

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Post-Cold War there was an inevitable creation of world's situations in which the world at that time was centralized mainly toward certain countries involved in the war, such as the United States (US) and the Soviet Union. Not merely in the political and economic issue, the civilization in a significant level was also centralized in the European state system. In the midst of massive domination of both rivalry countries in the early 1990s, the collapse of Soviet Union eventually led the United States to become the sole hegemony throughout the world followed by the rise of the liberal victory as the only concept applied in the global affairs.¹ As the United States in almost 20 years has defined the feature of world affairs, the world has become more and more dependent toward the supply, donors and political support from the United States, especially the developing and third world countries.

Asia as a region that is growing by maintaining the form of alliances and cooperation with the United States, in a few decades, has undergone profound changes in its international affairs. The influence of the United States in the region began to fade due to several important events that occurred gradually, such as the rapid growth of regional multinational institutions, the influence of the Association of Southeast Asian Nation (ASEAN), increased economic interdependence throughout the region, outstanding growth of Asian countries includes the economic miracle that China performed after the successful reforms

¹ Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (1st edn, Free Press 1992).

in 1978.²These have also contributed to the alteration of structure of power and the nature of regional system including the security issue throughout the Asia-Pacific.

This setting of international affairs has long been predicted by the scholars and policymakers, that the tensions in the world of politics will shift and there is no longer rivalry among the major power centralized in the West. A significant force, which is growing and developing in Asia-Pacific, has a huge potential towards political and military rivalry. Not only that, the pattern of dependency between the West and Asian states is also changing—the support and assistance of the United States is no longer be the most coveted one. On the contrary, the United States increasingly dependent on the continuation of partnership with the many countries in Asia-Pacific to ensure its influence in the region. Meanwhile, China has been proven to pose an unusual growth pattern and survivability outperforming other states that suffer similar underdevelopment as a result of the foregone Westernization. Therefore, an assumption began emerge that Americans continuous engagement in the region is no other than to lessen the excessive power of China, which according to American policy makers is challenging the United States security commitment in the region.

The world could be ruled out of the Eastern world for a while. However, from the successful economic reform and trade liberalization in 1978, China gradually emplaces itself on the right catch-up growth trajectory of an economic superpower and become more integrated into the world politics and economics. Following the event, a dramatic change in the economic system in the 1980s, continued to offer a greater opportunity to foreign investments on a large scale. In

² David Shambaugh, 'China Engages Asia: Reshaping The Regional Order' (2005) 29 International Security.

the twenty-first century, China eventually overtook the role of the United States and European countries as the major trading partner for Asia, Africa, and Latin America- The data from World Development Indicators-World Bank (2013) shows that China's manufactured goods account for over 90 percent of all exported goods of the country.³This has a considerable impact on China's GDP in a bigger picture. According to another data from World Development Indicators-World Bank (2013), China managed to maintain the good trajectory of its GDP growth since 1978 faster than any other nation in the world. In 1984 the growth rate of the world economy is around 4.5 percent, of which less than 0.25 percent due to China, while China's growth rate jumped up 15 percent as the highest in the period 1978 to 2011.⁴ This accomplishment indicates that contribution of China to the world GDP growth remains positive and increasingly important since the 1990s.⁵ As confirmed by the economist, inefficiencies and incoherence remain in the annals of China's development to date. China has stumbled upon its priority, the state-owned enterprises (SOEs) that the regime resisted to privatize, is proven corrupt and inefficient.⁶In 2013, the economic growth has slowed to 7.5 percent from its earlier double-digit pace.⁷Nevertheless, there is more substance than water in China's miraculous economic development. Until now China remains the highlight of economic prosperity in both regional and global levels.

³ The World Bank, 'World Development Indicators-China's Export Structure' (*The World Bank, 2013*), cited in Li Yang, 'China's Growth Miracle: Past, Present, and Future' (Professor, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, p. 8.

