

# China's Return to the Central Stage: Towards a New Facilitative Leadership?

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1 The Fall and  
Re-rise of China

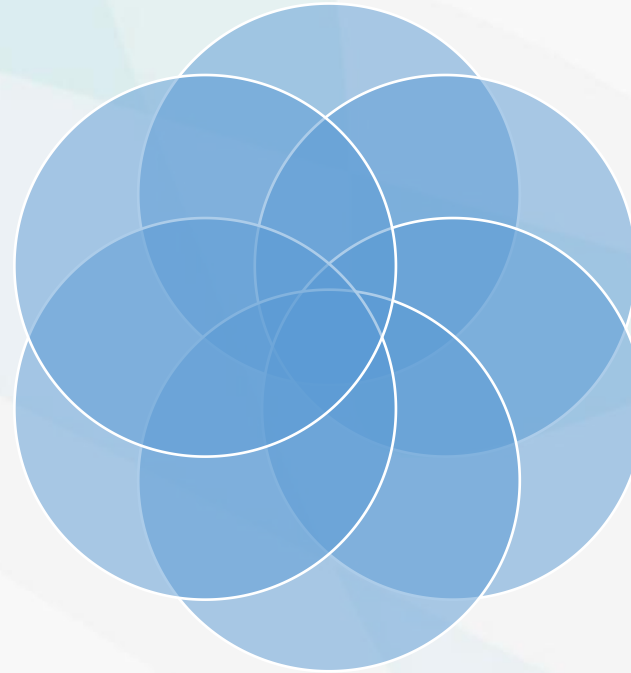
2 International  
leadership  
Crisis and  
China

