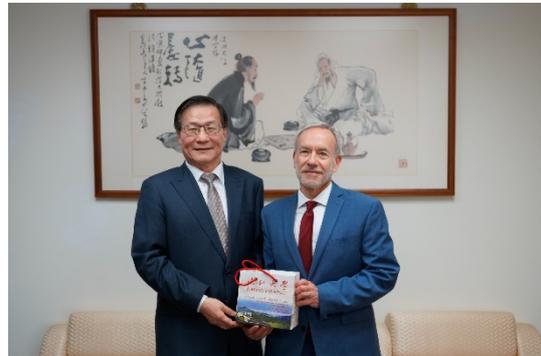


LECTURE 11



Dr. Avery Goldstein

- **David M. Knott Professor of Global Politics and International Relations in the Political Science Department, University of Pennsylvania.**
- **Director, Center for the Study of Contemporary China, University of Pennsylvania.**
- **Associate Director, Christopher H. Browne Center for International Politics, University of Pennsylvania.**

Date: 2019.05.22

淡江大學熊貓講座 TAMKANG CLEMENT AND CARRIE CHAIR

China's Grand Strategy under Xi Jinping and U.S.-China Relations

2019 5/22 ㊦
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報名系統

Dr. Avery Goldstein
University of Pennsylvania

David M. Knott Professor of Global Politics and International Relations in the Political Science Department
Director of the Center for the Study of Contemporary China
Associate Director of the Christopher H. Browne Center for International Politics at the University of Pennsylvania.

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INTRODUCTION

- Prof. Avery Goldstein graduated from University of Pennsylvania with a Bachelor's degree in Political Science (B.A) in 1975 with *summa cum laude* and a Master's degree in Secondary Education (M.S.) from the same institution. Prof. Goldstein obtained his second Master's degree in University of California, Berkeley in 1978, where he also obtained his doctorate degree (Ph.D.) in Political Science at the same institution in 1985. Prof. Goldstein had Chinese reading and speaking abilities after participating the Advanced Chinese Language Training Program at Peking Normal University, Beijing, PRC in 1981.
- Prof. Goldstein was an Assistant Professor in Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania from 1985 to 1991, then an associate professor from 1991 to 2000. He obtained his full professorship in 2000.
- From 1991 to 1993, Prof. Goldstein chaired the undergraduate program of the Political Science department, then the graduate program from 1995 to 1997 and 2001 to 2003. He became the Chair of the Political Science department in between 2006-2009. From 2009 onwards, Prof. Goldstein became the David M.

Knott Professor of Global Politics and International Relations in the Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania.

- Prof. Goldstein held several positions in foreign policy think tanks since 1997. From 1997 to 1999, he was the Director of Christopher H. Browne Center for International Politics in University of Pennsylvania from 1997 to 1999 and the Director of Asia Program, Foreign Policy Research Institute, Philadelphia from 1997 to 2002. Prof. Goldstein also directed the Anspach Institute, University of Pennsylvania from 2012 to 2018 and became the inaugural director of the Center for the Study of Contemporary China, University of Pennsylvania from 2012 to 2019.
- In his academic services, Prof. Goldstein is an editorial board member in *Journal of Contemporary China*, *Asian Security*, *Orbis*, and *Journal of Chinese Political Science*. He is also a reviewer for many top international journals such as *International Security*, *International*

Organization, *World Politics*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *China Quarterly*, *Security Studies*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Asian Survey*, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, *Journal of Contemporary China*, and Stanford University Press.

- Prof. Goldstein is an expert in international relations theory, strategic and security studies, and Chinese politics. He had more than 40 published works focused in the dynamics of international politics surrounding China and some of his works were translated into Chinese. He had also edited a few books related to the contemporary Chinese international strategy.
- As an expert in China's international strategy, Prof. Goldstein had delivered more than 60 presentations on the China's international behavior, US-China relations, implication of China's rise on international security, and more in universities or think tanks located in the United States and China.

