

# CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY DEBATES

Zhu Liqun

Chaillot Papers | September 2010



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*Zhu Liqun*

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## Note

Most of the academic articles and publications referred to in this *Chaillot Paper* are in Chinese. Wherever quoting from these various sources the author has provided translations in English, but would like to point out that some translations may be rather loose or approximate.

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Director: Álvaro de Vasconcelos

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# Preface

Álvaro de Vasconcelos

What kind of world power will China be in the next ten or twenty years? The answer to this question, which is openly debated within China's strategic community, is of paramount importance to the future of the European Union. It will determine to a large extent the nature of the international system over the coming decades. Will the new multipolar order be governed essentially by a revamped balance-of-power system or indeed by a multilateral system, in line with vital European interests? Could the world be headed towards a non-confrontational bipolar system, given that in the European press the G-2 denotes today's superpowers, 'a China-US condominium'. Some of the answers are to be found in the current Chinese strategic debate. But because China, like any other power, big or small, is not alone in the world, there is a reciprocal influence that external powers and strategic thinkers will inevitably exert in setting China's path. This is yet another reason why gaining insider knowledge of the current Chinese strategic debate is of the utmost importance.

There is perhaps no topic of greater importance to the analysis of contemporary international politics than the rise of China. The overview that Zhu Liqun sets out in this *Chaillot Paper* is remarkable in that it provides many insights that help formulate an answer to where its recent ascent as a major economic power is leading China. Her work will doubtless help readers understand better the main trends in China's strategic debate that are likely to shape its future course as a world power. As she writes, 'current debates on China's foreign policy will have a major impact on China's interaction with international society in the years to come'. Trying to understand China's rise on the basis of simplistic stereotypes hastily justified by the lack of transparency of the Chinese system will result in a grossly distorted picture. Answers must be sought in closely following China's international debate – much as Chinese analysts closely follow Europe and the world.

It will perhaps come as a surprise to many to discover in these pages how lively and contradictory the debate on the best course for China – within its strict scholarly confines – actually is. The strategic debate revolves, as Zhu Liqun explains, around the many foreign policy

implications of Deng Xiaoping's 'peaceful rise' strategy. It concentrates on the distribution of world power, China's identity as a foreign policy actor, and the course of action that should consequently be pursued. In fact, what we are now witnessing is a debate about whether or not China should pursue the policy of peaceful rise, and help create a constructive international environment. The alternative argument holds that China's interests would perhaps best be served and its objectives more readily achieved by acting as a traditional big power, either because coerced into doing so by a hostile international climate or indeed because superpower status and its inherent advantages are already at hand.

The present study focuses on the academic debate, to which a prodigious number of academic centres, think tanks and journals contribute, reflecting the work of an extensive community of scholars, who are more and more involved and more and more present in the international debate. What we do not know exactly is to what extent scholarly debate influences the foreign policy establishment: in other words, what is the impact of academic debate on the actual power structures, within government and Chinese Communist Party circles alike? We are equally left in the dark as to what extent these views are shared by the wider public, and indeed how much if at all public opinion matters in foreign policy formulation. A number of indications – not least the fact that universities and think tanks are public institutions – lead us to believe, however, that the domestic debate about China's rise to world power status and its implications involves the entire Chinese political elite.

Interestingly, at first glance, some aspects of the Chinese debate, as described by Zhu Liqun in the following pages, are strikingly familiar. They seem to distantly echo aspects of the European debate. This is perhaps the typical debate of all transitional periods in which rising powers are trying to define their positions and assert themselves on the world stage, but without assuming a revisionist power attitude, far less even a revolutionary one, but rather taking the path (reflecting a preference that both China and the EU share) of prudent reformism.

Most Chinese scholars think the present international system where unilateralism and multilateralism coexist in varying degrees depending on the issues at hand is favourable to China's rise, mainly because China's development strategy (which entirely determines its foreign policy) is deeply reliant on its integration into the international economy, the openness of foreign markets, massive technology transfers, unimpeded access to energy and raw materials, and also the sustained economic resilience of such countries as the United

States of which it holds prodigious amounts of foreign debt. A stable and peaceful international system is therefore required. Zhu contends that the main trend in Chinese strategic thinking favours the *status quo* and finds no particular quarrel with the US's 'benign hegemony', a marked predominance of the United States in the world, seen in the present circumstances rather as a factor of stability and predictability.

A parallel exercise on the EU strategic debate would, paradoxically enough, find Europeans less prepared to accept unchallenged US global leadership and dominance. With the debate over the Iraq war still resounding, European attitudes would most certainly be marked by consciousness of the danger of unilateralism and much scepticism in relation to the possibilities and merits of benign hegemony, unlike what seems to be the case in China. This is perhaps the result of a greater attachment in Europe to multilateralism and a more values-based approach to foreign policy than the 'pragmatism' that predominates in China.

As the author explains, both main schools of thought in China, the 'peaceful risers' and the nationalists, seem to concur that today's world is what in the Chinese discourse is 'called "*yichao duoqiang*" [which] proposes a simultaneously unipolar and multipolar world' (p. 26) and regard this as typical of an era undergoing a transition to full multipolarity. Differences of opinion are limited to deciding what are the world's 'poles' among the world's powers and what is their correct hierarchy, and crucially to determining how they relate to and what their attitude is to China's rise. Some scholars cast doubts on the extent to which the United States and Japan, its main ally in Asia, will pledge consistent support to China's strategy in the long run. India is considered by some as part of the pantheon of world powers alongside the United States and Japan, China itself, the European Union and Russia. For others, India has yet to earn its place among the great powers. However, there is a consensus that India has a wealth of potential and 'is equipped with the requisite attributes to become a world power' (p. 32) not least due to the yet untapped reserves of 'soft power'. Therefore India's rise is of immense importance to China. Relations between China and India, two nuclear powers with unsolved border disputes, deserve close attention because peace in Asia and the solution of many regional problems largely depend on the way these will evolve. Most Chinese scholars are persuaded that India's strategy is one of peaceful rise, alongside China's.

Where the European Union is concerned, there seems to be little doubt in China that the rise of the EU as a global player is in the interests

of China and few believe that the EU will ever try to oppose the rise of China, all the more since the EU is seen as a peacefully-rising civilian power with little appetite for direct involvement in Asia's balance-of-power games. This is why China considers the EU a very important strategic partner. Southern Europe's recent fiscal crisis and what was judged as the EU's failure to show unity in dealing with it, however, shook the faith of the Chinese leadership in the future of the EU project (leading notably to serious doubts about the solidity of the single currency), but the official position on the EU's status among strategic partners did not change as a result.

The debate on China's international identity also vaguely echoes the European debate. Some hold that China is still a regional power, others that it has already risen to global power status. Both views, according to Zhu Liqun, cut across all foreign policy schools of thought. The differences with Europe are glaring, however, on the question of the international responsibility of global powers, and in particular views on the Responsibility to Protect are wide apart. Most Europeans tend to accept that international responsibility is the natural consequence of European states' history and the values they share; most Chinese scholars surveyed here tend to be influenced by the traumas of colonialism and a traditional concept of sovereignty. Even those supportive of the 'responsible power' notion question how far China is prepared to go in taking on more international responsibilities. As to the Responsibility to Protect, it goes squarely against a generally unquestioned 'defensive' concept of sovereignty. Darfur illustrates the Chinese dilemmas in this respect. Zhu Liqun relays the view that in effect systematic rejection of the duty to intervene has been dropped in this case, and concludes it may yet have 'far-reaching repercussions for China' and bring about changes in its diplomacy in the sense of more broad acceptance of the idea of multilateral intervention. Many in Europe and in the United States have been calling for China to take on a greater share of international responsibility. Those calls seem to have found an echo in the internal debate, even if the Chinese scholars surveyed by Zhu Liqun in this volume seem to take great pains not to break ranks with developing nations and are wary of China being seen as a leading power, fearing the resulting costs in overstretch. Whether this has led to making China aware of the limits of picking and choosing the advantages of international recognition without being willing to pay the price in terms of contributing towards peacebuilding efforts, only the future will tell.

The present study shows that the official strategy of peaceful rise is not universally supported. Some of its opponents contend that China's foremost objective should not be economic prosperity but power itself.

To become powerful and achieve recognition, China should not only be concerned with economic development but with military might as well. The authors of the recently published book *Unhappy China* take this logic to the extreme, exploiting Chinese nationalistic feelings. In their view, since China has already risen as a superpower, it must be recognised as such and act accordingly. In their own words, ‘with Chinese national strength growing at an unprecedented rate, China should stop debasing itself and come to recognise the fact that it has the power to lead the world, and the necessity to break away from Western influence’;\* in the same vein, they argue that China ‘should incorporate retribution and punishment’ into its diplomatic strategy. The long-term impact of this more extreme nationalistic trend is far from being clear. The present overview shows that among Chinese scholars the nationalistic trend is a minority phenomenon and that its more extreme manifestations are harshly criticised both by scholars and officials. Zhu Liqun portrays the authors of *Unhappy China* as representing no more than an isolated nationalistic tendency which advocates that China should adopt a more confrontational attitude in dealing with international society. Susan Shirk, who was in charge of relations with China during the Clinton years, is less dismissive of the *Unhappy China* authors and their supporters. She contends that, nationalistic trends being tangibly on the rise, the strategy of peaceful rise, predicated on compromise with external powers (in particular Japan and the United States), ‘might be cast as capitulation and become politically suicidal.’ In her view, nationalistic trends also jeopardise the prospects of political reform and democratisation by providing a potent alternative to them.\*\*

The implications for the EU of China’s rise are far reaching. First, China must be taken seriously in the strategic debate, not merely on economy- and trade-related issues but also on global governance. The evolving responsible power debate should be encouraged by the EU as a way of engaging China in an effective multilateral approach to regional problems, namely in Africa. The multilateral engagement of China on global issues like proliferation or climate change cannot be achieved by the EU alone, but can only be the result of the reform of multilateral institutions and real progress in global governance, which is incompatible with present preferences for *ad-hoc* G formations, like the G2 or even the G-8. The G-20 goes to show the decisive role of the US and the support larger initiatives find among global players. Second, it is critical for the EU not to demonstrate a preference for China over India: it should be seen to favour equal power status for both great Asian powers and refrain from getting involved in a dangerous balance-of-power game in Asia. The EU-China bilateral agenda is certainly in the interests of both, but has limited impact on the domestic debate on China’s international identity. The best

\* Song Xiaojun et al, *Unhappy China: The Great Time, Grand Vision and Our Challenges* (Nanjing: Jiangsu People’s Press, 2009.)

\*\* Susan L. Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower – How China’s Internal Politics Could Derail Its Peaceful Rise* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

## China's foreign policy debates

strategy to make China's rise compatible with EU interests is to bind it into a universal multilateral nexus. Finally, as this overview demonstrates, as in the EU, the US and India, the likely leading world powers in 2025, China's foremost priority is economic and social development. This signifies the improbability of war among big powers in the present situation. In short, 'peaceful rise' is not just China's official policy but more largely a strategy for global governance, and making this work through multilateral institutions should be high on the EU's external action agenda.

*Paris, September 2010*

# Executive Summary

This *Chaillot Paper* extensively analyses internal debates on China's foreign policy that have taken place over the past decade. It is framed around three core concepts and based on an analysis of articles, books and commentaries published by prominent Chinese scholars in the field of international relations. The three concepts, *shi*, identity and strategy, respectively refer to the general context wherein China's foreign policy is formulated and conducted, China's identity in international society, and China's national goals and values.

The paper is structured into four main chapters. Chapter One offers a structured framework of core concepts to provide readers with a better idea of how domestic debates regarding foreign policy matters are conducted in China. The first core concept is *shi*, a Chinese term, used quite often to denote the overall configuration of the world order. It is believed in China that a good foreign policy derives from a sound understanding of *shi*. The second core concept is identity, concerning Chinese scholars' thinking about China itself. Since China lost its centrality in Asia and became a semi-colonial country in the middle of the nineteenth century, the question of China's national identity and the direction in which this should evolve has constantly puzzled China. These questions have become even more conspicuous since China has acquired new prominence in the international community and emerged as a fast-growing major economic power. The third core concept is strategy. Based on this, Chinese scholars have debated issues like the objectives, principles and values of China's foreign policy.

Chapters Two, Three and Four are devoted respectively to a systematic analysis of internal debates on the understanding of *shi*, China's identity and foreign strategy. With regard to *shi*, the paper discusses how the distinctive features of the international system are perceived and major powers are depicted by Chinese International Relations (IR) scholars. It focuses on how concepts of hegemony and multipolarity are defined and expounded, and which major powers are the focus of more attention. International institutions are not discussed in the paper, except the newly developed G-20: this is not because

they are not of importance for the Chinese IR community, but just due to the fact that the author's framework of analysis mainly emphasises the distribution of power and the topics explored in this paper are those highlighted in the internal debates. The paper finds that the understanding of *shi* in China has not only become more diversified and pluralised, but has also undergone a fundamental transformation during the last ten years. The international context is generally perceived more positively, even though scholars also believe that China is now facing a more complicated situation on the world political chessboard, which presents more challenges and difficulties for China in conducting its foreign policy.

As far as the concept of identity is concerned, the paper examines the questions of how China should position itself in the current international system, how much responsibility China should take on, what kind of role China is going to play and the extent to which China's understanding of international responsibility coincides with Western concepts and perspectives. New developments with regard to the Chinese perception of sovereignty and the Responsibility to Protect are also discussed in the paper. The intensive debate on China's identity has been precipitated by the increased attention given to China in the international arena since China, especially as an economic power, has begun to have an impact far beyond its borders. And it has also been triggered by the international community asking China to do more as a responsible stakeholder. For many Chinese scholars, China has gradually constructed an identity as an insider rather than an outsider of the international community. Some of them acknowledge that China now possesses multiple international identities, but believe that these are not inevitably contradictory.