3 A New  
Framework for  
Analyzing  
International  
Leadership

4 Facilitative  
Leadership and  
China

5 Facing the  
Trump  
Challenge

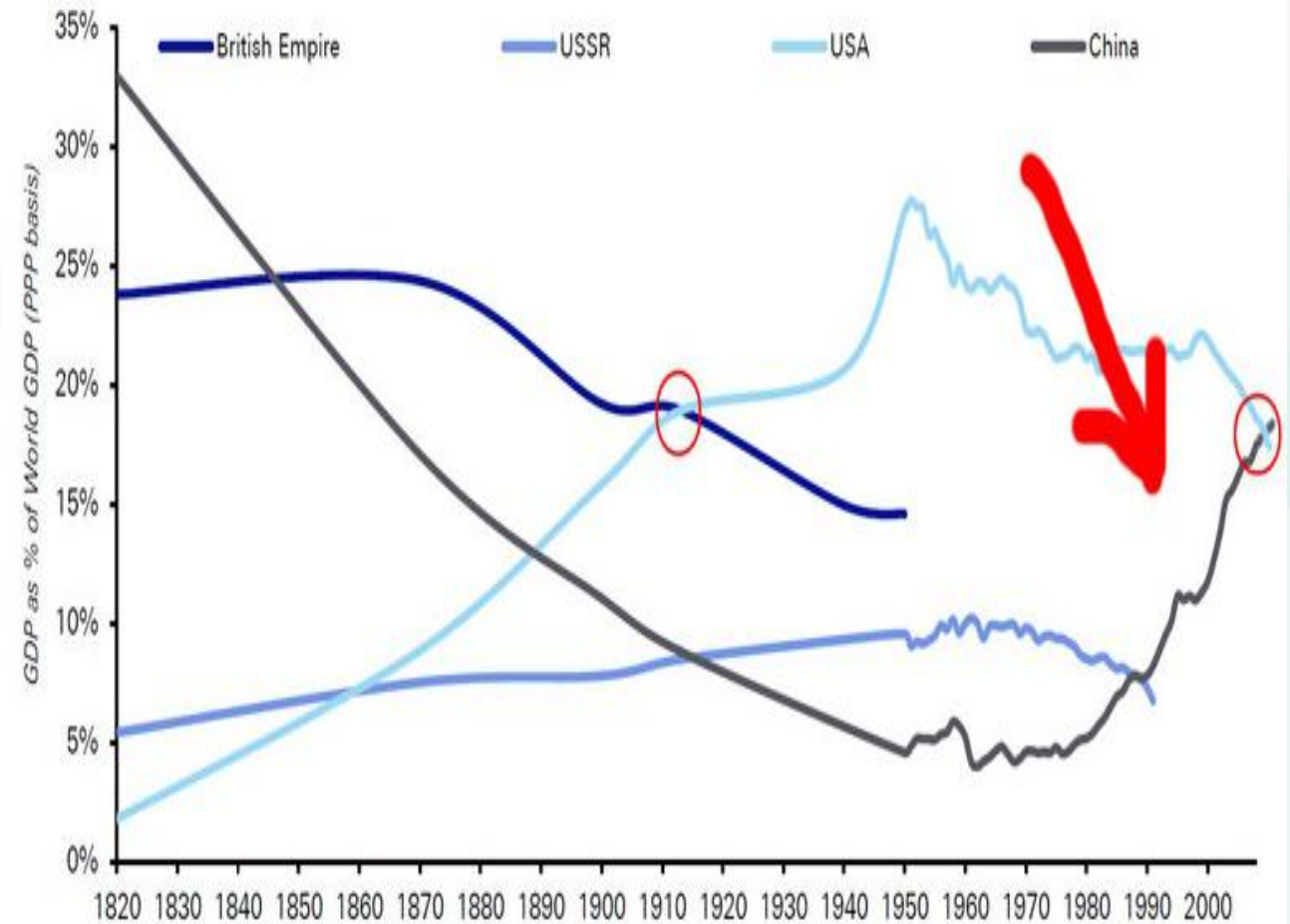
6 Conclusion



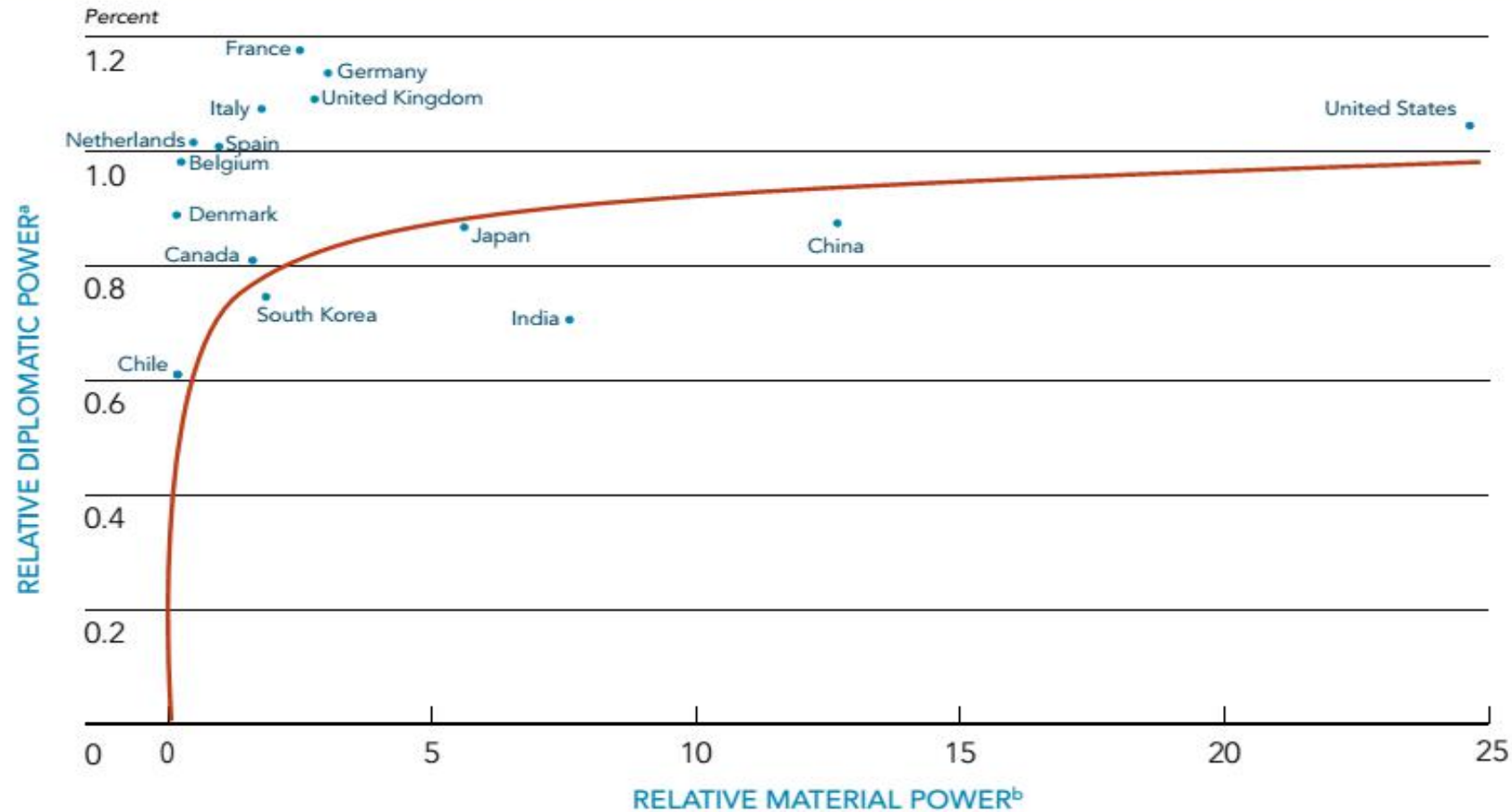
# 1 The Fall and Re-rise of China

- Loss of centrality in Asia from 1840
- Regained strong statehood from 1949
- Achieved economic development from late 1970s through reform and opening-up
- *Being pushed onto the center stage in 2010 after becoming the No.1 economy in Asia*

Figure 96: The Rise and Fall of Modern Empires



## SELECTED COUNTRIES PUNCHING ABOVE THEIR WEIGHT IN 2010

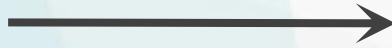


<sup>a</sup> Relative diplomatic power is the percentage of global diplomatic power held by each country. It is calculated by weighted country memberships in inter-governmental organization, the number of embassies that a country has in other countries and the number of treaties held by the UN secretariat that a country has signed and ratified.