⁴ The World Bank, 'World Development Indicators - China's contribution to world GDP growth (%)' (*The World Bank, 2013*), cited in Li Yang, 'China's Growth Miracle: Past, Present, and Future' (Professor, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, p. 3.

⁵ Li Yang, 'China's Growth Miracle,' p. 3 (footnote 4).

⁶The Economist, 'A Bubble in Pessimism' (*The Economist, 2013*)

<<http://www.economist.com/news/china/21583691-chinas-economy-inefficient-it-not-unstable-bubble-pessimism>> accessed 21 December 2016.

⁷*ibid.*

The rapid economy development flames the military modernization to appear as an appendage of such extraordinary growth. Earlier in 1990s China began to adopted technological measures to modernize the PLA contributed to defense budgetary increase from approximately \$9 billion double up to \$17 billion in 2000 and reaching \$35.6 billion in 2005.⁸ Later China's defense spending rose to 8.3 percent between 2011 and 2012 contributed to Asia total increase of 4.94 percent in the same years.⁹ China rise from modernizing military to the second largest defense spender in the world, which also means the more advanced military sector.¹⁰ Furthermore, China's aggressive military activities in South China Sea and East China Sea indicate that China is steadily expanding its geopolitical role in the Pacific, which later give rise to intensifying military sector of other emerging power in Asia,¹¹ one example to best depicting this situation, when China's assertive confrontation in South China Sea aggravate the tension between China and other claimant states and the United States. In 2013 China began the land reclamation at it outpost in South China Sea, turned the submerged reefs into islands and equipped them with military system. As the responses Philippines and Japan take a more serious action by joining the United States in maritime air patrol over the sea.¹² Furthermore, a security agreement between the

⁸Bhartendu K. Singh, 'The Political Economy of China's Defense Modernization' (2005) 29 Strategic Analysis, p. 688, available at <http://www.idsa.in/system/files/strategicanalysis_bsingh_1205.pdf> accessed 5 November 2016.

⁹Myra MacDonald, 'Asia's Defense Spending Overtakes Europe's: IISS' (*Reuters*, 2013) <<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-security-military-iiss-idUSBRE92D0EL20130314>> accessed 5 November 2016.

¹⁰*ibid.*

¹¹Anthony H. Cordesman, 'Chinese Strategy and Military Modernization: A Comparative Analysis' (Centre for Strategic and International Studies 2015) <<https://www.csis.org/analysis/chinese-strategy-and-military-modernization-comparative-analysis>> accessed 8 November 2016.

¹²David Alexander, 'U.S. Hopes Chinese Island-Building Will Spur Asian Response' (*Reuters*, 2015) <<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-asia-usa-defense-idUSKBN0OD0AX20150528>> accessed 26 December 2016.

United States and the treaty allies, Philippines and Japan, has been updated in regard with the occurrence –The United States seeking the placement of navy ships within 12 miles (19 kms) of the Chinese-built islands, while in the future the allies target to have 60 percent of Navy ship oriented toward the Pacific by 2020.¹³

Many scholars perceived this phenomenon as a meaningful occurrence – as the challenges the phenomenon has offered for granted hold an image of ambiguity to the contemporary regional order. There will always be a high probability for the more intensified military competition in the future following the extensive military modernization and how states afterwards interpreted the phenomenon differently while they started to engage in defensive agenda to address the possibility that could arise in the future.¹⁴ There will always be supposition and speculation about the true motives behind China's active engagement in the region. Therefore, this paper seeks to analyze the phenomena in regional Asia-Pacific amidst the rise of China. Further elaboration on the factors that may leads to China becoming more and more active in the region— since not only has the phenomenon exacerbated the uncertainties in contemporary global politics, but the rise of China in both economic and military development also succeeds to increase the instability, political friction, and mistrust within the regional level of Asia-Pacific.

1.2. Research Questions

What factors lead to China becoming more active in the contemporary Asia-Pacific?

