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China and the United States: Between Cold and Warm Peace

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Notes

As US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton put it in remarks at the Asia Society in New York on 13 February 2009: 'An ancient Chinese story tells of warring feudal states, whose soldiers find themselves on a boat together crossing a wide river in a storm. Instead of fighting one another, they work together and survive. Now, from this story comes a Chinese aphorism that says, "When you are in a common boat, you need to cross the river peacefully together." The wisdom of that aphorism must continue to guide us today.' Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi, in a speech given at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington DC on 13 March 2009, put it thus: 'At a time when the international financial crisis continues to spread and develop, the primary task of the international community is to work together to overcome the storm together and survive. We must work together to overcome the storm through the tough times and difficulties.' For an excellent discussion of this story, see <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/17/magazine/17china-t.html>. The Asia Society also published a report at 'more than 60 years of poverty' in 2009, which states that 'more than 60 years of poverty' in 2009 will remain in the Developing Asia and the Pacific region. p. 6. Quoted in <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/17/magazine/17china-t.html>. Success in the Asia and the Pacific region. David Leites, 'The Asia and the Pacific region', 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/17/magazine/17china-t.html>. Geithner also revealed

that during the April G20 meetings he had travelled to the hotel suite of Vice Premier Wang Qishan to further their discussions. At the beginning of June 2009, Geithner was in Beijing, where he met President Hu Jintao, Prime Minister Wen Jiabao and other highranking officials. During a speech at Peking University he stated: 'China and the United States individually and together are so important in the global economy and financial system that what we do has a direct impact on the stability and strength of the international economic system.' See David Barboza, 'In China, Geithner Backs Cooperation', New York Times, 1 June 2009,

<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/01/world/asia/01china.html>.

Nicholas R. Lardy, 'China's Role in the Origins of and Response to the Global Recession', transcript of testimony at the hearing before the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 17 February 2009,

<http://www.piie.com/publications/papers/print.cfm/doc=pub&ResearchID=1165>. China's stimulus package is supposed to contribute to 3% of GDP.

Fan Gang, 'China's Capacity of Managing Impacts of Global Crisis and Potentials for Further Growth', lecture given at Oxford Forum on China and the World Economy, 18 May 2009, Oxford. Fan was referring to items such as low labour costs, the high savings rate, urbanisation and globalisation effects, among other factors.

Michael Wines, 'China "Worried" about safety of U.S. Treasuries', New York Times, 14 March 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/14/world/asia/14china.html>.

See Zhou Xiaochuan, 'China's Monetary Policy in 2009', <http://www.pbooc.org/eng/200903/2009030101.htm>.

However, the IMF's October 2009 report found that China's growth rate of 8%, one of the highest in the world, cannot be sustained in the long run. See 'China's Economic Outlook', IMF, October 2009.

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 'Working Group II Contribution to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change: The Scientific Basis', Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 10-12 March 2007, <http://climatechange.org/>.

‘China's Policies and Actions for Addressing Climate Change’, 29 October 2008, http://english.gov.cn/2008-10.29/content_1134544.htm.

‘Predictions of Mayhem as the Globe gets Warmer’, International Herald Tribune, 10 August 2009.

Kenneth Lieberthal and David Sandalow, *Overcoming Obstacles to U.S.–China Cooperation on Climate Change* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 2009).

A Roadmap for U.S.–China Cooperation on Energy and Climate Change (New York: Pew Center/Asia Society, 2009), p. 18. This study was co-chaired by Steven Chu before he became Obama's energy secretary. Both governments are now making more serious attempts to address the problem, the Obama administration by committing the federal government to the post-Kyoto process and promising mandatory reductions in the country's emissions targets of 80% by 2050. (He is, however, meeting a great deal of domestic resistance.) China, while it continues to rule out mandatory targets for itself or to make absolute cuts in emissions, has agreed a number of national targets designed to cut the rate of increase in its CO2 emissions. Its 11th five-year plan (2006–10) announced energy-intensity goals that included reducing its per unit GDP energy use by 20% by 2010 over that of 2005; adopting the target of renewable fuels for 10% of its total energy consumption by 2010, rising to 15% by 2020; and increasing its take-up of hydro and nuclear power.

Karl Hall, *Climate Change*, p. 96.

This and *Overcoming Obstacles to U.S.–China Cooperation on Climate Change*, Southern California, ‘China, Environmental Science’, March 2009, a level Houser, com, 26 March 2009.



http://experts.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2009/03/26/why_carbon_tariffs_are_a_bad_idea_for_now.