<sup>b</sup> Relative material power relates to the percentage of total global material held by each country. It is calculated from GDP, population size, military spending and technology.

Source: *International Futures Model, University of Denver.*

China  
Unprepared



For example, in 2007, the party aimed to **quadruple** per capita GDP from the level of 2000 by the year of 2020,

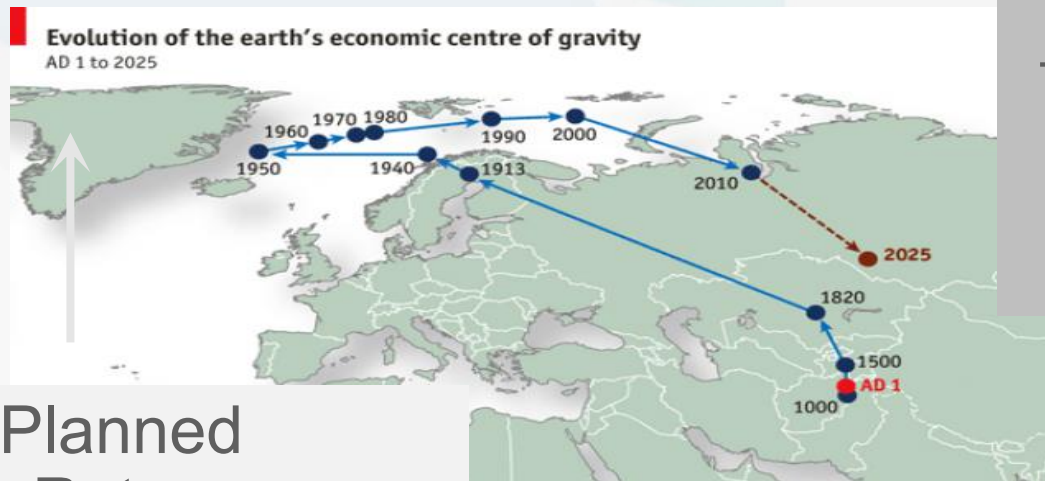
from less than 1000 US dollars in 2000 to about 3500 US dollars by 2020.



that target was already realized in 2010, ten years ahead of the plan.



1. Lower Planned Growth Rate
2. Fixed Price perspective
3. Not considering RMB appreciation



“China is a sleeping giant. Let her sleep,  
for when she wakes she will shake the  
world.”  
— Napoléon Bonaparte



“major-country diplomacy with  
Chinese characteristics”

From 2013

Now China awakes.  
What will China do?



## 2 International leadership Crisis and China



### ***Insufficient Leadership***

- Poverty
- More so with Trump

### ***Wrong Leadership***

- War in Iraq
- More so with Trump



## Typology of International Leadership

Oran Young	John Ikenberry	Joseph S. Nye	Joyeeta Gupta Michael Grubb	Yan Xuetong
Structural leadership	Structural leadership	Transformational leadership	Structural leadership	<i>Qiang</i> (tyrant leadership)
Entrepreneur leadership	Institutional leadership	Transactional leadership	Instrumental leadership	<i>Ba</i> (hegemonic leadership)
Intellectual leadership	Situational leadership		Directional leadership	<i>Wang</i> (Kingly leadership)



# To Lead or Not? Should be No Longer a Question for China

- ◆ If we define international leadership as *the practice and ability of international actor(s) to foster the realization of specific shared goals in the international society, through the exercise of its influence and with the support from other actors.*
- ◆ A more important question is **how China will lead**
- ◆ In Author's view, China should embrace a **facilitative leadership**, a new type of of international leadership