In relation to the question of strategy, the debate over the objectives, principles and values of China's foreign policy has never been as intense as it is today. Scholars claim conflicting goals for foreign policy to pursue, and advocate contrasting paths for it to follow, revealing different values to which they attach importance. The regional order in East Asia has also been a subject of discussion under the concept of strategy, since it is a priority for China's foreign policy and it is frequently discussed within China's IR community. Nationalism is another highlighted issue, one that has attracted a lot of attention in China as well as in the wider world. The paper presents the various strands of ideological thought and discourse on international affairs, ranging from extreme nationalism to neo-internationalism, whose proponents argue that there should be more cooperation among nations at both regional and global levels.

The concluding chapter attempts to categorise foreign policy debates in China based on the current dominant schools of thought in Chinese international relations. In fact, China's intellectual worldviews range along a spectrum from 'offensive realist' at the one end to globalist views at the other end. It is therefore becoming difficult to find consensus among Chinese IR scholars on the various key aspects of Chinese foreign policy. Realism is quite often perceived as a dominant ideology which has had deep roots in Chinese culture for several centuries, but this paper finds that this is not the case today. The preponderant voice heard in the Chinese IR community nowadays is that which champions the liberalist worldview: this view is represented in at least one third of the international relations publications studied in this volume, while roughly another one third comes under the category of the constructivist view. Both these schools of thought argue for more cooperation with and deeper integration into the international community. The dynamics behind this new development stem from both internal factors (great social change) and external factors (international pressure). As a result of constantly reforming and changing itself in its process of modernisation and transformation, China now makes a major impact on the outside world. Meanwhile China itself cannot escape being influenced and being changed by others in the world. As China embeds itself more deeply into the international community, foreign policy making in China is becoming a more complex business, with more issues to be dealt with, more challenges to be faced on a variety of fronts, and a larger constellation of actors becoming involved. Among the latter ranks the IR community, which is going to become more conspicuous and in the future will play a more significant role in the process. Current debates on China's foreign policy will have a major impact on China's interaction with international society in the years to come.



# Introduction

Contemporary China is a country of ancient traditions, with centuries of deeply ingrained cultural philosophies still exerting great influence on Chinese society. It is also a country in the throes of rapid transformation, modernisation and economic development, with all the associated elements of trial and error impacting every facet of contemporary Chinese society. All this adds to the complexity of China's already intricate culture: deep-rooted ancient traditions combined with rapid transformations in domestic development and China's identity *vis-à-vis* international society. This is the climate in which China's foreign policy is now made, with a growing number of actors and factors impacting on decision-making processes. Unprecedented heated discussions on foreign policy have increased in China during the past decade. Such discussions, in addition to the three big rounds of debates on China's development path conducted among Chinese elites since China's adoption of the reform and opening-up policy (see box overleaf) and the vigorous online debates currently taking place in the internet era, have fostered the growing openness and plurality of Chinese society. These major forces have contributed to important changes in China's domestic political policies, such as attempting to reconcile conflicting interests in Chinese society.

This paper provides analysis of and insights into the internal debates on China's foreign policy through an examination of various writings published by prominent and influential Chinese scholars in the field of international relations. It is structured into four main parts. Chapter One offers a structured framework of core concepts to provide readers with a better idea of how domestic debates regarding foreign policy matters are organised in China. Chapters Two, Three and Four are devoted respectively to a systematic analysis of internal debates on the understanding of *shi*, China's role and identity in international society, and its foreign strategy. The concluding chapter attempts to categorise foreign policy debates in China based on the current dominant theories in Chinese international relations and the various dynamics underlying internal debates on China's foreign policy.

### **The debates on China's development path**

The first round of debates took place in the late 1970s and early 1980s when the Cultural Revolution had just ended. The Chinese were at this stage not yet emancipated from Maoist ideology and the belief in the 'two whatevers' (the view that whatever policy decisions the late Mao Zedong had made and whatever instructions he had given must be followed unswervingly). So the debate focused on how to establish the criterion of truth, specifically on the question of whether practice was the criterion for testing theories. Deng Xiaoping strongly opposed the 'two whatevers', advocating that truth should be sought from empirical facts. This eventually brought about a great emancipation of the minds of the Chinese. The second debate, which emerged at the end of the 1980s, was about whether the market economy is socialist or capitalist in nature. In response to criticism that the reform and opening-up policy meant going down the road of capitalism, Deng Xiaoping delivered significant speeches during his tour of southern China in 1992, emphasising the need to further emancipate Chinese minds and to lay the foundations of a new path for the construction of a socialist country with distinct Chinese characteristics. As for the debate over whether the policy China had adopted since 1978 was 'capitalist' or 'socialist', he said the chief criterion of judgment should be whether it promotes the growth of productive forces in a society, increases the overall strength of a country and improves the living conditions of ordinary people. Deng Xiaoping's speeches during his tour in South China played a key role in further promoting China's economic reform and social progress in the 1990s. The third debate was about whether the reform and opening-up policy was going in the right direction towards modernisation. Voices against the reform and opening-up policy became louder as it became apparent that adoption of the policy had led to growing social disparities in China. Yet much of the heat in this debate dissipated at the end of 2005 when the 17<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Chinese Communist Party reached the consensus that, with regard to solving the problems facing the country, China had no alternative but to 'unequivocally stick to the path of reform and opening up'.

## CHAPTER 1

# Framework of analysis based on three concepts

This paper employs three key concepts in its analysis of internal debates on China's foreign policy. These are *shi*, identity and strategy. *Shi*, a Chinese term, refers to the overall configuration of power and the direction or tendency of the process of change in which an actor acts and interacts.<sup>1</sup> The Chinese believe that *shi* should be well understood before a decision is made. It involves two elements concerning international affairs: the distinctive feature of our times or the broad trends discernible in the contemporary world and *guoji geju*, which roughly means the international power configuration. *Identity* refers to who an actor is, and constitutes 'a property of intentional actors that generates their motivational and behavioural disposition.'<sup>2</sup> Foreign policy making is the process of calculating what national interests are and how to achieve them, but interests always presuppose deeper identities 'because an actor cannot know what it wants until it knows who it is.'<sup>3</sup> *Strategy* refers to how national interests and goals can be realised within international society. These concepts are not only the key aspects considered in China's foreign policy decision-making but are the basic issues around which domestic debates on China's foreign policy revolve.

## **Shi**

Identifying the current *shi* is always a central concern when China conceives its international strategy. This is mainly due to the Chinese tradition of holistic thinking and philosophy of change. The Chinese have always attached great importance to the overall 'big picture' when considering any situation and its inherent potential for change.<sup>4</sup> As analysed above, as far as international relations are concerned, *shi*, the general world situation, involves

1. The ancient Chinese concept of *shi*, for which there is no Western equivalent, has been translated variously as 'the disposition or propensity of things', 'circumstance', 'power or potential', and can apply to various domains ranging from aesthetics to statecraft to military strategy. In the latter context it often refers to the strategic configuration of power. The French sinologist François Jullien explains this concept in depth in his book *La propension des choses* (Seuil, 1992), translated into English as *The Propensity of Things: Towards a History of Efficacy in China* (Zone Books, 1999).

2. Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 225.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 231.

4. It has been a fundamental idea in Chinese thinking that change is prevalent and inevitable. The prevalence and inevitability of change is also what is elaborated in the *Book of Change (I Ching)*, the oldest book in China. This expresses the belief that 'the only proposition that does not change is that everything else is subject to change'. This book is the nearest thing to a universal guide to Chinese thought and action ever since Chinese civilisation emerged some 5,000 years ago.

two main aspects: the distinctive feature of our times and the international power structure. An altered understanding of the distinctive feature or theme of our times is the starting point of fundamental change in the Chinese worldview. China could not have increasingly and deeply involved itself in international society since 1979 without having changed its perception of the distinctive features of our contemporary era – no longer war and revolution but peace and development. Identifying the distinctive feature of our times represents a major consideration for Chinese scholars in their debates on China's foreign policy. These domestic debates focus on the overriding characteristics of today's world or on the nature of the existing international system. Specifically, all of this concerns the issue of China's relationship with the current international system. It also provides a crucial window to understanding changes in China's foreign policy and the Chinese people's perception of the international system.

*Guoji geju* refers to the Chinese understanding of the international power configuration. It is another core concept widely invoked by Chinese scholars in their discourse on the international situation in relation to China's foreign policy. Prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, China had long occupied a central position in the regional structure in East Asia mainly through its use of soft power measures in its conduct of foreign relations, resulting in its weak sensitivity to emerging powers. China lost this central position after its confrontation with western powers in 1840. Due to its harsh experience of 100 years of colonisation, China learned to attach great value to sovereignty. It also learned that 'lagging behind leaves one vulnerable to attacks'. This has led to an acknowledgement of the significance of hard power. China has also become sensitive to the international power structure. So the status of other major powers in the current international system naturally becomes the primary starting point of foreign policy debates conducted by Chinese scholars.

The concept of *shi* actually reflects China's concern about world order, which constitutes a central consideration for China in formulating its middle-and-long term strategies. The key questions it involves are: who is the dominant power? Will the current configuration of power bring harm to China? Can it maintain the peace and stability of the world? What is its broad trend of development? Good judgment regarding these issues means having a sound mastery of the broad trends in the current world situation, which ensures a country's ability to act judiciously. *Shunshi erwei*, another idea contained in the concept of *shi*, means to follow the general tendency and do things accordingly. This paper will use the concept of *shi* as a starting point to analyse Chinese scholars' discussions about the basic and

distinctive feature of our times, the contemporary era's trend of development and the structural characteristics of today's world order. It will focus especially on how they look at other major powers in the world such as the United States, the European Union and some of the emerging powers.

## Identity

Identity is a second core concept in Chinese thinking. It is treated not from an 'entity approach' as in the Western way of thinking but from a 'process approach' in the Chinese way of thinking.<sup>5</sup> For the Chinese, "relations" are the most significant aspect of social life and the hub of all social activities.<sup>6</sup> Chinese people believe power and identity are both defined within the network of relations. The concept of relations and the idea of change have fundamentally shaped the Chinese belief that actors manage and maintain relations in the process of international interaction, and that actors may enjoy multiple identities in multifold relations, which may not be conflictual but complementary. China, in line with this way of thinking, attaches great importance to its role and position in the international system, regarding its position therein as a major factor in defining national interests and formulating diplomatic strategy. Chinese scholars have also paid much attention to the issue of China's identity *vis-à-vis* international society. They emphasise the fact that identity is fluid and changing and deny the existence of a single, fixed identity. Actually, the issue of identity has been crucial to China ever since it experienced a drastic fall in status from its imperial heyday as the 'Middle Kingdom' to becoming a semi-colonial country in the middle of the nineteenth century. From that time on, questions like 'who am I?', 'how should I evolve?' have constantly puzzled China.

The three decades following China's adoption of the reform and opening-up policy have seen continuous growth in China's economy and its influence in the world. Meanwhile, China has been considering its identity *vis-à-vis* international society, reflecting on questions such as 'what is the nature of Chinese identity' and 'what role should China play and what responsibility should she take on the world stage?' Such questioning directly highlights various issues: what kind of power is China, a global or regional power?; what type of state should China become, a *status quo* or a revisionist state?; what kind of relationship should China develop with international society?; what responsibilities should China shoulder in the international arena as its economy continues to grow?

5. According to Qin Yaqing, an entity approach is an approach characterised by taxonomical thinking and conflictual dialectics embedded in the Western way of thinking, emphasising dualistic conflict paradigms like West vs. non-West, China vs. Western-led international society, communist planned economy vs. liberal market economy and so on. The process approach, however, is based upon relational thinking and complementary dialectics, both of which are rooted in Chinese philosophical and intellectual traditions. The process approach focuses more on the context than independent individuals and views the former as constantly shifting relations in which identity can be defined, redefined, constructed and transformed. See Qin Yaqing, 'International society as process: institutions, identities and China's peaceful rise', *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, no. 3, 2010, pp. 129-53.

6. Qin Yaqing, 'Guanxi Benwei yu Guocheng Jiangou: Jiang Zhongguo Linian Zhiru Guoji Guanxi Lilun', *Zhongguo Shehui Kexue*, no. 3, 2009, p. 82. NB: Translations of all Chinese publication titles cited in the footnotes are provided in the Annex on pages 61-73.

## Strategy

A third core factor that looms large in the discourse of Chinese academics regarding China's foreign policy is diplomatic strategy. This refers to the art of using various means to realise national interests and goals. China has a tradition of strategic thinking with a special emphasis on the overall situation or 'big picture', the dynamics of change and long-term interests. Increasingly, China has been faced with more complex diplomatic tasks in relation to a range of international, regional and domestic demands, with its gradual integration into international society. In this context, diplomatic strategy is of vital importance in deciding on the priority of issues and basic principles for policy implementation. So analysing discussions by Chinese academics on China's diplomatic strategy will serve to provide a better picture of domestic debates on Chinese foreign policy.

In short, domestic debates on China's foreign policy mainly centre on the three core concepts: *shi*, identity and strategy. In the light of these three concepts, internal debates can be better framed and more clearly understood.

## CHAPTER 2

# Debates on *shi*

Understanding *shi* requires being able to figure out the general trend of international change and the current distribution of power in the international system. The term ‘the distinctive feature of our times’ is frequently used by the Chinese to describe the general tendency of the world situation and the term *guoji geju* is often employed to describe the international power structure. So here these two sub-concepts are used to analyse domestic debates on China’s foreign policy from the perspective of *shi*.

## The distinctive feature of our times

Chinese leaders’ perception of the distinctive tenor of our times greatly influences the basic orientation and thrust of China’s foreign policy. The following illustrations may be helpful. After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, Mao Zedong, in response to the containment and blockade policies that US-led western countries adopted against China, contended that the international system was predominantly pro-capitalist in nature and more significantly, confrontational towards China. So he proposed that China needed to be prepared for a total war and should replace the existing international system with a new one. At the end of the 1970s, Deng Xiaoping, however, recognised that the world we were living in was not one dominated by war and revolution as depicted by Lenin and Mao Zedong. He argued that war could be avoided, and that peace and development were the characteristic themes of our times. This marked an important change in Chinese leaders’ perception of the world situation and ushered in the era of reform and opening-up.

