

# (SIS FREEMAN REPORT

Center for Strategic and International Studies Washington, D.C.

SEPTEMBER 2007

# More In This Issue

## \* PUBLICATION

"Assessing China's Growing Influence in Africa," by Bates Gill, Chin-Hao Huang, and J. Stephen Morrison

#### \* CONFERENCE

September 24 Judiciary Reform in

#### \* FREEMAN FACTS

China's Population (cont pg 5)

## **Quote Of The Month**

"I want to say the Chinese government places high value on product quality. We have begun to enforce a very strict examination and inspection procedure...There have been some reports in the international media questioning the safety of Chinese manufacturing. We are taking these reports seriously and have been intensifying inspections and we punish those found to have violated our regulations." ~ Chinese President, Hu Jintao, speaking to senior executives from Asia at the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference in Sydney. His comments came amid growing global concerns that have led to the recall of products made in China. President Hu said 99 percent of China's exports to the United States, European Union, Japan and other places are up to standard.

Source: Bloomberg, September 6, 2007

## Trivia Question

How many cell phone users does China have? (cont pg 3)

For other additional resources on China and East Asia, please also visit the website of our sister institution, Pacific Forum CSIS, at www.csis.org/pacfor/.

# **FEATURE ESSAY**

# What is at Stake in Beijing 2008?

BY VICTOR CHA

When the largest nation in the world hosts the world's largest sporting event next August, it is about more than sports. The Beijing Olympiad will mark, for better or worse, a critical crossroads in China's development as a responsible global player.

For sports "purists," the Olympics going back to the games of antiquity in 776 B.C. was for the purpose of building strong minds and bodies. The original Charter of the Games advocated against the use of the Games for political purposes. But the Olympics has been without exception a political event. Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union used their performances in Berlin in 1936 and in Helsinki in 1952 to demonstrate the superiority of their political and social systems. The U.S. and Soviet boycotts of the 1980 Moscow and 1984 Los Angeles Olympiads were hardly the first time that the Games was used to deliver political messages. Egypt, Iraq, and Lebanon did not partake in the Melbourne Games in 1956 due to the Suez crisis. Germany was banned from the 1920 Games for their actions in World War I. And South Africa faced bans because of its apartheid policy, just to name a few. Sadly, the Games also offered a high-profile, symbolic, and until recently, "soft" or low-security target for terrorists to deliver graphically their messages witnessed by the world at the 1972 Munich Games (death of 9 Israeli athletes by Palestinian terrorists) and prior to the 1988 Seoul Games (1987 North Korea terrorist bombing of a Korean airliner).

Moreover, this will be only the third time since 1896 that the Summer Games will be held in Asia, where a tradition of sports diplomacy is arguably more prominent than elsewhere in the world. Not only did a little white ping-pong ball play a key role in Sino-American rapprochement, but the two Koreas have promoted reconciliation through fielding united sports teams. And just about everyone views beating Japan in sports competitions as redemption for Japan's past historical aggressions.

China will seek to portray the Games as Beijing's "coming out" party, showcasing its rapid economic growth and prosperity just as the 1988 Seoul Games did for South Korea. (cont pg 2)

## In The News

been brought under control, there were signs that China was reluctant to release details about a possible

For two weeks, we will be treated to athletic performances that animate dreams and inspire the world, all against the backdrop of one of humankind's most ancient and celebrated civilizations. The city has been physically transformed in preparation for the Games in everything from building a new airport, razing traditional "hutong" neighborhoods, to planting 200 million trees to absorb carbon dioxide. In an attempt to make the country more "user-friendly" to the world, Beijing instituted a mandatory standardization of menus such that puzzled foreigners will no longer wonder what "steamed crap" (i.e. "steamed carp") is doing on their menu.

Beijing desperately wants to avoid being remembered as the "Smoglympics" and has embarked on a ten-year, USD12 billion effort that includes banning of one million cars from Beijing, closing steel factories and coking plants in the vicinity, and tightening vehicle emissions controls. China's Olympic spokesperson Sun Weide claims that this Blue Sky program aims to upgrade air quality in Beijing from grade III to grade II and points to the number of blue sky days rising from 146 in 1999 to 241 in 2006 as evidence of the success of the project. Unfortunately, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) was treated to typically bad air days when they arrived in Beijing this past August for the one-year countdown celebration of the Games. This led the IOC chair Jacques Rogge to note his concern that some Olympics endurance events might have to be postponed if air quality is bad.

Beijing will not be discouraged, however, in its efforts to make this the best games ever. Just as the Tokyo Olympiad in 1964 closed the chapter on wartime Japan, the Beijing Games will close the chapter on China's past century as the "sick man" of Asia and open a new chapter of a modern, advanced nation. The symbolism of China's first astronaut in space carrying the Beijing Olympic banner could not have been a stronger statement of Beijing's aspirations.

