

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The massive People's Republic of China's (PRC) military expenditure for the past 20 years, the Republic of China's (ROC) aggressive international behavior, and the rising tensions of international politics have brought the PRC-ROC conflict into a new level of intensity: a push and pull game, where PRC wanted a unification, while ROC demanded independence. Since the two sides did not show any effort to alter their firm stance, the two sides are now entering the "struggle for recognition." The struggle for recognition is an academic term which introduced by Anthony Van Fossen to portray the diplomatic competition of the ROC and the PRC in acquiring recognition from foreign nations, especially in Oceania, be it in the case of Nauru in 2005, Vanuatu in 2004, and other Taipei-Beijing's counterparts in pacific.¹

The struggle for recognition between the PRC and the ROC is historical. The two sides were the same country before the event of civil war erupted between China's communists and China's nationalists. The civil war came to an end in 1949 with the Mao's Chinese Communist Party (CCP) emerged as a winner and officially ousted Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang Party (KMT) to the island of the ROC² --

¹ Anthony Van Fossen, 2007. The Struggle for Recognition: Diplomatic Competition Between China and Taiwan in Oceania. *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, vol. 12, no. 2

² Kerry Dumbaugh. 2009. Republic of China's Political Status: Historical Background and Its Implications for U.S. Policy. Congressional Research Service 7-5700

which is far-off of the mainland. Since then, the two Sinos played the "struggle for recognition," as has been mentioned earlier. Even though the struggle exists, but the two sides agreed that there is only 'One China.' However, both sides have their interpretation of what 'One China' is. Mao's Communist Party claimed that one and only legitimate China is the PRC, the country with Beijing as its capital, within the mainland. On the other hand, Kai-shek's Kuomintang Party argued that they are the 'true nationalist' because they inherit the noble pride as the Chinese people; therefore, China's legitimacy should be in the ROC's side in Taipei. Under these conditions, the game of recognition is more likely to unfold.

The first battle of recognition occurred when both sides claimed the recognition from the United Nations. When the United Nations established in 1945, the ROC, as known then, became an original member of the United Nations and was one of the five Permanent Members of the Security Council.³ However, today, ROC is no longer the Permanent Member of the United Nations Security Council but PRC, along with the United States of America, Russia, France, and the United Kingdom. To understand the shift, people need to go back to October 1971. It was the year when United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) Resolution 2758 designated the PRC as the sole legitimate government of all China and thereby settled the China issue 'once and for all, politically, legally and procedurally' as far as Beijing was concerned.⁴ On

³ Gary Klintworth. 2007. "Republic of China's United Nations membership bid". The Pacific Review Vol 7 No 3 447-455, Routledge

⁴ Ibid

the complete form, Resolution 2758 under Restoration of the lawful rights of the PRC in the United Nations stated that⁵;

".. recognize the representatives of its Government as the only legitimate representatives of China to the United Nations, and to expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations ...".

After UNGA Resolution 2758 passed, all European countries, except for the Vatican and most American countries, recognized the PRC, while delegitimizing the ROC with their treatment to the country as an economic entity instead of a political power. After gaining recognition from the Western powers, PRC continued to extend their influence to the Africa continent. The African continent is unique in the context of this struggle for recognition. They are unique because, in 1971, when the General Assembly voting was taken, there were about 35 countries who voted against PRC. Among those who voted against were primarily from Africa, such as Chad, Gabon, Liberia, and others.⁶ But since 1971, majority of African countries such as Chad, Senegal, and Liberia have switched their diplomatic ties from the ROC to the PRC.⁷ As the result, in late 2005, the ROC only obtained recognition from four African countries that are Burkina Faso, Swaziland, Malawi, Gambia, and Sao Tome and

⁵ The United Nations documents, General Assembly 26th Session (1971-1972).

<https://research.un.org/en/docs/ga/quick/regular/26> [Accessed on 28th September 2019]

⁶ Wendover Production. 2018. How Africa become China's China. Available on YouTube https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zQV_DKQkT8o [accessed on 29th September 2019]

⁷ Anthony Spaeth, 2006. How many countries recognize Taiwan these days?

