

Look at the World with A Vision of Global Governance:

Dialogue, Cooperation, and Contemporary Chinese

Foreign Policy towards the United States and Africa

By

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Dedication

To

My Parents, All Committee Members, and My Future Family

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Abstract

This dissertation will focus on the development of China's contemporary foreign policy towards the U.S. and Africa in the context of global governance. Due to China's history during the first half of the 20th century and the "reform and opening-up" policy, dialogue and cooperation has become the cornerstone of China's contemporary foreign policy. Dialogue and cooperation in state-to-state relations ensures peaceful approaches to enhance mutual understanding instead of launching military conflicts. Dialogue refers to oral communication between countries, whereas cooperation refers to actions.

The reason that the U.S. and Africa have been selected to concentrate on in this dissertation is due to their characteristics. Although the U.S. is the most developed country with the largest economy, while Africa is a region that has the most developing countries and remains the most impoverished continent in the world, China's contemporary foreign policy towards the U.S. and Africa is similar. Dialogue and cooperation both play a positive role in boosting contemporary China-U.S. relations and China-Africa relations.

Keywords: China, U.S., Africa, Diplomatic Theory, Diplomatic Practice, Global Governance, China Solution

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Prologue

Edward Said, a famous Palestinian American political activist, observes that a prevailing attitude exists in the West where Asian cultures are positioned as inferior to Western cultures. The West, which consists not only of Europe, but also the United States, holds strong prejudice towards Asian cultures. By creating a homogenous image, the West believes that its culture has become more influential and dominant over the history of human civilizations. In other words, Orientalism misidentifies Asia because it argues that people from this area are stereotypically exotic. According to the book, the West believes that “the Oriental is irrational, depraved, childlike, ‘different’; thus the European is rational, virtuous, mature, ‘normal’”.¹ As stated in the book, the “White Man” is a concept referring to the West who holds specific views towards the Orient. The duty of the “White Man” is to help the colored races.² The Orientalist authorities claim to know more about Asia than the people who live there do. Thus, the West holds a position of power over the East. In terms of the West’s perspective, the East is incapable of taking care of themselves. “The East... never find traces of self-government... All their great contributions to civilization... have been made under that form of government (absolute government)...”³ It is imperative for the West to govern the East, providing an excuse for the West to advocate and implement colonialism in the East.

Orientalism is still alive in today’s world, particularly in government policy and state-to-state relations. By linking Orientalism to contemporary China, the West has consistently criticized

¹ Said, Edward. *Orientalism* (ebook). New York: Vintage Books, 1979. Page 61.

² Ibid. Page 243-244.

³ Ibid. Page 53-54.

China's role in global affairs. A total of two typical examples would be stated in the following section including the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and the China-U.S. trade friction.

As a new solution of global governance proposed by China, the BRI has been only implemented for seven years. Thereby, it is normal to witness some difficulties and challenges. Orientalism does apply to the BRI. The West criticizes the BRI as a strategy of expanding China's global influence and attempting to take over the West to dominate the world.

The China-U.S. relationship is one of the most important state-to-state relations all over the world. The China-U.S. diplomatic relationship was officially established on January 1, 1979, and 2019 marked the 40th anniversary of the establishment of China-U.S. diplomatic relations. All in all, the China-U.S. relationship has moved forward steadily although there are setbacks and frustrations over the past four decades. Orientalism does not apply to China-U.S. relations in general, but it applies to specific historic events of China-U.S. relations such as the trade friction.

I earned my doctoral degree at the State University of New York at Buffalo. I first came to the U.S. in 2007 to begin my undergraduate studies. I have been in the U.S. for a total of 13 years. My Chinese cultural background and my experiences in the U.S. make up my personal perspective. Before stating the two examples, I will explicate the two fundamental reasons as to why the West has frequently criticized China's performance in international relations on the basis of my personal perspective.

The first fundamental reason is China's history, particularly during the first half of the 20th century. This period of China's history leads western countries to have a negative attitude and impression towards China.

Although having a large geographic area and huge population, China used to be a country that was weak and indigent in the areas of economic capacity and international prestige during the first half of the 20th century. During that historic period, China was unable to speak out regarding global affairs and its voice was not heard in the international community. Although the revolution led by Sun Yat-sen overthrew the Qing Dynasty, ended two thousand years of monarchy, spread democratic ideas across the whole country, and attempted to establish a republic in 1912, the revolution was not radical for China. In the aspect of foreign affairs, Sun and his administration continued to recognize all unfair international and bilateral treaties signed by the Qing Dynasty and the Western powers due to China's sluggish economic development, unstable political situation, and weak international influence.⁴

Between 1937 and 1945, the invasion war launched by Japan led more than 20 million Chinese soldiers and civilians to lose their lives.⁵ Throughout the eight years of tough resistance, the Chinese people made great sacrifices. Eventually, through working together, the Chinese people successfully fought off Japan's military invasion. However, after the end of the Chinese people's victory in the war of resistance against Japan, a civil war took place in China between the Communist Party of China (CPC) led by Mao Zedong and the Kuomintang led by Chiang Kai-shek. Taken as a whole, the Chinese society was filled with instability and social chaos during the first half of the 20th century. Thus, China did not have a strong capacity to uphold its national interests in international relations.

⁴ Li, Xiaobing. *A History of the Modern Chinese Army*. KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2007. Page 26-27.

⁵ Wu, Chunqiu. "Remember role in ending fascist war." *China Daily*. August 15, 2005.
<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2005-08/15/content_468908.htm>

The second fundamental reason is the so-called “China threat”. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the U.S. has become the only superpower in the world. Under this international background, the West is not willing to see a greater China in the international community. The cold-war mentality still exists: if China rises, the hegemony dominated by the West would be impacted by China’s proactive role in global affairs. In order to contain China’s growing influence in the world, the West has utilized the tool of propaganda in an attempt to portray China as a country that produces global chaos, panic, and horror. Thus, people in western countries commonly have a negative attitude towards China. According to “International Opinions of China” released in 2019, more than 60 percent of citizens in Japan, Sweden, Canada, the U.S., and France had an unfavorable impression towards China. On the contrary, developing countries such as Russia, Nigeria, Lebanon, and Tunisia have more than 60 percent favorable impression towards China among their citizens.⁶

Because of these two reasons, it is imperative for China to change. China used to be a country that cannot speak out in the international community, but the current circumstance is different from the past. Can China speak out in the international community now? Can China’s performance in the international community switch the West’s impression on China? These are the two questions I answer in the following section.

According to Antonio Gramsci’s definition, the subaltern classes refer to “any ‘low rank’ person or group of people in a particular society suffering under hegemonic domination of a ruling elite class that denies them the basic rights of participation in the making of local history

⁶ “International Opinion of China.” Pew Research Center. 2019. <<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/12/05/people-around-the-globe-are-divided-in-their-opinions-of-china/>>

and culture as active individuals of the same nation.”⁷ Subaltern studies apply to the U.S. society such as people settling in ghettos and residents in suburban areas. Race and low incomes are major characteristics of ghettos. However, “In the typical racially segregated urban region, moving outward from the inner core, the density of population decreases, and the income, wealth, and educational level of the people rise. Unemployment rates decline, and racial segregation diminishes.”⁸ This urban structure is determined by the capitalist political economic system, including “the interaction of labor markets, worksites, goods and service distribution, wealth accumulation, and their combined effect on the survival of individuals... .”⁹ With the rapid development of globalization, successful wage laborers and capitalists reap benefits by integrating into this system. In contrast, those laborers who are unable to integrate into this system would likely suffer from poverty, often leading to ghettos becoming their homes.

In regard to subaltern cosmopolitanism, Boaventura de Sousa Santos’ perspective concentrates on the organizational level instead of the individual level. He argues that “it is possible for different struggles to form a kind of counter-hegemonic globalization against unbridled expansion of global capitalism.”¹⁰ Thus, subaltern cosmopolitanism does apply to state-to-state relations and the history of China-U.S. relations. Under the global pattern of the 1950s, the People’s Republic of China (PRC), which was founded in 1949, was viewed as a subaltern while the U.S. was viewed as a hegemony. During that historic period, China, as a

⁷ Louai, El Habib. “Retracing the concept of the subaltern from Gramsci to Spivak: Historical developments and new applications.” *African Journal of History and Culture: Volume 4(1)*, page 4-8, January 2012.

⁸ Haynes, Curtis, Jr. “Commentary on black political economy.” *The Journal of Philosophical Economics*, III:2, page 164-172. 2010.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Zeng, Minhao. “Subaltern cosmopolitanism: concept and approaches.” *The Sociological Review: Volume 62, Issue 1*. 2014.

socialist country that was not playing a crucial role in global affairs, perceived the U.S. as an imperialist country because of its containment policy and the ideology of American exceptionalism.

In fact, China is no longer a “subaltern” in today’s world. The policy of “reform and opening-up” initiated by Deng Xiaoping has successfully switched China’s role in global affairs from being silent to being able to speak out. If the founding of the PRC is considered to be the most important revolution for China in the 20th century, the “reform and opening-up” can also be considered to be another influential revolution for China in the 20th century.

In 1978, Deng was officially confirmed as the second paramount leader of the CPC during the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Additionally, this session proved to be a turning point in the direction of China’s policies regarding economic, social development, and foreign affairs due to the approval of the “reform and opening-up” policy. It was decided at this conference that the model of economic development in China would be transformed from a centrally planned economy to a market economy, and that China’s economic cooperation with other countries would be expanded.

Since implementing the “reform and opening-up” policy, China’s gate has been open to the world. Interactions between China and the rest of the world have been strengthened. China’s international prestige has been consistently raised. The situation of the world and the Chinese society is always changing, therefore, the “reform and opening-up” is an ongoing revolution for China, and it seemingly will not come to the end in the future.

As for the dissertation structure, the first three chapters of this dissertation will present a broad overview of China's foreign policy. Chapter one will explore why and how dialogue and cooperation are engaged in China's diplomatic theory. Chapter two will explore the BRI, China's most important diplomatic practice in the contemporary era. The third chapter will argue that China's institutional reform approved in 2018 has impacted China's overall foreign policies. It is indisputable that China's global influence has grown, but before the institutional reform, Beijing's foreign policy system was not structured to manage the complex global situation. In order to ensure that China's foreign policy would be coordinately and efficiently formulated and implemented, the reform plan of the Party and the state institutions decided to establish a number of agencies that are helpful for the future development of China's foreign affairs.

The concept of global governance is engaged in the contemporary China-U.S. relationship because it is a state-to-state relationship that moves beyond the bilateral scale, becoming more influential in the international community. The following two chapters will discuss China's foreign policy in regard to the U.S. Chapter four will focus on how the China-U.S. relationship has been nurtured. Chapter five will focus on a new model of major-country relations between China and the U.S. as well as China's foreign policy in regard to the U.S. during the Trump administration.

The final two chapters will discuss China's foreign policy towards Africa. Due to similar historic experiences, China and Africa have supported each other over the past few decades. China helped Tanzania and Zambia build a cross-border railroad, and African countries voted the PRC to take over Taiwan's seat in the United Nations (U.N.). There are 54 sovereign states in Africa, and each of them has different circumstances. The sixth chapter will explore the China-

Africa comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership, as well as China's foreign policy towards four typical African countries: Libya, South Africa, Liberia, and Djibouti. The final chapter will focus on the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), a new model of multilateral cooperative mechanism, which was created at the beginning of the 21st century to boost the rapid development of China-Africa relations. China and Africa need a joint mechanism to achieve the win-win cooperation that contains over 50 countries.

There are two typical examples of the ways in which the West criticizes China's role in foreign affairs and global governance. The first example is the BRI. Misrepresented by the West, the BRI is seen as the "debt trap" created by China, making a large number of indigent countries that are unable to pay off China's debts. However, there is no connection between the BRI and the "debt trap". More details will be discussed in the second chapter.

The second example is the China-U.S. trade friction. The Trump administration created the trade friction with China in 2018. However, China uses the strategy of dialogue and cooperation to properly deal with the trade friction, which will be analyzed in the fifth chapter.

I will discuss the outbreak of the novel coronavirus pneumonia (COVID-19) in more than 200 countries and territories since the late 2019 in the epilogue of my dissertation.

All in all, my aim of writing this dissertation is to state China's foreign policy towards the U.S. and Africa from the standpoint of an international student from China.

Chapter One: Why Dialogue and Cooperation Are Engaged in

China's Diplomatic Theory

Theories of Global Cooperation

The practice of international relations needs a theoretical foundation. In order to thoroughly elaborate on China's foreign policy towards the U.S. and Africa under the framework of global cooperation, several theories will be discussed including global governance, globalization, the theory of openness, and the theory of cooperation.

Global Governance

Global governance is a process of coordination and cooperation among all nation-states. Every nation-state should benefit from global governance, which must prioritize collective interests of all participating nation-states rather than the interests of any single nation-state in the international community. The format of global governance and cooperation is various, including bilateral governance and multilateral governance. As the "United Nations Charter" states, the purpose of the U.N. is "to maintain international peace and security... to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace..."¹¹ By emphasizing the importance of global cooperation, the aim of the "United Nations Charter" is to ensure that countries would develop friendly relations based on the principle of equality and mutual respect.

¹¹ *UN Charter*. United Nations. October 24, 1945. <<https://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-i/index.html>>

Considered to be a major step to achieve goals such as international peace, financial stability, political reform, and eradication of global pandemics, international laws shape global governance and cooperation, guaranteeing global governance and cooperation remains on tracks. Since the establishment of the U.N., the development of international laws has been considered as a recognition of the interests of the international community rather than the protection of state interests. Every activity regarding state-to-state relations should be regulated under the framework of international treaties.¹²

Globalization

Referring to the procedure of multilateral interaction and cooperation arising from the interchange of world views, globalization is increasing connectivity where technology, ideas, services, and trades are transferred around the globe. The rapid development in finance, trade, transportation, telecommunication, education, as well as science and technology has become a significant component in promoting globalization, generating further economic interdependence and cultural exchange between countries. Globalization moves beyond borders between countries, and it increases the openness of markets, particularly through the elimination of barriers to trade in commodities and services. The crucial aim of economic globalization for developing countries is to reduce poverty and increase the standard of living, which is achieved by developing countries' increased access to foreign funds from industrialized nations. The funds

¹² Zürn, Michael. *A Theory of Global Governance: Authority, Legitimacy, and Contestation*. First ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

could be used for improving education, health, transportation, agriculture, and urbanization in developing nations.

Edwards Morse's "Transnational Economic Processes" argues that transnational activities in the international community should focus on international economic interdependence.¹³ At the beginning of the article, Morse states the two reasons that transnational perspective regarding international affairs should focus on economic activities. First, "transnational processes seem to have arisen in the contemporary international system after the technological revolution induced persistent economic growth in the highly developed or modernized societies of Western Europe."¹⁴ The achievement of the British economic development in the 19th century, through extensive applications of science and technology, expanded its power and influence on a global scale. The mobility of economic resources such as raw materials is affiliated with revolutionary innovations in the field of transportation and communication.¹⁵ Second, transnational economic activities were undergoing as a result of the political regimes under which the industrialization process took place. The main incentive of private industrialists and bankers in industrialized countries was producing profits, and they were eager to take advantage of low-cost international sourcing to boost the rapid development of transnational economic activities.¹⁶

In light of Morse's perspective, science and technology played a unique role in transnational economic activities during the 19th century. The accelerated increase in the mobility of people was one of the most significant outcomes of the application of science and technology. The

¹³ Morse, Edward L. "Transnational Economic Processes." *International Organization* 25, no. 3 (1971): 373-397.

¹⁴ Ibid. Page 375.

¹⁵ Ibid. Page 375.

¹⁶ Ibid. Page 375.

development of transportation such as innovation in railroad construction and aviation industry increased the capacity of transportation and lowered the cost of shipping. The openness of borders to immigration in the 19th century and the attraction of raw materials in Australia and the U.S. resulted in an unprecedented movement of people between countries. The removal of barriers between countries promoted people from different areas to communicate and interact. Due to these factors, a large number of people traveled abroad to seek better employment opportunities.¹⁷

Besides the mobility of people, the mobility of capital has promoted economic development and prosperity between states since the 1950s. The mobility of capital refers to the movement of money for the purpose of investment, trade or business production. For instance, both infrastructural reconstruction of European countries after the World War II, and the creation of the European Economic Community fostered the contemporary mobility of capital.¹⁸

Meanwhile, the transformation of international economic and political relations since the late 20th century has been dramatic. The growth of transnational economic activities between states highly depends upon education, knowledge, academic research, and their applications.¹⁹

Theory of Openness

¹⁷ Ibid. Page 385.

¹⁸ Ibid. Page 386.

¹⁹ Ibid. Page 396.

In general, openness refers to one country's interaction with other countries and the absorption of new knowledge from others in the international community. Global governance, globalization, bilateralism, and multilateralism reflect the trends of the theory of openness.

China was isolated from the rest of the world for one decade due to the Cultural Revolution between 1966 and 1976. However, China changed its development model due to the leadership of Deng. The "reform and opening-up" is a fundamental policy that has been sweeping across China since the late 1970s, adjusting the direction of China's future development.²⁰ As the second paramount leader of China, Deng unveiled the blueprint of China's economic reform that China would gradually transform its economic development model from centrally planned economy to market economy in the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in December, 1978.²¹

With the implementation of the "reform and opening-up" policy, China started to frequently interact with the U.S. A large number of the U.S. enterprises have been attracted to China in order to seek further foreign investments. The China-U.S. diplomatic relationship was formalized in 1979.²² Deng became the first supreme leader of China who paid an official visit to the U.S.²³ Before the implementation of the "reform and opening-up" policy, China was isolated from the

²⁰ CGTN. "Live: Conference celebrating 40th anniversary of China's reform and opening-up". Filmed [December 2018]. YouTube Video, 3:25:52. Posted [December 17, 2018]. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oO8ZsePBfks>>

²¹ "zhongguogongchandang dishiyijie zhongyangweiyuanhui disanci quantihuiyi gongbao." "Communique of the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China." December 22, 1978. <http://book.theorychina.org/upload/28066b9c-ef98-446a-81d5-813e683dafa/>

²² "Joint Communique on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the People's Republic of China and the U.S. of America." *Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the U.S. of America*. December 16, 1978. <http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/zmgxs/doc/ctc/t36256.htm>

²³ "The Establishment of Sino-U.S. Diplomatic Relations and Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping's Visit to the U.S." *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China*. https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/ziliao_665539/3602_665543/3604_665547/t18007.shtml

rest of the world, but since the economic reform in 1978, China has been more positive and proactive in global governance. The “reform and opening-up” policy that Deng initiated is not only instrumental to China’s economic construction, but also is helpful for the development of China’s foreign affairs during the new era where China needs to cooperate with other countries in the world.

Becoming an official member of the World Trade Organization (WTO) is considered to be a milestone for China’s engagement with the global economic community. In part, this is due to the fact that it took China 15 years to finish the negotiation process with other major economic powers including the U.S. and the European Union (E.U.). Since joining the WTO, China has agreed to expand the market access through avenues such as telecommunications and lower tariffs in agricultural sector. This commitment has provided enormous opportunities for China to speed up its economic globalization process and to attract more foreign investments in boosting China’s economic reform. Becoming a WTO member not only benefits China’s domestic reform and development, but also provides a platform for China to participate in the global economic governance and shape the rules of international trade system with other WTO members.²⁴

Theory of Cooperation

Liu Jianfei is a professor at the Central Party School of the CPC. In the book *Modernization of China’s International Relations*, Liu stresses the importance of cooperation among states due to the three reasons. First, the theory of cooperation describes a situation in which multiple

²⁴ Wei, Shang-Jin, Guanzhong James Wen, and Huizhong Zhou. *The globalization of the Chinese economy*. Cheltenham; Northampton, MA: E. Elgar, 2002.

interactions occur, allowing various actors to learn from each other and draw from each other's strengths in the international arena, rather than the theory of the balance of power in international relations that national security is enhanced, where military capability is distributed to ensure that no state is strong enough to dominate others. The theory of cooperation attempts to resolve any international disputes through peaceful negotiation rather than the use of military force. Second, the theory of cooperation concentrates on exchanges, reciprocal interests, and common prosperity which leads to extensive interaction, coordination, interdependence, and communication throughout the international community. In order to maintain long-term cooperation, various countries and international organizations need to nurture more interconnected and interdependent coordination and collaboration. Third, the theory of cooperation boosts the rapid development of mechanisms or institutions of global governance where they provide a platform for states to negotiate responses to issues that affect different regions or more than one nation-state. The current world needs multilateralism because every country is not isolated from the world to deal with bilateral or multilateral issues due to the rapid development of global governance and globalization. The most fundamental principle of bilateralism and multilateralism addresses international issues through dialogue and consultation on the basis of the collectively agreed rules that every country's interests and concerns should be taken into consideration.

Although liberalism is a pivotal theory of international relations that advocates cooperation between states,²⁵ the theory of cooperation and liberalism are the two different schools of

²⁵ Karns, Margaret, and Karen Mingst. *International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.: Boulder, CO. 2010.

thought in international relations. Liberalism includes a concept that advocates to form alliances that China's foreign policy cannot accept. Thus, liberalism does not apply to China's foreign affairs. The theory of cooperation encourages the establishment of partnerships between countries instead of forming alliances. Establishing partnerships attempts to make new friends while forming alliances attempts to create a small circle that targets other countries not in this circle as competitors or rivals. Hence, liberalism is a western school of thought in international relations emphasizing the cooperation between states within an alliance. For instance, Israel is an ally of the U.S. When the Trump administration announced to withdraw from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Israel also declared to withdraw. The U.S. and Israel were cooperating with each other when they decided to withdraw from the international organization. Another example is the collective defense within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). If any NATO members are attacked by other countries that are not affiliated with the NATO, the other NATO members can jointly counterattack. Overall, liberalism is not a comprehensive theory of international relations to describe the contemporary China-U.S. relationship because China and the U.S. do not form an ally. Competition and cooperation both exist in China-U.S. relations.

Cooperation and competition are the major behaviors of states. Overall, competition can be classified into two different formats: positive competition and negative competition. On the one hand, positive competition refers to legal competition under the framework of international treaties. Countries endeavor to improve their people's living standard. Therefore, countries in the world have different levels of economic development. When countries have different levels of economic development, it is better to use cooperation to eliminate differences. If differences

cannot be eliminated immediately, countries need to set differences aside and wait for a better time to resolve. Positive competition is normal and natural among all countries. On the other hand, negative competition refers to military conflicts among countries, but the consequence of military conflicts damages social security and stability.

China's foreign policy attempts to achieve cooperation instead of confrontation, and to establish partnerships instead of forming alliances. The theory of cooperation stresses the communication, dialogue, interaction, and partnership between states in the world. China and the U.S. have differences and divergences in a large variety of fields such as political ideology, human rights, intellectual property, and currency exchange, but the two countries are able to obtain goals that benefit their people under the theory of cooperation. Thus, the concept of "achieving cooperation in competition" does apply to the contemporary China-U.S. relationship.

Theoretical Foundation of China's Foreign Policy

The One-China Principle and the "One Country, Two Systems" Theory

The Taiwan issue is a political issue that is left over from China's civil war in 1949. There was a civil war between the CPC led by Mao Zedong and the Kuomintang led by Chiang Kai-shek. The PRC was officially established on October 1, 1949, ending the civil war between the two political parties. However, Taiwan was not liberated by the CPC at the same time. The Kuomintang led by Chiang moved to Taiwan and established a self-governed regime to control the island. Since 1949, the Taiwan issue has become the most salient and sensitive issue regarding China's foreign relations with other countries in the world. On the one hand, the Chinese government insists on the use of peaceful approach to achieve the state reunification, but on the other hand, the

territorial integrity is a core interest of China. The Chinese government is committed to not relinquishing the use of armed force to resolve the Taiwan Issue.

Premier Zhou Enlai delivered important remarks regarding China's foreign policy on August 11, 1954. He stressed that the Taiwan issue had been a domestic affair of China without any interventions of foreign countries. He also said that "the people of China and the People's Liberation Army must redouble their efforts in every field, heighten their vigilance, avoid the pitfall of conceit, overcome all difficulties, and struggle to the end to fulfill the glorious task of liberating Taiwan and defending world peace."²⁶ Premier Zhou's remarks signaled a warning to the Taiwan authority. Taiwan is a part of China, and China's territorial integrity should be maintained all the time. China was ready for liberating Taiwan by the use of armed forces anytime. However, given the fact that Taiwan was still recognized and supported by many Western countries and China's military capacity was unable to compete with the West, China did not hastily launch military actions to liberate Taiwan.

Regarding China's foreign affairs with other countries, adhering to the one-China principle is a core condition. The prerequisite of establishing diplomatic relations with China is severing so-called diplomatic relations with Taiwan. As the most important state in the socialist campaign, the Soviet Union immediately became the first country to establish a diplomatic relationship with China, only three days after the founding of the PRC. Other socialist countries also followed the Soviet Union to establish diplomatic relations with China, including the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Albania. In 1950, Sweden became the

²⁶ Chiu, Hungdah. *China and the Question of Taiwan: Documents and Analysis*. New York, NY: Praeger. 1973.

first Western country to recognize the PRC as the only legitimate government representing China in the international community. China's diplomacy made a substantial breakthrough in 1964. The government of French Republic, under the leadership of Charles de Gaulle, officially announced to recognize the PRC, becoming the first major Western country to establish a diplomatic relationship with China.²⁷

The change of international environment helped the PRC gain more support regarding the one-China principle in the 1970s. The U.N. General Assembly approved a resolution on October 25th, 1971 to officially recognize that "the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China are the only lawful representatives of China to the U.N. and that the People's Republic of China is one of the five permanent members of the Security Council" and expel "the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the U.N. and in all the organizations related to it."²⁸ China's diplomacy obtained a remarkable achievement through the resolution. It was the first time for the most influential intergovernmental organization to recognize China's territorial integrity. After the approval of this resolution, more than 30 countries, including Japan and the United Kingdom, moved their embassies from Taiwan to Beijing. Over time, China's international status was gradually recognized by countries in the world.²⁹

²⁷ *zhongfa jianjiao gongbao. Communique on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between China and France.* Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. January 21, 1964.

https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/gjhdq_676201/gj_676203/oz_678770/1206_679134/1207_679146/t7274.shtml

²⁸ *United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2758.* United Nations. October 25, 1971.

<http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/56/a56638.pdf>

²⁹ *zhonghua renmin gongheguo yu geguo jianli waijiaoguanxi riqibiao. Dates of Establishment of Diplomatic Relations with the People's Republic of China.* Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China.

https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/ziliao_674904/2193_674977/

In order to properly deal with issues regarding the national reunification, Deng initiated the “one country, two systems” theory. When meeting with Yang Liyu, Professor at Seton Hall University, Deng delivered remarks regarding how to achieve the national reunification.³⁰ He stressed that Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan would retain their capitalist economic systems as well as the separation of powers under the framework of “one country, two systems” while mainland China would implement the socialist system under the CPC leadership. The definition of “special administrative region” was first written into the PRC Constitution in 1982. According to the Constitution, “the state will establish the special administrative region when it is necessary. The system in the special administrative region shall be prescribed by laws enacted by the National People’s Congress on the basis of specific conditions.”³¹ The three administrative regions with special status, Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan maintain their own currencies and formulate their own policies on culture, education, technology, and social welfare.

In 1997 and 1999, the sovereignties of Hong Kong and Macau were respectively transferred from the U.K. and Portugal to the PRC, ending over one and a half centuries of British and Portuguese rule. Although Taiwan’s circumstance is distinguished from Hong Kong and Macau, the success of transferring the sovereignty of Hong Kong and Macau highlighted the importance of peaceful negotiation to accomplish the national reunification as well as laid a foundation for the Chinese government to peacefully resolve the Taiwan issue.

³⁰ Deng, Xiaoping. “Six Proposals of Achieving the Reunification of the Motherland.” *China International Publishing Group*. 1983. <<http://www.china.com.cn/chinese/zhuanti/ffl/733737.htm>>

³¹ *zhonghua renmin gongheguo xianfa. The Constitution of the People’s Republic of China*. National People’s Congress. 1982. <http://www.npc.gov.cn/englishnpc/Constitution/node_2825.htm>

As one of the most fundamental diplomatic theories of China, the one-China principle, became legalized within China's law system. In 2005, the 3rd Plenary Session of the 10th National People's Congress of the PRC approved the "Anti-Secession Law", becoming the first law in China to prevent the state to be separated and promote the national reunification.³² The law can be considered to be a compilation of the CPC's theories and policies towards Taiwan as well as a blueprint regarding the future development of the cross-strait relationship. Most articles of the Anti-Secession Law are pertinent to how to peacefully accomplish the mission of national reunification. The Chinese government will continue to make more efforts to promote economic and cultural exchanges between mainland China and Taiwan. In the aspect of politics, the state government agrees to hold peaceful talks with the Taiwan authority regarding the future status of the Taiwanese authority itself and Taiwan's participation in nongovernmental international organizations. Given the fact that Taiwan's status is more complex compared to Hong Kong and Macau, the law also states that Taiwan will have a high degree of autonomy under the "one country, two systems" framework after the national reunification. For instance, Taiwan will maintain its armed forces. However, Taiwan's high degree of autonomy does not equate to having full autonomy. Like Hong Kong and Macau, Taiwan will not have any powers in diplomatic affairs. The Article 8 of the law stipulates that non-peaceful means would be used to destroy the "Taiwan independence movement" in the event of any of the following three circumstances taking place. First, if the "Taiwan independence movement" declares the fact that Taiwan is officially separated from China. This condition includes active actions such as a referendum of

³² Hu, Jintao. "Order of the President of the People's Republic of China, No. 34." *China Daily*. March 14, 2005. <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2005-03/14/content_424643.htm>

“Taiwan independence”. Second, if any major events that lead to Taiwan’s official separation from mainland China take place. This condition includes passive actions such as foreign intervention through the use of armed forces, or Taiwanese leaders’ official visitation to countries that maintain diplomatic relations with China. Third, if the possibility of achieving the national reunification through peaceful means is completely lost. This includes any other events leading to Taiwan’s official separation from China that are not included in the previous circumstances. The third condition emphasizes the “possibility” and “completely”. If all peaceful means are completely lost, China will have to achieve the national reunification through the use of armed forces. Nonetheless, the non-peaceful means are only targeted at the “Taiwan independence forces” rather than the Taiwanese compatriots. It is critical to note that the non-peaceful means are the final choice for the Chinese government to use. If there is only 1 percent possibility to accomplish the mission of peaceful reunification, the Chinese government will spend 100 percent effort to make it happen.³³

Between 2008 and 2016, Ma Ying-jeou served as leader of the Taiwan authority. Unlike his predecessors such as Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian, Ma was more pragmatic in Taiwan’s so-called diplomatic affairs. Taiwan’s economic capacity was unable to compete with mainland China. If Taiwan wanted to continue pushing small and weak countries to acknowledge the so-called sovereignty of Taiwan, Taiwan’s international space would be further restricted by the Chinese government. Therefore, he decided to suspend the “diplomatic battle”³⁴ with mainland

³³ *The Anti-Secession Law*. National People’s Congress. March 14, 2005. <https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Anti-Secession_Law>

³⁴ In the period of administrations led by Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian, Taiwan was trying to drag countries that had recognized the People’s Republic of China through huge financial aids.

China. The “diplomatic truce”³⁵ occurred during Ma’s two terms as leader of the Taiwanese authority, meaning that there were no countries who officially transferred diplomatic allegiance between mainland China and Taiwan besides Gambia. In fact, a few countries who had been Taiwan’s diplomatic allies attempted to express their aspirations to establish an official diplomatic relationship with China on the basis of acknowledging the one-China principle, including El Salvador and Panama. In 2009, the El Salvadoran government, under the leadership of Mauricio Funes, actively sought to develop its relations with Beijing. At the time, Costa Rica was the only Central American country who maintained a diplomatic relationship with Beijing. Therefore, the El Salvadoran ambassador to Costa Rica, who maintained the close contact with the Chinese ambassador to Costa Rica, introduced El Salvador’s foreign minister to the Chinese ambassador in order to negotiate the diplomatic recognition.³⁶ Richard Martinelli, Panama’s president at the time, sent Foreign Minister Juan Carlos Varela to Beijing in January 2010 to negotiate a potential diplomatic establishment between Panama and China. However, Varela was told by his Chinese counterpart that Beijing would not accept Panama’s initiative.³⁷ Taken as a whole, given the fact that the cross-strait relationship was steadily developed during the Ma administration, China regretfully rejected El Salvador and Panama’s request in order to not undermine the warming of the cross-strait situation.

³⁵ In the period of administration led by Ma Ying-jeou, no country switched the diplomatic recognition except for Gambia.

³⁶ “zhongguoqiandashi: zhongsajianjiao zhenshe ‘taidu’, diqu daidong xiaoying qianglie” “Former Chinese ambassador: the establishment of China-El Salvador diplomatic relations deters the ‘Taiwan Independent Movement’, and more countries in the region will follow the trend.” *Global Times*. August 21, 2018. <<http://world.huanqiu.com/exclusive/2018-08/12783777.html?agt=15422>>

³⁷ “WikiLeaks: China rejects Panama’s wish for ties.” *Associated Press*. May 12, 2011. <<https://www.foxnews.com/world/wikileaks-china-rejects-panamas-wish-for-ties>>

The “diplomatic truce” has been changed after Tsai Ing-wen was elected as the leader of the Taiwan authority in January 2016. Gambia, a Western African country, severed the so-called diplomatic relationship with Taiwan in November 2013. However, mainland China did not seek to resume the diplomatic relationship with Gambia immediately due to Ma’s friendly attitude towards Beijing. However, as Ma’s term approached to the end, the China-Gambia diplomatic relationship was officially resumed on March 17th, 2016.³⁸ Gambia was the sole state that switched the diplomatic recognition in the Ma administration. This move demonstrated a warning to the upcoming Tsai administration. If Tsai does not acknowledge the “1992 Consensus”, Taiwan’s international space would face more arduous challenges.

Since Tsai came to power in May 2016, Sao Tome and Principe, Panama, Dominican Republic, Burkina Faso, El Salvador, Solomon Islands, and Kiribati have respectively established or resumed their diplomatic relations with China. Tsai has become an incorrigible servile flunky. She expects the U.S. government to pressure other countries not to develop normal diplomatic relations with mainland China. On the one hand, the U.S. showed strong concerns regarding the expansion of China’s diplomatic influence in Central America by calling its ambassadors to Central American countries back to Washington D.C.³⁹ and issuing a statement to oppose China’s diplomatic actions.⁴⁰ This is due to the fact that Central America is traditionally perceived as a backyard of the U.S., and the U.S. has been vigilant about China’s growing influence in this area. It is

³⁸ *Joint Communiqué between the People’s Republic of China and the Islamic Republic of The Gambia on Resumption of Diplomatic Relations*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China. March 17, 2016. <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/t1348575.shtml>

³⁹ “U.S. Chiefs of Mission to the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, and Panama Called Back for Consultations.” *U.S. Department of State*. September 7, 2018. <<https://www.state.gov/u-s-chiefs-of-mission-to-the-dominican-republic-el-salvador-and-panama-called-back-for-consultations/>>

⁴⁰ *Statement from the Press Secretary on El Salvador*. The White House. August 23, 2018. <<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-press-secretary-el-salvador/>>

predictable that Central America could become China's sphere of influence in the future. However, the Central American countries are sovereign entities recognized by the U.N. that independently conduct diplomatic and strategic affairs based on their national interests instead of being influenced by the U.S. government. As the incumbent President of El Salvador Nayib Bukele said before his inauguration, "we are not going to do what is in the U.S.' best interests..., we are going to do what is in El Salvador's best interests."⁴¹

Pacific Islands countries used to be a "victorious area" of the "Taiwan diplomacy". By the end of August 2019, a total of six Pacific Islands countries, including Solomon Islands, Kiribati, Nauru, Palau, Marshall Islands, and Tuvalu, maintained the so-called diplomatic relationship with Taiwan, accounting for one-thirds of Taiwan's "diplomatic allies". On September 16th and 20th, 2019, Solomon Islands and Kiribati respectively cut off the so-called relationship with Taiwan, causing Taiwan to experience a "diplomatic avalanche" within half week. As Solomon Islands and Kiribati chose to establish or resume diplomatic relations with China, they actually chose to stand in line with the historical trend. 2019 was a special year for China because October 1st was the 70th anniversary of the founding of the PRC. On the occasion of this anniversary, the diplomatic switch of Solomon Islands and Kiribati was an excellent gift for China's diplomatic achievement. Solomon Islands was considered to be the most influential country among Taiwan's so-called diplomatic allies in the Pacific Ocean due to its population and geographic size. The decision regarding the diplomatic establishment between China and Solomon Islands was Solomon Islands' own choice. When Manasseh Sogavare, Prime Minister of Solomon Islands was interviewed by

⁴¹ Americas Society/Council of the Americas. "An Interview with El Salvador's Nayib Bukele at the 49th Washington Conference in the Americas." Filmed [May 2019]. YouTube Video, 26:17. Posted [May 8, 2019]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qPs_eif3Z8Y>

an Australian news media before determining to formalize diplomatic relations with China, he said a total of 40 police officers were sent to Taiwan for training. However, Australia's foreign minister forced Taiwan to stop training Solomon police officers since Solomon Islands is Australia's sphere of influence. Suppose Solomon Islands sent police officers to China for training, the result would be different. China would not succumb to Australia's intervention. China spoke up for upholding the legal interest of small and weak countries because training police officers was business between China and Solomon Islands. Any other countries should not intervene in normal cooperation between two sovereign nations.⁴² Although the U.S. pressured Solomon Islands not to give up Taiwan's political support and economic assistance over the past 36 years,⁴³ Solomon Islands still decided to stand with most countries in the world to recognize the government of the PRC as the only legal government representing China in the international community. Prime Minister Sogavare delivered a statement to illustrate the importance of establishing the diplomatic relationship with China. China is a responsible country in the international community, and it will not create the "debt trap" for Solomon Islands. The loans that Solomon Islands asked from China have only been used for Solomon Islands' economic improvement, and Solomon Islands will have the capacity to pay off the loans before their due dates. Meanwhile, the government of Solomon Islands must ensure that the people of Solomon Islands understand that "Taiwan under international law is not entitled to have diplomatic relations with any sovereign country in the world because it is not recognized as a country by the

⁴² Packham, Ben. "Pacific nations set to cut ties with Taiwan." The Australian. September 11, 2019. <https://www.theaustralian.com.au/nation/politics/pacific-nations-set-to-cut-ties-with-taiwan/news-story/482339d5099675be20828fa9e78f7315>

⁴³ Barrett, Jonathan. "U.S. officials urge caution as Solomon consider cutting Taiwan link." Reuters. September 12, 2019. <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-pacific-china-solomonislands/u-s-officials-urge-caution-as-solomons-considers-cutting-taiwan-link-idUSKCN1VX0F7>>

United Nations. Our sovereign decision to sever the diplomatic relations is therefore consistent with international law.”⁴⁴

Compared to Solomon Islands, Kiribati is a smaller islands country in the Pacific Ocean with a population of over 110,000. Although Kiribati’s level of economic development is not the same as Solomon Islands, Kiribati has been concerned about its infrastructural construction. On the one hand, due to its geographic location, the long distance between Kiribati’s islands create a natural obstacle for its people to communicate with each other. By helping Kiribati improve its infrastructural construction, more tourists will choose Kiribati as their destination. On the other hand, Kiribati’s income mainly comes from fees placed on foreign fishing fleets that operate on Kiribati’s water. According to a research report published by the Pacific Community, the total value of the fishery market in Kiribati’s controlled water in 2014 was over \$1 billion.⁴⁵ China’s demand in seafood contributes to Kiribati’s economic development. As the government of Kiribati mentions in a statement, its decision in favor of the PRC is based on a long internal review and a comprehensive assessment of Kiribati’s foreign relations. Resuming diplomatic relations with China is in the best interests of the people of Kiribati.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ “Statement by the Prime Minister Hon. Manasseh Sogavare on Switch to China.” Solomon Times. September 22, 2019. <<https://www.solomontimes.com/news/statement-by-the-prime-minister-hon-manasseh-sogavare-on-switch-to-china/9362>>

⁴⁵ Gillett, Robert. *Fisheries in the Economics of Pacific Island Countries and Territories*. The Pacific Community. 2016. <https://www.spc.int/sites/default/files/wordpresscontent/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Gillett_16_Benefish-fisheries-in-economies-of-pacific-countries.pdf>

⁴⁶ “Kiribati said national interest behind cutting Taiwan ties in favor of China.” Reuters. September 21, 2019. <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-taiwan-diplomacy-kiribati/kiribati-says-national-interest-behind-cutting-taiwan-ties-in-favor-of-china-idUSKBN1W609C>>

By the end of 2019, Taiwan only had 15 so-called diplomatic allies, reaching its lowest point in the history.⁴⁷ In contrast, a total of 180 countries in the world have established diplomatic relations with China on the basis of acknowledging the one-China principle, which, in turn, became a globally universal consensus.⁴⁸

Traditional Chinese Philosophy

As a crucial component of traditional Chinese philosophy, Confucianism advocates that “people all over the world are brothers” (四海一家皆兄弟), “peace but difference” (和而不同), “peace is precious” (和为贵), “work together with one heart” (和衷共济), and “peace and harmony should prevail” (协和万邦). Confucius also said that “anything you dislike cannot be pressured on others to accept” (勿施于人), illustrating that the Chinese people cherish peace, amity, and harmony as the essential concepts of Confucianism include peace, harmony, cooperation, and coordination between humankind and nature. According to these principles, military conflict is not a proper way to resolve issues in society. Sun Tzu was a famous military strategist in ancient China who wrote *the Art of War*. Although his book is about military tactics, the first sentence of *the Art of War* is that “military affair, which is relevant to survival or death, is an important affair to one state, requiring to have a thorough research.”⁴⁹ This illustrates that countries should be cautious before coming engaged in a war. With regards to the theories of

⁴⁷ *Diplomatic Allies*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China.

<<https://www.mofa.gov.tw/en/AlliesIndex.aspx?n=DF6F8F246049F8D6&sms=A76B7230ADF29736>>

⁴⁸ *zhonghua renmin gongheguo yu geguo jianli waijiaoguanxi riqibiao. Dates of Establishment of Diplomatic Relations with the People's Republic of China*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China.

<https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/ziliao_674904/2193_674977/>

⁴⁹ Sun Tzu. *Art of War*. Leicester, UK: Allandale Online Publishing, 2000.

<https://sites.ualberta.ca/~enoch/Readings/The_Art_Of_War.pdf>

China's foreign policy such as the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, the harmonious world, and building a community of the shared future for mankind (CSF), they are inherited from concepts of traditional Chinese philosophy. Even though there are a large variety of countries, races, civilizations, ideologies, and models of economic development, people across the world should strive to achieve harmonious coexistence by transcending boundaries and removing barriers. Although it is ideal to achieve the goal of "people all over the world are brothers", the core thought of China's foreign policy is attempting to build a better world without physical conflicts among states.

When applying the theory of China's foreign policy to global governance, they have much in common with Confucianism. For instance, the "Shanghai Spirit" that the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) initiates is consistent with mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality, consultation, respect for diverse civilizations, seek common development, and win-win cooperation.⁵⁰ The spirit emphasizes the importance of equal dialogue and consultation, reflecting all-round interaction and coordination among member states centered on the "United Nations Charter" including political trust, economic development, cultural exchange, and security assurance. Although the SCO is the first intergovernmental international organization in the world that is named through a Chinese city due to the fact that it was officially established at Shanghai in 2001, the SCO is not an intergovernmental international organization dominated by China. The voice of all SCO member states should be heard before all major decisions pertinent to the SCO's future development are approved by the Council of SCO Heads of State. Aimed at mutual support and

⁵⁰ *Charter of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization*. Shanghai Cooperation Organization. 2002.

assistance in bilateral and international affairs, the SCO expects its member states to nurture all-round partnerships instead of forging military alliances that only targets specific countries or international organizations. Currently, the SCO consists of eight members that have different populations, political systems, ideologies, geographic sizes, levels of economic development, and cultural traditions, but most member states share borders with each other. In order to achieve long-lasting stability and the common prosperity between the neighboring countries, leaders of China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan have agreed to incorporate the notion of “good-neighborliness, friendship, and cooperation” (睦邻友好合作) into the relevant SCO document.⁵¹ In fact, after years of operation and development, the SCO’s conference mechanism is more mature, providing an exceptional platform for member states to discuss a large variety of domestic, bilateral, regional, and global issues. The annual SCO summit is hosted on a rotational basis in every member state, strengthening the frequency of communication, dialogue, and interaction among leaders of SCO member states. Thus, the SCO member states utilize the advantage of short geographic distance, complementary economics, and a shared consensus regarding fighting against terrorism, separatism, and extremism to boost mutual trust and common development under the guidance of the “Shanghai Spirit”.

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

In the 1950s, as a newly established republic that had been invaded and colonized by Western countries for more than one century, the PRC realized that its foreign policy could not be conducted on the basis of aggression or hegemony. Additionally, China’s level of economic

⁵¹ *Agreement on the Long-term “Good-neighborliness, Friendship, and Cooperation” of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization*. Shanghai Cooperation Organization. 2008.

development still lagged behind from the rest of the world. It was imperative for China to strengthen its domestic economic development, improve people's living standard, and uphold the interests of developing countries in the international community.

Although the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence was proposed by Premier Zhou during a meeting with an Indian delegation in 1953⁵², it is still the major guiding thought of China's current foreign policy. It emphasizes mutual respect for other countries' territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in internal affairs of countries, equality and cooperation for mutual benefit, as well as peaceful coexistence between states. In a historical context, the world experienced the two world wars during the first half of 20th century. A number of countries were facing arduous challenges of reconstruction. To preclude military conflicts from taking place once again in the future global pattern, Premier Zhou's proposal emphasized an amicable relationship among countries. Only a peaceful and stable international environment is conducive to countries in order to improve their economy. In the context of China's foreign relations, the China-India border issue negotiation was in process. In 1951, Tibet was liberated by the Chinese armed forces and the central government of PRC took over the governance of Tibet. Tibet, as one of China's autonomous regions, shares a long border with India. Dated back to 1914, Tibet and British-ruled India was divided by the "McMahon Line", which is considered to be a geographic dividing line imposed on China by imperialism. Therefore, it has never been recognized by the PRC central government. A geographic area with 65,000 square kilometers caused by the "McMahon Line" was a central argument of the China-India border and territorial

⁵² "FPPC – China's basic diplomatic policies." *China Daily*. June 26, 2014.
<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2014-06/26/content_17617847.htm>

dispute. Premier Zhou's proposal of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence became China's major strategic theory regarding its border dispute negotiation with India. Both China and India have agreed to use peaceful means to resolve the border and territorial dispute that was a leftover historical project. In the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and India, signed by China and India in 1954, both countries have put forward to promote trade and cultural exchanges and facilitate pilgrimages and travels on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.⁵³ China and India also believed that a stable and amicable political situation would create a solid foundation for future trade and cultural exchanges between Tibet and India. It was the first time that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence would be incorporated into a bilateral diplomatic document over the China's diplomatic history.

On the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, China would neither impose its ideologies on other countries to conduct its foreign policy nor launch military actions to resolve bilateral or global disputes. Since China experienced a semi-colonial and semi-imperial society between 1840 and 1949, it clearly understands that peace is not easy to achieve. During Premier Zhou's visit to India in 1954, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence was incorporated into the China-India joint statement, confirming that it would not only apply to China-India relations, but would apply to state-to-state relations regardless of different countries' social systems and development models.⁵⁴ China's aspirations regarding peaceful coexistence is political, economic,

⁵³ *Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and India*. April 29, 1954. Ministry of External Affairs of the Republic of India. <<https://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/7807/Agreement+on+Trade+and+Intercourse+with+Tibet+Region>>

⁵⁴ *zhongyin liangguo zongli guanyu hepinggongchu wuxiangyuanze de lianheshengming*. Joint Statement on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence by Heads of Government of China and India. June 28, 1954.

<<https://zh.wikisource.org/zh-hans/%E4%B8%AD%E5%8D%B0%E4%B8%A4%E5%9B%BD%E6%80%BB%E7%90%86%E5%85%B3%E4%BA%8E%E5%92%8C%E5%B9%B3%E5%85%B1%E5%A4%84%E4%BA%94%E9%A1%B9%E5%8E%9F%E5%88%99%E7%9A%84%E>

cultural, and security negotiation and collaboration to eliminate imperialism and hegemony by uniting all countries in the international community.

Adopted in the 1955 Asian-African Conference in Bandung, Indonesia, the Ten Principles is an extension of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and an extraordinary diplomatic declaration for developing countries to uphold their territorial integrity and secure social stability. In the course of history, developed countries have shown disrespect for developing countries and even oppressed them. This has led to developing countries distrusting developed countries and even becoming hostile to them. The Ten Principles is a worldwide intergovernmental consensus to strengthen the solidarity of all developing countries, oppose military actions, and ensure that developing countries and developed countries are being treated as equals in the international community.⁵⁵

As a pivotal diplomatic theory to govern state-to-state relations that has been acknowledged by the international community, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence has produced a profound impact on promoting global peace and stability and upholding the interests of developing countries, as well as boosting the South-South cooperation. This is due to three aspects of its core concept. First, that peaceful and harmonious relations between states should be advocated for in order to boost common development. Second, that international affairs cannot be handled or monopolized by developed countries. Third, that bilateral and international

8%81%94%E5%90%88%E5%A3%B0%E6%98%8E>

⁵⁵ *Final Communique of the Asian-African Conference of Bandung*. April 24, 1955.

<https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/final_communique_of_the_asian_african_conference_of_bandung_24_april_1955-en-676237bd-72f7-471f-949a-88b6ae513585.html>

disputes should be resolved through peaceful means such as dialogue and consultation instead of the use of armed forces.

