

China International Strategy and How to Pursue It?

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Abstrak:

Cina merupakan aktor besar di Asia Pasifik dan global karena kapabilitas ekonomi, politik, militer, sosial dan budaya yang dimilikinya. Walaupun Paska Perang Dunia Kedua Cina dianggap berbahaya tetapi belum mampu menunjukkan eksistensinya di dalam hubungan antar Negara. Barulah paska 1980-an, setelah Deng Xiao Ping berkuasa, Cina mulai meningkatkan pengaruhnya melalui berbagai kebijakan domestik dan internasional. Akibatnya eksistensi Cina semakin diakui di berbagai bidang. Secara menyeluruh eksistensi Cina terutama paska perang Dingin memberikan sebuah tantangan baru bagi aktor-aktor lain. Secara domestik, Cina menganggap bahwa peningkatan kapabilitas multisektor sebagai usaha untuk mensejajarkan diri dengan aktor lain dan lebih defensif. Tetapi bagi aktor lain, peningkatan kemampuan Cina ini merupakan ancaman dan peningkatan daya menawar. Dalam meningkatkan kapabilitasnya, Cina merumuskan strategi internasional baik regional maupun internasional. Oleh karena itu, usaha Cina untuk mencapai strategi tersebut menjadi lebih berkembang dan melibatkan aktor-aktor yang lain.

Kata Kunci : China, Strategi Internasional, Regional and Global

Abstract:

China is a giant actor both in Pacific Asia and Global due to its capability in economic, politic, military, social and cultural. Post second war China was assumed as a danger power, but China still unable to show its existence in interstate relations. After 1980's under Deng Xiao Ping presidency, China starts to improve its influence through several domestic and international policies. It might increase China's existence in several realms and it would be challenging for the other actors. Domestically, China supposes that the capability improvement in several sectors becomes an effort to be equal to other actors. But in contrary, the others will assume as a threat.

Keywords: China, International Strategy, Regional, Global

In post Cold War world, China plays critical role in world political issues. China is involved almost all issues ranging from Climate change to the nuclear non-

proliferation Treaty. In addition, China has become one of the countries that whose economic progress is very fast. China is also trying to open a good relationship with the developed, developing and underdeveloped countries. It is likely that China tries to have good relationship with all parties. Therefore, China offers an opportunity and threat to other parties. As an opportunity, China offers a huge market. Yet, it process as great power poses threat to other. Therefore, China international strategy becomes important and interesting to be observed. This essay argues that China's international strategy tries to protect its national interest in economic, foreign policy and security by peaceful means.

This essay is divided into three sections. First is talking about China international strategy. Second, is how China pursues its international strategy, which means is used in pursuing its strategy. Third is discussion whether the strategy is regional or global.

China's International Strategy

Grand strategy is a concept that refers to its scope rather than its nature. Therefore, the concept is formulated by considering several aspects of state activities. It is labeled as 'grand' because it refers to overarching vision of state leaders in combining the broad range of capabilities linked with military, economic, and diplomatic strategies to pursue their international goals. (Avery Goldstein, 2005: 19) Grand strategy refers to how a state coordinates their policies in several domains for reducing hard/difficult work at cross-purposes. Then, grand strategy not only refers to comprehensive description of state various foreign policies. It (majority) refers to the central logic that informs links between policies, the regime vision about national's interest (goals), in light of country's capabilities (means), and international constraints it faces (the context of interdependent choice). (Avery Goldstein, 2005: 19)

China international strategy is peaceful rise. From the negative purpose it is aimed at protecting national interest without giving any input to international system. Most importantly, it concerns how the Chinese interest undisturbed other parties strategy, engaged with all the countries through several ways. Through this new strategy China has positive purpose which China is not only keeping its national interest but also response to achieve its purposes using international system. China tries to make international system conducive for its national interests.

By new strategy China does not seek hegemony or predominance in world politics. (Zheng Bijian, 2005: 24) It suggests that new international political and economic order needed can be achieved by the incremental reforms. China give so much attention on democracy and peace in international world

system because its development depends on world peace that its development will turn reinforce (Zheng Bijian, 2005: 24).