The Olympics, however, generates unique ideational and tactical pressures on the regime to change its behavior, not just its air and its image, as it seeks to become a responsible global "stakeholder." Ideationally, Beijing must find a way to conjoin its controlled and closed political system with the classical 19th Century liberal ideals of individualism, open competition, and respect for human dignity embodied in the Olympics. And tactically, it will have to deal with the intense international spotlight under which its behavior will be scrutinized by the media, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and socially responsible corporate actors. Can China embrace the Olympic ideals enough to effect a larger political transformation?

It is hard at this point to imagine a sweeping change along the lines of South Korea in 1988 where the Games played a key role in the authoritarian Chun Doo Hwan regime's decision to relent to democratization pressures. Recent Chinese cooperation on North Korea, Iran, and even climate change issues are directly related to Chinese national interest, rather than an embrace of Olympic ideals. Any addressing of trade issues, currency reform, and product safety issues would reflect Beijing's interests in avoiding trade wars. The true test of whether the Olympics will change China will be in the area of human rights and responsible foreign policy, particularly in Africa.

It will be virtually impossible for Beijing to ignore with impunity the issue of human rights and democracy. Already, Beijing has felt the pressure, releasing a prominent democracy activist in the weeks before the IOC's decision to give Beijing the Games and codifying for the first time the State's constitutional responsibility for safeguarding and respecting human rights. The release of New York Times researcher Zhao Yan in September 2007 – a high profile case which President Bush even raised with President Hu Jintao – and the relatively quick crackdown by Beijing this year on several Chinese companies using child labor to produce officially licensed Olympic products demonstrate Beijing's hypersensitivity to muting international criticism before the Games.

But with every encouraging step in this regard, there are other actions by Beijing that are clearly steps backward. In the summer of 2007, Chinese authorities arrested activists who opposed the government's land confiscation scheme for Olympic facilities construction, expelled foreign missionaries in Tibet, cracked down on domestic journalists, and disrupted AIDS awareness conferences in Henan and Guangzhou.

China's Africa policy has come under great scrutiny as it continues to sell arms and buy energy from the Sudanese government without using its influence to stop the genocide in Darfur. House members introduced a resolution this past August calling for a U.S. boycott of the Games without a change in China's policies. Mia Farrow's now-famous reference to the Genocide Olympics has galvanized media and NGO activists to call China out into the spotlight on Darfur.

Another American boycott of the Olympics is not likely. President Bush at APEC in Sydney already expressed his intention to accept President Hu's invitation to attend. Despite protests from Beijing against attempts to "politicize" the Olympics in this way, however, China is quietly showing small signs of change. It did not block a U.S.-sponsored resolution calling for sanctions on the Sudanese oil industry. It appointed a special envoy for Darfur in May, and it backed the third phase of the Darfur Peace plan and a hybrid A.U.-U.N. peacekeeping force. Clearly what is at stake in the 2008 Games goes far beyond gold, silver, and bronze medals.

Professor Victor Cha is Director of Asian Studies at Georgetown University. He served on the White House National Security Council from 2004 to 2007. He is currently writing a book on *Sports Diplomacy in Asia and the Beijing Olympics*.

## **PUBLICATIONS**

"Assessing China's Growing Influence in Africa," China Security, vol. 3, no. 3, Summer 2007

By Bates Gill, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, Chin-Hao Huang, Research Assistant, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, and J. Stephen Morrison, Director of the Africa Program, CSIS

At the wake of China's growing attention to Africa, the authors analyze the Beijing's increasingly complex strategy to accomplish its policy goals and the various challenges China has to face on the world's largest continent. The authors argue that the traditionally neglected continent will be a test ground for U.S.-China relations, and call for more U.S. attention on China's expansion. They also suggest a more strategic and comprehensive approach to engage China and avoid confrontations.

[Click here for a PDF copy of the article.]

"The Mist Lifts over China's Sky-high Railway," Asia Times, August 29, 2007 By **Eve Cary**, Research Assistant, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

The author offers an insightful analysis of the pros and cons of China's Qinghai-Tibet Railway, the world's highest railway. The article examines the railway's influence on Tibetan economy, environment and culture. The author argues that the impact of the railway alone on improving Tibetan's living standards is limited. The world should take a moderate and cooperative approach on Tibet's development.

[Click here for a PDF copy of the article.]

## **CONFERENCE AND EVENT**

September 24 Judiciary Reform in China

Justice Wan Exiang, Vice President of the Supreme People's Court of China delivered a speech on China's judiciary reform at CSIS. **Dr. John J.**Hamre, President and CEO of CSIS made introductory remarks. **Dr. James V. Feinerman**, James M. Morita Professor of Asian Legal Studies at Georgetown University Legal Center, served as commentator. For more information, please contact Savina Rupani at srupani@csis.org.