7. He Fang, *Lun Heping yu Fazhang Shidai*, (Beijing: Shijie Zhishi Chuban She, 2000); 'Dangjin Shijie de Shidai Tezheng yu Deng Xiaoping Lilun de Guoji Yiyi', *Fazhan Luntan*, no. 7, 1999, pp. 13-14; 'Shijie Zaoyi Jinru Heping yu Fazhan Shidai', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 4, 2000, pp. 56-61; 'Zailun Heping yu Fazhang Shidai', *Guoji Zhengzhi Yanjiu*, no.1, 2000, pp. 18-23; 'Cong 'Zhanzheng yu Geming' Dao 'Heping yu Fazhan' – Dui Shidai Zhuti de Zai Renshi', *Guoji Zhanwang*, no. 17, 2000, pp. 4-7.

8. Chen Luzhi, 'Shidai yu He Zhan Wenti Yiji Guoji Guanxi', *Zhanlue yu Guanli*, no. 2, 2002, pp.1-10; Jiang Changbin, 'Shidai Tezheng Shouxian Shige Keguan Cunzai', *Shijie Zhishi*, no. 15, 2000, p. 11; Song Yimin, 'Shidai Zhuti zai Yatai Biaoxian de Gengwei Mingxian', *Shijie Zhishi*, no. 15, 2000, pp. 13-14; Wu Baiyi, 'Guanyu Heping yu Fazhan de Jidian Sikao', *Shijie Zhishi*, no. 18, 2000, pp. 24-25; Xu Lan, 'Ya'erTa Tixi: Heping yu Fazhan de Kongjian', *Shijie Zhishi*, no. 16, 2000, pp. 15-16.

9. Zhang Ruizhuang, 'Chonggu Zhongguo Waijiao Suochu zhi Guoji Huanjing – Heping Yu Fazhan Bingfei Dangdai Shijie Zhuti', *Zhanlue yu Guanli*, no. 1, 2001, pp. 20-30; Zhang Wenmu, 'Kesuowo Zhanzheng yu Zhongguo Xin Shiji Anquan Zhanlue', *Zhanlue yu Guanli*, no. 3, 1999, pp.1-10; Wang Jincun, 'Shijie Jinru le "Heping yu Fazhan de Shidai" le ma? – Xuexi Deng Xiaoping "Heping yu Fazhan Sixiang" de Jidian Sikao', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 7, 1999, pp. 61-70.

10. Zhang Ruizhuang, 'Chonggu Zhongguo Waijiao Suochu zhi Guoji Huanjing – Heping Yu Fazhan Bingfei Dangdai Shijie Zhuti', *Zhanlue yu Guanli*, no. 1, 2001, p. 29.

11. 'Hu Jintao Shidaiguan de Wuda Zhongguo Zhuzhang', *Liaowang Xinwen Zhoukan*, 24 November 2009; Zhongguo Gongchandang Xinwen Wang (Chinese Communist Party News Web). See: <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64093/64387/10439546.html>.

The new policy has opened China's doors to the world and the world to China. China and the world have both greatly benefited from the policy. However, there have been setbacks and doubts along the way. The bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade in May 1999 sparked a nation-wide debate on China's understanding of the current 'theme of our times'. This led to a reconsideration of the western world's intentions and the dominant role that the United States played in international affairs. Doubts were expressed about China building a cooperative relationship with the international system. Two questions raised in this debate included: had world capitalism changed? If so, would this change bring greater peace and development to international society in a climate where China could enjoy a more benign external environment? Within this context, influential Chinese scholars such as He Fang, former director of the Institute of Japan Studies at the China Academy of Social Sciences, published articles and books describing the profound changes in capitalism after the end of World War Two. They argued that the world had entered into a new era of peace and development. It was quite possible for China to avoid involvement in a war with western powers and to cooperate with them instead.<sup>7</sup> Many scholars contributed to the discussions. Some argued in favour of He Fang.<sup>8</sup> Others argued against He Fang from different perspectives.<sup>9</sup> The latter group strongly contended that the theory of peaceful development was based on 'misjudgment of the international situation and would distort foreign policy making and mislead public opinion'.<sup>10</sup>

This debate is quite exceptional in the Chinese international relations academic community in terms of its duration, depth and scope. It touches upon the issue of China's relationship with the international system at a profound level. The Chinese mindset was nurtured by the painful historical experience of foreign aggression and the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s to believe that the international system was an imperialist one, based on exploitation and dominated by the law of the jungle. Although Deng Xiaoping replaced this historically shaped worldview with the idea that the world now was comparatively peaceful and stable, there still existed widespread mistrust and suspicion towards the international system. Under these circumstances, this round of debates at the end of the twentieth century contributed to enlightenment and to a fundamental change in Chinese people's perception of the international system. Since then scholars and policy makers have generally held that it is possible for China to construct a positive relationship with the international system and that China should constructively involve itself in international society.

In 2009, an official summary was published by President Hu,<sup>11</sup> reflecting the contemporary views of Chinese policy makers and the Chinese Communist Party. President Hu focused on five points:

(i) profound transformation, (ii) a harmonious world; (iii) common development; (iv) shared responsibility and (v) active engagement. His central idea is that the world has undergone profound changes and that China's future and destiny are closely linked with the future of the outside world. Therefore, China should not only actively integrate itself into international society, but also seek common development and assume more responsibility in building a relatively harmonious world. This is regarded as articulating the most positive Chinese perception of the international community, and of China's relationship to it, since 1840.

## Guoji geju

In their analysis of the international distribution of power, Chinese scholars have tended to focus mainly on American hegemony, multipolarity and the emergence of other major powers. Chinese scholars still care most about how much room the Western-dominated international system can provide for China's development. The United States, as the current sole superpower in the international system, has traditionally been regarded as the strongest power which could possibly hinder China's development. Debate on hegemony includes evaluation and analysis of America's power and its role. Besides the US, other major powers considered include the European Union, Russia, Japan and emerging powers like India.

## Hegemony and the status of the United States

Chinese scholars have seldom argued positively in favour of hegemony or a hegemonic rule. This has much to do with Chinese historical experiences dating from the middle of the nineteenth century. Traditional China accepted hegemonic rule but made a distinction between 'rule by force' (*ba dao*) and 'rule by virtue' (*wang dao*). Hegemonic rule realised by virtue was highly praised and to be pursued. The term 'rule by virtue' is similar to the idea of 'benign hegemony'<sup>12</sup> as highlighted by G. John Ikenberry. Due to the suffering of the Chinese people as a result of Western power politics at the time of the Opium War of 1840, the term 'hegemony' in the Chinese discourse has been perceived as denoting an unethical rule of might instead of being an objective description of power. Thus, 'hegemony' has become strongly derogatory and almost identical in meaning with 'hegemonism'. Criticism of hegemonism can be found in many Chinese official documents and writings published by scholars. The Chinese IR community 'has generally been negative'<sup>13</sup> about hegemony and the theory of hegemonic stability.

12. G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 28.

13. Ding Donghan, 'Baquan yu Guoji Guanxi Linian', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 6, 2000, p. 51; Sun Xiaoling, 'Baquan Wending Lun' yu Zhongguo de Xin Anquan Guan: Yizhong Bijiao Shijiao', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 2, 2004, pp. 55-56; Zhang Jianxin, 'Baquan, Quanqiu Zhuyi he Diqu Zhuyi: Quanqiuhua Beijing Xia Guoji Gonggong Wupin Gongji de Duoyuanhua', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 8, 2005, pp. 32-33.

14. Zhou Piqi, 'Baquan Wending Lun: Pipan yu Xiuzheng', *Taipingyang Xuebao*, no. 1, 2005, p. 13.
15. Liu Zhiyun, 'Baquan Wending Lun' yu Dangdai Guoji Jingjifa: Yizhong Guoji Zhengzhi Jingjixue Shijiao de Quanshi', *Taipingyang Xuebao*, no. 1, 2007, p. 55.
16. Zhang Jianxin, op. cit. in note 13, p. 37.
17. Zhang Shengjun, 'Quanqi Jiegou Chongtu yu Meiguo Baquan de Hefaxing Weiji – Jiedu Yilake Zhanzheng Hou de Shijie Zhengzhi', *Meiguo Yanjiu*, no. 3, 2003, p. 41.
18. Guo Xuetang, 'Baquan Zhouqi Lun de Pinkun – Jian Xi Meiguo Baquan Shifou Zouxiang Shuailuo', *Meiguo Yanjiu*, no. 3, 2003, p. 46.
19. Yan Xuetong and Huang Yuxing, 'Zhanguo de Baquan Sixiang ji Qishi', *Guoji Zhengzhi Kexue*, no. 4, 2008, p. 100.
20. Li Wei, 'Baquan Guo yu Guoji Gonggong Wupin – Meiguo Zai Diqiu Jinrong Weiji Zhong de Xuanzeng Yuanzhu Xingwei', *Guoji Zhengzhi Kexue*, no. 3, 2007, p. 164.
21. Zhu Jiejun, 'Baguo Jituan yu Quanqixing Gonggong Chanping de Gongji: Jiti Baquan de Shijiao', *Guoji Zhengzhi Yanjiu*, no. 1, 2009, pp. 120-21.
22. Zhang Wenmu, 'Daguo Jueqi de Lishi Jingyan yu Zhongguo de Xuanze', *Zhanglue yu Guanli*, no. 2, 2004, pp. 70-84; Wu Zhengyu, 'Baquan, Tongmeng Jiqi Dui Zhongguo de Qishi', *Dangdai Shijie yu Shehui Zhuyi*, no. 4, 2008, p. 90.
23. Pan Zhongqi, 'Baquan Ganshe, Daguo Duikang yu Dongya Diqun Anquan de Goujian', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 6, 2006, p. 40.
24. Song Wei, 'Meiguo Baquan he Dongya Yitihua – Yizhong Xin Xianshi Zhuyi de Jieshi', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 2, 2009, p. 61.

Recently, there has been a reconsideration of the role of hegemony in the international system. Some scholars now differentiate between the concept of hegemony and that of hegemonism. They distinguish hegemony from the perspective of governance within the international system and argue that the theory of hegemonic stability 'is largely borne out by the reality'<sup>14</sup> because the existence of a hegemon actually provides public goods and the basic security guarantee international society needs, functioning as a stabilising force in the international system.<sup>15</sup> This view further contends that hegemony is of crucial importance in the early stages of establishing international institutions.<sup>16</sup> American hegemony is recognised as a comparatively new type of hegemony. The United States 'has to a certain extent played the role of a world government by establishing world security and economic systems with itself at the core, thus making its strong structural power embedded in the world order.'<sup>17</sup> In other words, international stability in the past twenty years has depended largely on the United States as the 'sole hegemon'<sup>18</sup> because theoretically the hegemon is not only the provider of international stability but also the shaper of international norms.<sup>19</sup>

Although some scholars accept the stabilising role of the hegemon, they point out that the United States has been much less willing to provide international public goods since the end of the Cold War. 'Traditional international public goods under the control of the hegemon are facing the trend of privatisation, with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) increasingly being a typical example of public goods privatisation in international finance.'<sup>20</sup> As a result, contrary to the predictions of the hegemonic stability theory, provision of international public goods has not been strengthened but on the contrary has become unstable due to hegemonic control. Some commentators argue strongly that, since single hegemony is unsustainable, it is imperative to develop collective hegemony in order to maintain the stability of the international system.<sup>21</sup>

The role of the United States in Asia is also a central concern of Chinese academics. While an increasing number of Chinese scholars are of the view that the United States plays a stabilising role in East Asia, especially in constraining Japan through its alliance with Japan, the preponderant view is still that the US strategy in Asia is based on self-interest and that the US aims to benefit from facilitating mutual balancing among Asian powers.<sup>22</sup> So it is impossible for China and Japan to realise fundamental reconciliation in their bilateral relations.<sup>23</sup> Nor will the United States support the integration process in East Asia. The power and institutional structures of American hegemony lead to unfavourable and negative policies toward East Asian integration.<sup>24</sup>

The outbreak of the financial crisis in 2008 gave rise to further debate on America's international decline. As a matter of fact, the decline of American influence has long been an important concern of Chinese scholars. Whenever a significant international incident occurs, such as the American invasion of Iraq and the prolonged war in Afghanistan, the topic of America's decline is debated with renewed intensity. Currently, the impact of the financial crisis on the United States is a major topic among Chinese scholars. Regarding this, there are generally four different views. The first view holds that the financial crisis has revealed that something is fundamentally wrong with the American financial system, but not its economy. The foundation of the American macro-economy is still the best in the world and it will experience a quick economic recovery. Most proponents of such a view are Chinese scholars who have done research on both the American and world economy for a long time. The second view favours a 'super-stability' theory: American dominance will not decline in the short term due to the US's political capacity for self-correction, economic resilience, social dynamism and creativity, and its ability to preserve its position as a military superpower. Advocates of this view are Chinese scholars who have long studied American domestic politics.<sup>25</sup> The third group puts forward a theory of 'hegemonic decline.'<sup>26</sup> This argument is based on the history of American economic development, its political system, and its cultural and religious factors. These commentators contend that the current financial crisis is rooted in American institutions. Some scholars even claim that something has gone wrong with the 'American spirit'. Hence, the very roots of American dominance have become rotten and the general trend of decline is irreversible, as evidenced by the 9/11 attacks and the financial tsunami of 2008. The fourth view takes the form of 'American conspiracy' theory, which is amply discussed on the internet and in the mass media. Advocates of this theory believe that the financial crisis originated in Wall Street and those who have been hit the hardest are beyond the United States. Specifically, 'the United States is lightly injured, Europe seriously affected, and China damaged internally.'<sup>27</sup>

Some Chinese scholars point out that it is imperative for China and the United States to cooperate because of their high degree of economic interdependence. History shows that the most likely way of realising a peaceful power transition is through facilitating and supporting the dominant power in maintaining world order, thus preserving the stability of the international system.<sup>28</sup> Others argue that the G-2 or 'China-US condominium' deserves due attention. This discourse is a new development of previous notions of 'stakeholder' and 'responsible major power', suggesting that Sino-US interdependence has been reversed in the aftermath of the financial crisis. The financial crisis shows that the United States has difficulty in providing public

25. Sun Zhe, 'Meiguo Baquan de Fazhan Weidu – Aobama Zhengfu Quanguo Fazhan Zhanlue Pingxi', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 11, 2009, p. 63; Shang Hong, 'Jinrong Weiji dui Meiguo Baquan Diwei de Chongji', *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 4, 2009, p. 32.

