



2 November 2023



KEY ISSUES IN CHINA - U.S. RELATIONS

OPENING REMARKS:

DR. JACK D. KEM-

Dean of Academics, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College
and Chief Academic Officer, Army University

PANEL MEMBERS:

MR. MICHAEL KUGELMAN-

Director, South Asia Institute,
The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C.

DR. MEGAN GREENE-

Professor, Modern Chinese History, Department of History,
University of Kansas

MR. TERRY MOBLEY-

Diplomacy Chair, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College,
and career foreign service officer, U.S. Department of State, Washington D.C.

MODERATOR:

DR. MAHIR J. IBRAHIMOV (DR. I.)-

Director, Cultural and Area Studies Office,
U.S. Army Command and General Staff College

DATE:

Thur, 2 Nov, 2023

TIME:

1300 - 1500 (CST)

LOCATION:

Arnold Conf. Room,
Lewis and Clark Center,
Fort Leavenworth, KS

All welcome for the audience.

For outstations, the event will be available live on

CGSC's Facebook page at:

<https://www.facebook.com/USACGSC>

China (1949) and India (1947): A Comparison 2023-2024



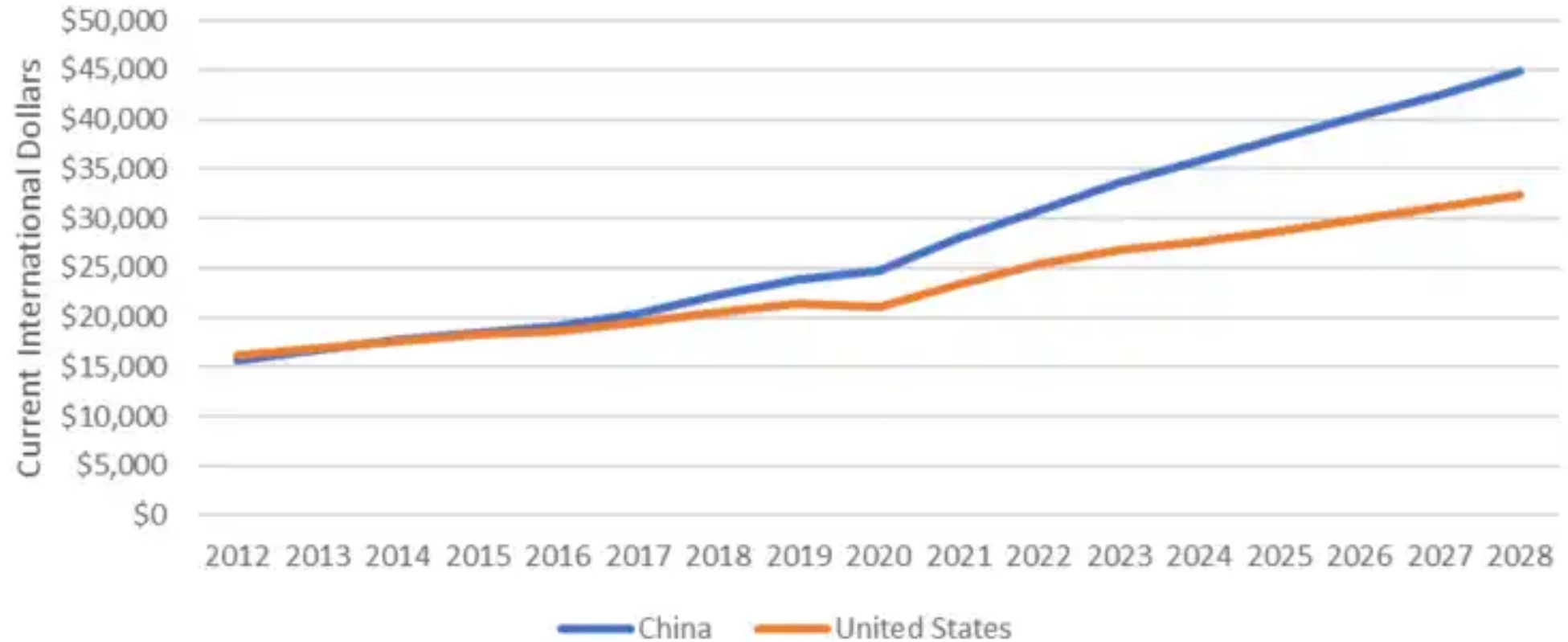
Updated: Oct 11, 2023



Population:	1,413,142,846 (91.1% Han)	1,399,179,585
Median Age:	38.4 M37.5/F39.4	28.7 M28 F29.5
Urban Population:	64.6%	36.4%
Sex Ratio:	1.09 Males/Females (at birth)	1.1 Males/Females
Maternal Mortality	23/100K Live Births	103/100K
Infant Mortality	6.49/1000 Live Births	30.36/1000
Life Expectancy	78.23 M75.5/F81.2	67.69 M65.95/F69.61
Literacy	96.8 M98.5/F95.2	74.4 M82.4/F65.8
GDP Per Capita	\$17,600	\$6,600
Electricity/Internet Access	100%/73%	99.5/46%



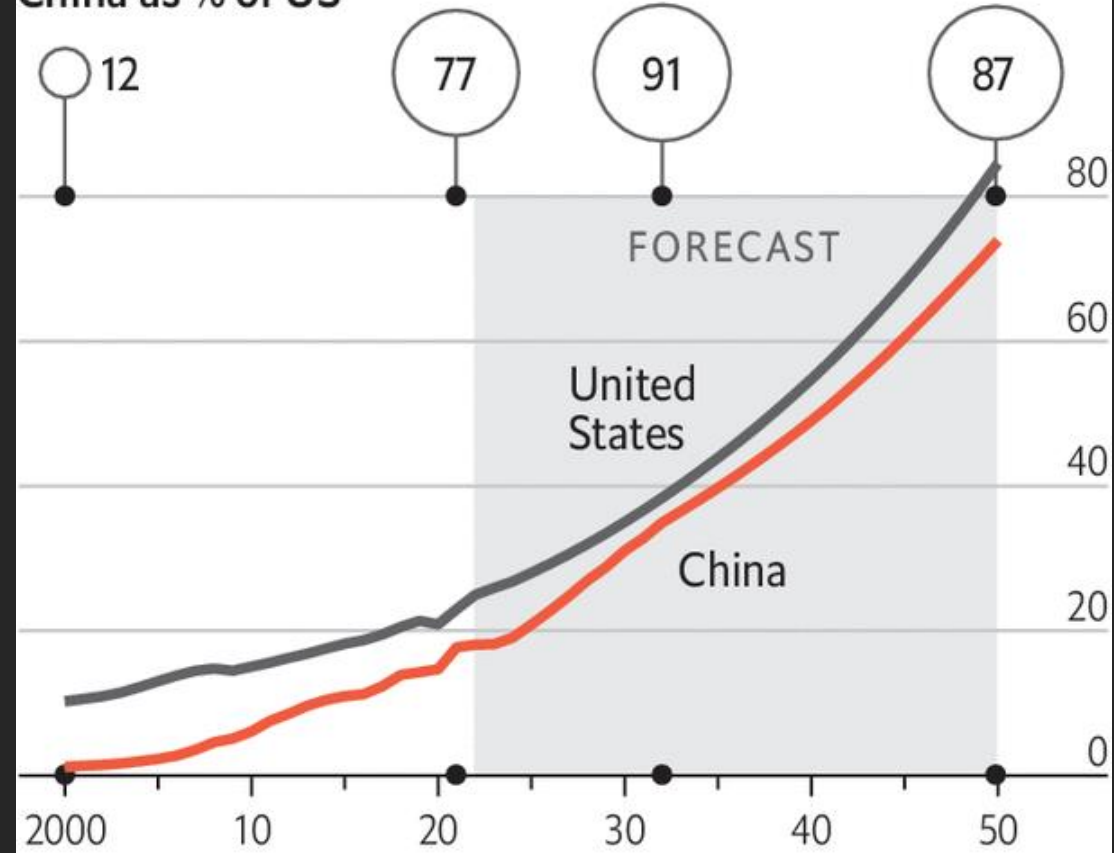
Gross Domestic Product: Purchasing Power Parity



So near, and yet

Size of economy, nominal \$trn

China as % of US



Source: Capital Economics

The Economist



ROLE OF INDIA IN U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS



Michael Kugelman

Director

South Asia Institute

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

(Michael.Kugelman@wilsoncenter.org)