# 3 A New Framework for Analyzing International Leadership

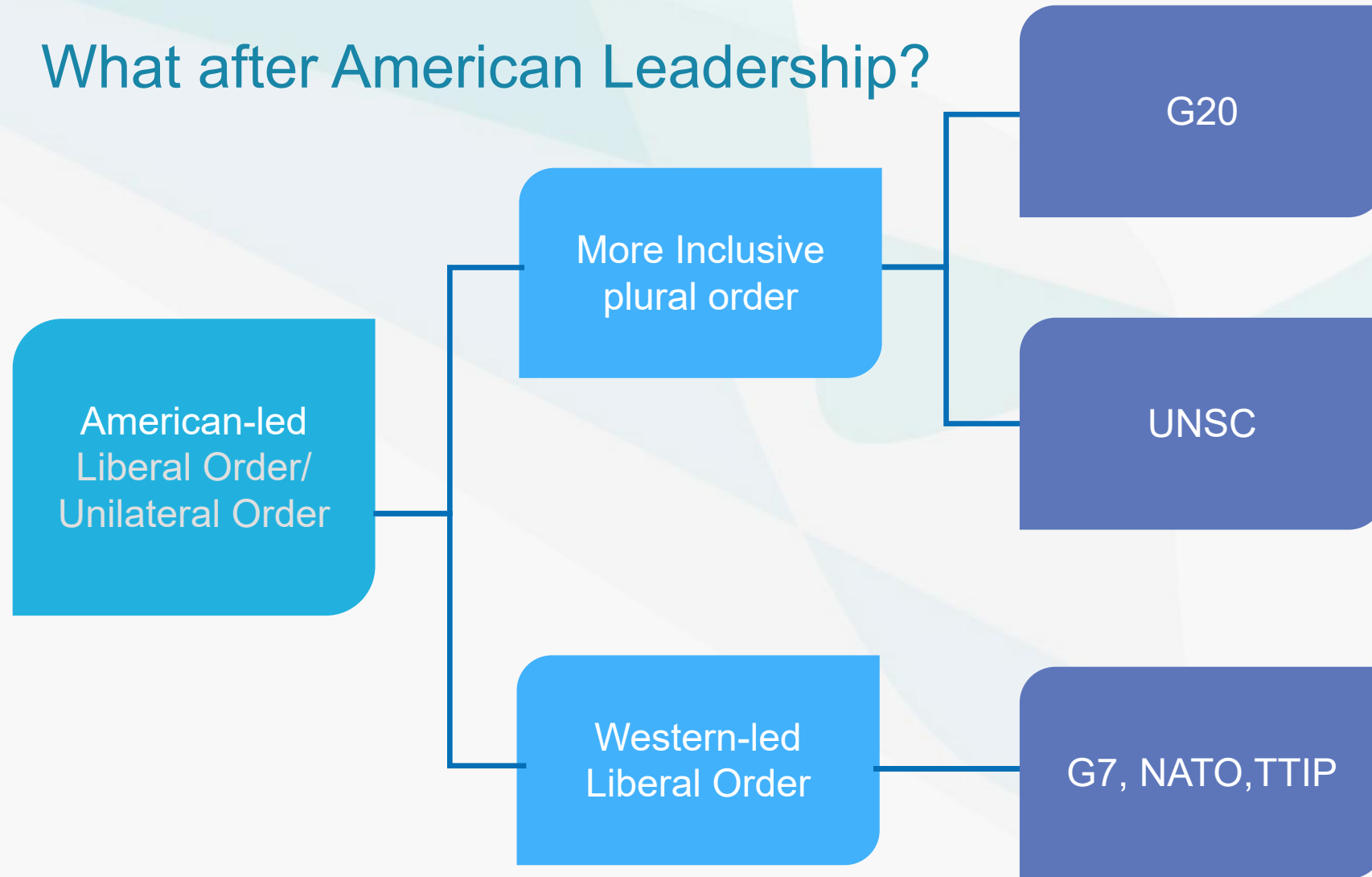
Indicators	Categories	Sub-Categories
1 Number of leaders	Unilateral leadership	
	plural leadership	Parallel Complementary Concerted Competitive
2 Purpose	Solipsistic leadership/ self-serving leadership	
	Win-win leadership	
3 Method	Attractive leadership	Ideational Institutional Solution-providing Benefit-giving
	Coercive leadership	Military coercive Economic coercive Normative coercive

### 3 Continued

Indicators	Categories	Sub-Categories
4 Style	Hierarchical/Patronal leadership	
	Empowering leadership	
5 Domain	Thematic leadership	Security Economy Environment
	Regional leadership	
6 Performance	High, Medium ,Low	
7 Legitimacy	High, Medium ,Low	

# 4 Facilitative Leadership and China

What after American Leadership?



## 4 Facilitative Leadership and China

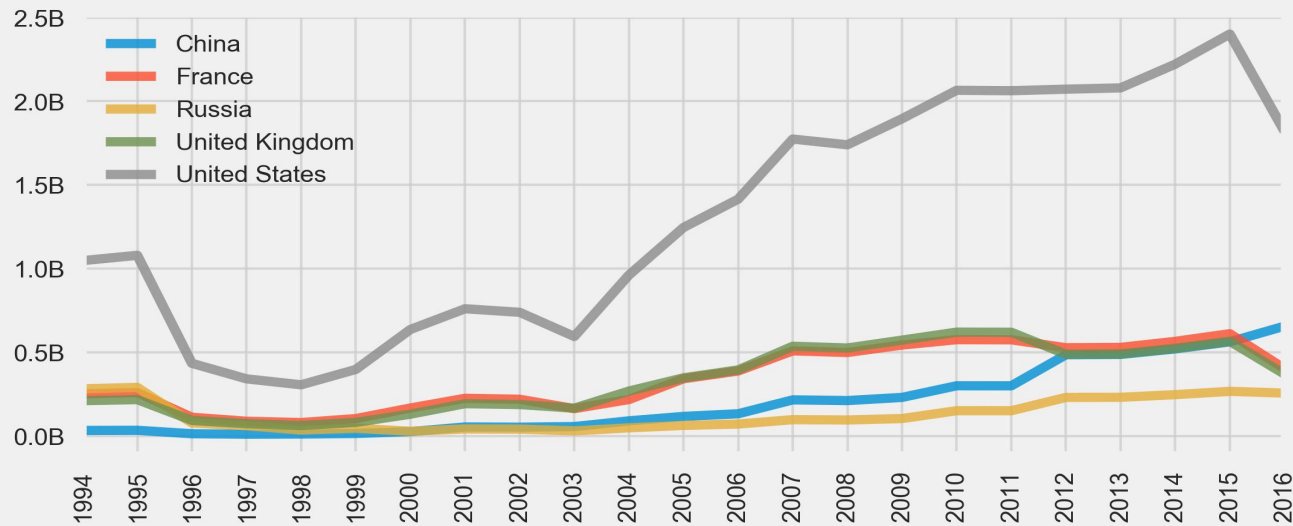
*Facilitative international leadership* means that China uses its substantial influence to advance the shared goals of the members of international society, to achieve joint development and progress, in a cooperative, win-win, attractive and empowering manner.