The new China international strategy is characterized by two components. First is careful compromise and consensus building (Avery Goldstein, 2005: 23). This occurred in 1992, when Deng health began to decline. The personal articulation in Chinese foreign policy making was slowly shifted from personal vision to the broad role of the elite. This was different from Mao's era. During Mao's era the Chinese's international strategy is only determined by Mao. When Deng came to power, decision making process involved several parties vision. Second, is flexibility. It relates to how China adapt with some demand on its territorial policy. For instance, China is flexible with regard to "one China, two systems" concept for Hongkong. China provides different political, economic, autonomy and self-governance parameters for Hongkong which is not common for China.(Bates Gill, 2007: 115)

Currently, there are four possibilities for China international strategies. They are hegemony, balancing, bandwagoning and isolationism. The reasonable possibilities are balancing and bandwagoning, because it matches to China grand strategy. If China chooses hegemony, it will run against its purpose of not seeking hegemony. Currently, China is pursuing its economic development. Furthermore, if China choose isolationism, it would not be possible, because China will come back to its international strategy when Mao in power. Therefore, the possibility could be balancing or bandwagoning or mix between both approaches.

Through a balancing strategy, China attempt to offset the potential threat through modernization of its security capabilities but not to become the strongest and form alliance with other countries for security sharing. China international strategy will not be directed to become dominant power. Thus, China grand strategy is directed to strengthening security and not dominating other. Therefore, the Chinese foresee the threat, sought to expand their ability to adapt and form cooperative Arrangement with others, mainly in security.

Furthermore, china chooses balancing strategy because it does not cost too much. It is because, currently, China is strengthening its economic capabilities. China strives to build a broad solidarity with other countries, including sharing perceptions and trying to encounter the potential threats by accumulating resources, including the strength of the economy. By doing two steps above, it will not cost s lot for China in its relations with other countries. But the most important for China, as rising power, is the increase in the ability to avert all threats in its attempt to accelerate its economic growth.

Under bandwagoning strategy, China improves its military capability or collaborates with other countries, but not to challenge or trigger rivalry. China had to make accommodation with the international system and the most powerful state, hoping to get the opportunity to be able to increase its economic capabilities and get benefits from the hegemon that provide security as a public good. China is seem an interest in enjoying the benefits of the United States as the leader of the unipolar world (Avery Goldstein in Avery Goldstein, 2005: 35). **In economy**, China ensures that the country is able to reap the benefits of the US-fashioned international economic order because it is essential for China's reform and economic growth. In the security realm, although China enjoys the presence of the United States in the Pacific since the cold war, it also worries the United States as potential threat. In addition, China also worrying about Japan's more independence and the possibility conflict in the Korean peninsula.

China Pursues its International Strategy

Under peaceful rise strategy, China accelerates its economic capabilities in world economy. China's share in the world economy has slightly changed since Deng was in power. A key element of Deng Xiaoping's economic reform strategy is a shift from Maoist ideal of national self sufficiency to reaping gains available from participating in the world economy (Fred Bergsten et al, 2006: 73). The result has been an expansion of China's trade that has outpaced the growth of its domestic economy and far exceeded the growth of global trade over almost three decades. Since reform was launched, China's export and import have grown tenfold. In 2004, China surpassed Japan as the world's third largest economy.

The world is now connected very closely. Globalization has opened relationship between countries, regions, continents and people more easily. This is especially true in economic relationship. There is an opportunity and threat in the global economy to which China must adapt. If China does not make adaptation, China will miss the opportunity. Therefore, China requires reform in its economic policy.

In pursuing its international economic strategy, China made deregulation in its economic policy. In domestic level, several deregulations have been enacted. First is by reducing barrier to import. For example, the average level of import tariff dropped from more than 50 percent to under 10 percent in 2004. Compared to other developing countries, China average import tariffs relatively low. China import tariff rate in 2004 was 10.4 percent, compared rates in India 29.1, Mexico 18.0, Brazil 12.4 and Indonesia 6.9 percent.(World Trade Organization, 2006) Furthermore it also opens its domestic market. It can be seen from the ratio imports to GDP (Gross Domestic Products). In 1978, the ratio only 5 percent, but it was sharply increasing in 2005, by 30 percent of

GDP. This ratio is roughly twice short of the United States and more than three times that of Japan. It is also higher compared to Argentina, Brazil and India. Furthermore, China also encourages Foreign Direct Investment from other countries. Several companies are established in China following the government policy. Japan, United States, and Korea have brought their capital to China. Meanwhile China gives incentives to investor by providing intensive, unskilled and low wages labor (Fred Bergsten at all, 2006: 87).

In international level, China is a member of the international economic regime, such as GATT (General Agreement on Tariff and Trade), now WTO (World Trade Organization). For other parties, the China involvements in WTO is an opportunity in that opens Chinese market which had been recognized as closed so far. Meanwhile, for China, becoming WTO member is the way to engage deeply with the international economy. It will enhance China's position among other countries. But China membership in WTO is not easy because of its poor human rights records, such as Tiananmen massacre (Barry Naughton, 2007: 390) Furthermore, China also becomes APEC members. China's participation in APEC has been basically cooperative and constructive. China has interest in getting closer with developing countries, with interest in human resources development, technology and other particular areas. Besides, through APEC forum China can also have direct communication with Taiwan (Stuart Harris, 1997; 148-149).