26. Pang Zhongying, 'Baquan Zhili yu Quanguo Zhili' ['Hegemonic governance and global governance'], *Waijiao Pinglun*, no. 4, 2009, p. 18; Chen Yugang, 'Jinrong Weiji, Meiguo Shuailuo yu Guoji Guanxi Geju Bianpinghua', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 5, 2009, p. 29.

27. Yuan Peng, 'Jinrong Weiji yu Meiguo Jingji Baquan: Lishi yu Zhengzhi de Jiedu', *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 5, 2009, p. 2.

28. Liu Weidong, 'G-2, "Zhongmeiguo" yu Zhongmei Guanxi de Xianshi Dingwei', *Hongqi Wengao*, no. 13, 2009, pp. 4-18.

goods and in sustaining the cost of maintaining a stable international system. It needs the active involvement of other countries, including the emerging powers. Greater cooperation between China and the United States will be essential to world stability and security.<sup>29</sup>

## Multipolarity and *yichao duoqiang*

In contrast to the relatively negative view of the Chinese toward 'hegemony', the term 'multipolarity' is commendatory in the Chinese discourse. Since the end of the Cold War, the term has frequently featured in China's domestic newspapers, magazines and journals and has often appeared in official government documents. The view held by some American scholars<sup>30</sup> that the post-Cold War world is unipolar has attracted extensive attention from Chinese scholars, and relevant writings on this topic abound. Nevertheless, multipolarity has long been interpreted by China as a positive international development. Chinese scholars hold that a multipolar world order is one in which big powers are mutually checked and constrained, a useful bulwark against unilateralism. Multipolarity has been represented as an ideal international paradigm for power relations.

Deng Xiaoping argued that by any standard China constituted one pole.<sup>31</sup> However, opinions differ regarding the number of 'poles' in the international system. What constitutes a 'pole' in the international system? Some scholars argue that there are three important poles (i.e. the US, the EU and East Asia). Other scholars hold that there are five poles (the US as the superpower while China, the EU, Japan and Russia are the other four strong powers).<sup>32</sup> Others believe that there are six poles (i.e. the US, Japan, the EU, Russia, China and India). The Chinese discourse known as *yichao duoqiang* proposes a simultaneously unipolar and multipolar world. Since the outbreak of the financial crisis in 2008, more discussions have focused on the changing role of the United States as the world's sole superpower. Some Chinese scholars agree that American power has declined. Most Chinese scholars still hold that 'the financial crisis may have weakened American financial and economic power, but it has impacted other powers more. Compared with them, the United States has demonstrated more adaptability and resilience in enduring and coping with the crisis. This means that the US will remain as the single superpower in the short-term, and the *yichao duoqiang* structure will not change substantially.'<sup>33</sup>

Other scholars argue that 'the embryonic form of the new international system, after twenty years' transition, is faintly visible, with a basic framework of multipolarity and rule-based multilateralism and negotiation, featuring diversity and a variety of actors', and estimate that the transition towards the new system should be basically

29. Zhang Youwen, Huang Renwei et al. 2009 *Zhongguo Guoji Diwei Baogao*, (Beijing: People's Press, 2009), p. 17.

30. William Wohlforth, 'The stability of a unipolar world', *International Security*, vol. 24, summer 1999, pp.5-41.

31. Deng Xiaoping, 'Guoji Xingshi he Jingji Weiti', *Deng Xiaoping Wenxuan*, Di 3 Juan, vol. 3], (Beijing: People's Press, 1993), p. 353.

32. Zhao Jiuzhou, 'Qianxi Dangjin "Yichao DuoQiang" de Guoji Geju', *Fazhi yu Shehui*, no. 1, 2009, p. 228.

33. Li Changjiu, 'Guoji Geju Duanqinei Buhui Fasheng Genbenxing Bianhua', *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 4, 2009, p. 12.

completed in 2020-2030.<sup>34</sup> The future international system, seen from this perspective, is neither unipolar nor multipolar. Instead, it will undergo a long period of transition, eventually turning into a multilateral order featuring negotiation and cooperation among powers.

Interestingly, in recent years, a growing number of Chinese scholars have begun to criticise the idea of multipolarity, arguing that it is a manifestation of simple-minded wishful thinking, reflecting ‘the traditional state-centred mentality of power politics’, and that ‘a multipolar world order is not at all a new world order.’<sup>35</sup> They point out that multipolarity is not the only trend of the contemporary international political landscape, and that looking at world politics from the perspective of ‘polarity’ reflects a power politics mentality. They propose instead that we should advocate cooperation among big powers, especially the idea of a ‘harmonious world’ wherein different countries respect each other and peacefully coexist.

In the minds of Chinese scholars, a harmonious world is a diversified world. Most importantly, it is a de-hegemonised world because China and India are examples of ‘non-hegemonic powers’ and ‘non-hegemonic civilisations.’ According to this view, the twenty-first century is a century of ‘de-hegemonisation’, and a century that will witness the demise of power politics.<sup>36</sup> Other scholars contend that the ‘future international distribution of power will neither be reduced into a structure without poles, nor develop into a completely new configuration of several poles, but will be gradually flattened.’<sup>37</sup> Small powers are attempting to gain more influence and not be eclipsed by big powers within the network of institutions. This can be realised by establishing regional or inter-regional alliances (regional integration), thus reducing the gap in power distribution between big powers and blocs that are made of small states. Small powers, by way of forming state blocs, are no longer marginalised in the games of big powers. They can play a crucial or even leading role in international issues, just as big powers do. A case in point is the European Union.<sup>38</sup> For some Chinese scholars, a harmonious world should be one without hegemony where big powers set the example, fulfil their duties and shoulder their responsibilities while small ones enjoy equality, democracy and when necessary aid from the big powers. This reflects a new development in Chinese thinking about multipolarity, which represents not only a return to Chinese traditional culture and values but also reflects a progressive attitude of learning from the EU.

34. Yang Jiemian, ‘Xinxing Daguo Qunti Zai Guoji Tixi Zhuanxin Zhong de Zhanlue Xuanze’, *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 6, 2008, p. 12.

35. Ye Zicheng, ‘Dui Zhongguo Duojihua Zhalue de Lishi yu Lilun Fasi’, *Guoji Zhengzhi Yanjiu*, no. 1, 2004, pp. 9-23; Pang Zhongying, ‘Quanqiu hua, Shehui Bianhua yu Zhongguo Waijiao’, *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 2, 2006, p. 12.

36. Chen Xiankui and Tang Wei, ‘21 Shiji: Shi Baquan Zhuanyi Haishi Baquan Zhongjie’, *Dangdai Shijie yu Shehui Zhuyi*, no. 5, 2008, p. 96.

37. Chen Yugang, op. cit. in note 26, p. 32.

38. Ibid.

## Other major powers

### *The European Union*

European power has long been a puzzle to Chinese scholars. One consideration for IR specialists is that the European Union is a non-sovereign state. Its special decision-making mechanism as a confederation makes it hard to understand the nature of its power. Moreover, most EU Member States are also members of NATO and in this set-up the European Union is just regarded as a quasi-independent actor in terms of traditional security. The EU is a new entity (integrated actor) with multifold attributes, and thus the object of much discussion in China.

Some Chinese scholars, who observe the importance of the EU from the perspective of Sino-US relations, suggest that the EU is not independent.<sup>39</sup> However the majority of Chinese scholars recognise the EU's independent role and importance in the international system<sup>40</sup> and regard it as a major power in the world,<sup>41</sup> emphasising that the European Union is 'an independent actor who acts on its own initiative in international society, whose presence itself, action or non-action, has a strong impact on international relations and other actors.'<sup>42</sup> The European Union is an indispensable 'stabiliser', 'balancer' and 'example setter'<sup>43</sup> in today's world. From the perspective of the construction of the international order, 'the European Union is a concentrated representation of a flattened international structure.' 'There is a great disparity in power between the United States and other states in the world when compared individually. However, European countries have greatly reduced the gap between them and the US by forming a union of states through regional integration'<sup>44</sup> When it comes to soft power, Europe tends to focus more on 'transforming the world by rules', rather than 'conquering the world by force.'<sup>45</sup> In many cases, Europe has made outstanding contributions to the development and progress of international norms.<sup>46</sup> 'The success of the EU in its eastern enlargement has proved the strength of its soft power. Only Europe's soft power can be regarded as a kind of shareable international public good.'<sup>47</sup>

Despite general recognition of the significance of the EU, some scholars still hold that 'Europe was "marginalised" in world politics in the twentieth century'. 'As to events that take place on the soil of Europe, no matter how dramatic they are, they simply attract much less attention in the media and public opinion (this is the case at least in China).'<sup>48</sup> The European Union is genuinely a positive normative power, but if the EU thinks that its model will be emulated and replicated elsewhere in the world, then it is dreaming. 'The EU's attempt to spread its model throughout the world in its self-defined way, identifying "European

39. See, for example, Chen Zhiqiang, 'Xin Guoji Zhixu Goujian Zhong de Oumeng', *Nankai Xuebao* (*Zhexue Shehui Kexue Ban*), no. 2, 2000, pp. 55-59.

40. Zhu Liqun, 'Oumeng Shi Yige Shenmeyang de Liliang?', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 4, 2008, p. 16; Zhu Liqun (ed.), *Guoji Tixi yu Zhongou guanxi*, (Beijing: World Affairs Press, 2008.)

41. Feng Zhongping, 'China and the EU: "constructive engagement" needed', *Ouzhou Yanjiu*, no. 5, 2009, p. 61.

42. Chen Zhimin, 'Oumeng de Junshihua: Cong Minshi Liliang Xiang Junshi Liliang de Bianxing?', *Ouzhou Yanjiu*, no. 5, 2004, p. 79.

43. Qiu Yuanlun, 'Ouzhou Qiantu Bingbu Andan', *Ouzhou Yanjiu*, no. 5, 2009, p. 52.

44. Chen Yugang, op. cit. in note 26, p. 32.

45. Zhang Jun, 'Oumeng de "Rualiliang": Oumeng Fahui Guoji Yingxiang de Fangshi', *Ouzhou Yanjiu*, no. 3, 2007, p. 90.

46. Zhang Haiyang and Mo Wei, "'Ouzhou Moshi Jiqi Dui Shijie de Yingxiang" Yantaohui Zongshu', *Ouzhou Yanjiu*, no. 2, 2007, p. 152.

47. Wu Yikang, 'Guanyu Ouzhou Moshi de Tansuo he Sibian', *Ouzhou Yanjiu*, no. 4, 2008, p. 151.

48. Chen Lemin, 'Ouzhou Zai Shijie Qipan Shang de "Bianyuanhua"', *Ouzhou Yanjiu*, no. 6, 2006, Preface.

norms” and “European values” with “universal norms” and “universal values” and enforcing them on others, is not only illogical in theory, but also unfeasible in practice.<sup>49</sup> In attempting to apply its model to a diversified world the EU runs the risk that this will be interpreted as evidence of a new European imperialism, displaying the EU as fundamentally intolerant.<sup>50</sup> The distinctiveness of the EU model actually outweighs its universality. Hence, its influence on various regions in the world is limited.<sup>51</sup>

## Russia

Views vary when it comes to Russia too. Some scholars argue that the Russian Federation is undergoing a sharp decline in prestige and influence on the world stage. It is no longer a superpower on an equal footing with the United States, but a second-class state instead.<sup>52</sup> Contemporary Russia should just be regarded as a political and military power, not an economic power.<sup>53</sup> If Russia continues with its development model of ‘a strong state and weak society’ and does not change, its development will be unsustainable, despite Russia’s resurgence. ‘The fundamental reason why Russia’s strength and prosperity cannot last long lies in the relationship between the state and society. Peter the Great’s modernisation programme and Stalin’s model did achieve great progress for a period of time. Yet they failed to lay a strong and long-lasting social foundation for a sustainable strong state. Russia’s power and prosperity will not last long under this model.’<sup>54</sup>

However, some scholars emphasise that Russia is already well on the way to revival. They hold that ‘Russia’s relative power and absolute power have actually made much headway as compared with the early years after the collapse of the Soviet Union.’ ‘The danger of Russia being reduced to a second-class or third-class country for the first time for nearly two to three hundred years’ at least seems to have vanished. Proponents of this view contend that ‘Russia is regaining its power and influence on the world stage.’<sup>55</sup>

Russia’s resurgence has stood out as a noticeable change in the international power configuration in recent years. ‘Putin’s 8-year term in office has seen Russia move from political chaos to political order, from economic decline to economic growth, and from social turbulence to social order. With rapid economic growth, Russia has returned to the community of world economic powers.’<sup>56</sup> Many Chinese scholars argue that although Russia’s relative power has declined to some extent, ‘Russia is “a world state” with the potential to be “a world power”’<sup>57</sup>. So Russia is ‘still a major power whose strength should not be underestimated.’<sup>58</sup>

49. Hong Yousheng, ‘“Guifanxing Liliang Ouzhou” yu Oumeng Duihua Waijiao’, *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 1, 2010, p. 52.