¹³*ibid.*

¹⁴*ibid.*

1.3. Theoretical Framework

In this paper, two different sets of theoretical concepts are to be discussed, to understand certain phenomena that occur in regional Asia-Pacific following the rise of China, the phenomena then being analyzed from the lenses of the foreign policy concept and the concept of national interest from realism perspective. The two concepts are rather different but are not necessarily challenging each other, in fact, the two concepts assisting each other where the existence of one concept serves as the basis for the other concepts, vice versa, and one concept into a final form of the other concepts. Therefore, the two theories will be combined as a foundation in analyzing the phenomena arises from the rise of China.

To begin with, it is important to remember that all perspective in international relations contain statement about foreign policy.¹⁵ This has been the case, just as how the Realist takes, almost all approaches put state as the central actor. In realist world, states are the utmost actor above all- hence, the fulfillment of state interest is primary, despite the rationale behind the intention. Hans J. Morgenthau described the activities and political action of a state, is seen as directed to keeping, increasing and demonstrating.¹⁶ In other words, the three behavioral patterns could be translated into policies of status quo, imperialism and prestige – to maintain the balance of power, to acquire more power and to show off strength in order to keep expand power.¹⁷ In the end, the struggle for power is the ultimate goal that is rooted in the existence of the state, indefinite and timeless. Morgenthau conceived of interest and power as individuals' nature, *to*

¹⁵Theories of foreign policy: an historical overview

¹⁶J. Peter Pham, 'What is in The National Interest? Hans Morgenthau's Realist Vision and American Foreign Policy' (2008) 30 American Foreign Policy Interests, p. 258.

¹⁷*ibid.*

live, to propagate and to dominate, and an incessant struggle over power among states, arising from the desire for power or *animus-dominandi* that deliver the idea that it natural human urge to dominate other.¹⁸ For the sake of national interest, individual has to possess more than just rationalities and resoluteness in determining the best policy for the country. However, the end does not necessarily has to be security, in developing foreign policy states could pursue two things, change and maintenance—to change the condition of status quo in international politics and to maintain condition that are preferable to their interest.¹⁹ From this point, both national interest and foreign policy can be used as a conceptual framework for analysis and decision making of a state. In sum, to maintain and achieve the national interest that later reflected in its foreign policy, is at the heart of all politics. Hence in the international stage, it behooved state to pursue its international interest as the embodiment of strength they have.²⁰

1.3.1 The Concept of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy as a concept often interpreted differently by scholars and philosophers. Yet, from how the concept is being analyzed in its dimension and kinds to the process of foreign policy, all findings lead to a perception that country formulate their foreign policy to secure their interest.²¹ Foreign policy is a behavioral pattern, adopted by states to conduct foreign and diplomatic relations

¹⁸ Hans J Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations* (7th edn, McGraw-Hill 2005), pp. 36-37, cited in Michal Parizek, 'Evil Human Nature as a Necessary Assumption of the Neorealist View on International Politics' (*E-International Relations*, 2008), available at <http://www.e-ir.info/2008/03/03/evil-human-nature-as-a-necessary-assumption-of-neorealist-view-on-international-politics/> accessed on 7 October 2016.

¹⁹ Glenn Palmer and T. Clifton Morgan, *A Theory of Foreign Policy* (1st edn, Princeton University Press 2006), p. 7.

²⁰ Pham, 'What Is in The National Interest?' p. 258

²¹ Sadia Mushtaq and Ishtiaq Ahmad Choudhry, 'Conceptualization of Foreign Policy an Analytical Analysis' (2013) 3 Berkeley Journal of Social Science, p. 1.

with other states –and is formulated according to state best interest.²² William Wallace (1971) perceived the foreign policy as

a stable set of attitude towards the international environment, an implicit or explicit plan about a country's relationship with outside world".²³