And it is happening:

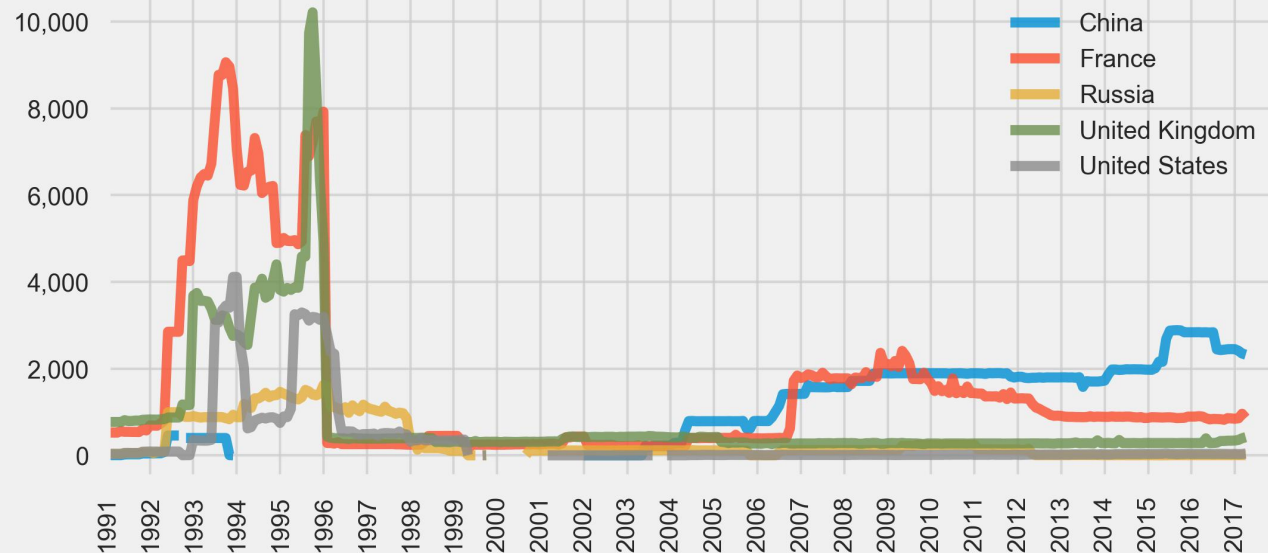
China is supporting inclusive multilateral institutions:  
UN, WTO, IMF, G20 ,  
Paris Agreement

China is leading to build *new* inclusive multilateral institutions:  
AIIB, NDB, SCO