The Harmonious World

In 2005, the notion of the “harmonious world”, a new theory of China’s diplomacy, was officially put forward under the leadership of the fourth paramount leader of China. In a speech delivered at the Summit of the 60th Anniversary on the Founding of the U.N., President Hu Jintao outlined a three-point proposal advocating multilateralism for common security, win-win cooperation for common prosperity, as well as inclusiveness and coexistence of different civilizations.⁵⁶ Compared to China’s previous diplomatic theories that stress political trust and economic development, promoting understanding of different civilizations is a new component of China’s diplomatic theories. The harmonious world is pertinent to the “peaceful rise”⁵⁷, which is proclaimed by China as a major mission to improve its international reputation. Although diplomatic and military power still plays a significant role in traditional national power, there is no doubt that cultural exchange, a major component of soft power, has become more critical in the current international community. The “peaceful rise” includes the importance of soft power. For instance, the Confucius Institute holds open Mandarin classes for foreigners to learn about the traditional Chinese culture. In addition, China’s Ministry of Education provides international students fellowships in order to study a wide range of majors and courses at Chinese universities. Foreign graduates will then go back to their home countries to make a positive contribution on

⁵⁶ Hu Jintao, “Build Toward A Harmonious World of Lasting Peace and Common Development.” *United Nations*. September 15, 2005. <<https://www.un.org/webcast/summit2005/statements15/china050915eng.pdf>>

⁵⁷ *China’s Peaceful Development Road*. The State Council Information Office. December 22, 2005. <http://en.people.cn/200512/22/eng20051222_230059.html>

their countries' economic development and societal construction. Education is a career that benefits every country's younger generation, and nearly 500,000 international students chose to study at Chinese universities in 2018.⁵⁸ By fostering a large number of international talents, China is viewed as a peaceful contributor that is instrumental to global development and prosperity.

Building a Community of the Shared Future for Mankind (CSF)

Over the second decade of the 21st century, the relationship between China and the rest of the world has made an unprecedented transformation. China is now at the center of the global stage. The world starts to pay close attention to what role China plays in the international community, what influence China exerts in global affairs, and what commitment China makes to other countries. In response to these questions, China's diplomatic theory has shifted based on the principle of "progress with the times" (与时俱进)⁵⁹, and a number of updated diplomatic theories have been put forward by Xi Jinping, the fifth paramount leader of China. It includes the theory of building a community of the shared future for mankind (CSF), which advocates for global peace and common development and for promoting the construction of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). This is based on the principle of achieving shared growth through discussion and collaboration, building a new model of major-power relationship between China and the U.S., building China-Africa relations centered on the "truth, pragmatism, amity, and sincerity" (真、实、亲、诚),⁶⁰ as well as advocating to establish partnerships with other countries on the basis

⁵⁸ "Statistical Report on International Students in China for 2018." Ministry of Education. April 17, 2019. <http://en.moe.gov.cn/documents/reports/201904/t20190418_378692.html>

⁵⁹ The principle of "progress with the times" refers to all Party's works should be kept updated depending on China's domestic situation and international situation. This principle was first put forward by Jiang Zemin, 3rd paramount leader of China, at the 15th National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1997.

⁶⁰ Xi, Jinping. "Trustworthy Friends and Sincere Partners Forever, Speech at the Julius Nyerere International Convention Center." March 25, 2013. <<https://www.en84.com/nonfiction/remarks/201304/00012352.html>>

of dialogue and cooperation. Overall, China's diplomatic practice based on the updated diplomatic theory under the leadership of President Xi has promoted the development on a new type of relationship between China and the rest of the world.

The CSF, which was officially proposed by President Xi in the remarks delivered at Moscow State Institute of International Relations in 2013,⁶¹ refers to every country's future destiny that is interconnected. People should build the earth to be an amicable family and turn people's aspiration towards a better life into reality. President Xi systemically elaborated on the theory in the remarks at the General Debate of the 70th Session of the U.N. General Assembly in 2015, including five major aspects: politics, security, economics, culture, and ecology. In regard to politics, it is significant to build a partnership in which countries treat with each other as equals as well as a partnership with mutual consultation and mutual understanding between states. In regard to security, no country will maintain absolute security with its own efforts. All countries should work together to fight against unstable elements facing the world such as terrorism and extremism. In the aspect of economics, China advocates the vision of innovative, balanced, sustainable, open, and shared development. In the aspect of culture, all civilizations should be respected and protected. Dialogue is encouraged to promote mutual learning between different civilizations. Finally, in regard to ecology, human and nature should harmoniously coexist. China advocates to seek cooperation among states to build a beautiful homeland that is clean, sustainable, and low-carbon.⁶² China's domestic policy and its foreign policy are consistent. These

⁶¹ Xi, Jinping. "Following the Trends of Our Time and Promoting World Peace and Development, Speech at Moscow State Institute of International Relations." *On Building A Human Community with A Shared Future: Beijing*, Central Compilation & Translation Press. Page 6-14.

⁶² Xi, Jinping. "Working Together to Forge a New Partnership of Win-win Cooperation and Create a Community of Shared Future for Mankind." *United Nations*. September 28, 2015.

five major aspects of the CSF reflect China's domestic governance strategy titled the Five-Sphere Integrated Plan, which encompasses the coordinated development between politics, economic development, cultural exchange, societal management, and ecological civilization. While there are over 190 sovereign states and more than 2,000 ethnic groups, the common goal of people is to pursue a better life. Whether it is domestic governance or global governance, the Chinese government endeavors to fulfill people's aspirations as the major objective. The people-centered global development should be considered to be a common mission for all states.

Overall, the CSF proposed by President Xi is the latest outcome and achievement of China's diplomatic theory, which is not only a guiding principle for China's diplomatic strategy in the new era, but also a new goal of China's diplomatic affairs and a new role for China in the international community. The future trend of the world is the people-centered global development. China defines itself as a major country with international responsibility, a contributor to world peace and development, as well as a protector of international order. By initiating the CSF, China has updated its diplomatic strategy from "observe calmly; secure our position; cope with affairs calmly; hide our capacities and bide our time; be good at maintaining a low profile; and never claim leadership (冷静观察，稳住阵脚，沉着应对，韬光养晦，善于守拙，决不当头)"⁶³ to "more energetic and proactive"⁶⁴. As Xi stated in the report to the 19th CPC National Congress, "it is time for us to take central stage in the world and to make a greater contribution to

<https://gadebate.un.org/sites/default/files/gastatements/70/70_ZH_en.pdf>

⁶³ "Deng Xiaoping's '24-Character Strategy'." <<https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/china/24-character.htm>>

⁶⁴ China has held a large number of international summits and events since 2013. China's diplomatic theory such as the CSF illustrates that China wants to contribute on global development and prosperity. These two examples demonstrate "more energetic and proactive".

humankind (这个新时代，是我国日益走近世界舞台中央、不断为人类作出更大贡献的时代。).”⁶⁵ Compared to China’s international status in the 20th century, China’s global influence in the second decade of the 21st century cannot be mentioned in the same breath.

In October, 2017, the CSF was written into the two resolutions titled “No first placement of weapons in outer space” and “Further practical measures for the prevention of an arms race in outer space”, transforming China’s diplomatic theory into an international consensus. The resolution of “No first placement of weapons in outer space” stressed that,

“recognizing the common interest of all mankind in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes, seriously concerned about the possibility of an arms race in outer space and of outer space turning into an arena for military confrontation..., practical measures should be examined and taken in the search for agreements to prevent an arms race in outer space in a common effort towards a community of shared future for humankind.”⁶⁶

The resolution of “Further practical measures for the prevention of an arms race in outer space” stressed that,

“Encouraging all States to contribute actively to the prevention of an arms race in outer space..., with a view to promoting and strengthening international cooperation in the

⁶⁵ “Full text of Xi Jinping’s report at 19th NPC National Congress.” *Xinhua News Agency*. October 18, 2017. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/special/2017-11/03/c_136725942.htm>

⁶⁶ *No first placement of weapons in outer space*. United Nations General Assembly. October 12, 2017. <https://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/C.1/72/L.53>

exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes, with the objective of shaping a community of shared future for mankind.”⁶⁷

Although there is only a short citation in the two documents, incorporating the CSF into the U.N. resolutions was a victory of China’s diplomacy in the international community. The U.N. documents containing the CSF are pertinent to the importance of upholding and securing international peace, indicating that China’s diplomatic theory is advancing harmonious coexistence and peaceful development among states. Furthermore, China’s diplomatic theory was the only one stated in the U.N. documents, demonstrating that the CSF has gained global recognition and support.

Mr. Antonio Guterres underscored the importance of global governance, multilateralism, and the CSF in his speech delivered at the 1st Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation Forum. He said that “we live in a world with global problems, so only a global solution can address global problems, and the world needs to have mechanisms of governance allowing countries to manage the problem.”⁶⁸ “A community of the shared future for humankind is currently a good strategic approach that unites all countries in the world to resolve global problems.”⁶⁹

Under the guidance of the CSF, the format of global governance that the Chinese government has proposed can be summarized into the bilateral meeting between China and

⁶⁷ *Further practical measures for the prevention of an arms race in outer space*. United Nations General Assembly. October 13, 2017. <https://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/C.1/72/L.54>

⁶⁸ Guterres, Antonio. “Remarks at the Belt and Road Forum Leaders’ Roundtable”. *United Nations*. May 15, 2017. <<https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/speeches/2017-05-15/secretary-general%E2%80%99s-belt-and-road-forum-roundtable-remarks>>

⁶⁹ Guterres, Antonio. “Remarks at the Opening of the Belt and Road Forum”. *United Nations*. May 14, 2017. <<https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/speeches/2017-05-14/secretary-general%E2%80%99s-belt-and-road-forum-remarks>>

other countries, the collective meeting between China and other countries, and the multilateral summit hosted in China. The bilateral meeting between China and other countries is the most common format of global governance that China proposes. The Chinese leadership receives foreign dignitaries in China and also pays state, official, and working visits to other countries. Since President Xi's inauguration in 2013, China's diplomacy has been considerably more active. President Xi and other Chinese leaders received foreign dignitaries from over 170 countries. The collective meeting between China and other countries refers to a type of multilateral meeting between China and other countries that are located at the same geographic area. If the Chinese leadership does not have time to visit other countries in the same geographic area, the Chinese government will invite other leaders to the host country for a collective meeting. The format of a collective meeting is more efficient, saving the Chinese leadership's travel time to go to every country in a region. Although it is a meeting attended by more than two leaders, the collective meeting is more bilateral, referring to China's foreign policy directed towards a specific region. For instance, President Xi hosted the China-Caribbean Summit at Trinidad and Tobago in 2013. In a working lunch attended by President Xi along with other leaders of the Caribbean region, China promised to send 100 members of medical staffs to the Caribbean countries and provide the Chinese government-sponsored fellowship to fund 1,000 students from the Caribbean countries.⁷⁰ President Xi hosted the China-Pacific Summit at Papua New Guinea in 2018, inviting seven leaders of the Pacific islands countries that maintain diplomatic relations with China to Papua New Guinea for the collective meeting. A total of nine heads of state and government

⁷⁰ "Xi pledges more assistance to Caribbean countries." *China Daily*. June 3, 2013.
<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2013xivisit/2013-06/03/content_16557717.htm>

participated in the summit, and the two sides agreed to elevate the bilateral relationship between China and the Pacific islands countries to the comprehensive strategic partnership.⁷¹ The multilateral meeting refers to China's participation in international events or international events hosted in China. It includes the annual general debate of the U.N. General Assembly, the annual G20 summit, the annual APEC summit, and the annual conference of the SCO Council of Heads of State. Since President Xi's inauguration in 2013, China's "home diplomacy"⁷² has been frequent. On the one hand, foreign leaders exchanged ideas regarding a wide range of global issues under the platform of global governance, reinforcing the importance of international cooperation. On the other hand, foreign leaders took this opportunity of China's "home diplomacy" to deepen state-to-state relations with China through talks with Chinese leadership. Additionally, they have a better understanding about China's rapid development through visiting Chinese cities.

The CSF is a macro-diplomatic theory. With respect to specific regions and country, China has respectively proposed the theories of building a China-Africa community of the shared future⁷³, building a China-Arab community of the shared future⁷⁴, building a China-Laos community of the shared future⁷⁵, and building a maritime community of the shared future⁷⁶.

⁷¹ "China, Pacific islands countries lift ties to comprehensive strategic partnership." *Xinhua News Agency*. November 17, 2018. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-11/17/c_137612239.htm>

⁷² China has hosted a number of summits and international events since 2013. It is called China's "home diplomacy" because summits and international events have been held in different Chinese cities.

⁷³ *Beijing Declaration-Toward an Even Stronger China-Africa Community with a Shared Future*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. September 5, 2018.

<https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/2649_665393/t1593686.shtml>

⁷⁴ CGTN. "Live: Xi addresses China-Arab States Cooperation Forum." Filmed [July 2018]. YouTube Video, 1:02:40. Posted [July 9, 2018]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EQ44LLwl_GU>

⁷⁵ "China, Laos to advance building community of shared future." *Xinhua News Agency*. May 30, 2018. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-05/30/c_137218420.htm>

⁷⁶ "Xi Focus: Xi proposes building maritime community with shared future." *Xinhua News Agency*. April 23, 2019.

The CSF mainly includes developing countries. In China's diplomatic parlance, there is no theoretical description between China and any developed countries in respect to the CSF. The CSF between China and developing countries demonstrates that the high-level mutual trust between the two sides has been fostered. Signed by President Xi and Bounnhang Vorachith, President of Laos in April 2019, the action plan of building a China-Laos community of the shared future is the first bilateral cooperative document of China's ruling party that incorporates a specific country into the CSF. China and Laos are both socialist countries that share borders with each other, and they do not have any military conflicts or territorial disputes throughout history. All paramount leaders of Laos maintain a friendly attitude towards China. In 2000, China and Laos defined the bilateral relationship as having "long-time stability, good neighborliness, mutual trust, and comprehensive cooperation".⁷⁷ In 2009, the China-Laos bilateral relationship was elevated to the "comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership".⁷⁸ The first state visit that Xi paid after the 19th CPC National Congress included Laos, and China perceived Laos as a stable and reliable country that will deepen cooperation. In the field of poverty alleviation, both China and Laos have the common goal that improves people's living standard. Due to the similar political ideologies and amicable relations, it is imperative for the two heads of state to sign a cooperative document that jointly builds a China-Laos community of the shared future. This document is

<http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-04/23/c_138001104.htm>

⁷⁷ *zhongguo gongchandang he laowo renmin gemingdang guanyu goujian zhonglao mingyungongtongti xingdong jihua. Action Plan on Building a China-Laos Community of the Shared Future by the Communist Party of China and the Lao People's Revolutionary Party.* Xinhua News Agency. May 1, 2019. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/2019-05/01/c_1124440753.htm>

⁷⁸ Ibid.

called the “action plan”, demonstrating that concept has been turned into action and vision has been turned into reality regarding the China-Laos cooperation.

Not referring to any specific countries or regions, building a maritime community of the shared future is a unique theoretical goal proposed by President Xi when meeting with foreign navy commanders on the sideline of the event marking the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army (PLA).⁷⁹ As President Xi said in the meeting, “the blue planet that humans inhabit is not divided into islands by the oceans, but is connected by the oceans to form a community with a shared future.”⁸⁰ In fact, on the one hand, the reason that China proposed to build the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road is to promote maritime connectivity on the basis of the ocean. On the other hand, several issues regarding the ocean such as fighting against pirates and the rise of sea level should be resolved through joint efforts from states.

The West is not interested in the CSF proposed by China. In terms of the perspective of then-Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister of Germany Sigmar Gabriel, he thought that China’s latest diplomatic theory was proposed on the basis of China’s political ideology instead of universal values that the Western countries advocate such as freedom, democracy, and human rights.⁸¹ In response to denouncement, China strongly defended the theory as an opportunity to promote equality and win-win cooperation among all nation-states in the international community.⁸²

⁷⁹ “Xi Focus: Xi proposes building maritime community with shared future.” *Xinhua News Agency*. April 23, 2019. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-04/23/c_138001104_2.htm>

⁸⁰ “Commentary: A shared future for our blue planet.” *Xinhua News Agency*. June 8, 2019. <<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201904/24/WS5cbf55c2a3104842260b7dff.html>>

⁸¹ “Speech by Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel at the Munich Security Conference.” *Federal Foreign Office of Germany*. February 17, 2018. <<https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/newsroom/news/rede-muenchener-sicherheitskonferenz/1602662>>

⁸² Wang, Yiwei. *The Belt and Road: What Will China Offer the World in Its Rise*. 2016,

Compared to the old model of international relations that stresses the zero-sum game, the CSF is a new model in the contemporary era, emphasizing common development and prosperity, as well as the use of peaceful negotiation to resolve global disputes.

This chapter summarizes China's diplomatic theory and how China's diplomatic theory reflected China's traditional philosophy and fundamental thoughts on international relations. A good diplomatic theory should be sustained by a good diplomatic practice. China has turned its diplomatic theory into a practice. The BRI proposed by President Xi in 2013 is a prominent measure to illustrate the importance of global governance and globalization in the new era. The following chapter will argue how the BRI has impacted the world.

Chapter Two: The Belt and Road Initiative: China's Latest Diplomatic Practice

What Is the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)?

The BRI marks a huge change in China's foreign policy as it is a plan initiated by China regarding how the world will be developed in the future. The BRI, which was first announced by President Xi in 2013, becomes the most ambitious project regarding global governance in modern history. President Xi respectively delivered two speeches in Kazakhstan and Indonesia, stressing the importance of the ancient silk road and maritime silk road. Meanwhile, he proposed a new concept of building a contemporary silk road and maritime silk road for the 21st century. In fact, the BRI is a global development strategy with the purpose of strengthening trade, infrastructure, and investment relationships between China and the rest of the world.

More than 2,100 years ago during China's Han Dynasty, Zhang Qian, a Chinese envoy, was sent to Central Asia with a mission of peace and friendship. His trip marked the official start of the ancient silk road, which spread goods, ideas, and culture across Europe, the Middle East, and China. At the beginning of the 15th century, Zheng He, a Chinese explorer and mariner during the Ming Dynasty, traveled to Southeast Asia and East Africa a total of seven times. Unlike the ancient world, people in today's world are more interconnected. The BRI is a policy innovation that forges economic ties as well as deepens exchanges and cooperation in the Eurasian region and the world. As President Xi stated in his remarks in Kazakhstan, a total of five approaches shall be enhanced between China and Central Asia, including policy coordination, road connectivity, trade facilitation, currency circulation, and cultural exchange.

The BRI is a comprehensive cooperative mechanism. Policy coordination is comprised of hosting the BRI summit and boosting high-level exchanges between the participating countries. Road connectivity, trade facilitation, and currency circulation consist of economic cooperation. Culture exchange is mainly focused on exchanges between people and different civilizations.

The reason that President Xi selected Kazakhstan to propose the Silk Road economic belt can be summarized in three points. First, the ancient Silk Road crosses the Eurasian area centered on Central Asia. Second, Kazakhstan is the most important Central Asian country, and its GDP ranks first among all Central Asian countries. Third, Kazakhstan is one of China's most important neighbors in Central Asia due to the long border between the two countries. First President Nursultan Nazarbayev supported the development of the SCO and proposed to establish the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA), making a huge contribution on regional integration and stability. The government of Kazakhstan, led by Nazarbayev, has formed an unbreakable partnership with the government of China, which is led by three Chinese paramount leaders including Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao, and Xi Jinping.

Southeast Asia is a significant component of the ancient maritime Silk Road. During the remarks at the Parliament of Indonesia, President Xi proposed to build the maritime Silk Road for the 21st century, including a chain of seaports stretching from China to Southeast Asia, South Asia, Africa, and Mediterranean Sea. The reason that President Xi selected Indonesia to propose the maritime Silk Road for the 21st century was because of Indonesia's regional influence. As the only G20 member state in Southeast Asia, Indonesia is in a position to elevate all Southeast Asian countries' voices in the international community.

The core concept of the BRI is infrastructural connectivity. The “belt” refers to overland routes stretching from Central Asia to Europe. The “road” refers to maritime networks and shipping routes running from China to Southeast Asia, Africa, and Europe. According to a study conducted by the Asian Development Bank (ADB), efficient and balanced infrastructural construction supports economic growth and poverty elimination. For instance, road and railway networks lower transportation costs. Infrastructural constructions in regard to social aspects uplifts health and education services. The development of this infrastructure has a positive impact on improving living standard. For instance, more people can access sanitation, electronic power, transportation, and the internet.⁸³ As a Chinese saying goes, “building roads is the first step towards wealth and prosperity (要致富，先修路).” A strong transportation link is instrumental for people-to-people exchange and trade facilitation. For China’s domestic development, building an overland economic connectivity with Central Asia is helpful for China’s remote western provinces and autonomous regions to boost their economic growth. For the world, the BRI is aligned with developmental strategic plans of other countries and international organizations on the basis of state-to-state, regional, and global connectivity.

The most visible part of the BRI is infrastructural constructions such as railways, roads, ports, and bridges. Across the world, the BRI has met billions of dollars in investment from China. In Kenya, China built a \$3.2 billion railroad between the capital city of Nairobi and the port city of Mombasa. The approximate travel time between the two cities before this railroad was ten hours.

⁸³ Straub, Stephane, Akiko Terada-Hagiwara. “Infrastructure and Growth in Developing Asia.” ADB Economics Working Paper Series[C]. *Asia Development Bank*, 2010, 11:1.
<<https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/28275/economics-wp231.pdf>>

The construction of this railroad reduces travel time to only four hours, approximately one-third of the time it took on the old railway system.

Infrastructural constructions under the BRI framework produce two questions: how can countries produce sufficient funding for the BRI construction? How are projects selected for the BRI construction? The answer to these two questions comes from the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). Under the principle of achieving shared growth through discussion and collaboration, the AIIB consults with countries and decides which projects are more suitable for the future economic development of recipient countries. On the one hand, the AIIB provides loans that recipient countries will have a capacity to pay off after the construction is completed. The AIIB is not willing to provide loans to any projects that may cause additional financial problems such as debts. On the other hand, the AIIB attracts companies in the world to invest in infrastructural projects under the BRI framework, which helps bring more money in. Companies throughout the world can compete on a fair basis regarding investing in projects. The purpose of constructing infrastructure projects is not only to bring convenience to their people, but also to produce economic profits and to protect the environment of recipient countries. As Danny Alexander, Vice President of the AIIB said in an interview, the selection of construction projects should be based on three criteria including the “economically beneficial”, the “environmentally sustainable”, and the “socially acceptable”⁸⁴.

With the rapid development of the BRI over the past seven years, a new model of global governance and globalization has been formed. In contrast to the G20 that concentrates on

⁸⁴ CGTN. “AIIB’s keys to success.” Filmed [May 2019]. YouTube Video, 12:32. Posted [May 1, 2019]. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hCdx42q8sJA>>

economic and financial cooperation, the BRI covers collaboration and interaction in various fields such as trade exhibitions, human resources training, educational exchanges, and cultural festivals.

The BRI is comprised of six transnational economic corridors such as the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), the China-Central Asia-West Asia Economic Corridor (CAAWAEC), the China-Mongolia-Russia Economic Corridor (CMREC), the Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor (BCIMEC), the China-Indochina Peninsula Economic Corridor (CIPEC), and the Eurasia Land Bridge (ELB). It also comprises of six routes including roads, railways, shipping routes, flight routes, pipelines, and information highways.⁸⁵

The CPEC is a typical example of demonstrating the importance of China's strategic and economic intent not only to Xinjiang, but to Central Asia and South Asia. In 2002, China began to help Pakistan build a new port in the small town of Gwadar, which was completed in 2006. In 2013, when Li Keqiang, Premier of the State Council of China, visited Pakistan, he put plans forward to build an economic corridor based on the Gwadar port.⁸⁶ The CPEC is designed to explore a new trading route for China where the overland silk road is integrated with the maritime silk road. Overall, the CPEC, which links China's western region to Pakistan's port city of Gwadar, is a significant trading route for China because of its geographic location. China has a huge demand for energy, and it is the largest oil importer in the world. On the one hand, Xinjiang, which is the largest administrative division in Western China, has abundant gas resources and

⁸⁵ *Building the Belt and Road: Concept, Practice and China's Contribution*. Office of the Leading Group for the Belt and Road Initiative. May 2017: Page 10.

<<https://eng.yidaiyilu.gov.cn/wcm.files/upload/CMSydylyw/201705/201705110537027.pdf>>

⁸⁶ "Li Keqiang: China-Pakistan ties 'unbreakable', economic corridor planned." *Gbtimes*. May 23, 2013.

<<https://web.archive.org/web/20140312032536/http://gbtimes.com/china/li-keqiang-china-pakistan-ties-unbreakable-economic-corridor-planned>>

has been threatened by terrorism, separatism, and extremism. The “East Turkestan” movement has led to a number of violent events in Xinjiang. Instead of using a militarized approach to address the “East Turkestan” movement, building this economic corridor is helpful for facilitating trade exchanges and enhancing people-to-people exchange with different cultural backgrounds. Thus, creating economic growth seems to be an effective approach to remove cultural barriers and eliminate extreme ideologies. Xinjiang and Pakistan share a long border, and the CPEC has secured a new route for goods, particularly oil and gas. The CPEC is playing a leading role in transporting Xinjiang’s gas resources to Pakistan and other countries in the world. On the other hand, Gwadar is an important port city in Indian Ocean, and it is an advantage for countries in Middle East and East Asia to transport their oil sources to Pakistan and China through the CPEC.

According to the chart below, Pakistan’s GDP has gradually grown between 2013 and 2017. In 2013, the annual GDP growth of Pakistan was only 4.4 percent. However, the annual GDP growth of Pakistan was 5.7 percent in 2017 through China’s investment and the establishment of the CPEC. The CPEC has increased the potential of economic growth because it has created more than 75,000 career opportunities in Pakistan. According to the progress report on the portal website of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, Chinese companies subcontract projects to local companies in Pakistan, improving relevant upstream and downstream industries including raw material processing and the catering industry.⁸⁷ Due to economic benefits that the CPEC has delivered, the bilateral relationship between China and Pakistan has been upgraded to all “all-weather” strategic cooperative partnership in 2015.⁸⁸ In terms of China’s diplomatic terminology,

⁸⁷ “Latest Progress on CPEC.” *China-Pakistan Economic Corridor*. December 31, 2018.

<<http://www.cpecinfo.com/news/latest-progress-on-cpec/NjQ4MQ==>>

⁸⁸ *Joint Statement on Establishing All-weather Strategic Cooperative Partnership between the People’s Republic of*

the “all-weather” bilateral relationship refers to a very close partnership between two countries in a variety of fields such as political trust, economic cooperation, cultural exchange, and societal management no matter how international situation has changed. The “all-weather” strategic cooperative partnership is the highest level of partnership between China and another country, and Pakistan is the only country in the world that has established this type of bilateral relationship with China.

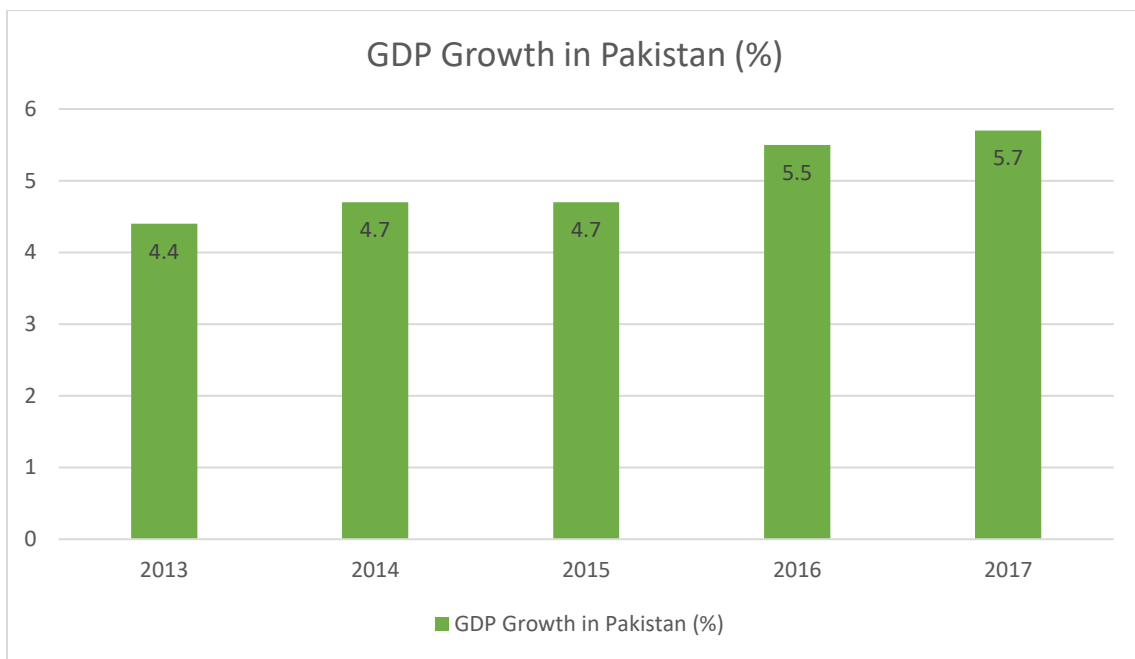


Figure 1: Annual GDP Growth in Pakistan between 2013 and 2017⁸⁹

At the same time, China’s economy has been boosted through its foreign investments in all of the participating countries of the BRI. In particular, Chinese construction companies have changed their development models so that they are not only aimed at domestic infrastructure

China and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. April 20, 2015. <http://issi.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Pak-China_Year_of_Friendly_Exchange_Doc-4.docx.pdf>

⁸⁹ “GDP Growth in Pakistan.” *World Bank*.

<<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=PK>>

constructions, but instead putting more investments in foreign countries. Due to the BRI, Chinese construction companies' business has been expanded. The BRI has elevated from the level of domestic governance into the height of global governance. It has enhanced interconnectivity and created economic growth for China and the world.

Why did China launch the BRI?

China's current role in global affairs is distinguished from the early stage of implementing the "reform and opening-up" policy. As the largest developing country and the second largest economy in the world, China needs to play a more influential role and shoulder more important responsibilities in the international community.

On the basis of strategic perspective, maintaining a sound relationship with its neighboring countries is a key success to China's overall diplomacy. China is a country that has the most neighboring countries in the world, sharing borders with 14 countries. Guaranteeing security and stability as well as boosting economic and trade cooperation are the two cornerstones of China's relationship with its neighboring countries. As a Chinese saying goes, "a far-off relative is not as helpful as a near neighbor (远亲不如近邻)." Building a community of the shared future between China and its neighboring countries is an essential component of the CSF. At the Symposium of China's Peripheral Diplomatic Work in 2013, Xi Jinping stressed that "maintaining stability in China's neighborhood is the key objective of peripheral diplomacy. We must participate in the process of regional economic integration, speed up the process of building up infrastructure and connectivity. We must build the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road,

creating a new regional economic order.”⁹⁰ As the first national conference regarding China’s diplomatic affairs since Xi took the office in 2012, the Symposium of China’s Peripheral Diplomatic Work has laid out the development direction of China’s overall diplomatic policy. With the emphasis on maintaining a role as a defender of international peace and a contributor to global development, China’s foreign policy has been adjusted. The new Chinese leadership has adopted a more proactive and pragmatic diplomatic strategy, one that aims to create sound external surroundings for China. China’s international influence would be further reinforced in the Xi administration.

On the basis of economic perspective, China has adopted an economic policy that advances manufacturing industry to export their goods to the rest of the world since implementing the policy of “reform and opening-up”. The Western countries in the world prefer to conduct business with China because of abundant natural resources, complete industrial systems, and low-cost and high-quality labor forces. According to the World Bank’s statistics, China’s manufacturing value added accounted for 22 percent of the world’s manufacturing value added, while America’s manufacturing value added accounted for 16 percent of the world’s manufacturing value added in 2012. China went beyond the U.S. to become the largest manufacturing country in the world in 2010.⁹¹

China is having the issue of excess manufacturing capacity, leading to the need to seek a global market in order to distribute its excess capacity. At the same time, some African and Asian

⁹⁰ “Xi, Jinping: China to further friendly relations with neighboring countries.” *People’s Daily*. October 26, 2013. <<http://en.people.cn/90883/8437410.html>>

⁹¹ “Manufacturing, value added for China and the U.S.” *World Bank*. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NV.IND.MANF.CD?locations=CN-US&name_desc=false>

countries, which are lacking electricity, telecommunication, roads, railways, bridges, airports, and buildings, still find it difficult to attract capitals, technology, and skilled workers to advance their infrastructure constructions. China uses the merit of excess manufacturing capacity and sufficient labor forces in order to support those countries' infrastructure construction.

China's economic development is highly integrated into global economy. The "reform and opening-up" is a fundamental policy for China. Under the framework of the "reform and opening-up", China needs to deepen its integration with global economic system. Advancing the BRI is not only a demand for China to expand its openness, but a demand for all countries in the world to facilitate trade exchanges and reinforce reciprocal cooperation with China.

How do Western Countries Benefit from the BRI?

Due to the ideological difference, most Western countries such as the U.S., Canada, France, Germany, the U. K., and Japan are not willing to participate in a mechanism of global cooperation that is initiated and administrated by China. Although China's role in the international community has weakened the voice of the Western countries, China does not want to overturn the contemporary international structure with "one superpower and multi-great powers". According to China's diplomatic theory, China is a country that loves peace and development. A strong military power is not something that China considers as a major power in the current global pattern. In contrast, the BRI is making global development more balanced and reciprocal. Some Western countries have already participated in the BRI and have benefited from this global strategic plan.

Greece and the BRI

Greece tremendously benefits from the BRI. Given the fact that Greece is an entry point to the European continent, its geographical location is extremely important in the Mediterranean region. In 2016, the China Ocean Shipping Company (COSCO) purchased a majority stake of the port of Piraeus that serves Athens. Since then, the COSCO has invested billions of dollars in modernizing cranes, docks, cargo storages, and passenger terminals, making the port of Piraeus become one of the most convenient seaports in the Mediterranean region. This investment has created more than 1,000 permanent jobs in the port of Piraeus. Meanwhile, the COSCO built a luxurious resort outside Athens, which attracted more than 1.5 million Chinese tourists to Greece over the next few years.⁹²

Launched by the Chinese government in 2012, the cooperation between China and the sixteen Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries is an important component of the BRI. These sixteen countries include Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, North Macedonia, Albania, Romania, and Bulgaria. They all signed the BRI cooperative agreements with China. During an annual summit at Croatia in 2019, Greece was officially approved to be a full participant. Although Greece is not part of the CEE countries in terms of its geographic location, Greece has benefited from China's investment and expressed a strong aspiration to become a participant of the China-CEE cooperation throughout the past few summits. Premier Li attended the summit and stressed that this new type of cooperation has two names. The first name is the China-CEE cooperation, while another name is the "16+1" cooperation. The China-CEE cooperation puts

⁹² Broder, Jonathan. "China's Belt and Road Initiative, does it pose a threat to the West?" *CQ Press*. January 25, 2019. <<http://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/document.php?id=cqresrre2019012500>>

China first, and the “16+1” cooperation puts all CEE countries first. Both names can be used for diplomatic affairs, academic research, conferences, and news reports, indicating that the cooperation between China and all CEE countries is based on the principle of mutual respect and equality.⁹³ Although Premier Li still stated the “16+1” summit instead of the “17+1” summit while hosting a press conference with Prime Minister of Croatia, Greece would participate in the strategic and economic cooperation with China and all other sixteen CEE countries. Greece’s head of state has been invited to attend the 2020 China-CEE Summit in China as an official member. This example of the China-Greece cooperation illustrates that the BRI produces economic and strategic benefits instead of creating a “debt trap” or producing political divergence.

With the inclusion of Greece into the China-CEE cooperation mechanism, the E.U. began to denounce China’s expansion of influence as “dividing Europe”.⁹⁴ The E.U. was not willing to see China’s consistent interaction with other European countries. A total of 12 countries under the framework of the China-CEE cooperation are also members of the E.U., and most of the CEE countries are less developed than the Western European countries. The E.U. considers China’s economic cooperation with all of the CEE countries as an exchange for their support of China’s growing influence in Europe. Meanwhile, Premier Li and other heads of government of the CEE

⁹³ CGTN. “Live: Premier Li, Croatia PM hold press briefing”. Filmed [April 2019]. YouTube Video, 36:08. Posted [April 12, 2019]. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PciGh4daL1c>>

⁹⁴ Kavalski, Emilian. “China’s ‘16+1’ Is Dead? Long Live the ‘17+1’.” *The Diplomat*. March 29, 2019. <<https://thediplomat.com/2019/03/chinas-161-is-dead-long-live-the-171/>>

countries firmly refuted the criticism of the E.U. They reiterated that all cooperative agreements between China and the CEE countries have been signed on the basis of mutual consultation.^{95 96}

Portugal and the BRI

In December 2018, Portugal and China signed a memorandum of understanding regarding the BRI cooperation during President Xi's state visit to Portugal. Portugal is the first Western European country that endorses China's transcontinental development strategy relating to infrastructure and investment. Portugal's decision has been under scrutiny from other European economies such as the U.K. and Spain.

Spain, Portugal's neighboring country, decided not to sign the BRI cooperative accord with China during President Xi's state visit ahead of his trip to Portugal. Spain reiterates that the E.U. has infrastructure investment projects with Asia, therefore Spain prefers to promote its cooperation of infrastructure constructions with Asia through the E.U. itself. Germany has expressed concerns at the security ramification of allowing the Huawei to develop Germany's 5G network. The U.K. is determined to remove the Huawei equipment from its system due to the state security. However, the government of Portugal allows the Huawei to undertake its business. In December 2018, the Altice Portugal, the country's largest phone network, announced a contract with the Huawei to develop a 5G network through Portugal. The Altice Portugal believes

⁹⁵ *The Dubrovnik Guidelines for Cooperation between China and Central and Eastern European Countries*. Xinhua News Agency. April 13, 2019. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-04/13/c_137973910.htm>

⁹⁶ CGTN. "Live: Premier Li, Croatia PM hold press briefing". Filmed [April 2019]. YouTube Video, 36:08. Posted [April 12, 2019]. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PciGh4daL1c>>

that the Huawei's technological development in Portugal is instrumental for the Portuguese to have access to modern technology that benefit their daily life.⁹⁷

Italy and the BRI

Italy became the first country among the G7 and as a first founding member of the E.U. to be engaged in China's ambitious strategic and trade plan. The signing ceremony of the BRI cooperative accord was hosted during President Xi's state visit to Italy in March 2019. By joining the BRI, Italy will create jobs and boost its economy, which is important as it has the second highest debt-to-GDP ratio in Europe after Greece.

Throughout history, China and Italy can be seen as representatives of the flourishing and ancient Eastern and Western civilizations. The two countries were closely connected by the ancient Silk Road, which served as a bridge between Asia and Europe. Two famous "silk road messengers", Marco Polo and Matteo Ricci, played a unique role in promoting the cultural exchange between China and Italy. A large amount of Italian culture was brought to China through them, enriching the Chinese people's understanding of Western civilization. Today, the BRI, based on the ancient Silk Road, which has spanned hundreds of years and stretched thousands of miles, greatly enhances the friendship between China and Italy.

Garrett Marquis, spokesman of the U.S. National Security Council, said that "the Belt and Road was unlikely to help Italy economically and could significantly damage the country's

⁹⁷ Kirton, David. "Portugal Agrees to Promote Belt and Road as EU Moves to Raise Scrutiny." *Caixin News*. December 6, 2018. <<https://www.caixinglobal.com/2018-12-06/portugal-agrees-to-promote-belt-and-road-as-eu-moves-to-raise-scrutiny-101356369.html>>

international image.”⁹⁸ By participating in the BRI, Italy’s future economic and trade cooperative vision will be highly dependent on China. Italy’s participation in the BRI was scrutinized by the U.S. due to Huawei’s business expansion in Italy. The U.S. warned Italy not to give the Huawei permission to develop its 5G technology across the country because they view the Huawei technology as a security threat, which could allow the Chinese government to spy on users. However, the Huawei rotating chairman firmly denied this statement.⁹⁹ Additionally, the U.S. faces a tough competition with China in the telecommunication business due to the fact that the Huawei cellphone is cheaper than the U.S. cellphone, such as the Apple. Huawei’s market expansion could severely damage U.S. domestic cellphone companies’ economic interests.

While the U.S. was concerned at the prospect of a key ally in Europe joining the BRI, this was a decision made solely by Italy. Prime Minister Conte stated that “with all the necessary precautions, Italy’s accession to a new silk route represents an opportunity for our country... It won’t mean that the next day we will be forced to do anything. It will allow us to enter into this project and have a dialogue.”¹⁰⁰ Prime Minister Conte’s comment expresses a strong signal that Italy has the right and capacity to choose its cooperation partners independently, and China has never forced Italy to sign the cooperate accord regarding the BRI. To a certain extent, the reason that the Conte administration wanted to sign the BRI cooperative accord with China was due to

⁹⁸ Lau, Stuart. “Italy PM Giuseppe Conte ignores US warnings and pushes for closer cooperation with China’s belt and road plan.” *South Morning China Post*. March 11, 2019.

<<https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/2189510/italian-pm-conte-ignores-us-warnings-and-pushes-closer>>

⁹⁹ Schulze, Elizabeth. “Top US Official urges allies to reject ‘deceitful’ Huawei citing China spying fears.” *CNBC*. February 27, 2019. <<https://www.cnbc.com/2019/02/27/mwc-2019-top-us-official-urges-allies-to-reject-deceitful-huawei.html>>

¹⁰⁰ Balmer, Crispian. “China’s Belt and Road plan could be good for Italy: Italian PM.” *Reuters*. March 8, 2019. <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-italy-belt-and-road/chinas-belt-and-road-plan-could-be-good-for-italy-italian-pm-idUSKCN1QP20X>>

the Five Star Movement, a far-right political party of Italy. The Five Star Movement was against abandoning part of Italy's sovereignty to an intergovernmental organization. The Conte administration wanted to independently determine Italy's foreign and trade policy without the E.U.'s intervention.

Although European countries have comparative advantages in many economic sectors, many of them are currently facing problems in the areas of attracting foreign investment, infrastructure construction, and manufacturing industries. The BRI requires Chinese enterprises to provide rapid infrastructure development to European countries. In addition, the BRI connects local economies in Europe with other markets along the route of the BRI, including resources exchange, knowledge sharing, and technology support.

The participating countries such as Greece, Portugal, and Italy have boosted the confidence of other western countries and attracted them to the BRI. Luxembourg signed an accord with China during Prime Minister Bettel's official visit to China in March 2019. Switzerland signed an accord to join the BRI during a state visit to China paid by Ueli Maurer, President of the Swiss Confederation in April 2019. As President Maurer said in a meeting with President Xi, the BRI is a magnificent and peaceful initiative that links countries with numerous cultural traditions together, vigorously promoting the growth and prosperity of global economy.¹⁰¹

Issues and Solutions of the BRI

¹⁰¹ "Xi holds talks with Swiss Confederation president." *Xinhua News Agency*. April 29, 2019. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-04/29/c_138022128.htm>

It is natural that every international cooperative mechanism faces formidable difficulties and challenges, and the BRI is not an exception. A total of four typical issues occur as the BRI being implemented.

Lack of Political Trust

First, there is a lack of political trust between China and its neighboring country. One of the most significant examples is that of the DPRK. Although China is the largest trading partner of the DPRK, it has not participated in the BRI. The DPRK used to be a strong supporter for a number of international events that China hosted, and the DPRK also dispatched its high-ranking official to China for these events. For instance, Kim Yong-nam, Chairperson of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK visited China for the opening ceremony of the 2008 Beijing Summit Olympic Games and the opening ceremony of the 2010 Shanghai World Expo on behalf of the DPRK government.

Since Kim Jong-un took the oath of office in 2012, the nuclear tests and ballistic missile launches of the DPRK have complicated its relationship with China. On the one hand, China supports denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and takes actions to suspend its fuel sales to the DPRK. On the other hand, China opposes harsh international sanctions on the DPRK in order to not destabilize the DPRK's political and economic situation. Although China helped sustain Kim's regime, President Xi and Chairman Kim did not host any face-to-face talks between 2012 and 2018. In particular, China invited Chairman Kim to the 70th anniversary of the Chinese people's victory in the War of Resistance against Japan and the end of the World War II in 2015. In response to China's invitation, Kim appeared to be glacial, and the only condition Kim would

accept China's invitation under was that Kim's position among the reviewing stand should be placed next to President Xi in order to embody the special friendship between China and the DPRK. However, Kim overlooked the importance of China-Russia relations. President Putin was the supreme leader who would be placed next to President Xi's right-hand side. The back-up plan for Kim was sitting next to President Putin. However, the spot was reserved for Park Geun-hye, President of Republic of Korea. It was not feasible for the two supreme leaders of the Korean Peninsula to review China's military parade on the Tiananmen Square while sitting next to each other. Since there was no appropriate seat for Kim to enjoy China's celebration along with other heads of states, Kim declined China's invitation. Although China was unable to meet Kim's request, Kim still sent his aide, Vice Marshal Choy Ryong-hae to China. This is due to the fact that China's economic and military support and assistance towards the DPRK throughout history could not be forgotten. Although the DPRK's attendance at this event satisfied China's diplomatic etiquette, China and the Kim Jong-un regime did not form a strong mutual trust during that period. When China was hosting the 1st BRI Summit of International Cooperation in 2017, the DPRK central government only sent its minister of external economic relations to attend.

Without China's help, the DPRK's diplomatic achievement could not be made rapidly. It is flabbergasted that the China-DPRK relationship has appeared to strike a more amicable chord since March 2018. China became the first destination of Chairman Kim during his international trip. Since then, Chairman Kim has visited China in May 2018, June 2018, and January 2019. During the bilateral talk in June 2018, President Xi spoke highly of the summit between Chairman Kim and President Trump, which was an important step forward in the settlement of the Korean Peninsula's denuclearization through dialogue and consultation. The outcome of the summit was

fruitful. President Trump committed to provide security guarantees to the DPRK, and Chairman Kim Jong-un reaffirmed his firm and unwavering commitment to complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

President Xi hoped that both the DPRK and the U.S. would further implement the outcome of the summit, while Chairman Kim hoped that China would continue to play a constructive role in creating a long-lasting peace mechanism on the Korean Peninsula. Taken as a whole, Chairman Kim's diplomatic efforts with the U.S. have paved the way for a rapprochement with China. The China-DPRK bilateral relationship has begun to thaw.

The Severe Societal and Economic Environment

The second issue regarding the BRI is the societal and economic environment of the participating countries, with some of which having a low sovereign credit rating. The credit rating agency evaluates different countries' economic and political environments to determine a credit rating. In general, a sovereign credit rating gives investors a sense that how much risk they would face when investing in a particular country. Obtaining a good sovereign credit rating is helpful for developing countries to access funding in the international bond market.

Pakistan is a pivotal country along the ancient silk road. However, Pakistan currently faces pressures and challenges due to terrorism and extremism. China's construction projects have been under the threat from Pakistan's unstable domestic situation. In order to ensure that the

BRI would be smoothly implemented, Pakistan has decided to dispatch a paramilitary unit of 12,000 soldiers to protect China's investment projects.¹⁰²

The "Debt Trap"

The third issue regarding the BRI is the "debt trap" sensationalized by the Western countries. The following section is focused on Sri Lanka and Pakistan to expound on the so-called "debt trap", including the fact that it has not been created by the BRI.

Sri Lanka and the "Debt Trap"

Western powers have complained about the Chinese presence in the Hambantota port. The New York Times released a news report titled, "How China Got Sri Lanka to Cough Up a Port".¹⁰³ YouTube also published a video regarding China's "debt trap" in Sri Lanka.¹⁰⁴ This video shows that a large variety of infrastructures have been built since China provided a loan to Sri Lanka, which lead this country to prosper within a few years. However, Sri Lanka was unable to pay off its loans with high interest rates, and the only way to resolve the debt issue was by giving China control of what China wanted to build. A total of four reasons illustrate that China did not create the "debt trap" for participating countries of the BRI and that it did not take over other countries' sovereignty in order to get its money back.

¹⁰² Cai, Peter. "Understanding China's Belt and Road Initiative." *Lowy Institute for International Policy*. March, 2017. <<https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/understanding-belt-and-road-initiative>>

¹⁰³ Abi-Habib, Maria. "How China Got Sri Lanka to Cough Up a Port." *New York Times*. June 25, 2018. <<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/25/world/asia/china-sri-lanka-port.html>>

¹⁰⁴ ABC News (Australia). "Is China using debt-trap diplomacy to wield its influence around the world? |ABC News". Filmed [November 2018]. YouTube Video, 5:13. Posted [November 15, 2018]. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ClfMyhfA9MI>>

First, in 2005, then-President Mahinda Rajapaksa proposed the national strategic plan titled, “Two Wings and One Belt”, hoping it would transform Hambantota into the second major urban hub of Sri Lanka after Colombo. Due to the lack of sufficient funding, Rajapaksa initially asked India for help, but India rejected Sri Lanka’s request. In order to continue implementing the national strategic plan, Rajapaksa asked China if they would help Sri Lanka build the Hambantota port. China was delighted to accept Sri Lanka’s request on the basis of the traditional partnership between the two countries, and due to the fact that the “Two Wings and One Belt” strategic plan would be properly aligned with the BRI. China followed the principle of “achieving shared growth through discussion and collaboration” when it came to develop the Hambantota port.