In the world of anarchy, states establish its foreign policies conform with the international environment, including the aim to influence the behavior of other states to act as his will. The basic and most vital interest of states are always static, like defense and security concern, yet the methodologies and strategies to achieve the interest is dynamic as they developed to focus and refocused in a changed environment.²⁴ States may compromise the secondary interest but the most vital interest cannot be bargained out, or else the in-charge policymakers may betray the national sovereignty.²⁵ Therefore, to consider the internal and external environmental factors in the formulation of policy is important for policymakers. As matter of fact, the external factors may change the nature of foreign policy, either states has to act in a positive of negative manner, hence, it is suggested that a foreign policy should be a synthesis of national interest and state interest.²⁶

Accordingly, the use of foreign policy in this research paper is understood as a concept that would very-well explain the reasons behind China's active engagement in the contemporary Asia-Pacific. One could argue, China through its active foreign policy intended to counter-balancing the existing influence and domination of the United States in the region. But behind the foreign policy

²²*ibid.*, p. 2.

²³William Wallace, *Foreign Policy and The Political Process* (1st edn, Macmillan 1971). p. 11.

²⁴Sadia Mushtaq and Ishtiaq Ahmad Choudhry, 'Conceptualization of Foreign Policy,' p. 5 (footnote 21).

²⁵*ibid.*, p. 6

²⁶*ibid.*

outlined in the establishment of new form of independent regional partnerships, without including the United States, lay an intention of more than just counter-balancing but to replace the United States in the region. Therefore, China aims to confiscate the position as the region's supreme power, allows China to launch certain-controversial national interest, including those interests in regard to territorial claims in the South China Sea and East China Sea. The intention is often correlated with China's efforts to restore the past glory.

1.3.2 The Concept of National Interest (Raison d'état)

The concept of national interest is the realist foundation in the explanation of the politics in international relations. The concept also is the main foundation of foreign policy concept. National interest was first applied and introduced to the public by an Italian historian renaissance, Niccolò Machiavellian in his controversial treatise, *the prince*, in the Sixteenth century. The approach of national interest justifying the state's goal and ambitions pursued through any political and diplomatic action, which otherwise could be disgraceful. Afterward, the term was progressively being found utilized by the statesmen and scholars to describe the aspirations and goals of sovereign entities in an international arena.²⁷ The concept later, explicitly stated in many of unofficial publications and official doctrines to describe the position of the country and, therefore, important for the interest to be more predictable to the world.

According to Morgenthau (1949), the contest between national interest and moral principles has been attempted for domination over *minds and action of men* – these doctrines has profoundly influenced the conduct of foreign affairs since

²⁷Donald E. Nuechterlein, 'National Interests and Foreign Policy: A Conceptual Framework for Analysis and Decision-Making' (1976) 2 British Journal of International Studies, p. 246.

the beginning.²⁸ Accordingly, the very realist ground of national interest perceives that the idealistic vision of moral principles embodied in the idea of common security as it ought to deter the use of excessive violence is, therefore, weak and ineffective. This belief serves to explain how then the League of Nations with similar idealistic vision failed in preventing the outbreak of World War II. The Americans apparently did not find, to deter others from the use of force, is in its national interest.

Remember always that it is not only a political necessity but also a moral duty for a nation to always follow in its dealings with other nations but one guiding star, one standard for thought, one rule for action: The National Interest."²⁹

The concept has been extensively employed by the American statesman since the establishment of the constitution, yet the American emphasized the national interest only to the extent that can provide immediate economic gains to the country or directly affect its security.³⁰

Although the approach has been criticized for the absence of moral dignity in its overall concept or the accusation that the pursuit of the national interest is based merely on material considerations of power, it remains popular applied in the European politics during the nineteenth century. In the face of the criticism, Morgenthau refuses by confirms that there is a certain degree of restraint which morally imposes upon the action of states, sometimes stricter, it simply interdicts

²⁸Ken Kiyono, 'A Study on The Concept Of The National Interest Of Hans J. Morgenthau: As The Standard Of American Foreign Policy' (1969) 49 経営と経済<http://naosite.lb.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10069/27783/1/keieikeizai49_03_04.pdf> accessed 23 December 2016, p. 6.

²⁹J. Peter Pham, 'What is in the National Interest? Hans Morgenthau's Realist Vision and American Foreign Policy' (2008) 30 American Foreign Policy Interests, p. 8.