# UN Peacekeeping Financial Contributions by the P5 (nominal \$US) 1994–2016

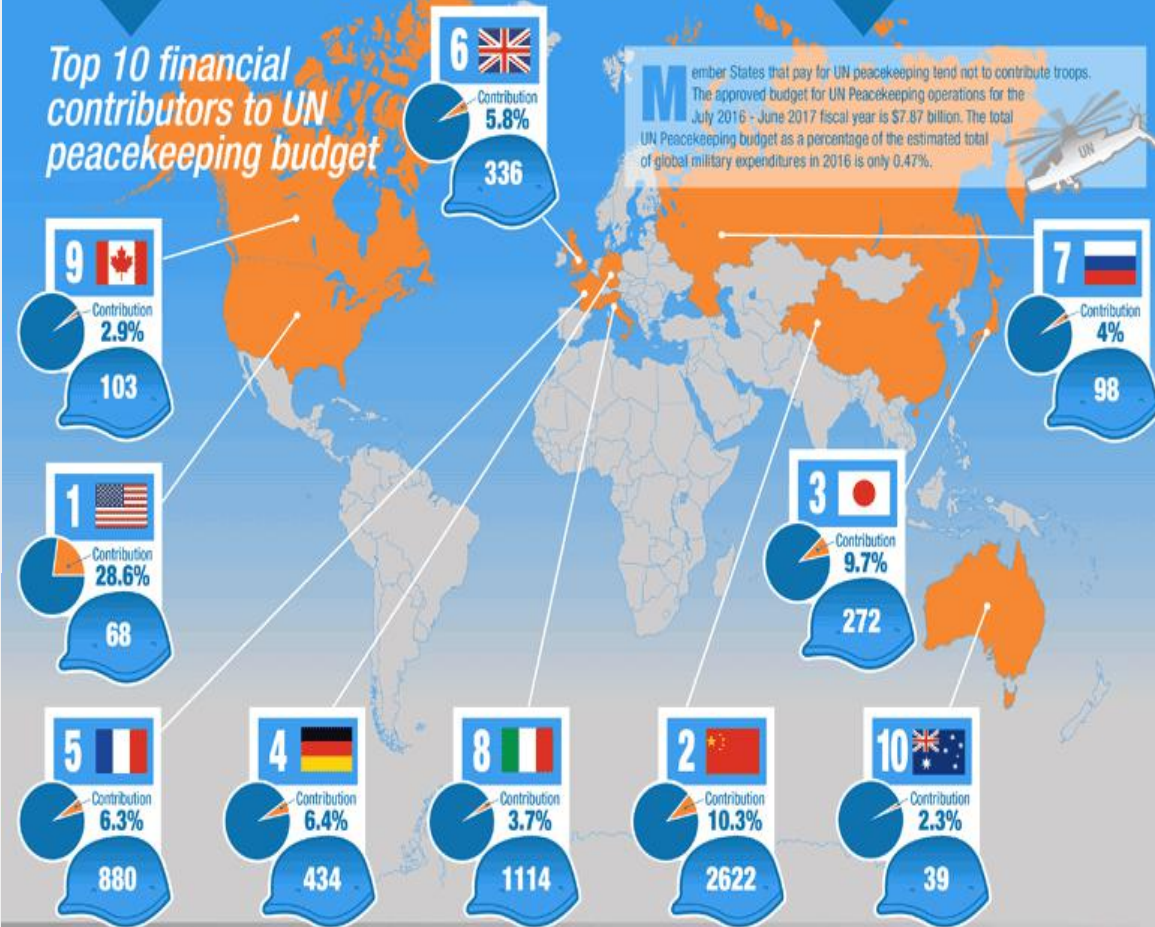


# UN Peacekeeping Troop Contributions by the P5 November 1990–March 2017



# Those who pay, do not play ...

## Top 10 financial contributors to UN peacekeeping budget

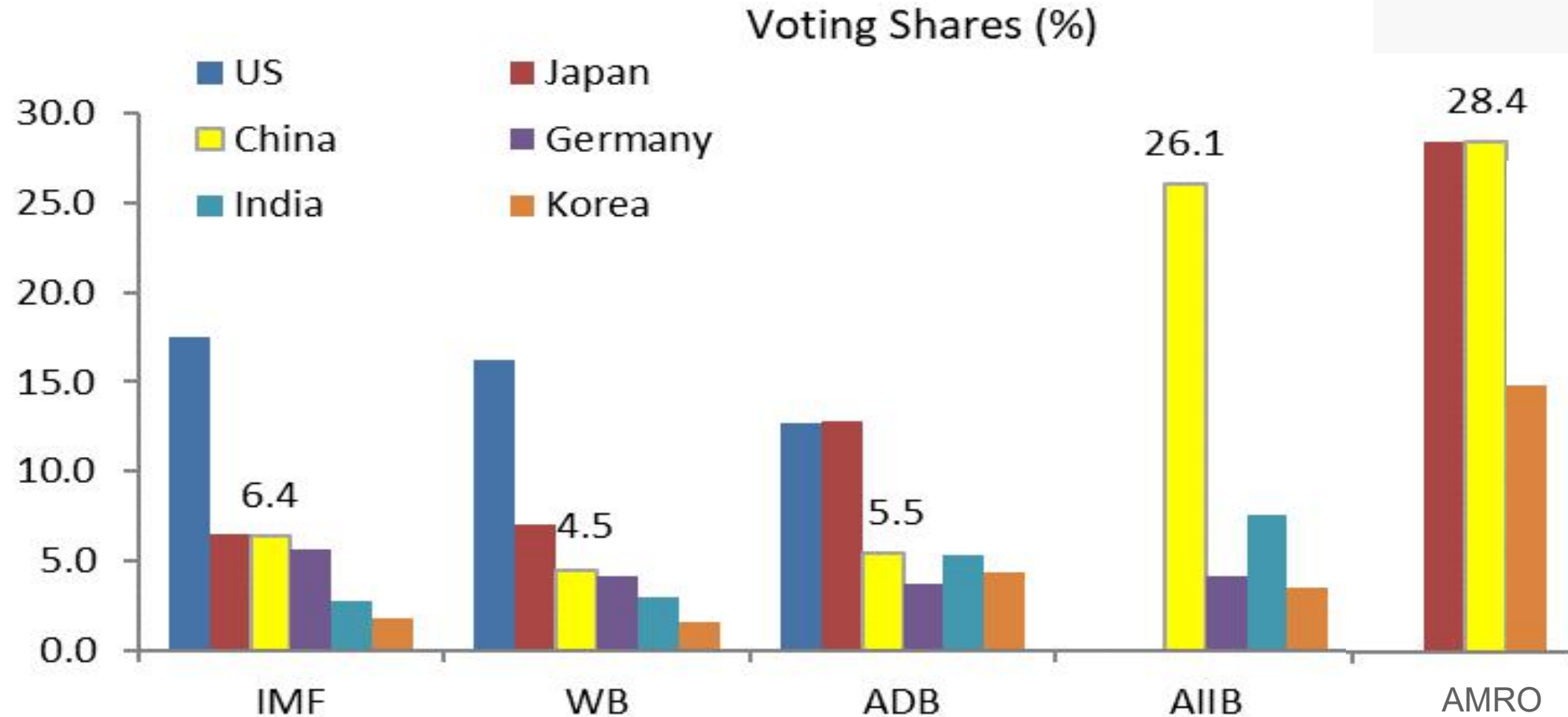


## ... and those who play rarely pay





# Though, compared with existing multilateral institutions, China likes the new ones it leads to build



Source: IMF, WB, ADB, AIIB, AMRO

# And the *Belt and Road initiative*

Supported by

