

Toward Well-Oiled Relations?

The Nottingham China Policy Institute series

The Nottingham China Policy Institute series brings together cutting-edge scholarship, policy relevance and accessibility. It includes works on the economics, society, culture, politics, international relations, national security and history of the Chinese mainland, Taiwan, and Hong Kong in the twentieth- and twenty-first centuries. Books in this series are written in an accessible style, although they are based on meticulous research. They put forward exciting ideas and research findings that specialist academics need to take note of while policy-makers and opinion leaders will find inspiring. They represent innovative multidisciplinary scholarship at its best in the study of contemporary China.

Titles include:

David Kerr (*editor*)

CHINA'S MANY DREAMS

Comparative Perspectives on China's Search for National Rejuvenation

Shujie Yao and Pan Wang (*editors*)

CHINA'S OUTWARD FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENTS AND IMPACT ON THE WORLD ECONOMY

Andreas Fulda (*editor*)

CIVIL SOCIETY CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLICY INNOVATION IN THE PR CHINA

Shujie Yao and Maria Jesus Herrerias (*editors*)

ENERGY SECURITY AND SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH IN CHINA

Jing Zhang

FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT, GOVERNANCE, AND THE ENVIRONMENT IN CHINA

Regional Dimensions

Steve Tsang (*editor*)

THE VITALITY OF TAIWAN

Politics, Economics, Society and Culture

Niv Horesh (*editor*)

TOWARD WELL-OILED RELATIONS?

China's Presence in the Middle East Following the Arab Spring

The Nottingham China Policy Institute series

Series Standing Order ISBN 978-0-230-36922-1

You can receive future titles in this series as they are published by placing a standing order. Please contact your bookseller or, in case of difficulty, write to us at the address below with your name and address, the title of the series and the ISBN quoted above.

Customer Services Department, Macmillan Distribution Ltd, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS, England.

Toward Well-Oiled Relations?

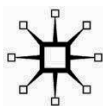
China's Presence in the Middle East Following the Arab Spring

Edited by

Niv Horesh

*Professor (Chair) of the Modern History of China and Director of the China Policy
Institute at the University of Nottingham, UK*

palgrave
macmillan



Selection, introduction and editorial matter © Niv Horesh 2016

Individual chapters © Contributors 2016

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2016 978-1-137-53978-6

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable for criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2016 by

PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-57921-1 ISBN 978-1-137-53979-3 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/9781137539793

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Toward well-oiled relations? : China's presence in the Middle East following the Arab Spring / [edited by] Niv Horesh.

pages cm. — (The Nottingham China Policy Institute series)

1. China – Foreign relations – Middle East. 2. Middle East – Foreign relations – China. 3. China – Foreign economic relations – Middle East. 4. Middle East – Foreign economic relations – China. I. Horesh, Niv, editor.

DS740.5.M53T69 2016

327.51056—dc23

2015025775

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	vii
<i>List of Tables</i>	viii
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	ix
Introduction <i>Niv Horesh</i>	1
1 Sino-American Crosscurrents in the Middle East: Perceptions and Realities <i>Yitzhak Shichor</i>	5
2 An Alternative Partner to the West? China's Growing Relations with Turkey <i>Zan Tao</i>	19
3 A New Eurasian Embrace: Turkey Pivots East While China Marches West <i>Christina Lin</i>	30
4 The Perception of the 2009 Ürümqi Conflict across the Islamic World <i>Robert R. Bianchi</i>	48
5 China's Dual Diplomacy: Arab Iraq and the Kurdistan Region <i>Mohammed Shareef</i>	69
6 An Analysis of the Evolution of Sino-Egyptian Economic Relations <i>Yasser M. Gadallah</i>	94
7 Chinese and US Energy Policy in the Middle East <i>Gawdat Bahgat</i>	115
8 Does Likud Have a "Look East" Option? <i>Niv Horesh</i>	125
9 China and the Gulf Co-operation Council: The Rebound Relationship <i>Neil Quilliam</i>	148

10	Chinese Policy in the Middle East in the Wake of the Arab Uprisings <i>Michael Singh</i>	162
11	China and Iran: Expanding Cooperation under Conditions of US Domination <i>John W. Garver</i>	180
12	The Future of Sino-Iran Relations <i>Manochehr Dorraj</i>	206
	Conclusion: China's Growing Presence in the Middle East <i>Niv Horesh and Ruike Xu</i>	216
	<i>Index</i>	233