In security, especially since mid 1990s, China global and regional security diplomacy has dramatically changed. Overall, China is pursuing position on regional and global security matters which in more consistent with international norms and practices than in the past. China's approach to regional and global security approach has become more proactive is likely so in the years to come (Bates Gill, 2007: 1).

China enters the post Cold War more securely than it was before. But facing condemn and sanction from the US and its alliance, including Japan. The US-China relationship is fragile, although China is still maintaining its relationship. Even, when the US sold F16s to Taiwan, to some extent, it is regarded by China as an intervention to its domestic disputes. But on other side, China has an enlightenment from what the US was done, that the US is seeking status as 'hegemony' in the world. (Paul H. B. Goodwin in Samuel S. Kim (ed), 1998: 30) The US hegemony becomes foundations for China Foreign Policy in post Cold War. Therefore China has to adapt and anticipate all the circumstances.

China approaches regional and global security issues in several ways. First, China observed the changing role of alliances. Post Cold War traditional alliances are contested, because the countries sought new arrangements to help security stability, reduce uncertainty, establish communication, and confidence-building channels. In the post Cold War era, the US alliance faces

new challenges in Europe, Middle East, Persian Gulf and other region. Meanwhile, China has been active in establishing other types of security mechanism, including ASEAN Regional Forum, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, ASEAN plus three and the East Asia Summit. Second, Chinese security concerns also relate to proliferations and arm control, particularly on proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery vehicles, especially nuclear weapons, ballistic missiles, and related technologies. China participates in several key agreements, such as Chemical Weapon Convention (1993), the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (1996), the indefinite extension of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (1995). Through those key agreements, China is involved with the international community. Thus makes important steps in solidifying norms of arm control and non-proliferation.(Bates Gill, 2007: 11)

However, China's security approach obviously shows China's wealth and influence, besides its guarantee to its neighbours of its peaceful intentions and mutual beneficial relationship. China leader promotes its peaceful rise concept that changed to peaceful development. Besides Chinese leader also maintain a stable international environment, so Beijing can focus on economic, political and social change domestically. The 2002 Chinese defense white paper points out clearly: "A developing China needs a peaceful international environment and favorable climate in periphery.(China Information Office, 2008) In pursuing its security goals, China must play a defensive role and does not want US see China as foe.(Wang Jisi, 2005: 39)

China's foreign policy under Deng was relatively different than Mao because Deng's political style tends towards consultation and consensus, rather than coercion as Mao's. (Ellis Joffe, 1997: 156) Deng used institution than Mao, although in some part still playing as dominant actor. Then, Jiang Zemin is slightly change its the style. Jiang has to rely primarily on instrument of power rather than personal authority (Ellis Joffe, 1997: 156)

In foreign policy instrument China has several guidances. First, maintaining interdependence and safeguarding national sovereignty. China maintains independence, by not allowing any country to break upon its national sovereignty and interfere in its internal affairs. As for international affairs, China decide its own designs policy according to whether the matter is right and wrong and in consideration of the basic interests of the Chinese people and the people of the world, and shall never yield to pressure and threat from other countries. China maintains independence, cherishes its own right and also respects the right of independence of other countries. China upholds that any country, big or small, rich or poor, and strong or weak, should be equal. China maintains independence, by neither entering into alliance with any big

power or group of countries, nor establishing any military bloc, and joining in the arms race or seeking military expansion. (China Foreign Policy, 2008)

Second is safeguarding world peace. The common aspiration of the Chinese people as well as the people of the world is to maintain peace and to eliminate wars. China decided in 1985 to reduce one million troops within two years and signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in 1992. All these received favorable international comments. (China Foreign Policy, 2008)

Third, China upholds the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The five principles of peaceful coexistence were put forward in line with the reality of a multipolar world. Respect to sovereignty is the most fundamental principle in a new type of international relations. Mutual non-aggression means to get rid of the threat of using arms and armed threat in the internal relations among countries. Non-interference in each other's international affairs is the most important principle in international relations to guarantee each country's right to take care of its own internal affairs and prevent any other country from interfering with any means. Equality and mutual benefit mean political equality, economic equality, cooperation, mutual benefit and supplement to each other's needs. Peaceful coexistence calls on all countries to seek common interests, reserve differences, respect each other, maintain friendly cooperation and live in harmony regardless of differences in their social systems and ideologies. (China Foreign Policy, 2008)

In the 1990s, great changes have occurred in the world. Domination of two superpowers ended and the world has becoming more multipolar. On the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, China stands for the establishment of a peaceful, stable, just and rational international order. China's stand conforms to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, and reflects the trend of the times to seek peace and development.