Second, China only helped Sri Lanka build the Hambantota port, but did not take part in its operation. The government of Sri Lanka has been entirely responsible for operating the port. Due to the instability of Sri Lanka’s political situation, the government of Sri Lanka has not attracted enough foreign ships to utilize the Hambantota port. As it was not China’s responsibility to fix the deficit regarding the Hambantota port, the government of Sri Lanka realized this issue and authorized the Sri Lanka Port Authority to manage the Hambantota port. The authority approved thorough plans to produce economic profits that meet the criteria and schedule of loan repayments, including the development of Colombo East container terminal that was expected to bring in an additional income of \$100 million per year.

Third, loans from China comprise 10 percent of Sri Lanka’s total foreign debt, and 60 percent of the Chinese loans were lent to Sri Lanka on concessional terms. However, the Western society ignored Japan, which is the largest country that has Sri Lanka’s foreign debt, accounting for 12 percent. The loans from the World Bank and the ADB also account for large percent of Sri Lanka’s

total foreign debt. The “dual standard” set by the Western society did not produce any news regarding Japan’s “debt trap”.

Fourth, China did not force Sri Lanka to hand over the Hambantota port’s sovereignty to China. China has always pursued a friendly policy towards Sri Lanka, firmly supported Sri Lanka’s efforts to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity, and opposed other countries’ interference in Sri Lanka’s internal affairs. In a statement released by Rajapaksa, he stressed that “we never had any plans to lease the entire free port for 99 years to any foreign country... China never asked for the port on lease or for any land outside the port.”¹⁰⁵ This is a gossip created by the Western media. China and Sri Lanka simultaneously set 2036 as the deadline of paying off the debt. The total amount that Sri Lanka needs to pay back to China is \$1.7 billion. By the end of 2016, Sri Lanka had paid \$500 million back to China. At this rate, Sri Lanka will be able to pay off all debts to China before 2036.

Pakistan and the “Debt Trap”

The fact that China’s BRI projects in Pakistan have been built with heavy interest rates has drawn much criticism. The most important project that China has helped Pakistan build is the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Lu Kang, then-spokesman of the Ministry of China’s Foreign Affairs, strongly refuted biased criticism. He said that “the CPEC is a symbol of economic cooperation between China and Pakistan in the new era under the Belt and Road framework. It has generated electricity to more than 8.6 million families.”¹⁰⁶ The CPEC boosts Pakistan’s

¹⁰⁵ Rajapaksa, Mahinda. “Allegations made by the New York Times.” July 1, 2018.

¹⁰⁶ “Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Lu Kang’s Regular Press Conference on April 8, 2019.” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China*.

<https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/xwfw_665399/s2510_665401/t1652357.shtml>

infrastructures and improves the living standard of Pakistani people, which is welcomed by the central government of Pakistan. Meanwhile, with regards to the CPEC's financial sources, less than 20 percent of the CPEC projects have been built through China's loans, and more than 80 percent of the CPEC projects have been funded by China's foreign aids. Pakistan is one of China's neighboring countries. Given the fact that the heads of state of China and Pakistan describe the relationship between China and Pakistan as the "all-weather strategic cooperative partnership", China is willing to assist its neighboring country to be more prosperous. China and Pakistan have thoroughly discussed how the CPEC project would be implemented based on Pakistan's economic capacity and how the CPEC project would tremendously benefit Pakistan's economic development. Therefore, China has not created the "debt trap" for Pakistan. On the contrary, the CPEC under the BRI framework has strengthened Pakistan's economic power.

The Tit-for-tat Debate between China and the U.S. in the 2018 APEC Summit at Papua and New Guinea

It was the first time for Papua and New Guinea, one of the smallest APEC economies, to host a crucial summit in which China and the U.S. were involved. However, the summit became an arena for China and the U.S. to outline their visions regarding multilateralism or unilateralism. China has stepped up its investment in Papua and New Guinea before the 2018 APEC summit, which include providing \$50 million for the renovation of the International Convention Center in Port Moresby and building a six-lane boulevard near the National Parliament House. The U.S. believed that China's growing influence in the Pacific Islands countries should be vigilant by other countries in this region. In the APEC CEO meeting, U.S. Vice President Mike Pence strongly criticized China's BRI. He stressed to all countries in the world to "not accept foreign debt that

could compromise your sovereignty. Protect your interests. Preserve your independence. And, just like America, always put your country first.”¹⁰⁷

China defended the importance of international cooperation by refuting Vice President Pence’s remarks. At the beginning of President Xi’s remarks in the APEC CEO meeting, he pointed out that the world is now facing a choice of cooperation or confrontation as protectionism and unilateralism spreads. “Mankind has once again reached a crossroad. Which direction should we choose? Cooperation or confrontation? Openness or closing doors? Win-win cooperation or a zero-sum game?” Responding to these questions and concerns, President Xi expressed support for the global governance and globalization that has underpinned China’s rise to the second largest economy since launching the “reform and opening-up” campaign in 1978.

As far as the BRI, President Xi said “it is not designed to serve any hidden geopolitical agenda, and it is not targeted against anyone and it does not exclude anyone. The BRI is not a trap that some people have labeled. Instead, it is a major project that China shares opportunities and pursues common development with the rest of the world.”¹⁰⁸ China does not want to create a small circle or form allies through the BRI. On the contrary, the gate of the BRI is always open to the world. China welcomes all countries and intergovernmental organizations to participate in the BRI.

¹⁰⁷ Pence, Mike. “Remarks at the 2018 APEC CEO Summit.” *White House*. November 16, 2018.

<<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-vice-president-pence-2018-apec-ceo-summit-port-moresby-papua-new-guinea/>>

¹⁰⁸ Xi, Jinping. “Jointly Charting a Course Toward a Brighter Future, Keynote Speech at the 2018 APEC CEO Summit.” *China Daily*. November 17, 2018.

<<http://language.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201811/18/WS5bf0df19a310eff30328958f.html>>

The government of Papua and New Guinea strongly supports the BRI as it injects fresh vigor into the infrastructure construction of Papua New Guinea. The BRI has helped strengthen connectivity among all Pacific Islands countries by operating more direct flights. Prime Minister of Papua and New Guinea, Peter O’Neil, said his administration will actively strengthen exchanges and cooperation with China in a large variety of fields including infrastructures construction, environmental protection, and people-to-people exchanges under the BRI framework.

A high-ranking Chinese diplomat has also expressed a similar point of view. Deputy Foreign Minister Zheng Zeguang said that “the island region is not under the sphere of influence of any country and everyone should join together to help with the islands nations... the cooperation and aids China provide in islands nations are not targeting any third parties... other countries should abandon the mentality of the Cold War and the viewpoints of outdated zero-sum games over the China-Pacific relationship.”¹⁰⁹ Most Pacific islands nations are small and weak, often needing foreign aids from the rest of the world. One of the most severe issues facing these countries is the rise of the sea level due to global warming. In the near future, some of those countries will sink away if the earth’s temperature continues going up. The U.S. and other industrialized countries should focus on a solution regarding how to prevent the rise of sea level instead of criticizing China’s growing influence in the Pacific region.

Interview with Yang Jiechi regarding the “trap debt” created by the BRI

¹⁰⁹ Zhou, Laura. “China’s growing role in South Pacific nations cannot be stopped, says vice-minister Zheng Zeguang.” *South China Morning Post*. November 13, 2018.
<<https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/2173025/chinas-growing-role-south-pacific-nations-cannot-be-stopped>>

Yang Jiechi is currently serving as Member of the CPC Political Bureau and Director of Office for the Central Diplomatic Affairs Commission. As a high-ranking official in charge of China's diplomatic affairs, it was the first time for Yang accepted an interview regarding the development of the BRI. In the interview, Yang noticed that some countries had criticized the BRI as a geopolitical tool and a "debt trap creator". In response to these denouncements, Yang stressed that the BRI, as an open and inclusive international strategic plan, is aligned with development strategic plans of other countries and international organizations such as the U.N. 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the Eurasian Economic Union, the Europe-Asia Connectivity Strategy of the European Union, the Master Plan on Connectivity of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the Agenda 2063 for the African Union (A.U.), aimed at global economic prosperity.

He also elaborated on how Kazakhstan has benefited from the BRI. As the largest landlocked state in the world, it is imperative for Kazakhstan to have access to a port city to export its commodities to the rest of the world. Kazakhstan perceives the BRI as an excellent opportunity to expand its scale of international trade. After negotiating with the Chinese government, the government of Kazakhstan eventually chose Lianyungang, a Chinese city on the east coast, as an important hub for Kazakhstan and other Central Asian countries to have access to the Pacific Ocean. The Lianyungang Logistics Cooperative Terminal that China and Kazakhstan jointly built has become a platform of trade, warehousing, and transportation. Lianyungang is next to the Pacific Ocean and has a railroad connected to Europe through the Central Asia, which is now becoming an intersection of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road. Kazakhstan uses Lianyungang's geographic location to conveniently ship its goods to Southeast Asia, Australia, the Pacific Islands countries, and America.

By following the principle of pursuing shared benefits through consultation and collaboration, the BRI follows the market rule, aims to improve infrastructures, and achieve high-quality development. China has never forced other countries to participate in the BRI. In fact, for any other countries who intend to be engaged in the BRI, they conduct a bilateral consultation with China. As the terms are negotiated, the cooperative accord is signed by both sides, marking the implementation of the BRI. With regards to all BRI projects, they must be thoroughly evaluated on a range of issues such as project selection, length of construction, environmental protection, and investment cooperation, by both China and participating countries, on the basis of the principle of “benefiting people”.¹¹⁰

China’s Potential Participation in the Paris Club

The Paris Club is an international organization that appropriately resolves debt issues between creditor and debtor countries. The purpose of the Paris Club is to discuss and provide a number of options to debt countries that experience difficulties when paying off their debts to creditor countries.¹¹¹ Currently, China is not a member state of the Paris Club.

China’s BRI is a global project which has attracted 138 countries and 30 international organizations to participate. On the one hand, with the increasing amount of criticism regarding China’s “debt trap” from the western countries, it has been highly recommended for China to become an official member of the Paris Club in order to discuss debt issues with other countries

¹¹⁰ “Full Text: Yang Jiechi on the Belt and Road Initiative and Preparations for the Second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation.” *Xinhua News Agency*. March 30, 2019. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-03/30/c_137936638.htm>

¹¹¹ “Six Principles of the Paris Club.” *Portal Website of the Paris Club*. <<http://www.clubdeparis.org/en/communications/page/the-six-principles>>

and to find better solutions to work on debt relief. “The Paris Club makes decisions on a case-by-case basis in order to tailor its action to each debtor country’s individual situation.” On the other hand, all member states of the Paris Club are committed to discussing their loan activities through meeting deliberations. As one of the six principles of the Paris Club, the member states regularly share views and information with each other regarding debt.

There are pros and cons regarding China’s potential membership in the Paris Club. For China, its decision to apply to be an official member will change China’s tradition of making any policies and actions plans regarding loan activities with other countries, which can be clearer and more transparent. However, it is impossible for China to participate in the Paris Club immediately. The Paris Club is currently dominated by the U.S. and France. As a developing country, China’s accession to an international organization that is controlled by the Western countries could cause a conflict with China’s international status. China’s voice in the Paris Club could be limited by the organization.

The Alternation of Political Parties

The fourth issue regarding the BRI is the alternation of political parties in the participating countries, which can be considered to be an objective factor. Compared to the three reasons stated in the previous section, the fourth reason is the most difficult for China to resolve because party alternation is relevant to a participating country’s domestic political situation. One political party could be in favor of participating in the BRI while another political party goes against the BRI. This circumstance usually takes place in countries that implement a multi-party system. All

political parties are able to nominate a candidate to run for this country's top political office, and therefore have the capacity to gain control of executive branch and legislative branch.

For instance, El Salvador switched its diplomatic recognition from Taiwan to the PRC in August, 2018. Salvador Sanchez Ceren was successfully elected El Salvadoran president as a candidate of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) in the 2009 presidential election. The FMLN is a left-wing political party, which supports to the establishment of a diplomatic relationship with China. However, China was nervous about the future development of China-El Salvador relations after Nayib Bukele, presidential candidate of the Grand Alliance for National Unity (GANU), won the election. As a statesman of an opposing party, Bukele did not support the decision that the previous administration made to ditch diplomatic ties with Taiwan in favor of China. Bukele criticized China as not being respectful of El Salvador and reiterated that his think-tank team would assess if El Salvador would be maintaining the diplomatic relationship with China.¹¹² The China-El Salvador diplomatic relationship was at an ambiguous moment. Meanwhile, El Salvador's sugar chamber asked the Supreme Court not to cancel a trade pact with Taiwan since President Ceren's decision to cut off the diplomatic relationship with Taiwan has damaged the sugar industry's business development in El Salvador. When the El Salvador-Taiwan trade agreement was enforced, a total of 80,000 tons of sugar exported from El Salvador to Taiwan are exempt from tariffs.¹¹³ Eventually, in order to protect its domestic sugar industry, the

¹¹² "El Salvador's next president Nayib Bukele criticizes China, during trip to Washington." *South China Morning Post*. March 14, 2019. <<https://www.scmp.com/news/world/americas/article/3001608/el-salvadors-next-president-nayib-bukele-criticises-china>>

¹¹³ "El Salvador top court suspends scrapping of Taiwan trade accord." *Reuters*. March 13, 2019. <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-el-salvador-taiwan/el-salvadors-supreme-court-suspends-cancellation-of-taiwan-trade-accord-idUSKCN1QU340>>

Supreme Court of El Salvador provisionally suspended the cancellation of the free trade pact with Taiwan, signaling that the China-El Salvador relationship would be in good standing after Bukele takes oath of office in June, 2019.

El Salvador signed the BRI cooperative agreement with China during President Ceren's state visit to China in December 2018. However, in terms of Bukele's statement before his inauguration, the BRI faces a severe challenge in El Salvador. If China-El Salvador diplomatic relations decline during the Bukele presidency, the BRI cooperative plan between China and El Salvador will be halted immediately, and the people of El Salvador would not benefit from the BRI at all.

As a small country in Central America, El Salvador faces pressures and challenges from its domestic criminal violence and indigent infrastructure. Coffee and sugar, as the two major agricultural products of El Salvador, accounts for more than 50 percent of El Salvador's exports. The coffee and sugar industry generate almost 400,000 jobs across the country.¹¹⁴ China's market is suitable for El Salvador to recommend its major agricultural products. During his state visit to China, President Ceren led a high-ranking delegation to participate in the 1st China International Import Expo (CIIE) and introduced El Salvador's coffee to President Xi and other Chinese companies and customers. Under the BRI framework, more agricultural products will be exported to China.

Time would test how the next step of China-El Salvador relations is moving. The good news for China is that President Bukele is adhered by the one-China principle. In June 2019, China dispatched deputy foreign minister Qin Gang to participate in the inauguration ceremony of

¹¹⁴ "El Salvador's agro sector eyes China's market: Minister." *China Daily*. September 2, 2018. <<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201809/02/WS5b8ba034a310add14f38914a.html>>

President Bukele. During a bilateral meeting with Qin, Bukele emphasized that his administration would be committed to developing ongoing China-El Salvador relations, maintaining high-level exchanges between the two countries, strengthening political dialogue, and “correctly handling the Taiwan-related issues”.¹¹⁵ According to Bukele’s statement, economic and trade cooperation between China and El Salvador under the BRI framework can continue at this moment. Bukele views the BRI as a spectacular opportunity for El Salvador’s future economic driving force. On June 27, 2019, when delivering a speech in a national business forum, Bukele stated that “we have diplomatic relations with China that are complete, that are established, we have to recognize China’s status in the world.”¹¹⁶ This statement asserts that China-El Salvador relations would not lead to a substantial setback during his presidency.

Recommendation Regarding the Transparency and Governance of the BRI

In order for China to improve the transparency and governance of the BRI, one recommendation would be made to the Chinese government, which is the release of all cooperative accords to the public in the future. Countries need to sign a memorandum of understanding with the Chinese government if they decide to participate in the BRI. The official name of this memorandum of understanding is the “Jointly Promoting the Construction of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road”. Thus far, these memorandums of understanding have not been completely published on the portal website of the BRI except for

¹¹⁵ “saerwadoo dangxuanzongtong huijian zhongguozhengfuteshi waijiaobu fubuzhang qingang.” “President-elect of El Salvador meets with special envoy of the Chinese government and deputy foreign minister Qin Gang.” *Xinhua News Agency*. June 1, 2019. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/world/2019-06/01/c_1124571678.htm>

¹¹⁶ Renteria, Nelson. “El Salvador president says China relations fully established.” *Reuters*. June 27, 2019. <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-el-salvador-politics-china/el-salvador-president-says-china-relations-fully-established-idUSKCN1TS390>>

a memorandum of understanding between China and New Zealand.¹¹⁷ Although another website called the “Silk Road Cities Alliance” published the two BRI memorandums of understanding regarding Poland¹¹⁸ and Hungary¹¹⁹, people need to know how China cooperates with all other participating countries under the BRI framework. Hopefully, the cooperative accords with all UN official languages would be released to the public in the future. Therefore, people from all over the will know the details about how China help other countries formulate and implement the BRI development strategy.

Cooperative Mechanism of the BRI

The 1st Summit of International Cooperation for the BRI

In the early 2017, more than 40 countries and international organizations have signed cooperative agreements with China regarding participating in the BRI, reflecting a new trend of international governance and cooperation during the second decade of the 21st century. In a speech delivered at the 2017 Davos Forum, President Xi announced that China would host the 1st Summit of International Cooperation for the BRI in order to make the BRI deliver greater benefits to people in the aspect of policy coordination. With the theme of “join hands to promote the construction of the Belt and Road Initiative”,¹²⁰ the summit attracted a total of 30 heads of state

¹¹⁷ *Memorandum of Understanding Regarding Jointly Promoting the Construction of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road between China and New Zealand*. Belt and Road Portal. March 27, 2017. <<https://www.yidaiyilu.gov.cn/wcm.files/upload/CMSydylgw/201704/201704010305044.pdf>>

¹¹⁸ *Memorandum of Understanding Regarding Jointly Promoting the Construction of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road between China and Poland*. Silk Road Cities Alliance. January 6, 2019. <http://www.srca-info.com/srca/srca4/201901/t20190106_1698.html>

¹¹⁹ *Memorandum of Understanding Regarding Jointly Promoting the Construction of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road between China and Hungary*. Silk Road Cities Alliance. January 6, 2019. <http://www.srca-info.com/srca/srca4/201901/t20190106_1697.html>

¹²⁰ Xi, Jinping. “Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation.” *China Academy of Translation*. May 15, 2017. <http://www.catl.org.cn/2017-05/15/content_41501866.htm>

and government as well as three heads of international organizations to attend, providing a platform of consultation and negotiation to explore how the BRI would be developed in the near future.

In the keynote speech delivered at the opening ceremony, President Xi discussed the “five roads”¹²¹ that would be built, which are key concepts for the future BRI construction. They include the “peaceful road”, the “prosperous road”, the “open road”, the “innovative road”, and the “civilized road”. The “peaceful road” is pertinent to build political trust among all BRI participating countries. The BRI summit is an opportunity for leaders to formulate and coordinate all policies regarding the BRI construction. The “prosperous road”, the “open road”, and the “innovative road” are all relevant to economic integration and development among all BRI participating countries. A number of new measures were announced in the opening ceremony that would advance economic exchanges between all participating countries. The Chinese government was committed to investing 100 billion dollars to the Silk Road Fund. Free-trade zones would be established to facilitate trade. Research in digital economy, artificial intelligence, and nanotechnology would be strengthened in order to make people’s daily life more convenient. The “civilized road” is focused on the soft power, emphasizing that people-to-people and cultural exchange is significant to the BRI construction. The BRI construction is a way to achieve the goal of promoting cultural exchange and removing cultural barriers, advocating mutual learning of different civilizations and reducing cultural conflicts, as well as endorsing the coexistence of different civilizations and opposing cultural superiority. By laying out the cooperative principles

¹²¹ Ibid.

and future development plans of the BRI, the purpose of hosting the first BRI summit was to attract more countries and international to be involved in the BRI.

The Second Summit of International Cooperation for the BRI

Although some criticisms have occurred after the BRI was implemented prior to the second BRI summit, 2018 was an important year for the BRI. New progresses had been made, and a total of 67 countries signed cooperation agreements with China, showing that the BRI responds to the call of the times for win-win cooperation. The alignment between China's BRI and various national development strategic plans from other countries promote trade facilitation and infrastructural construction as a way to alleviate poverty and concentrate on common development in the globe.

A total of 38 foreign heads of state and government from five continents as well as two heads of international organizations¹²² came to Beijing for this summit, which provides an opportunity for China to summarize the cooperative achievement of the BRI over the past six years, consolidate the cooperative consensus, provide new cooperative concepts, as well as state how the BRI could become better over the next few years.

It was a big surprise that the U.S. decided not to dispatch any federal officials to China for the 2nd Summit of International Cooperation for the BRI.¹²³ In 2017, the Trump administration realized the importance of the BRI and deputed Matt Pottinger, Special Assistant to the U.S.

¹²² "Building the Belt and Road Initiative for the Brighter Future, Joint Communiqué of the Leaders' Roundtable of the 2nd Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation." *Xinhua News Agency*. April 27, 2019.

<http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-04/27/c_138016073.htm>

¹²³ "U.S. says will not send high-level officials to China's Silk Road summit." *Reuters*. April 2, 2019.

<<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-silkroad-usa/u-s-says-will-not-send-high-level-officials-to-chinas-silk-road-summit-idUSKCN1RF008>>

President and Senior Director for East Asia of the National Security Council, to lead a delegation to Beijing for the 1st Summit of International Cooperation for the BRI.¹²⁴ Although the U.S. did not sign a cooperative accord with China during the summit, the attendance of the U.S. in the first summit showcased a form of symbolic support of the BRI. By participating in the first summit and listening to President Xi's keynote speech, the Trump administration had an opportunity to meticulously learn about the BRI. The reason that the U.S. skipped the second summit can be summarized into three aspects. First, the trade friction between China and the U.S. has not come to an end, and the two sides did not reach a trade deal that was fair and reciprocal. Therefore, it was inappropriate for the U.S. to participate in the second BRI summit due to this friction. Second, the U.S. has been concerned about the negative impacts of the BRI such as debt distress, lack of transparency, and environmental damage. It has been two years since the first BRI summit, and the U.S. noticed some issues between China and the participating countries. Third, the BRI has challenged America's international position. In particular, the Trump administration viewed China as a major competitor in the international community due to China's growing international influence.

The second BRI summit attempted to find solutions to problems facing global and regional economies. The BRI development strategy was slightly adjusted for the second BRI summit. As for future BRI development, President Xi proposed to abide by the principle of "openness, sustainability, and integrity (开放、绿色、廉洁)" in his speech at the opening ceremony of the

¹²⁴ "U.S. to send delegation to China's Belt and Road summit." *Reuters*. May 12, 2017. <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-silkroad-usa/u-s-to-send-delegation-to-chinas-belt-and-road-summit-idUSKBN18816Q>>

summit.¹²⁵ Compared to the first summit, “sustainability” and “integrity” were two new concepts proposed in the second summit. “Sustainability” refers to environment protection. As President Xi stressed, “the future will be illuminated by eco-friendly development that is in accordance with the rules of nature.”¹²⁶ The earth is the only homeland for mankind. In this regard, the BRI should pursue sustainable development and prosperity instead of undermining the ecological system. “Integrity” refers to anticorruption, with the goal of prohibiting and ending corruption. This is achieved, in part, by allocating funds to only be used for construction projects regarding the BRI not into foreign politicians’ individual pockets.

Future Cooperative Mechanism for the BRI

Although the BRI summits so far have been hosted in 2017 and 2019, China has not announced how often the summit will occur. Additionally, there has been no announcement if the summit will be hosted by China in the future, or if it will be rotationally hosted by other participating countries, similarly to the annual G20 summit and the annual APEC summit. It is suggested that the summit would be hosted in various participating countries depending on their capacity. For example, the host country for the BRI summit could be decided through a bidding process like the selection of a host city for the Olympic Games.

Meanwhile, the BRI has not established a permanent work agency globally to conduct and coordinate all projects and summits. However, China has set up a domestic a leading group to

¹²⁵ Xi, Jinping. “Working Together to Deliver a Brighter Future for Belt and Road Cooperation, Keynote Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the Second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation.” April 26, 2019. <<https://www.en84.com/ky/7001.html>>

¹²⁶ Xi, Jinping. “Building a Beautiful Homeland for a Green Life. Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the 2019 International Horticultural Expo, Beijing.” April 28, 2019. <<https://www.en84.com/fy/fwx/jh/7014.html>>

manage all affairs in relations to the BRI within the State Council. It is suggested that a permanent agency like a secretariat of international institutions would be established to coordinate all affairs related to the BRI with other participating countries.

The construction of the BRI requires joint efforts from China and all participating countries, in order to provide a legislative guarantee to avoid corruption. As a Chinese leader stated previously, the BRI is a clean project in the contemporary era.¹²⁷ On the one hand, it is imperative for China's top legislature to formulate laws which guarantee that all BRI projects should be implemented transparently. On the other hand, it is recommended for all countries participating in the BRI to sign and ratify an international treaty to ensure that the BRI brings prosperity to the countries and delivers benefits to their people under the framework of international laws. Although the "Beijing Initiative for the Clean Silk Road", adopted in the second BIR summit, acts as a guide for all participating countries, urging them to fight against corruption in the process of the BRI construction, it is merely a consensus reached by forum participants, scholars, and enterprises instead of a document endorsed by state legislative bodies.¹²⁸ Hence, it is suggested to elevate the initiative into an international treaty.

The BRI can be considered to be four versions. First, the BRI is the latest version of China's diplomatic practice. It was initiated in 2013 and has been implemented for seven years. Second, the BRI is the contemporary version of the ancient Silk Road, which was proposed in the second decade of the 21st century. The BRI is the Silk Road that progresses over times. Compared to the

¹²⁷ Xi, Jinping. "Remarks at the Press Conference of the 2nd Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation." Official Website of the 2nd Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation. April 27, 2019.

<<http://www.beltandroadforum.org/english/n100/2019/0429/c22-1397.html>>

¹²⁸ *Beijing Initiative for the Clean Silk Road*. China Daily. April 26, 2019.

<<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201904/26/WS5cc301a6a3104842260b8a24.html>>

ancient Silk Road, the BRI also covers air channel construction and cyber-construction, such as opening more direct passenger and cargo flights among countries and enhancing the connectivity of global e-commerce. Third, the BRI is the updated version of China's domestic coordinated development strategy between the Western remote area and the Eastern coastal area. As the largest administrative region in the Western remote area, Xinjiang shares a long border with several other central Asian countries. Due to this, Xinjiang becomes a gate for Chinese goods to be transported to other Eurasian and European countries via Central Asia. Meanwhile, the Eastern coastal area functions as a maritime channel. A number of coastal administrative regions such as Shandong, Jiangsu, Shanghai, Zhejiang, Fujian, and Guangdong are able to ship Chinese goods to Southeast Asia and South Pacific Ocean via ports. Furthermore, the transportation link between the Western remote area and the Eastern coastal area also facilitates trade exchanges between the two subregions. The BRI is a multi-dimensional national strategy that drives the coordinated development of all Chinese subregions. Fourth, the BRI is the Chinese version of strengthening global governance. Although the BRI was proposed by China, it belongs to the world. Any sovereign states or intergovernmental organizations can voluntarily participate in the BRI on the basis of their consultations with China.

China builds infrastructure across Asia, Africa, Europe, and Oceania in order to promote transportation connectivity and to boost economic growth between China and countries that participate in this project. Although some criticisms have been raised that today's BRI is similar to the Marshall Plan in the 1940s, the Marshall Plan was only dominated by the U.S. rather than any other countries, as an attempt to prevent the influence of the Soviet Union. It was a demonstration of the confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. As for the BRI, it

welcomes states and international organizations to participate, as the principle of the BRI is achieving shared growth through negotiation and collaboration. Every project under the BRI framework is meticulously discussed between China and the participating countries before going into effect. Moreover, the BRI has won high praise and acceptance in the international community. As of April 2020, a total of 138 countries and 30 international organizations have signed documents with China regarding the BRI cooperative plan.¹²⁹ All construction projects under the BRI framework are financially supported by the newly established AIIB which includes 100 members.¹³⁰ Under the frameworks of the BRI and the AIIB, China works simultaneously with other countries to solve common problems that have hindered their development.

The second chapter discusses how China's BRI has impacted the world. On the one hand, the BRI is a thorough plan proposed by China that is tangible and pragmatic. On the other hand, the construction of the BRI is still at an early stage. It is inevitable that difficulties and obstacles will take place. Regarding the future development of the BRI, there needs to be more joint efforts from China and all participating countries to select and construct projects that promote infrastructure connectivity between regions, produce more economic profits, and maintain a sustainable environment.

The discussion in the following chapter will still include China's diplomatic practice, but its focus switches from internationally to domestically. The major discussion in the next chapter will

¹²⁹ *yitong zhongguo qianding gongjian yidaiyilu hezuowenjian de guojia yilan. List of countries that have signed the Belt and Road cooperative documents with China.* Belt and Road Portal.

<<https://www.yidaiyilu.gov.cn/xwzx/roll/77298.htm>>

¹³⁰ "Introduction." *Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank.* <<https://www.aiib.org/en/about-aiib/>>

explore why China needs the institutional reform of the Party and the state in foreign affairs and how the reform will impact the future development of China's foreign affairs.

Chapter Three: China's Diplomatic Practice

The Reform of China's Party and State Institutions in the Field of Foreign Affairs

Diplomatic theory and diplomatic practice should be interconnected. China approved an unprecedented reform of the Party and state institutions in 2018. The reform in the aspect of foreign affairs reflects China's latest diplomatic theory. The "Plan of Deepening the Reform of Party and State Institutions", unanimously approved in the 3rd Plenary Session of the 19th CPC Central Committee, has facilitated the modernization of China's governance capability in terms of strategy and longevity. Compared to previous institutional reforms that were focused on the State Council, the "Plan of Deepening the Reform of Party and State Institutions" is more comprehensive and horizontal, not only including the State Council, but also including the Party organs, the special committee under the National People's Congress, the special committee under the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the state anti-corruption agency, and China's armed police. The "top-down" model is another feature of the institutional reform in 2018, which can be considered to be a vertical institutional reform from the central government to all levels of local government.

In terms of domestic perspective, since Xi came to power in 2012, he has emphasized in several conferences that all Party members and institutions should implement the CPC central leadership's decision. He states, "the leadership of the CPC is the most essential attribute of socialism with Chinese characteristics, which reflects the common will and fundamental interests of all Party members and the Chinese people of all ethnic groups. All Party members must strengthen their consciousness of the need to maintain political integrity, think in terms of the

big picture, follow the leadership core and keep in alignment with the central Party leadership.”¹³¹ In another speech he states, “all Party organs should always stand alongside the CPC central committee in terms of principles, policies, and actions.”¹³²

China’s reform in the field of foreign affairs should also follow the principle of the CPC central leadership. As Xi said in the 2014 Central Foreign Affairs Conference,

“we must enhance the central and unified leadership of the Party, reform and improve institutions and mechanisms concerning foreign affairs, step up their coordination among different government bodies and localities, increase strategic input, ensure well-regulated foreign affairs management, and strengthen the management of officials managing foreign affairs, so as to provide strong support for opening new horizons in China’s diplomacy.”¹³³

On a global scale, China’s international influence has increased since the 18th CPC National Congress. Along with becoming the second largest economy and a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, China has hosted a number of international summits and events such as the 2014 Nanjing Summer Youth Olympic Games, the 2014 Shanghai Summit of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia, the 2014 APEC Beijing Summit, the 2016 G20 Hangzhou Summit, the 2017 BRICS Xiamen Summit, the 2017 Xiamen Dialogue of Emerging Markets and Developing Countries, the 2018 SCO Qingdao Summit, the 2018 FOCAC

¹³¹ “Safeguarding CPC Central Committee authority ‘the supreme political principle’: Politburo.” *Xinhua News Agency*. January 30, 2018. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-01/30/c_136936648.htm>

¹³² “China’s leadership warns of unprecedented national security risks.” *China Daily*. January 23, 2015. <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2015-01/23/content_19391741.htm>

¹³³ “Xi eyes more enabling international environment for China’s peaceful development.” *Global Times*. November 30, 2014. <<http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/894240.shtml>>

Beijing Summit, and the 2019 Beijing International Horticultural Expo. Also, China proposed to establish the Asian Infrastructure Development Bank. As the host nation, it is crucial for China to form a more coordinated agency that plays an essential role in organizing multilateral events.

The core leadership is of vital importance to the CPC and China. At the 6th Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee in 2016, the “CPC Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping as the core” was written into the conference communique.¹³⁴ Since the 18th CPC National Congress, the CPC Central Committee led by Xi has made tremendous achievements on China’s domestic construction such as anticorruption, military reform, urban development, and poverty alleviation. For a country that has more than 1.3 billion people and a political party that has more than 90 million members, confirming the “CPC Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping as the core” would ensure a long-lasting stability and prosperity of the CPC and China.¹³⁵ Therefore, the plan of the Party and state institutions, in regards of foreign affairs, emphasizes the importance of centralization, coordination, and efficiency. Reshuffling the Party and state institutions in the aspect of foreign affairs would uphold the authority of the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping at its core and guarantee the principle of the centralized and unified leadership of the CPC Central Committee. In addition, similar affairs need to be handled by one department, and overlapping duties should be reduced to make the Party and state institutions more efficient.

The CPC Central Foreign Affairs Commission

¹³⁴ “12 keywords of the Communique of the Sixth Plenary Session.” *China Daily*. October 28, 2016. <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2016-10/28/content_27208272.htm>

¹³⁵ Ibid.

The CPC Central Foreign Affairs Leading Group was renamed the CPC Central Foreign Affairs Commission in terms of the “Plan on Deepening Reform of Party and State Institutions”.¹³⁶ The leading group is a unique agency with Chinese characteristics, referring to a temporary coordinated institution within the CPC or the State Council and is composed of high-ranking officials from relevant Party organs, state institutions, military agencies, and civilian organizations. Most members of the leading group are part-time members who get together if they were called to participate in meetings. Compared to the leading group, the commission refers to a permanent agency where meetings occur on a regular basis. Members will have more time to participate in meetings that provide suggestions and comments regarding China’s future diplomatic affairs. The CPC Central Foreign Affairs Commission has set up an office that is responsible for its day-to-day work and deliver reports to the committee’s regular session. In the field of external affairs, the commission must make a thorough arrangement regarding a summit or an international event. With respect to the committee’s internal affairs, it is focused on foreign policy research such as analyzing international situation, providing different solutions regarding bilateral or multilateral issues to leaders, evaluating advantages and disadvantages of each solution, and drafting up leaders’ speeches in international summits and events. Xi currently serves as Chair of the CPC Central Foreign Affairs Commission, demonstrating the principle of the “central and unified leadership of the CPC Central Committee”¹³⁷ and “closely uniting around the CPC Central

¹³⁶ *Plan on Deepening Reform of Party and State Institutions*. Xinhua News Agency. March 21, 2018. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-03/21/c_137055471.htm>

¹³⁷ “12 keywords of the Communique of the Sixth Plenary Session.” *China Daily*. October 28, 2016. <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2016-10/28/content_27208272.htm>

Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping as the core”¹³⁸, as well as ensuring that Xi is the chief coordinator and policymaker of China’s foreign affairs.

According to a news report regarding the first plenary meeting of the CPC Central Foreign Affairs Commission, Wang Qishan is also a committee member,¹³⁹ who was elected to be China’s vice president in the 1st Plenary Session of the 13th National People’s Congress in 2018, making him become another China’s vice president without serving as any Party leadership positions since 1998.¹⁴⁰ Wang is known as the “firefighter” in China because he specializes in tackling tough issues. When serving as Beijing’s mayor, he coordinated different municipal departments to confront with the threat of the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS). Between 2012 and 2017, Wang served as one-term Secretary-General of the 18th Central Committee for Disciplinary Inspection.¹⁴¹ The anti-corruption campaign, which was promoted across China by Xi, was well implemented by the Central Committee for Disciplinary Inspection led by Wang. A vast array of high-ranking officials from provinces and state-owned enterprises to government agencies and military institutions have been removed from their positions due to severe corruption scandals, and the 18th Central Committee for Disciplinary Inspection led by Wang has contributed to purifying China’s political ecology. After the 19th CPC National Congress, Wang stepped down from the post of Secretary-General of the Central Committee for Disciplinary Inspection. However, Wang was elected as a delegate to the 13th National People’s Congress in the Hunan

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ “Xi stresses centralized, unified leadership of CPC Central Committee over foreign affairs.” *Xinhua News Agency*. May 15, 2018. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-05/15/c_137181357.htm>

¹⁴⁰ Rong Yiren served as Vice President of the People’s Republic of China between 1993 and 1998 without any Party positions. He was elected to be China’s vice president as a non-Party figure.

¹⁴¹ “Wang Qishan – Vice President of the People’s Republic of China.” *Xinhua News Agency*. March 17, 2018. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-03/17/c_137046307.htm>

Provincial People's Congress in January 2018, proving that his political career would not come to an end immediately. On March 17, 2018, Wang was successfully elected as China's vice president, receiving 2,969 out of 2,970 votes.¹⁴² Compared to Rong Yiren who served as China's vice president without any Party leadership titles, the position served by Wang is more influential, assisting Xi to deal with China's foreign affairs. Entrusted by President Xi, Vice President Wang has received more than three hundred foreign dignitaries in China since taking the office in 2018. He has also attended ceremonial events on behalf of President Xi and the government of China in the international community. For instance, he traveled to Indonesia and Japan for President Joko Widodo's inauguration ceremony and Emperor Naruhito's enthronement ceremony, respectively, between October 20th and 22nd, 2019 as President Xi's special envoy.¹⁴³ Wang attended the 2nd Paris Peace Forum and delivered a keynote speech at the opening ceremony, during which he elaborated on the importance of peaceful cooperation between states, on behalf of the government of China.¹⁴⁴

As Deputy Premier of the State Council between 2008 and 2013, Wang was a chief coordinator and negotiator regarding the China-U.S. economic and trade relationship under the framework of the China-U.S. Economic and Trade Dialogue. Wang understands how the U.S. political and economic system operates. The present China-U.S. economic and trade relationship is in gridlock, and the title of vice president granted Wang a position as a significant and influential

¹⁴² "China anti-corruption chief Wang Qishan name Xi Jinping's deputy." *BBC*. March 17, 2018. <<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-43440877>>

¹⁴³ "Xi's special envoy to attend Indonesian presidential inauguration and Japanese emperor's enthronement." *Xinhua News Agency*. October 14, 2019. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-10/14/c_138471244.htm>

¹⁴⁴ "China a champion of world peace, defender of int'l order: Chinese VP." *Xinhua News Agency*. November 14, 2019. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-11/14/c_138552676.htm>

advisor, defender, and implementer for President Xi in regard to foreign affairs. As for the future development of China-U.S. relations, Wang could use his expertise on the U.S. to operate at a more strategic and economic level in order to keep China-U.S. relations from going off tracks.

Yang Jiechi, former Chinese ambassador to the U.S. and China's foreign minister, was appointed to be the commission's office director.¹⁴⁵ In addition to serving as a high-ranking position on the commission, he became the first ambassador and diplomatic expert to serve as Member of the CPC Political Bureau. Yang had a close interpersonal relationship with the Bush Family during his ambassadorship. He was born in 1950, which is the year of tiger according to China's zodiac system. Former U.S. President George Bush even called Yang the "Tiger Yang" because his given name "Chi" contains a Chinese character "Tiger".¹⁴⁶ His abundant diplomatic experiences as ambassador to the U.S. and foreign minister, as well as being fluent in English, are suitable for the position of the commission's office director, allowing him to assist Xi in dealing with China's diplomatic affairs, particularly the future development of China-U.S. relations.

In addition, the function of the CPC Central Foreign Affairs Commission is not identical to the function of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the leadership of the State Council. As a part of the Party institutions, the CPC Central Foreign Affairs is a more macro institution, with its function being primarily focused on policymaking. For instance, foreign visits conducted by the president and premier in the following year are tentatively outlined by the CPC Central Foreign Affairs Commission based on the international situation and bilateral situation between China and

¹⁴⁵ "Yang Jiechi – Member of Political Bureau of CPC Foreign Affairs." *Xinhua News Agency*. October 25, 2017. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-10/25/c_136705656.htm>

¹⁴⁶ Mann, Jim. "China's Tiger Is a Pussycat to Bushes." *Los Angeles Times*. December 20, 2000. <<https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2000-dec-20-mn-2466-story.html>>

countries that the president and premier would potentially visit. The CPC Central Foreign Affairs Commission is also coordinating the work of other relevant foreign departments such as the CPC International Department, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National People's Congress, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Commerce, the State International Development and Cooperation Agency, the Office for International Military Cooperation of the Central Military Commission, and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. As an executive institution within the State Council, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is a more micro institution, and its function is focused on implementation. For instance, the signing ceremony of the diplomatic establishment between China and other countries is arranged and implemented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The China Media Group

According to the "Plan of Deepening the Reform of the Party and State Institutions", the China Media Group is now combined with the China Central Television (CCTV), the China National Radio (CNR), and the China Radio International (CRI), making it a prominent state media agency.¹⁴⁷ The CCTV and the CNR were both in charge of China's domestic communication while the CRI was in charge of China's international communication. After the establishment of the China Media Group, voices of three previous news agencies have been coordinated and unified. Therefore, the China Media Group under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council has a stronger capacity to spread a common voice in the international community and tell China's story to other countries. Since the implementation of the "Plan of Deepening the

¹⁴⁷ *Plan on Deepening Reform of Party and State Institutions*. Xinhua News Agency. March 21, 2018. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-03/21/c_137055471.htm>

Reform of the Party and State Institutions”, three dominant news agency with different communication channels have been formed in China. Due to the inclusion of television and radio, the newly established China News Media is a multi-dimensional state media agency. The People’s Daily is spreading China’s voice to the world mainly through newspaper, the Xinhua News Agency is spreading China’s voice to the world mainly through internet, and the China Media Group is spreading China’s voice to the world mainly through television and radio. Because every country’s level of economic development is different, not everybody in the world is able to watch television. In fact, the coverage of radio is more extensive than the coverage of television. Using two major communication channels, radio and television, the China Media Group attempts to keep people from every country posted on China’s development. China’s diplomatic theory and practice such as the CSF and the BRI can be spread to every corner of the world through the China Media Group, letting more people understand how China’s version of global governance has influenced the globe. Meanwhile, some negative comments created by Western news media such as the “China threat” and the “collapse of China” have slandered China’s international influence and reputation. In order to refute the claims from Western news media, it is indispensable for China’s state news agency to tell China’s story well. China’s development path, Chinese culture, and Chinese civilians’ daily life will take the new platform of the China Media Group to be presented to the world. Overall, the ultimate purpose of the media integration is to make China’s voice louder and tell China’s story clearer in the international community.

The State International Development and Cooperation Agency

According to the “Plan of Deepening the Reform of the Party and State Institutions”, the State International Development and Cooperation Agency was established within the State

Council.¹⁴⁸ As far as China's foreign aid and oversea projects, they had previously been supervised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Commerce before the plan was approved. In fact, a large variety of government agencies were simultaneously responsible for China's foreign aid and oversea projects, leading to inefficiency. There was a need for a centralized and coordinated department that formulates the foreign aid plan to be aligned with China's macroeconomic development strategy such as the BRI as well as design the foreign aid plan on an individual basis, since each country's economic situation and development model is different. Currently, the State International Development and Cooperation Agency is working directly under the State Council and has taken over responsibilities related to China's foreign aid from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Commerce. Director of the State International Development and Cooperation Agency is a high-ranking official in China's political system that is equivalent to the ranking of a lieutenant governor, who is invited to participate in a wide range of China's important domestic conferences such as the plenary session of the CPC central committee, the central economic work conference, and the central foreign affairs conference. The function of China's State International Cooperation and Development Agency is analogous to the U.S. Agency for International Development, the French Development Agency, and the Japan International Cooperation Agency, which are responsible for formulating policies regarding foreign aid and overseeing all oversea projects. Although it is rare for an emerging market to create a specific government agency that deals with foreign aid, China's global

¹⁴⁸ *Plan on Deepening Reform of Party and State Institutions*. Xinhua News Agency. March 21, 2018. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-03/21/c_137055471.htm>

contribution cannot be ignored. The BRI proposed by China is an example aimed at common development among countries.

The State Immigration Bureau

Since implementing the “reform and opening-up” policy, China has shifted from a country that played a “margin” role in global affairs to a country that has contributed to global governance and has become the second largest economy that many other countries have conducted trade business with. China’s global influence has increased. Currently, a vast number of foreigners are working and studying in China or visiting China as a tourist destination. As President Xi mentioned in the Conference on Dialogue of Asian Civilizations, more than 1.4 billion visitors entered China in 2018.¹⁴⁹ China has attracted a large number of foreign experts to work for Chinese colleges and enterprises as well as international students to study in Chinese colleges. The 2014 Expat Explorer Survey, released by the HSBC, states that China ranks third in the world among all destinations where foreigners prefer to move.¹⁵⁰ According to the statistics released by the Ministry of Education, a total of 492,185 international students studied at Chinese colleges in 2018.¹⁵¹ The growing trend of foreigners living in China prompted the Chinese government to establish a new agency that conveniently coordinates foreigners’ applications for work and residency permits.¹⁵² Before the State Immigration Bureau was inaugurated, foreigners needed

¹⁴⁹ Xi, Jinping. “Deepening Exchanges and Mutual Learning Among Civilizations for an Asian Community of the Shared Future, Keynote Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the Conference on Dialogue of Asian Civilizations.” May 15, 2019. <<https://www.en84.com/fy/fwx/jh/7051.html>>

¹⁵⁰ “Expat Explorer Survey 2014.” *HSBC*. <https://expatexplorer.hsbc.com/survey/files/pdfs/overall-reports/2014/HSBC_Expat_Explorer_2014_infographics.pdf>

¹⁵¹ “Statistical report on international students in China for 2018.” *Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of China*. April 17, 2019. <http://en.moe.gov.cn/news/press_releases/201904/t20190418_378586.html>

¹⁵² *Plan on Deepening Reform of Party and State Institutions*. Xinhua News Agency. March 21, 2018. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-03/21/c_137055471.htm>

to go to several different government institutions in order to turn in their application materials, which was both time-consuming and complicated. Currently, various departments dealing with immigration issues are administrated solely by the State Immigration Bureau, with the aim of providing the one-stop service. In addition to assisting foreigners in applying for work and residency permits, the State Immigration Bureau is responsible for inspecting the legal documentation of foreigners after arriving at airports in order to prevent foreigners without legal status to work or study in China, which is pertinent to China's social security. Overall, the establishment of the State Immigration Bureau indicates the importance of societal security's cooperation between China and the rest of the world.

This chapter has discussed China's institutional reform of the Party and state. Although the reform was adopted in 2018 at the 3rd Plenary Session of the 19th CPC Central Committee, it has been accomplished fully by mid-2019, demonstrating the Party's solid leadership and the modernization of China's domestic governance capacity.¹⁵³

Above all, the first section of my dissertation provides a broad picture of the link between China's diplomatic theory and China's diplomatic practice. The next section will discuss China's diplomatic policy, focusing on China's foreign policy towards the U.S. and Africa.

¹⁵³ "Xi Focus: Xi stresses consolidating achievements in reform of Party, state institutions." *Xinhua News Agency*. July 5, 2019. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-07/05/c_138202514.htm>

Chapter Four: How China-U.S. Bilateral Relations Have Switched from Antagonistic to Partners?

As the two largest economies in the current international community, both China and the U.S. have advanced a positive, cooperative, and comprehensive relationship, opening a new chapter in their partnership, which should be based on mutual respect. Throughout the past 40 years, China and the U.S. have respected each other's choice of development path and each other's core interests when dealing with their bilateral relationship, which was officially established in January 1979. This chapter will examine how the bilateral relationship between China and the U.S. has evolved and been nurtured. A number of major political, diplomatic, and economic policies and events that have promoted the development of contemporary China-U.S. relations over the past 40 years will be explored as they play an important role in China-U.S. bilateral relations. These major policies and events also illustrate that deepening mutual understanding through communication, increasing mutual trust through dialogue, and expanding common ground through exchanges are essential and feasible ways to promote the development of contemporary China-U.S. relations.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the CSF is China's latest diplomatic theory proposed by President Xi. However, there is no a concept of "building a China-U.S. community of the shared future" proposed by China because China and the U.S. have not shared an identical destiny due to different political ideologies and economic systems. The feature of China-U.S. relations in the 21st century includes two major aspects. First, the competition between China and the U.S. will continue. The current situation denotes that the China-U.S. trade friction has not come to an end.

On the one hand, the U.S. government prevents China's rise in the international community. On the other hand, China opposes confrontation with the U.S., acknowledging that a sound China-U.S. bilateral trade relationship has been essential for China's economic modernization and America's economic prosperity. Second, as the two largest economies in the world, China and the U.S. can be complementarily cooperative in various fields. Although the trade friction unilaterally launched by the U.S. is still undergoing, China is attempting to control the general direction of bilateral relations to prevent the both countries from entering the "Thucydides Trap". The potential for a win-win outcome is still the major cornerstone of China-U.S. relations. This chapter argues that China and the U.S. have switched from antagonists to partners.

Nixon's Foreign Policy towards China

The PRC was officially established on October 1st, 1949. However, China and the U.S. were isolated from official contact from 1949 to 1972. A crucial reason that both countries suspended their official contact was because of the "containment" policy. This was a geopolitical strategy of the U.S. intended to prevent the spread of communism throughout Europe and Asia. The concept of "containment" was first summarized by U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, George Kennan in a telegram he sent from Moscow to the U.S. Department of State. The telegram stated that the Soviet regime had attempted to influence some European and Asian countries to accept communism. Therefore, the communist invasion launched by the Soviet Union had to be contained, which was of vital strategic importance to the U.S. Taken as a whole, the relationship between China and the U.S. was hostile during the early period of the PRC.