³⁰Beard, Charles A. 1934 *The Idea of National Interest: An Analytical Study in American Foreign Policy*. New York: Macmillan, p. 26.

an action or policies to be taken – even if it means another cost for a country to bear.

There is a 'misconception, usually associated with the general depreciation and moral condemnation of power politics... Yet, if we ask ourselves what statesmen and diplomats are capable of doing to further the power objectives of their respective nations and what they actually do, we realize that they do less than they probably could and less than they actually did in other periods of history. They refuse to consider certain ends and to use certain means... not because in the light of expediency they appear impractical or unwise, but because certain moral rules interpose an absolute barrier.³¹

After decades elapsed, the concept has grown its importance as a tool to assess and describe the policies of the nation. One of them is to analyze the popular contemporary phenomenon of the twentieth century, the rise of China and the growing importance of China in the Asia-Pacific following the power shift from West to East.

1.4. Hypothesis

Applying the concept of foreign policy and the national interest or *raison d'état* as the basic approaches in analyzing the discourse of China rising power, the authors forming multiple frames of the discussion as an initial hypothesis in answering the problem formulation *what factors lead to China becoming more active in the contemporary Asia-Pacific?*

1. China aims to counter-balance the power of the United States in Asia-Pacific to further becoming a great power in the region;
2. China aims to strengthen and secure its position in territorial disputes in the South China Sea and the East China Sea.

³¹Ken Kiyono, 'A Study on The Concept of the National Interest,' p. 16 (footnote 28).

1.5. Purposes of Writing

This research paper aims to analyze numbers of phenomena that occur following the rise of China. Upon the accomplishment of this research, the author expects to have both academic and practical contributions:

1. Academically, it can be used as an alternative resource to help the researchers in analyzing the certain phenomena that occur from the contemporary rise of China;
2. Practically, it can be used as a resource to increase student's knowledge about the impact of the rise of China in contemporary regional level;
3. It can be used as a guide to study the application of national interest concept and the theory of foreign policy behind the political conduct of states;
4. To qualify for graduation degree in International Relations Department of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

1.6. Method of Writing

The paper is structured by using the explanatory types of research, which is based on the descriptive qualitative research method using case study, text and literature analysis. This paper is mainly a form of secondary research that involves the examination of studies of other researchers.

In order to obtain the best result, the author seeks to look deeper into the works of literature, articles, and journal about the history of China economic development and military modernization, the role and involvement of China in Asia-Pacific regional affairs and the nature of regional system, international affairs in Asia Pacific before and after the rise of China. The author seeks to look

also into the literature of regional dispute, the history, and legal articles in that regard, as well as any supportive literature on applied concept.

1.7. Research Area

In this research, the author attempts to focus the analysis on certain phenomena that arises following the rise of China in the context of contemporary politics and how these phenomena further affect the discourse of security and regional stability. The regional level in the paper is focused on the area of Asia-Pacific specifically among China, Japan, and Southeast Asian countries, with particular regard to territorial disputes in the South China Sea and East Asia Sea. As for the timeframe, the author defines that the regional implication given by the rise of China was increasingly visible in the contemporary Asia-Pacific regional affairs. Contemporary Asia-Pacific refers to and emphasizes on the twentieth-century regional activities which include the political and economic affairs in these past decades.

1.8. Organization of Writings

Chapter One: Presents the introduction of the topic. It contains the background of the issues; Research Question; Theoretical Framework; Hypothesis; Methods of Writing; Research Area; and Organization of Writing;

Chapter Two: Presents the brief presentation of the history of China's development, represented by series of highlighted events from Mao's era;

Chapter Three: Presents the examination on Asia pacific contemporary regional affairs before and after the rise of China;

Chapter Four: Presents the discussion of analysis between the finding and the applicability of the theory/concept of foreign policy and national interest as well as the criticism opposing the applicability of the theory;

Chapter Five: Conclusion.