List of Figures

2.1	Trade between Turkey and China (US\$ million)	21
3.1	The world from Kashgar	38
6.1	FDI flows between China and Egypt, 2005–2012 (US\$ million)	100
6.2	Total Egyptian exports and imports to and from China, 1995–2012 (US\$ million)	103
6.3	Development of deficit in Egypt's balance of trade with China, 1995–2012	104
6.4	Egyptian exports to China by economic sector, 2002	105
6.5	Egyptian exports to China by economic sector, 2012	106
6.6	Egyptian imports from China by economic sector, 2002	107
6.7	Egyptian imports from China by economic sector, 2012	108
6.8	Growth rate in Egyptian exports to China by economic sector	109
6.9	Growth rate in Egyptian imports from China by economic sector	109
11.1	Investment in IRI Oil and Gas, 1999–2009	195

List of Tables

1.1	Favourable Middle Eastern attitudes toward China and the US, 2007–2014	10
1.2	Middle Eastern perceptions of the US and China as partner or enemy, 2013	11
1.3	China and US consideration of Middle Eastern interests, 2013	14
2.1	Turkish-Sino trade (US\$ million)	21
5.1	Chinese oil imports from Iraq	74
5.2	Rise in import rates between China and Iraq	76
5.3	Substantial increase in trade between China and Iraq	76
6.1	Prediction of the Egyptian exports and imports to and from China, 2014–2019 (\$US million)	105
11.1	Balancing of “Pro-US” and “Pro-IRI” elements of China’s UN position, 2003–2011	190
11.2	PRC balancing between US and IRI, 2013–2014	191
11.3	Chinese entities sanctioned by the United States, 2002–2009	193
11.4	International Supply of Arms to Iran (\$US million)	198
11.5	Chinese transfers of anti-ship missiles to Iran	198

Notes on Contributors

Gawdat Bahgat is Professor of National Security Affairs at the National Defense University's Near East South Asia Centre for Strategic Study. He is an Egyptian-born specialist in Middle Eastern policy, covering Egypt, Iran, and the Gulf region. His areas of research include energy security, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, counter-terrorism, the Arab-Israeli conflict, North Africa, and American foreign policy in the Middle East. Bahgat's career combines academia with practicing national security, and he has served as an advisor to several governments and oil companies. He is the author of eight books, including *Energy Security* (2011), *International Political Economy* (2010), *Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in the Middle East* (2007), *Israel and the Persian Gulf* (2006), and *American Oil Diplomacy* (2003).

Robert R. Bianchi is a political scientist and international lawyer with special interests in China and the Islamic world. He earned his doctorate and law degrees from the University of Chicago. He has taught at the University of Chicago, The University of Pennsylvania, The American University in Cairo, Nanjing University, Qatar University, and The National University of Singapore. His books include *Islamic Globalization: Pilgrimage, Capitalism, Democracy, and Diplomacy*, *Guests of God: Pilgrimage and Politics in the Islamic World*, *Unruly Corporatism: Associational Life in Twentieth-Century Egypt*, and *Interest Groups and Political Development in Turkey*. Currently he is writing a book about China's deepening relations with the Islamic world and their impact on the changing balance of power in Afro-Eurasia and beyond.

Manochehr Dorraj is Professor of Political Science at Texas Christian University and teaches courses in international and comparative politics. He has written extensively on the politics of the Middle East and North Africa, regional foreign policies and international affairs. His latest book, a co-edited volume, is titled *China's Energy Relations with the Developing World*. He has also published numerous scholarly articles and book chapters on China–Middle East energy relations and China–Iran relations. He has been an invited speaker to universities and think tanks throughout the United States, Europe, and the Middle East. He has also given numerous interviews to international, national, and local media on Middle Eastern affairs and their global impact.

Yasser M. Gadallah is Professor of Economics and is the Director of the Chinese-Egyptian Research Center, Helwan University (HU) in Cairo, Egypt. He completed a BA in International Economics from Helwan University and received a licentiate of law from Cairo University. He holds an MA and PhD in International Economics (intellectual property: patents). Previously, he was deputy director of the Foreign Trade Center, HU (2003–2005), Associate Professor of Economics (2008–2013), director of the Quality Assurance Unit (2006–2007), consultant of strategic planning at the Ministry of Higher Education, Egypt (2006–2012); consultant of intellectual property economics at the Information Decision Support Cabinet (2008–2010), League of Arab States (2010–2012). He has authored more than 15 papers on economics, the labor market, higher education, and intellectual property. He has participated in different research projects funded by the World Bank, the Organization of Economic Cooperation Development, the League of Arab States, and the European Training Foundation.