Richard Nixon assumed his presidency of the U.S. in January 1969. However, two years before becoming the president, Nixon had published an article in the “Foreign Affairs”. He stated that developing a diplomatic relationship with China would become a priority of U.S. foreign policy, even though the U.S. and China have different political values and norms.¹⁵⁴ When Nixon delivered his acceptance speech at the 1968 Republican National Convention, he announced that the foreign policy he would implement would be based on the principle of negotiation rather than confrontation, “It is a new internationalism in which America enlists its allies and its friends around the world in those struggles in which their interest is as great as ours... We do not seek domination over any other country.”¹⁵⁵ As stated in Nixon’s address, the U.S. would enter a period of negotiation, and the U.S. government under the leadership of Nixon would restore the strength of America in foreign affairs due to the slogan of “peace through negotiation” that Nixon emphasized.

After winning the presidential election, Nixon continued to speak publicly of the normalization of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and China as a long-range goal for his administration. On the one hand, the reason Nixon strongly believed in the importance of developing the China-U.S. bilateral relationship was due to the obstacle China faced in its relations with the Soviet Union, where its supreme leader withheld scientific and technical support from China. Nixon expected that the U.S. would replace the Soviet Union as providing the principal foreign aid for China’s industrialization. On the other hand, Nixon perceived of China

¹⁵⁴ Liu, Ta-Jen. *U.S.-China Relations, 1784-1992*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, Inc. 1997.

¹⁵⁵ Nixon, Richard. “Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention in Miami Beach, Florida.” The American Presidency Project. 1968. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25968>

as an economic giant due to its land size and population, which would play a key role in Asia's future, as well as becoming a great nation in the international community.

President Nixon started to implement his strategic foreign policy immediately after his inauguration. In June 1969, he decided to remove the restraint imposed by the Foreign Assets Control, which set regulations on foreign subsidiaries of U.S. firms related to nonstrategic transactions with China. This decision allowed Americans to travel to China and to purchase China's machinery and chemical products such as agricultural equipment and chemical fertilizers in order to facilitate the trade exchange between China and the U.S.¹⁵⁶

China's Domestic and Foreign Political Situation

In the 1950s and 1960s, China perceived the U.S. as the largest threat to the world due to America's imperialism. The U.S. hoped to control the world by launching military aggressions and overthrowing regimes, therefore, the official contact between China and the U.S. was halted. Between 1966 and 1976, China experienced the Cultural Revolution. The CPC hosted its 9th National Congress in April 1969. Lin Biao and Jiang Qing were elected to higher political positions in the CPC Central Committee. They were typical ultra-left political figures, who preferred China to be more isolated from the world. To maintain Lin and Jiang's influence in the Chinese political system, it was imperative for the ultra-left force to produce a tense relationship between China and the U.S. Moreover, domestic instability was heightened by the political struggles between Mao and his lieutenants, including Lin, as he prepared for the succession of Mao's leadership. In

¹⁵⁶ Wang, Dong. *The U.S. and China, A History from the Eighteenth Century to the Present*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013.

terms of external surroundings, the border issue between China and the Soviet Union was intensified. Mao, who was concerned about the increasing security threat posed by the Soviet Union, focused on the normalization of diplomatic relations with the U.S.¹⁵⁷

Mao was attempting to counter negative domestic and international impacts in regard to China's political situation. In the aspect of domestic policy, Mao called the ultra-left force an "enemy" that damaged China's harmony and stability, pointing out that "with a formidable enemy standing before us, all the army and the people should unite as one man to oppose the enemy jointly."¹⁵⁸ In the aspect of foreign policy, Mao called to unite people of the world to counter a war of invasion. Although there was a border clash between China and the Soviet Union in March 1969, Mao tried to keep the situation under control and to prevent the China-Soviet Union relationship from deteriorating. Meanwhile, Mao instructed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to be prepared for undertaking diplomatic negotiations with the Soviet Union. Mao directed some high-ranking politicians including four marshals to study the ongoing international situation, to write a report regarding the link between the current international situation and China, and to advise the central leadership. On July 11th, 1969, they submitted a report titled "A Preliminary Estimate of the War Situation" to Chairman Mao and Zhou Enlai, Premier of China's State Council. In this report, the Chinese high-ranking politicians believed that the conflict between China and the Soviet Union along the border was more serious than the ideological difference between China and the U.S. and suggested that seeking détente with the U.S. to fight against the border

¹⁵⁷ Li, Jie. "China's Domestic Politics and the Normalization of Sino-U.S. Relations, 1969-1979." *Normalization of U.S.-China Relations: An International History*. Harvard University Asia Center. 2005.

¹⁵⁸ Tudda, Chris. *A Cold War Turning Point: Nixon and China, 1969-1972*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2012.

threat from the Soviet Union was necessary.¹⁵⁹ As a result, China's foreign policy to the U.S. was adjusted.

The Ping-Pong Diplomacy

Ping-pong can be considered to be the “nationwide sport of China”. Almost all of the gold medals for ping-pong in the Summer Olympiad have been awarded to Chinese players. The “Ping-Pong Diplomacy” was a unique people-to-people exchange before diplomatic relations between the U.S. and China were officially established. In order to further promote cultural interaction between the two countries, an American ping-pong delegation consisting of 15 athletes and three journalists was invited to China in 1971. All 15 players were engaged in a number of exhibition matches with their Chinese counterparts in Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou. Premier Zhou met with the U.S. ping-pong delegation in Beijing and told all delegation members that the people-to-people exchange between China and the U.S. would deepen mutual understanding between ordinary people from the two countries. As a Chinese saying goes, “amity between people holds the key to sound relations between states (国之交在于民相亲).” People-to-people exchange and political exchange would form two major pillars of the China-U.S. relationship. After hearing about a fruitful visit made by the U.S. ping-pong delegation, Nixon encouraged the American people to have more cultural interactions with the Chinese people, and he believed that people-to-people exchange would play a fundamental role in the future development of China-U.S. relations.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ Tudta, Chris. *A Cold War Turning Point: Nixon and China, 1969-1972*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2012.

¹⁶⁰ Schaller, Michael. *The U.S. and China into the Twenty-First Century*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University

President Nixon's Historic Visit to China in 1972

A secret political visit by the U.S. National Security Advisor, Henry Kissinger, to China in 1971 enhanced mutual understanding between the central government of China and the U.S. federal government, paving the way for the groundbreaking summit between Nixon and the Chinese leadership. By hosting a bilateral talk between Kissinger and Zhou, both the U.S. and China reached a consensus that President Nixon would visit China in the following year.¹⁶¹ After making this significant announcement, Nixon described his official visit to China as a trip for peace. This official visit was not only for the present generations but also for future ones. Nixon expected that the friendship between China and the U.S. would be passed on from one generation to another.

President Nixon made one of the most important foreign visits during his presidency in 1972. The historic handshake between President Nixon and Premier Zhou after landing in the Beijing International Airport was described to be the most important handshake in the 20th century, as it marked the end of the diplomatic isolation and mutual hostility between the two largest countries across the Pacific Ocean, which had existed for 23 years. During this unprecedented visit to China, Nixon told Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou that he would complete the process of normalizing America's relationship with the PRC during his presidency. After many years without official contact, the Chinese leadership and President Nixon found it beneficial to have this opportunity to candidly exchange views on a variety of bilateral and global issues. The

Press. 2002.

¹⁶¹ Tudra, Chris. *A Cold War Turning Point: Nixon and China, 1969-1972*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press. 2012.

Chinese side stated that all nations, large or small, strong or weak, wealthy or indigent, should be equal in the international community. Thus, hegemony had been strongly opposed by the Chinese government. Meanwhile, the U.S. side emphasized that it would put effort into building an impartial and peaceful world.¹⁶² The most fruitful goal achieved during Nixon's visit was the signing of the "Shanghai Communique", which became the first intergovernmental communique between China and the U.S. regarding the future development of bilateral China-U.S. relations. The "Shanghai Communique" aimed to establish a relationship of mutual respect and trust as well as to promote mutual peaceful dialogue and understanding by emphasizing the importance of cooperation.

Although there are essential differences between China and the U.S. in their social systems and foreign policies, articles 8, 9, and 13 of the "Shanghai Communique" emphasize a variety of principles regarding how China and the U.S. should get along with each other. Article 8 states that China and the U.S. should deal with their bilateral relationship based on the principles of "non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence".¹⁶³ Article 9 states that "progress towards the normalization of relations between China and the U.S. is in the interests of all countries."¹⁶⁴ Article 13 states that "both sides view bilateral trade as another area from which mutual benefit can be derived, and agreed that

¹⁶² Tudda, Chris. *A Cold War Turning Point: Nixon and China, 1969-1972*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press. 2012.

¹⁶³ *Shanghai Communique*. Office of the Historian at U.S. Department of State. 1972.

http://insidethecoldwar.org/sites/default/files/documents/Shanghai%20Communique%2C%20February%2028%2C%201972.%205_3%2C%208_11.pdf

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

economic relations based on equality and mutual benefit are in the interest of the peoples of the two countries.”¹⁶⁵

According to the “Shanghai Communiqué”, China and the U.S. expressed a mutual hope that Nixon’s visit would open up new prospects for China-U.S. relations, where the normalization of China-U.S. relations, in a political aspect, would contribute to the elimination of tensions in Asia and throughout the world. In addition, trade and business cooperation between the two countries was a new potential, which could contribute to the market expansion and economic growth between China and the U.S.

President Nixon’s visit to China can be considered to be the first official visit for a sitting American president to a foreign country during which the U.S. did not establish an official diplomatic relationship. However, the Watergate Scandal forced Nixon to resign from the U.S. presidency. Although Nixon made a positive contribution to boosting China-U.S. bilateral relations, he did not normalize the diplomatic relationship between China and the U.S. during his term as president.

As stated in the “Shanghai Communiqué”, Nixon’s official visit to China was instrumental for the rapid development of the normalization of China-U.S. relations. Trade barriers were removed, people-to-people exchanges were expanded, and more intergovernmental contacts and communications in various fields were increased. To promote mutual understanding between top legislative agencies of the two countries, the National People’s Congress of China invited a number of senior American lawmakers such as the Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, the

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott, and the House Majority Leader Hale Boggs to visit Beijing. More importantly, the establishment of the U.S. Liaison Office in Beijing in 1973 was another step closer to the normalization of a relationship between China and the U.S. A proposal for the establishment of the U.S. Liaison Office to China was confirmed by President Nixon and Premier Zhou during Nixon's official visit in 1972.¹⁶⁶ The function of the U.S. Liaison Office in Beijing was to promote trade relations, arrange cultural exchanges, and present formal diplomatic messages to the Department of State. Overall, the U.S. Liaison Office in Beijing played the role of a temporary U.S. embassy in China, which worked on a variety of preparations for the normalization of the China-U.S. relationship.

The Policy of “Reform and Opening-up” and the Normalization Process of China-U.S. Bilateral Relations

China experienced the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976, which prevented China from developing its economy and isolated China from the international community. After the Cultural Revolution, a major mission that the CPC wanted to achieve was to ease the impact of the ultra-leftist ideologies initiated by Jiang Qing, as well as speed up China's economic reconstruction. It was imperative for China to expand its process of opening up to the world and to narrow the developmental gap between China and the rest of the world.

The National Planning Conference was hosted in Beijing from September 5th to October 22nd, 1977. A variety of foreign advanced technologies, foreign capitals, and international trade would be a part of China's future development under the premise that China's gate should be always

¹⁶⁶ Liu, Ta-Jen. *U.S.-China Relations, 1784-1992*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, Inc. 1997.

open to the world. The National Planning Conference would be considered to be a preparatory meeting for the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

The 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, hosted in 1978, selected Deng to be the second paramount leader of China. As noted in a resolution adopted in this conference, China would achieve modernization by learning from the West and applying advanced technology and modern management to China's economic development. China's economic reform consists of four components: allowance of a market economy in China, steady growth of foreign investment, emergence of the rational-legal system, and China's involvement in global affairs. In the aspect of a market economy, China would allow private economy to emerge, which creates a large variety of employment opportunities. Foreign investment often comes with technological innovation. Foreign-invested firms are technologically superior, and knowledge is transferred through their interactions with China's domestic firms, leading to productivity improvements in China. Regarding the rational-legal system, all economic laws passed since 1978 have been instrumental in offering a legal basis for the improvement of China's private economy, in order to create a sound environment for foreign investment in China, and to construct the socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics. In regard to China's involvement in global affairs, China's international prestige has been raised, with China participating in a number of international institutions since the economic reform adopted in 1978. Particularly, becoming an official WTO member can be considered a milestone of China's engagement with the international community because it took China 15 years to finish the negotiation process with other major economic powers such as the U.S., and the European Union. Since joining the WTO in 2001, China has made three commitments to this international organization, including a

commitment to meet the WTO requirement such as free trade with all other WTO members, a commitment to allow market access and lower tariffs in specific economic sectors such as telecommunications and agricultural products, as well as a commitment to sign the bilateral cooperative agreements with China's major trading partners. These three commitments have provided enormous opportunities for China to speed up its economic globalization process and to attract more foreign investments to further boost China's economic reform. Meanwhile, with the improvement of China's international prestige, becoming a WTO member provides a platform for China to shape the rules of international trade system with other WTO members.

Overall, the domestic reform and opening of China's gate to the world must be a long-term national strategic policy for China, and the development of China-U.S. relations would be an indispensable component of China's foreign policy during the new era. The historic change of China's domestic situation created a phenomenal opportunity and laid a new foundation for the improvement of China-U.S. relations. The U.S. was a major source of advanced technology, therefore, the smooth normalization of China-U.S. relations became the top priority of China's foreign policy.¹⁶⁷

Jimmy Carter was inaugurated as the 39th President of the U.S. in 1977. When meeting with American high-ranking officials in the Carter administration, Deng said that the U.S. must follow three principles before establishing the official diplomatic relationship with China. First, the termination of U.S. foreign relations with Taiwan; second, the withdrawal of American troops from Taiwan; and finally, the abolition of the U.S. treaty with Taiwan. In addition, Deng welcomed

¹⁶⁷ Li, Jie. "China's Domestic Politics and the Normalization of Sino-U.S. Relations, 1969-1979." *Normalization of U.S.-China Relations: An International History*. Harvard University Asia Center. 2005.

President Carter to visit China, but Chinese leaders were unable to visit the U.S. at the same time because the “embassy of Taiwan” was still located in Washington D.C.; therefore, the official visit between China and the U.S. in 1977 could not be reciprocal. Since it is a principle that the PRC government should be the only legal government representing China in the international community, Taiwan is an inalienable part of China’s territory.

In 1978, the relationship between China and the U.S. made a breakthrough. President Carter looked forward to completing the normalization of China-U.S. relations during his presidency. He sent his national security advisor and secretary of defense to China to host talks with their Chinese counterparts. Because of President Carter’s aspirations, Deng said that China should grasp this opportunity to achieve the goal of normalizing China-U.S. relations. Besides President Carter’s decisive decision-making, the policy of “reform and opening-up” accelerated the normalization of China-U.S. relations in Deng’s perspective. After six rounds of the negotiation between China and the U.S., both sides reached a consensus that the U.S. would promise China to cut off the so-called diplomatic relationship with Taiwan and to terminate the sale of U.S. weapons to Taiwan. This was a historic moment for the China-U.S. diplomatic relationship. With the release of the “Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations”, an ambassador-level diplomatic relationship between China and the U.S. was officially established on January 1st, 1979.¹⁶⁸ The “Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations” has been an influential document over the history of China-U.S. relations. The U.S. government reiterated that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China’s territory and that the U.S. would only

¹⁶⁸ Fu, Zhengyuan. "The Taiwan Issue and Sino-U.S. Relations." *Transnational Law & Contemporary Problems* 16, no. 1 (2006): 253-290.

maintain economic and cultural relations with Taiwan. Any relations at the governmental-level would be terminated. As far as global affairs, both China and the U.S. would strive to maintain peace not only in the Asia-Pacific region, but also in any other regions of the world. Hegemony should be simultaneously opposed by both countries. Meanwhile, China and the U.S. would aim to reduce the possibility of military conflicts, in order to create a peaceful and stable environment in the world. The final paragraph of the communique also points out the importance of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, marking that China-U.S. relations were entering a new era, "Both believe that normalization of Sino-American relations is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the cause of peace in Asia and the world."¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ *Joint Communique on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the U.S. of America and the People's Republic of China*. U.S. Department of State. December 15, 2018. <https://photos.state.gov/libraries/ait-taiwan/171414/ait-pages/prc_e.pdf>

Chapter Five: China-U.S. Relations Since the First Decade of the 21st Century

The history regarding how China and the U.S. have switched from antagonists to partners laid a solid foundation for contemporary development of China-U.S. bilateral relations. China and the U.S. would not have the same type of interactions if the two countries did not establish a diplomatic relationship. Since the beginning of the 21st century, the development of China-U.S. bilateral relations has been steadily developed. The leaders from the two countries would determine the future trend of China-U.S. relations with political wisdom so that the train of China-U.S. relations will not be derailed.

A New Model of Major Country Relationship between China and the U.S.

The Obama administration realized the importance of China's peaceful rise in the 21st century. When President Barack Obama paid his first state visit to China in 2009, he expressed to then-President Hu Jintao that cooperation would advance the China-U.S. bilateral relationship in all fields while confrontation would severely damage its relationship. President Obama welcomed the rise of China that was peaceful, stable, and prosperous. He also believed that China is a responsible player in global affairs. Developing a long-term cooperative relationship with China benefits the people of China and the U.S., and the rest of the world. In order to turn his diplomatic theory into practice, President Obama proposed the "Group of Two (G2)". He stated that China and the U.S. would work out solutions to global issues as the most influential countries. However, Chinese leaders expressed their concerns about the concept of "G2". They stated that although it is the second largest economy in the world, China is still a developing country. China's GDP per capita was very low, and people still lived under the poverty line. China still had a long

way to go before being completely modernized. The concept of “G2” could be considered to be an alliance between China and the U.S. However, as China pursues an independent foreign policy of peace, it was not in their best interest to form an alliance with any other countries. For other countries, the establishment of the “G2” between China and the U.S. would not be helpful for their voices to be heard in the international community because China and the U.S. would monopolize their affairs. Therefore, China agreed to develop its relationship with the U.S. under the framework of global governance, and all global issues should be negotiated and resolved by all countries in the world rather than just one or two countries.¹⁷⁰

Although the concept of “G2” was not appropriate to describe the China-U.S. bilateral relationship, China proposed the concept of building a new model of major-power relationship between China and the U.S. that consisted of non-confrontation, mutual respect, and win-win cooperation at the Xi-Obama Summit in the Sunnylands, CA in 2013.¹⁷¹ The “major-power” refers to China and the U.S. that play a proactive role in international affairs. The U.S. remains in superpower status of the world while the “new” refers China to an emerging market. The “new” also refers to a new type of China-U.S. relations that does not follow the old model, including the Cold War mentality and the zero-sum game. Cooperation and communication were the only correct choice for China and the U.S. to deal with their relations. As the second largest economy and the largest developing country in the world, it is imperative for China to actively play a peaceful role in international affairs. With the U.S. being the only superpower in the world, China

¹⁷⁰ “Wen: China disagrees to so-called G2, calling for effort to fight protectionism.” *China Central Television*. November 18, 2009. <<http://english.cctv.com/20091118/104772.shtml>>

¹⁷¹ “Remarks by President Obama and President Xi Jinping of the People’s Republic of China After Bilateral Meeting.” *White House*. June 8, 2013. <<https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2013/06/08/remarks-president-obama-and-president-xi-jinping-peoples-republic-china->>

will not challenge the status of the U.S., and China absolutely will not become the next hegemony in the world. The current international structure with “one superpower and multi-great powers” would be maintained. As an accountable, humanitarian, and influential country in the world, China was dedicated to promoting peace and economic development with all other countries, and China was not willing to compete with the U.S. in regard to military power. The competition between the U.S. and the Soviet Union eventually led to the collapse of the Soviet Union. By drawing on lessons from the Cold War, China wants to be a contributor and upholder of global peace and international order, instead of simulating the Soviet Union or the U.S., who pushed the world to the edge with military conflicts. When dealing with China-U.S. relations, the Chinese government is trying to avoid the “Thucydides Trap”, which refers to an inevitable war between a rising power and an established power when a rising power threatens to replace the established power in the international community. The rise of a potential superpower causes fear in the established dominant power. As for the future trend of China-U.S. relations, while military conflicts are not expected, economic conflicts are bound to escalate as a result of China’s peaceful rise, which impacts America’s global dominance. China will surpass the U.S. to become the largest economy in the near future. Because of this, the trade friction between the two countries will be axiomatic. For China, it does not want to be involved in the “Thucydides Trap” because of the fact that China is still a developing country. China needs to focus on its domestic development, including improving people’s livelihood, eradicating poverty, and fighting against corruption. On a global scale, China’s development is not a threat to any other countries. China does not have any ambitions to conquer other countries’ territory or to include other countries into its own sphere of influence. China’s foreign policy towards the U.S. and other countries is

focused on building partnerships in which countries treat each other as equals on the basis of mutual respect instead of competing with each other or implementing predatory expansion.

The “Honeymoon Period” of China-U.S. Relations in the Trump Administration

Donald Trump, founder of the Trump Organization, a New York real estate tycoon and political outsider, won the 2016 U.S. presidential election in an unprecedented fashion. After winning the election, Trump stated that the China-U.S. relationship is one of the most important state-to-state relations in the world.¹⁷² Also, the position of U.S. Ambassador to China is one of the most senior diplomatic positions in the U.S. government structure. On December 8th, 2016, President-elect Trump announced his choice to nominate then-Governor of Iowa, Terry Branstad, to serve as the next U.S. Ambassador to China during a “Thank You Tour” rally in Des Moines, IA.¹⁷³ Branstad, who first hosted Xi while he was visiting Iowa on an agricultural research trip in 1985, has nurtured a close interpersonal relationship with Xi. As Branstad stated to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, “I hope to use my unique position as an ‘old friend’ of President Xi and a trusted confidant of President Trump to positively influence the U.S.-China relationship.”¹⁷⁴ Branstad has been to China a number of times on behalf of the State of Iowa in order to boost its trade relationship with China. Branstad knows Xi well through staying in touch with Xi for more than three decades. Therefore, selecting Branstad to be the next U.S. Ambassador to China was the correct decision for President-elect Trump made because of Iowa’s close economic

¹⁷² “Full: Donald Trump Thank You Tour 2016- Des Moines, Iowa 12/8/2016.” YouTube Video.
<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EGmVGOzBYRU>>

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ “Statement of Terry Branstad Ambassador-Nominee to the People’s Republic of China.” U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. May 2, 2017.
<https://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/050217_Branstad_Testimony.pdf>

relationship with China and Branstad's extensive interpersonal relationship with China, which has given him a front-seat view of the complexities of America's broader economic relationship with China.

The first major China-U.S. diplomatic interaction after Trump's inauguration was President Xi's working visit to Mar-Lago at the invitation of President Trump in March 2017. The two heads of state had an opportunity to know each other through hosting a face-to-face talk. Meanwhile, on the basis of a new model of major-power relations between China and the U.S., President Xi and President Trump agreed to establish a mechanism regarding four high-level China-U.S. comprehensive dialogues, including the China-U.S. diplomatic and strategic dialogue, China-U.S. economic dialogue, China-U.S. people-to-people and cultural exchange dialogue, and China-U.S. law enforcement and cybersecurity dialogue. The "mechanism" refers to the fact that the four high-level dialogues will be held on the regular basis. Frequent communication between the two countries helps avoid misunderstanding, eliminate divergences, and strengthen cooperation. The "high-level" refers to delegation members consisting of high-ranking officials from the two countries, who play an essential role in decision-making of their respective government institutions. Compared to previous rounds of the China-U.S. dialogue that only covered strategic and economic fields, the "comprehensive dialogue" covers a large variety of aspects of China-U.S. relations, such as politics, economics, culture, and security. During the Obama administration, there was only the strategic and economic dialogue between China and the U.S., but in the Trump administration, the dialogue between the two countries has been elevated to a new level. Establishing this new mechanism is significant for the future development of China-U.S. relations. As the two largest economies in the world, China and the U.S. need to cultivate more dialogues

and negotiations in order to avoid negative and pessimistic speculations from both sides. Dialogue and negotiation are instrumental for China and the U.S. to enhance mutual learning and understanding. Therefore, China and the U.S. must work together to boost coordination and cooperation in future global affairs on the basis of mutual understanding.

Although the mechanism of the China-U.S. high-level comprehensive dialogue was initiated by China, President Trump agreed with China's proposal. The new mechanism could be taken as an expression by the two countries to follow the principle of non-confrontation, mutual respect, and win-win cooperation. The consensus President Xi and President Trump reached in the meeting at Mar-Lago displayed China's commitment to peaceful development without forming an alliance with the U.S. The establishment of the dialogue mechanism demonstrates that any attempts to unilaterally contain China in the international community with the Cold War mentality and the zero-sum game has become outdated and harmful to China-U.S. relations.

In terms of traditional Chinese culture, "courtesy deserves reciprocity". President Xi visited the U.S. in April 2017, and President Trump conducted a return visit to China in November 2017 at the invitation of President Xi. As China's most significant domestic agenda in 2017, the 19th CPC National Congress was concluded in October. It was the first foreign head of state that President Xi received after the Party Congress. Both heads of state exchanged visits within eight months, marking the great progress of China-U.S. bilateral relations since Trump took the office in January 2017. In terms of Chinese official statement, this visit was called the "state visit plus". A state visit is considered to be the highest expression of friendly bilateral relations between two countries with an emphasis on ceremonial events such as the 21-gun salute, reviewing the honor guard, and a state banquet, but the "state visit plus" could be above than a normal state visit,

which is considered to be China's unique diplomatic arrangement for President Trump and his delegation. Trump was inaugurated as the 45th U.S. President in January 2017 while Xi was reelected as the CPC Secretary-General after the 19th Party Congress. The China-U.S. bilateral relationship, as the most important state-to-state relationship in the world, reached a new historical starting point. The two heads of state needed to deepen their personal friendship through the "state visit plus".

Throughout the history of China-U.S. relations, cultural exchange has laid a solid foundation for improving the political relationship. After arriving in Beijing, the first event for President Trump and First Lady Melania was taking a tour of the Forbidden City and enjoying the Peking Opera accompanied by President Xi and his wife Peng Liyuan, to provide President Trump with the flourishing history and share the abundant culture of China. Before being elected as the U.S. president, Trump was an American real estate businessman and did not know much about Chinese culture. His lack of knowledge regarding China's cultural background was a barrier to be able to make overall foreign policies towards China. The Forbidden City is a crystallization of the Chinese history, and the Peking Opera was a quintessence of Chinese culture, offering President Trump and Melania a comprehensive understanding of traditional Chinese culture. After the tour, the two heads of state and their spouses sat together to enjoy afternoon tea, with this unofficial interaction being similar to a family gathering, indicating the importance of family values, as a state is composed of countless families. The informal exchange and interaction between the two first families allowed them to have sufficient time to know each other and to chart the future blueprint of China-U.S. relations.

The official large-scale talk between the two heads of state was focused on the mechanism of the China-U.S. high-level comprehensive dialogue, which could be seen as a “midterm exam” regarding co-chairs of the four dialogues. Since a consensus regarding the establishment of the dialogue mechanism was reached at the Mar-Lago, the first round of four high-level dialogues had been launched. President Xi and President Trump simultaneously listened to reports given by co-chairs of each dialogue, and President Xi summarized the outcome that the dialogue mechanism had produced. He used a metaphor to describe the four-dialogues mechanism as an “accelerator” of enhancing China-U.S. mutual trust, an “incubator” of nurturing China-U.S. cooperation, and a “lubricant” of removing differences regarding China-U.S. relations.¹⁷⁵

However, it is regretful that the “Honeymoon Period” of China-U.S. relations at the beginning of the Trump administration was a short one. The relationship has been deteriorating since March 2018 due to the launch of trade friction by President Trump.

Why did Trump launch the trade friction with China?

In March 2018, according to Section 301 of the Trade Act, President Trump signed a memorandum of understanding which would direct the U.S. trade representative to impose 25 percent tariffs on 50 billion dollars of Chinese goods. The report of Section 301 of the Trade Act, which focused on investigating the trade imbalance between the U.S. and China, denounced that the “Made in China 2025” had damaged America’s industrial competition and foreign technology

¹⁷⁵ “Xinhua Insight: Xi, Trump agree on leading role of head-of-state diplomacy in Sino-U.S. ties.” Xinhua News Agency. November 9, 2017. <http://www.xinhuanet.com//english/2017-11/09/c_136740668.htm>

should be mandatorily transferred to the Chinese government or enterprises when foreign enterprises invest in China or cooperate with Chinese enterprises.

After rounds of trade negotiation led by Vice Premier Liu He, Secretary of the Treasury Steven Mnuchin and Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer, both China and the U.S. agreed to a ceasefire regarding the trade friction by releasing a joint statement on May 19th, 2018.¹⁷⁶ However, 10 days later, the U.S. unexpectedly announced to go against the consensus reached on May 19th by imposing tariffs on Chinese goods. Over the next following months, the China-U.S. trade dispute intensified. In order to defend China's economic interests, the Chinese government decided to impose tariffs on 100 billion dollars of American goods.

Most American news media use the term "war", referring to the ongoing trade dispute between China and the U.S., while most Chinese news media use the term "friction" in news report. War implies physical military conflicts among states, but the current China-U.S. trade friction has not engaged in any kinds of armed or physical conflicts. Therefore, it is more appropriate to use the term "friction" in this dissertation. The following section expounds on six reasons that Trump launched the trade friction with China.

The first reason that Trump launched the trade friction with China is the deficit. America's exports to China are significantly fewer than its imports from China.

¹⁷⁶ "Joint Statement of the U.S. and China Regarding Trade Consultations." White House. May 19, 2018. <<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/joint-statement-united-states-china-regarding-trade-consultations/>>



Figure 2: America's Trade in Goods with China¹⁷⁷

According to statistics from the U.S. Census, America's trade in goods with China is at a huge deficit, and the deficit has been rapidly growing since the beginning of the 21st century. In 2000, the total trade deficit was just over \$80,000. However, in 2018, the total trade deficit was over \$410,000. When Trump was running for U.S. President in 2016, the trade deficit was over \$346,000. During Trump's first year in the presidency, the trade deficit was over \$375,000. The trade relationship between the two countries has been favoring towards China instead of the U.S. for years. This is a superficial reason that Trump has pledged to American citizens to launch the trade friction with China.

Products	Year 2016	Year 2017	Year 2018
Cellphones	61,465,082.00	70,339,967.00	71,872,376.00
Computers	40,407,803.00	45,400,673.00	47,178,858.00

¹⁷⁷ "Trade in Goods with China." U.S. Census Bureau. <<https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c5700.html#2000>>

Telecommunications Equipment	29,036,921.00	33,441,172.00	33,882,831.00
Computer Accessories	28,252,467.00	31,650,136.00	32,501,200.00
Apparel, Textiles, Nonwool, or Cotton	24,143,354.00	24,114,281.00	25,140,494.00

Figure 3: Major Categories of U.S. Imports from China From 2016 to 2018¹⁷⁸

According to statistics from the U.S. Census, the major categories that the U.S. imports from China include electronic products and their accessories, as well as apparels. These imports are primarily made up from American manufacturers that send raw materials to China for low-cost assembly before being sent back to America as imported goods. Thus, American manufacturers strongly oppose President Trump's tariffs towards Chinese imports. Meanwhile, China's largest imports from the U.S. are agricultural products and commercial aircraft. For American farmers, they are largely unable to sell their agricultural products to China since China has cancelled its orders on soybeans after President Trump announced to beginning the trade friction with China in 2018.

Second, the U.S. government does not want to see China's peaceful rise in the international community. The U.S. foreign policy is based on hegemony. On the contrary, China's peaceful rise is based on improving people's livelihood and developing its domestic economy instead of launching armed conflicts or invading other countries' territory. China's domestic development has alerted Trump and the U.S. government that China would surpass the U.S. to be the next superpower in the world soon if it continues to develop rapidly. In order to preclude China from developing as well as set an obstruction on China's global influence in the aspect of propaganda,

¹⁷⁸ "U.S. Imports from China by 5-digit End-Use Code 2009-2018." U.S. Census Bureau. <<https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/statistics/product/enduse/imports/c5700.html>>

the “China threat”, the “collapse of China”, the “predatory expansion of China”, and the “irresponsible China” have been exaggerated by the Western media. For China, its stance has been clear. China wants to be a contributor and defender of global peace. It does not want to challenge America’s position as the current superpower of the world. Only dialogue and cooperation on the basis of equality, inclusiveness, and mutual respect can promote the future development of China-U.S. relations.

Third, President Trump needs to put America first by committing to what he said in his presidential campaign. When Trump was running for the U.S. President from 2015 to 2016, he delivered remarks in different states, characterizing China as an economic giant not only in Asia, but also in the world. He repeatedly stressed that China’s infrastructure is more advanced than the U.S., and the U.S. has a huge trade deficit with China. Trump’s presidential election victory in November 2016 brought uncertainty into the future development of China-U.S. relations. China was prudent about Trump’s victory. The analogy of the “black swan” was introduced in China to indicate the unpreparedness for the arrival of the new U.S. president with a unique style, as Trump had never served as any political positions before. The only leadership position he held was Chairman of the Trump Organization. Because of Trump’s strong business background, he decided that the future China-U.S. relationship would be centered on economics and trade.

Overall, the trade friction unilaterally launched Trump promised American constituents that the trade balance between the two countries would be pursued once being elected. The core component of Trump’s presidential campaign was “putting America first”. Thus, all opportunities pertinent to economic development should be reserved for American employees. In Trump’s

perspective, the trade friction is not only a commitment to American constituents, but also to reduce the trade deficit with China and to promote America's economic development.

Trump's presidential campaign slogan, "make America great again", was focused on America's economic resurgence. Trump's campaign was based on the platform of anti-globalization, with the belief that a large variety of labor-intensive industries, originally occupied by the U.S., have been moving to China over the past 15 years. After China's accession to the WTO, China has become the "world industry". Therefore, it is not impartial for American workers to lose a number of employment opportunities.

Labor-intensive industry refers to businesses that produce goods or services, which require a large amount of labors. Also, labor-intensive industry is relevant to low-end manufacturing, which is focused on creating jobs instead of producing large economic profits. China's goal, as a socialist country, is to ensure that its ruling party succeeds in developing the economy and improving people's livelihood. On the one hand, by providing sufficient employment opportunities, labor-intensive industry guarantees China's social stability. On the other hand, the Chinese government offers subsidies to labor-intensive enterprises even though they are not producing large economic profits, which prevents this type of enterprise from shutting down. Meanwhile, the U.S. is a capitalist society. Entrepreneurs are always thinking about how to bring more economic profits to their corporations instead of providing employment opportunities to people. In other words, producing as many economic profits as they can is American corporations' top priority. After the presidential election, Trump needs to follow through on what he said during the campaign trail to American constituents: "make America great again" and "America first", but how is it possible to create economic profits in the low-end manufacturing and labor-

intensive industry while also maintaining them to create jobs for American workers? President Trump believes that imposing tariffs is a feasible approach to put “America first” and reject China’s low-end manufacturing and labor-intensive industry from occupying the U.S. market. However, Trump overlooks the trade deficit between the U.S. and the rest of the world. The China-U.S. trade deficit is only one component of America’s trade deficit with the world. In general, launching the trade friction with China is not a realistic measure for President Trump to substantially reduce America’s trade deficit with the world and to create jobs for the American people.

Fourth, China’s currency manipulation has caused tension in the China-U.S. trade relations. In Trump’s perspective, China is a key economic violator in the international economic and trade system because China lowers the Renminbi (RMB) value in order to convince domestic enterprises to export in attempt to gain an advantage regarding China-U.S. trade relations.¹⁷⁹ He also criticized China’s illegal activities in intellectual property. Throughout Trump’s campaign, he planned to launch the trade friction with China through two approaches post-election. First, due to China’s currency manipulation and illegal economic activities, Trump would instruct the future U.S. trade representative to submit trade cases against China to the WTO. Second, Trump would impose tariffs on Chinese imports through an U.S. presidential executive order¹⁸⁰ in order to restrict imports from China, which is helpful for the U.S. to maintain its economic autonomy and to ensure that the U.S. economy will not be damaged. On the one hand, launching the trade friction with China through an U.S. presidential executive order and policy enforcement is

¹⁷⁹ Morrison, Wayne. “China-U.S. Trade Issues.” *Congressional Research Service*. January 23, 2018.

¹⁸⁰ Gupta, Sourabh. “Trump, Trade, US-China Economic Relations, Motivations and Measures for Transforming America’s Trade Policy.” *Institute for China-America Studies*. 2017.

refrained from the intervention of the U.S. Congress. On the other hand, American consumers would only purchase goods that are made in America, emphasizing the importance of “America first”. However, Trump overlooked supply chain in the current global economic system that links China to America. Specifically, the U.S. enterprises need to purchase raw materials from China to support their production.

The fifth reason that President Trump launched the trade friction was to require China to implement the structural reform that he proposed. This structural reform includes the reduction of Chinese government’s intervention on the Chinese economy. China will not enforce the reform, which would require all Chinese state-owned enterprises to be privatized. This would go against one of China’s core interests, as keeping public ownership as the mainstay of the economy and allowing diverse forms of ownership to develop is China’s most fundamental economic system.

The structural reform also includes the reduction of China’s influence in global governance. Currently, the Chinese scheme regarding global governance has made progress over the past few years. The BRI is a new platform of global governance that provides solutions to other countries in the world to enhance infrastructure construction and improve people’s living standard. Two-thirds of the world’s countries have signed the cooperative accords with China although the U.S. has criticized the “debt trap” that the BRI caused. However, the BRI has created more than 244,000 job opportunities for all participating countries along the route.¹⁸¹ China has hosted two summits of the BRI in 2017 and 2019, inviting a large number of heads of state and government

¹⁸¹ “Belt and Road Cooperation: For A Better World, Report on the Findings and Recommendations from the First Meeting of the Advisory Council of the Belt and Road Form for International Cooperation.” April 10, 2019. <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/wjbxw_673019/W020190424305940595582.pdf>

from five continents to summarize previous cooperative experiences and explore the future cooperative plans. Meanwhile, the BRI summit is focused on multilateral dialogue, which is an exceptional opportunity for global leaders to promote state-to-state dialogue, communication, and relationship. The BRI can be considered President Xi's major diplomatic achievement. It is absolutely impossible for President Trump to deny China's global influence that has been generated from the BRI.

Above all, as President Xi stressed in the remarks of celebrating the 40th anniversary of China's reform and opening-up in December 2018, "anything that can be reformed will be reformed under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, but anything that should not be reformed will not be reformed by the Communist Party of China."¹⁸² This quote suggests that the CPC should control the "steering wheel" of China's future development, and that adhering to the CPC leadership is the most essential feature of the socialism with Chinese characteristics. Anything that is going to be reformed depends on the development of China's socialist system and the modernization of China's governance.

The final reason that Trump launched the trade friction with China can be attributed to the 100-day trade negotiation, which was a part of the China-U.S. comprehensive economic dialogue. When the 100-day trade negotiation came to an end, President Trump was unsatisfied about two consensuses that China and U.S. delegations had reached. The first consensus was related to agricultural products. China had agreed to import more American beefs. However, China had made this commitment during the Bush administration. Exporting American beef to China was

¹⁸² Xi, Jinping. Remarks in the Conference on Celebrating the 40th Anniversary of China's Reform and Opening-up (在庆祝改革开放 40 周年大会上的讲话) . People's Publishing House. December 18, 2018.

not a new trade policy that the Trump administration expected to see. The second consensus was regarding the expansion of market access. China agreed to allow the U.S. to invest in China's banking and insurance business. However, China had made this commitment during the Obama administration.¹⁸³ The 100-day trade negotiation did not prevent the China-U.S. trade friction from taking place. The U.S. aimed to require China to purchase as many goods as possible in pursuit of a trade balance. China understood this demand, but the purchase of American goods would ideally need to meet China's economic and market capacity. Therefore, forcing China to buy American goods is not a feasible approach to reduce the trade deficit. Meanwhile, China is still a developing country, and not every Chinese citizen is able to afford American imports due to their living standard. For Chinese consumers, if American goods are more expensive than Chinese goods, they would likely prefer to purchase cheap domestic goods instead of choosing imported goods from America.

China can produce goods at lower costs because of the exchange rate and a lower standard of living. The exchange rate means that the U.S. dollar is more valuable than the RMB. A lower standard of living allows companies in China to pay lower wages to workers. Thus, American people want these goods for lower prices. Currently, trade protectionism that President Trump advocates for leads to the trade friction between China and the U.S. It is unlikely that the trade deficit will be reduced for America. China has taken a retaliatory action to fight against President

¹⁸³ Swanson, Ana. "China Envoy Seeks to Defuse Tensions with U.S. as a Trade War Brews." *New York Times*. March 1, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/28/us/politics/china-envoy-seeks-to-defuse-tensions-with-us-as-a-trade-war-brews.html?_ga=2.198185067.575065631.1558569082-1865427011.1550441942>

Trump's trade friction by raising tariffs on American imports. Chinese consumers will not choose American goods in Chinese market, which will not be good for America's exports.

During his presidency thus far, Trump chose to start the trade friction with China. In March 2018, Trump officially launched a trade friction to China by imposing tariffs on Chinese commodities. In response to Trump's decision, the Chinese government began to defend its economic interests by immediately announcing its decision to impose tariffs on American commodities in order to fight against the trade war launched by the Trump administration.

Due to the trade friction, there is no need for the two countries to continue the China-U.S. comprehensive economic dialogue that was created in the China-U.S. summit at the Mar-Lago. Instead, the comprehensive economic dialogue has been adjusted regarding the China-U.S. trade negotiation. Although China and the U.S. took unilateral actions to defend their economic interests and halt the comprehensive economic dialogue, the China-U.S. trade negotiation opens a new door for the two countries to narrowly focus on the trade dispute. Dialogue is the only correct choice for China and the U.S. to reduce divergences and resolve issues.

In May 2018, China and the U.S. respectively conducted two rounds of trade talks in Beijing and Washington D.C. The Chinese government dispatched Vice Premier Liu to the U.S. for the trade negotiation. Liu was appointed as Vice Premier of the State Council during the 1st Plenary Session of the 13th National People's Congress, and this new political title authorizes Liu to comprehensively take over China's trade affairs. Liu, who is considered to be one of the most significant senior economic advisors in the Chinese government, assists President Xi and other Chinese leaders in formulating China's trade policy and conducting trade negotiation on behalf

of the Chinese government. In his meeting with Secretary of Treasury and Trade Representative, Liu stated that China was willing to properly resolve economic and trade issues that concern both states in an equal and mutually beneficial manner. Imposing tariffs on Chinese imports would only damage the economic interests of enterprises and consumers from both countries. Although there is a trade imbalance between China and the U.S., China agreed to cut its trade surplus with the U.S. by \$200 billion. This reduction would be made through a huge increase in the purchasing of American commodities.¹⁸⁴ On May 19th, 2018, China and the U.S. published a joint statement,¹⁸⁵ which outlines China's role in purchasing more American commodities to reduce the trade deficit, and its aim to offer more career opportunities for American people. This is a reciprocal trade statement. For China, Chinese consumers will have more selections in the Chinese market to improve their livelihood. On May 20th, 2018, China and the U.S. agreed to put the trade friction on hold. The tariffs that the Trump administration initially announced would not come into effect.¹⁸⁶

President Trump's personality is mercurial. Only nine days after the truce of the trade friction, he released a statement to criticize China's unfair trade policy. He particularly pointed out that the "Made in China 2025", China's industry development plan, harms American companies.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ "China offers Trump US \$200 billion cut in trade surplus." *South China Morning Post*. May 18, 2018. <<http://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2146660/us-president-donald-trump-meet-chinese-vice-premier-liu>>

¹⁸⁵ *Joint Statement of the U.S. and China Regarding Trade Consultations*. The White House. May 19, 2018. <<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/joint-statement-united-states-china-regarding-trade-consultations/>>

¹⁸⁶ "US and China put trade war 'one hold'." *Guardian*. May 20, 2018. <<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/may/20/us-and-china-put-trade-war-on-hold>>

¹⁸⁷ *President Donald J. Trump is Confronting China's Unfair Trade Policies*. White House. May 29, 2018. <<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trump-confronting-chinas-unfair-trade-policies/>>

From June to September 2018, President Trump finalized three lists of commodities that would be imposed with tariffs, including chemicals, and metal products, ranging from 10 to 25 percent.

The imposition of tariffs back and forth between China and the U.S. is not helpful for the economic stability and development of the two countries. On October 25th, 2018, China and the U.S. decided to resume the official negotiation process. An American delegation led by Alan Turley, Deputy Assistant Secretary on China and Mongolia of the U.S. Department of Commerce, visited Beijing and held bilateral talks with his Chinese counterpart. This was the first working-level contact between the two countries after months of silence. Turley's working visit to China can be considered as a preparatory meeting for the potential meeting between the two heads of state during the 2018 G20 Summit at Argentina.¹⁸⁸

The China-U.S. Summit in Argentina on December 1st, 2018

Besides state visits, international conferences provide an exceptional opportunity for the heads of state of China and the U.S. to discuss a large variety of issues. The current situation of China-U.S. relations created by the trade friction did not serve in creating a nice atmosphere for the heads of state of China and the U.S. to exchange foreign visits. Although President Xi and President Trump agreed to host the China-U.S. summit on the sideline of the 2018 G20 Summit, President Trump implicated that the tariffs would be imposed on an additional 267 billion dollars of Chinese goods to the U.S. with the rate being between 10 and 25 percent if the bilateral talk was unsuccessful. However, China expected to produce a positive outcome through this summit.

¹⁸⁸ Wu, Wendy. "US and China officials meet ahead of possible talks between Xi Jinping and Donald Trump." South China Morning Post. October 25, 2018. <<https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/2170231/us-and-china-officials-meet-ahead-possible-talks-between-xi>>

In a phone conversation on November 1st, 2018, President Xi stated that a solution regarding the trade issue should be acceptable for both China and the U.S., and the two countries should make joint efforts to turn this aspiration into reality.¹⁸⁹ Any unilateral actions would not expand the trade cooperation between the two countries. All in all, the trade negotiation was filled with uncertainty before the summit. Both China and the U.S. were cautiously confident about how the future China-U.S. trade relationship will move forward.

It was the first time that the heads of state of China and the U.S. had sat together and spoken since the beginning of the trade friction, and the head-of-state diplomacy should exert its influence in China-U.S. relations. The opening remarks that President Xi delivered was personal and emotional. President Xi was greatly saddened by the passing of George H. W. Bush on November 30th, 2018, who contributed to China-U.S. relations during his lifetime. President Trump was thankful for President Xi's kind words and deep condolences on George H. W. Bush's passing. In a word, at the beginning of the bilateral talk, President Xi was trying to defuse the tension and create a sound atmosphere for the both sides to mildly negotiate the trade issue. According to a news report released on the official website of the White House after the summit, it seemed to be a fruitful summit for both heads of state. President Xi agreed to purchase America's agricultural products immediately in pursuit of reducing the trade deficit. Along with this pursuit, one of the most significant achievements that was obtained in the summit was pertinent to fentanyl. Although fentanyl had been on the list of China's controlled drugs, the Trump administration criticized that fentanyl produced in China was likely leading to the

¹⁸⁹ "Xi, Trump have telephone conversation, to meet during G20 summit." Xinhua News Agency. November 2, 2018. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-11/02/c_137575210.htm>

instability of American society. However, according to a high-ranking Chinese official's statement, the abuse of fentanyl in the U.S. cannot be attributed to China. The U.S. should bear responsibility, as it does not have strong enforcement on the ban of fentanyl.¹⁹⁰ China had been committed to including all substances related to fentanyl on the list of controlled drugs as a way of eliminating the part of trade disputes in order to reach a comprehensive trade deal with the U.S. It is essential to note that President Xi agreed to put all substances related to fentanyl on the list of controlled drugs in China during the summit, meaning that any agencies or individuals in China are prohibited to sell any substances related to fentanyl to the U.S., and any agencies or individuals in China that work on nonmedical business regarding fentanyl are severely punished according to China's criminal law.¹⁹¹ On April 1st, 2019, three government agencies under China's State Council including the Department of Public Security, the National Health Commission, and the National Medical Products Administration jointly issued a notification to include all substances related to fentanyl to the list of nonmedical narcotic drugs and psychotropic drugs.¹⁹² The release of this notice finalized the procedure that designates all substances related to fentanyl as illegal drugs in China.

¹⁹⁰ Myers, Steven, Abby Goodnough. "China Bans All Types of Fentanyl, Fulfilling Pledge to Trump." *New York Times*. April 2, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/01/world/asia/china-bans-fentanyl-trump.html?_ga=2.86874718.797354462.1557986818-1865427011.1550441942>

¹⁹¹ *Statement from the Press Secretary Regarding the President's Working Dinner with China*. The White House. December 1, 2018. <<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-press-secretary-regarding-presidents-working-dinner-china/>>

¹⁹² *The Notification of Including All Substances Related to Fentanyl to the List of Nonmedical Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Drugs*. Department of National Security, National Health Commission, National Medical Products Administration. April 1, 2019.

