







China Institute for Science and Technology Policy at Tsinghua University



# Looking at the World from Within: anybody but China?

China-Brazil Seminar
School of Public Policy, Tsinghua University
September 24, 2021

Zha Daojiong

School of International Studies, Institute of South-South Cooperation and Development, Peking University <a href="mailto:zhadaojiong@pku.edu.cn">zhadaojiong@pku.edu.cn</a>

#### A binary world?

- Seemingly there is one in formation
  - "Democracy vs autocracy", as framed by the Biden Administration
    - Endorsed in 2021 G7 communique (COVID, climate, China)
      - Australia, India and South Korea invited to G7
    - Age of 'small group diplomacy' 'long gone', as per Chinese embassy in London
  - China and US diplomats' on-camera exchange at March 2021 Alaska meeting
    - The U.S. side frames its policies on Hong Kong, Taiwan and Xinjiang as "global issues"
    - The Chinese side rejects treating U.S. policy preference as "rules-based international order"
  - From Pivot/Rebalancing to Asia to "free and open Indo-Pacific"
    - An economic equivalent in the making?
  - On Taiwan, difference between "one China principle" and "one China policy" is getting sharper
    - Taiwan's bottom line choice holds the key

#### How binary is it, really?

- Basic tenets of seventy years of Chinese economic diplomacy
  - Emphasis on autonomy during Cold War
    - Alliance with the Soviet Union ended in early 1960s
    - Tactical support of South-South Cooperation and Non-aligned Movements
    - Trade with Japan and Western Europe before normalization of ties with the West
  - 'Club of One' after embarking on reform and opening
    - Completed repayment to IMF in 1992
    - Insisted on APEC being a forum
    - Reciprocal most-favored nation (no preferential treatment) in bilateral arrangements for trade
  - Exploratory attempts at multilateral arrangements
    - The AIIB is after all multilateral financial institution
    - The BRI is bilateral in nature

## Structural underpinning of China-US Economic Ties

- A Function of Global supply/value chains
  - "Factory for the world" a continuation of pattern in regional shifts of production
- Pursuit of secure/indigenous and controllable technology service
  - ICT, in particular
    - A historical precedent: Federal Telegraph Company and the Radio Corporation of America, in China, 1916-1941
- Absence of bilateral treaties
  - Case-by-case approach
    - Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT), since 1983
  - Both countries in all key multilateral treaties on intellectual property
    - From Paris Convention of 1883 to Patent Cooperation Treaty of 1970

#### Persistence of mutually assured suspicion

- Chinese memories of U.S.-led economic blockade 1950s-1960s
  - US intervention in Canadian wheat sales to China, 1961-1963
    - China's termination of grain import agreement with the U.S. 1982
  - "Five eye" surveillance of China, before and since digital age
- For the U.S.: China does as done to?
  - In high tech, change from Trump years of 'push back' to 'run faster' under Biden
- ICT and cross-border data transmission
  - Data services by nature monopolizing
  - Shallow level of cooperation in judicial matters
    - Digitization technologies enhance criticality of data storage
  - Fate of Huawei/ZTE/Tik Tok: thinness of U.S. data service in China a possible cause

#### Geopolitics-driven shifts of supply chains

- Not new in U.S. approach
  - NAFTA done in tandem with shift from GATT to WTO
  - CIFIUS first created to deal with inflow of German/Japanese investments
- "China +1" a strategy for many investors since the early 2000s
  - Alternative destination's capacity to synergize with regional/global production holds the key
- Worries about systemic effect from Chinese outward investment
  - Highlighted in Australia's FIRB treatment of Chinese SOEs
- Laws of economic geography outweigh geopolitical urges
  - Soybean trade, for example

### What's China likely to do?

- Self-reflection and self-change in approaches to diplomacy
  - One recent example: make China "trustworthy, lovable and respectable"
- Prevent self-inflicted mistakes
  - "Internal circulation" has its limits, as shown in warnings against "internal grinding" (内卷)
- No demanding of a third country to choose between China and the US
  - Examples: COVID vaccine cooperation with Brazil
- Encourage early ratification of RCEP
  - Does an 'early harvest' approach make sense?
- Keep persuading the EU to approve the CAI
  - On labor rights, China does not have to wait until EU approval
  - Improvement in labor rights protection should apply to all ethnicities, the Han included

#### China and South America

- Shared challenges
  - Escaping the 'middle income trap'
  - Gaps in perception about who in international competition
- In handling shifts in production, focus on market and societal-level readiness
  - Do not make it country-based
- Enhance cooperation in connectivity
  - Technical standards, customs procedures, etc.
  - Take advantage of progress in digital technologies
- Practice and encourage fortitude based on recognition of "neighbors who won't move away", in spite of geographical distance