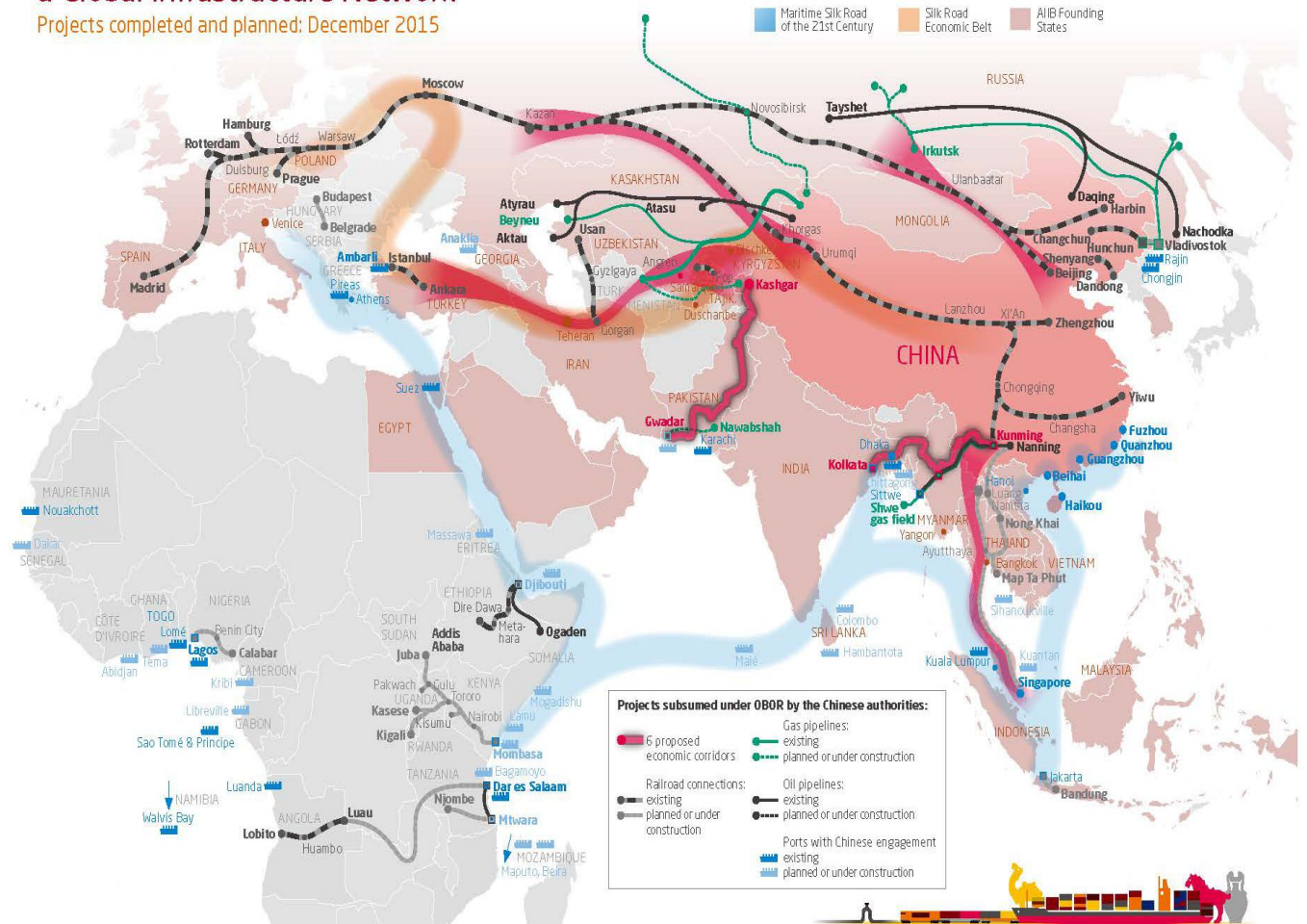
- AIIB
- NDB
- Silk Road Fund

## And a Call to Build a *Community of Shared Future for Mankind*

MERICS China Mapping

**One Belt, One Road:** With the Silk Road Initiative, China Aims to Build a Global Infrastructure Network

Projects completed and planned: December 2015



# 5 Facing the Trump Challenge:



Trump now is labeling China as a ***strategic Competitor, a Rival, Revisionist power.***

- Tillerson called China a ***new imperialist power.***

- People in China just can not comprehend what the US government is talking about.