<https://www.asiasentinel.com/p/how-many-countries-recognize-taiwan-these-days> [accessed on 19th June 2020]

Principe.⁸ Cobus van Staden, senior researcher on China-Africa relations, argued that this shift was due to the PRC's resurgent in Africa, through the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation with all their infrastructure investments, that simply become irresistible.⁹

The ROC-PRC struggle for recognition did not stop in Africa. The ROC-PRC struggle for recognition continued, and the target was moved Eastward to the Pacific Islands nations. For years, there has been massive, intense diplomatic competition between the ROC and the PRC. One example is the contest to win political recognition from Vanuatu. Vanuatu is an island nation in the South Pacific Ocean, northeast of New Caledonia, east of Australia, and west of Fiji.¹⁰ Apart from its well-known tourism industry,¹¹ Vanuatu has recorded strong economic growth¹² in the last decade which shaped its significance in the region. On November 3rd, 2004, the ROC and Prime Minister of Vanuatu Serge Vohor established full diplomatic relations, less than two months after Vanuatu pledged its allegiance to PRC.¹³ But then, later, the

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Peter Fabricius, 2018. Taiwan has lost all its friends in Africa – except eSwatini. <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/taiwan-has-lost-all-its-friends-in-africa-except-eswatini> [accessed on 19th June 2020]

¹⁰ Nations Online, n. y. Oceania: Vanuatu. <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/vanuatu.htm> [accessed on 19th June 2020]

¹¹ Vanuatu's tourism industry is known for its unique island geography, relatively pristine environment, and its large endowment of cultural diversity. Verdone & Seidi, 2012. Fishing and Tourism in the Vanuatu Economy. Gland, Switzerland: IUCN, pp. 12

¹² Schmaljohann & Prizzon, 2014. The Age of Choice: Fiji and Vanuatu in the New Aid Landscape. Shaping Policy for Development Report. Overseas Development Institute: London

¹³ The Star, 2004. China, Taiwan claim Vanuatu's recognition. <https://www.thestar.com.my/news/regional/2004/11/05/china-taiwan-claim-vanuatius-recognition> [Accessed on 30th April 2020]

official from the PRC claimed that Vanuatu will not switch its diplomatic recognition from Beijing to Taipei and withstand to the "One China" principle.¹⁴

Not long after announcing the country's ties with the ROC, Serge Vohor received a no-confidence vote. He was ousted from power and quickly replaced by new Prime Minister Ham Lini. He was quick to inform PRC that any deal with the ROC was no longer valid because of the shift in the government. He also restated that the government of Vanuatu continued to adhere to and respect the One-China Policy.¹⁵ Many argued excessive pressure from the PRC, primarily in financial matters, lead the withdrawal of the ROC-Vanuatu agreement. International relations scholars refer this condition as the act of "chequebook diplomacy." Chequebook diplomacy is a diplomatic strategy to obtain diplomatic recognition in return for aid.¹⁶ In this scheme, donor state will provide aid to the recipient state while implicitly expect a diplomatic recognition in return.

Another example of the ROC-PRC struggle for recognition in Pacific islands is to gain recognition from Nauru. Nauru and Vanuatu shared similar characteristic as a country. They both are small state with minimum resources required to build a well-established domestic economy. Vanuatu's GDP in 2005 was \$390 million, ranked

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ BBC, 2004. Vanuatu Scraps Deal with Taiwan. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/4101169.stm> [bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/4101169.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/4101169.stm) [Accessed on 30th April 2020]

¹⁶ Joel Atkinson, 2010. China-Taiwan diplomatic competition and the Pacific Islands. *The Pacific Review*, 23: 4, 407 — 427

186 of the 195 countries.¹⁷ Even worse, Nauru's GDP in 2005 was only \$31 million, dropped 0.4% compared to 2004, ranked 194 of the 195 countries.¹⁸ In the rational choice theory tradition, the choices a person (or unified entity such as a state) makes tend to maximize total utility, where utility is synonymous with the modern concept of reinforcement to achieve specified ends.¹⁹

With all of those economic disadvantages, small state like Vanuatu and Nauru should make economic stability as their specified end. Therefore, given its excessive chequebook diplomacy, aligning with the PRC is a rational choice to maximize total utility. It also justified Vanuatu's decision to give diplomatic recognition to the PRC for the exchange of aid, even at the expense of losing cooperation with the ROC. However, given the similar characteristic as the small aid-dependent state, unlike Vanuatu, Nauru is unique because Nauru chose to sever its relations with the PRC and established diplomatic ties with the ROC instead. By denying the PRC's chequebook diplomacy, the establishment of diplomatic ties between the two countries was reinforced with a joint communique between the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mark Chen and Nauruan President Ludwig Scotty in May 2005.²⁰ The action

¹⁷ Country Economy, n.y. Vanuatu GDP – Gross Domestic Product.