## WHAT'S NEW

We are very sad to announce that Dr. Bates Gill, Freeman Chair in China Studies, is leaving CSIS. After over five years of excellent scholarship and leadership at CSIS, Dr. Gill is moving to Sweden to take up his new duties as Director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). He will be the first non-European to run this prestigious organization. We want to thank Dr. Gill for the major mark that he has left both at CSIS and on U.S.-China relations, and wish him all the best in his new endeavors. Dr. Gill can be reached at director@sipri.org.

In happier news, we would like to welcome our new Freeman Chair in China Studies, Mr. Charles W. Freeman III, who will join CSIS on October 1, 2007. A leading thinker on China, Mr. Freeman currently serves as Managing Director of the China Alliance. Prior to that, he was the Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for China Affairs. Mr. Freeman was the United States' chief China trade negotiator, responsible for the development and implementation of the United States' overall trade policy with respect to China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao and Mongolia. We look forward to Mr. Freeman's leadership of the CSIS Freeman Chair in China Studies.

#### TRIVIA ANSWER

There were 476 million cell phone subscribers in 2006, according to the Ministry of Information Industry. The figure is projected to reach approximately 600 million by 2008.

Source: "Cell phones become news media," Chinanews, August 20, 2007.

## PUBLICATIONS FROM THE FREEMAN CHAIR 2006/2007\*

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

#### 2007

#### August

"Assessing China's Growing Influence in Africa," China Security, vol. 3, no. 3, Summer 2007

By **Bates Gill**, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, **Chin-Hao Huang**, Research Assistant, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, and **J. Stephen Morrison**, Director of the Africa Program, CSIS

"The Mist Lifts over China's Sky-high Railway," Asia Times, August 29, 2007

By Eve Cary, Research Assistant, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

#### July

"Demography of HIV/AIDS in China," CSIS, July 2007

By Bates Gill, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, Yanzhong Huang, Director of the Center for Global Health Studies, and Xiaoqing Lu, Research Associate, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

"China's Activism Faces Persistent Challenges," Comparative Connections, CSIS Pacific Forum, vol. 9, no. 2, July 2007

By **Robert Sutter**, Visiting Professor of the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, and Chin-Hao Huang, Research Assistant, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

"U.S.-Hong Kong Relations: Prospects for a Unique Partnership," CSIS, July 2007

By Bates Gill, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, and James Tang, Associate Professor, The University of Hong Kong

#### June

"Setting the Course," South China Morning Post, June 28, 2007

By **Melissa Murphy**, Research Associate, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS and **Chin-Hao Huang**, Research Assistant, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

"The Tenuous Hold of China Inc. in Africa," The Washington Quarterly, Summer 2007

By Bates Gill, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, and James Reilly, East Asia representative for the American Friends Service Committee

"An Overview: The China Balance Sheet," CSIS Strategy Report, Vol. 2, No. 19, June 12, 2007

By **Melissa Murphy**, Research Associate, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, and **Chietigj Bajpaee**, Research Associate, International Security Program, CSIS

#### May

"China's Space Odyssey: What the Anti-satellite Test Reveals about Decision-Making in Beijing," Foreign Affairs, May/June 2007 By Bates Gill, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, and Martin Kleiber, Research Assistant, CSIS

"China and HIV - A Window of Opportunity," New England Journal of Medicine, vol. 356, no. 18, May 3, 2007

By Bates Gill, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, and Susan Okie, Contributing Editor, New England Journal of Medicine.

## **April**

"Cebu Meetings, U.N. Veto on Myanmar," Comparative Connections, CSIS Pacific Forum, vol. 9, no.1, April 2007

By Robert Sutter, Visiting Professor of the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, and Chin-Hao Huang, Research Assistant, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

#### March

Rising Star: China's New Security Diplomacy. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2007 By **Bates Gill**, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

"The Long March against TB in China," South China Morning Post, March 24, 2007

By **Xiaoqing Lu**, Research Associate, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS, and **Elizabeth Van Heuvelen**, Research Intern, Freeman Chair in China Studies, CSIS

## FREEMAN FACTS:

#### China's Population

- 1. In 2005, the average Chinese family comprised <u>3.13</u> people. The current birth rate is <u>1.8</u> children per couple.
- 2. The male population outnumbers the female population by <u>37</u> million. China has the world's most unbalanced sex ratio.
- 3. The sex ratio for newborns is  $\underline{119}$  boys to  $\underline{100}$  girls in China.
- 4. As of 2007, there are <u>134</u> million people over age <u>60</u> in China, accounting for approximately <u>10%</u> of the total Chinese population.
- 5. The aging population is estimated to increase by 3.2% per year in China.

**Sources:** China Daily, China News Service, State Council Information Office, Xinhua

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 2007

#### 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

Chin-Hao Huang, Research Assistant

Eve Cary, Project Coordinator

Ming Dai and Joan Shang, Research Interns

If you would like to be added to the Freeman Report listserv, please e-mail 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/