<<http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:PaNAhJgFzUoJ:www.mps.gov.cn/n2254314/n2254457/n2254466/c6219874/part/6219950.docx+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us>>

It appears to be a good sign that both heads of state hosted a summit on the sideline of the G20 Summit in Argentina, but this summit was considered as an “intermission” for the China-U.S. trade friction. On the one hand, the China-U.S. trade friction did not actually come to the end, and a wide range of issues on both sides shall be discussed. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the face-to-face conversation on trade issues between the two heads of state was positive and constructive. Only dialogue serves the fundamental interest of stability and prosperity between the two countries. The next step for China and the U.S. was to accelerate the negotiation process, as three months was too short and hectic for both sides to reach a comprehensive trade accord. Both heads of state have agreed to allow three months for their aides and surrogates to negotiate the structural reforms such as the prohibition on the transfer of forced technology, and protection of intellectual property. The issue regarding the prohibition on the transfer of forced technology takes longer than three months to resolve. China aims to approve the Foreign Investment Law to protect the legitimate interests of foreign companies. According to China’s legislative procedure, a law usually takes at least two months to be deliberated and voted on in China’s top legislature. Though the China-U.S. trade friction has been temporarily halted, President Trump alerted China that the tariffs would be raised from 10 to 25 percent on Chinese imports if there is no progress regarding the structural reform within three months. In fact, President Trump’s announcement of Twitter on May 5th, 2019 proves that the China-U.S. trade negotiation cannot be completed within three months.

The prohibition of forced technology transfer is a crucial component of the structural reform that President Trump proposed to China. The U.S. has criticized China for encouraging its enterprises to heavily rely on foreign technology instead of improving technology through its own

research and innovation, and foreign enterprises should hand over their technology to the Chinese government prior to conducting their business in China. However, China has firmly declined any behaviors of forced technology transfer in response to America's accusation. During a meeting with Francis Gurry, Director-General of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) on August 28th, 2018, Premier of the State Council Li stated that all domestic and foreign enterprises are treated equally in the Chinese market, and that China has never allowed a forced technology transfer. "If any such case is discovered, China will investigate and deal with it according to law."¹⁹³ Also, the "Made in China 2025" was a blueprint stressing the importance of domestic technological innovation and the reduction of technological dependence on foreign enterprises. At the same time, China's top legislature, the National People's Congress and its standing committee, started to speed up the process of drafting the Foreign Investment Law from December 2018. On March 15th, 2019, the 2nd plenary session of the 13th National People's Congress approved the Foreign Investment Law, which promotes foreign investment and ensures that the legitimate interest of foreign investment cannot be harmed in the Chinese market. Article 22 of the Foreign Investment Law stipulates, "the state protects intellectual property of foreign enterprises and their investments..., any behaviors that damage intellectual property will be punished in terms of law."¹⁹⁴ The prohibition of infringing on intellectual property has been written into China's Foreign Investment Law, marking that any behaviors of forced technology

¹⁹³ "China pledges to deepen cooperation with WIPO." *Xinhua News Agency*. August 28, 2018. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-08/28/c_137425930.htm>

¹⁹⁴ "Foreign Investment Law of the People's Republic of China." *China Daily*. March 15, 2019. <<http://language.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201903/22/WS5c94798ca3104842260b205f.html>>

transfer and theft of intellectual property are illegal in return for allowing foreign enterprises to conduct their normal business in China.

Substantial Progress Made during the First Quarter of 2019

2019 marked the 40th anniversary regarding the establishment of China-U.S. diplomatic relations. Throughout the past 40 years, dialogue and win-win cooperation has been the only correct choice to properly handle China-U.S. relations. As Joseph Nye, an American international relations theorist, said in an interview in 2017, “the U.S. and China both compete and cooperate, but they have more gain from the cooperation dimension of the relationship.”¹⁹⁵ Although China and the U.S. have many differences and frictions in trade, and ideology, and cultural tradition, the two sides have sought to properly eliminate divergences and expand common ground through dialogue and cooperation.

After the 9th round of China-U.S. trade talks, Vice Premier Liu had a chance to meet with President Trump, who was pleased with the progress that had been made in the China-U.S. trade talks and confident with the signing of a comprehensive and historic China-U.S. trade agreement. He said that the China-U.S. trade agreement would be reached within four weeks. Overall, the atmosphere of trade talks this time was mild, inspiring optimism for the two delegations. According to the two photographs shown below, there was an important detail about the Trump-Liu meeting on April, 4th, 2019. When President Trump had previously met with Vice Premier Liu, he was sitting in front of President Trump. It appears that President Trump, was listening to Vice Premier Liu’s report as a decision-maker. However, after the 9th round of China-U.S. trade talks,

¹⁹⁵ “Spotlight: Xi, Trump engage in deep-going, friendly, long-time talks at Mar-a-Lago resort.” *Xinhua News Agency*. April 7, 2018. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-04/07/c_136191088.htm>

President Trump and Vice Premier Liu were sitting next to each other. This nominal arrangement embodies that the trade talks between the two countries were equal and mutually respected. No one wants to force another to accept a unilateral deal that is not reciprocal. The “Thucydides Trap” was not feasible during the negotiation process between the two countries.



Photograph 1: The Trump-Liu Meeting on February 22, 2019¹⁹⁶



¹⁹⁶ Web Image. <<https://www.politico.com/story/2019/02/22/trump-china-deal-1182277>>

**Photograph 2: The Trump-Liu Meeting after the 9th Round of
China-U.S. trade talks on April 4, 2019¹⁹⁷**

Trump's Twitter Announcement on Twitter, May 5th

On May 5th, President Trump unexpectedly announced on Twitter that he would threaten to raise tariffs from 10 to 25 percent on 200 billion dollars of Chinese commodities on May 10th, 2019. The purpose of Trump's announcement regarding raising tariffs was to force the Chinese government to make more concessions during the negotiation of the trade accord. However, President Trump previously stated that the trade negotiation between the two countries was going smoothly, and that the two countries were getting closer to finalize their trade deal. The announcement on May 5th indicated a new concern that the trade negotiation between the two countries could possibly be broken. It was a potential escalation of the China-U.S. trade friction since the China-U.S. summit at Argentina in December 2018.

The China-U.S. trade friction is one element of deteriorations of China-U.S. relations, which does not come as a surprise. However, what does come a surprise to the international community is Trump's Twitter announcement as China and the U.S. had almost obtained success in the trade talks. The reason that Trump threatened to raise tariffs at the final stage of the trade negotiation can be summarized as followed.

The key point of trade negotiation between the two countries is tariffs. Although the Trump administration agreed not to raise additional tariffs while maintaining part of tariffs, the Chinese

¹⁹⁷ Web Image. <<https://www.voachinese.com/a/trump-us-china-trade-liu-he-white-house-rounding-the-turn-20190404/4862508.html>>

government insisted on the complete removal of tariffs. They firmly believe that maintaining part of tariffs, as a way of political intervention and trade protectionism, was not helpful for the development of China-U.S. economic relations.

Meanwhile, Trump's Twitter announcement on May 5th reflects that the Chinese government still resists the structural reform that the Trump administration requires. During the trade negotiation, the U.S. government has consistently required the Chinese government to cancel its subsidies on emerging industries such as aerospace equipment, information technology, artificial intelligence, and high-speed train equipment. Most subsidies on emerging industries have been stated in the document of "Made in China 2025". However, China has disagreed with America's request. The only issue that China and the U.S. had not reached a consensus on is China's subsidies on its emerging industries. The "Made in China 2025" had kept a high profile to demonstrate that China would become a strong country in high-technology, so that the U.S. government would perceive the "Made in China 2025" as a substantial threat to the global leadership of technology industries maintained by the U.S.

In order to reach a trade deal with the U.S. government as soon as possible, China changed its attitude towards the "Made in China 2025", especially in the 2019 Annual Report of Government to the National People's Congress. In this report, Premier Li did not state any words or phrases contained in the "Made in China 2025", indicating China's concession to the U.S. in the trade negotiation. Although China agreed with the U.S. to reduce its subsidies on emerging industries, China's economic growth cannot be obtained without the enlargement of China's emerging industries. In order to keep promoting its overall economic growth, China committed

to reducing its subsidies on emerging industries in the level of central government instead of the level of local government.

Moreover, President Trump and his aides hope to finish the trade negotiation with their Chinese counterpart as soon as possible because the 2020 U.S. presidential campaign has been launched. Once a trade deal between the two sides is signed, Trump would unilaterally announce that he has a victory in the trade friction with China, fulfilling his commitment made during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign. The mainstream voice of American business is supporting President Trump to leverage the U.S.-China trade balance without paying for tariffs.¹⁹⁸ If the trade deal that benefits the U.S. is officially reached, it would mark that President Trump is an upholder of American economic interests. A wide range of American business organizations and interest groups such as transnational enterprises and global financial groups from the Wall Street would greatly impact Trump's 2020 presidential campaign. Victory in the trade friction would be instrumental for him to be reelected. President Trump's Twitter announcement on May 5th seems to be an ultimatum that has pressured the Chinese government to accelerate the negotiation process to reach a trade agreement as soon as possible.

China and the U.S. have hosted ten rounds of negotiation since the beginning of the trade friction in 2018. Trump's Twitter announcement on May 5th harmed the credit of the U.S. government, intensified the instability of global economy, and postponed the signing of the China-U.S. trade agreement. In response to Trump's announcement, Geng Shuang, spokesman of China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated that the China-U.S. trade negotiation would be

¹⁹⁸ Swanson, Ana, Keith Bradsher. "Trump Threatens China with More Tariffs Ahead of Final Trade Talks." *New York Times*. May 5, 2019. <<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/05/business/trump-tariffs-china-trade-talks.html>>

continued and did not imply that the trade negotiation would be broken. This type of back-and-forth announcement from President Trump had occurred before, and the Chinese government is confident that positive progress would be made during the negotiation. “Both China and the U.S. should make joint efforts to reach a mutually beneficial consensus on the basis of mutual respect. It is in line with the interest of China and the U.S. and is the common aspiration of the international community.”¹⁹⁹ As the official attitude of the Chinese government, Geng Shuang’s statement can be viewed as cooperation rather than confrontation during the final phase of the China-U.S. trade negotiation, and China is not willing to “waste all the previous efforts” before a trade agreement is finalized.

In terms of previous trade negotiations since the launch of the trade friction, the Trump administration required the Chinese government to approve legislative amendments that prohibit China’s practice of forcing American enterprises to transfer technology to Chinese enterprises. The Chinese government had already agreed with the Trump administration’s proposal, but the Chinese negotiators changed their mind during the 10th round of negotiation, affirming that the Chinese government was not willing to amend the laws. According to a news report from Bloomberg, the Chinese negotiation team shared a new version of a bilateral trade agreement which differs from an older version on the basis of previous trade negotiations with the U.S. delegation. Lighthizer was annoyed with China’s move and reported it to President Trump because it is impossible for the U.S. to discuss some issues that have been negotiated.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ *Foreign Ministry Spokesman Geng Shuang’s Regular Press Conference on May 6, 2019*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China. May 6, 2019. <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/xwfw_665399/s2510_665401/t1661163.shtml>

²⁰⁰ Donnan, Shawn. “U.S. says it will raise tariffs after China reneges on vows.” *Bloomberg*. May 6, 2019. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-05-06/u-s-says-it-will-raise-tariffs-after-china-reneges-on-promises?utm_campaign=socialflow-

In other words, China's action at this point to unilaterally change the draft of trade agreement could be considered as backsliding. The reason that the China-U.S. trade negotiation had been at a deadlock was described more thoroughly according to the Nikkei Asian Review. The original 150-page text of China-U.S. trade agreement that had included seven chapters, was eventually replaced with the 105-page trade text that the Chinese delegation presented to their American counterparts. China deleted the sensitive section stating that the U.S. had required China to pass laws regarding the structural reform. President Trump was upset about China's move and decided to impose more tariffs on Chinese imports immediately.²⁰¹

In response to the Trump administration's statement, Geng Shuang, the spokesman of China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, neither acknowledged nor denied. Instead, he stressed that the negotiation is a process where different solutions would be brought to the table. It is normal for divergences to occur during the negotiation process. Negotiation is also an unavoidable process where both sides need to eventually reach a consensus.²⁰² In fact, the Chinese government firmly rejected America's request to change laws. Since the implementation of the "reform and opening-up" policy, China has formed its unique law system, and the concept of "comprehensively govern the state according to laws" is now a pivotal component of China's guiding thoughts in governance. Since 1978, nearly three hundred of laws have been formulated by China's National People's Congress and its standing committee. More importantly, the concept of the "comprehensively govern the state according to laws" has been written into the

organic&utm_source=twitter&utm_content=business&utm_medium=social&cmpid=socialflow-twitter-business>

²⁰¹ Nakazawa, Katsuji. "China scrapped 30% of draft trade, source say." *Nikkei Asian Review*. May 15, 2019.

<<https://asia.nikkei.com/Economy/Trade-war/China-scrapped-30-of-draft-trade-deal-sources-say>>

²⁰² *Foreign Ministry Spokesman Geng Shuang's Regular Press Conference on May 7, 2019*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China. May 7, 2019. <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/xwfw_665399/s2510_665401/t1661409.shtml>

CPC document. On October 23rd, 2014, the resolution of comprehensively govern the state according to laws was unanimously approved by the 4th Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee. It was the first time that the CPC's plenary session discussed issues pertinent to laws and governance. The document approved by this plenary session pointed out that any agencies or individuals should not surpass the authority of law. In other words, all agencies and individuals should conduct their performance under the framework of law.²⁰³ When applying China's "comprehensively govern the state according to laws" to the context of China-U.S. trade friction, China's legislative sovereignty cannot be manipulated by the U.S. government. The Trump administration does not have any powers to decide whether China needs to revise any laws, as they are only relevant to China's internal affairs. Meanwhile, if China meets U.S. demands on the structural change, it will be humiliating for China as the second largest economy in the world, as China's sovereignty will be manipulated and intervened on by the U.S. government.²⁰⁴

On May 7th, the Xinhua News Agency published a statement that Vice Premier Liu would visit the U.S. on May 9th and 10th to co-chair the 11th round of the China-U.S. economic and trade negotiation at the invitation of Secretary of the Treasury Mnuchin and Trade Representative Lighthizer.²⁰⁵ This announcement from the Chinese government indicated that both sides would not give up the "last mile" of the negotiation. It was apparent that members from both China and

²⁰³ "Decision on Promoting the Comprehensively Govern the State According to Laws (zhonggongzhongyang guanyu quanmianyifazhiguo ruoganzhongdawentidejueding)." October, 2014.

<<http://cpc.people.com.cn/n/2014/1029/c64387-25927606.html>>

²⁰⁴ Lo, Kinling, Wendy Wu, and Teddy Ng. "'No more concessions'. Why is China playing hardball in trade war talks with the U.S.?" *South China Morning Post*. May 7, 2019.

<<https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3009163/chinese-vice-premier-liu-he-go-washington-trade-talks>>

²⁰⁵ "Liu He will travel the U.S. for the trade talk." *Xinhua News Agency*. May 7, 2019.

<http://www.xinhuanet.com/world/2019-05/07/c_1124461749.htm>

the U.S. would face more difficulties and arduous challenges as the negotiation approached to the end. At this key moment, both sides needed to maintain a strong perseverance to overcome all divergences.

President Trump confirmed the previous speculation that China wanted to break the deal. In a speech delivered in a campaign rally at Florida on May 8th, he stated, “you see the tariffs we are doing? Because they broke the deal..., so they are flying in, the vice premier tomorrow is flying in..., but they broke the deal. They cannot do that, so they will be paying.”²⁰⁶ The Chinese delegation, led by Vice Premier Liu, traveled to the U.S. to explain China’s stance in an attempt to remove misunderstandings because of China’s revision on the draft of trade agreement, as it was concerned upholding China’s sovereignty, not breaking the deal.

In response to President Trump’s threatening message regarding raising tariffs, the Chinese government did not dispatch Vice Premier Liu to the U.S. According to China’s official statement, Liu’s working visit to the U.S. began on May 9th, embodying China’s unique diplomatic strategy. While the Trump administration complained about the slow process of the trade negotiation, China’s attitude towards President Trump’s Twitter post was unperturbed: if the Trump administration wanted to talk, the Chinese government was willing to join. Or, if the Trump administration wanted to raise tariffs, the Chinese government would fight against to the end. In addition to China’s tariffs on American goods, the bilateral negotiation regarding the selling of America’s at least \$30 billion worth of agricultural products to China annually, would be

²⁰⁶ “Trump holds ‘MAGA’ campaign rally in Florida.” Youtube Video. May 8, 2019.
<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XN-mrYIH0BE>>

suspended. Taken as a whole, launching the China-U.S. trade friction again would damage the economies of the both countries.

If both China and the U.S. were to sign a collaborative trade agreement, agricultural businesses would benefit tremendously. China would be committed to purchasing a large number of agricultural products from American farmers due to its large market. Moreover, Trump's 2020 presidential victory needs strong support from American farmers. As more candidates joined in the Democratic presidential primary election in 2019, the signing of the China-U.S. trade agreement was imperative for Trump to gain an advantage in the 2020 presidential reelection. Farmers were Trump's base, as they helped elect him in 2016. It seems like Trump will not make any concessions to China in regard to American agriculture. On May 10th, he tweeted that "we [the U.S. government] will buy agricultural products from our Great Farmers, in large amounts than China ever did, and ship it to poor and starving countries in the form of humanitarian assistance... You all-time favorite President got tired of waiting for China to help out and start buying from our FARMERS..."²⁰⁷ President Trump also stressed that the trade negotiation would continue if China does not renegotiate the deal that has been committed.

On May 10th, President Trump officially issued an executive order to impose 25 percent tariffs on imports from China, during Vice Premier Liu's working visit in Washington. China has had a wide range of approaches in response to President Trump's unilateral action, including stopping to the purchasing of America's agricultural products, encouraging Chinese consumers to protest American goods, and delaying the time of clearing custom inspections and quarantines

²⁰⁷ Trump, Donald. "Twitter." <<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1126815129218293760>>
<<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1126815128106799104>>

for American goods in China. For the U.S., President Trump's decision prompted the Chinese government to hit back by raising the tariffs on American goods, which will make American agricultural products more expensive for Chinese consumers.

Although substantial progress had been made in the fields of intellectual property protection and market access expansion during the negotiation process, the official newspaper of the CPC, the People's Daily, released a total of three core issues that China and the U.S. need to resolve. First, China must require the U.S. government to eliminate all tariffs on China's imports. Second, the text of the China-U.S. trade collaborative agreement should not undermine China's sovereignty and dignity. Third, the total amount of purchasing American goods should be based on China's capacity.²⁰⁸ In other words, the U.S. should not force China to purchase American goods unlimitedly in pursuit of trade balance. It is clear that China will not make any concession on these core issues, according to the article in the People's Daily. Developing the China-U.S. trade relationship should be bilaterally reciprocal, and people from both countries should benefit from the China-U.S. trade relationship.

After the 11th round of China-U.S. trade talks, Vice Premier Liu was interviewed by the Xinhua News Agency and the China Media Group. He acknowledged that the negotiation was not broken although there was a small reversal. It is inevitable that divergences could be occurred between the two countries.²⁰⁹ At the same time, China strongly opposed the phrases "not comply with

²⁰⁸ Zhong, Sheng. "China will not compromise under America's extreme pressure." *People's Daily*. May 11, 2019. <<https://news.sina.com.cn/c/2019-05-11/doc-ihvhiqax7949169.shtml>>

²⁰⁹ "Chinese vice premier on rational handling of China-U.S. trade frictions." Youtube Video. May 10, 2019. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ICnURhLbbF4>>

commitments”²¹⁰ and “not follow the agreement”²¹¹ that the Trump administration had repeated regarding the Chinese leadership and government. In China’s perspective, any changes or adjustments could be made during the negotiation process, as the final text of China-U.S. trade accord has not been officially signed by the heads of state. Negotiation is a long process. Dialogue and cooperation are the only correct choices for China and the U.S. to move their relationship forward. 11 rounds of the China-U.S. trade talks have been hosted, meaning that both countries have faced a large number of difficulties and challenges throughout the negotiation process. Apparently, the trade issue between China and the U.S. cannot be resolved in one day. Both China and the U.S. should patiently confront with issues and come up with solutions that benefit both sides, rather than taking aggressive actions at the expense of others. During the China-U.S. summit in December 2018 in Argentina, both heads of state agreed to allow three months for both teams to reach a trade consensus. However, the 11th round of China-U.S. trade talks proved that three months have not been enough for the two countries. The negotiation time should be extended.

Although a consensus regarding the draft text of the China-U.S. trade collaborative agreement was not reached in the 10th round of China-U.S. trade talks, both the U.S. and the Chinese government have agreed to meet in Beijing for the following round of trade talks. Vice Premier Liu also suggested to “look forward, [as] we are still cautiously optimistic.”²¹² The China-U.S. trade relationship is an imperative component of the China-U.S. bilateral relationship. Although the current circumstance has led to a small setback regarding China-U.S. trade relations,

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid.

China will never surrender to external pressure, and China has a strong determination and ability to safeguard its national sovereignty. Vice Premier Liu's statement suggests that different perspectives would occur in the future, but China is confident that a trade deal will eventually be reached through joint efforts on both sides.

It was expected that China would take a retaliatory measure to oppose the unilateral action conducted by the U.S., which intensify the trade friction. Compared to the currency exchange rate between the U.S. dollar and the RMB that was 6.73 on May 4th, 2019, the currency exchange rate between the U.S. dollar and the RMB went up to 6.88 on May 13th, 2019.²¹³ China devalued the RMB in attempt to protect the development of its domestic enterprises. On May 13th, 2019, the Tariff Commission of the State Council released a statement imposing additional tariffs on 60 billion dollars of American imports became effective on June 1st, 2019.²¹⁴ The total amount that the Chinese government imposed was still less than one-thirds of the total amount imposed by the U.S. Meanwhile, the rate of additional tariffs that the Chinese government imposed is between 10 and 25 percent, while the rate that the U.S. government imposed is consistently 25 percent. China's announcement regarding imposing tariffs was not harsh compared to America's announcement regarding the imposition of tariffs. On the one hand, China is not willing to fight for the trade war. Although China and the U.S. are currently volatile, the two countries need to calm down. The Chinese government gave the U.S. government a chance to come back to the negotiation table due to the fact that the trade war essentially damages the economic interests

²¹³ "Currency Exchange Rate." *State Administration of Foreign Exchange of the People's Republic of China*. <<http://www.safe.gov.cn/en/index.html>>

²¹⁴ "China to increase tariffs on imported U.S. products." Xinhua News Agency. May 13, 2019. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-05/13/c_138055516.htm>

of both countries. On the other hand, faced with America's pressure, China was not afraid of the fight. The U.S. has endeavored to contain China's rise in the international community and to urge China to transform into what the U.S. wants. As President Xi said at the opening ceremony of the inaugural CIIE, "China is the second largest economy in the world with a market of more than 1.3 billion consumers... To use a metaphor, China's economy is an ocean instead of a pond. The ocean can either have sunshine or winds and storms. It is not an ocean if there are no winds or storms. Winds and storms can destroy a pond but not an ocean. Having experienced numerous winds and storms, the ocean is still here."²¹⁵ The China-U.S. trade friction arose out of frustration for China's development process, and therefore, China is ready to fight against the trade war to the end.

The additional tariff imposition from the Trump administration on Chinese goods is a pressure that requires China to make more concessions in the trade talks. The U.S. will not benefit from the trade friction in terms of its long-term development. In fact, American enterprises will pay for the tariffs that the Trump administration announced, which will damage American consumers' interests. American enterprises will still need to import clothes, shoes, metals, and electronic materials from China. They will need to increase prices after paying for more tariffs, therefore, American consumers will have to pay for more money to purchase any indispensable goods they need as well. As he was a businessman before becoming the U.S. President, Trump should realize the impact on the U.S. economy caused by the imposition of tariffs on Chinese goods. Furthermore, the Trump administration announced the prohibition of exports of the U.S.

²¹⁵ Xi, Jinping. "Work Together for an Open Global Economy, Remarks at the Opening Ceremony of the 1st China International Import Expo." Xinhua News Agency. November 5, 2018. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-11/05/c_137583815.htm>

technology to China, so that Chinese enterprises will not be able to purchase American goods. In other words, the U.S.-China trade deficit will not be reduced. In addition to this, having an ongoing China-U.S. trade friction is not helpful for the U.S. in regard to reducing its deficit fundamentally. By limited China's imports to the U.S., American enterprises will seek other countries to import goods they need from. Therefore, the trade deficit between the U.S. and other countries will be enlarged.

Imposing additional tariffs on Chinese goods seems to be a political strategy for President Trump. It was too early for President Trump to reach a trade consensus in May 2019 due to the 2020 U.S. presidential election. Between January and May 2019, politicians, entrepreneurs, and celebrities announced their presidential campaigns in the Democratic Party. However, a large number of official campaign debates and rallies have been held during the second half of 2019. It would be possible for President Trump to end the trade war with China and to announce to the American public that the victory of the trade war would belong to the U.S. in the second half of 2019 instead of the first half of 2019. President Trump would have the "political asset" to refute any criticisms from Democratic presidential candidates during the campaign season. The "political asset" refers to a comprehensive U.S.-China trade accord that would tremendously benefit American workers' interests, which symbolizes one of the most important achievements in Trump's presidency.

China has and continues to become increasingly less dependent on the U.S. imports. An alternative plan has been prepared for the Chinese government, throughout which the BRI expanded China's business market. A number of trade facilitation agreements have been reached between China and the participating countries under the BRI framework. China will purchase

goods from other countries instead of focusing on the U.S. Specifically, soybeans can be imported from Brazil, and raw oils can be imported from the Middle East and Russia.

On May 13th, 2019, China also submitted a WTO reform proposal to the WTO headquarter. This was another action taken by the Chinese government in response to America's tariff raising. The proposal pointed out that "[a] certain member has taken unilateralist measures of raising trade barriers and imposing import tariffs in an arbitrary way and without authorization from the WTO. Such actions have severely violated international commitments and the WTO rules... ." In order to eliminate these actions, the proposal stated that "such unilateralist measures should be constrained..., the members affected to take prompt and effective provisional remedies in cases of urgency and accelerating relevant dispute settlement proceedings."²¹⁶ Globalization had been challenged while unilateralism and protectionism were rising. The China-U.S. trade friction brought negative impacts to the two largest economies in the world. Although this document is a proposal and will be deliberated and approved by other WTO members, it sends a clear message to the international community that China is still upholding multilateralism and global governance system under the framework of the WTO. If trade disputes take place among countries, the WTO should exert its influence in resolving these disputes.

On May 15th, 2019, through issuing an executive order, President Trump placed foreign technological companies on an entity list of firms that need a special permission to buy components made in the U.S. and denied its access to America's microchips and software it needs

²¹⁶ *China's Proposal on WTO Reform*. Ministry of Commerce of the People's Public of China. May 13, 2019. <<http://images.mofcom.gov.cn/sms/201905/20190514094326217.pdf>>

in order to produce its products.²¹⁷ This action demonstrates that the China-U.S. trade friction has been intensified. Although the executive order does not state the specific name of the company, it implicates the advanced 5G developed by Huawei.

President Trump stated that the 5G developed by the Chinese company tried to collect American citizens' private information, which is a risk and threat to America's national security. Mr. Ren Zhengfei, Huawei CEO, was interviewed by the China Media Group. He believed that high-technology development and politics cannot be toggled. Huawei had never surveilled the U.S. government website or collected the information of American citizens. The business expansion of the Huawei in the U.S. was determined by the market. Huawei wanted to conduct its normal business in U.S. instead of using executive tools to compete with America's domestic telecommunications companies or to monopolize the U.S. telecommunications market.

President Trump's move regarding Huawei infuriated Beijing. China's Ministry of Commerce released the unreliable entity list on May 31st, 2019, stipulating that any foreign entities in the field of international trade that "adopt discriminatory measures on Chinese entities including a blockage or supply cut, violates market rules or contract spirit for non-commercial purposes, causes actual damage to Chinese firms or related industries, and poses actual or potential threats to China's national security"²¹⁸ would be prohibited into the Chinese market. Although this document uses the vague language of "foreign entities in the field of international trade", it is

²¹⁷ *Executive Order on Securing the Information and Communications Technology and Services Supply Chain*. White House. May 15, 2019. <<https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/executive-order-securing-information-communications-technology-services-supply-chain/>>

²¹⁸ MOFCOM (Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China) Spokesman Meets the Press on China's Introduction of 'Unreliable Entities List'. Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China. June 1, 2019. <<http://english.mofcom.gov.cn/article/newsrelease/press/201906/20190602873151.shtml>>

actually referring to U.S. enterprises. Beijing's move could be considered a counterattack towards the Trump administration. The order issued by President Trump was an executive intervention that violates the market rule, not only by damaging the legitimate rights and interests of Chinese enterprises, but by damaging the global supply chain. President Trump's action towards Huawei was inappropriate, and the Chinese government needed to announce the unreliable entity list to protect China's domestic enterprises in the international market.

On the basis of an initiative put forward by President Xi at the 4th Summit of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia in 2014,²¹⁹ China successfully hosted the Conference on Dialogue of Asian Civilizations on May 15th, 2019. The purpose of hosting this conference was to promote mutual understanding, learn from each other, draw on each other's strength, and to make common progress between different civilizations in Asia and the rest of the world. President Xi delivered an important speech at the opening ceremony. During the section of "respect each other and treat each other as equals", he said that "people who believe their race and civilization are superior than others and insist on remolding or changing other civilizations are just stupid. It will be catastrophic to act them out."²²⁰ Although this conference focused on cultural exchange between Asian countries and the rest of the world, this part of his speech was alluded to the ongoing China-U.S. trade friction, which could be considered to be another approach to push back against the recent tariff imposition on Chinese goods by the

²¹⁹ Xi, Jinping. "New Asian Security Concept for New Progress in Security Cooperation, Remarks at the Fourth Summit of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia." May 21, 2014.

<<https://www.en84.com/nonfiction/remarks/201405/00014822.html>>

²²⁰ Xi, Jinping. "Deepening Exchanges and Mutual Learning Among Civilizations for an Asian Community with the Shared Future, Keynote Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the Conference on Dialogue of Asian Civilizations." May 15, 2019. <<https://www.en84.com/fy/fwx/jh/7051.html>>

Trump administration. President Xi's speech language in international events and summits has been diplomatic, formal, friendly, and sometimes humorous. However, it is rare for President Xi to use two harsh terms, "stupid" and "catastrophic", in his speech at the opening ceremony of the Conference on Dialogue of Asian Civilizations, which is an international cultural event where most people enjoy friendship, dialogue, harmony, and amicable relations. The international event was an exceptional platform for China to address its stance regarding momentous bilateral or multilateral issues, and the use of these harsh words at an international cultural event reflected the severe situation of current China-U.S. bilateral relations. The core thought of President Xi's quoted statement was that the U.S. should not force China to accept the development model and civilization that the U.S. believes to be perfect. Meanwhile, how do China and the U.S. ease their tension? President Xi proposed an answer through the perspective of cultural exchange in his speech. He said that "what we need to do is respecting each other as equals and eradicating hubris and prejudice. In addition, we need to deepen understanding of different civilizations and promote dialogue, interaction, and harmonious coexistence of different civilizations." President Xi's proposal can be seen as a response to the "clash of Chinese and American civilizations" recently provided by the U.S. government.²²¹ The emergence of the "clash of Chinese and American civilizations" can be attributed to the conception, which is centered on Western civilization. The U.S. is responsible for advocating and spreading out its civilization to every corner of the world. The Western civilization that the U.S. advocates for is the only correct form of civilization and must be applied to all other countries in the world. China

²²¹ "FSF 2019: What Does the State Department Think Will be the Challenges of 2030?" YouTube Video. May 2, 2019. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dZJLONfJtaQ>>

firmly opposes this type of conception. President Xi's proposal in the speech at the opening ceremony of the Conference on Dialogue of Asian Civilizations stressed cultural diversity in the current international community. If there is only one civilization in the world, human beings will be bored. Cultural diversity is an essential characteristic of the world. All civilizations are treasures of humanity, and people should respect them in the spirit of inclusiveness and mutual learning.

Global leaders expressed strong concerns regarding President Trump's unilateral trade action. In the commencement address at Harvard University on May 30th, 2019, Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany, stressed "protectionism and trade conflicts jeopardize free international trade and thus the foundation of our prosperity..., changes for the better are possible if we tackle them together. If we work on it alone, it could not achieve too much... More than ever, our way of thinking and our actions have to be multilateral rather than unilateral... ." Chancellor Merkel's statement emphasized that all countries in the world should work together to resolve any global issues instead of advocating unilateralism, isolationism, or nationalism. Germany is a strong supporter, defender, and booster of multilateralism and global governance. Using Chancellor Merkel's statement to examine the China-U.S. trade friction, pressuring or threatening China to do anything that the U.S. wants is not a feasible solution. At the Plenary Session of the 23rd Saint Petersburg International Economic Forum on June 7th, 2019, Vladimir Putin, President of Russia, expressed concern about the current multilateral system and international order centered on the U.N. that has been challenged and undermined. He pointed out that "common international rules are replaced with the laws, administrative and judicial mechanisms of one country or a group of

influential states,"²²² suggesting that the U.S. has been attempting to exert its influence across the world by advocating the ideology that the Trump administration believes correct such as unilateralism and protectionism. However, these ideologies cannot be simply replicated in other countries. All sovereign countries have the right to choose the developmental path suitable for their national situations. Under the framework of international laws, all sovereign countries can participate in the system of global governance and multilateralism on the basis of the principle of equality, voluntary, and mutual consultation. Meanwhile, major powers cannot force other countries to accept ideologies they believe to be perfect.

Trish Regan is a famous anchor of the Fox Business Network who extended an invitation to her counterpart Liu Xin, host of the Point of Liu Xin on the China Global Television (CGTV), to engage in a debate on May 29th, 2019 regarding the China-U.S. trade issues. The China-U.S. anchors debate on American TV news not only attracted people from China and U.S. to watch, but also drew global attention. Spectators looked forward to watching a brilliant and heated debate between the two anchors. However, the debate was unexpectedly adjusted to a one-on-one interview as it was aired on Trish Regan Primetime. Trish brought up several sharp and tricky questions on the China-U.S. trade talks, infringement of intellectual property, China's status as the second largest economy, and China's contemporary economic system to Xin in a polite manner, and Xin answered all questions smoothly and kindly. During the interview, Xin elaborated on two issues that American people have been confused about. First, China is still a developing country with more than 1.4 billion people although it is currently the second largest

²²² Putin, Vladimir. "Speech at the Plenary Session of the Saint Petersburg International Economic Forum." *Kremlin Palace*. June 7, 2019. <<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/60707>>

economy in the world. By dividing China's GDP into 1.4 billion people, it is clear that China's GDP per capita is still small. At the same time, in my perspective, China's overall GDP is large. Therefore, China still contributes to the development of global macroeconomy such as the BRI. Second, China switched from a centrally planned economy to a market economy. China is currently implementing a socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics, allowing both state-owned enterprises and private corporations to conduct their business under the framework of laws and regulations. A large number of enterprise employees are currently hired by private corporations, and China's technological innovation, such as smartphones and 5G, are conducted by private corporations.

At the beginning of the China-U.S. anchors interview, Xin stressed that she did not speak for the Chinese government. However, after the interview, Xin acknowledged that the interview had been approved by her boss after receiving an invitation email from Trish. The CGTV is part of the China Media Group, which is administrated by the CPC Publicity Department. Due to its global influence, Xin's conversation with Trish would focus on China's current domestic economic situation and China's positive contribution to the world economy.

On the one hand, the China-U.S. anchors interview can be perceived as China being more open within the international community. It used to be a rare occurrence for Chinese anchors to participate in TV programs hosted by American news anchors. However, Xin's participation and performance on the Fox Business Network highlighted that the rise of China's cultural soft power, fitting the concept of "tell China's story well and pass on China's voice to the world" advocated

by President Xi at the 2018 National Conference on Publicity and Ideological Work.²²³ On the other hand, the China-U.S. anchors interview could be amplified to the China-U.S. trade talks between leaders of the two countries. Instead of imposing tariffs, dialogue is the best approach for China and the U.S. to narrow down differences and enhance mutual understanding regarding the trade issues.

The China-U.S. Meeting in the 2019 G20 Summit

The China-U.S. trade negotiation is currently at a gridlock. Although it is highly impossible for China and the U.S. to reach a trade agreement in the 2019 G20 Summit, the international summit provides an excellent platform for the heads of state of China and the U.S. to discuss crucial bilateral issues. As top statesmen of their respective countries, the heads of state of China and the U.S. control the general direction on the development of China-U.S. relations and outline the next step of China-U.S. relations. The heads of state of China and the U.S. should not give up the opportunity of an international conference to communicate. The 2019 G20 Summit was hosted at Japan from June 28th to 29th. If President Xi and President Trump were to meet on the sideline of the G20 Summit, they would discuss the ongoing trade dispute, and expound their stances regarding the trade issue on behalf of their respective governments. There is a concept of “microphone diplomacy” in China’s diplomatic parlance. When two countries produce disputes in international affairs, one country is attempting to criticize or denounce another country’s policies or actions by delivering speeches or statements due to the lack of mutual trust.²²⁴ China

²²³ “Xi: Spreading China’s story key mission.” *China Daily*. August 23, 2018.

<<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201808/23/WS5b7de976a310add14f387392.html>>

²²⁴ “China urges the US to end ‘microphone diplomacy’ in disputes with Beijing.” *South China Morning Post*. June 15, 2015. <<https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/1820211/china-urges-us-end-microphone-diplomacy-disputes>>

and the U.S. would be best served by diminishing the “microphone diplomacy” in spite of the deadlock of the trade negotiation. It was expected that the trade tension would be deescalated through hosting the China-U.S. summit on the sideline of international summit.

The changing of international and regional situations also influenced the China-U.S. bilateral relationship. President Xi paid a state visit to the DPRK between June 20th and 21st, only one week ahead of the G20 Summit. It was the first time for China’s paramount leader to visit its neighbor since 2005, and the first time that President Xi visited the DPRK since taking the office in 2012. The top-level exchange between leaders of China and DPRK was thawed. Between March 2018 and January 2019, Chairman Kim visited China four times. Due to their existence as neighbors and similar political systems, China is a cooperative partner that the DPRK should trust, and China’s function in the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula cannot be underestimated. Compared to previous Chinese leaders’ visits to the DPRK, called the “official friendly visit”, President Xi’s visit to the DPRK was called the “state visit”. The “official friendly visit” emphasizes communication between the two ruling parties: the CPC and the Workers’ Party of Korea. The “state visit” is conducted by heads of state, which is the highest-level exchange between two countries. A significant “state affair”, such as the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, was discussed during President Xi’s visit to the DPRK. The adjustment of the diplomatic language illustrates that China currently treats its relationship with the DPRK as a normal and friendly state-to-state relationship. First, the development of nuclear missiles initiated by Chairman Kim at the beginning of his term caused regional tension, and the China-DPRK bilateral relationship turned colder. Thus, today’s China-DPRK relationship is not its strongest in history although there has been a warming trend since March 2018. Second, it was the first time that President Xi visited

the DPRK as the paramount leader of China, so the DPRK's diplomatic arrangement was warm, unique, and nominal. In order to welcome President Xi's visit, more than 250,000 Pyongyang citizens wearing traditional Korean dresses, waved flags and flowers at him while chanting welcoming slogans along the street from the airport to the downtown. At the Kumsusan Palace of the Sun, President Xi was received hospitality by all major state leaders of the DPRK. Stressed the spirit of teamwork, calisthenics features the DPRK's profound cultural history. President Xi watched calisthenics and art performance at the May Day Stadium in Pyongyang with Chairman Kim.

President Xi's state visit to the DPRK impacted the future trends of relations between the DPRK and the U.S., and relations between China and the U.S. On the one hand, as DPRK's major political and trading partner, China has exerted its influence in the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. During a rally after the 2018 DPRK-U.S. Singapore Summit, President Trump even acknowledged that the interaction between the U.S. and the DPRK would have not made such rapid progress without President Xi's assistance.²²⁵ Although the U.S. and the DPRK did not reach a consensus regarding the lifting of sanctions on the DPRK in the 2019 Hanoi Summit, China attempted to help the DPRK resume the dialogue with the U.S. through President Xi's state visit. On the other hand, while the 2019 G20 Summit was approaching, China aimed to create a sound regional environment for resuming the dialogue and consultation with the U.S. regarding the trade dispute by coordinating the bilateral relationship between the DPRK and the U.S.

²²⁵ "Trump holds campaign rally in Minnesota." YouTube Video. June 20, 2019.
<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jUkDWalgVJs>>

On June 29th, 2019, President Xi and President Trump hosted an 80-minutes face-to-face summit on the sideline of the G20 Osaka Summit. The summit was hosted in Osaka, roughly 100 miles away from Nagoya, where the “Ping-pong Diplomacy” was first conducted. In his opening remarks, President Xi used the Ping-Pong Diplomacy to elaborate on the principle of developing China-U.S. relations, suggesting that a small ping-pong ball changed the hostility between the two countries and created a better future for the China-U.S. relationship. Although the current China-U.S. relationship is facing difficulties, President Xi stressed that “both China and the U.S. benefit from cooperation and lose in confrontation. Cooperation and dialogue are better than friction and confrontation.”²²⁶ According to Trump’s remarks when meeting with the press, the outcome of the meeting was fruitful. China and the U.S. were expected to reach a fair and reciprocal accord that would guide the future trade relationship between the two countries. At the end of meeting, President Trump agreed not to impose new tariffs on Chinese goods and allowed American enterprises to conduct business with Huawei. The Chinese government agreed to purchase unspecific agricultural products from American farmers. It has not been released to the public how many agricultural products that China would purchase from the U.S. Both heads of state have agreed to resume the China-U.S. trade negotiation, avoiding escalation and tension in the China-U.S. trade friction.²²⁷ In order to reach a fair and reciprocal trade deal, the U.S. needs to take tangible actions to showcase its sincerity instead of continually changing its mind. For example, when the U.S. unexpectedly decided to impose tariffs on Chinese goods after the trade

²²⁶ “Xi tells Trump: Cooperation and dialogue better than friction and confrontation.” YouTube Video. June 29, 2019. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YbzTPhNhTFE>>

²²⁷ *Remarks by President Trump in Press Conference*. White House. June 29, 2019. <<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-press-conference-osaka-japan/>>

friction had been stopped in May 2018, making the Trump administration's attitude towards the China-U.S. trade negotiation mercurial. If the U.S. continues to change its mind after the new round of the China-U.S. trade talk is launched, new outcomes will not be turned out. Although the trade talk has been placed back on the right track, there are still difficulties ahead. It has taken longer to reach a deal that is satisfactory for both China and the U.S. than expected. The China Daily, a CPC-owned newspaper, even stated that "agreement on 90 percent of the issues has proved not to be enough, and with the remaining 10 percent where their fundamental differences reside, it is not going to be easy to reach a 100-percent consensus, since at this point, they remain widely apart even on the conceptual level."²²⁸

Since the launch of the trade friction, America's military field has upheld the value of the zero-sum game and the Law of the Jungle. James Fanell, former Director of Intelligence and Information Operations for the U.S. Pacific Fleet, criticized China's foreign policy in an open letter to President Trump, suggesting that China was creating new rules to "which other nations must conform". In his perspective, the U.S. government led by President Trump needs to counter China's expanded influence in the international community.²²⁹

Although military officials opposed China's peaceful rise, resuming the China-U.S. trade talk, reaching a reciprocal trade deal demonstrates, and developing a friendly relationship with China has been a consensus among people in the fields of academic research, business, and foreign policy. In a letter to President Trump and members of the U.S. Congress written by members of

²²⁸ "Xi-Trump meeting puts focus back on dialogue." *China Daily*. June 29, 2019. <<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201906/29/WS5d174e0fa3103dbf1432b019.html>>

²²⁹ Fanell, James. "Stay the Course on China: An Open Letter to President Trump." *Journal of Political Risk*. July 18, 2019. <<http://www.jpolrisk.com/stay-the-course-on-china-an-open-letter-to-president-trump/>>

the scholarly, foreign policy, and business committees, it was suggested that today's China-U.S. relationship has moved beyond the bilateral scope, producing a more profound influence on the world. The letter stated the importance of the China-U.S. cooperation in the perspective of global trade and global governance. China is not a political and economic enemy to the U.S., and the Chinese leadership realizes that the pragmatic cooperation with the U.S. best serves the interest of China. They suggest that the current structure of international relations would not be challenged by China, stating that "China's engagement in the international system is essential to the system's survival and to effective action on common problems such as climate change."²³⁰ Only the coexistence of mutual trust and cooperation could move China-U.S. relations forward. If the U.S. creates a better international environment, China would further exert its influence to contribute to the global peace and development. On the contrary, the international situation could be trapped into a Cold War mentality. America's global role will be damaged, and the economic interests of all other countries will be undermined if U.S. continues to treat China as an enemy.

The China-U.S. Trade Negotiation in Shanghai without Any Substantial Progress

The U.S. government announced that the new round of China-U.S. trade negotiation would be hosted in Shanghai on July 30th, 2019.²³¹ This time, the place for the trade negotiation shifted from Beijing to Shanghai, China's major financial and trade hub. The unique arrangement

²³⁰ "China is not an enemy, Letter to President Trump and members of the U.S. Congress." *Washington Post*. July 3, 2019. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/making-china-a-us-enemy-is-counterproductive/2019/07/02/647d49d0-9bfa-11e9-b27f-ed2942f73d70_story.html?utm_term=.3fc4bf78bb2a>

²³¹ "Top U.S., Chinese trade negotiators to meet face-to-face for first time since Trump, Xi meeting." *Reuters*. July 24, 2019. <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trade-china/us-and-china-to-restart-trade-talks-on-july-30-in-shanghai-idUSKCN1UJ1J1>>

demonstrates that the Chinese government was willing to create a different atmosphere for the two countries to continue discussing the trade issue, avoiding unpleasant elements that impact the negotiation process.

The Shanghai negotiation could be considered a continuation of the China-U.S. summit at Osaka. A total of two major issues were concentrated on the China-U.S. trade negotiation in Shanghai. First, how many agricultural products would China be committed to purchasing from the U.S. farmers; and second, what are the specific actions that the Trump administration would take to ease the restriction on Huawei. However, the China-U.S. trade negotiation in Shanghai did not reach any substantial achievements. Immediately after the U.S. delegation went back to the U.S., President Trump announced to impose 10 percent tariffs on \$300 billion Chinese imports starting from September 1st, 2019.²³² However, these tariffs will not benefit the U.S. economy. On the contrary, the new tariffs will hurt American customers' economic interests. The total of \$300 billion Chinese imports that will have tariffs imposed are necessary goods for American companies and consumers. It would take several years for the U.S. to look for alternates from other countries. According to statistics, American consumers would have to pay for additional \$1.6 billion on electronic appliances, \$2.5 billion on shoes, \$3.7 billion on toys, and \$4.4 billion on clothes.²³³

Imposing tariffs on the Chinese imports was in violation of a consensus that the two heads of state of China and the U.S. reached on the sideline of the G20 Summit. The Chinese

²³² "NPR Twitter." August 1, 2019. <<https://twitter.com/NPR/status/1156985399199379458>>

²³³ "meiguo jingmaojie renshi piping zhengfu duihua maoyi zhengce: jiazheng guanshui zhihui jiangdi meiguo zishen jingzhengli." American people in the field of economics and trade criticizes the economic and trade policy made by the U.S. government: Imposing Tariffs will Lower America's Economic Competition. *Chinese Economy*. August 9, 2019. <<https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1641165487722402888&wfr=spider&for=pc>>

government strongly opposed President Trump's announcement and took actions to fight against America's tariffs. On August 3rd, 2019, China's Ministry of Commerce announced that it would not purchase America's agricultural products.²³⁴ Although the China-U.S. trade relationship has been intensified, consultation and cooperation are still the most feasible way for the two countries to properly resolve the trade issue. The Trump administration should return to negotiation table in order to draft a reciprocal trade agreement with China in the spirit of equality and mutual respect. Trump's decision regarding the imposition of tariffs on Chinese imports will not only damage Chinese enterprises' normal business, but also will hurt American consumers' interests.

Due to the Shanghai negotiation not producing any positive outcomes and the exchange rate between the USD and the RMB rising over 7, the China-U.S. trade friction has escalated since August 5th, 2019. The U.S. Department of the Treasury announced that China was a state of "currency manipulation" according to the 1988 Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act, which stipulates that the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury has the right to "consider whether countries manipulate the rate of exchange between their currency and the U.S. dollar for purposes of preventing effective balance of payments adjustments or gaining unfair competitive advantage in international trade."²³⁵ In light of a report to the U.S. Congress, the U.S. Department of the Treasury stated that the People's Bank of China devalued the RMB in order to protect the

²³⁴ "zhongguoxiangguanqiye zanting xindemeiguonongchanpin caigou." Relevant Chinese enterprises suspends to purchase America's agricultural products. Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China. August 6, 2019. <<http://www.mofcom.gov.cn/article/ae/ag/201908/20190802887951.shtml>>

²³⁵ "Treasury Designates China as a Currency Manipulator." U.S. Department of the Treasury. August 5, 2019. <<https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sm751>>

development of its domestic enterprises.²³⁶ In America's perspective, the currency value should be determined by the market instead of being adjusted by government. According to the report, the U.S. Department of the Treasury believed that China's behavior has violated the commitment that the two heads of state reached in a meeting on the sideline of G20 Osaka Summit. In fact, during the Shanghai negotiation, China and the U.S. did not reach a consensus regarding how many agricultural products that China would purchase from American farmers, and the Trump administration believed that the Shanghai negotiation had been a failed negotiation.²³⁷ In order to pressure China to make more concessions and to force China to purchase more America's agricultural products in the future trade negotiation, the U.S. Department of the Treasury announced a decision to label China to be a state of "currency manipulation" on August 5th, 2019. For the Trump administration, this announcement is a strategy of trade negotiation.