50. Zhang Haiyang and Mo Wei, op. cit in note 46, pp. 152-53.

51. Ibid., p. 154.

52. Ma Longshan, ‘Eluosi Shizai Huhuan “Tiewan”, Huhuan Qiangquan – Dui Eluosi Jinnian Chuxian de Suwei “Chongping Sichao” de Pouxixi’, *Shijie Lishi*, no. 2, 2005, p. 8.

53. Wang Qian, ‘Eluosi Chongxin Jueqi: Xianzhuang, Fazhan yu Qianjing – Shanghai Dongou Zhongya Xuehui 2004 Nian Disanci Zhuanti Yantaohui Jiyao’, *Guoji Guancha*, no. 2, 2005, p. 78.

54. Fan Jianzhong and Lv Lei, ‘Eluosi de Qiangsheng Weihe Buneng Chijiu – Dui Guojia yu Shehui Guanxi de Lishi Fenxi’, *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 2, 2006, p. 58.

55. Yang Cheng, ‘Di’erci Zhuanxing yu Eluosi de Chongxin Jueqi’, *Eluosi Yanjiu*, no. 6, 2007, p. 3.

56. Feng Yujun, ‘Eluosi Guojiguan de Bianhua yu Duiwai Zhengce Tiaozheng’, *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 3, 2009, p. 24.

57. Wang Lijiu, ‘Shilun Eluosi de Guoji Dingwei yu Zhanlue Zouxiang’, *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 4, 2005, p. 8.

58. Xu Xin, ‘Lun Eluosi de Shiyong Zhuyi Waijiao’, *Shijie Zhengzhi yu Jingji Luntan*, no. 4, 2006, p. 93.

## Japan

The Chinese IR community has attached much importance to studies of Japan, focusing in particular on Japan's strategic evolution since the end of the Cold War. Scholars generally hold that Japan is a country with the ambition of becoming a major power. Since the turn of the twenty-first century, Japan has aimed at becoming a 'political power'. 'Japan is in pursuit of the status of a "normal state", i.e. the status of a political power, by strengthening the Japan-US alliance, seeking for permanent membership of the UN Security Council, and carrying out "all-around diplomacy" including Asian diplomacy and environmental diplomacy. Japan is becoming clearer and clearer in its goal, firmer and firmer in its action.'<sup>59</sup> But Japan's diplomacy on the whole takes on the features of 'small country diplomacy' in practice, being subordinate to the United States, and suffering from the lack of a clear identity. As a result, it is inevitably difficult for Japan to realise its ambition of becoming a major political power.<sup>60</sup> The transition in the international distribution of power that has resulted from the current financial crisis has had the strongest impact on Japan within the circle of developed countries, to an even greater extent than it has had on Europe. Internationally, the birth and institutionalisation of the G-20 have constituted a kind of challenge and threat to both Japan's hard power and soft power. Regionally, Japan's international power, which depends on its identity as a 'representative of Asia', has been seriously weakened by the successive emergence of inter-regional mechanisms such as the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), and the Asia-Europe summit in the past twenty years.<sup>61</sup> Besides, Japan's status in the international economy is in rapid decline due to its sluggish economic growth.

Other Chinese scholars contend that Japan's international status has not declined, especially in East Asia where Japan continues to have considerable influence. Japan, 'as the biggest economy, the largest source of investment and a strong military power in East Asia, will play a significant role in the future order of East Asia'.<sup>62</sup> Since Japan has adjusted its strategy from a regional power to a world power, China will inevitably face a new Japan whose political and economic influence continues to expand.<sup>63</sup> 'Transitional Japan feels unaccustomed to and uneasy about China's development. It even feels astonished and threatened. Every diplomatic action on the part of China will be exaggerated or twisted, even used to fan the flames of nationalist sentiment.'<sup>64</sup> 'Japan has not let down its guard against China.'<sup>65</sup> In view of the history of conflict and aggression that has characterised relations between Japan and China, 'fears that China would "take revenge" on Japan after its dramatic rise have contributed to a socio-psychological climate within Japan in which the "China Threat" theory flourishes.'<sup>66</sup> 'As the United States finds it hard to

59. Zhongguo Xiandai Guoji Guanxi Yanjiuyuan Riben Zhanlue Zouxiang Ketizu, 'Dangqian Riben Duiwai Zhanlue: Chengyin, Shouduan ji Qianjing', *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 12, 2006, p. 26; Yang Renhuo, 'Ribei Zai Guoji Shehui Shenfen Rentong Shang de Kunjing', *Heping yu Fazhan*, no. 3, 2008, p. 49; Lv Yangdong, '21 Shiji Chu Riben Duiwai Mubiao ji Waijiao Zhanlue Tanxi', *Riben Wenti Yanjiu*, no. 3, 2009, p. 1; Liu Qiang, 'Lun Riben Guojia Anquan zhanlue Tiaozheng - Jiyu Riben Zhanlue Wenhua he Zhanlue Yiyuan de Shijiao', *Guoji Guancha*, no. 5, 2009, p. 50; Chen Wenming and Zhou Songlun, 'Guanyu Zhanhou 'Putong Guojia' Lun de Guannianxing Sikao', *Riben Xuekan*, no. 4, 2007, p. 50.

60. Lian Degui, 'Ribei de Daguo Zhixiang yu Xiaoguo Waijiao', *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 6, 2008, p. 24.

61. Yang Bojiang, 'Guoji Quanli Zhuanyi yu Ribei de Zhanlue Huiying', *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 11, 2009, p. 26.

62. Song Guoyou, 'Shixi Ribei de Dongya Diqu Zhixu Zhanlue', *Guoji Luntan*, no. 5, 2007, p. 64.

63. Gao Lan, 'Quanmian Jiedu Lengzhanhou Riben Guojia Zhanlue de Biange yu Yingxiang - Cong Mohu Zhanlue dao Qingxi Zhanlue de Zhuanxing', *Guoji Guancha*, no. 5, 2005, p. 64.

64. Li Wei, 'Chuyu Zhuanxingqi de Ribei yu Zhongguo Duiqi Zhengce', *Dangdai Yatai*, no. 1, 2009, p. 37.

65. Zhang Tong, 'Ribei "Bei Bianyuanhua" de Youlv Jiqi Waijiao Zhengce Zouxiang', *Guoji Ziliao Xinxu*, no. 12, 2008, p. 44.

66. Zhongguo Xiandai Guoji Guanxi Yanjiuyuan Riben Zhanlue Zouxiang Ketizu, op. cit. in note 59, p. 26.

position and define China, Japan, under the influence of the US, also wavers in its China strategy. Various signs demonstrate that Japan, as a US follower, is very contradictory and uncertain in its strategic positioning in relation to China.<sup>67</sup>

Nevertheless, some Chinese scholars argue less alarmingly that ‘a variety of indicators show that different circles in Japan are becoming calmer and more objective in their assessment of China’s rapid development in recent years.’<sup>68</sup> ‘Accepting the reality of China’s rise’ has increasingly become the basis for consideration of Japan’s China policy. This reflects the change in the social mood which has resulted in the failure of Junichiro Koizumi’s policy of visiting the Yasukuni shrine<sup>69</sup> and pushed Shinzo Abe to break the deadlock in the Japan-China relationship. It encouraged Yasuo Fukuda to continue his efforts to improve Japan-China relations.<sup>70</sup> ‘A historic transition began to emerge in Japan’s perception of and relationship with China.’<sup>71</sup> Fukuda’s view of ‘Japan-China cooperation’ has reflected the new thinking and change in Japan’s perception of China and thus its China policy. Although it will still take some time to see how this new attitude will be reflected in Japanese foreign policy, the significance of the change deserves much attention. As China’s development will not cease, Japan’s readjustment of its Asian policy and China policy will not be tactical but strategic.<sup>72</sup> ‘Psychologically, Japan has gradually got used to the reality of China’s development. Having gained visible benefits from China’s economic rise a majority of Japanese have a heart-felt desire for a normal development of Japan-China relations.’<sup>73</sup>

## The emerging powers and the G-20

China is a developing country. Chinese scholars have paid close attention to ongoing trends in emerging countries and generally have a fairly optimistic perception of their rise. First and foremost, they argue that emerging countries are rising collectively<sup>74</sup> and that their growing power is a positive and important feature of the contemporary international system. Their rise is a long and gradual but irreversible trend.<sup>75</sup> They also hold that the rise of developing countries, as represented by the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China), is generating profound changes in the current international political and economic order, giving a strong impetus to the multipolarisation of world politics and the diversification of development models. The rise of emerging countries has changed the world economic order and accelerated the restructuring of the international power configuration.<sup>76</sup> ‘They have transformed the world economic structure and the structure of global interests as well.’<sup>77</sup>

67. Gao Lan, *op. cit.* in note 63, p. 65.

68. Jin Xide, ‘21 Shiji Riben Waijiao de Jueze’, *Guoji Zhengzhi Yanjiu*, no. 1, 2008, p. 15.

69. The Yasukuni Shrine is a Shinto shrine located in Chiyoda, Tokyo, Japan. It is said to house the souls of some 2.5 million people killed in Japan’s wars, including convicted war criminals executed by the Allies. It has been made more famous by the controversial visits to the shrine made by the former Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi. These visits have been particularly upsetting to countries attacked or invaded by Japan during World War II.

70. Jin Xide, *op. cit.* in note 68, p. 15.

71. Sun Cheng, ‘Cong “Jianzhiguan Waijiao” Dao Jiji de Yazhou Waijiao’ – Riben Anbei, Futian Neige Yazhou Waijiao de Bijiao Fenxi’, *Guoji Wenti Yanjiu*, no. 2, 2008, p. 42.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

73. Hu Lingyuan, ‘Ribei dui Dangqian Shijie Xingshi de Kanfa Jiqi Waijiao Zhanlue’, *Dangdai Shijie*, no. 4, 2008, p. 16.

74. Yuan Peng, ‘G-20 de Shidai Yiyi yu Xianshi Qishi’, *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 11, 2009, p. 17; Lin Limin, ‘G-20 Jueqi Shi Guoji Tixi Zhuanxing de Qidian – Jinjin Shi Qidian!’, *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 11, 2009, p. 36.

75. Wang Yusheng, ‘Fazhanzhong Guojia de Xunshu Xingqi Jiqi Yingxiang’, *Yafei Zongheng*, no. 2, 2008, p. 28; Chen Yugang, *op. cit.* in note 26, p. 32.

76. Chen Fengying, ‘G-20 yu Guoji Zhixu Dabianju’, *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 11, 2009, p. 8; Dong Manyuan, ‘Fazhanzhong Guojia Dafenhua de Zhanlue Yingxiang’, *Guoji Wenti Yanjiu*, no. 5, 2008, p. 12.

77. Dong Manyuan, *op. cit.* in note 76, p. 12.

## India

Chinese scholars started to notice the rise of India when it launched its nuclear tests in 1998. They subsequently embarked on a wide-ranging discussion of such issues as the rise of India as a great power, factors contributing to India's rise, its model and characteristics, and the implications of this for the international system and Chinese-Indian relations.

A unanimous view does not exist among Chinese scholars as to whether India has emerged as a major power or not. Some Chinese specialists in Indian studies believe that India's rise is less a fact than a possibility because India cannot yet be regarded as a fully-fledged economic power in the global arena, as shown by its total volume of foreign trade, foreign exchange reserves and its GDP.<sup>78</sup> Some other scholars contend that India's economy as a whole is still a rather closed one. They also argue that 'there are serious drawbacks in India's parliamentary democracy ... Its infrastructure, which lags far behind the current state of development of its manufacturing and service industries, has severely hindered their further development. The issue of Kashmir still puts a lot of pressure on India's security.'<sup>79</sup> They therefore conclude that India's emergence is a long-term process, and currently is still in its primary stage.<sup>80</sup>

Some specialists in international studies, however, argue that 'India as an emerging power has undeniably risen, either in terms of scale or in terms of key indicators employed to evaluate major power status.'<sup>81</sup> 'It is an inevitable trend for India to emerge as a strong power in the twenty-first century or in its early decades.'<sup>82</sup> 'India's rise has become an indisputable fact, despite the existence of many restraints and challenges on its way to becoming a world power in the near future.'<sup>83</sup>

Both of the two groups of Chinese scholars believe that India is equipped with the requisite attributes to become a world power. 'India is the second most populous country in the world with a large territory, has achieved great development in its economy, science and technology and military capability, and enjoys a relatively stable political system, thus creating a good foundation for it to become a world power.'<sup>84</sup> 'India's economic growth triggered by the liberalisation reform has seen its GDP grow to be the twelfth in the world economy (according to the statistics of the 2005 fiscal year calculated by exchange rate).'<sup>85</sup> 'Politically, although India's democracy is not the most efficient, it provides institutional guarantees for the implementation of reforms and protection against political volatility which is worthwhile for China to draw on.'<sup>86</sup> In addition, India's long history and civilisation as well as its political

78. Zhao Gancheng, 'Guoji Tixi yu Yindu Jueqi', *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 6, 2005, pp. 23, 26.

79. Ma Jiali, 'Yindu Jueqi de Taishi', *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 6, 2006, pp. 54-55.

80. Zheng Ruixiang, 'Touxi Yindu Jueqi Wenti', *Guoji Wenti Yanjiu*, no. 1, 2006, p. 41.

81. Song Dexing and Shi Yinhong, 'Shijie Zhengzhi zhong Yindu Heping Jueqi de Xianshi yu Qianjing', *Nanya Yanjiu*, no. 1, 2010, p. 15.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

83. Zhang Li, 'Yindu Zhanlue Jueqi yu Zhongyin Guanxi: Wenti, Qushi yu Yingdui', *Nanya Yanjiu Jikan*, no. 1, 2010, p. 3.

84. Zheng Ruixiang, op. cit. in note 80, p. 37.

85. Zhang Li and Wang Xueren, 'Cong Fazahn Lilun de Shijiao Kan Yindu Jingji Jueqi', *Nanya Yanjiu Jikan*, no. 1, 2010, p. 49.