**Presentation for the
Cultural and Area Studies Office
U.S. Army Command and General Staff College**

2 November 2023

unclassified

- **India in US-China Relations Through Three Frames**
 - History, geography, strategy
- **Washington's India Policy Vis-à-Vis US-China Competition**
 - Strengthen India's capacity to counter china—military and non-military tactics (bilateral and multilateral approaches)
- **Challenges for Washington's India Policy re China**
 - Bureaucratic obstacles, the Russia factor, the alliance question

FRAME 1: HISTORY

Late 1950s/Early 1960s: India as US Partner to Counter China

- Eisenhower visit to New Delhi
- Kennedy administration support for India during 1962 India-China War

1971: India Takes Back Seat as US Pursues Normalization w/China

- Nixon administration's use of Pakistan, China's ally, as mediator
- US Support for Pakistan in 1971 Bangladesh Independence War
- India-Soviet Friendship Treaty, and 20 Years of (US-India) Solitude

Recent Return of US-China Competition: India as US Partner

- "Wolf warrior diplomacy" and China's aggressive assertion of territorial claims in areas critical for US and India
- South China Sea, Taiwan Strait, Line of Actual Control, Indian Ocean



FRAME 2: GEOGRAPHY



China's Recent Westward Push Shapes US-China-India Triangle

- Legacy concerns for India re “String of Pearls” and” Encirclement”
- More recent Chinese advances: BRI (rejected by New Delhi), LaC provocations (including Ladakh), naval presence in IoR (spy ships near Andaman Sea)
- China's push west, into South Asia, intensifies India-China and US-China rivalry and strengthens US-India partnership
- Weakening of US-India geographic disconnect: Growing emphasis in Washington on the “Indo” part of the Indo-Pacific
- New bilateral deliverable: US-India Indian Ocean Dialogue

Space: Future Frontier for US-India-China Triangle?

- India joins Artemis Accords and stages lunar landing—leverage for countering China's anti-satellite clout?

FRAME 3: STRATEGY

India=Best US Strategic Bet in South Asia to Help Counter China (Strong, Bipartisan DC Consensus)

- Plenty of all-in US allies and partners elsewhere in Asia
- Need for China counterpoint in South Asia (an Indo-Pacific region home to one fourth of world population)

Why India?

- Size and location (sits astride IOR)
- Clout (most populous, one of biggest militaries, one of top economies)
- Its own long-running competition with China (exit Pakistan)
- No other options in South Asia (other SAARC states seek friendship with China)

Caveat: China not the sole lens through which the US views India



WASHINGTON'S INDIA POLICY VIS-À-VIS US-CHINA COMPETITION



- **Strengthen India's Capacity to Deter and Counter China**
 - Militarily—arms sales, intel sharing, military-to-military cooperation
 - Nonmilitarily—build up India's capabilities as a global tech player to reduce global reliance on Chinese supply chains
- *Semiconductors case study: Strengthen India's chip manufacturing capacity and attract global tech companies to India from China. This is goal of new US-India semiconductors MOU.*
- **Partner Multilaterally with India to Produce and Distribute Public Goods**
 - Provide alternatives to China's efforts (vaccines, clean energy tech, etc.) in forums like Indo-Pacific Quad and I2U2.



CHALLENGES FOR WASHINGTON'S INDIA POLICY VIS-À-VIS US-CHINA COMPETITION



- **Oppressive Bureaucracy: Where Promising Initiatives Go to Die**
 - iCET: A game changer?
- **The Russia Factor**
 - India's continued reliance on Russian arms and energy
 - Concerns about surveillance, other Russia-based threats to US weapons systems in India
 - Washington's long game pitch: Russia not a viable long-term partner for India (Russia=war-scarred, cash-strapped, sanctioned, dependent on China)
- **India's Rejection of US Alliance System**
 - Implications for war scenarios (including China-Taiwan, China-India)
 - Implications for partnership with US (no mutual defense pacts, no joint operations—risk of a “what-have-you-done-for-me-lately” conundrum and of the relationship running into a wall)
 - Nonmilitary approaches to countering China as workaround



The China-Taiwan-US Relationship (Historical Context)