America's decision to label China as a currency manipulator was opposed by China and the international community. It is imperative for China to uphold its economic sovereignty in the international community. The People's Bank of China issued a statement on August 6th, 2019 that China had never manipulated its currency for an unfair trade advantage. "Recent RMB depreciation since the beginning of August has been driven and determined by market forces and reflects shifts in market dynamics and volatilities in global foreign exchange markets amid global economic developments and escalating trade frictions."²³⁸ Meanwhile, a report released

²³⁶ "Report to Congress, Macroeconomic and Foreign Exchange Policies of Major Trading Partners of the U.S." U.S. Department of the Treasury Office of International Affairs. May, 2019.

<<https://home.treasury.gov/system/files/206/2019-05-28-May-2019-FX-Report.pdf>>

²³⁷ Zumbun, Josh. "Why the U.S. Labeled China a Currency Manipulator and What It Means." *The Washington Journal*. August 6, 2019. <<https://www.wsj.com/articles/why-the-u-s-labeled-china-a-currency-manipulator-and-what-it-means-11565105936>>

²³⁸ *Statement of the People's Bank of China on US Treasury Department Designating China as a Currency Manipulator*. People's Bank of China. August 6, 2019.

by the International Monetary Fund on August 9th, 2019, stated that China's currency had been broadly stable against other currencies in 2018, suggesting that the RMB was not intervened on by the Chinese government.²³⁹ Although China had not manipulated the exchange rate between RMB and the USD, a devalued RMB would be helpful for domestic Chinese enterprises to export their goods to the U.S. because of the competitive price advantage over the U.S., which had been criticized by the U.S. government. Although China was currently having a trade surplus with the U.S., and the Shanghai negotiation did not obtain any achievements, these two reasons are not appropriate for the U.S. government to label China as a currency manipulator.²⁴⁰

The U.S. government should not blame China to be a state of "currency manipulation". On the contrary, America should be labeled as a "manipulator" of the trade friction. The raising of tariffs was unilaterally launched by the Trump administration. If there is no trade friction, China and the U.S. could conduct their normal business as usual. President Trump should be responsible for all negative economic impacts that have been produced since the launch of the trade friction.

How the Hong Kong Situation Has Impacted the China-U.S. Trade Friction

The protest in Hong Kong is relevant to the anti-extradition law amendment bill movement. The cause of the movement was due to the murder that happened in Taiwan in February 2018. A couple from Hong Kong visited Taiwan for vacation. During the visit, Poon Hiu-wing was killed

<<http://www.pbc.gov.cn/en/3688110/3688172/3870480/index.html>>

²³⁹ *People's Republic of China: 2019 Article IV Consultation-Press Release; Staff Report; Staff Statement and Statement by the Executive Director for China*. International Monetary Fund. August, 2019.

<<https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/CR/Issues/2019/08/08/Peoples-Republic-of-China-2019-Article-IV-Consultation-Press-Release-Staff-Report-Staff-48576>>

²⁴⁰ "U.S. labeling China 'currency manipulator' baseless, experts say." Xinhua News Agency. August 8, 2019. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-08/08/c_138293911.htm>

by her boyfriend Chan Tong-kai in a hotel. After the murder, Chan flew back to Hong Kong and admitted to the Hong Kong police that he had killed his girlfriend. However, Chan was not able to be extradited to Taiwan because Hong Kong and Taiwan do not have an extradition treaty.²⁴¹ In order to prevent a similar criminal case from taking place in the future, the government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region proposed the amendment of the Fugitive Offenders and Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters Legislation Bill in March 2019, which stipulates that crime suspects could be transferred to not only Taiwan, but also Macau and mainland China. The government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region expected the Legislative Council to pass this amendment shortly in order to stop Chan from evading justice for the murder of his girlfriend. Meanwhile, this amendment led to a large-scaled debate in the Hong Kong society.

The government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, led by Chief Executive Carrie Lam, supports this legislative amendment because it is helpful for Hong Kong's public safety. The legislative amendment demonstrated the importance of the rule of law in Hong Kong. At the same time, the central government of China fully backs Chief Executive Lam's amendment proposal. Han Zheng, Member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Political Bureau, Vice Premier of the PRC State Council, and Chairman of the CPC Central Coordination Group for Hong Kong and Macau Affairs, emphasized that "all sectors have to work hard together to help Hong Kong build a good image in the aspect of the rule of law around the world."²⁴²

²⁴¹ "Taiwan won't ask for murder suspect if Hong Kong passes 'politically motivated' extradition law." Hong Kong Free Press. May 10, 2019. <<https://www.hongkongfp.com/2019/05/10/taiwan-wont-ask-murder-suspect-hong-kong-passes-politically-motivated-extradition-law/>>

²⁴² Chung, Kimmy. "Beijing declares full support for Hong Kong leader Carrie Lam over controversial extradition bill." South China Morning Post. May 21, 2019. <<https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/politics/article/3011155/beijing-steps-support-hong-kong-leader-carrie-lam-over>>

Hong Kong lawmakers stated that the “one country and two systems” would not be completely implemented in Hong Kong if the amendment is taken into effect. Hong Kong should maintain its high autonomy under the principle of “one country and two systems”. Suppose the amendment is approved, the future judicial cases would be influenced by mainland China.²⁴³ Those people who criticized the Chinese government and escaped to Hong Kong will be extradited to mainland China. Thus, the human rights of Hong Kong cannot be protected. The judicial system of Hong Kong will not be independently maintained.²⁴⁴

However, the debate regarding the legislative amendment has gradually evolved into a riot. Many adults went into the streets, smashing shops’ windows, prohibiting passengers from entering the international airport, and damaging urban infrastructures. The Hong Kong police have been intentionally attacked by protestors.

The first reaction of President Trump regarding the Hong Kong situation was rational. President Trump believed that the Chinese government would have the capacity to resolve the issue in Hong Kong. This is an internal matter of China since Hong Kong is a part of China.²⁴⁵ On August 14th, 2019, President Trump tweeted his praise of what President Xi has done for China’s development, and he said that President Xi would be able to deal with the Hong Kong issue in

²⁴³ Lam, Jeffie, Tony Cheung. “Hong Kong’s pro-democracy lawmakers seek last-minute adjustment to extradition bill to ensure Taiwan murder suspect faces justice.” South China Morning Post. April 16, 2019. <<https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/politics/article/3006463/hong-kongs-pro-democracy-lawmakers-seek-last-minute>>

²⁴⁴ Cheng, Kris. “New extradition law would enable China to capture journalists in Hong Kong, warns media watchdog.” Hong Kong Free Press. April 3, 2019. <<https://www.hongkongfp.com/2019/04/03/new-extradition-law-enable-china-capture-journalists-hong-kong-warns-media-watchdog/>>

²⁴⁵ Wallbank, Derek, Iain Marlow. “Trump Calls Hong Kong Protests ‘Riots,’ Adopting China Rhetoric.” Bloomberg. August 1, 2019. <<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-08-02/trump-calls-hong-kong-protests-riots-adopting-china-rhetoric>>

rational way.²⁴⁶ However, President Trump changed his mind regarding the Hong Kong situation on August 18th, 2019. In a short speech delivered in New Jersey²⁴⁷, President Trump stated it is possible for him to sign a trade agreement with China if the Chinese government deals with the Hong Kong situation in a humanitarian way.²⁴⁸ Vice President Mike Pence delivered remarks in Detroit on August 19th, 2019, emphasizing that the U.S. will not be able to sign a reciprocal trade agreement with China if the Hong Kong issue cannot be peacefully resolved. He urged China to “honor its commitments, beginning with the commitment China made in 1984 to respect the integrity of Hong Kong’s laws through the Sino-British Joint Declaration.”²⁴⁹ In terms of the remarks delivered by President Trump and Vice President Pence, it seems that the Hong Kong issue became coupled with the China-U.S. trade friction, which would be a significant subtopic for the future China-U.S. trade negotiation.

Lawmakers in the U.S. Congress expressed a strong willingness to support protestors in Hong Kong. Speaker Nancy Pelosi issued a statement on August 6th, 2019, suggesting that freedom, justice, and democracy were always important to Hong Kong. The current protest in Hong Kong was a movement between the people who demands democracy and the government that refuses to respect the principle of the “one country and two systems”. She also pointed out,

²⁴⁶ “Twitter of Donald Trump.” August 14, 2019.

<<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1161774305895694336>>

²⁴⁷ Harrison, David, Katy Stech Ferek, and Andrew Restuccia. “Trump Cites Hong Kong Concerns in Talks With China.” The Wall Street Journal. August 18, 2019. <<https://www.wsj.com/articles/white-house-economic-adviser-confirms-plans-for-new-round-of-china-talks-11566139501>>

²⁴⁸ “President Trump Delivers Remarks Upon Departure,” YouTube Video, 36:18, “White House,” August 18, 2019. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BfUvZJLqhk>>

²⁴⁹ “Remarks by Vice President Pence at the Detroit Economic Club Luncheon.” White House. August 19, 2019. <<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-vice-president-pence-detroit-economic-club-luncheon/>>

“The people of Hong Kong deserve the true autonomy that was promised, with the full rights guaranteed by the Hong Kong Basic Law and international agreements... Democrats and Republicans in Congress stand united with the people of Hong Kong in demanding the hopeful, free and democratic future that is their right...”²⁵⁰

It is not unexpected that Speaker Nancy Pelosi sent a strong message of support to the Hong Kong protestors, as she is a strong anti-China lawmaker in the U.S. Congress. She went against Beijing to host the 2008 Summer Olympic Games and supported the so-called Tibetan’s independence movement by meeting with Dalai Lama a few times. Since the Hong Kong issue has intensified, Speaker Nancy Pelosi was expected to “swiftly advance the bipartisan Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act”²⁵¹. The purpose of this legislative bill was to reassess Hong Kong’s special status as an economic autonomy with the U.S. due to the extradition bill amendment. In regard to the 1992 U.S.-Hong Kong Policy Act²⁵², the U.S. has treats Hong Kong as an autonomous region in economic and trade affairs even though the sovereignty of Hong Kong was handed over to the PRC in 1997. In other words, Hong Kong is currently exempt from the tariffs that President Trump has imposed on China. If the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act is passed in the U.S. Congress, Hong Kong’s status as an autonomous region in the aspect of trade imports would be impacted, and Hong Kong’s reputation regarding foreign investment would be damaged.

²⁵⁰ *Pelosi Statement in Support of Hong Kong Protestors*. Speaker of the House. August 6, 2019.

<<https://www.speaker.gov/newsroom/8519-3>>

²⁵¹ *Pelosi Statement on Withdrawal of Hong Kong Extradition Bill*. Speaker of the House. September 4, 2019.

<<https://www.speaker.gov/newsroom/9419>>

²⁵² *The U.S.-Hong Kong Policy*. U.S. Congress. 1992.

<<https://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?path=/prelim@title22/chapter66&edition=prelim>>

On November 19th, 2019, the U.S. Senate officially ratified the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act,²⁵³ and President Trump signed it into law on November 27, 2019.²⁵⁴ By summoning the U.S. ambassador to China, the Chinese government expressed the anger regarding the signing of the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act by President Trump as it is a law in violation of Hong Kong's status of high-degree autonomy and intervenes in China's domestic affairs. The ultimate purpose of passing the act was to damage the principle of the "one China and two systems" as well as Hong Kong's prosperity and stability. The reason that the U.S. government supported Hong Kong's insurrection was to create social chaos in Hong Kong. Hong Kong, as a financial bridge between mainland China and the rest of the world, has helped mainland China attract foreign investments. If Hong Kong's societal situation is further deteriorated, foreign investments will eventually move to the U.S., and the level of economic openness of mainland China will be reduced. China should not be deceived by the U.S. government. If China were to deploy armed forces to suppress Hong Kong's riot immediately, the Western countries, led by the U.S., would start attacking China's action regarding the Hong Kong situation. Furthermore, China's international reputation would be impacted by Western propaganda. Instead, the Chinese government calmed down and used a smart way to mitigate the Hong Kong situation. The PLA soldiers to the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region removed barriers and fences on the street.²⁵⁵ On the one hand, this action demonstrates that the

²⁵³ S. 1838 – Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act. U.S. Congress. November 19, 2019. <<https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/senate-bill/1838/text>>

²⁵⁴ Statement from the President on S. 1838 and S. 2710. White House. November 27, 2019. <<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-president-s-1838-s-2710/>>

²⁵⁵ Lyons, John, Steven Russolillo, Eun-Young Jeong. "Mainland China Soldiers Take to Hong Kong Streets for First Time During Protests." Wall Street Journal. November 16, 2019. <<https://www.wsj.com/articles/mainland-chinese-soldiers-take-to-hong-kong-streets-for-first-time-since-protests-began-11573907250>>

PLA is willing to help Hong Kong citizens resume social orders and create a sound working and living environment for them. On the other hand, it fuels speculations about Hong Kong's future, alerting all Hong Kong protesters to stop radical riots as soon as possible.

Overall, despite the law amendment of Hong Kong that was criticized by the U.S. Congress, the China-U.S. trade friction and the Hong Kong issue are two separate matters. The China-U.S. trade negotiation is about economic and trade issues, while the Hong Kong situation is related to political issues. The Hong Kong issue is a domestic matter of a country, which is determined by the Hong Kong people and the government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region according to the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. The Hong Kong issue should not be intervened on by any foreign governments. The Trump administration should realize that the Hong Kong situation cannot be linked to the China-U.S. trade negotiation. Any attempts that link the Hong Kong situation to the China-U.S. trade negotiation as a way of bargaining will not be successful. Although it has taken a while for China and the U.S. to reach a trade deal that is mutually beneficial, the Hong Kong issue cannot become an excuse for the Trump administration to leverage the trade negotiation. If the Trump administration drags the Hong Kong situation into the negotiation, the negotiation process will be more complex, and a trade deal that makes the two countries satisfied will be more difficult to reach.

China-U.S. Trade Relations in Fourth Quarter of 2019

China and the U.S. decided to host a new round of negotiation in October 2019. October 1st is China's National Day. Due to the 70th anniversary of the founding of the PRC in 2019, the Chinese government decided not to host the trade negotiation until after the celebration. If the

new round of negotiation hosted before October 1 where to produce any negative outcomes, it would impact China's celebration on the 70th anniversary of the founding of the PRC. Thus, the next round of the China-U.S. trade negotiation was tentatively scheduled after China's National Day.

In fact, the preparatory meeting regarding the new round of the China-U.S. trade negotiation was hosted in Washington D.C. in September 2019. China dispatched a vice-ministerial official to the U.S. to host the meeting with his U.S. counterpart. Given the fact that China and the U.S. were unable to reach a comprehensive trade agreement immediately, China proposed the signing of a partial trade agreement with the U.S. in order to resolve relatively easier trade issues between the two countries. However, President Trump rejected China's proposal. Instead, he insisted on signing a comprehensive trade agreement with China.²⁵⁶ A partial trade agreement is a document China is willing to reach because it concentrates only on the trade balance between the China and America. Besides the trade balance, a comprehensive trade agreement includes structural reform, which is relevant to China's state security, economic sovereignty, and political reform. For President Trump, a comprehensive trade agreement is a document he looks forward to seeing.

The new round of China-U.S. trade negotiation was successfully hosted in D.C. from October 10th to 11th, 2019. After the negotiation, President Trump met with Vice Premier Liu in the Oval Office, which could be considered to be a good signal for the two countries that the trade

²⁵⁶ Salama, Vivian and William Mauldin. "Trump Says He Wants 'Compete Deal' With China." Wall Street Journal. September 20, 2019. <<https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-says-he-wants-complete-deal-with-china-11569007700>>

negotiation had made a substantial progress. The meeting brought a surprise to the world. Unlike the comprehensive trade agreement that President Trump was insistent on reaching before the new round of the negotiation, he agreed with China to formalize a partial deal that is called the China-U.S. trade pact for the first stage when meeting with Vice Premier Liu. President Trump was expected to sign this pact with President Xi on the sideline of the 2019 APEC Summit in Chile. Meanwhile, some other issues would be resolved in the next stage of the trade negotiation after the first stage was finalized.²⁵⁷

President Trump's decision-making is difficult to predict. He was confident about signing a comprehensive trade agreement with President Xi when meeting with Vice Premier Liu in April. However, the China-U.S. trade negotiation was broken in May. After the new round of the trade negotiation in October, President Trump expressed the same confidence as he did in April. It was unknown if the situation would be changed again before the official signing of the trade pact for the first stage in November.

The situation was changed before the signing ceremony. However, this time, the change was not caused by President Trump. China and the U.S. were supposed to sign the first phase of the trade agreement on the sideline of the 2019 APEC Summit in Chile. Since October 2019, the Chilean people have launched the protest to oppose the increase of subway fare, as it reflected the economic disparity between different social classes in Chile. The protest has intensified between the Chilean people and the Chilean police in late October. Due to the riot that would impact the upcoming APEC summit, President of Chile had to announce to withdraw from hosting

²⁵⁷ CBS News. "Live: Trump announces 'phase one' of trade deal with China." Filmed [October 2019]. YouTube Video, 35:42. Posted [October 11, 2019]. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZX-Oz3mLHng>>

the 2019 APEC Summit to focus on resolving Chile's domestic problems.²⁵⁸ The U.S. believed that the cancellation of the summit would not impact the trade negotiation and the signing of the trade agreement. In response to the cancellation of the APEC summit, President Trump tweeted on October 31st that the U.S. and China were working together to look for a new place for the signing ceremony, which would be announced soon.²⁵⁹ The media listed some possible locations for the official signing ceremony on the basis of sources who are familiar with the negotiation process, such as Greece, London, Hawaii, Alaska, and Iowa.

At the invitation of President of Greece, President Xi planned to pay a state visit to Greece, as it was convenient for the Chinese delegation to witness the signing. However, the U.S. government did not intend to travel to Greece for the signing. According to a Greek government official, there was no indication of preparing for the signing ceremony between the Chinese government and the U.S. government.²⁶⁰

The 2019 G7 Summit was scheduled at London from December 3rd to 4th, 2019, with President Trump planning to be in attendance. Hence, it was possible for President Trump and

²⁵⁸ "President Pinera prioritizes focusing on the social agenda in favor of the wellbeing of all Chileans and decides to suspend the APEC and COP 25 summits." Government of Chile. October 30, 2019.

<<https://www.gob.cl/en/news/president-pinera-prioritizes-focusing-social-agenda-favor-wellbeing-all-chileans-and-decides-suspend-apec-and-cop-25-summits/>>

²⁵⁹ Trump, Donald. "Twitter." October 31, 2019.

<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1189895935721197570?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.cnbc.com%2F2019%2F10%2F31%2Ftrump-says-new-location-for-signing-of-phase-one-of-us-china-trade-deal-will-be-announced-soon.html>

²⁶⁰ Lawder, David, Andrea Shalal. "Iowa? Greece? Where Trump and Xi may meet becomes new trade deal issue." Reuters. November 5, 2019. <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trade-china-location/iowa-greece-where-trump-and-xi-may-meet-becomes-new-trade-deal-issue-idUSKBN1XG00X>>

President Xi to sign the trade agreement after the G7 Summit. However, according to the U.S. government, London was only a choice, and everything had not been determined yet.²⁶¹

In terms of geographic location, Hawaii or Alaska would be a perfect location for the both countries since Hawaii and Alaska are located at a halfway point between China and the U.S. The heads of state and their delegations would not have to spend too much time on travelling.²⁶²

Iowa would also be a perfect location for the two countries to host the signing ceremony.²⁶³ For President Xi, he has a special and emotional connection to Iowa. When Xi was a young official, he had a chance to visit Iowa. During Xi's visit, he was warmly received by an ordinary Iowa family. Since that time, the friendship between Xi and this Iowa family has been nurtured for more than three decades. For the U.S., Iowa is an important agricultural state. If the trade deal was determined to be signed here, Iowa could become more famous among the Chinese people. Thus, Iowa's agricultural products could be increasingly exported to China. However, the U.S. government ruled out the possibility of hosting the signing ceremony of the China-U.S. trade agreement in Iowa on November 6th, 2019.²⁶⁴

²⁶¹ Brunnstrom, David, Matt Spetalnick. "Exclusive: U.S.-China trade deal signing could be delayed to December; London a possible venue – source." Reuters. November 6, 2019. <<https://uk.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trade-china-prospects-exclusive/exclusive-us-china-trade-deal-signing-could-be-delayed-to-december-london-a-possible-venue-source-idUKKBN1XG2GG>>

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Shalal, Andrea. "Trump-Xi meeting in Iowa would be poignant reminder of better U.S.-China ties." Reuters. November 5, 2019. <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trade-china-iowa/trump-xi-meeting-in-iowa-would-be-poignant-reminder-of-better-u-s-china-ties-idUSKBN1XF2LV>>

²⁶⁴ Brunnstrom, David, Matt Spetalnick. "Exclusive: U.S.-China trade deal signing could be delayed to December; London a possible venue – source." Reuters. November 6, 2019. <<https://uk.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trade-china-prospects-exclusive/exclusive-us-china-trade-deal-signing-could-be-delayed-to-december-london-a-possible-venue-source-idUKKBN1XG2GG>>

In the mid-November, Director of the National Economic Council Larry Kudlow implied that the China-U.S. trade accord would be signed by the minister-level officials.²⁶⁵ The phase one trade accord is a partial trade accord, meaning that other issues would be written into the potential phase two trade accord. Once all trade issues are settled in the trade accord, the heads of state would participate in the final signing ceremony. Three days later, the People's Daily published an article that highlighted President Xi's visit to Greece and Brazil as his final foreign travel in 2019,²⁶⁶ demonstrating that the China-U.S. phase one trade accord would be signed by the lower-ranking officials if it is signed in 2019.

Phase One Agreement of China-U.S. Economic and Trade Relations

The Phase One Agreement of China-U.S. Economic and Trade Relations (the Phase One Agreement) was officially signed by the Chinese Vice Premier Liu and the U.S. President Trump in Washington D.C. on January 15th, 2020. The Chinese government dispatched a vice premier to attend the signing ceremony while President Trump participated in the signing ceremony in person as the official representative of the U.S. government. In terms of political ranking, China's vice premier is lower than the U.S. president, but the special arrangement that the U.S. government made indicated the importance of China-U.S. economic and trade relations in the new era.

²⁶⁵ France-Presse, Agence. "US-China trade deal could be signed by ministers instead of Donald Trump and Xi Jinping, top White House aide says." *South China Morning Post*. November 16, 2019. <<https://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/3038016/us-china-trade-deal-could-be-signed-ministers-instead-donald-trump-and>>

²⁶⁶ "xi jinping zhuxi erlingyijiunian chufangshouguanzhizuo, shijian douqinaerle." (President Xi Jinping's final foreign visit in 2019, where is the Time?) *People's Daily*. November 18, 2019. <<http://politics.people.com.cn/n1/2019/1118/c1001-31459263.html>>

The Signing of the Phase One Agreement between China and the U.S. was not easy. It took more than one year for the two countries to finalize its text, illustrating complexity and arduousness of the China-U.S. economic and trade cooperation. In terms of the U.S. foreign policy, signing the Phase One Agreement also set a good example for the U.S. and its trading partners to peacefully and frankly resolve economic and trade disputes.

The Phase One Agreement includes two main sections. In terms of macroeconomic development, the agreement stipulates how to expand China-U.S. trade relations from 2020 to 2021. With regards to microeconomic development, the agreement is comprehensive and thorough, including intellectual property and technology protection, trade expansion in food and agricultural products, expansion in financial service, and protection in exchange rate. For instance, China and the U.S. are committed to protecting intellectual property and technology without forcing any enterprises to transfer their intellectual property and technology to other enterprises. China allows U.S. insurance companies to enter China's insurance market. China and the U.S. are committed to determining the exchange rate on the basis of market instead of government manipulation.²⁶⁷

A key portion of the Phase One Agreement is trade expansion with the agreement dedicating one chapter to outline the expansion between the two countries. China is a huge market with more than 1.4 billion consumers, while the U.S. can supply high-quality goods and services. Thus, the trade relationship between the two countries has a high degree of complementarity. China

²⁶⁷ *Economic and Trade Agreement Between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the U.S. of America*. Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China. January 15, 2020. <<http://images.mofcom.gov.cn/www/202001/20200122155118994.pdf>>

and the U.S. are the two largest economies in the world, therefore, expanding trade is conducive to the future improvement of China-U.S. trade relations. According to the Phase One Agreement, the major goal of China-U.S. economic and trade relations over the following two years is to expand the economic and trade scale between the two countries. China needs to purchase and import a large variety of products such as manufactured products, agricultural products, energy products, and financial services, with at least \$200 billion coming from the U.S. between January 1st, 2020 and December 31st, 2021. The U.S. also needs to ensure that it would provide sufficient commodities and services for China to purchase and import.²⁶⁸

A sound agreement should be implemented and supervised by a government agency. With regards to its implementation, the agreement stipulates to establish the Trade Framework Group to adequately evaluate how the Phase One Agreement is implemented, resolve any disputes during the process of implementation, and arrange the negotiation regarding the phase two agreement. The Trade Framework Group is a new agency that has never been utilized throughout history of China-U.S. economic and trade relations. As a transnational agency, it is respectively led by one vice premier of China and the U.S. trade representative.²⁶⁹

The official signing of the Phase One Agreement has temporarily stabilized the China-U.S. economic and trade relations. However, the two countries need to immediately begin the negotiation process regarding the phase two agreement, which would include the structural reform that the Trump administration requires China to carry out. Meanwhile, the Phase One Agreement only states how to expand China-U.S. economic and trade relations between 2020

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

and 2021, but it does not state how to expand trade after 2021. The expansion of China-U.S. economic and trade relations is a long-term developmental process, and it cannot be finished within two years. In addition, the Phase One Agreement does not state what a role Huawei plays in the U.S. market. The Phase One Agreement does not stipulate any articles regarding when all of the U.S. tariffs imposed on Chinese imports will be lifted.

Future Prediction of China-U.S. Trade Relations

Indeed, the trade friction cannot last forever, and it should be concluded in the future. Although it is difficult to predict when the trade friction will come to the end specifically, the following two paragraphs explain the best scenario for China and the U.S. to conclude the trade negotiation.

What President Trumps would believe to be a victory in the trade friction is containing China's ongoing development, pursuing the trade balance between the U.S. and China such as requiring China to buy more American goods, ensuring that American employees will benefit from the China-U.S. trade relationship, advancing China's structural reform, and prohibiting American enterprises to transfer technology to China in order for them to conduct their normal business in China.

What President Xi would believe to be a victory in the trade friction is the abolishment of all tariffs on Chinese imports to the U.S. since the launch of the trade friction and protecting economic interests of the U.S. enterprises in China by neither hurting China's national sovereignty nor jeopardizing President Xi's domestic and international prestige as one of the most powerful paramount leaders of China since Mao and Deng. According to Chinese

Ambassador to the U.S., “we do not want to have a trade war with the U.S., but we will fight against it to the end if the U.S. wants to fight.”²⁷⁰

The China-U.S. bilateral economic and trade relationship impacts the future trend of global economy, and the major direction of the China-U.S. bilateral economic and trade relationship should be controlled by their leaders. All trade issues cannot be resolved within one day. Leaders from the two countries should be patient and use wisdom to properly deal with the trade issues. Only dialogue and cooperation will determine if the outcomes stated above can be produced.

After reading the previous chapters, readers may be curious about why China-U.S. relations are moving forward under the framework of global governance. Actually, the contemporary China-U.S. political and economic relationship is a state-to-state relationship, moving beyond the bilateral scope, aimed at negotiation responses to problems that affect the globe. At present, unilateralism is seriously impacting the international order and system. If unilateralism continues to expand, the international order and system on which countries live and thrive will collapse. The expansion of unilateralism is an unacceptable outcome for small and weak countries. China is a country that stresses global governance and win-win cooperation between states. The China-U.S. relationship over the past four decades demonstrates that the two countries gain from cooperation and lose from confrontation. With respect to problems and disagreements in the bilateral interaction, the two countries need to consult with each other on the basis of the principle of mutual respect and non-confrontation so that people in the world would benefit from the normal China-U.S. political and economic relationship.

²⁷⁰ “Cui Tiankai: China Not Seeking Trade War, But Ready to Fight.” YouTube Video. March 23, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1b_tB3GyiZ0>

Chapter Six: Contemporary China-Africa Relations

China-Africa Comprehensive Strategic and Cooperative Partnership

Generally, in terms of China's diplomatic language, the bilateral relationship between China and Africa is a strategic and cooperative partnership. The "strategic" refers to the relationship that has a high-level political trust between China and Africa. The "cooperative" refers to the reciprocal economic relationship between China and Africa. The "partnership" refers to the close relationship between the two sides. The "comprehensive" refers to the cooperation between China and Africa that has been expanded to a wide range of fields. For instance, the political exchange between China and Africa not only concentrates on heads of state and government, but also on members of parliamentary, ministers, governors, mayors, and military leaders. The cooperation between the two sides has included trade, infrastructure, healthcare, agriculture, natural resources, and ecological protection.

With regards to political trust, China and Africa have nurtured a close and unbreakable partnership. The Chinese government attaches the great importance to China-Africa relations, including the tradition of first official visit paid by China's foreign minister every year being to African countries, which has been maintained since 1991.

One of the most important events regarding the China-Africa cooperation in the first decade of the 21st century is then-Chinese President Hu Jintao's historic state visit to a total of eight African countries including Cameroon, Liberia, Sudan, Mozambique, Zambia, Namibia, South Africa, and Seychelles in 2007, creating a milestone of the contemporary China-Africa cooperation. On the one hand, Hu's visit was a follow-up diplomatic action after the 2006 FOAC

Beijing Summit, which was called the “trip of friendship and cooperation” by China’s news media. On the other hand, as the head of state of China, it was rare for Hu to visit eight countries during one trip. The 12-days state visit to Africa demonstrates the unique friendship between the two sides.

The reason that Hu chose the eight countries to visit was due to their different characteristics. The head of state of Cameroon has the longest continuous tenure in a position of national leadership among all African leaders. Since taking the power in 1975, President Biya has ruled the country for more than three decades. The purpose of Hu’s visit to Cameroon was to deepen the longstanding friendship between the two countries. Liberia severed the so-called relationship with Taiwan in 2003, and the diplomatic relationship between China and Liberia has been restored for five years. Thus, the bilateral relationship between the two countries needs their heads of state to lead and foster. Sudan is one of the largest countries in Africa, and its abundant oil resources have attracted Chinese enterprises to form reciprocal relations between the two countries. Since the 1990s, the Chinese government signed a number of cooperative agreements with the Sudanese government regarding oil exploitation and trade. Mozambique is a major Portuguese-speaking country in Africa. As China’s only place where people speak both Chinese and Portuguese, Macau is the host city of the economic and trade dialogue between China and Portuguese-speaking countries. Mozambique takes the advantage of Macau in order to enhance its communication with China. Zambia and China have maintained a traditional friendship due to China’s assistance in building the TAZARA Railroad. Namibia is a relatively young African country as it became independent in 1990. China’s comprehensive foreign policy towards Africa requires China to nurture its relations with young African countries. South Africa is a major emerging

economy not only in Africa, but also in the world. The global influence of China and South Africa has been raised. They need to take a strong stance to uphold the interests of developing countries in the international community. Seychelles is one of the smallest countries in Africa, as it is an islands country. The major concern of Seychelles is climate change and the rise of sea level. China perceives climate change and ecological protection as a way of conducting the cooperation with Seychelles. Taken as a whole, the country selection regarding Hu's state visit to Africa in 2007 demonstrated the comprehensiveness of China's diplomacy to Africa. Countries in different subregions of Africa are all close partners of China.

President Xi attaches highly importance to China-Africa relations. His first international trip as the head of state of China included three African countries: Tanzania, South Africa, and Congo. The state visit to these three countries was kicked off on March 24th, 2013, taking place only nine days after he was elected as President of China on March 15th, 2013. In Tanzania, President Xi used four adjectives to describe the contemporary China-Africa relationship: "true", "pragmatic", "close", and "frank" when delivering a speech at a convention center that the Chinese enterprise assisted to build.²⁷¹ As for the "true", China has never required African countries to implement China's model of political and economic development. The path of development that African countries choose is respected by China. Both China and African countries are developing countries. China opposes any actions where strong and wealthy countries bully weak and indigent countries in the international community. China's assistance towards Africa is also pragmatic. The only situation where China helps African countries is in order to improve their

²⁷¹ "Xi Jinping Delivers a Speech at the Julius Nyerere International Convention Center in Tanzania, Stressing China and Africa Will Always Remain Reliable Friends and Faithful Partners." Ministry of Foreign Affairs. March 25, 2013. <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/topics_665678/xjpcf1_665694/t1025803.shtml>

people's livelihood. As a Chinese saying goes, "friendship, which derives from close contact between people, holds the key to sound state-to-state relations." The people-to-people exchange between China and Africa lays a solid foundation for close cooperation between China and Africa. If any issues come up during the China-Africa cooperation, the two sides would frankly exchange views and find out the best solution through joint efforts.

The China-A.U. relationship is a component of the China-Africa comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership as well as the FOCAC mechanism. As the only international organization that covers all 54 countries pertinent to boosting the continental integration in Africa, the A.U. has endeavored to create one voice in global affairs by uniting all African countries. Over the past few years, the relationship between China and the A.U. under the framework of the FOCAC, has rapidly improved. In October 2011, the FOCAC mechanism was determined to accept the A.U. as an official FOCAC member. The strategic dialogue between China and the A.U. has hosted seven rounds as of 2018. The landmark project regarding China's assistance to the A.U. was the A.U. Conference Center, which was completed in 2012. Jia Qinglin, then-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), visited the A.U. headquarters and participated in the ribbon-cutting ceremony of the mansion. In fact, the A.U. is a crucial organization that reflects the solidarity of African countries and people. Although the A.U. has not achieved many goals such as custom union, monetary union, and political federation and its degree of integration is not the same as the E.U.'s, the A.U. has formed a collective voice in the international community that represents the interests of African countries. The global influence of the A.U. has grown since becoming an UN observer. Built in the headquarter of the A.U., the conference center provides a permanent place for African heads of state and

government to host summits and discuss a large variety of significant businesses related to the A.U., creating a sound environment for Africa's sustainable development.

China treats the A.U. as an important force in the international community, and the A.U. should not be excluded from any international events pertinent to developing countries and emerging economies. As the host country for the 2017 BRICS Summit, China invited Alpha Conde, President of Guinea as a representative of the A.U. to participate in the summit, as President Conde concurrently served as Chairperson of the A.U. between 2017 and 2018. It was the first time that a representative of the A.U. took part in the BRICS summit. During a bilateral meeting, President Conde was honored to be invited for the summit and appreciated President Xi's invitation.²⁷² The participation of the A.U. in the 2017 BRICS Summit demonstrated that China anticipates that Africa will play a more influential role in global governance.

On September 2nd, 2018, the A.U. opened a permanent diplomatic mission in China prior to the FOCAC Beijing Summit, ensuring that all FOCAC members from the African side opened their diplomatic missions in China.²⁷³ The establishment of the A.U.'s diplomatic mission in China provides a more convenient communication channel between the two sides. The permanent representative of the A.U. to China has a capacity to negotiate important business with officials of China's foreign ministry and other relevant government departments on a regular basis.

²⁷² "China-Guinea cooperation gains momentum: Xi." Xinhua News Agency. September 5, 2019. <http://www.xinhuanet.com//english/2017-09/05/c_136585850.htm>

²⁷³ "Communique on the meeting between the Chairperson of the Commission and the President of the People's Republic of China." African Union. September 5, 2018. <<https://au.int/en/pressreleases/20180905/commuqu%C3%A9-meeting-between-chairperson-commission-and-president-peoples>>

Overall, the China-Africa comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership is a typical example of a South-South cooperation since it not only demonstrates a long-standing mutual assistance between China and Africa, but it also creates a new type of international relations that is equitable, just, and reciprocal among developing countries.

Although China and African countries have different political systems and cultural traditions, they do not become an obstacle that prevents China and African countries from communicating with each other. Due to their similar histories, China and Africa adhere to the value of peaceful coexistence, mutual respect, and equal treatment. China has never preached to African countries to choose the developmental path that China has chosen, and China has never invaded any African countries' territory throughout their history. Meanwhile, most African countries respect China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The one-China principle is a universal consensus acknowledged by the U.N. and 180 countries in the world. Since the founding of the PRC in 1949, a total of 53 African countries have established diplomatic relations with the PRC on the basis of the one-China principle. When African leaders visit China, they are committing to Chinese leaders that their administrations will never develop a relationship with Taiwan at the government level. African leaders expect that the reunification of China could be achieved soon. Due to the special status of Taiwan, the only relationship that African countries can develop with Taiwan is the trade and culture relationship.

The section above explores China-Africa relations in terms of macroscopic perspectives. The following section is more specific, discussing how China has developed its bilateral relationships with four typical African countries, including South Africa, Djibouti, Liberia, and Libya. The reason that these four countries are selected is the following two reasons. First, they are respectively

located at four subregions of Africa: Southern Africa, East Africa, West Africa, and North Africa. Second, the levels of economic and social development regarding the four countries are different. South Africa is the only G20 member and the only BRICS member in Africa. The global function of South Africa should not be neglected by China. Djibouti is a relatively small economy in Africa, and it is the only one among the four countries stated in this dissertation that has never maintained so-called diplomatic relations with Taiwan. Djibouti's regional influence is not as strong as Ethiopia and Kenya. However, with regards to the foreign policy, China treats all African countries equally whether they are large or small. Liberia is one of the least developed countries in West Africa and the world. China has provided imperative medical assistance to Liberia when it was facing a non-traditional security threat such as the Ebola crisis. Compared to other three countries, Libya's circumstance is special as it has experienced a change of regime. Thus, the China-Libya relationship has gone through many frustrations and challenges.

China-South Africa Relations

South Africa is the second largest economy in Africa. Currently, China is South Africa's largest trading partner, and the two countries have formed a close relationship in global affairs. However, the China-South Africa relationship was not smooth before 1998 due to the fact that South Africa recognized Taiwan instead of mainland China.

In the 1960s, the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress stood with the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, the deterioration of China-Soviet Union bilateral relations led to the estrangement of China and South Africa. During the apartheid period, the government of South Africa led by a white president and Taiwan had an identical view towards mainland China.

The similarity of ideology between South Africa and Taiwan dominated South Africa and effected its decision not to develop the official relationship with the PRC.

The Chinese government supported the liberation movement of South Africa because the people of the two countries shared similar historic experiences. The Chinese nation and the black South Africans were bullied and oppressed by foreign forces and white people. The international community viewed South Africa recognizing Taiwan as a part of China and establishing the complete diplomatic relationship on the basis of the one-China principle when Nelson Mandela came to power. However, Mandela did not immediately recognize the one-China principle. In a document released by the new government of South Africa,

“President Mandela has expressed full confidence in the leaders of the People’s Republic of China and the Republic of China (Taiwan) and support for their efforts to resolve the China question... It is on this basis that the South African government would hope to strengthen and improve the relationship with the People’s Republic of China on the one hand, and the Republic of China on the other.”²⁷⁴

According to this document, President Mandela attempted to seek the “dual recognition” in order not to offend either mainland China or Taiwan. He anticipated to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the PRC, while maintaining diplomatic relations with Republic of China. In fact, it was paradoxical for Mandela to recognize the one-China principle after his inauguration. Throughout history, Taiwan was a major contributor of economic assistance to South Africa. Taiwan was South Africa’s seventh largest trading partner. South Africa benefited from Taiwan’s

²⁷⁴ Williams, Christopher. “The backstory of how South Africa ditched Taiwan for China.” Quartz Africa. July 28, 2018. <<https://qz.com/africa/1343031/how-nelson-mandelas-south-africa-ditched-taiwan-for-china/>>

help tremendously. If Mandela recognized the one-China principle, South Africa would lose a good friend in the international community who consistently provided economic assistance to the development of South Africa.

The turning point occurred after Mandela had served as President of South Africa for just over two years. Eventually, Mandela changed his attitude towards China. On November 27th, 1996, Mandela officially announced to sever the so-called diplomatic relations with Taiwan and recognize the PRC as the only legal government representing China through a government statement.²⁷⁵ Overall, an internal reason from South Africa and an external reason from China determined Mandela's final decision to recognize the one-China principle. As for the internal reason, most members in the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, such as Thabo Mbeki, Alfred Nzo, and Rusty Evans, hoped the government of South Africa to abandon Taiwan and to recognize the PRC. South Africa, as a prominent African country that has played an influential role in regional and global affairs, wanted to normalize its diplomatic relations with the PRC. Otherwise, it would not benefit the improvement of South Africa's international reputation.

China's pressure was considered to be the external reason that led Mandela to determine the switch of diplomatic recognition. In April 1996, Wu Yi, then-Minister of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation of China traveled to South Africa to sign an agreement pertinent to South Africa's status of most-favored-nation, which could be considered as China's action to speed up the normalization of diplomatic relations between the two countries. It was rare for China to sign

²⁷⁵ *Statement by President Nelson Mandela on South Africa's relations with the Greater China region.* Website of Nelson Mandela. November 27, 1996. <http://www.mandela.gov.za/mandela_speeches/1996/961127_china.htm>

an agreement regarding status of most-favored-nation with a country that has not established diplomatic relations. The signing of this agreement did not pressure Mandela to recognize the PRC immediately. Taiwan was nervous about South Africa's diplomatic loyalties. In response to China's action, Hsu Li-tech, the deputy leader of Taiwan's executive branch visited South Africa to explore the potential business cooperative plans between the two sides, and he had an opportunity to meet with Mandela during the visit in August 1996. When meeting with the guest of Taiwan, Mandela called Taiwan a sovereign country, which shocked mainland China. By publishing an article on China's state news media, China strongly opposed Taiwan's "diplomatic attack" and Mandela's statement regarding Taiwan. As far as concrete measures, China considered to cancel the agreement regarding South Africa's status of most-favored-nation and find another country instead of South Africa to import gold resources. The deterioration of economic cooperation between the two countries would actually damage South Africa's level of economic development, forcing Mandela to acknowledge the one-China principle.

Apparently, China would not allow the existence of a "dual recognition" when boosting diplomatic relations with any other countries. In 1996, a South African delegation visited Beijing to discuss the future trends of China-South Africa relations. When meeting with the delegation, the Chinese counterpart sent a clear message to prohibit the "dual recognition", suggesting that there is only one China in the world, and Taiwan is a part of China. China's territorial integrity could not be divided by any foreign governments.

The communique regarding the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and South Africa was signed by their government representatives on December 30th, 1997, and the two countries announced their official establish diplomatic relations on January 1st, 1998. In the

communiqué, the government of South Africa reiterated their acknowledgement of the one-China principle, and that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory.²⁷⁶ The signing of the communiqué marked the new era of China-South Africa relations. By the end of 2019, China and South Africa have maintained diplomatic relations for only 21 years, but the bilateral cooperation has made rapid progress.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the National Bilateral Commission of China and South Africa was established in terms of the *Pretoria Declaration on the Partnership between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of South Africa*. The commission is a high-level negotiation mechanism between the governments of China and South Africa, guiding and coordinating all important affairs concerning government-level exchanges. China and South Africa hold the importance of the commission in a high regard. The meeting is rotationally hosted between the two countries every three years. The co-chairs of the commission have been served by the vice presidents of the two countries.²⁷⁷

During the second decade of the 21st century, the cooperation between China and South Africa has been more interconnected under the framework of multilateralism. Composed of Brazil, Russia, India, and China, the concept of the BRIC was first stated in the "Building Better Global Economic BRICs" released by the Goldman Sachs, referring to the four largest emerging

²⁷⁶ *Joint Communiqué between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of South Africa on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. December 30, 1997.

<https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zzjg_663340/fzs_663828/gjlb_663832/3094_664214/3095_664216/t16577.shtml>

²⁷⁷ *The Pretoria Declaration on the Partnership between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of South Africa*. The China Embassy in South Africa. April 25, 2000.

<<http://za.china-embassy.org/eng/zt/tenthanniversary/t388680.htm>>

economies. From 2009 onward, the four countries determined to rotationally host the annual BRIC summit. However, the BRIC summit lacked African representatives. Although Africa is a continent that has the most developing countries, some African countries were also eligible for being involved in the BRICS summit. As the rotating chairman of the BRIC between 2010 and 2011, China aimed to boost the international status of the BRIC by expanding to include a new member state. After consulting with other BRICS member states, China invited South Africa to join the BRICS summit.²⁷⁸ In 2010, President Hu wrote a letter to President of South Africa and cordially invited South Africa to become the fifth BRICS member state. In March 2011, South Africa was involved in the 3rd BRICS Summit hosted in Sanya, China.

In July 2018, the BRICS Summit was hosted in Johannesburg, South Africa. China supported South Africa as the host and positively participated in all events related to the BRICS. Meanwhile, South Africa followed what China did in 2017 in hosting the “BRICS+” summit. By connecting to South Africa’s situation, the “BRICS+” summit arranged a dialogue between BRICS member states, major African countries, and other important regional economies. The 2018 South Africa “BRICS+” summit has been the largest-scale “BRICS+” summit over the history. South Africa respectively invited Argentina as a major economy in South America, Jamaica as a major economy in the Caribbean Ocean, and Turkey as a major economy across the European and the Asian continents to the summit. Besides the five BRICS states and three important regional economics, a total of 18 African countries that play an influential role in regional affairs dispatched the heads of state and government, as well as governmental-level representatives to the summit including Angola,

²⁷⁸ “China invites South Africa to join BRIC: Xinhua.” Reuters. December 24, 2010. <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-bric-safrica/china-invites-south-africa-to-join-bric-xinhua-idUSTRE6BN1DZ20101224>>

Botswana, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Egypt, Gabon, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, Senegal, Seychelles, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

The “BRICS+” is a new platform for multilateral cooperation. China took the opportunity during the 2018 “BRICS+” Summit at South Africa to form a sound working relationship with other African leaders and to deepen the China-Africa comprehensive cooperative partnership. In a statement delivered at the “BRICS+” summit, President Xi emphasized that the contemporary China-Africa cooperation is multi-dimensional. More than 2.5 billion people have been benefited from the China-Africa cooperation. On the basis of the principle of the “truth, pragmatism, amity, sincerity”, China will continue to support Africa’s development and rejuvenation.

In June 2019, China, South Africa, Senegal, Egypt, and the U.N. hosted a small-scale summit of Chinese and African leaders on the sideline of the G20 Osaka Summit,²⁷⁹ which could be considered to be an innovation of China’s diplomacy. All African countries and the international organization that participated in the summit were also invited to the G20 summit. South Africa is the only G20 member state from Africa and was the co-chair of the FOCAC. Senegal is the new co-chair of the FOCAC, as well as the chair of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development. Egypt was the rotating chair of the A.U. In fact, representatives from the New Partnership for Africa’s Development and the A.U. have been permanently invited to the G20. Meanwhile, inviting the U.N. to participate in the summit demonstrated that China advocated to boost multilateralism on the basis of the “United Nations Charter”. By taking the opportunity at the G20 Osaka Summit,

²⁷⁹ “Xi puts forward three-point proposal on developing China-Africa relations.” Xinhua News Agency. June 28, 2019. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-06/28/c_138181845.htm>

China used the summit of the Chinese and African leaders to deepen their cooperation, as well as to uphold multilateralism and economic globalization. On the one hand, this summit was a type of follow-up meeting regarding the FOCAC 2018 Beijing Summit where President Xi stressed how to boost the China-Africa cooperation in the next stage. China's BRI should be aligned with the 2063 Agenda of the A.U. so that the fruits of cooperation would be delivered to the people from the both sides. South Africa, Senegal, and Egypt are all major economies in Africa. Overall, this summit was efficient. All leaders participating in this summit strove to control the general direction of the future China-Africa cooperation so that the China-Africa cooperation would not be derailed. On the other hand, this summit aimed to reach a consensus to strongly oppose unilateralism and protectionism. China and Africa have been united to send a common voice to the international community that the current international order could not be damaged by unilateralism and protectionism. Africa's development is closely linked to the international community. As a continent that has the most developing countries, Africa needs to continue to improve their levels of economic development with the assistance from the international community.

China-Djibouti Relations

As one of the smallest countries in Africa, Djibouti has maintained close contacts with China since establishing diplomatic relations in 1979. According to China's diplomatic doctrine, not matter if countries are large or small, they enjoy equal rights in the international community. Thus, China respectfully treats all countries based on a principle of equality. In January 2017, China announced its plan to help Djibouti build a seaport and a free trade zone under the BRI framework. The free trade zone in Djibouti is a comprehensive economic and trade facility, which

includes four sections: trade and logistics, export processing, business and financial support services, as well as manufacturing and duty-free merchandise retail. In terms of long-term development, these two constructions will not only turn Djibouti into a global trade center and an important logistics hub for ships, but also will provide a wide range of career opportunities to the people of Djibouti. As President of Djibouti Ismail Guelleh said in his inauguration ceremony, the free trade zone is a place of hope.²⁸⁰ Djibouti's future development is magnificent. It has set an ambitious goal to become Africa's Singapore or Dubai by the end of 2035 according to what the President of the Djibouti Chamber of Commerce and the Minister of Economy and Finance of Djibouti said.^{281 282}

Taken as a whole, the China-Djibouti economic cooperation can be complementary and mutually beneficial. Although the cooperative agreement between China and Djibouti was signed on the sideline of the 2nd Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation in 2019, the China-Djibouti economic cooperation under the BRI framework, which began as the seaport and the free trade zone were launched in 2017. China's BRI has been aligned with the Vision Djibouti 2035. Djibouti's current level of economic development is low. Thus, it has sought financing for its infrastructure constructions. For China, the BRI is global strategy that links transportations and infrastructures together. By signing the cooperative accord of the BRI, Djibouti becomes a new

²⁸⁰ Crabtree, Justina. "While China slaps tariffs on the US, it's also championing free trade in Africa." CNBC. July 6, 2018. <<https://www.cnbc.com/2018/07/06/china-and-djibouti-open-free-trade-zone-in-africa.html>>

²⁸¹ "Djibouti Turns to its Peers for Advice on Reaching its Goals." World Bank. November 5, 2014. <<https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2014/11/05/djibouti-turns-to-its-peers-for-advice-on-reaching-its-goals>>

²⁸² "The man who wants to make Djibouti the next Dubai." The National. March 17, 2015.