86. Wang Xueren, 'Zhongguo yu Yindu Jingji Gaige zhi Bijiao', *Tianfu Xinlun* no. 5, 2008, p. 47; Zhang Li, 'Yindu Fazhan Moshi Jiexi', *Nanya Yanjiu Jikan*, no. 4, 2008, pp. 30-32.

stability have become important sources of its soft power.<sup>87</sup> Some scholars also argue that the key factor in understanding India's rise is the fact that India has always harboured the ambition to become a great power and has practised a quite effective realist strategy in its conduct of international relations. 'Apart from self-help, balance of power and free-riding have been India's strategic choices. India free-rides in the car of the United States because the US, as the strongest major global power, is edging closer to India and is also in need of India to balance China. Nevertheless, creating a balance of power is the fundamental and long-term objective of India.'<sup>88</sup> Other scholars observe that the post-Cold War strategic environment is also favourable to the ascent of India. 'The big shift in the international power structure and the basic trend of world events since the end of the Cold War have created an external guarantee for India's basically peaceful rise.'<sup>89</sup> In terms of foreign relations, India's position in the US's global strategy has been greatly improved. Its relationship with Russia has also been quite positive in recent years. All this is very helpful to the rise of India.

Interestingly, a majority of Chinese scholars argue positively in favour of the Indian model and India's rise, in stark contrast to the attitude of Indian academia and the press who regard the rise of China as a threat. Most Chinese scholars argue that India's rise is basically a peaceful one. 'India has chosen a basically peaceful way to rise in at least the past two decades.'<sup>90</sup> India's trajectory as a rising world power has been marked by distinct national characteristics. Some scholars argue that the model of India's rise is characterised by three main features. 'First, India's rise may be an unprecedented one with a low level of national wealth, which means it may lag behind developed countries in terms of material prosperity, but on the other hand it may manage to achieve a more harmonious coexistence between man and nature, thus enjoying a sustainable economy and social justice. Second, its rise may be accomplished through peaceful means. Third, its rise may be achieved by constructing a cooperative multipolar international structure. In short, this type of rise, i.e. one that is mild, gradual and mixed, may become a new model (not the only model of course) of rise.'<sup>91</sup>

There are of course some scholars who argue that India's rise may lead to trouble since it has behaved as a revisionist towards the post-World War II international system. For example, India does not accept the postwar hierarchical international system as represented by the five big powers of the UN Security Council.<sup>92</sup> Besides, 'India's self-perception is in conflict with international perceptions of India.'<sup>93</sup> In order to gain international recognition, India often tends to aggrandise its power and is anxious to impress other countries with its power by spending enormous amounts of money in building aircraft carrier

87. Shi Hongyuan, 'Ruanshili yu Yindu de Jueqi', *Guoji Wenti Yanjiu*, no. 3, 2009, p. 30.

88. Song Dexing and Shi Yinhong, *op. cit.* in note 81, p. 19.

89. *Ibid.*

90. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

91. Zhao Bole, 'Yindu Jueqi Moshi Tanxi', *Nanya Yanjiu*, no. 2, 2008, p. 43.

92. Song Dexing and Shi Yinhong, *op. cit.* in note 81, p. 23.

93. Zhao Gancheng, *op. cit.* in note 78, p. 20.

fleets, leasing nuclear-powered submarines from Russia, sending vessels from its small naval fleet to cruise in the South China Sea which is far away from its own coastline, and claiming to be the fourth economic power in the world. 'India pays great importance to the building of its defence capability, which can become the chief manifestation of its world power status, but this has a negative impact on the stability of the international system.'<sup>94</sup>

India's rise also influences the ties between China and India. A majority of scholars stress that an emerging India will contribute positively to international multipolarisation, arguing that the simultaneous rise of China and India is favourable to the peace and stability of Asia and the world.<sup>95</sup> They believe that 'India's rise and China's increasing development are not mutually contradictory because the two countries will develop together as cooperative partners rather than strategic competitors.'<sup>96</sup> However, there are still some scholars who contend that the simultaneous rise of China and India will bring a dimension of uncertainty to Chinese-Indian relations. 'The two countries are both complementary and competitive in economy and trade, but competition outweighs mutual complementation on the whole.'<sup>97</sup> In terms of geopolitics, 'in the future in Asia it is very likely to happen that, when the behaviour of any of the three countries, the United States, China and India, is understood by the other two as striving to dominate Asia, that country will face joint balancing from them.'<sup>98</sup> The three countries, therefore, will be major players in shaping Asian regional architecture in the early decades of the twenty-first century. How they interact with each other and how they manage their relations will have a direct effect on future peace and stability in Asia.

### **The G-20**

Some Chinese scholars have been very cautious in commenting on the G-20. On the one hand, they contend that the emergence of the G-20 shows that a new round of 'cyclical transition' of international leadership has formally started. 'The birth of the G-20 is closely related to a major change in the international distribution of power. It is a political reflection of the substantial rise in the status and role of the emerging economies,'<sup>99</sup> suggesting that some significant and profound changes have taken place in the nature of power politics.<sup>100</sup> However, they emphasise that international systemic transition is a long, tortuous and difficult process. Many major problems remain to be resolved. Can the G-20 successfully manage its transition from an economic crisis management forum to a key global governance body? Can it take its place among the main body of international institutions that enjoy world authority? How will it solve the problem of reconciling universal representativity and

94. Ibid.

95. Hu Zhiyong, 'Quanqiu Jujiao xia Zhongguo, Yindu Jueqi de Zhanlue Fenxi', *Dangdai Shijie yu Shehui Zhuyi*, no. 6, 2007, p. 88.

96. Zheng Ruixiang, op. cit. in note 80, p. 37.

97. Huang He, 'Yindu Jueqi de Guoji Zhengzhi Jingjixue Fenxi', *Nanjing Shida Xuebao (Shehui Kexue Ban)*, no. 5, 2007, p. 50.

98. Song Dexing and Shi Yinhong, op. cit. in note 81, p. 23.

99. Lin Limin, op. cit. in note 74, p. 36.

100. Tang Yongsheng, 'G-20 Beihou de Quanli Jijiu yu Fensan', *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 11, 2009, p. 6.

efficiency? How will it deal with the inconsistencies between the G-20 and other current institutions such as the UN? How will it clarify its relationship with the G-2, the G-8, the BRICs and other blocs? If these problems cannot be resolved, the G-20 may remain stagnant at the starting point of international systemic transition, thus having great difficulty in making much progress.<sup>101</sup> Besides, the G-20 is currently a temporary and improvised organisation set up by the major economies to deal with the global financial crisis, which exists primarily in the form of summits and conferences. It does not have a permanent secretariat, it has no executive authority, no power to impose sanctions and so on.<sup>102</sup> So it is a bit premature to expect the G-20 to bear the grave responsibility of global governance, especially to expect it to become the leading mechanism of global financial governance.<sup>103</sup>

Compared with the above wait-and-see attitudes, other scholars are quite optimistic. They stress that 'the formation of the G-20 mechanism is, from any perspective, a tremendous progress in history and a great breakthrough in the evolution of a new world order.'<sup>104</sup> They confidently believe that the G-20 will probably replace the G-8 in the future and become the principal forum for global economic cooperation and coordination and the major policy coordinating mechanism of the world economy.<sup>105</sup> The voting power of emerging countries in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) will have increased by 5 percent by the year 2011, which represents an important change and redistribution of international power. The G-20 held three summits in 2009. It is playing an increasingly important role with regard to a growing number of issues. 'It is highly likely that it will replace the G-8, thus becoming the main framework and decision-making platform for coordinating and negotiating (global) economic and financial issues.'<sup>106</sup>

Yet other scholars contend that the G-20 is actually an appendage to the G-8. 'All member states of the G-8 are members of the G-20. They enjoy a superior position within the group and to a great extent dominate its development.'<sup>107</sup> 'The way in which the G-20 operates is dictated by the G-8 which enjoys more influence in setting the agenda of the G-20 through its dominant status both in the Financial and Monetary Council of the IMF and in the executive council of the IMF, World Bank, International Liquidity Bank and Financial Stability Forum.'<sup>108</sup>

All in all, the Chinese understanding of *shi*, the general tendency of the world situation, is pluralistic and diverse but generally positive. Most Chinese scholars stick to the view that the distinctive feature of our times is peace and development. They perceive *guoji geju*, the international power structure, in terms of the coexistence of a

101. Lin Limin, *op. cit.* in note 74, p. 38.

102. Cui Liru, 'G-20 Kaiqi le Tansuo "Quanqiu Zhili" Xin Lujing de Jihui zhi Chuang', *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 11, 2009, p. 2.

103. Yuan Peng, *op. cit.* in note 74, p. 17.

104. Zhao Xiaochu, 'G-20 Fenghui yu Shijie Xin Zhixu de Yanjin', *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 11, 2009, p. 15.

105. Wu Hongying, 'Quanqiu hua yu G-20', *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 11, 2009, p. 5.

106. Yang Bojiang, *op. cit.* in note 61, p. 26.

107. Chen Suquan, 'Baguo Jituan, ErshiGuo Jituan yu Zhongguo', *Dongnanya Zongheng*, no. 8, 2009, p. 77.

108. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

## China's foreign policy debates

superpower and several other major powers. Relations among major powers are perceived to be cooperative rather than conflictual. Softer and more positive attitudes are adopted towards the role of the United States and Japan. In other words, Chinese scholars tend to interpret the general tendency of today's world as generally dominated by peace and cooperation, which is overwhelmingly in tune with the touchstone of contemporary Chinese diplomacy, i.e. to seek peace, development and cooperation.<sup>109</sup>

109. Li Zhaoxing, 'Peace, Development and Cooperation – Banner of China's diplomacy in the new era', 22 August, 2005. See: <http://big5.fmprc.gov.cn/gate/big5/www.china-un.ch/eng/ljzg/zgwjzc/t212415.htm>.

## CHAPTER 3

# Debates on identity

Discussions on the broad trends at play in the world serve to provide a clearer idea of the nature of the international system and the status and roles of major powers. As China integrates more fully into world affairs, the Chinese IR community has given much thought to China's identity *vis-à-vis* international society. Debates centre on whether China is a beneficiary, a participant and a *status quo* state of the international system, or a reformer, a revisionist or even revolutionary state of the system. Exploring the question of identity has meant giving particular consideration to China's international responsibilities. The kind of role and identity that China actually assumes in the international system is fundamental to China's diplomatic strategy, and thus becomes the focus of discussions conducted by Chinese scholars. In what follows, the paper goes on to analyse how Chinese scholars look at China's relationship with the international system and its international status, role and identity.

## China: a global or regional power?

Few Chinese scholars claim that China is already a global power. Instead, the general opinion is that China is still a regional power in East and South Asia. The current dominant view holds that China is developing into a global major power. Currently, China cannot really lay claim to be a world power as such. It merely enjoys some attributes of a world power. For example, some argue that China is a world economic and trade power<sup>110</sup> while others regard China as a 'quasi-superpower'.<sup>111</sup>

China's swift recovery from the 2008 global financial crisis has obviously enhanced the confidence of many more Chinese scholars

110. Hu Angang, 'Zhongguo Jueqi yu DuiWai Kaifang: Cong Shijiexing Kaifang Daguo Dao Shijiexing Kaifang Qiangguo', *Xueshu Yuekan*, no. 9, 2009, pp. 52-60.

111. Yan Xuetong, 'Guoji Geju de Bianhua Qushi', *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 10, 2005, p. 7.

in evaluating China's power. They contend that China 'has created a miracle of growth, has become an economic powerhouse and achieved unprecedented improvement of its status in the international economy. China has gradually developed from a regional power into a new world power.'<sup>112</sup> 'Extensive global links are gradually turning China into a global state.'<sup>113</sup> China 'is moving from the periphery of the world stage to its centre.'<sup>114</sup> 'China is maturing into a world power.'<sup>115</sup>

Some Chinese scholars already regard China as a global power, while other scholars argue that the confidence underlying such an assumption obviously results from an underestimation of various difficulties and challenges inevitably facing China in the process of modernisation. It is still unknown whether China will be able to succeed in its efforts towards modernisation. China is far from a global power in its current phase, and should be positioned as a big developing country. Some scholars even point out that taking into account the current problems facing China, 'a rise in power does not necessarily result in the increase in both status and influence.'<sup>116</sup> China is not an economic power yet, though it has growing economic weight. Although made-in-China products can be seen all over the world, only 0.3 percent of Chinese companies have a capacity for self-innovation. This constitutes a serious structural defect in China's economic growth model. Hard power and soft power are extremely imbalanced, with the latter apparently taking on the typical feature of being 'small in quantity and weak in quality.' The imbalance is clearly manifested in the cumbersome bureaucracy, severe shortage of educational investment, and limited political reform which is still confined to certain grass-roots efforts and has lagged far behind the country's economic development. Strengthening soft power has become a central issue for China in the process of modernisation.<sup>117</sup> Having observed various problems in the process of China's modernisation and barriers in the course of its transition, Chinese scholars universally hold that China's rise to world power status will be a long and tortuous process. China is still a developing country, albeit a big developing country, facing a lot of problems. In terms of its position within the international system it is probably best classified as a developing country marked by a set of distinct national and socio-economic characteristics.

## China's international role and identity

Some Chinese scholars have regarded China's international role as the fundamental strategic issue.<sup>118</sup> China's economy has developed much more rapidly since it joined the World Trade Organisation, eliciting a positive attitude among Chinese academics towards

112. Zhang Youwen, Huang Renwei et al., op. cit. in note 29, p. 23.

113. Su Changhe, 'Zhongguo Waijiao de Quanqiuhua ji Qishi', *Dangdai Yatai*, no. 1, 2009, p. 24.

114. Wu Jianmin, 'Miandui Guoji Diwei de Tigao', *Zhongguo Gai Zhenmeban*, *Jinri Zhongguo*, no. 8, 2009, p. 39.

115. Wang Yiwei, 'Tanxun Zhongguo de Xin Shenfen: Guanyu Minzu Zhuyi de Shenhua', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 2, 2006, p.20.