**Dr. Megan Greene
Professor of Modern Chinese History
The Department of History
The University of Kansas**

**Presentation for the
Cultural and Area Studies Office
U.S. Army Command and General Staff College**

Outline

- ▶ Taiwan and China: A Brief History
- ▶ The United States and Taiwan: Another Brief History
- ▶ Taiwan's Strategic Economic Importance
- ▶ Taiwan's Symbolic Importance to the United States



Taiwan and China: A Brief History

- 1683: Taiwan Becomes Part of Qing Empire's Fujian Province
- 1887: Taiwan Elevated to Province Status
- 1895: Taiwan Given to Japan under Treaty of Shimonoseki
- 1945: Japan Stripped of its Colonies, Taiwan "Returned" to China
- 1949: Republic of China Government Retreats to Taiwan



1947 Chinese stamps commemorating the "recovery" of Taiwan by the Republic of China.

Taiwan and China: A Brief History

- ▶ 1949-1991: Both the ROC and the PRC claim to be Legitimate Government of all of China, including Taiwan
- ▶ 1991: ROC Relinquishes Claim to Govern all of China – Governs “Free Area” of Taiwan and Small Islands, PRC Continues to Believe in “One China”
- ▶ 1990s-2000s: Growing Calls in Taiwan for “One China, One Taiwan”
- ▶ 1996 to Present: PRC Attempts to Influence Elections and Politics in Taiwan



1958 PRC Poster: “We Must Liberate Taiwan” (Note the US Soldier Carrying a Torch on Taiwan)

The United States and Taiwan: Another Brief History

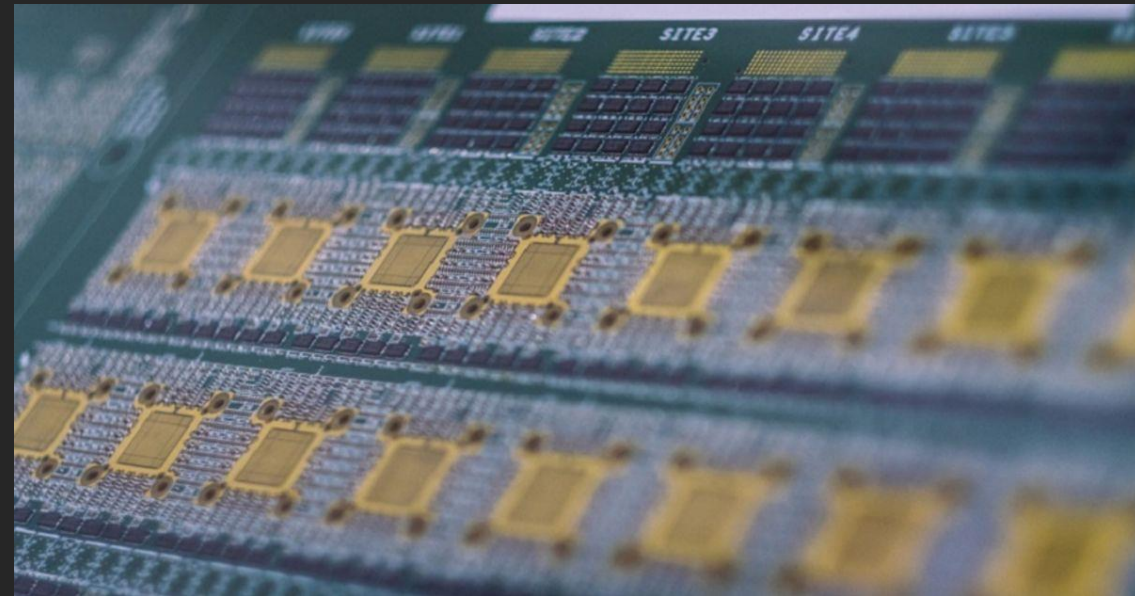
- WWII-1949: US Aid to China
- 1950-1965: US Aid to ROC Government in Taiwan
- 1971: UN Members Vote to Give Security Seat to PRC, ROC Ousted
- 1979: US Recognizes PRC, Derecognizes Taiwan
- 1979: US Congress Enacts Taiwan Relations Act
 - US Must Provide Taiwan with Defensive Arms
 - US Must "Maintain Capacity" to Defend Taiwan



1960: Eisenhower Visits Taiwan

Taiwan's Strategic Economic Importance

- ▶ 1950s-1970s: US Support for Taiwan's Economic Development
 - ▶ Financial Aid, Advisors, Technologies
- ▶ 1950s-1990s: ROC Emphasis on Scientific and Technical Development
 - ▶ Government Investment in Education
 - ▶ Government Supported R&D
- ▶ Taiwan Semiconductor
 - ▶ 2023: Taiwan Produces over 60% of all semiconductors





Five “Key Issues” in China-U.S. Relations.