<https://countryeconomy.com/gdp/vanuatu?year=2005> [Accessed on 20th June 2020]

¹⁸ Country Economy, n.y. Nauru GDP – Gross Domestic Product.

<https://countryeconomy.com/gdp/nauru?year=2005> [Accessed on 20th June 2020]

¹⁹ R. J. Herrnstein, 1990. Rational Choice Theory. *American Psychologist* Vol, 45, No. 3, pp. 356-367

²⁰ Joy Su, 2005. Nauru switches its allegiance back to Taiwan from China.

<https://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2005/05/15/2003254718> [Accessed on 30th April 2020]

that Nauru took implied that there was something beyond rational choice tradition, creating an anomaly and uniqueness that entitled to research.

Another reason that justified Nauru's uniqueness on this research is that Nauru is one of the few countries in the world that have experienced diplomatic switch with the ROC and the PRC more than once respectively after the UNGA Resolution 2758 passed and took into force in October 1971. In the Pacific region, on paper, Nauru is one of just two countries, aside from Vanuatu, that have switched its allegiance from the ROC to the PRC and vice versa for more than once from 1971 to 2005. But in practice, in this case, Nauru is the only one. Nauru maintains official relations with the ROC in 1980-2002, switched to the PRC in 2002, and switched back to the ROC in 2005.²¹ On the other hand, Vanuatu established and maintained diplomatic relations with the PRC in 1982-2004.²² In 2004, Vanuatu tried to switch alliance to the ROC but the policy was invalid because of the sudden shift in the Vanuatu's administration.²³ Thus, Vanuatu's diplomatic switch in 2004 from Beijing to Taipei was off the record. Given the status quo of Nauru, the researcher could weigh on the historical context by comparing the likelihood of conflict procurement between Nauru-ROC cooperation in 1980-2002/2005 and Nauru-PRC cooperation in 2003-2005 as the basis of research statement.

²¹ Gwynne Dyer, 2019. The game of Beijing versus Taipei. <https://www.bangkokpost.com/opinion/opinion/1815004/the-game-of-beijing-versus-taipei> [Accessed on 21st June 2020]

²² Embassy of The People's Republic of China in The Republic of Vanuatu, 2008. China-Vanuatu Relations. <http://vu.chineseembassy.org/eng/zwgx/t467290.htm> [Accessed on 21st June 2020]

²³ BBC, op, cit

1.2 Research Question

Why did Nauru's Government choose to recognize the Republic of China over the People's Republic of China in 2005 politically?

1.3 Research Objective

This research aims to provide an explanation or the motives behind Nauru's government's decision to recognize the ROC instead of the PRC in 2005 politically.

1.4 Conceptual Framework

1.4.1 Theorization

Aware of its vulnerability as a small state, in shaping a policy, Nauru must recognize its interest and exercise its power under the framework of small state diplomacy. Small state diplomacy is kind of diplomacy carried by not only 'small' but 'new' states, but also a state that find it difficult to build up a national foreign policy and diplomatic apparatus.²⁴ Given the small state's status quo, small state's behavior was mainly to avoid conflict with others.²⁵ Conflict-avoiding strategy is potentially a small state's source of power. To avoid the conflict, small states tent to find themselves in a non-competitive relationship with other parties and seek to

²⁴ Baldur Thorhallsson & Alyson J.K. Bailes, 2016. Small State Diplomacy. in Costas M. Constantinou, Pauline Kerr, and Paul Sharp. 2016. The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy. London: SAGE Publications

²⁵ Jeanne A. K. Hey, 2003. Small States in World Politics: Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, p. 5

maintain good relations with their partners.²⁶ To minimize the possibility of upcoming conflict, Keohane suggested small states to find and join alliances.²⁷ There are two versions of alliance strategy for the small state, that are; 1) bandwagon (aligning with the most powerful or threatening actors) and 2) balance (aligning with the weaker actors against powerful or threatening actors).²⁸ Thus, when it comes to choosing an ally, small state like Nauru would weigh the possibility of conflict in that cooperation.

