

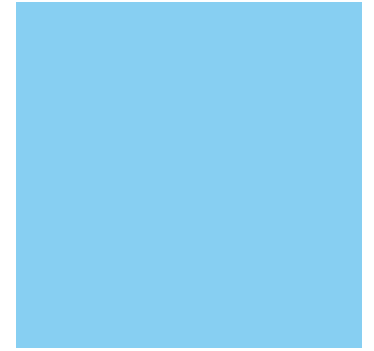
China's Expanding Multilateralism in Asia:

Institutionalization of Interests (and Influence?)

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Structure of Presentation:



- a. Early journey: Participating in ASEAN-led multilateral institutions since the early 1990s**
- b. Evolving process: Creating China-centered institutions (at regional & sub-regional levels)**
- c. Emerging 3rd pillar? Reshaping the Asian regional architecture and order**

China's BRI: (Not a single policy) an umbrella cooperative framework: (a) aimed at promoting country-specific connectivity projects; (b) pursued bilaterally; (c) shaped by sub-state & national dynamics between both sides

Early Journey:

China's participation in the ASEAN-based regional institutions



- **Phase 1 (Early 1990s):**
Suspicious & cautious (ASEAN Regional Forum, ASEAN-China SOM)
- **Phase 2 (1996-2000):**
Gradually positive & active (ASEM, ASEAN Plus Three process [APT] incl. CMI, FEALAC)
- **Phase 3 (2001-2012):**
Increasingly proactive (ASEAN-China FTA, East Asia Summit, ADMM+)

Evolving **China-centered Multilateralism**



- **Directions:** (a) SCO (formerly Shanghai Five); (b) Boao Forum for Asia, CAEXPO, SPT, Xiangshan Forum; (c) AIIB, other development banks, LMC
- **Dimensions:** (a) Goals: ***Interests*** across domains; (b) Means: Mix of ***instrumentality, integration, interdependence & identity***; (c) Processes: ***Bilateralism-multilateralism nexus***
- **Drivers:** (a) CCP regime interests; (b) U.S.-related structural pressures; (c) “the other powers” & regional countries’ responses

An emerging “3rd pillar” in Asian architecture?



	Organizing Principles	Power Relations
1st Pillar - U.S.-led alliance system	Collective defense - Threat-based	- Asymmetric bilateralism - U.S.-dominated
2nd Pillar - ASEAN-led regional multilateralism	Cooperative security - Norms-based (<i>the ASEAN Way</i>)	- Sovereign equality - Institutionally centered and “led” by small states
3rd Pillar - China-centered regional arrangements & bilateral partnerships	“Common destiny” - <u>Remunerative-based</u> , with emphasis on <i>geography</i> (Asia) and <i>identities</i> (developing countries with diverse civilizations & a common need for development)	- “Interdependence” (or uneven dependency?) - China-centered <i>China-plus (with a web of differentiated bilateralisms)?</i>