**Mr. Terry Mobley
Diplomacy Chair
U.S. Army Command and General Staff College
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.
A career foreign service officer
U.S. Department of State
Washington, DC.**

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Taiwan

- ROC (Nationalists) move government to Taiwan following defeat by Communists on the Mainland in 1949
- 1979 U.S. establishes diplomatic relations with People's Republic of China; thereafter unofficial relations with Taiwan
- 1979 Taiwan Relations Act - deter reunification by force; provide defensive arms to Taiwan; followed by three joint communiqués and six assurances
- 2022 Taiwan Enhanced Resilience Act - provided financial assistance for U.S. arms sales to Taiwan and mandates U.S.-Taiwan military training
- People's Republic of China (PRC) sees the reunification of Taiwan with the Mainland as part of its "great rejuvenation" and overcoming its century of humiliation (1839-1949)
- More aggressive PRC posture toward Taiwan since Xi Jinping came to power in 2012.



South China Sea

- Freedom of Navigation / Importance of Sea Lanes
- United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS)
- China's nine dash line
- Competing claims (China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Philippines, Brunei, Malaysia)
- U.S.–Philippines Mutual Defense Treaty (w/2023 Bilateral Defense Guidelines that include responding to attacks against Philippine forces, aircraft, or public vessels "anywhere" in the South China Sea)
- U.S. efforts to promote maritime domain awareness in the Indo–Pacific
- U.S. Indo–Pacific Maritime Security Initiative