John W. Garver is a professor at the Sam Nunn School of International Affairs at the Georgia Institute of Technology. He is a member of the editorial boards of the journals *China Quarterly*, *Journal of Contemporary China*, and the *Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, and a member of the National Committee on US–China Relations. He is the author of 11 books and over 100 articles dealing with China’s foreign relations. He holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Colorado. He specializes in Asian international relations and China’s foreign relations.

Niv Horesh is Professor of the Modern History of China and Director of the China Policy Institute in the School of Contemporary Chinese Studies at the University of Nottingham. He completed his PhD in Asian Studies at the Australian National University and has worked at the University of Western Sydney, Australia. His researches include the economic history of China, China in world history, the socio-economic history of Shanghai, and eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries depictions of East Asia.

Christina Lin is a fellow at the Center for Transatlantic Relations at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, where she focuses on China’s increasing footprint in the Mediterranean basin and on ways that China, NATO, and US allies can cooperate to resolve regional security issues. She is a former visiting fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and was

selected as a 2011 National Security Fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies. She has extensive US government experience, having served at the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the National Security Council, the Department of State, the Export-Import Bank of the United States, and the federally funded Institute for Defense Analyses. She holds a PhD and an MSc from the London School of Economics, an MA from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, and a BA from the University of California, Irvine.

Neil Quilliam is senior research fellow at Chatham House, where he currently runs a two-year Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO)-funded project, Future Trends in the Gulf. He served as Senior MENA Energy Adviser at the Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO) between 2009 and 2014. Prior to working with the UK government, Quilliam led Control Risks' Middle East and North Africa practice and advised governments and multinationals, including IOCs, on political risk. He played a key role in helping a number of multinationals negotiate a return to the Middle East region following a series of evacuations during the early 2000s. He holds a PhD in International Relations from Durham University and wrote his thesis on Syria and the New World Order. He has authored several books on Syria and contributed many chapters in edited volumes on Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Gulf Co-operation Council states, and serves on the Advisory Committee to Chatham House's GCC Energy Intensity project.

Mohammed Shareef is a fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society (London). He has worked for the United Nations and is Lecturer in Politics and International Relations of the Middle East at the University of Exeter in the United Kingdom and Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Sulaimani in Iraqi Kurdistan. Shareef holds a PhD in International Relations at the University of Durham and has an MSc in International Relations from the University of Bristol. He is a founding member and member of the board of directors of the London Kurdish Institute. His research interests include US foreign policy in the Middle East. He is the author of *The United States, Iraq and the Kurds: Shock, Awe and Aftermath* (2014).

Yitzhak Shichor is Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Asian Studies at the University of Haifa and the Michael William Lipson Chair Professor Emeritus at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. A former dean of students at the Hebrew University and head of the Tel-Hai Academic College, his main research interests include China's Middle East policy;

international energy relations; Chinese defense conversion; labor export; East Asian democratization processes; Sino-Uyghur relations and the Uyghur Diaspora.

Michael Singh is a managing director of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, a nonpartisan think tank. He was formerly senior director for Near East and North African Affairs at the White House (2007–2008) and also served as special assistant to Secretaries of State Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice. He co-chaired Governor Mitt Romney's state department transition team in 2012, and served as a Middle East advisor to the Romney presidential campaign. He has served as an adjunct fellow at the Belfer Center at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government and as an economics instructor at Harvard University, and is a senior advisor to Callaway Capital Management, an emerging markets investment firm. His writings have appeared in *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *International Security*, and elsewhere, and he has appeared as a commentator on CNN, NBC, BBC, and Fox News.

Zan Tao is Associate Professor of Turkish Studies, History Department, and Deputy Director of the Center for Global Modernization Studies at Peking University. He completed his PhD in History at Peking University in 2007. He has been a visiting scholar at Middle East Technical University (2005–2006), Center of Afro-Oriental Studies in Brazil (2008), Bogazici University (2008), and Indiana University-Bloomington (2012–2013). He also worked at Tibetan University (2010–2011).

Ruike Xu has completed his PhD in the School of Politics and International Relations at the University of Nottingham. He holds an MA from Shandong University, China. His research focuses mainly on Anglo–American relations, Israeli–American relations, Alliance theories and China's foreign policy.