Therefore, in analyzing the behavior of Nauru, the researcher would utilize theories that could facilitate minor use of conflict within a cooperation. In the post-Cold War era, Keohane argued that military security, and the conflict around military issues, plays a dominant role in certain parts of the world where complex interdependence does not influence.²⁹ So it could be understood that the complex interdependence practices help to reduce the conflict tensions. Thus, the promotion of complex interdependence in any cooperation, including Nauru's, are the important

²⁶ Sabija Kajnc and Marjan Svetlicic, 2010. What it takes to run an EU Presidency: Study of Competences in Slovenia's Public Administration. *Halduskultuur – Administrative Culture* 11 (1), 84-109

²⁷ Baldur Thorhallsson. 2018. Studying small states: A review. *Small States & Territories*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 17-34.

²⁸ Baldur Thorhallsson & Sverrir Steinsson. 2017. Small State Foreign Policy, in Cameron Thies. 2017. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford University Press: Oxford

²⁹ Robert Keohane & Joseph Nye, 1998. Power and Interdependence in the information age. *Foreign Affairs*. September-October. 77 (5). Pp.81-95.

means to reduce conflict.³⁰³¹ Therefore, its essential for Nauru to have a cooperation that include complex interdependence practices inside.

1.4.1.1 Complex Interdependence

The expansion of the Kantian zone of peace is one of the essential parts of the Liberalism school of thought. Democratic peace theory, one of the branches of the Liberalism part, is the most prominent theory to bridge between the ideological and practical implementation of liberalism. Nonetheless, in addition to the Democratic peace theory, another theory that puts the spread of zone of peace as its noble end is a Complex Interdependence theory, because the basis of the international economy and political Liberalism relies on the idea of democracy over authoritarianism, peace over conflict, interdependence, institutional cooperation, and free trade over protectionism.³²

This theory, a certain degree of similarity with the theory of Democratic peace, which could be observed in terms of defining their ends and the nature of states as the "peace agent." However, the relations between Democratic peace theory and Complex Interdependence is so critical in shaping a stable world order noting that in

³⁰ Paul D'Anieri, 2011. *International Politics: Power and Purpose in Global Affairs*. Boston: Cengage Learning, p. 184

³¹ Huseyin Isiksal, op, cit

³² James E. Dougherty & Robert L. Pfaltzgraff. 2001. *Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey*. Pearson, 5th ed

the post-Cold War, complex interdependence further prevails in the democratic zone of peace.³³

In complex interdependence theory, there is a clear division between dependence and interdependence. Dependence means a state of being determined or significantly affected by external forces, while interdependence, in its most simple definition, means mutual dependence. Interdependence in world politics refers to situations characterized by "reciprocal effects" among countries or actors in different countries.³⁴ The term "reciprocal effects" is a great deal for the perfect implementation of Complex interdependence. Complex Interdependence is not merely about making a mutually beneficial relationship among states. It also involves a mutual cost, mutual loss, and mutual needs among states within that cooperation. The mutuality among states will create prominent connectivity whose destruction would bring unacceptable damage to both³⁵ since the states in the complex interdependence's circle of connectivity are mutually dependent on one another.

On the perspective of practicality as a theory, Complex Interdependence refers to three dimensions.³⁶ First is about multiple channels of communications, a reference to the idea that not only state that matters, but also the society, multinational

³³ Huseyin Isiksal. Op, cit

³⁴ Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye. 1977. Power and Interdependence: World Politics in transition. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

³⁵ Timofei Bordachev & Dmitrii Suslov, n.d. Understanding International Relations Theory: Complex Interdependence. National Research University Higher School of Economics. <https://www.coursera.org/lecture/international-relations-theory/complex-interdependence-aRnJ1> [accessed on 3 March 2020]

³⁶ Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye. 2011. Power and Interdependence. Pearson

corporations, goods of the trade, unofficial relations, are among the few. In the world of perfect Complex Interdependence, national interest is maintained by 'non-territorial' actors such as multinational corporations, international organizations, and transnational social movements.³⁷ Second is the absence of hierarchy among issues. In the world of realism, issues are categorized into high-politics (including but not limited to military and power) and low-politics (including but not limited to trade, finance, environment, and gender). Contrarywise, in the world of Complex interdependence, there is a mixture of issues that made them equally important and unclassified.³⁸ In this context, Complex Interdependence can also be defined as an economic transnationalism concept. It assumes that states, along with its national interest, are not the only important actors. Social welfare issues share center stage with security issues on the global agenda, and cooperation is the dominant characteristic of international politics as conflict.³⁹ The third is about the lesser importance of the use of military forces. Economic liberalism believes that production creates wealth, and wealth creates prosperity. Meaning, the more we produce, the more income we will earn. The more income we earn, the broader access to prosperity we will get. However, production only comes through economic activity, not the military.