<<https://www.thenational.ae/business/the-man-who-wants-to-make-djibouti-the-next-dubai-1.46688>>

market for Chinese construction companies, which would help Djibouti rapidly develop its infrastructure facilities.

The BRI also covers Ethiopia, one of Djibouti's neighboring countries. Although Ethiopia is a strong economy in East Africa, it is a landlocked country. The geographic location of Ethiopia forced it to rely on Djibouti in regard to 95 percent of Ethiopia's imports.²⁸³ Under the BRI framework, China took the advantage of Ethiopia's economic power and Djibouti's geographic location in order to build an electric railroad between the two countries. Therefore, Ethiopia's commodities could be conveniently transported to the rest of the world through the seaport and the free trade zone in Djibouti.

There is no doubt for the government of Djibouti to modernize its country by requiring a large amount of money from the rest of the world. Currently, Djibouti's total debts account for 84 percent of Djibouti's GDP. However, Djibouti is not worried about it.²⁸⁴ The government of Djibouti anticipates paying off all debts to China before the due date because the seaport and the free trade zone would produce economic profits. Additionally, the completion of the two infrastructures would attract more countries to use the port and the free trade zone to expand their levels of economic development.

The close economic cooperation between the two countries has paved the way for the elevation of political relations. During a state visit to China in November 2017, President Guelleh

²⁸³ Crabtree, Justina. "While China slaps tariffs on the US, it's also championing free trade in Africa." CNBC. July 6, 2018. <<https://www.cnbc.com/2018/07/06/china-and-djibouti-open-free-trade-zone-in-africa.html>>

²⁸⁴ "The Singapore of Africa': tiny nation of Djibouti finds itself at strategic crossroads as superpowers vie for influence." Associated Press. April 9, 2018. <<https://www.scmp.com/news/world/africa/article/2140936/singapore-africa-tiny-nation-djibouti-finds-itself-strategic>>

and President Xi jointly announced to upgrade their relations to a strategic partnership.²⁸⁵ President Guelleh became the first African head of state that paid a state visit to China after the conclusion of the 19th CPC National Congress.

In order to deepen the strategic partnership between the two countries, President Xi invited President Guelleh to attend the 2nd Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation. As a country located in the Horn of Africa, Djibouti perceived this advantage as an opportunity to open its gate and boom its economy. When meeting with President Xi, President Guelleh appreciated China's efforts to promote international development and cooperation, as well as to build an interconnected world under the BRI framework. By participating in the BRI, Djibouti is able to move forward towards a brighter future, and by creating more jobs for the younger generation of Djiboutian people, Djibouti's goal to be an emerging economy could be achieved by 2035.

The most recent event that attracted the global attention regarding China-Djibouti relations was China's first overseas military base in Djibouti. The reason that China selected Djibouti to set its first overseas military base can be classified into three reasons. From a political perspective, Djibouti has never recognized Taiwan as a sovereign nation. Over the past six years, the high-level exchange between China and Djibouti has increased. President Guelleh came to China for the state visit, the FOCAC summit, and the BRI summit in three consecutive years. In 2014, Prime Minister Abdoukader Kamil visited China for the closing ceremony of the 2014 Nanjing Summer Youth Olympic Games. Then-vice President of China Li Yuanchao paid an official visit to Djibouti in 2016. Additionally, the absence of internal turmoil determines China to choose Djibouti to set

²⁸⁵ "China, Djibouti agree to establish strategic partnership." Xinhua News Agency. November 23, 2017. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-11/23/c_136774764.htm>

its first military base. In comparison to Djibouti's neighboring countries such as Somalia and Yemen, the political situation of Djibouti has been more stable. Since coming to power, President Guelleh has stressed the importance of harmony. It is too risky for the government of Djibouti to grant many freedoms to their citizens in a region that has many conflicts.²⁸⁶ Thus, it is unlikely for Djibouti to become the second Somalia in East Africa under the leadership of President Guelleh. From an economic perspective, Djibouti is located at the juncture between the Red Sea, the Mandab Strait, and the Indian Ocean, making it an important station for Chinese ships to perform their logistical works. In terms of security perspective, the military base plays a role in upholding regional stability and providing humanitarian aids. When Libya's situation deteriorated, the PLA assisted the Chinese compatriots living in Libya in moving out. When Somalian pirates threatened the regional stability, the Chinese navy has escorted the Chinese ships that travel through the Red Sea region and protected the safety of humanitarian materials provided by the World Food Program since 2008. Given the fact that Djibouti and China have a long geographic distance between them, it is inconvenient for the Chinese military institution to directly deploy the Chinese navy from China to East Africa when needed. Hence, by building this military base, the Chinese naval ships participating in peacekeeping and providing humanitarian aids can be housed, rested, and resotred. Additionally, the Chinese navy would work with other countries to fight against Somalian pirates in order to guarantee transportation security in the area.

Above all, China perceived Djibouti as an excellent country to create its first overseas military base due to Djibouti's ideal geographic location, the sound political relationship between the two

²⁸⁶ Pieper, Dietmar. "How Djibouti Became China's Gateway to Africa." Spiegel Online. February 8, 2018. <<https://www.spiegel.de/international/world/djibouti-is-becoming-gateway-to-africa-for-china-a-1191441.html>>

countries, and China's needs to safeguard its citizens in the region. In a microscopic perspective, building a military base in Djibouti is helpful for China to provide logistical services to ships passing through the Horn of Africa. On a macroscopic level, China's ultimate purpose for building a military base in Djibouti was to uphold regional security and stability.

China-Liberia Relations

Compared to Djibouti, Liberia has switched diplomatic relations between the PRC and Taiwan for several times. Taiwan established the so-called diplomatic relationship with Liberia for the first time in 1957. In 1977, Liberia decided to recognize the one-China principle and established diplomatic relations with the PRC. In 1989, Liberia played the "two China" card again, switching its diplomatic allegiance to re-recognize Taiwan. Therefore, the PRC suspended its diplomatic relations with Liberia. In 1993, the PRC and Liberia resumed their diplomatic relations. However, when Lee was leader of the Taiwan authority, he advocated to use the "money diplomacy" to attract small, weak, and indigent countries to recognize Taiwan. In 1997, the Lee administration was successfully convinced the government of Liberia, led by President Charles Taylor, resume diplomatic relations with Taiwan. After Chen was elected as the leader of the Taiwan authority, he continued to implement the "money diplomacy" initiated by Lee. Although the Chen administration successfully convinced three Pacific and Caribbean countries to recognize Taiwan between 2000 and 2008, Taiwan lost nine countries that had used to maintain the so-called diplomatic relationship, including Liberia. During this time, the one-China principle became a universal consensus of the international community. The PRC was committed to reconstructing Liberia and deploying peacekeeping troops to defend the stability of Liberia's

society after Liberia's civil war. Economic aid and security assurance were two pillars that led to the resumption of diplomatic relations between China and Liberia in 2003.²⁸⁷

In Ellen Sirleaf's presidential tenure, Liberia maintained a stable and friendly relationship with China. Particularly, China provided urgent humanitarian assistance to Liberia when Liberia was undergoing the Ebola crisis. From 2014 to 2015, three Western African countries, including Liberia, Guinea, and Sierra Leone, were affected by the Ebola outbreak. China sent more than 11,000 medical staff to West African countries suffered severely due to the Ebola virus.²⁸⁸

On August 11th, 2014, President Xi sent a message of condolence to President Sirleaf on behalf of the Chinese government and the Chinese people. In the message, President Xi stressed that he would provide any imperative assistances to Liberia according to the request of the government of Liberia. The Ebola crisis could be analogical to an emergency order. In response to Liberia's severe circumstance, China sent more than 1,000 medical professionals and staffs to Liberia, becoming the country that dispatched the most medical teams to help cope with the Ebola crisis. Besides human resources, China provided at least \$2 million worth of food and \$1 million in funding²⁸⁹ as well as donating ambulances and anti-Ebola drugs to Liberia²⁹⁰. On November 25th, 2014, China created a treatment center in Liberia to help local people receive

²⁸⁷ "Taiwan plays down Liberia blow." BBC News. October 13, 2003. <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/3186334.stm>>

²⁸⁸ Wang, Long, Joshua Bateman. "China's Medical Aid in Africa, China is doing more than building roads in Africa. It's also curing patients." The Diplomat. March 14, 2018. <<https://thediplomat.com/2018/03/chinas-medical-aid-in-africa/>>

²⁸⁹ *Remarks by Ambassador ZHANG Yue at the Signing Ceremony of the Exchange of Notes on the New-round Assistance of China to Liberia for Combating Ebola*. Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of Liberia. September 24, 2014. <<http://lr.china-embassy.org/chn/sghdhzxxx/t1194507.htm>>

²⁹⁰ Huang, Yanzhong. "China's Response to the 2014 Ebola Outbreak in West Africa." *Advanced Science News*. 2017. <<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1002/gch2.201600001>>

better medical treatment.²⁹¹ On March 5th, 2015, the final Ebola patient was healed in the treatment center. Between November 25th, 2014 and March 5th, 2015, a total of 160 Liberian patients were diagnosed in the treatment center, and 100 out of the 160 patients were living in the center for further treatment.²⁹² With the assistance from the Chinese medical professionals, Liberia successfully fought against the Ebola crisis within seven months. At the end of the Ebola outbreak, President Sirleaf showed her appreciation of the support and humanitarian assistance from the Chinese government and the people by paying a state visit to China in November 2015. She emphasized that China was the first country that provided the urgent medical assistance to Liberia during the crisis. What China did for Liberia demonstrated a Chinese proverb, “a friend in need is a friend indeed.”

The Ebola outbreak was considered to be a threat of non-traditional security towards Liberia and the other relevant Western African countries. Therefore, China took this opportunity to create a new type of global governance in regard to health. After defeating the Ebola, Liberia would face a large variety of obstacles. The Ebola outbreak indicated fragile health systems in Liberia. Recovering from the outbreak required government agencies, hospitals, research institutions, and medical staffs to prevent the similar epidemic outbreak from taking place in the future. If it takes place again, government agencies, hospitals, research institutions, and medical staffs should immediately detect the virus and take actions to constrain its rampant spread. Given the fact that Liberia’s weak health system and poor level of economic development, the

²⁹¹ “Cui Li leads Chinese government delegation visiting Liberia.” China Daily. December 15, 2014.

<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/m/touchroad/2014-12/15/content_19086967.htm>

²⁹² “The final Ebola infected patient was recovered and left from the treatment center.” Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in the Republic of Liberia. March 13, 2015. <<http://lr.china-embassy.org/chn/sghdhzxxx/t1245466.htm>>

international community should be obligated to assist Liberia in establishing a more comprehensive healthcare system and health emergency management system. Financial aid, vaccines, medical equipment, and human resources should be provided by the World Health Organization and other countries. In a letter to President Sirleaf, President Xi stressed that “China is willing to actively participate in ‘post-Ebola’ economic and social reconstruction, and will strengthen the friendly cooperation of mutual benefit in various areas between the two countries so as to bring more benefits to the two peoples.”²⁹³

After George Weah was elected as President of Liberia, he continued to maintain a friendly attitude towards China. In his inauguration speech, Weah even said “thank you” in mandarin.²⁹⁴ He believed that China was Liberia’s most trustful partner. The best example to illustrate the sound cooperation between the two countries is the Samuel Kanyan Doe Sports Complex built by China where Weah’s presidential inauguration ceremony was hosted.

The China-Liberia bilateral relationship during the Weah administration would continue to grow in regard to cultural exchange. Weah used to be a world-class soccer star while China is a country that has many soccer fans. Despite the fact that China lagged far behind traditional soccer powerhouses, President Weah would use his soccer background and network to play a unique role in boosting China’s soccer capacity.

China-Libya Relations

²⁹³ “Chinese president congratulates Liberia on its Ebola-free victory.” China Daily. May 25, 2015.

<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2015-05/25/content_20814954.htm>

²⁹⁴ *Inaugural Speech by H.E. President George Weah*. Executive Mansion of the Republic of Liberia. January 22, 2018.

<https://www.emansion.gov.lr/doc/Inaugural%20Speech%20By%20H.E.%20President%20George%20Manneh%20Weah_1.pdf>

The diplomatic relationship between China and Libya was formalized in 1978 when Gaddafi served as Libya's supreme leader. However, China and Libya began their official contact during the Mao era. Although China and Libya did not formalize the diplomatic relationship, Abdessalem Jalloud, the second highest-ranking politician in the Gaddafi administration, visited China in 1970. The purpose of this visit was straightforward and simple. Libya was eager to purchase nuclear weapons from China in order to be a superpower in Middle East under the leadership of Gaddafi. China respectively conducted two nuclear tests, including the first atomic bomb and the first thermonuclear weapon in 1964 and 1967. Gaddafi was inspired to purchase nuclear weapons from China was due to China's economic development and the Taiwan issue. The new China had only been founded for 21 years, and it was imperative for the Chinese government to have sufficient funds to promote its economic construction. Gaddafi perceived cooperation with China as an excellent opportunity regarding nuclear weapons. During Jalloud's visit to China, he committed to using a large amount of money to purchase China's nuclear weapons and to acknowledge the one-China principle. On the one hand, the Chinese government firmly refused Libya's request. In terms of Chairman Mao's tradition, he needed to meet with foreign dignitaries from developing countries when they were visiting China. This time, Chairman Mao declined to meet with Jalloud. On the other hand, Libya is a developing country in Africa. Due to the traditional partnership between China and Africa, China was willing to provide Libya academic support. In a meeting with Jalloud, Premier Zhou said that China could offer Libya assistance in the area of nuclear research instead of selling nuclear weapons to Libya.²⁹⁵ As a result, Gaddafi's

²⁹⁵ Richelson, Jeffery. *Spying on the Bomb: American Nuclear Intelligence from Nazi Germany to Iran and North Korea*. 1st ed. New York: Norton, 2006.

ambition to obtain nuclear weapons from China was broken. Although China needed strong financial assistance to develop, the Taiwan issue and nuclear weapons were pertinent to China's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and state security. The Taiwan issue and purchasing nuclear weapons were not coupled, and the acknowledgement of the one-China principle could not be obtained by the use of money. China could not and would not satisfy with Libya's unreasonable request, which bribed China with the exchange of the acceptance of the one-China principle and nuclear weapons.

The government of Libya led by Gaddafi officially recognized the PRC by supporting the restoration of China's seat at the U.N. in 1971. Two reasons determined the change of Gaddafi's attitude: first, there is no doubt that China's international prestige had been raised as years went by; and second, China supported Palestine's liberation movement against Israel, which Gaddafi also supported.²⁹⁶ However, Libya did not cut off the so-called diplomatic relationship with Taiwan until 1978. Gaddafi's attitude towards the one-China principle was ambiguous and hesitant. In an attempt not to offend mainland China and Taiwan, he played the card of "dual recognition". On the one hand, he superficially recognized the PRC, but on the other hand, he did not want to completely abolish official contact with Taiwan. This "dual recognition" was prohibited by the Chinese government.

The changing of the international situation objectively caused the change of China-Libya relations. The Lockerbie Air Disaster, which occurred on December 21st, 1988, led to fatalities of 270 people, shocking the world. In 1991, the U.S. and the U.K. accused two Libyan citizens of

²⁹⁶ Hodzi, Obert. *The end of China's non-intervention policy in Africa*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

planning and executing the attack through an incident investigation. Libya refused to hand over these two citizens, who were accused of bombing the aircraft, to the International Court. As a result, the U.N. Security Council adopted a resolution to impose a sanction on Libya in 1992.²⁹⁷ Libya's international reputation had been severely damaged. Due to Libya's isolation from the international community, Gaddafi's attitude towards China began to shift. In 1996, then-Vice Premier and Foreign Minister of China Qian Qichen paid an official visit to Libya. In a meeting with Libya's prime minister, Qian stated China's stance regarding the Libya issue. He said that the international sanction would intensify the issues between Libya and the international community. Peaceful negotiation was the right choice for Libya and the international community in order to create an amicable relationship. Then-Foreign Minister of Libya, Umar Mustafa Al-Muntassar, appreciated China's stance regarding the issue and reiterated to abide by the one-China principle. He was committed to not developing official relationship with Taiwan and opposed any countries that utilized the Taiwan issue to intervene in China's domestic affairs.²⁹⁸ The China-Libya bilateral relationship began to move forward in the 1990s.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the China-Libya relationship achieved a breakthrough. Then-Chinese president Jiang paid a historic state visit to Libya at the invitation of Gaddafi in 2002, which has been the first and the only time that China's head of state has visited Libya thus far. After the bilateral talk between Jiang and Gaddafi, they delivered a joint communique.²⁹⁹ In the political field, Libya was committed to acknowledging the one-China principle. In response to

²⁹⁷ *United Nations Security Council Resolution 748*. March 31, 1992. <<http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/748>>

²⁹⁸ Olimat, Muhamad. *China and North Africa Since World War II: A Bilateral Approach*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014.

²⁹⁹ *Zhongguo he libiya xinwen gongbao. Communique between China and Libya*. April 14, 2002. <<http://www.people.com.cn/GB/shizheng/16/20020415/709575.html>>

Libya's commitment, China agreed to completely lift the international sanction imposed on Libya. In the economic field, Libya had abundant petroleum resources, and China wanted to conduct cooperation with Libya regarding those resources. To develop Libya's tourism, China would encourage more Chinese citizens to travel in Libya in the future. Meanwhile, China was not reluctant to help build infrastructures in Libya. The China-Libya relationship was at an all-time high, and President Jiang invited Gaddafi to visit China again. However, Gaddafi had not made his visit to China happen by the time his regime was overthrown.

In 2003, the collapse of Saddam Hussein's regime sent a strong alert to Gaddafi, who needed to improve Libya's relations with the Western countries and the international community as a whole. Therefore, Gaddafi began to implement a foreign strategy that over-ingratiated with the Western countries. First, the government of Libya promised to dismantle all of its weapons of mass destruction under the supervision of the international community.³⁰⁰ Second, the government of Libya officially announced its responsibility for the Lockerbie Air Disaster and committed to compensating the victims' families a total of \$2.7 billion.³⁰¹ Due to Libya's pragmatic actions, the sanction that had been imposed on Libya for 15 years was finally lifted by the U.N. Security Council.³⁰² After this, Libya and the U.S. successively determined to open their diplomatic liaison offices in their capitals in 2004.³⁰³ With the improvement of Libya's

³⁰⁰ Lansford, Tom. *Historical Dictionary of U.S. Diplomacy since the Cold War*. Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, Inc. 2007.

³⁰¹ Wald, Matthew. "Libya is offering to pay \$2.7 billion for Pan AM blast." *New York Times*. May 29, 2002. <<https://www.nytimes.com/2002/05/29/world/libya-is-offering-to-pay-2.7-billion-for-pan-am-blast.html>>

³⁰² "Security Council lifts sanctions against Libya imposed after Lockerbie bombing." *UN News*. September 12, 2003. <<https://news.un.org/en/story/2003/09/79172-security-council-lifts-sanctions-against-libya-imposed-after-lockerbie-bombing>>

³⁰³ "History of the U.S. and Libya." Official Website of U.S. Embassy in Libya. <<https://ly.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/io/>>

international reputation, the bilateral relationship between Libya and the Western countries started to ameliorate, while Libya's relations with China started to become estranged.

In 2006, Saif al-Islam, the second son of Gaddafi, traveled to Taiwan to meet with Chen Shuibian, then-leader of the Taiwan authority.³⁰⁴ Chen took this opportunity to form a close friendship between him and Saif as well as to establish a sound working relationship between the Taiwan authority and the Gaddafi regime. Chen was affiliated with Taiwan's Democratic and Progressive Party, and the official color of the Party is green, which has the same color as the national flag of Libya during the Gaddafi regime. The green color naturally fostered a close link between Taiwan and Libya. Saif, who studied in the U.K., earning a doctorate degree at the London School of Economics, had been deeply influenced by Western thoughts. Although Saif did not serve as any political positions in the government of Libya, he was strongly trusted by his father. What Saif said would eventually impact Gaddafi's decision-making. As a potential successor of Gaddafi, Saif's political influence was greater than his other siblings.

Chen had initially planned to make a stop in the U.S. after his visit to Paraguay and Costa Rica³⁰⁵ was concluded. However, the U.S. refused to issue Chen a visa. To be thankful for Saif's visit to Taiwan, Chen chose Libya to stop over in May 2006, and Libya insisted on issuing the visa to Chen, which made China infuriated because China firmly opposed the Taiwanese separatists to establish any types of official contact with any sovereign states that maintain an official

³⁰⁴ Chiu, Yu-Tzu. "Taiwan and Libya to revitalize links." Taipei Times. January 19, 2006. <<http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2006/01/19/2003289648>>

³⁰⁵ Paraguay and Costa Rica were two so-called diplomatic allies of Taiwan in 2006. One year later, Costa Rica cut off the so-called diplomatic relationship with Taiwan and officially established the diplomatic relationship on June 1, 2007.

diplomatic relationship with China.³⁰⁶ Although Chen's visit to Libya was a stopover, the bilateral talk between Gaddafi and Chen could be considered as an official contact between the government of Libya and the Taiwan authority.³⁰⁷ Gaddafi's hospitality regarding Chen's stopover intervened in China's domestic affairs, severely damaging bilateral relations between China and Libya.

In the second half of 2006, the China-Libya relationship was deteriorated further. Gaddafi protested Beijing hosting the FOCAC summit in 2006 and campaigned other African leaders not to show up. Although China originally sent an invitation to the Gaddafi administration, Gaddafi dispatched a vice-ministerial-ranking official to China for the FOCAC summit. Compared to other African delegations represented by presidents, prime ministers, the deputy head of state, and foreign ministers at the 2006 FOCAC Beijing Summit, the head of Libya delegation was a very low-ranking official, who was not received by any Chinese leaders on the sideline of the 2006 FOCAC Beijing Summit. The China-Libya bilateral relationship tumbled to its lowest level in history since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Libya in 1978.

In the second decade of the 21st century, the China-Libya relationship began to thaw. In 2010, as Chairman of the Gaddafi International Charity and Development Foundation, Saif paid a friendly visit to China for the Shanghai World Expo. He respectively attended the celebration day of the Libya Pavilion and the celebration day of the China Pavilion at the world expo site. China viewed Saif's visit as having great importance, as it was the first high-level exchange between the

³⁰⁶ "Taiwan's Chen stops over in Libya." BBC. May 11, 2006. <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/4760471.stm>>

³⁰⁷ "chuan chen shuibian guojing libiyashi mihui kazhaifei." (Chen Shuibian secretly met with Gaddafi during his stopover in Libya). Sina News. May 18, 2006. <<http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2006-05-18/11468959839s.shtml>>

two countries of the decade. Although Saif was a chairman of Libya's non-governmental foundation, he was treated as a foreign dignitary equivalent to a deputy head of state by the Chinese government during his visit. On the sideline of the world expo celebration, Saif was received by Wu Bangguo, then-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. It was a ceremonial meeting between the two leaders, and they used grandiose words such as "China and Libya share a long tradition of friendship" and "China-Libya relations are at the best period in history" to describe the close relationship between China and Libya.³⁰⁸

Gaddafi's strategy in regard to China could be described as "malleable" and "opportunistic". When Gaddafi needed assistance from China, he attempted to develop friendly relations. When Libya's relationship with the western countries was optimized, he put his relationship with China aside and sought to develop good relations with Taiwan. Hence, Gaddafi has never been called as "an old friend of the Chinese people" in China's diplomatic language.³⁰⁹

Due to the Arab Spring and the Libya's civil war, Gaddafi needed to control Libya's domestic situation and prevent his regime from being overthrown. Therefore, Gaddafi did not have sufficient energy to outline the future development of China-Libya relations. The high-level of political exchange between the two countries was halted. After the collapse of the Gaddafi regime, the Government of National Accord (GNA) was officially established in 2015 according to the "Libyan Political Agreement".³¹⁰ However, the change of the Libyan regime created a new

³⁰⁸ "China's top legislator meets Libyan guest." Government of the People's Republic of China. October 1, 2010. <http://www.gov.cn/english/2010-10/01/content_1714590.htm>

³⁰⁹ "an old friend of the Chinese people" is a diplomatic language that describes foreigners who maintain close relations with China or comprehensively know about the modern China, which is frequently stated on China's official news media and speeches delivered by the Chinese leaders.

³¹⁰ *Libyan Political Agreement*. December 17, 2015.

<<https://unsmil.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/Libyan%20Political%20Agreement%20-%20ENG%20.pdf>>

issue regarding the China-Libya relationship. The domestic situation of Libya had been still chaotic. In fact, the western Libya had been controlled by the GNA while the rest of Libya has been controlled by Field Marshall Khalifa Haftar, who does not recognize the GNA. The controversy between the two major political factions of Libya led to a large number of armed conflicts. Currently, China follows the U.N. decision that recognizes the GNA as the only legal government representing Libya in the international community. The relationship between China and the GNA has steadily improved. Fayez al-Sarraj, Chairman of the Presidential Council and Prime Minister of the GNA reiterated his support of Libya's infrastructure reconstruction which Chinese enterprises assist. During an interview conducted by the Xinhua News Agency in 2018, Chairman al-Sarraj expressed a strong aspiration that Chinese enterprises would return to Libya as soon as possible because they played an important role in Libya's economic construction and gained a sound reputation.³¹¹

China and Libya signed the cooperative agreement regarding the BRI in July 2018,³¹² marking the pragmatic cooperation between the two countries to entering the new era. Although the cooperative agreement of the BRI between the two countries was signed, the only obstruction that prevented China from developing its relations with Libya under the leadership of the GNA was Libya's domestic situation. The deteriorating security situation forced foreign companies to leave Libya since the collapse of the Gaddafi regime. Under this special circumstance, Libya was urgent for foreign investment that could help the people of Libya recover from armed conflicts.

³¹¹ "Interview: Libya welcomes return of Chinese enterprises, PM says ahead of FOCAC Beijing summit." Xinhua News Agency. August 31, 2018. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-08/31/c_137434072.htm>

³¹² "Libya joins China's Belt and Road Initiative." *The Libya Observer*. July 13, 2018. <<https://www.libyaobserver.ly/economy/libya-joins-china%E2%80%99s-belt-and-road-initiative>>

For Libya, it is imperative for the two major political factions to end their hostilities and form a unified government under which their leaders can agree. At this point, it is regretful that Chairman al-Sarraj and Haftar have not reached a consensus regarding how Libya's political system will benefit its people. The ongoing domestic conflicts between the two major political factions have killed more than 400 civilians and wounded more than 2,000 civilians.³¹³ Without a stable political environment, China's assistance to Libya's economic construction cannot be fully implemented.

Compared to China's relations with other three African countries including South Africa, Liberia, and Djibouti, the China-Libya relationship in the Gaddafi administration and under the leadership of the GNA is a normal state-to-state relationship. The China-Libya bilateral relationship is not as close as bilateral relations between China and another three countries in the 21st century. Throughout history, the China-Libya relationship has been stable in general although there were some challenges and frustrations.

All in all, there have been many achievements regarding the relationship between China and Africa. However, the China-Africa cooperation has been criticized by African labor unions, African civil society groups, and Western countries. African labor unions and civil society groups criticize China's enterprises for having poor labor conditions and for causing damage to Africa's ecological environment. Thus, resentment has built up between African people and Chinese enterprises. Western countries have created rumors, including the existence of China's "debt trap" in regard to African countries and China's "new colonialism" in Africa. For instance, China is willing to help

³¹³ "Abhorrent' ambulance attack in Libyan capital imperils life – saving work, warns UN." UN News. May 9, 2019. <<https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/05/1038182>>

African countries build infrastructures, but loans with high interest rates lead to African countries owing enormous debts, making them unable to pay off China's loans. In order to pay off China's loans, African countries have needed to give their parts of sovereignty to China. Meanwhile, corruption has run rampant in Africa. China's investment in Africa only benefits African politicians instead of benefiting their people.³¹⁴

Challenges and Solutions of the China-Africa Cooperation

China's Loans to African Countries

Chinese loans to African countries are mainly used for infrastructure projects. Since the establishment of the Forum of China-Africa Cooperation in 2000, the Chinese government has loaned African countries more than \$74 billion to improve their infrastructure constructions, including roads, railway roads, harbors, airports, and electric power projects.³¹⁵ In 2017, the Export-Import Bank of China has committed \$153 million in concessional loans in Zimbabwe to renovate the Mugabe International Airport in Harare. After renovation, the total passenger traffic per year of the Robert Mugabe International Airport will increase to 6 million, becoming one of the largest international airports in sub-Saharan Africa.³¹⁶ Meanwhile, concerns regarding China's economic assistance in Africa have been raised. Most concerns focus on debts. After China's

³¹⁴ Hanauer, Larry, Lyle Morris. *Chinese Engagement in Africa, Drivers, Reactions, and Implications for U.S. Policy*. Rand Corporation. 2014.

³¹⁵ Eom, Janet, Deborah Brautigam, and Lina Benabdallah. "The Path Ahead: The 7th Forum on China-Africa Cooperation." School of Advanced International Studies in Johns Hopkins University. <<https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5652847de4b033f56d2bdc29/t/5c467754898583fc9a99131f/1548121941093/Briefing+Paper+1+-+August+2018+-+Final.pdf>>

³¹⁶ "Zimbabwe's premier airport to undergo Chinese-funded facelift." Xinhua News Agency. July 24, 2018. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-07/24/c_137345428.htm>

financial assistance, African countries will not be able to pay off the loans that the Chinese government provides.

However, it is essential to point out that Africa's debt issue is not created by China. China argues that its foreign economic assistance to African countries will not push them into the "Chinese debt trap" because the Western countries also provide economic assistance to African countries with high interest rates. For instance, Africa has 14 low-income countries at the highest risk of debt distress. The Chinese loans are relatively small and have not contributed to debt problems in these 14 countries. China does not provide any loans in The Gambia, and China only holds less than 2 percent of Cape Verde's debt. Sao Tome and Principe is a small islands country, and it does not borrow many loans from China. As far as South Sudan, Burundi, Central Africa Republic, Chad, and Mauritania, their debt distresses are primarily due to the economic collapse from civil conflicts.

Since 2000, Ethiopia has borrowed loans from China, the World Bank, the Middle East, and other Western countries. However, the loans from the World Bank and developed countries are much higher than the loans from China. In Cameroon, its debt owed to China accounts for less than a third of its total debt. China provides loans to Mozambique of more than \$2.3 billion, but its total loans make up more than \$10 billion. Meanwhile, Ghana's debt is \$25 billion, but China's loans to Ghana are less than \$4 billion. China is a small contributor to Zimbabwe's debt, and 77 percent of Zimbabwe's debt is owed to the Paris Club member states. China's debt to Sudan is relatively small, while most debt that Sudan owes is equally divided amongst the Paris Club member states. Taken as a whole, China does not play a role in creating the "debt trap" in Africa.

Paul Kagame, President of Rwanda, defends China's economic assistance in Africa. He states that the so-called Chinese debt trap attempts to discourage the China-Africa relationship that is cooperative and interactive.³¹⁷ Cyril Ramaphosa, President of South Africa, also refutes the idea regarding China's colonialism in Africa since the China-Africa relationship forged through the FOCAC is "premised on the fundamental and inalienable right of the African people to determine their own future. It is premised on the Africa Union's Agenda 2063, a vision that has been crafted in Africa, by Africans." Hage Geingob, President of Namibia, stated that China's loans offered to Namibia are interest-free loans, only accounting for 2.6 percent of Namibia's total debts. The China-Namibia loans accord was negotiated in terms of Namibia's capacity before it was implemented. China did not force Namibia to sign the loans agreement. Meanwhile, China never colonized them when providing economic assistance to African countries, which is completely different from Western countries.³¹⁸

Although China did not create the "debt trap" for African countries, African countries sometimes do not have the capacity to pay off debts. Harry Verhoeven, founder of the Oxford University China-Africa Network, said that "Beijing has in reality been stung by the mounting criticism in Africa, South America, and the West about the unexpectedly high financial and political cost of its infrastructure diplomacy in general, and BRI in particular."³¹⁹ He expected that the debt concern and its solutions would be addressed by the Chinese government. In response

³¹⁷ "China's Xi offers \$60bn in financial support to Africa." Al Jazeera. September 3, 2018.

<<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/09/china-xi-offers-60bn-financial-support-africa-180903100000809.html>>

³¹⁸ "China says U.S. politicians should have 'healthy attitude' towards helping Africa." Xinhua News Agency. May 22, 2019. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-05/22/c_138081005.htm>

³¹⁹ Chen, Laurie. "China defends belt and road strategy against debt trap claims." South China Morning Post. March 5, 2019. <<https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/2188577/china-defends-belt-and-road-strategy-against-debt-trap-claims>>

to the mounting criticism, the Chinese government came up with several approaches to resolve the debt issue. With regards to the countries that suffer from debt distress, the Chinese government has provided debt relief. In the remarks delivered by President Xi at the opening ceremony of the 2018 FOCAC Beijing Summit, China promised to waive debts owed by least developed African countries. However, in other words, waiving debts would cause another financial issue. Countries would intentionally try to find reasons that do not have a capacity to pay off debts.

Regarding the Nairobi-Mombasa railway built by China, the Western media criticized that natural resources were being exploited by China, and the reason that China built the railway between Nairobi and Mombasa was because abundant natural resources along the railroad. Although Nairobi and Mombasa are respectively the capital city and the transportation hub in Kenya, there are other major cities in Kenya not linking with railway. However, the second railway built by China is now operating between Nairobi and Malaba, which is called the Phase One of Nairobi-Malaba Standard Gauge Railway. Malaba is a Kenyan city bordering with Uganda. On the one hand, the completion of this railway forms a major railway across the whole country. It is convenient for people to travel from a landlocked part to coastal area of Kenya. On the other hand, the railway between Nairobi and Malaba is expected to connect to other East African countries such as Uganda, South Sudan, and Rwanda. Thus, the ultimate goal of the railway in Kenya is to form a comprehensive railway network in East Africa in the future.

In response to these rumors, China has defended and upheld its cooperation with Africa. In a keynote speech delivered by State Councilor Wang at the opening ceremony of the 2019 Coordinators' Meeting on the Implementation of the Follow-up Actions of the FOCAC Beijing

Summit, he reiterated that the criticism regarding China's "new colonialism" and "debt trap" in Africa from the Western power has attempted to damage the mutual political trust between China and Africa, which would not be accepted by the Chinese and African people.³²⁰ Colonialism refers to a colonial power that invades and occupies other countries through the use of the armed forces as well as imposing ideologies and forcing other countries to implement political and economic systems that a colonial power believes to be perfect. However, China has neither sought to occupy the territory of any African countries nor to enhance its political influence on African countries. What China has done is helping African countries resolve imperative issues that they face, such as infrastructure construction. African countries have room to improve their levels of economic development. However, backward infrastructure and a lack of sufficient funds are major bottlenecks that constrain Africa's development. For instance, the Mombasa-Nairobi railroad, which is a flagship project of the BRI, has provided convenience for more than 2.77 million passengers and more than 4.2 million tons of goods have been transported on this railroad since its operation in 2017. Meanwhile, the Mombasa-Nairobi railroad has created more than 46,000 jobs for local residents.³²¹ As a significant transportation link between a coastal city and a remote city, Kenya benefits tremendously from China's assistance, as the railroad not only boosts the development of employment, trade, investment, and transportation, but also enhances mutual understanding between the Chinese and Kenyan people. More Kenyan people use the railroad that China helped build, therefore, they appreciate China's economic assistance

³²⁰ Wang, Yi. "Keynote Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the Coordinators' Meeting on the Implementation of the Follow-up Actions of the Beijing Summit of the Forum on the China-Africa Cooperation." Forum on China-Africa Cooperation. June 25, 2019.

³²¹ "China, Kenya relations have developed with deep roots: Chinese envoy." Xinhua News Agency. May 22, 2019. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-05/22/c_138077957.htm>

from the bottom of their hearts. Indeed, the construction of the Mombasa-Nairobi railroad is a model of the South-South cooperation.

As for the “debt trap”, it was not China’s intent to push Kenya into being burdened by loans. Before signing a cooperative agreement, China and Kenya hosted several rounds of bilateral talks in order to determine if the railroad that China would help Kenya construct would bring benefits to Kenya. Kenya was not required to take loans from China. Loans were only used for the railroad project, and loans were only considered if they were necessary and in Kenya’s best interest.³²² President of Kenya, Uhuru Kenyatta, believes that China is a strong partner that supports Kenya’s infrastructure construction. From his perspective, the Mombasa-Nairobi railroad is a major domestic transportation link between two important cities of Kenya, which benefits the present and the future generations of Kenyan people. In addition, at the beginning of Uhuru’s presidential term, only 30 percent of Kenyan people had access to electricity. With financial assistance from other countries, more than 60 percent of Kenyan people had access to electricity by the end of 2018. President Uhuru also said that if loans brought convenience to Kenya’s infrastructure development, he would ask more loans from other countries and international organizations. His administration already approved a series of economic and social development agendas. Visitors will see a different Nairobi with new infrastructures after one decade. The ultimate goal of infrastructure construction is to serve people and advance a country’s international prestige.³²³

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³²² Daily Nation. “Uhuru: Mombasa Port not mortgaged to China.” YouTube Video.

<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YVOV8xYPLPM>>

³²³ Daily Nation. “President Uhuru: Chinese will not take over Mombasa port over SH227bn SGR debt.” YouTube

Video. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WepqRjPgFuM>>

³²⁴ Quest Means Business. “Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta sits down with CNN’s Richard Quest.” YouTube Video.

The “new colonialism” and the “debt trap” are two majorly irresponsible statements used by the Western power to describe contemporary China-Africa relations, which demonstrates a lack of understanding regarding the history of the China-Africa cooperation and China’s current foreign policy towards Africa. The reason that the Western power has criticized the China-Africa cooperation is to drive a wedge between China and Africa, to damage the China-Africa friendship, and to prevent China from cooperating with Africa in the future. The Western power still maintains the Cold War mentality. From their perspective, it is inevitable for China and the Western power to have more competition if China keeps rising because the Western power perceives China as a big threat. The Western power is wary of China’s rise in the international community. However, China is not afraid of the Western power’s denouncements. The only thing that China needs to do is to continue to help African countries. China will not change its foreign policy and action towards Africa even though it is under pressure from the Western power. As a statement released at the end of coordinators’ meeting emphasizes, “nothing could stop the pursuit for win-win cooperation and common development by China and Africa or undermine their determination to stay united in their cooperation.”³²⁵ On October 16th, 2019, Kenya opened its second railroad that China helped construct between Nairobi and Naivasha.³²⁶ Although the total cost of this railroad is over \$1.5 billion, President Kenyatta believed that economic profits will be produced once this railroad is operating.³²⁷ He once again stated that infrastructure

<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AZjCsgHgrt4>>

³²⁵ “Joint Statement of the Coordinators’ Meeting on the Implementation of the Follow-up Actions of the Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation.” Permanent Mission of the People’s Republic of China to the United Nations. June 25, 2019. <<http://www.china-un.org/eng/zgyw/t1675984.htm/>>

³²⁶ Miriri, Duncan. “Kenya opens \$1.5 billion Chinese-built railway linking Rift Valley town and Nairobi.” Reuters. October 16, 2019. <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-kenya-railway/kenya-opens-1-5-billion-chinese-built-railway-linking-rift-valley-town-and-nairobi-idUSKBN1WV0Z0>>

³²⁷ Elmendorp, Ruud. “Kenya Opens Second Massive Phase of Massive Railway Project.” Voice of America. October

construction, investment, and job opportunity are linked. With comprehensive infrastructure systems, more companies are willing to invest. With more investments, more jobs would be offered. With more jobs, national revenues would be increased. It is likely that Kenya will be able to pay back the loans to China.

Corruption

The Western countries have criticized China's economic assistance to African countries as a way of influencing their politicians in order to help China improve its international prestige. For instance, China's Shandong Iron and Steel Company gave \$150 million to then-President of Sierra Leone Ernest Bai Koroma as a bribe to obtain the right that explores iron mines in Sierra Leone.³²⁸ Nonetheless, the Chinese government has disagreed with the Western countries' criticism. China's ultimate purpose of helping African countries build highways, railways, stadiums, and hospitals is to improve the well-being of African people, not to benefit African politicians.³²⁹

China's ruling party has promised to take a large variety of anticorruption measures to prevent China's political ecology from deteriorating. Since serving as the paramount leader of China in 2012, President Xi has launched an unprecedented anticorruption campaign that eradicates more than 400 high-ranking officials who were entangled with corruption scandals. At the same time, corruption should be prohibited when Chinese enterprises are involved in overseas projects. In a declaration released at the 2018 FOCAC Beijing Summit, China and African

16, 2019. <<https://www.voanews.com/africa/kenya-opens-second-phase-massive-railway-project>>

³²⁸ French, Howard. China's Second Continent. New York, NY: Vintage Books, 2015. Page 131.

³²⁹ Blanchard, Ben. "Corrupt government? You voted for them – China pushes back at Africa summit." Reuters. September 5, 2018. <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-africa-summit-analysis/corrupt-government-you-voted-for-them-china-pushes-back-at-africa-summit-idUSKCN1LLOEV>>

countries are committed to having a “zero tolerance” attitude towards corruption.³³⁰ As far as a more detailed action, China is willing to help African countries train 100 anticorruption officials between 2019 and 2021 to supervise the process of the China-Africa cooperation.³³¹

Obstacles in Cultural Difference

The China-Africa cooperation also face challenges in regard to medical assistance. Some Chinese doctors have limited English skills and have to rely on interpreters or translation apps when treating African patients. Africa has thousands of different local languages. If both Chinese doctors and African patients cannot communicate with each other in English, they have to use hand gestures to describe what they want to say.

Chinese professionals and experts who work in African countries for a long time also miss their families and hometowns. China and Africa are far away from each other, so it is impossible for Chinese professionals and experts to travel back to China to visit their families frequently. They definitely miss their families in spare time. It is fortunate for people to live in the 21st century due to the rapid development of chatting tools. The only way to stay in touch with their families is video-chatting on WeChat.

Taken as a whole, it is crucial for China and Africa to create a permanent consulting mechanism in order to charter the future cooperative strategies and resolve all existing issues

³³⁰ *Beijing Declaration, Toward an Even Stronger China-Africa Community with a Shared Future*. FOCAC.
<https://www.focac.org/eng/zywx_1/zywj/t1594324.htm>

³³¹ *Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Beijing Action Plan (2019-2021)*. FOCAC.
<https://www.focac.org/eng/zywx_1/zywj/t1594297.htm>

regarding China-Africa relations. The focal point of the following chapter will be the evolvement of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation.

Chapter Seven: Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC)

Establishment of the FOCAC

Under the framework of multilateralism and global governance, the cooperation between China and Africa has formed a unique path of development. Created in 2000, the FOCAC is a comprehensive cooperative mechanism including political dialogue, economic development, cultural exchange, and regional security between China and Africa. Currently, the FOCAC is comprised of China, a total of 53 African countries that maintain bilateral diplomatic relations with China, as well as the A.U. As for the format of the FOCAC, it includes the summit, the ministerial-level conference, and the coordinators' meeting. The summit refers to the conference that the heads of state or government are allowed to participate in. All important issues regarding the China-Africa cooperation are discussed and negotiated in the summit. The ministerial-level conference refers to the meeting that foreign ministers and ministers who are responsible for economic development and trade affairs can participate in. The responsibility of the ministerial-level conference is reviewing all resolutions and declarations that would be submitted to the summit for deliberation and approval. The coordinators' meeting is a type of conference that coordinators from China and African countries can participate in. China and every African country appoint one government employee to serve as the FOCAC coordinator. The responsibility of the coordinators' meeting is implementing all decisions that have been ratified in the summit.

Throughout the past two decades, the FOCAC has developed from an international conference to a new type of multilateral cooperative mechanism. The FOCAC has not only played an influential role in the China-Africa cooperation, but has also set a typical example of the South-

South cooperation in the world. A total of three factors determined the establishment and development of the FOCAC.

First, political exchange and support paved the way for more solid communication and dialogue between the two sides. What China and Africa had in common throughout history was invasion and dominance by the Western power. After gaining independence, they all faced arduous missions to develop economies and improve people's living standard. Therefore, both China and Africa belong to the Third World. During the Cold War, the Chinese government sought international recognition from developing countries and was not included in the international order that the U.S. and the Soviet Union dominated. The 1955 Bandung Conference was a milestone event for China-Africa relations, attracting nearly 30 Asian and African heads of state and government to attend. Chairman Mao was a key organizer of the conference who believed that all developing countries in Asia and Africa should become united to fight against imperialism across the globe. He advocated that state-to-state relations should be amicable and mutually respectful. Proposed by Premier Zhou, the five principles of peaceful coexistence were unanimously adopted in the conference, becoming a guiding principle for contemporary state-to-state relations in a new era. On the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, more than 40 African countries established a diplomatic relationship with China between the 1950s and 1970s.³³² In 1976, China was successfully elected to be a UN member state, and a total of 26 African countries supported China's endeavor to take over Taiwan's seat in the U.N. China finally entered the U.N. by receiving the required two-thirds majority.³³³ As Chairman Mao said in his

³³² "Dates of Establishment of Diplomatic Relations with the People's Republic of China." Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

³³³ Foot, Rosemary. *The practice of power: US relations with China since 1949*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 1995.

remarks, “It is the African brothers that carried us into the United Nations.”³³⁴ This message strongly demonstrates that China’s legal seat in the U.N. would not be gained without African countries’ concrete help and support.

Since the 1990s, the China-Africa relationship has been consolidated. China and Africa have a close interaction at the level of state leaders. From 1990 to 1998, a total of 68 African heads of state and heads of government visited China to promote political trust between China and African countries. In 1996, President Jiang Zemin paid a state visit to six African countries. He proposed to build the stable and comprehensive cooperative partnership between China and Africa that included sincerity, friendship, equal treatment, mutual benefit, and strengthening the consultation for the better future, delivering important remarks at the headquarter of the African Organization of Unity. In the same year, China supported Kofi Anna to run for the U.N. Secretary-General and Anna maintained a good relationship with China after his successful campaign. He supported China’s peaceful power transition regarding the Hong Kong issue. He was also invited to participate in the sovereignty handover ceremony of Hong Kong on July 1, 1997.

Second, economic assistance and interaction has formed mutual trust between the two sides. China helped Africa build the TAZARA Railway between 1970 and 1975, which was the largest single foreign-aid project sponsored by China. Besides the railroad construction, China assisted African countries in constructing roads, airports, telecommunications facilities, schools, hospitals, stadiums, and government buildings. China’s assistance to Africa in infrastructure construction has been linked to other types of assistance. For instance, after hospitals are built in African

³³⁴ “feizhouxiongdi bawomen taijin lianheguo (It is the African brothers that carried us into the United Nations).” People’s Daily. October 30, 2006. <<http://world.people.com.cn/GB/14549/4973753.html>>

countries, China started to dispatch medical teams to treat African patients and help train African doctors. A large number of Chinese doctors and medical experts were sent to Africa after the first Chinese medical team arrived in Algeria in 1963.³³⁵ Between 1963 and 2018, 220 million African patients have been treated by China’s medical professionals.³³⁶

Since the reform and opening-up, China has aimed to be involved in global economy by modernizing its economic system and facilitating trade networks with other countries. By allowing foreign enterprises to invest in China, more job opportunities have been offered to the Chinese people. By sending remarkable students to developed countries, China has achieved the goal of independently innovating technology. The development model with Chinese characteristics has been appreciated by African countries. They prefer to work with China to help boost their economy.

Year	Total Volume of China-Africa Trade	Africa’s Exports to China	China’s Exports to Africa
1992	\$1.75 billion	\$0.49 billion	\$1.26 billion
1995	\$2.55 billion	\$0.73 billion	\$1.82 billion
1996	\$2.63 billion	\$0.79 billion	\$1.84 billion
1997	\$4.05 billion	\$1.67 billion	\$2.38 billion
1998	\$3.91 billion	\$0.78 billion	\$3.13 billion
1999	\$4.71 billion	\$1.51 billion	\$3.20 billion

Figure 4: China-Africa Trade Cooperation in the 1990s³³⁷

³³⁵ Wang, Long, Joshua Bateman. “China’s Medical Aid in Africa, China is doing more than building roads in Africa. It’s also curing patients.” The Diplomat. March 14, 2018. <<https://thediplomat.com/2018/03/chinas-medical-aid-in-africa/>>

³³⁶ “Chinese doctors provide free medical services in Africa.” Xinhua News Agency. August 20, 2019. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-08/20/c_138322237.htm>

³³⁷ “China-Africa Research Initiative.” School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. <<http://www.sais-cari.org/data-china-africa-trade>>

The chart above denotes that the China-Africa trade cooperation grew in the 1990s. The total volume of China-Africa trade in 1990 was \$0.935 billion. However, with the rapid development of China-U.S. trade relations, the total volume of China-Africa trade in 1990 was \$6.484 billion. Although the total volume of China-Africa trade in 1998 fell to \$5.536 billion due to the Asian financial crisis, the overall trend of the China-Africa trade cooperation went up in the 1990s.