Todd Stern and William Antholis argued in 2007 that developing countries 'must be treated differentially' with the poorest among them exempted from climate-change commitments, but the more advanced, including China, committing to actual 'targets, albeit less stringent than those of the industrialized countries, or policy undertakings by sector'. See Todd Stern and William Antholis, 'A Changing Climate: The Road Ahead for the United States', *Washington Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 1, Winter 2007-08, p. 184. Todd Stern has since become the US State Department's climate-change envoy.

'UN Climate Summit: Key Quotes', BBC News, 22 September 2009, <http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk/mpapps/pagetools/print/news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/sci.tech/82693>.

William Chandler, 'Breaking the Suicide Pact: U.S.-China Cooperation on Climate Change', *Carnegie Endowment Policy Brief 57* (Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2008).

Christopher P. Twomey, 'Chinese- U.S. Strategic Affairs: Dangerous Dynamism', *Arms Control Today*, vol. 39, no. 1, January-February 2009, pp. 17-20.

For two recent expositions see Michael Ignatieff (ed.), *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), and Benjamin Foot, 'Exceptionalism and Human Rights', in Michael Ignatieff (ed.), *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 1-10. Harold H. Koh, 'American Exceptionalism and Human Rights', *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 98, no. 1, 2004, pp. 1-41. Edward L. Rubin, 'Lessons from the 19th Century', in Michael Ignatieff (ed.), *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 11-27. Hege, 2003), p. 27.

Vivienne, Rosen (eds), *Stimulation* (New York: 2003), pp. 1-10.

W. Michael, *Journal of International Law*, vol. 41, no. 4, Winter 1999- 2000, pp. 71-2.

Lieberthal and Sandalow, *Overcoming Obstacles*, p. 33.

Ibid., p. 77, n. 40.

A.F.K. Organski and Jacek Kugler, *The War Ledger* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1980.) See also John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001) where he reverses the source of danger: 'The emergence of a potential hegemon, however, makes the other great powers especially fearful, and they will search hard for ways to correct the imbalance of power and will be inclined to pursue riskier policies toward that end. The reason is simple: when one state is threatening to dominate the rest, the long-term value of remaining at peace declines and threatened states will be more willing to take chances to improve their security' (p. 345).

Jonathan Broder, 'Power Playing with Others', *CQ Weekly*, 20 April 2009.

Joshua Kurlantzick, *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power is Transforming the World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); and Yu Xintian, 'Soft Power Enhancement and China's External Strategy', *China International Studies*, no. 12, Fall 2008, pp. 20-35.

Rosemary Foot, 'Chinese Strategies in a US-Hegemonic Global Order: Accommodating and Hedging', *International Affairs*, vol. 82, no. 1, January 2006, p. 82.

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James B. Stewart, 'China's Security', *Washington Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 1, Winter 1998, p. 1.

Broder, 'Power Playing with Others'. That the China model is not a new belief given that the

For one thing, the transition Theory: .



SIPRI Yearbook 2008 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 177.

The Military Balance 2009 (Abingdon: Routledge for the IISS, 2009), pp. 365, 375.

SIPRI Yearbook 2009 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), Summary, section 5, Military Expenditure, p. 11.

SIPRI Yearbook 2009, Table 8.1, p. 346.

Chan, China, the U.S. and the Power- Transition Theory, introduces some of these additional measures.

Robert Dahl, Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1961).

Robert Zoellick, 'Whither China: From Membership to Responsibility', remarks to the National Committee on US-China Relations, US Department of State, 25 November 2005, <http://www.state.gov/s/d/former/zoellick/rem/53682.htm>.

For a fuller exposition of ideas akin to these see Yuen Foong Khong, 'Negotiating "Order" During Power Transitions', in Charles A. Kupchan et al., Power in Transition: The Peaceful Change of International Order (Tokyo: The United Nations University Press, 2001), p. 34.

See the  of a 2008 Multinational Force in China, Vietnam and February 2008 (be

See also that an average powerful



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Evelyn G. ...ing Regional Security ...op. 113-57; David M. ...sity of Californi

Charles A. Kupchan, 'Introduction: Explaining Peaceful Power Transition' in Kupchan et al., *Power in Transition*, pp. 7-9. He adds also the condition of legitimation, whereby the parties 'forge a consensus not just on rules, but on the values that underlie those rules' (p .9). This is a particularly demanding condition to meet.

Peter Baker, 'Obama Calls for Military Dialogue with China', New York Times, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/12/washington/12web-china.html>.

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