³⁷ Isiksal, Op, cit.

³⁸ Thomas Walker, 2013. *Classics of International Relations: Essays in Criticism*. Taylor and Francis, Hoboken.

³⁹ Marc A. Genest. 1996. *Conflict and Cooperation: Evolving Theories of International Relations*. Belmont, CA: Thomson & Wadsworth.

Similarly, the military is an unproductive sector because, in the military, we are spending money, not creating money. It is the case since the war itself demands a lot of resources and, in severe cases, paralyzes the industrial sector and, in turn, puts the economy in general onto a hold, and the impelling sectors of a state economy cannot function as in a state of zero conflict.⁴⁰ For war is costly, then Complex interdependence prefers economic-based relations rather than military.

However, to make Complex Interdependence going into a positive direction, there is one important pre-condition, interdependence among states has to be symmetric, not asymmetric.⁴¹ Symmetric means that states have a balanced or more or less equal significance to one another. Significance in Complex Interdependence could be embodied in various forms, be it balanced trade flow, balanced country size, balanced state's position within the system, and mutual political recognition are among the few. The reason why interdependence must be symmetric is that positive interdependence should bring symmetric damage to both parties when one party decided to break the cooperation. Moreover, asymmetric relations will not create interdependence. Instead, it creates absolute dependence. Asymmetric relations will establish a world where there are states who are less dependent, and there are others who are widely dependent. This condition is extremely harmful because of the instability that it will create in the day after.

⁴⁰ Raul Parts. 2016. Complex Interdependence and Peace: a Comparative Analytical Study of Ukraine, Georgia, and CIS member-states from 2000 – 2014. MA Thesis in Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tartu, Estonia

⁴¹ Bordachev & Suslov, Op, cit.

Instability exists because asymmetric interdependence will establish a one-way vulnerability. In dependence relations, when the relations broke, the dependent state will be hurt the most while the less dependent state will have nothing to lose. In these situations, less dependent actors can often use the asymmetric interdependence relationship as a source of power in bargaining over an issue and perhaps affecting other issues.⁴² Hence, manipulation of asymmetrical sensitivity and vulnerability interdependence specific to issue areas becomes an instrument of state policy.⁴³ So what will going to happen in the future is that less dependent states will exploit the vulnerability of the dependent state in a way that is usually unacceptable such as blackmailing, unbalance bargaining, coercion, and demanding the weaker side to follow what the powerful actor wants.

In symmetric interdependence, any attempt of conflict procurement of states that are involved in interdependence could cost the destruction of the cooperation, and in turn, it could create equal collateral damage to both parties. That is why it is logical to say that symmetric interdependence will tend to find a peaceful way to resolve the conflict to prevent more considerable damage for both. Conversely, in asymmetric interdependence, equal collateral damage does not exist. If the cooperation broke because of the existing attempt of conflict procurement, the only side who is going to experience unacceptable damage is the weaker side or, to some