Fourth is strengthening solidarity of the developing countries, and together opposing imperialism and colonialism. It is a great cause of the people in the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America that account for three-quarters of the total population of the world, to take the road of independence and development. China has constantly held that supporting the just demands of the developing countries and safeguarding solidarity and cooperation among the developing countries is its international duty. Whenever the developing countries suffer external aggression and interference, China is ready to give its support. Many leaders of the developing countries regard China as a "tested friend" and a "reliable friend". (China Foreign Policy, 2008)

Fifth, Improving Relations with Developed Countries to Promote Common Progress. On the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence, China has

constantly stood for establishing and developing relations with developed countries, and regarded improving the relations with developed countries and promoting development with them as an important task of China's foreign affairs. China established diplomatic relations and strengthened friendly cooperative ties with other Western countries successively. This further brought about a new situation in China's foreign affairs. (China Foreign Policy, 2008)

China Pursues Its International Strategy Regionally and Globally

China international strategy is both, regional and global. Regional or global depends on the issue and actor. China is regional power with limited interest. The ideas and practices of China's regional strategy reflect the imperatives of its grand strategy. (Zhang Yunling and Tang Shibling, 2005: 51) Asia is the only region in which China operates its national interest-security, economy, politic-current. Therefore, China strategy in Asia cannot be easily applied to other region such as Europe or Africa.

In the security realm, China has more focus on Asia. It does not mean to underestimate other region. This is because there are several major powers in Asia: the U.S., Russia, Japan and perhaps India. Therefore, Asia becomes more dynamic in the security realm. China gives special attention to Southeast Asia because borders directly with 3 Southeast Asian countries: Laos, Vietnam and Burma. Even China is involved in the ARF and the ASEAN 3, which increases Chinese influence. China also undertook the same approach in accordance with its interests in other areas in Asia, such as in South Asia, Northeast Asia, Central Asian states. China also forms its better relationship with Russia. But China has not a tight security relationship as well as the relationship with outside Asia, because neighbours security has directly impact on China's security.

In the economic realm, China behaves globally. This is indicated by increasing export to countries outside Asia, including the U.S. and European countries. But China still considers the Asia Pacific market especially in developing countries because the relationship with Developing countries is very important. China now lack of energy supply.

From the relationship with developing countries, China gets the supply of energy. In accordance with the common opinion, China's regional policy to determine by its energy needs. In addition, China approaches the African countries that have rich natural resources, such as Angola, Nigeria, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Togo, Benin, Sudan and Tunisia. All those have been done to ensure China's energy supply.(Peter Brookes and Ji Hye Sie, 2006) Thus, China's economic strategy is more global and flexible because of a lack of supply of minerals.

In foreign policy realm, China is more global. It can be seen from the prints in the policy guidance that requires it to support the international situation that is more conducive. In various areas of overseas Chinese decision is intended to support the peace. This is indicated when China decides to send its troop as part of the UN mission to maintain peace in Africa. In addition, China is also active in the multilateral cooperation, such as the UN, APEC and the WTO. China also builds bilateral cooperation with the U.S., Japan, Russia and the Developing countries to maintain peace. Although China faces some challenges related to domestic policies, such as human rights, Tibet and Taiwan which become obstacles for China in recent years.

Conclusion

In conclusion, as an emerging power, China gives attention to its international relationship with all parties. Because Chinese try to make other parties see them as peaceful actors. It is important for Chinese because its neighboring countries seem afraid of them. Through peaceful rise, they show their colleagues that security, economy and foreign policies are not coercive because they are based on power calculation and mutually beneficial relations with other parties.

In Economic realm, as an emerging power, China has shown that its economic development can't perform well without other parties. Even China has dependency on developing countries that are rich with minerals because of China's lack of mineral. In Foreign policy, China supports the maintenance of the peaceful conditions in the world. Meanwhile, in security, China shows that, currently, it is not pursuing hegemony. Rather, China is prioritizing its economic development. Through peaceful conditions, China can build its economic capacity.

It is difficult to separate its regionally oriented policies from those globally oriented. Often, China's global strategy can be seen in its regional strategy as well. But China intends to show that one method used in one region sometimes cannot be used in other region. Therefore, approach is different from region to region. What is most important for China is how to create stable condition for its economic development and not to become a foe for other parties. With those methods, China wants to protect its national interest in economic, foreign policy and security by peaceful means.

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