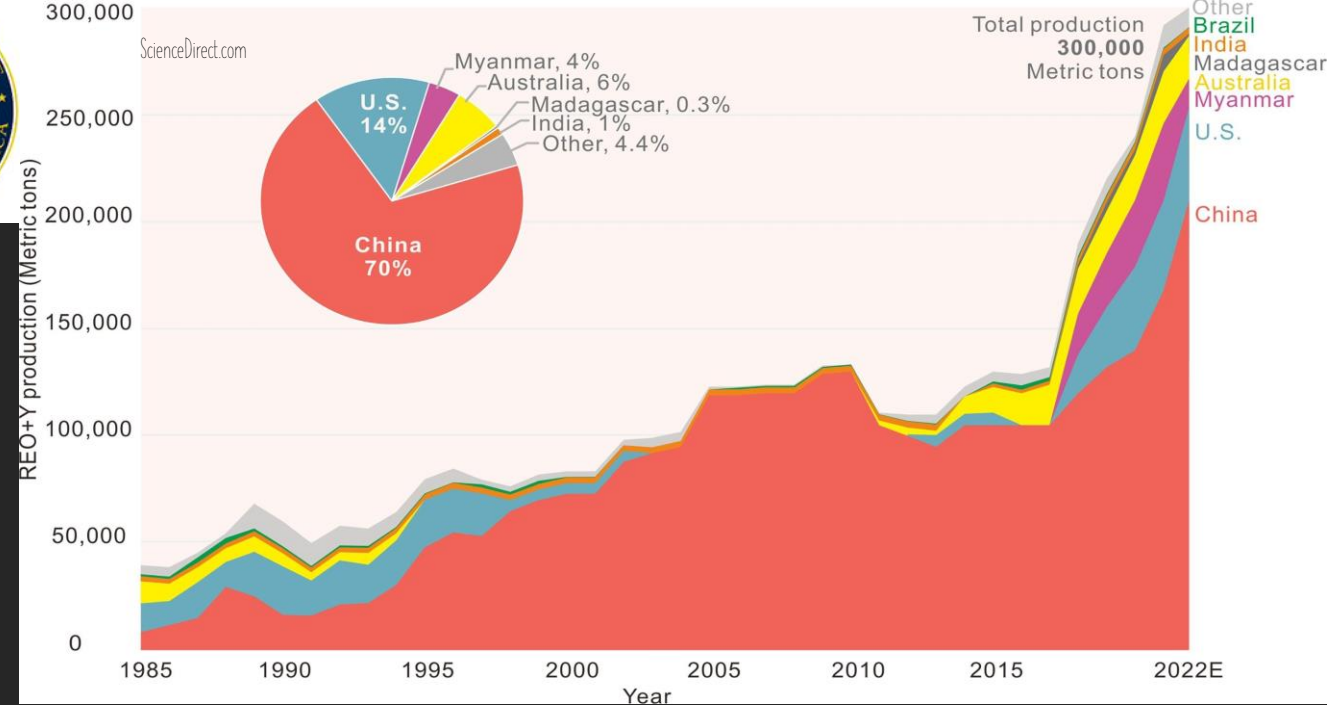
Senkaku / Diaoyu Islands

- The U.S. takes a neutral stance in regard to the competing sovereignty claims by China, Japan, and Taiwan.
- The Okinawa Reversion Treaty between the U.S. and Japan provided administrative rights over the islands to Japan.
- The U.S.-Japan Security treaty applies to attacks against Japan or the United States "in the territories under the administration of Japan," making the treaty applicable to the Senkakus.
- In response to increased Chinese activities near the islands, the U.S. has used stronger language since 2012 to reiterate that the U.S. treaty commitment to Japan includes the Senkakus.



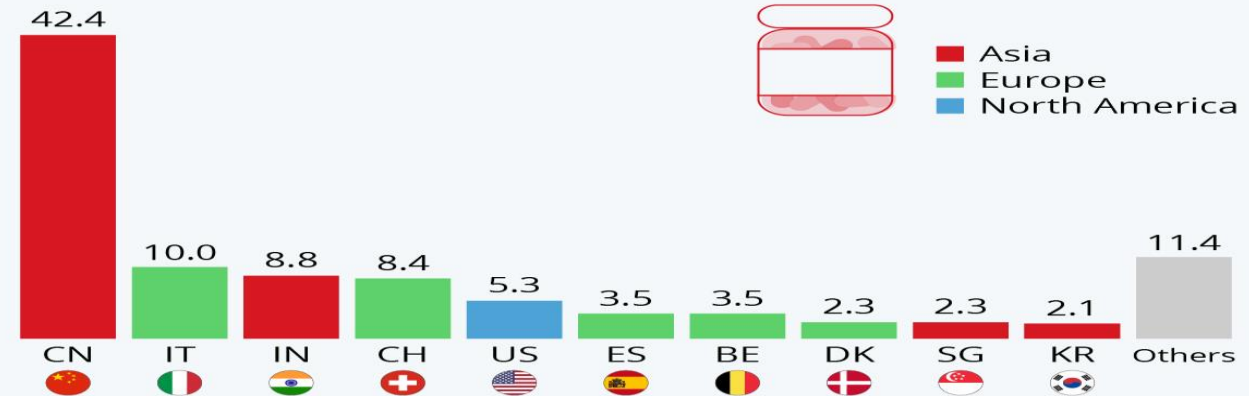
U.S. Supply Chain & Other Vulnerabilities

- Rare Earth and other minerals essential to U.S. economy and national security.
- Pharmaceuticals critical to U.S. healthcare and economy.
- Precursors shipped to drug cartels in Mexico feeding fentanyl crisis in U.S.



China Dominates the Antibiotics Market

Distribution of total global antibiotics export value in 2021, by country (in percent)



Source: ITC



Questions/Answers/Comments

Organization and Capabilities



Source documents provide guidance for training in three broad areas.

- 1) **Core Cultural Competencies:** Core cultural competencies include areas such as understanding culture, applying organizational awareness, cultural perspective taking, and cultural adaptability.
- 2) **Regional/Technical Competencies:** Regional/technical competencies deal with applying regional information and operating in a regional environment.
- 3) **Leader/Influence Functions:** Leader/influence functions include strategic (cultural) agility, (cultural) systems thinking, cross-cultural influences, organizational cultural competence, and utilizing interpreters/advisors.

CJCSI 1800.01D (Officer PME Policy) and CJCSI 1805.01A (Enlisted PME Policy).



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