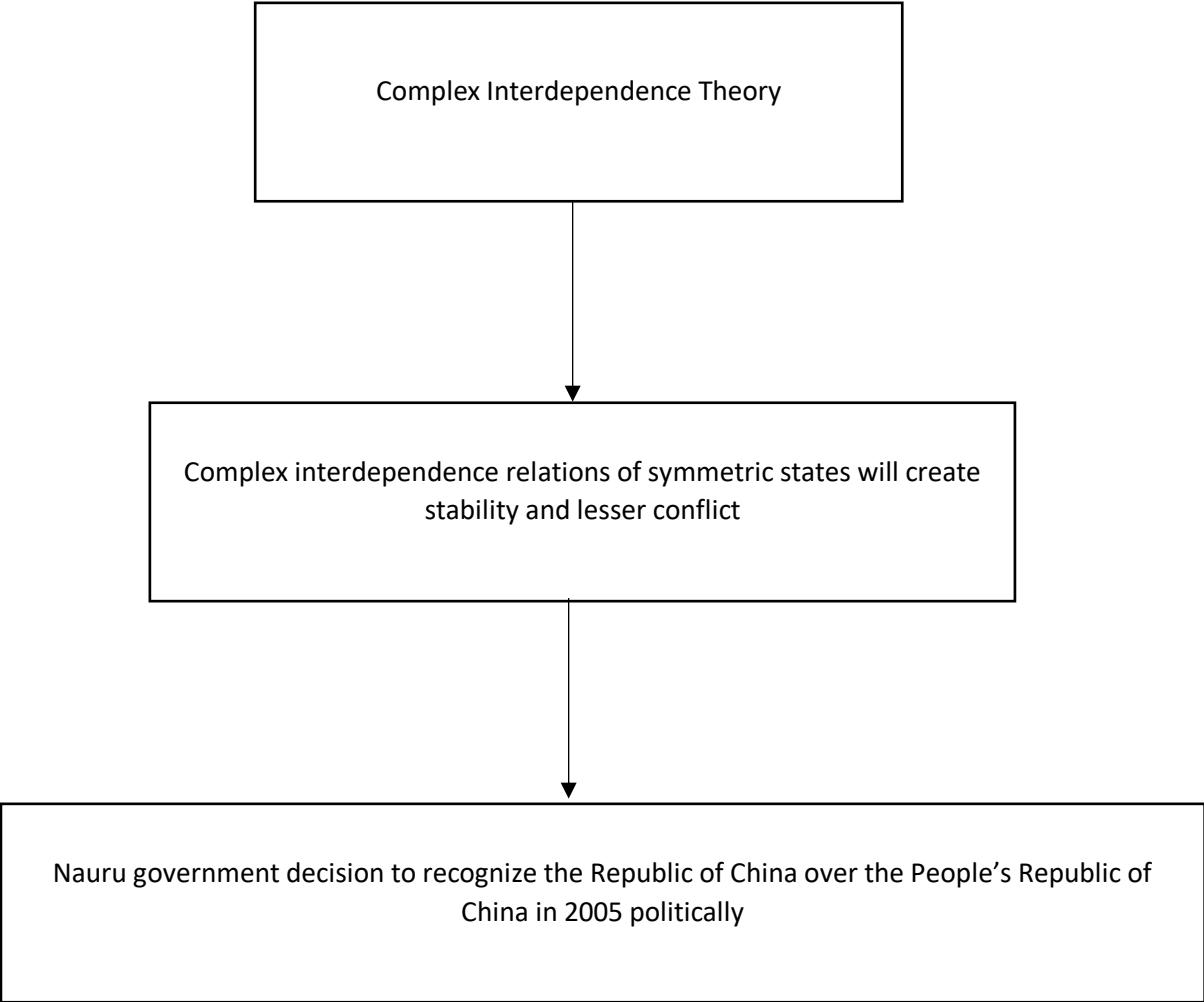
⁴² Keohane & Nye, 1977, Op, cit.

⁴³ Keohane & Nye, 2011, Op, cit.

extent, the dependent state. Thus, the less dependent state will have no incentive to resolve conflict in a peaceful means.

1.5 Logical Flowchart

Figure 1.1. Logical Flowchart



Complex Interdependence theory argues that symmetric relations between states along with the idea of multiple channels of communication, the abolishment of a hierarchy of issues, and zero use of military forces will create stable and coherent cooperation since any act of cooperation violation will create unacceptable damage to both. Comparatively, asymmetric relations will only create a one-way vulnerability as an access for the less dependent state to give pressure to the dependent state through negative campaigns. Therefore, complex interdependence, which are aimed to establish and expand the zone of peace through the promotion of minimum possibility of conflict in cooperation and a fair trade-off, are the main reason why in 2005, Nauru government recognize the Republic of China over the People's Republic of China in politically.

