

China's New Foreign Policy

Tilman Pradt

China's New Foreign Policy

Military Modernisation, Multilateralism and the
'China Threat'

palgrave
macmillan

Tilman Pradt
Business Network Marketing
Berlin, Germany

ISBN 978-3-319-33294-9 ISBN 978-3-319-33295-6 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-33295-6

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016957348

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made.

Cover illustration: © Hugh Threlfall / Alamy Stock

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG Switzerland

To Emma

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is the result of many years of scientific research and personal travels in Southeast Asia. It is based on my PhD thesis and I am deeply grateful to my thesis supervisor Prof. Dr. Eberhard Sandschneider of the Otto-Suhr-Institut at Freie Universität Berlin for his invaluable input, perpetual nudging, and motivating support throughout the whole process of writing the thesis. Further, I would like to thank my numerous colleagues at the geostrategic analysis and business consultancy Wikistrat for fruitful and often enlightening collaboration over the years. The exchange with you is always rewarding and the many discussions and simulations have been welcome opportunities to debate and further develop my analysis of China's new foreign policy. I would like to thank my editor at Palgrave Macmillan, Sarah Roughley, for her understanding and pleasant professionalism and an anonymous reviewer for the helpful critique.

I would also like to thank my best friend Mob for his steady IT support – without you, this book would never been finalised. Finally, I am endlessly thankful for my family's support, first of all, my wife Marti who mastered with flying colours the many difficult phases an author has to overcome. This book is dedicated to my newborn daughter Emma, whose smile always recharges me in a second no matter how turbulent last night has been.

CONTENTS

1	Introduction: China's New Foreign Policy	1
2	The 'China Threat'	7
3	China's Military Modernisation Programme	15
4	Threatening Moves	49
5	Strategic Considerations	69
6	Assessment of the China Threat	89
7	China's Approach Towards ASEAN	109
8	The South China Sea Territorial Disputes	137

9	Assessment China–ASEAN relations: Indonesian Workshops	171
10	Conclusion: China’s New Foreign Policy	197
	Index	205

ABBREVIATIONS

ABM	Anti-ballistic Missile
ABMI	Asian Bond Markets Initiative
ACC	ASEAN-China Cooperation
ACFTA	ASEAN-China Free Trade Area
ACJCC	ASEAN-China Joint Cooperation Committee
AEC	ASEAN Economic Community
AIIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
AIMO	ASEAN Integration Monitoring Office
AIP	Air-Independent Propulsion
AMM	ASEAN Ministerial Meeting
AMRO	ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research Office
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
APSCO	Asia-Pacific Space Cooperation Organisation
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ARF-SOM	ASEAN Regional Forum Senior Officials Meeting
ASAT	Anti-satellite (Weapon)
ASBM	Anti-ship Ballistic Missile
ASCM	Anti-ship Cruise Missile
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEAN-ISIS	ASEAN Institute of Strategic and International Studies
ASW	Anti-submarine Warfare
AWACS	Airborne Warning and Control System
bbl	Billion Barrels of Oil
CARAT	Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training
CATOBAR	Catapult-Assisted Takeoff but Arrested Recovery
CBM	Confidence-Building Measures
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency

CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CMC	Central Military Commission
CMI	Chiang Mai Initiative
CNOOC	China National Offshore Oil Corporation
CNPC	China National Petroleum Corporation
CPAF	Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries
CSEAS	Centre for Southeast Asian Studies
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
CTBT	Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty
C4ISR	Command, Control, Communication, Computers, Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance
CWC	Chemical Weapons Convention
DDG	Guided-Missile Destroyer
DF	Dongfeng
DOC	Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea
EAPC	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
EAS	East Asia Summit
EASG	East Asia Study Group
EDSM	Enhanced Dispute Settlement Mechanism
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
EIA	Energy Information Administration
ESCSC	Eastern South China Sea Company
FTA	Free Trade Area
FTZ	Free Trade Zone
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEM	Group of Experts Meeting
GPS	Global Positioning System
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IRBM	Intermediate-Range Ballistic Missile
ISM	Inter-Sessional Meeting
ISG	Inter-Sessional Support Group
JMSU	Joint Maritime Seismic Undertaking
LACM	Land-Attack Cruise Missile
LPD	Landing Platform Dock
MFN	Most Favoured Nation
MFSO	Macroeconomic and Finance Surveillance Office
NACC	North Atlantic Cooperation Council
NPT	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PLAAF	People's Liberation Army Air Force

PLAN	People's Liberation Army Navy
PMC	Post-Ministerial Conference
R&D	Research and Development
SAM	Surface-to-Air Missile
SCS	South China Sea
SRBM	Short-Range Ballistic Missile
SSN	Ship Submersible Nuclear
STOVL	Short Take-Off/Vertical Landing
STOBAR	Short Take-Off but Arrested Recovery
TAC	Treaty of Amity and Cooperation
TWG	Technical Working Group
UAV	Unmanned Aerial Vehicle
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
VSTOL	Vertical/Short Take-Off and Landing
VTOL	Vertical Take-Off and Landing
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WPNS	Western Pacific Naval Symposium
WTO	World Trade Organisation

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 3.1	China's arms purchases (Data from SIPRI, available at: http://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers (accessed October 10, 2015))	17
Fig. 3.2	China's defence budget	18
Fig. 5.1	Map of First and Second Island Chains	70
Fig. 6.1	Perception 'China threat'	97
Fig. 7.1	ASEAN subgroups' universe	128
Fig. 8.1	Map of the South China Sea	138
Fig. 8.2	Map of trade flows and sea lanes of the South China Sea	140
Fig. 8.3	Map showing the Paracel and Spratly Islands in the South China Sea	146
Fig. 8.4	Map showing overlapping territorial claims in the South China Sea	149
Fig. 8.5	SCS claimants' joint exploration efforts	166

LIST OF TABLE

Table 6.1 Military expenditure

93