- With US government in this Shape, it is every other country's interest to work together.

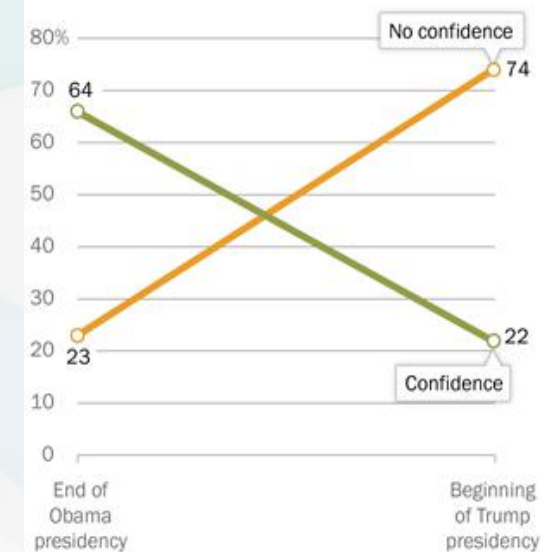
- ◆ Some kind of Europe-China joint leadership is essential to sustain the world order, even if Europe and China have different views on many issues

- ◆ While all of us need to engage the US, and bring it back to the real world

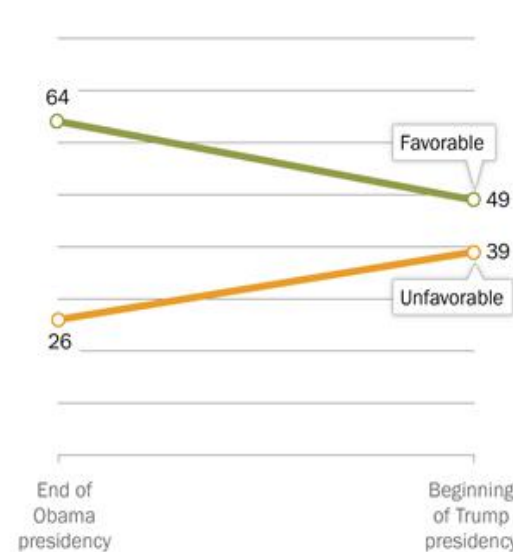
- ◆ A world needs countries to work and lead together.

**Low global confidence in Trump leads to lower ratings for U.S.**

Confidence in U.S. president



Views of U.S.



Note: Percentages are global medians based on 37 countries. Obama presidency medians are based on the most recently available data for each country between 2014 and 2016.

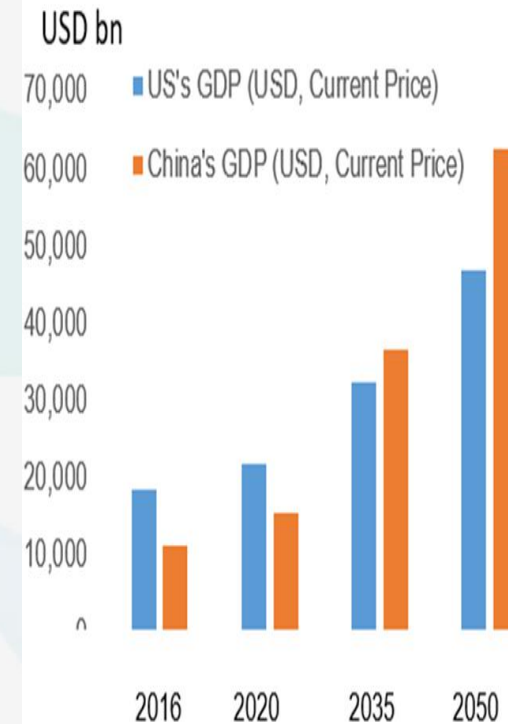
Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey, Q12a & Q30a.

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## 6 Conclusions

- China should take more responsibility as an international leader
- China should learn from the mistakes of the US and western countries in international leadership and *NOT to pursue a unilateral, egoist, coercive or monopolized international leadership*
- China should *purse a collective, win-win, attractive, limited and empowering facilitative international leadership*
- And working with other countries to provide collective leadership that the world demands.

GDP in China and the US (USD, Current Price): 2016-2050



Source: UN, IMF, PWC, AMRO

GDP in China and the US (USD, PPP): 2016-2050



Source: UN, IMF, PWC, AMRO



Thank You !