1.6 Main Argument

Based on the conceptual frameworks, the reason behind Nauru government's decision to recognize the ROC over the PRC in 2005 politically is to avoid conflict, at any cost. Aware of Nauru's small state characteristic, conflict-avoiding is one of its main strategy to survive. The researcher suggests that Nauru-ROC cooperation will less likely to generate conflict compare to Nauru-PRC cooperation. Therefore, that statement justified Nauru government's policy. However, recognizing the ROC over the PRC politically in 2005 came with a huge cost for Nauru. The consequence of that decision is that Nauru would lose huge economic advantages from the PRC. But on the other hand, what Nauru got in return for establishing diplomatic ties with the

ROC was; first, a robust and fruitful cooperation with minimum possibility of conflict, and second, advantage to bandwagon to the U.S. and Australia. Thus, the researcher suggests that those are a fair trade-off for Nauru.

1.7 Research Methodology

1.7.1 Research Type

The research type that would be used in this research is explanatory research technique. Explanatory research, also known as analytical research, aimed to identify any causal links between the factors or variables pertaining to the research problem.⁴⁴ The term explanatory research suggests that the research in question is intended to explain, rather than simply to describe, the phenomena being studied.⁴⁵ In explaining the causal relations on why things unfold, explanatory research will argue that phenomenon Y is affected by factor X. For example, the thievery phenomenon exists because of the direct effect of the insufficient income factor. Meaning that the thievery has a causal relationship with insufficient income, or insufficient income created thievery.

1.7.2 Research Scope

The research period for this thesis is 1999-2005. 1999 is the year when Nauru firstly joined the United Nations as a legitimate member. The year when Nauru was

⁴⁴ Brian Van Wyk. 2011. Research Design and Methods. POST-GRADUATE ENROLMENT AND THROUGHPUT: University of Western Cape

⁴⁵ Lisa Given. 2008. The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods: Explanatory Research. SAGE Publishing

recognized as a member of the United Nations is essential because, in the end, they have a political bargaining power that is important to be seized by both PRC and ROC. While in 2005, Nauru re-established its formal diplomatic cooperation with the ROC after three years of cooperation with the PRC since 2002.

1.7.3 Method of Data Collection

The data to be used in this research is secondary data. Secondary data analysis is an analysis of data collected by others for another primary purpose.⁴⁶ The usage of secondary data analysis is justifiable and usually utilized as a viable option for researchers who may have limited time and resources.⁴⁷ The said secondary data used to complete this research would be collected through various sources such as books, research papers, journals, news, and reports. The researcher will also use data from online articles or websites. Data collected from the internet can be used in scientific research provided that it comes from valid and reliable sources.⁴⁸

1.7.4 Method of Data Analysis

The technique of data analysis of this paper will be qualitative research. Qualitative research pertains to analyze the world, not as it is, but as the existing creature with social and historical construction. It explains why the qualitative researcher often uses 'why' and 'how' things happened and discovered the link

⁴⁶ Melissa Johnston. 2014. Secondary Data Analysis: A Method of which the Time Has Come. *Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in Libraries (QQML)*, pp. 619 –626

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ Ulber Silalahi. 2006. *Metode Penelitian Sosial*. Bandung: Unpar Press

between explanans and explanandum to create causal relations and transition from the previous and subsequent events. It means that this research will elaborate on the causal relation between explanans-explanandum by providing the process tracing of social change.⁴⁹ In the best form, qualitative research focuses on description and interpretation and might lead to the development of new concepts or theory, or an evaluation of an organizational process.⁵⁰

1.8 Structure of Chapters

The discourse structure within this thesis would be divided into four chapters, as follow:

Chapter 1 is the methodology part. It consists of the background problem of the research, the research question, theorization of the research, the main argument, and also the methodology used to perform the research. In this chapter, the rationale and justification of the case and all parties involved will be described.

Chapter II consists of supporting data for research. It explains the characterization of small state of the Republic of China and Nauru through their security capability and systemic role.

Chapter III consists of supporting data for the research. The symmetric interdependence relations between Nauru and Republic are compared to the

⁴⁹ Audie Klotz and Deepa Prakash. 2008. *Qualitative Methods in International Relations*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

⁵⁰ Beverley Hancock, Elizabeth Ockleford, and Kate Windridge. 2009. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. The NIHR Research Design Service for Yorkshire & the Humber

asymmetric dependence of the PRC. Within this chapter, the writers will elaborate further explanation of asymmetric & symmetric relations between the nations, including the surrounding pros & cons.

Chapter IV contains the link of back argumentation on why the main argument is valid and sufficient to justify the action. Lastly, it will conclude all research mechanisms and restate the finding of the research.