When China was experiencing a severe earthquake that led to huge casualty and property loss on May 12th, 2008, African countries provided financial aid to China. Even though Africa is an underdeveloped region, some African countries were generous in helping the Chinese people overcome the challenge. Senegal contributed 500,000 U.S. dollars to China.³³⁸ Mali donated 120,000 U.S. dollars to China.³³⁹ Compared to financial aids from European countries, African countries' financial aid were not huge. However, they expressed their sympathies from the bottom of their hearts. Although the earthquake destroyed buildings and caused many people to lose loved ones, African countries and people firmly stood with China and the Chinese people at this arduous moment. For African countries who were unable to provide monetary aids, they found a unique way to express their condolences. A total of two African countries including Cape Verde and Comoros set up a national day of mourning.³⁴⁰ On the national day of mourning, the national flags of Cape Verde and Comoros were lowered to half-mast in all government institutions to mourn the people who lost their lives in China's earthquake. President of Comoros even led all of his cabinet members to China's embassy in Comoros to stand in a silent tribute

³³⁸ "International Community offers more condolences, aid for quake-hit China." Xinhua News Agency. May 26, 2008. <<https://reliefweb.int/report/china/international-community-offers-more-condolences-aid-quake-hit-china>>

³³⁹ Ibid.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

and sign the condolence book. Although Cape Verde and Comoros are small and weak island countries that did not have a strong capacity to provide economic assistance, they used a different way to express their sadness over the victims in the earthquake, demonstrating that African countries deeply value their friendships with China.

Besides financial support, infrastructure construction, humanitarian aid, and international trade, the China-Africa cooperation style ensures that African people can independently produce economic profits for their countries. China provides any imperative assistance they can to inspire African people's incentives and to make African people mature in economic productivity. As a Chinese proverb goes, "give a man a fish, you feed him for a day; teach a man to fish, you feed him for a lifetime." This is significant in China's approach to cooperation with African countries, reflecting a goal of sustainable development through expanding human resources training. China dispatches doctors, agricultural specialists, and educators to teach African people to be more knowledgeable in medical, agricultural, and educational fields. Once African people grasp skills passed on by the Chinese people, they can be more independent and lift African people out of poverty.

Third, the change of the international situation calls on China and Africa to establish a permanent cooperative mechanism. In the 1990s, more African countries ended their civil wars, and their economies have been recovered. The total amount of African countries that had a negative growth in GDP was reduced from 14 to three in 1994. The African countries that had an over 6 percent GDP growth was raised from two to eight in 1995. The overall economic growth in Africa was 4.8 percent in 1996, breaking the record established in 1990. Thus, more Western countries, such as the U.S., France, and Japan, saw the African continent as an opportunity and

sought to establish a cooperative mechanism with African countries in the 1990s. In 1998, chaired by French President Jacques Chirac, the France-Africa Summit attracted a total of 49 African leaders to attend. At the same time, Japan and the U.N. jointly hosted the Tokyo International Conference of Africa's Development (TICAD). A total of 51 African countries, 11 Asian countries, as well as 16 European and American countries dispatched their representatives to attend. The purpose of this conference was to emphasize the importance of poverty elimination through joint efforts from the international community.³⁴¹ In March 1999, then-U.S. President Bill Clinton hosted the Conference on U.S.-Africa Partnership for the 21st Century in Washington D.C., announcing his plan to invest \$650 million in African countries.³⁴²

In 1997, some African leaders and ambassadors suggested to establish a dialogue between China and African countries. China initially rejected Africa's request because China had never established any multilateral cooperative mechanisms with other countries in the world. The lack of experience drove China not to accept the suggestion of African countries. In 1998, Tang Jiaxuan was appointed to be China's new foreign minister. Tang inherited the tradition from his predecessor of making the foreign minister's first annual international visit should be African countries. By visiting five African countries during Tang's first foreign travel in 1998, he realized the importance of China-Africa cooperation in a new light. African countries desired to strengthen their cooperation with China. In 1999, Lila Ratfandrihamanana, then-foreign minister of Madagascar visited China and met with Minister Tang. She mentioned that some developed

³⁴¹ "The Second Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD II)." Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. <<https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/africa/ticad2/index.html>>

³⁴² Clinton, Bill. "Remarks by the President to Conference on U.S.-Africa Partnership for the 21st Century." Office of the Press Secretary of the White House. March 16, 1999. <<https://clintonwhitehouse4.archives.gov/textonly/WH/New/html/19990316-947.html>>

countries had maintained the cooperative mechanism with Africa such as the France-Africa Summit, the Commonwealth of Nations Summit, the U.S.-Africa Ministerial Conference, and the TICAD. China and Africa had maintained the traditional friendship. Therefore, it was imperative for China to establish a multilateral cooperative platform with African countries. Minister Tang agreed with Madagascar's comments, chairing a meeting with other leaders of China's foreign ministry to decide if China needed to establish a multilateral forum regarding the China-Africa cooperation. Finally, leaders from China's foreign ministry believed that a variety of international affairs regarding China-Africa relations could be negotiated and resolved through the forum. The top Chinese leaders supported the foreign ministry's suggestion. President Jiang and Premier Li Peng approved foreign ministry's proposal after the submission of an official report regarding the establishment of the FOCAC.³⁴³

On the one hand, as the first China's multilateral cooperative mechanism, the FOCAC marked a milestone, and the China-Africa cooperation has been elevated into a new height. On the other hand, the FOCAC was considered to be a new exploitation and attempt of China's global governance. Though it is normal that some issues or divergences would occur, the future development of the FOCAC needs joint efforts from China and African countries to form a comprehensive and mature work procedure.

Logo and Mechanism of the FOCAC

³⁴³ "China-Africa Cooperation and Sustainable Development, Role and Function of the FOCAC."
<<http://www.wwfchina.org/content/press/publication/chinaafrica2.pdf>>



The FOCAC Logo³⁴⁴

The design of the FOCAC logo is unique and contains different meanings. The slogan “China-Africa” is written in English and French, indicating the two official languages of the FOCAC. The red “C” refers to China, and the entire logo resembles the letter “A”, representing all African countries. The red section and the green section represent a handshake between China and Africa, demonstrating that the two sides are embracing and moving their cooperation forward. The red color on the logo refers to prosperity while the green color on the logo refers to sustainable development. The middle section of the logo includes the shape of China and the shape of African continent, demonstrating that the FOCAC is centered on the cooperation between China and all African countries.

With regards to the FOCAC ministerial conferences, they were held in China and Africa on a rotational basis every three years. The 2003 FOCAC ministerial conference was held in Ethiopia, East Africa. The 2006 FOCAC summit and ministerial conference were hosted in Beijing. The 2009 FOCAC ministerial conference was held in Egypt, North Africa. The 2012 FOCAC ministerial

³⁴⁴ “FOCAC Logo and Its Connotation.” FOCAC. June 21, 2018.
<https://www.focac.org/eng/ltjj_3/ltjz/t1570486.htm>

conference was held in Beijing. The 2015 FOCAC summit and ministerial conference were hosted in Johannesburg, South Africa. The 2021 FOCAC ministerial conference will be held in Senegal, West Africa. According to the chosen locations of all FOCAC summits and ministerial conferences, a country from each subregion of African continent has an opportunity to host the FOCAC-related conference, indicating that African countries in different subregions are China's partnerships, and China treats all African countries equally.

As for the FOCAC summits, they have been hosted for three times. The three FOCAC summits have been respectively held at Beijing, Johannesburg, and Beijing in 2006, 2015, and 2018. Given the fact that a large number of heads of state and government gather together at a country, it is impossible for the FOCAC summit to be hosted every three years. Instead, the frequency of the FOCAC summit is determined by the change of the China-Africa cooperation and global situation.

If the FOCAC summit was hosted, the ministerial conference should be hosted before the opening of the summit. The ministerial conference plays a preparatory role in regard to the summit, discussing declaration draft and action plan draft, which are submitted to the summit for deliberation and approval.

The declaration and the action plan ratified by the Chinese and African leaders turned out to be the most important outcome of the FOCAC summit. China and African countries would follow these two documents to implement all cooperative projects. The declaration is a guiding document that outlines the future development of the China-Africa cooperation in the perspective of theories while the action plan is a specific document that charts the future

development of the China-Africa cooperation in the perspective of practices. The action plan is supervised and implemented through the FOCAC coordinators' meeting.

The FOCAC is considered to be a platform and opportunity for both China and African countries to discuss their common objectives in a peaceful and friendly atmosphere. China and African countries value the FOCAC because it provides a space for their leaders to gather together to summarize experiences that have accumulated since the previous China-Africa cooperation and to negotiate a large variety of significant issues impacting the future China-Africa cooperation. China and African countries will jointly implement the action plan approved by the FOCAC. Overall, the FOCAC work is classified into two sections: the conferences and the implementation. The conference includes the summit, the ministerial conference, and the coordinators' meeting, accounting for 10 percent of the FOCAC work. The implementation includes cooperation in the fields of agriculture, trade, infrastructure construction, education, and health, accounting for 90 percent of the FOCAC work. In other words, all action plans approved by the FOCAC summit are the first step of the FOCAC work. More importantly, they must put into effect after the FOCAC summit.

The FOCAC ministerial conferences and summits have been hosted seven times since its founding in 2000. Due to the dissertation length, it is not feasible to discuss all FOCAC-related conferences throughout the history. Therefore, the 2000 FOCAC ministerial conference, the 2006 FOCAC summit, the 2015 FOCAC summit, and the 2018 FOCAC summit have been selected to be discussed in the following section. The three FOCAC summits have made critical contributions to the contemporary China-Africa cooperation, while the 2000 FOCAC ministerial conference marked the official establishment of the FOCAC mechanism.

The 2000 FOCAC Ministerial Conference

The 1st FOCAC hosted in 2000 was a ministerial conference, attracting high-ranking officials from 44 African countries that maintained diplomatic relations with China. A total of four African heads of state were invited by President Jiang to China for the conference including Algeria, Tanzania, Togo, and Zambia. These four countries are located at North Africa, East Africa, West Africa, and South Africa, respectively, indicating the extensive representation of the FOCAC. As it was the first time that China hosted a conference that was based on a multilateral cooperative mechanism, the Chinese government viewed the 2000 FOCAC ministerial conference as highly significant, and the head of state of China was invited to participate in the conference. At the opening ceremony, President Jiang delivered an important speech which stressed the four major principles of the China-Africa cooperation: strengthening solidarity to promote the South-South cooperation, promoting dialogue to advance the relationship between developing countries and developed countries, working hard to participate in global affairs, and expecting a better future to establish a long-term China-Africa relationship that is stable and mutually beneficial.³⁴⁵ These four major principles of the China-Africa cooperation could be considered to be a guide regarding how China and Africa would conduct their cooperation not only in bilateral fields, but also in global affairs during the first decade of the 21st century. In the aspect of strengthening solidarity to promote the South-South cooperation, China and African countries are all developing countries. The total population of China and Africa were over 2 billion at the beginning of the 21st century. Both China and Africa should use their abundant natural and human resources to

³⁴⁵ Jiang, Zemin. "Join Hands to Welcome the New Century, Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the 2000 Beijing Ministerial Conference of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation." 2000

explore and discover their potentials of economic development. In the aspect of promoting dialogue, the world is composed of developing countries and developed countries. Although the level of economic development of developed countries is higher than the level of economic development of developing countries, developed countries should exert their influence to help developing countries reduce poverty and improve education. All countries need to strive for establishing a better world. In the aspect of participating in global affairs, China and Africa should strengthen cooperation, consultation, and coordination under the framework of multilateralism similar to the U.N. model. In addition, China and African countries should be engaged in the formulation of international rules, so that the voices of developing countries can be heard in the international community. Finally, in the aspect of establishing a long-term China-Africa relationship that is stable and mutually beneficial, the all-round China-Africa cooperation should be reinforced not only in economic development, but in other fields as well. For instance, political trust between Chinese and African leaders and people-to-people exchange among China and African countries should be boosted.

At the end of the 2000 FOCAC ministerial conference, two documents were adopted: the Beijing Declaration and the Program for the China-Africa Cooperation in Economics and Social Development. The Beijing Declaration reiterated the four major principles of the China-Africa cooperation that President Jiang proposed at the opening ceremony.³⁴⁶ Although globalization facilitated trade communication between states, globalization has made it a profit-driven move for developed countries to take advantage of short-term labors in least developed countries,

³⁴⁶ "Beijing Declaration of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation." FOCAC. October 12, 2000. <https://www.focac.org/eng/zywx_1/zywj/t606796.htm>

causing least developed countries to not benefit from globalization. Thus, the gap of economic development between wealthy countries and indigent countries has grown. In order to simultaneously resolve common issues that developing countries face, the solidarity between China and Africa should be strengthened in the international community. The establishment of the FOCAC demonstrated a new format of the South-South cooperation at the beginning of the 21st century. In the aspect of helping African countries reduce financial burdens and improve their economic capacities, the 2000 FOCAC ministerial conference approved thorough actions such as reducing tariffs on African imports, relieving debts for least developed African countries, as well as strengthening agricultural, educational, and healthcare cooperation with Africa.³⁴⁷

The 2006 FOCAC Beijing Summit

At the request of African leaders, the Chinese government hosted the FOCAC summit in 2006. A total of 48 African countries that maintained diplomatic relations with China and the A.U. participated in the summit. In the opening ceremony, President Hu proposed a number of specific actions that were instrumental for Africa to take in order to reduce poverty and to boost social development between 2006 and 2009. For instance, China committed to helping the A.U. build a new conference center in Ethiopia. China would provide a total of \$3 billion in concessional loans to African countries. Additionally, the list of commodities imported to China from Africa that would have zero tariffs grew from 190 to 440. The number of scholarships offered by China's Ministry of Education was increased from 2000 to 4000.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁷ "Program for China-Africa Cooperation in Economics and Social Development." FOCAC. October 12, 2000. <https://www.focac.org/eng/zywx_1/zywj/t606797.htm>

³⁴⁸ Hu, Jintao. "Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the 2006 Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation." (zai zhongfeihezuluntan kaimushishang de jianghua) Government of the People's Republic of China.

Overall, all specific actions proposed by President Hu concentrated on economic and cultural relations. In his remarks, President Hu did not propose as many actions as President Xi proposed, this can be attributed to the fact that President Hu is a statesman who is focused on China's domestic affairs more than international affairs.

The 2015 FOCAC Johannesburg Summit

South Africa became the first African country to host the FOCAC summit. As the only member state of the G20 and the BRICS from the African continent, South Africa had the capacity to host such a crucial summit. By hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup, South Africa's infrastructure construction placed South Africa as the first choice to host the FOCAC summit. President Xi and then-South African President Zuma invited 44 African leaders to participate in the summit.

Since Xi took office, the China-Africa cooperation has become more pragmatic. China's assistance to African countries has grown to encompass a large variety of fields, no longer concentrating solely on economic fields. In the 2015 FOCAC Johannesburg Summit, President Xi proposed to form the "five major pillars" of China-Africa relations: equal treatment in politics, win-win cooperation in economy, mutual learning in culture, mutual assistance in security, and cementing coordination in international affairs. In order for China and Africa to be able to implement the cooperation between 2015 and 2018, President Xi proposed the "ten action plans", including industrial, agricultural, infrastructure, financial, environmental, trade, women and children, healthcare, cultural, and security cooperation.³⁴⁹ The 2015 FOCAC Johannesburg

November 4, 2006. <http://www.gov.cn/ztl/zflt/content_432760.htm>

³⁴⁹ Xi, Jinping. "Unfold A New Chapter of China-Africa Win-Win Cooperation and Common Development, Address at the Opening Ceremony of the 2015 Johannesburg Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation." December 4, 2015. <<https://www.en84.com/nonfiction/remarks/201512/00016784.html>>

Summit was the first FOCAC summit that President Xi attended. On the one hand, the “ten action plans” that President Xi proposed in his keynote speech covered a large variety of cooperative fields, indicating an overall blueprint of the comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership between China and Africa. On the other hand, the number “ten” refers to perfection in the Chinese culture and tradition. By proposing a total of ten action plans, he highlighted a brighter and more prosperous future regarding the China-Africa cooperation.

The 2018 FOCAC Beijing Summit

China and South Africa were the FOCAC co-chairs between 2012 and 2018, and South Africa successfully hosted the 2015 FOCAC Johannesburg Summit. Because of the success of the 2015 FOCAC summit, it was indispensable for China to host the FOCAC summit once again in order to consolidate the achievement obtained through the Johannesburg summit. In a congratulatory message from President Xi to Jacob Zuma, then-President of South Africa, regarding the 20th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between South Africa and China, President Xi agreed to host the FOCAC summit in China with South Africa and other African countries based on President Zuma’s suggestion.³⁵⁰ On the occasion of the opening of the 31st Summit of the A.U., President Xi sent a congratulatory message and took the opportunity to invite African leaders to Beijing for the summit once again. He stated, “I look forward to participating in the Beijing summit together with African leaders to discuss plans for the development of China-

³⁵⁰ “Xi, Zuma exchange congratulations on anniversary of relations.” Xinhua News Agency. January 1, 2018. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-01/01/c_136864522.htm>

Africa cooperation so as to improve the well-being of the Chinese and African peoples and promotes global peace and development.”³⁵¹

The 2018 FOCAC Beijing Summit is considered to be one of the most magnificent international events hosted in China. The leaders from all 53 African countries that maintain diplomatic relations with China traveled to Beijing for the summit. It included a total of 40 heads of state, 10 heads of government, and one deputy head of state. In other words, only two countries did not dispatch their heads of state or government to participate in the summit. The GNA initially decided to dispatch Chairman of the President Council Fayez al-Sarraj to participate in the summit. However, Libya’s domestic situation was intensified in late August 2018. Since the overthrowing of the Gaddafi regime, Libya has been governed by different authorities. Recognized by the U.N., the GNA has been internationally recognized, and it controls Tripoli and Western Libya. Meanwhile, Eastern Libya is governed by Khalifa Haftar, Supreme Commander of the Libyan National Army. Each authority is backed by a number of militias. Since late August 2018, several militias, under the leadership of the Libyan National Army, battled for control of Tripoli. The clashes in Tripoli between armed groups and the legitimate authority of Libya caused many casualties and endangered the lives of innocent civilians. On September 2nd, 2018, the GNA declared a state of emergency in Tripoli.³⁵² Therefore, Chairman al-Sarraj cancelled his working visit to China. Instead, he sent Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mohamed Siala, to attend the summit.³⁵³ Eritrea also did not dispatch a head of state or government. Instead, the Eritrean

³⁵¹ “Xi sends congratulatory message to the African Union summit.” Xinhua News Agency. July 1, 2018.

<<http://www.isouxun.com/en/n3/2018/0702/c90000-9476456.html>>

³⁵² “Libya imposes state of emergency in Tripoli.” DW News. September 2, 2018. <<https://www.dw.com/en/libya-imposes-state-of-emergency-in-tripoli/a-45328292>>

³⁵³ “Wang Yi Meets with Foreign Minister and Special Representative of Prime Minister of the Government of

ambassador to China participated in the Beijing summit. Although the 2018 FOCAC summit did not include all 53 African leaders, it still became a multilateral summit in China that had attracted the most foreign heads of state and government to attend except for the opening ceremony of the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympic Games throughout the history of China's diplomacy.

Overall, President Xi's important remarks at the opening ceremony of the Beijing summit summarized the cooperative experience that both China and African countries have nurtured as well as outlined the blueprint regarding the future development of China-Africa relations.

At the beginning of his remarks, President Xi welcomed a total of three new members, including Gambia, Sao Tome and Principe, and Burkina Faso to the China-Africa cooperation. These three countries cut off the so-called diplomatic relationship with Taiwan as well as achieved the normalization of their bilateral relationships with China in March 2016, December 2016, and May 2017, respectively. Though President Xi did not mention Eswatini, this section of President Xi's remarks sent a strong and clear message to Eswatini, the only African country that still maintains the so-called diplomatic relationship with Taiwan. President Xi called on Eswatini to adhere to the one-China principle, as it represents an irresistible tendency and has been the universal consensus of the international community. Located in West Africa, Burkina Faso formally resumed diplomatic ties with China on May 26th, 2018 after breaking off relations with Taiwan. The move left Taiwan with just one remaining "diplomatic friend" on the African continent, Eswatini. As it is claimed by the PRC as its own territory, Taiwan is merely a province of China. Thereby, Taiwan does not have any rights to establish state-to-state relations. After

National Accord Mohamed Taha Siala of Libya." FOCAC. September 6, 2018.
<https://www.focac.org/eng/ttxx_1/t1592534.htm>

signing the communique that resumes the diplomatic relationship between China and Burkina Faso, China's state councilor and foreign minister Wang Yi raised the issue regarding Eswatini,

“it is only one country in Africa that does not have diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. We sincerely hope this country to join the big China-Africa family of friendship at an early date. On the process of achieving China's reunification, all African brothers will firmly stand with China.”³⁵⁴

The message of “all African brothers will firmly stand with China” demonstrates that Eswatini will eventually formalize diplomatic relations with China one day as China's international influence grows. From another point of view, China has committed to the world that its reunification will be achieved in the future.

The hallmark of President Xi's remarks were the five principles of “never” and the four declarations of the “no one could” regarding China's present and future communication and cooperation with all African countries. The five principles of “never” are as follows:

- China never intervenes in domestic affairs of African countries;
- China never intervenes in any paths of development that African countries choose;
- China never imposed its ideology on African countries;
- China never attaches any political conditions when providing economic assistance to African countries;
- China never seeks political interests as investing in African countries.³⁵⁵

³⁵⁴ CCTV Video News Agency. “Resumption of Diplomatic Ties between China, Burkina Faso Conforms to Peoples' Will: FMs.” YouTube Video. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8UBX4WkkjOk>>

³⁵⁵ Xi, Jinping. “Work Together for Common Development and a Shared Future, Keynote Speech at the Opening

The first “never”, the second “never”, and the third “never” refer to the independence of African countries. African countries should have the capacity to independently resolve their domestic issues and decide their own future development. China never requires African countries to simulate China’s political system, and China does not want to dominate the internal affairs of African countries. The China-Africa cooperation is a component of the “reform and opening-up” and China’s foreign policy. Therefore, China needs to establish a stable and long-term partnership with African countries.

The fourth “never” refers to the economic and political cooperation between China and Africa in the international community. The key word of the fourth “never” is “political conditions”. China will never force any African countries to be in favor of any resolutions that China drafts in the international community such as the U.N. and the G20 because of China’s economic assistance to African countries. It is the choice of African countries to say “yes”, “no”, or to “abstain”, and China respects the perspectives and choices of African countries regarding global affairs in the international community.

The fifth “never” refers to the economic cooperation between China and Africa that is uncorrupted. The reason that China put investments in Africa countries is to promote the economic and social development of African countries. Investments refer to allocations of money with the expectation of benefits in the future. Most African countries are least developed countries, and they need a large amount of money to boost their infrastructures. China’s loans meet the demand of African countries. On the one hand, African countries expect a benefit return

Ceremony of the 2018 Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation.” Xinhua News Agency. September 3, 2018. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-09/03/c_129946189.htm>

from China's investment so that they will be able to pay off the loans issued by China. On the other hand, the benefit return of China's investment is also helpful for African countries to create more jobs for their citizens in order to constantly improve the livelihood of African people. In the meantime, it is significant to note that these benefit returns will absolutely not go to any Chinese or African politicians' pockets.

The four declarations of "no one could" are as follows:

- "No one could undermine the unity between the Chinese people and the African people."
- "No one could hold back China and Africa as they work together towards rejuvenation."
- "No one could deny the remarkable achievements obtained in the China-Africa cooperation."
- "No one could obstruct international efforts to support Africa's future development."³⁵⁶

The first three declarations concentrate on the China-Africa cooperation based on the perspective of China and Africa. It is a joint aspiration from China and Africa to establish and develop the FOCAC. Any types of China-Africa cooperative projects are jointly determined by China and African countries. Throughout history, China has helped African countries build infrastructure projects. China has never forced African countries to accept its financial aids or economic cooperation plans. All cooperative projects are based on the needs of African countries and the principles of dialogue and negotiation between China and Africa. If it is indispensable for African countries to ask China to help them build an infrastructure project, an assessment will be conducted by China. China will give feedback to African countries whether the infrastructure

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

project is suitable for the future economic and social development of African countries. If African countries agree with China's cooperative proposal, it will be put into practice. Thus, negotiation paves the way for final implementation.

The fourth "no one could" concentrates on cooperation with Africa on a global scale. The China-Africa cooperation should not be intervened on by any other countries. By sending this message to the world, China expects that other countries who are willing to help Africa should take concrete actions to support Africa's economic and social development instead of chanting empty slogans or criticizing China's assistance to African countries.

The third section of President Xi's remarks is the theory that informs the future development of the China-Africa cooperation. The CSF is engaged in the China-Africa cooperation. It is the first time that President Xi has applied the CSF to relations between China and one continent. A community of the shared future between China and Africa is a new principle of the China-Africa cooperation in terms of the adjustment of China's foreign policy, as the CSF was officially proposed by Xi after he took the office.

In his keynote speech, President Xi described China-Africa relations in the new era as a community of the shared future between China and Africa that "assumes joint responsibility, pursues win-win cooperation, delivers happiness for the people, enjoys cultural prosperity, ensures common security, and promotes harmony between humankind and nature".³⁵⁷ In other words, the China-Africa relationship stresses the multilateral cooperation in a large variety of fields such as politics, economics, culture, security, social management, and ecological protection.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

The “assumes joint responsibility” requires both China and Africa to communicate with each other at all levels, including state leaders, ministers, members of parliamentary, and local leaders through a variety of ways such as visits, phone calls, letters, and telegraphs.

The “pursues win-win cooperation” emphasizes the economic cooperation between China and Africa. President Xi stressed the importance of the BRI in his keynote speech, as it is a new platform for multilateral economic cooperation in the international community.

The “delivers happiness for the people” indicates that both China and Africa prioritize improving people’s livelihood. China and Africa need to make joint efforts to reduce poverty and create more jobs for their people.

The “enjoys cultural prosperity” advocates for the people-to-people exchange between the two sides due to their splendid cultural traditions, including ethnicities, languages, cultural heritages, and sports.

The “ensures common security” demonstrates the importance of peace and stability throughout the China-Africa cooperation. China and Africa had the similar historic experience of being invaded by the Western power. They perceive security, peace, and stability as the foundation of the cooperation. Without security, the China-Africa cooperation cannot move forward.

The “promotes harmony between humankind and nature” refers to the ecological and environmental cooperation between China and Africa. They should work together on climate change, prevention of desertification, and protection of wildlife in order to create a beautiful homeland.

Everything stated in President Xi's keynote speech regarding a community of the shared future between China and Africa is mutually reciprocal. On the one hand, Africa has many least developed countries. China will endeavor to provide as much assistance as possible to Africa so that Africa can benefit from China. On the other hand, China does not intend to monopolize African affairs. China wants poverty to be completely eliminated in African continent. The only intention that China has is to become a responsible country in international affairs. China is the world's largest developing country. The major obligation that China wants to bear in the international community is upholding the interests of developing countries. In addition, China wants the FOCAC to become a typical example of South-South cooperation.

The fourth section of President Xi's remarks focuses on actions. The eight major initiatives are China's announcement to the world that will turn the theory into the practice. President Xi pointed out eight major initiatives for the future development of the China-Africa cooperation including economic promotion, infrastructure connectivity, trade facilitation, sustainable development, human resource training, healthcare improvement, people-to-people exchange, as well as peace and security building.

In regard to economic sectors promotion, China decides to create the China-Africa economic and trade exhibition. A total of 500 senior Chinese agricultural experts will be dispatched to African countries in order to help them foster and train African agricultural experts. China will help African countries implement a total of 50 agricultural projects.

In the aspect of infrastructure connectivity, China and the A.U. will begin formulating the China-Africa Cooperative Plan of Infrastructure. China will open more direct flights between

Chinese cities and African cities. China will encourage African countries to use funds in the AIIB to support their infrastructure construction.

Regarding trade facilitation, China decided to waive all expenditures to African countries that are used to participate in the CIIE. China will build more electronic commerce platforms in African countries in order to provide trade convenience between the two sides. China will help African countries implement a total of 50 projects in promoting unimpeded trade.

As far as sustainable development, China will strengthen the dialogue with African countries in climate change, combating desertification, and conservation of biological diversity. China will help African countries implement a total of 50 projects in sustainable development and ecological protection.

On the topic of human resource training, China will provide 50,000 available fellowships in order to attract more African students to study in Chinese universities. China will also help African countries train 1,000 employees so that they will be able to find decent jobs anywhere in China or Africa.

With regards to healthcare improvement, China and African countries will work together to control the infection and diffusion of AIDS, schistosomiasis, and malaria. China will help African countries implement a total of 50 healthcare projects.

As for people-to-people exchange, China decides to establish the China-Africa Research Institute. China will encourage more tourists to choose African countries as their destinations. China will help African countries implement a total of 50 sports and tourism projects.

In the field of peace and security building, China decides to create the China-Africa Peace and Security Forum. Military and security officials will take this platform to learn from each other and exchange ideas about how to fight against pirates and terrorists. China will help African countries implement a total of 50 security projects.

All major initiatives that China proposed meet the need of African countries. For instance, infrastructure construction is a bottleneck that restricts Africa's economic development due to the lack of sufficient funds. China has the advantage of foreign investment, labor force, and technology, which attracts the Chinese enterprises with a high credibility to participate in Africa's infrastructure construction. The China-Africa Cooperative Plan of Infrastructure, formulated by China and the A.U., will be a comprehensive plan regarding infrastructure construction in every African country. Railways, highways, ports, and airports will improve African people's livelihood. As for the future cooperation in the field of infrastructure, China will not only help Africa build infrastructures, but will also be responsible for operation. All infrastructures that China help Africa build will eventually produce economic profits. On the one hand, in terms of short-term goals, economic profits that African countries make through infrastructures will pay off China's loans. On the other hand, in terms of long-term goals, economic profits that African countries through infrastructures will improve their economic and social development.

The reason that China chooses eight major initiatives for the future China-Africa cooperation is relevant to auspiciousness. Referring to wealth, "eight" is a fortunate number in traditional Chinese culture. By proposing a total of eight major initiatives, the Chinese leader expects that the China-Africa cooperation over the next three years would be successful, splendid, and spectacular.

Taken as a whole, each initiative includes specific actions that China will implement over the following three years, covering a large variety of fields. Thus, all actions will be implemented by the relevant Chinese government agencies. For instance, the specific plans regarding economic promotion will be implemented by the Ministry of Commerce, and the Ministry of Agriculture. The specific plans regarding infrastructure connectivity will be implemented by the National Development and Reform Commission, the Ministry of Transportation, the Civil Aviation Bureau, the National Railway Bureau. The specific plans regarding trade facilitation will be implemented by the Ministry of Commerce, and the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology. The specific plans regarding sustainable development will be implemented by the Ministry of Ecological Environment. The specific plans regarding human resource training will be implemented by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security. The specific plans regarding healthcare improvement will be implemented by the National Health and Hygiene Commission. The specific plans regarding people-to-people exchange will be implemented by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the Academy of China Social Science. Finally, the specific plans regarding peace and security building will be implemented by the Ministry of National Defense, and the Ministry of Public Security.

With regards to the “eight major initiatives”, it is indispensable for the Chinese government to adjust the “50 projects” to the “53 projects”. In his remarks, President Xi stated to implement or upgrade the 50 projects for African countries in the fields of agriculture, trade, sustainable development and ecological projection, healthcare, sports and tourism, as well as security. China is currently maintaining diplomatic relations with 53 African countries. If the “50 projects” are completely implemented by 2021, a total of three countries will not benefit from China’s

assistance at all. China and Africa have established a comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership. Thus, the “50 projects” shall be expanded to the “53 projects” in order to ensure that all African countries that maintain diplomatic relations with China will benefit from China’s assistance. In the meantime, the “50 projects” is a broad concept. It is essential for the Chinese government to release a checklist to state what projects are completed in what African countries. In general, the “53 projects” and the checklist are the only two recommendations that the Chinese government would consider in the process of implementing the plan of the China-Africa cooperation between 2018 and 2021.

All eight major initiatives that President Xi proposed in the remarks will need to have a strong financial support. Thus, China is committed to providing \$60 billion for the future development of African countries over the next three years. It includes \$50 billion of financial aids and concessional loans and the \$10 billion of investments from Chinese enterprises.

In the fifth section of his remarks, President Xi pointed out the importance of younger generation, as the China-Africa friendship should be passed on from one generation to another. The younger generation of China and Africa should have a strong desire to develop the future China-Africa relationship. According to President Xi’s statement, all eight major initiatives that he proposed are aimed at the future development of the younger generation.

At the end of his remarks, President stated how the China dream is linked to the future China-Africa cooperation. Proposed by President Xi in December 2012, the China dream refers to two concepts: first, from a domestic perspective, China needs to be a country that is involved in economic prosperity, revival of nation, and happiness of people; second, from global perspective,

cooperation, development, peace, and win-win result among states should be guaranteed. The China dream is the first theory that describes China's national ethos and development goals under the leadership of Xi. The reason that the China dream was stated in the FOCAC keynote speech was to unite China, Africa, and other developing countries to work hard to achieve their development and rejuvenation goals. Today, majority countries in the world are affiliated to the camp of developing countries. They are all sovereign states that have the capacity to independently determine their internal and foreign affairs. Thus, the development strategy of all developing countries should not be intervened on by developed countries.

President Xi's well-crafted message at the opening ceremony of the 2018 FOCAC Beijing Summit reverberated not only in China, but also in the African continent. In particular, the five principles of "never" allow all African countries to pursue any paths of development that are most appropriate for their national situations. China has never instilled its political ideologies onto African countries. Instead, China has sent technology, human resources, and financial aids to African countries that they are in urgent need of. Overall, the establishment and development of the China-Africa cooperation is based on mutual respect, equal treatment, and reciprocity.

From the perspective of African leaders and heads of international organizations, President Xi's keynote speech at the opening ceremony of the 2018 FOCAC Beijing Summit was considered to be one of the most important speeches in contemporary international relations, global governance, and multilateralism. Prime Minister of Tanzania Kassim Majaliwa said that "the eight major initiatives proposed by China are fully compatible with Africa's needs for development".³⁵⁸

³⁵⁸ "Xi meets Tanzanian prime minister." Xinhua News Agency. September 6, 2018.
<http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-09/06/c_137450190.htm>

Tanzania will closely work with China in order to implement all initiatives. President of South Africa Cyril Ramaphosa agreed with President Xi's proposal regarding the important role that the young generation will play in the future China-Africa cooperation. He stated that "we should be using FOCAC as an instrument for youth development, to invest in building their capabilities and exposing them to the great possibilities that the world has to offer."³⁵⁹ The U.N. Secretary-General emphasized that "China has achieved remarkable development progress in recent years, with an unprecedented reduction in poverty... China and Africa have strengthened their relationship... Cooperation paves the way for Africa's economic vitality and greater trade, both at regional and global levels."³⁶⁰ President of the A.U. Moussa Faki reaffirmed the FOCAC as a terrific format for multilateralism between an emerging economy and a continent that has a large variety of developing countries. With the assistance from China, the FOCAC provides a spectacular platform for African countries to advance their integration and development.³⁶¹

Since the closing of the 2018 FOCAC Beijing Summit, China and African countries began to implement the outcomes ratified at the summit. The FOCAC coordinators' meeting and the 1st China-Africa Economic and Trade Exhibition were successively hosted in China in June 2019.

The 2019 Coordinators' Meeting on the Implementation of the Follow-up Actions of the FOCAC

Beijing Summit

³⁵⁹ Cyril, Ramaphosa. "Remarks during the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Opening Ceremony in Beijing, China." The Presidency, Republic of South Africa. September 3, 2018. <<http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/speeches/remarks-president-cyril-ramaphosa-during-forum-china-africa-cooperation-focac-opening>>

³⁶⁰ Guterres, Antonio. "Remarks to the Summit of the Forum of China-Africa Cooperation." United Nations. September 3, 2018. <<https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/speeches/2018-09-03/remarks-china-africa-cooperation-summit>>

³⁶¹ CGTN. "Faki: China-Africa cooperation a solid foundation for new international order." Filmed [September 2018]. YouTube Video, 09:58. Posted [September 2018]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RpOcmBTtD8g>

The FOCAC Beijing Summit provided a general framework regarding the future cooperation plan between China and Africa from 2019 to 2021. In order to implement all plans proposed in the summit, China organized and hosted the Coordinators' Meeting on the Implementation of the Follow-up Actions of the FOCAC Beijing Summit on June 24-25, 2019. Unlike the summit, which includes heads of state and government from China and African countries, the coordinators are ministerial-level officials. The coordinators' meeting played a supplementary role on the summit. The summit was focused on the "general blueprint", while the coordinators' meeting emphasized the "detailed schemes". At the opening ceremony of the coordinators' meeting, China's State Council and Foreign Minister Wang Yi stressed that the "eight major initiatives" was a good start. In regard to political trust, both China and Africa have strengthened communication at the government level. A total of 17 Chinese leaders visited 25 African countries and the headquarter of the A.U. between the 2018 Beijing Summit and the 2019 Coordinators' Meeting. Meanwhile, President of Angola, and President of Niger paid a state visit to China. President of Kenya came to Shanghai for the 1st CIIE. President of Djibouti, President of Egypt, President of Kenya, President of Mozambique, and Prime Minister of Ethiopia came to Beijing for the 2nd Summit for International Cooperation of the BRI. In regard to economic cooperation, the A.U. and a total of 40 African countries have signed the cooperative accord regarding the BRI. Instead of forcing African countries to join, China advocates to link the BRI to the actual condition of African countries. For African countries, participating in the BRI is on the basis of a voluntary principle. The BRI is a global development strategy that would be aligned with the "eight major initiatives", the Agenda 2063 of A.U., and African countries' development strategy. More than 880 cooperative projects will be implemented from 2019 to 2021 under the BRI framework. In

the aspect of cultural exchange, the China-Africa Research Institute was successfully established in April 2019 as a component of the people-to-people exchange between China and Africa, providing a platform to enhance academic exchanges between the two sides and attract more scholars to work on academic and policy research regarding the China-Africa cooperation. China is a country that has the flourishing history over 5,000 years, and Africa is the cradle of human civilizations. The China-Africa Research Institute provides a more intellectual support on building a China-Africa community of the shared future based on equality, openness, and cooperation.

The 1st China-Africa Economic and Trade Exhibition

China and Africa have formed close economic and trade relations. China has been the largest trading partner of African countries for 10 consecutive years. More than 3,700 Chinese enterprises have established cooperative projects with African countries by the end of 2018 and the total of investment is more than \$46 billion.³⁶² According to the keynote speech delivered by President Xi in the 2018 FOCAC Beijing Summit, China has decided to host the China-Africa Economic and Trade Exhibition every other year. The China-Africa Economic and Trade Exhibition became the first multilateral exhibition that focuses on economic and trade cooperation under the framework of the FOCAC and the BRI. The 1st China-Africa Economic and Trade Exhibition was hosted from June 27th to 29th, 2019 in Changsha, Hunan Province. There were three reasons that Changsha, Hunan Province had been selected to host the China-Africa Economic and Trade Exhibition. First, two public figures who were born in Hunan Province, Mao Zedong and Yuan Longping, are famous in African countries. The PRC was founded by the CPC led by Mao. He also

³⁶² "Chinese enterprises help boost trade ties with Africa." *China-Africa Economic and Trade Exhibition*. June 29, 2019. <https://en.caetexpo.org.cn/html/2019/Trade_0629/72.html>

strongly supported Africa's independence movement from imperialism and colonialism. Yuan Longping is a scientist known for developing hybrid rice, ensuring that African people would not be starved.³⁶³ Second, Hunan is a large agricultural province. Particularly, Changsha has been one of China's four major rice markets throughout history. African countries' major economic sector is agriculture, and they export crops to China. The Hunan-Africa cooperation in the aspect of agriculture can be seen as supplementary. Third, as the capital of Hunan Province, Changsha is a major metropolis in central China with more than 7 million citizens, and its urban infrastructure construction satisfies the sufficient demand to host a large-scale multilateral economic and trade event. The 1st China-Africa Economic and Trade Exhibition is a new platform for African countries, as it is not only showcasing African products, but also using this opportunity to sell African products to Chinese customers. All 53 countries that maintain diplomatic relations with China participated in the exhibition. A total of 84 economic and trade cooperative accords were signed on the sideline of the exhibition, covering agriculture, infrastructure, manufacturing, and tourism.³⁶⁴

The final chapter analyzes how the FOCAC was established and developed. As a permanent mechanism of global governance that has been running smoothly for two decades, the FOCAC is more mature than the BRI. Unlike the BRI that has participating states from all five continents,

³⁶³ Omondi, Jerry. "Hunan Province-Perfect host for inaugural China-Africa Economic and Trade Expo." China Global Television. June 2, 2019. <<https://africa.cgtn.com/2019/06/02/hunan-province-perfect-host-for-inaugural-china-africa-economic-and-trade-expo/>>

³⁶⁴ "shoujie zhongfei jingmaobolanhui chengguofengshuo." "The 1st China-Africa Economic and Trade Exhibition had the fruitful outcome." China-Africa Economic and Trade Exhibition. June 30, 2019. <https://www.caetexpo.org.cn/html/2019/headlines_0630/633.html>

the FOCAC member states are underdeveloped, which makes it relatively easier for them to coordinate political and economic affairs.

Epilogue

As I am about to finish this dissertation, COVID-19 is sweeping across more than 200 countries and territories around the globe. COVID-19 has become the most severe public health emergency and the largest global challenge since the end of the World War II. More than four million people have been infected.

On January 23, 2020, the municipal government of Wuhan immediately took measure to shut down the city. This measure, which has been considered to be unprecedented, stipulates that any people living in Wuhan were prohibited to leave starting at 10AM, January 23, 2020. It was the first time that a metropolitan area with a population of more than 11 million would implement a “lockdown” order throughout the history of human civilizations.

The U.S. began to criticize the “lockdown” order. James Hodge, Director of the Center for Public Health Law and Policy at Arizona State University, said the “lockdown” would lead to human rights violations, which is unconstitutional in the U.S. Wuhan’s reaction regarding the prevention and control of the epidemic is excessive. Howard Markel, medicine history professor at University of Michigan, had never heard of limiting the movement of people from a metropolitan area to other cities as a measure to prevent and control the spread of epidemic. Markel perceives Wuhan’s decision to be a social tool instead of a medical tool.³⁶⁵

On the one hand, the “lockdown” order has brought inconvenience to all people living in Wuhan. The “lockdown” order was issued only two days before the 2020 Chinese New Year.

³⁶⁵ Levenson Michael. “Scale of China’s Wuhan Shutdown Is Believed to Be Without Precedent.” *New York Times*. January 23, 2020. <<http://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/22/world/asia/coronavirus-quarantines-history.html>>

People working or studying in Wuhan were unable to return to their hometowns for family reunions. On the other hand, the “lockdown” order is an imperative action, which aims to contain the transmission of the virus in China. Wuhan is a major transportation hub in central China, and its railway station is an intersection point of many important railway arteries. If Wuhan was not closed immediately or if the “lockdown” order was issued a few days later, the consequence would be more severe than expected. More people would be infected across China and the world.

In addition to criticizing the “lockdown” order, Jesse Watters, FOX news anchor, even called on China to apologize to the world because China should be responsible for the outbreak of COVID-19. However, as a non-traditional security threat, the spread of viruses is a common challenge for humankind. Any specific country cannot be isolated from prevention and control of an epidemic. In 2009, the outbreak of the H1N1 flu led to high mortality rates in the U.S., but no countries have ever required the U.S. to apologize to the world.

On March 16, 2020, President Trump called the COVID-19 the “Chinese virus” on Twitter.³⁶⁶ His irresponsible and racist comment irritated the Chinese people. According to the U.S. news media, the White House pushes U.S. officials to intentionally blame China as a country for the spread of the COVID-19 to the rest of the world,

“The White House is launching a communication plan across multiple federal agencies that focuses on accusing Beijing of orchestrating a ‘cover-up’ and creating a global

³⁶⁶ Trump, Donald. Twitter. March 16, 2020.
<<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1239685852093169664>>

pandemic... But the administration isn't just focusing on criticizing China, it's also painting America's response to the global pandemic as 'extraordinary humanitarianism'.³⁶⁷

In regard to this news article, the pushing of all responsibilities onto China is a conspiracy hatched by the U.S. government. Anthony Fauci, director of the U.S. National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, opposes President Trump's accusation towards China. He said he would never use the term "Chinese virus" to describe COVID-19.³⁶⁸ In fact, the reason that President Trump and the U.S. administration labeled China as the virus producer is because of the U.S. presidential election. He does not want to be responsible for the spread of the virus domestically. Instead, if he labeled China as the originator of the virus, the U.S. public would switch its vision from Trump and his administration to China, making the "Chinese virus" helpful for Trump to win the reelection in November, 2020.

COVID-19 should not be politicized or stigmatized. Epidemics infect all humans, and everyone is at risk in the world. It is absolutely ridiculous for epidemics to be associated with any specific countries or regions where the first outbreak occurs. In terms of a domestic perspective, the government needs to prioritize its people's health and safety by preventing the transmission of the virus. Since the outbreak of COVID-19, the Chinese government has taken rigorous and thorough prevention and control measures by mobilizing the entire country. China finished constructing two hospitals within 10 days in order to accept patients to be treated. Meanwhile,

³⁶⁷ Banco, Erin. "White House Pushes U.S. Officials to Criticize China for Coronavirus 'Cover-Up'." Daily Beast. March 21, 2020. <<https://www.thedailybeast.com/white-house-pushes-us-officials-to-criticize-china-for-coronavirus-cover-up>>

³⁶⁸ Cohen, Jon. "I am going to keep pushing. Anthony Fauci tries to make the White House listen to facts of the pandemic." Science. March 22, 2020. <<https://www.sciencemag.org/news/2020/03/i-m-going-keep-pushing-anthony-fauci-tries-make-white-house-listen-facts-pandemic>>

the municipal government of Wuhan has taken advantage of international conference centers, stadiums, warehouses, and university dorms to build more than 10 temporary hospitals. One-quarter of all Wuhan's mild COVID-19 patients have been treated in temporary hospitals.

The fundamental issue regarding the outbreak of COVID-19 in China is the lack of legislation that bans the few Chinese people who are interested in eating wild animals from doing so. Thus, the biggest lesson that the Chinese government draws from this public health incident is to prohibit the eating of wild animals through the law. On February 24th, 2020, China's top legislature deliberated on and approved a piece of legislation that bans wildlife trade and eliminates the bad habits of eating wild animals. This action demonstrates that the Chinese government prioritizes its people's lives, health, and safety.

Since the outbreak of the epidemic, China has conducted international cooperation in an open, transparent, and responsible manner. The National Health Commission and the relevant medical research institutions have identified the pathogen and shared the genetic sequence of the virus with the World Health Organization (WHO) within a short period of time. China has provided medical equipment such as surgical masks, medical gowns, testing reagents, and ventilators to 120 countries and four international organizations. China has dispatched medical staffs to nine countries that are severely impacted by COVID-19.³⁶⁹ Currently, there are about 500,000 international students studying in Chinese colleges, and China's Ministry of Education has decided to postpone the start of the spring semester.³⁷⁰ All China has done not only protects

³⁶⁹ "Fighting COVID-19 Pandemic: China in Action." Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the UN. April 8, 2020. <<https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/eng/hyyfy/t1767606.htm>>

³⁷⁰ "China postpones school semester amid novel coronavirus outbreak." Xinhua News Agency. January 28, 2020. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2020-01/28/c_138738646.htm>

the health of its own citizens, but also the health of people in the globe. Through preventing and controlling COVID-19, China has obtained experiences and contributed these experiences to the world.

On March 12th, 2020, President Xi and the U.N. Secretary-General Guterres had a conversation via phone regarding the prevention and control of COVID-19. The occurrence of COVID-19 demonstrates that people from all countries in the world are living in an interconnected community. COVID-19 is not the final global challenge that humankind will face. Instead, with the rapid development of globalization, different traditional and non-traditional security threats will create more obstacles for the human beings to face. Through solidarity, countries should help each other overcome difficulties and build a better homeland in the future.³⁷¹

A virus has no boundary, and the novel coronavirus is an evil to human beings. The non-traditional security issue such as the spread of epidemic is transnational. The G20 special virtual summit on COVID-19 was hosted on March 26th, 2020. The heads of state and government attending this summit agreed to comprehensively step up international cooperation and foster great synergy so that countries would win the battle against the pandemic. At the same time, coordination should be conducted between the prevention and control of COVID-19 as well as economic and social development. During this summit, China called on all G20 members to reduce tariffs and eliminate trade barriers to revitalize global economy.³⁷²

³⁷¹ "Xi talks with UN chief, calling for urgent int'l action against COVID-19." Xinhua News Agency. March 13, 2020. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2020-03/13/c_138872802.htm>

³⁷² Xi, Jinping. "Working Together to Defeat the COVID-19 Outbreak, Remarks at the Extraordinary G20 Leaders' Summit." Xinhua News Agency. March 26, 2020. <<http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2020->

As stated in the dissertation, dialogue and cooperation are the most appropriate approaches to overcome challenges and promote lasting peace in the world. Although COVID-19 is still spreading, the globe has become “a community of health for all”.³⁷³ Therefore, all countries should join hands to combat the evil faced by humankind through dialogue and cooperation.

03/26/c_138920685.htm>

³⁷³ Xi, Jinping. “Fighting COVID-19 Through Solidarity and Cooperation, Statement at Virtual Event of Opening of the 73rd World Health Assembly.” *Xinhua News Agency*. May 18, 2020. <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2020-05/18/c_139067018.htm>

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“an old friend of the Chinese people” is a diplomatic language that describes foreigners who maintain close relations with China or comprehensively know about the modern China, which is frequently stated on China’s official news media and speeches delivered by the Chinese leaders.

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