europe Program, CSIS

### August

"*China's Emerging Interests in Africa: Opportunities and Challenges for Africa and the United States*", African Renaissance Journal, July/August 2005  
By **Drew Thompson**, Assistant Director, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

"*Bringing China Closer to the Market*", Asia Times, August 02, 2005  
By **Dag Detter**, founder and director of Detter & Co., and former Director of the Division for State Owned Companies of the Ministry of Industry in Sweden, and **Sue Anne Tay**, Research Assistant, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

### July

"*China's Asset Management Companies a Liability*", Asia Times, July 7, 2005  
By **Sue Anne Tay**, Research Assistant, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

"*The 'People's War' Against Drugs and HIV/AIDS*", China Brief, Jamestown Foundation, June 21, 2005  
By **Drew Thompson**, Assistant Director, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

"*China Confronts HIV/AIDS*", Population Reference Bureau, June 2005  
By **Drew Thompson**, Assistant Director, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

### June

"*China's Evolving Approach to Counterterrorism*", Harvard Asia Quarterly, Winter/Spring 2005  
By **Bates Gill**, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS and **Melissa Murphy**, Research Associate, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

### May

"*Beijing's Participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations*", China Brief, Jamestown Foundation, May 10 2005  
By **Drew Thompson**, Assistant Director, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

### April

"*China and India: Rivals or Partners?*", Far East Economic Review, April 2005  
By **Pramit Mitra**, Research Associate, South Asia Program, CSIS and **Drew Thompson**, Assistant Director, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

### March

"*China's Global Strategy for Energy, Security and Diplomacy*", The China Brief, Jamestown Foundation, March 29, 2005  
By **Drew Thompson**, Assistant Director, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

### February

"*Tsunami Relief Reflects China's Regional Aspirations*", The China Brief, Jamestown Foundation, January 18, 2005  
By **Drew Thompson**, Assistant Director, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

### January

"*Taiwan's Election Results: Good News, Bad News, Or No News?*", The China Brief, Jamestown Foundation, January 4, 2005  
By **Bates Gill**, Freeman Chair in China Studies and **Drew Thompson**, Assistant Director, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

## FREEMAN FACTS:

### Social Unrest in China

1. The Ministry of Public Security reports that the number of mass incidents has skyrocketed from about 8,700 in 1993, to 32,000 in 1999, to about 50,000 in 2002 and surpassing 74,000 in 2004.
2. Protests are growing in average size from 10 or fewer persons in the mid-1990s to about 52 persons per incident in 2004.
3. In 2005, 40 million peasants are victims of rural land confiscation and the number continues to grow at an annual rate of 2 million.

**Source:** Beijing Review

The *Freeman Report* is an electronic newsletter produced monthly by the Freeman Chair in China Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), a private, tax exempt institution focusing on international public policy issues. Its research is non-partisan and nonproprietary. CSIS does not take specific policy positions; accordingly, all views, positions, and conclusions expressed in this publication should be understood to be those of the author(s).

Center for Strategic and International Studies 2005

### THE FREEMAN CHAIR IN CHINA STUDIES

**Bates Gill**, Freeman Chair in China Studies

**Savina Rupani**, Program Coordinator and Special Assistant to the Freeman Chair

**Xiaoqing Lu**, Research Associate

**Melissa Murphy**, Research Associate

**Hsiang-Nien Hsu, Chin hao Huang & Jin Yan**, Research Interns

If you would like to be added to the Freeman Report listserv, please e-mail [FreemanChair@csis.org](mailto:FreemanChair@csis.org). Or visit <http://www.csis.org/china/>

## About the FREEMAN CHAIR IN CHINA STUDIES

The *Freeman Chair in China Studies* was established at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in 1994 to advance the study of China and to promote understanding between the United States and the countries of the Asia Pacific region. The Freeman Family—Luther Freeman as a clergyman, Mansfield Freeman as a scholar-business leader, and Houghton Freeman as a corporate executive in a global enterprise—have established a tradition of contributing to international understanding through practical experience in East Asia and China.

The United States has a long-standing relationship with China and the countries of East Asia, which play increasingly important roles in future international economics, politics, culture, and security. In the diplomatic, public policy, business, and government fields, the peoples of both China and the United States will benefit from greater mutual appreciation and understanding through broadly based international exchange.

The Freeman Chair's active policy-oriented agenda is dedicated to delivering informed public policy debates, expert briefings, and strategic policy recommendations on Greater China and East Asia to the diplomatic, policymaking, business, and government arenas.

### Current research projects

- China's domestic challenges and their consequences for U.S.-China relations and U.S. strategic interests
- The emergence of Chinese civil society and nongovernmental organizations
- China's HIV/AIDS crisis and its implications for U.S.-China relations
- Examining the economic, trade, and financial tensions in U.S.-China relations
- China's relations with key regions—including Central Asia, Europe, and Africa—and their implications for the United States
- China's military modernization and its impact on regional security
- U.S.-China-Taiwan relations

To learn more about our program and ongoing research projects, please visit our website at <http://www.csis.org/china/>