Topic : China's Grand Strategy under Xi Jinping and US-China Relations

ABSTRACT

- This presentation was divided into two sections: 1) The Grand Strategies of China and 2) the Policy Implications for US and Others. China's grand strategy was divided into two eras: from 1949 to 1989, the Grand Strategies of Survival, and from 1992 until now, the Grand Strategies of Rejuvenation. While US and the other countries may respond to China's grand strategy through engagement, containment, or conditional cooperation.
- First, China's grand strategy was defined as the broad vision informing China's foreign policy based on the state's capabilities (e.g.: military, economic, and diplomatic) and international settings which was affected by anticipated how other countries will react to China. China's Grand Strategies of Survival encompasses three eras, 1949 to 1961, 1969 to 1976, and 1978 to 1989.
- From 1949 to 1961, Mao Zedong's strategy of survival was by leaning to the Soviet Union to counter US's influences during the Cold War. However, major disputes between China and Soviet Union caused China to have a friendlier policy towards the US in 1969.
- After Mao's passing, Deng Xiaoping had strengthened China's relations, both military and economic, with the US in between 1978 and 1989. US even forged formal diplomatic relations with China in 1979.
- However, China grand strategy of survival ended in 1989, and turned inwards due to the Tiananmen repression and was denounced by US and Western countries. This marked the end of China's strategy of survival.
- After laying low for 3 years, China's grand strategy had shifted to grand strategies of rejuvenation from 1992 until now, with the aim to restore China as one of the world's most advanced countries and a great power on the world stage. The collapse of Soviet Union provided China a great opportunity to pursue a strategy of rejuvenation for restoring China's image at the world stage. It had three major eras, between 1992 to 1995, 1996 to 2008, and 2013 until now, with growing activity in each era.
- During Deng Xiaoping's era, China advocated for a stealthy and passive rise as China is still weak, but its

presence matters and thus other countries will not worry about China too much and will welcome China's rise. To quote Deng's words: *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* (韬光養

晦- *taoguangyanghui*). This means

that China is seeking for a slow and passive rise to increase its national capacities while maintaining low profile to avoid suspicions from US or other powerful nations. It also means China will never seek to replace or compete with the US to lead the international order.

- In 1996 to 2008, under the leadership of Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao, China pursued a more proactive strategy of rejuvenation. During this era, China's relations with the US blossomed in both economic and security cooperation. In the economic sector, US had increased its trade relations with China and advocated for China's ascension into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. Due to the September 11 incident which happened in 2001, US hopes China can assume a bigger role in ensuring the security of East Asia to eradicate terrorism. This implied that China's importance was gradually

recognized by the US and other Western countries, citing its success in becoming a great power in the international order.

- However, in 2009 to 2012, China faced a dangerous strategic stumble as its attempt to seek for a higher status was met with resistance. China's rise was recognized due to its strong economic growth and was able to cope with the 2008 financial crisis well. In response, Hu Jintao abandoned the *taoguangyanghui* principle advocated by his predecessor and aspires China to be a great power, but invoked resistance from the US and its neighboring countries. One such maneuver done by China is by increasing its claim at the Diaoyu Islands and South China Sea. This move was condemned by the US, China, and South East Asian countries as it was deemed confrontational. Nevertheless, US and the others still require China's cooperation in issues such as trade and climate issues, therefore advocated for dialogues to resolve any differences instead of challenging China directly.
- Xi Jinping's ascension as the President of People's Republic of China in 2013 marked a new era of China's grand strategy of rejuvenation. President Xi's strategy is highly active and asserts China as a potential challenger to US's

hegemonic power. There are three main approaches used by Xi: reassure repeatedly, reform responsibly, and resist resolutely.

- President Xi will reassure the world repeatedly whenever possible. First, China had reassured its closest rival, the United States, during the Sunnylands Summit that China and US can forge a “new type of great power relationship.” This means China and US can cooperate on issues such as the denuclearization of Korean Peninsula, climate change, and trade issues, but will not back down completely in issues such as territorial disputes and human rights. China also reassured the world that they can be a responsible global stakeholder by initiating the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) that provides funds to developing countries to build infrastructure that will stimulate economic growth. In addition, China had signed and ratified the Paris Climate Accords, promised to lower its carbon emissions in order to mitigate the effects of climate change. These efforts showed that China is reassuring its rise will do the world good rather than harm.
- The second approach, reform responsibly, was done whenever it is desirable for China. China hopes to take the lead in Globalization 2.0 which promises a sphere of “common prosperity” that benefits

all world economy. Furthermore, China seeks to reform its internet governance by enacting laws to protect personal information and intellectual property rights, which is seen as a new effort done by the Chinese government. China had also pushed for the “Belt and Road Initiative” a grand project that provide loans to underdeveloped or developing countries to develop key infrastructures such as roads, railways, ports, and airports. This approach implies that China is willing to undergo changes in its own country in order to fit into the new international order.

- The third approach, resist resolutely when necessary was China’s opposition towards foreign influences that can undermine its own national interest. To defend its core interest, China modernized its military, especially its naval power. The People’s Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) was crucial to China as it projects China’s capability in the East Asia Sea and South China Sea. This in turn, asserts China’s maritime sovereignty claims. China had insisted that the Senkaku Islands (Diaoyutai Islands) and the South China Sea should be returned to China, based on pre-World War II historical contexts. In addition, China had also expanded coral reefs in the South China Sea to stress its claim in the region, and even built

sea ports and airstrips to accommodate its military forces. China also affirmed its control over Taiwan, which had been seen as a breakaway province from China since the end of the Chinese Civil War in 1949. Finally, China also protested against the deployment of THAAD, an advanced ballistic missile defense system, at South Korea as it may impair China's military strength at its own border.

- Xi Jinping's grand strategy of rejuvenation is ambitious, but China was seen as a revisionist power that was attempting to rewrite the rules of the international order. Apart of being resisted abroad, China also faced challenges at home, where economic inequality persists and its records on human rights are questioned. Moreover, China's

assertive action in maritime territorial claims is under fire and is deemed too aggressive in protecting its vial interest.

- In the end, there are a few policy implications for the US and other countries to cope with China's rise. The US and others can *engage* continuously with China to foster China as a responsible stakeholder that upholds international rules and norms. The second option is *containment*, which is to prevent China's rise such that the international order will not be overtaken by China. The third option is *conditional cooperation*. In this sense, US and other countries will opt for the carrot and stick approach to entice or punish China accordingly.

MINUTE



Met with Chairman of the Board, Dr. Flora Chia-I Chang and TKU colleagues



Met with President, Dr. Huan-Chao Keh and TKU colleagues

- Prof. Avery Goldstein visited Taiwan from May 19th to May 23rd, 2019. This is his second visit to Taiwan since his last trip 22 years ago. Prof. Goldstein visited the National Palace Museum on May 20th, then was received for dinner by the Prof. Kao-Cheng Wang, the Vice-President of International Affairs and the Dean of College of International Affairs (TKUCIA).
- On May 21st, Prof. Goldstein visited Tamkang University to pay a visit to Dr. Huan-Chao Keh, the President of Tamkang University, and Dr. Flora Chia-I Chang, the Chairperson of Tamkang University Board of Trustees. Before visiting President Keh and Chairperson Chang, Prof. Goldstein was given a tour of Tamkang University by a staff member of the Office of

- International and Cross-Strait Affairs, accompanied by Prof. Kao-Cheng Wang. The delegation visited the Hsu-Shou Chlien International Conference Center, the Statue of Founder, the Chinese-Palace Styled classrooms, and the Carrie Chang Fine Arts Center. Then, Prof. Goldstein had a lunch reception with young faculty members from the College of International Affairs.
- After the lunch reception, Prof. Goldstein visited President Keh and Chairperson Chang, accompanied by Prof. Kao-Cheng Wang, Dr. Da-Jung Li, Director of Graduate Institute of International Affairs and Strategic Studies, and Dr. Chi-Keung Li, Director of Graduate Institute of China Studies. Prof. Goldstein received warm reception from President Keh and Chairperson

Chang, and was presented with

souvenirs from Tamkang University.



Delivering The Tamkang Clement and Carrie Chair Lecture at The International Convention Centre

- During the main lecture, faculty members and students from the College of International Affairs and other colleges filled up the international conference center for the two-hour speech on China's Grand Strategy under Xi Jinping and US-China Relations. Prof. Goldstein's lecture received great attention from the audiences as it provides a great insight in the current US-China rivalry which will indirectly affect the international politics of Taiwan (Republic of China). The lecture was followed by Q&A sessions where faculty members and students raised their questions or asked Prof. Goldstein

to elaborate on certain issues. Prof. Goldstein was thankful that the audiences paid attention to his

speech and was delighted that there were many interactions with TKU students.



Photos of Prof. Goldstein with TKUCIA students and faculty members

- Prof. Kao-Cheng Wang hosted a lunch reception for Prof. Goldstein and the director of graduate institutes and department chair of TKUCIA. Prof. Goldstein interacted with the faculty members of TKUCIA to further discuss the trend of US-China rivalry and the prospects for peace in East Asia.
- Prof. Goldstein had a short sightseeing trip around Tamsui after the lunch reception. He visited Fort San Domingo, Tamsui Custom Officers Residence (Little White House), and the Tamsui Old Street. Prof. Goldstein praised the scenery of Tamkang University and Tamsui, citing that it is peaceful, and hopes to visit Taiwan in the near future.



Prof. Goldstein visited the National Palace Museum



Lunch reception with TKUCIA Faculty Members