116. Xu Bu et al., 'Ruhe Kan Zhongguo Guoji Diwei Xinbianhua', *Shishi Baogao*, no. 1, 2009, p. 64.

117. Zhang Youwen, Huang Renwei et al., op. cit. in note 29, pp. 323-27.

118. Tang Yongsheng, 'Zhongguo Guoji Jiaose Fenxi', *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no.10, 2006, p. 52.

globalisation and the current international system. It has been widely recognised that China is a beneficiary of globalisation and the current international system as well.<sup>119</sup> Before China's adoption of the reform and opening-up policy, it had a revolutionary relationship to the international system. Its policy was aimed at overthrowing the old world order and constructing a new one. By integrating itself into the international marketplace and international society through its reform and opening-up policy, it has gradually changed into an insider of the international system, become a *status quo* state and thus no longer seeks to overthrow the current international system.

This transformation of identity is reflected in China's formulation of policy and in its behaviour on the world stage. From the perspective of China's relationship with the international system, the country has adopted a basic policy of cooperation rather than confrontation towards the United States. Regionally, China's behaviour is characterised by attempts to participate increasingly in regional cooperation rather than trying to remould the regional power structure by coercion. With regard to China's involvement in international institutions, since 1979 China 'has increasingly sought to integrate international institutions and accepted international institutions, instead of challenging and changing the international institutional system.'<sup>120</sup> Moreover, a majority of Chinese scholars hold that the international environment is overall relatively favourable to China's rise. Politically, China obviously occupies a relatively advantageous position in the political security arena within the global institutional system led by the United Nations. Economically, the advantages also outweigh the disadvantages for China. 'In historical terms, it has been the first time for China to play a positive and comprehensive role in building a world order. It is a great mission that history has entrusted on China.'<sup>121</sup> Hence, China should make full use of the opportunity to play a constructive role in the international system, and participate in the creation of international institutions in particular. As a result of more positive attitudes to the international system among Chinese officialdom, China has increasingly integrated into the international system, though the extent of China's integration varies in different fields, especially when its weak voice in the international arena, lack of agenda-setting capacity and executive capability in building international institutions is taken into account, as well as its lack of influence on international civil society due to the low level of interaction of Chinese civil society with international society.<sup>122</sup>

China's perception of its own international role is driven to a great extent by outside factors. A case in point concerns observations made by Robert Zoellick, former US Deputy Secretary of State and incumbent president of the World Bank, who described China as a 'stakeholder' of the international system in 2005. This triggered

119. Cai Tuo, 'Quanchihua Guannian yu Zhongguo Duiwai Zhanlue de Zhuanxing – Gaige Kaifang 30 Nian de Waijiao Zhexue Shenshi', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 11, 2008, pp. 62-72.

120. Qin Yaqing and Zhu Liqun, 'Xin Guoji Zhuyi yu Zhongguo Waijiao', *Waijiao Pinglun*, no. 5, 2005, pp. 21-27; Qin Yaqing, 'Wuzhengfu Wenhua yu Guoji Baoli – Daguo de Qiangxing Jueqi yu Heping Fazhan', *Zhongguo Shehui Kexue*, no. 5, 2004, p. 55.

121. Men Honghua, 'Zhongguo Jueqi yu Guoji Zhixu', *Taipingyang Xuebao*, no. 2, 2004, p. 11.

122. Zhu Liqun and Huang Chao, 'Zhongguo Canyu Guoji Tixi de Pinggu Zhibiao ji Xiangguan Fengxi', *Jianghai Xuekan*, no. 5, 2009, p. 167.

vigorous domestic discussions on China's international role. Soon this view was endorsed by Chinese scholars and the term was taken up by officials. Another example is the international community's recurrent emphasis on 'China's responsibility'. In spite of the criticism such discourse generated in China, it prompted Chinese scholars to reflect on China's role and responsibility in world affairs.

Some Chinese scholars emphasise that interaction between China and the international system is subject to a dynamic process of change. 'China's profound readjustment of its relationship with the international system is a long and complex process, and it is through this process that China defines its international role.'<sup>123</sup> As a result, China will retain many features of a developing country as well as those of a developed one for a long time and preserve its own distinct characteristics. In other words, China is and will continue to be a country with multiple identities and roles for a long period of time.<sup>124</sup> In the view of some scholars, international society is a network of relations and China interacts with various countries, big or small, and international organisations within the network. The process of interaction is actually a process of establishing relations and also a process of mutually influencing and reshaping each other's identity and interests. Relations are multifold. So are identities.<sup>125</sup> Relations are also fluid, as are identities. Any identity is path-dependent and subject to the flux of historical events and processes.<sup>126</sup> In the past three decades, China's success in its peaceful rise has been mainly due to the internal transformation it has undergone through interaction with and practices in international society.<sup>127</sup> For scholars who perceive developments from this process approach, China has changed not only in behaviour but also in identity, both of which are interrelated and correlated. 'China struggled over the threshold of membership of international society and has evolved in the last three decades from a revisionist to a detached and then to a *status quo* power. The identity shift, the institutional selection and norm acceptance have all been peaceful. So has been China's interaction with other actors in international society, both bilateral and multilateral. It seems therefore that there is no adequate reason to believe that China will violently defy international society in terms of newly emerging institutions.'<sup>128</sup>

123. Zhu Liqun, 'Zhongguo Waijiao de "Zhongyong Tese"', *Waijiao Pinglun*, no. 3, 2009, p. 20.

124. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-23.

125. Qin Yaqing, *op. cit.* in note 6, pp. 82-83.

126. Qin Yaqing, *op. cit.* in note 5.

127. Zhang Baijia, 'Gaibian Ziji, Yingxiang Shijie – 20 Shiji Zhongguo Waijiao Jiben Xiansuo Chuyi', *Zhongguo Shehui Kexue*, no. 1, 2002, pp. 15-16.

128. Qin Yaqing, *op. cit.* in note 5.

## China's responsibility

When Robert Zoellick first put forward the concept of China as a 'stakeholder', many Chinese scholars had no idea of the responsibilities that this vision of China's role in the world involved. Most of them

were negative and critical about the 'China's Responsibility' theory. As the concept gradually came to be accepted in China, Chinese scholars began to debate what and how much responsibility China should assume in the context of international society.

First and foremost, what is international responsibility? The term 'international responsibility' is not unfamiliar to the Chinese. Much active discourse in the past focused on China making contributions to world peace and stability. China was duty-bound in this regard. However, such discourse concerning China's international responsibility was relatively general. From the perspective of revolutionary diplomacy, this meant that China should provide aid to third-world countries to overthrow the old international order and build a new one. Currently, 'international responsibility' refers to 'obligations that a member of international society should undertake in relation to the external world in the fields of the economy, politics, security, morality and so on, reflecting the contributions a country should make to the external world.' 'International responsibility is a derivative attribute of a member state of international society. Countries, big or small, should bear certain international responsibilities.'<sup>129</sup>

What then is China's international responsibility? Some scholars hold that the status of an 'emerging major power' should at least be the basis for China's self-positioning in the world. It should also be the basis for China to define its international responsibility, rather than blindly pursue two different routes by separating 'foreign affairs' from 'domestic affairs', or demonstrating China's enthusiasm about multilateralism merely through involvement and cooperation in international institutions.<sup>130</sup> Specifically, China's international responsibilities are interpreted by some scholars as follows: 'Economically, China's major responsibility is to safeguard the contemporary international economic order and rules, to participate in addressing the deteriorating global imbalance and environmental problems, to enhance financial openness, to further promote market reform, to improve the social security system, to actively transform the mode of economic growth and to increase international aid. Politically, China's main responsibility is to promote dialogues and mutually beneficial cooperation between countries with different social systems and civilisations. In the field of security, China's primary international responsibility is to ensure peace and stability across the Taiwan Straits, counterchecking any crisis that might be caused by Taiwan separatists, to prevent, coordinate and negotiate with regard to any impending conflicts and confrontations in Asia, and to participate in a wide range of security operations, including UN peacekeeping operations and crackdowns on non-traditional security threats.'<sup>131</sup>

129. Wang Gonglong, 'Guojia Liyi, Gongyou Liyi yu Guoji Zerenguan – Jianlun Zhongguo Guoji Zerenguan de Goujian', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 9, 2008, p. 26.

130. Zhu Feng, 'Zai 'Taoguang Yanghui' yu 'Yousuo Zuowei' Zhijian Qiu Pingheng', *Xindai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 9, 2008, p. 28.

131. Zhang Ji and Kang Wenzhong, 'Gaige Kaifang Yilai Zhongguo Chengdan Guoji Zeren de Zhanlue Sikao', *Dangdai Shijie Shehuizhuyi Wenti*, no. 4, 2008, p. 34.

Many scholars emphasise that China's international responsibility should be defined on the basis of China's national interests, rather than the interests of Europe and the United States. The United States and Europe define China's international responsibility from the perspective of their own interests and concerns, claiming that China's responsibility is to uphold and maintain the existing international order together with them. But their interests may differ from China's.<sup>132</sup> As the world's most populous country, China's primary responsibility should be to provide for its citizens, who account for one-fifth of the world population, and ensure them a better life. 'This is not merely a domestic affair, but also one of international significance. It is the greatest contribution that China makes to humankind by working out solutions to internal problems such as development and stability.'<sup>133</sup> For this reason, national interests should be the fundamental factor in determining China's international responsibility. 'The key issue at the heart of "China's responsibility" is to effectively fulfil its domestic responsibilities.'<sup>134</sup> 'China's responsibility is definitely not the obligatory list imposed by western powers, but international and national missions voluntarily undertaken by China in line with its own capability and practical national conditions.'<sup>135</sup>

132. Xue Chen, 'Feichuantong Anquan Wenti yu Guoji Gongong Chanpin Gongji – Jianlun Zhongguo Zerenlun yu Hexie Shijie Linian yu Shijian', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 3, 2009, p. 66.

133. Ren Xiao, 'Yanjiu he Lijie Zhongguo de Guoji Zeren', *Shehui Kexue*, no. 12, 2007, p. 27.

134. Hu Jian, 'Zhongguo Zeren yu Heping Fazhan Daolu', *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 7, 2007, p. 43.

135. Sun Zhe, 'Xiang Shijie Shuoming Zhongguo de Zeren – Du 2008 Zhongguo Guoji Diwei Baogao Yougan', *Shijie Jingji Yanjiu*, no. 10, 2008, p. 83.

136. Zhang Shengjun, "Zhongguo Zerenlun" Keyi Xiuyi', *Renmin Luntan*, no. 6, 2007, p. 50.

137. Lin Limin, 'Lixing Bianxi Zhongguo Zerenlun', *Renmin Luntan*, no. 3, 2007, p. 53.

138. Wang Yiwei, 'Morang Guoji Zeren Gei Huyou Diao Le', *Shijie Zhishi*, no. 22, 2007, p. 63.

139. Liu Ming, 'Zhongguo Guoji Zerenlun Pingxi', *Mao Zedong Deng Xiaoping Lilun Yanjiu*, no. 1, 2008, p. 53.

140. Li Nan, 'Zhongguo de Guoji Zerenlun Yantaohui Zongshu', *Dangdai Yatai*, no. 6, 2008, pp. 154-55.

141. Zhou Guiyin, 'Zhongguo Jueqi Guochengzhong de Guoji Zeren', *Jianghai Xuekan*, no. 5, 2009, p. 170.

There are a group of Chinese scholars who believe that the China Responsibility theory implies that China is not a responsible state. In their view this type of discourse in the West is a manifestation of the China Threat theory and aims to exert pressure on China by forcing it to assume responsibility.<sup>136</sup> Others contend that the China Responsibility theory masks a strategic conspiracy by the United States and other western powers to set a trap for China.<sup>137</sup> China needs to remain vigilant about overstatements of China's strength as a way of invoking China's international responsibility and prevent developed countries from ensnaring China by making it bear responsibilities beyond its own capabilities.<sup>138</sup> 'The Threat theory and Responsibility theory are inter-linked, and will constrain China's development. The Threat theory will take the form of the Responsibility theory. It will prevail whenever China fails to undertake responsibilities as they (the western powers) require.'<sup>139</sup>

What is the bottom-line of 'responsibility'?<sup>140</sup> International expectations of China exceed its own self-assumed expectations of responsibility. Many scholars propose that China should adhere to certain principles in bearing responsibilities. Most importantly, China should do what it is able to do, no less and no more. Some scholars propose the following broad guiding principles in this regard: acting in line with state identity and national interests, acting according to China's capabilities, and referring back to previous practices and experiences.<sup>141</sup> Other scholars advocate the following more specific principles. Firstly, China should insist on common but different responsibilities. China recognises

that every country in the world shares common duties with regard to major issues concerning the future of mankind, but considers that common duties do not mean that countries should simultaneously bear the same responsibilities. Instead, responsibilities should be based on countries' individual history, national conditions, stages of development, population level and environment. Secondly, China recognises that responsibilities cannot be independent of rights. Developing countries have the right to develop their economies and improve democracy, and to demand that the West make amends for historical mistakes, to ask for more technical and economic aid, and to have a say in international affairs. China should oppose too much international responsibility being placed on the shoulders of developing countries. Thirdly, China should be vigilant and make sure that international responsibilities match up with international laws. It is the common responsibility of all countries to maintain the United Nations Charter and the existing international legal system. China should oppose the imposition of one country's will, values and domestic law on others and the arbitrary definition and evaluation of other countries' international responsibilities. Fourthly, China should undertake international responsibilities in proportion to its capabilities. China should not assume international responsibilities out of proportion to its own strengths and development phase. Nor should it shoulder international responsibilities at the price of sovereignty, security and development.<sup>142</sup>

Other scholars emphasise that China's responsibility should ultimately 'start with managing its own internal affairs well. Economically, China should assume international responsibilities unconditionally in terms of economic duties (e.g. product safety) and ensure the relative stability of China's monetary policy. Politically, the Chinese government should above all be responsible for its own people and demonstrate a commitment to good governance, increasing the attraction of its state systems and value system and learning from western democratic practices. Only by doing so can China establish its moral credentials in the international arena. In addition, China should observe the international conventions that it has signed and and give guarantees with regard to its performance in this respect.'<sup>143</sup>

Specialists on African studies argue that China's responsibility should be mainly for developing countries, particularly for Africa, since Africa occupies a core place in China's foreign policy. For them, China is still a developing country, as are African countries. So when China speaks for Africa in the international arena it is speaking for itself.<sup>144</sup> Moreover, China has a historical responsibility to promote the south-south dialogue and cooperation. And better cooperation with the US and the EU on African affairs will enhance Sino-US and Sino-EU relations.<sup>145</sup> Specifically, more responsibility

142. Li Jie, 'Cong Zerenlun Toudi Guoji Tixi Zhuanxing', *Guoji Wenti Yanjiu*, no. 1, 2008, p. 41.

143. Li Nan, *op. cit.* in note 140, p. 153.

144. He Wenping, 'Cong Zhongfei Guanxi Kan Woguo Zai Fazhangzhong Guojia de Liyi he Zhanlue', *Yafei Yanjiu*, no.3, 2008, p. 29.

145. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

for Africa means providing it with more aid. Non-interference in internal affairs based on mutual respect should be a guiding principle for China's official development assistance (ODA) to Africa since Africa's marginalisation is mainly due to the legacy of colonialism which hinders its development.<sup>146</sup> China has the same historical experience, so the idea of non-interference is mutually shared, not unilaterally imposed.<sup>147</sup> And aiming at capacity building in Africa should be another principle of China's responsibility for Africa, simply because it will help the sustainability of African development in future. Mutual benefit and a 'win-win' result have long been the objectives of China's African policy and this should remain the case.<sup>148</sup> Some scholars also argue for multilateral cooperation in dealing with African affairs and seek to explore a better format for sharing responsibility among major powers.<sup>149</sup>

## On sovereignty and the Responsibility to Protect

China's concept of sovereignty, ever since the founding of the People's Republic of China, was close to the notion of absolute sovereignty, with its core elements being independence, the inviolability of sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs. This had a lot to do with China's security environment during that period. Major powers such as the United States adopted the policy of containment, embargo and besiegement towards China, thus causing serious and tangible threats to China's sovereignty, territorial integrity and security. Historical experiences also meant that China was very sensitive to issues of sovereignty.

This view began to change after China opened up to the outside world. A good example is the 'one country, two systems' policy developed by the late Deng Xiaoping during the negotiation of the handover of Hong Kong in the 1980s, which represents the first sign of China's softened stance on sovereignty. As China integrates further into the international system, more Chinese scholars have taken the view that sovereignty is a historically constructed concept. History changes, and so accordingly does the idea of sovereignty. The issue of sovereignty therefore should be approached from a historical, open and constructive perspective, which has gradually gained currency among Chinese scholars. They hold that 'state sovereignty is a historical phenomenon and continues to develop.'<sup>150</sup> 'It was created together with the emergence of the modern nation-state system and has been changing as the system transforms. So it should be understood historically.'<sup>151</sup> Besides, 'global issues cannot be solved by a single

146. Zhang Zhongxiang, 'Shixi Zhongguo Dui Feizhou Wajiao Zhong de Buganshe Neizheng Yuanze', *Xiya Feizhou*, no.1, 2010, p.13.

147. Li Anshan, 'Wei Zhongguo Zhengming: Zhongguo de Feizhou Zhanlue Yu Guojia Xingxiang', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 4, 2008, p. 8.

148. Liu Hongwu, 'Zhongfei Guanxi Sanshinian: Qiaodong Zhongguo yu Waibu Shijie Guanxi Jiegou de Zhidian', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 11, 2008, pp. 85-86.

149. Yang Lihua, 'Jianshe Kechixu de Zhanlue Huoban Guanxi', *Xiya Feizhou*, no. 9, 2008, p.15;

150. Ren Weidong, 'Quanqiuhua Jincheng zhong de Guojia Zhuquan: Yuanze, Tiaozhan ji Xuanze', *Guoji Guanxi Xueyuan Xuebao*, no. 6, 2005, p. 4

151. Yu Feng, 'Zhuquan de Qiyuan: Lishi Lixing, Hefaxing yu Rentong Jichu', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 4, 2008, p. 34.

country but through global efforts at building an international regime whose authority comes from pooling national sovereignty. In this case, absolutely and narrowly defined sovereignty is becoming less and less applicable to the current situation of globalisation.<sup>152</sup> As such, 'it will be a necessary choice for countries to independently transfer part of their sovereignty to participate in international cooperation and integrate into international society, for the sake of gaining opportunities of further development in international society.'<sup>153</sup> In practice, 'it is an undeniable fact that national sovereignty has been transferred and weakened.'<sup>154</sup> There is ample evidence that China too has experienced changes in its understanding of national sovereignty, with its idea of sovereignty having greatly evolved from seeing sovereignty as absolute to seeing it as relative. The idea of realising national interests through international cooperation has been accepted by the Chinese government and has become a major factor that influences China's international behaviour.<sup>155</sup>

Such a relatively universal acceptance of the altered idea of sovereignty, however, does not mean that Chinese scholars have reached a similar agreement surrounding the issue of the 'Responsibility to Protect.' There are basically two schools of thought on that matter. One supports conditional humanitarian intervention, and the other opposes it.

Scholars who are in favour of conditional intervention argue that the human rights norm has gained the unquestionable status of a universal international law. Any action that contravenes it is legally invalid. This means that acceptance of and conformity with the universal human rights norm has become an important criterion in judging the legitimacy of contemporary states. International society, therefore, has the right to implement humanitarian interventions, which have also gained a high degree of legitimacy nowadays. This suggests that resistance to such international interventions by invoking the principles of absolute sovereignty and non-intervention, either in legal terms or on moral grounds, cannot be justified, nor will such resistance be widely recognised, sympathised with or supported.<sup>156</sup> 'Sovereignty is not absolute but limited, and humanitarian protection concerns international peace and security.'<sup>157</sup> They emphasise that humanitarian intervention is in essence 'a reflection of the minimum requirement in terms of supporting human rights and human dignity.'<sup>158</sup> Nonetheless, they oppose the idea that humanitarian military intervention is also universally applicable, arguing that the negative effects of military intervention are quite manifest. 'The use of military force in humanitarian interventions often tends to be prejudicial to the principles of humanism, justice and neutrality.'<sup>159</sup> 'It is also very likely to be manipulated by hegemonist states to serve their own

152. Xu Lin, 'Guojia Zhuquan de Dangdai Fazhan ji Lixing Xuanze', *Guangxi Shehui Kexue*, no. 9, 2006, p. 11.

153. Liu Kai, 'Lun Quanqiuhua Shidai Tichu Guojia Zhuquan Zizhu Youxian Randu Fanshi de Yanjiu Jiazhi', *Guoji Guanxi Xueyuan Xuebao*, no. 4, 2008, p. 18.

154. Ren Weidong, op. cit. in note 150, p. 1

155. Mao Ruipeng, 'Zhuquan Yuanze yu Zhongguo zai Lianheguo Weihe Yi'an zhong de Toupiao Xingwei (1994-2004)', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 4, 2006, p. 60.

156. Wu Zhengyu, 'Zhuquan, Renquan yu Rendao Zhuyi Ganshe: Wensente de Guoji Shehui Guan'. *Ouzhou Yanjiu*, no. 1, 2005, p. 99.

157. Luo Guoqiang, "'Rendao Zhuyi Ganshe" de Guojifa Lilun ji qi Xin Fazhan', *Faxue*, no. 11, 2006, p. 86.

158. Li Bojun, 'Rendao Junshi Ganshe yu Guoji Rendaofo', *Wuda Guojifa Pinglun*, vol. 11, p. 121.

159. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

national interests.<sup>160</sup> Thus, the issue of intervention needs to be treated with caution.

The growing recognition of the doctrine of the 'Responsibility to Protect' has inspired some Chinese scholars to look at the 'non-intervention' principle in China's diplomatic practice. They argue that 'it is necessary to reconsider its connotations and take note of the conditions for intervention efforts.'<sup>161</sup> Some scholars, after conducting intensive research into China's participation in the UN peacekeeping operations, point out that 'the normative power of humanitarian intervention has already made China face greater pressure in the United Nations. In addition, China is seeking to build the image of a responsible power and is pursuing the international strategy of cooperating with other major powers, thus compelling China to be more cooperative in peacekeeping operations.'<sup>162</sup> Scholars who study the issue of Darfur also observe that 'the adoption of an UN resolution on the issue of Darfur shows that China's position that "the internal affairs of Sudan should be solved by the Sudanese government itself" has been practically abandoned.'<sup>163</sup>

The Darfur crisis may have far-reaching repercussions for China. It may bring about ideational change in China's diplomacy.<sup>164</sup> Some scholars believe that 'the Darfur issue shows that China is faced with double challenges and a difficult choice over different norms.'<sup>165</sup> If China insists on the principle of non-intervention, humanitarian crises in Darfur and elsewhere cannot be resolved, which could lead to China becoming the target of international blame; on the other hand, China may not be able to provide sufficient and effective protection for its overseas interests and its citizens living abroad. However, if China accepts the principle of intervention, it will be in a dilemma too. China may face more international pressure to shoulder greater external responsibility for which China currently does not have sufficient capacity. And China's influence on the third world countries may well be jeopardised because most of them still advocate the principle of non-intervention. Moreover, most Chinese take a negative view of external intervention due to their historical memory of the sufferings inflicted on the Chinese people by imperialist military intervention in China in the nineteenth century.<sup>166</sup> They conclude, therefore, that China should support the idea of intervention on condition that such interventions are conducted in a multilateral framework and are conducive to regional order and to the prevention and halting of mass atrocities.<sup>167</sup> China should also bear in mind that it can only act in accordance with the responsibility to intervene within the limits of its own capabilities.

There are still some scholars who strongly oppose any form of humanitarian intervention. They argue that it is impractical to deny

160. Mao Ruipeng, op. cit. in note 155, p. 57.

161. Chen Qi and Huang Yuxing, 'Guoji Ganshe de Guifan Weidu', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 4, 2009, p. 7.

162. Mao Ruipeng, op. cit. in note 155, p. 60.

163. Wang Meng, 'Da'erfu'er Weiji: Zhongguo Waijiao Zhuanxing de Tiaozhan yu Qiji', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 6, 2005, p. 39.

164. Ibid.

165. Chen Qi and Hung Yuxing, op. cit. in note 161, p. 11.

166. Ibid., p. 12.

167. Ibid., p. 14.

state sovereignty in contemporary international politics.<sup>168</sup> In their view, ‘humanitarian intervention contravenes the principles of state sovereignty, non-intervention in internal affairs, and prohibition of the use of force enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.’<sup>169</sup> For some scholars, the issue of Kosovo is the latest example of breaking up a sovereign state in the name of humanitarian intervention.<sup>170</sup> They contend that the West, over the past ten years, has developed a new mechanism of humanitarian intervention and is trying to make it the basis of international order. They add that the key questions with regard to the issue of the ‘Responsibility to Protect’ are: what is ‘international society’?; when should ‘humanitarian intervention’ occur, under whose authority and how? ‘China, as a big developing country whose human rights record is monitored closely by the West and notably Human Rights Watch, should take precautions and make early preparations for such a new development.’<sup>171</sup>

In conclusion, China’s growing integration into international society has generated an intense internal debate about China’s identity. The general view maintains that by seeking development inside the international system rather than outside the system, China has gradually adopted a new national identity as a responsible stakeholder or a *status quo* state. For most Chinese, this evolving identity is not in conflict with its identity of being a big developing country with its own distinctive culture and traditions, including a different political culture. Chinese scholars are now more optimistic than Western scholars<sup>172</sup> concerning China’s identity and its relationship with international society simply because they do not conceive of China’s identity as a static phenomenon but as part of a dynamic ongoing process. Another noticeable phenomenon in China’s identity debate is the general ‘no-enemy assumption’.<sup>173</sup> Most Chinese scholars do not perceive China’s identity and identity reconstruction in terms of a dichotomy of the self versus the other, but from a relational perspective with complementary dialectics. Defining China by naming and targeting an enemy is largely absent as a feature of the discourse in the debates.

168. Ren Weidong, op. cit. in note 150, p. 5.

169. Chi Deqiang, ‘Cong Guojifa Kan Rendao Zhuyi Ganshe’, *Wuhan Daxue Xuebao* [Zhaxue Shehui Kexue Ban], no. 2, 2006, p. 227.

170. Zhang Ruizhuang, ‘Jingti Xifang yi “Rendao Zhuyi Ganyu” Weiming Dianfu Xianxing Guoji Zhixu’, *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 9, 2008, pp. 12-13.

171. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

172. For example, Barry Buzan has expressed serious doubts about the possibility of China’s peaceful rise simply because China’s political culture is different from that of the West. See Barry Buzan, ‘China in international society: is ‘Peaceful Rise’ possible?’ *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, no. 3, 2010, pp.5-36.

173. Zhu Liqun, ‘Guonei Zhengzhi Jincheng yu Zhongguo Duiwai Zhengce ji Waijiao Xingwei’, in Qin Yaqing, et al., *Guoji Tixi yu Zhongguo Waijiao*, (Beijing: World Affairs Press, 2009), pp. 254-56.



## CHAPTER 4

# Debates on strategy

China's diplomacy has long been driven by aspirations of strong power, rejuvenation, modernisation, and rise, as well as by the historical experience of centuries of victimisation and humiliation. The past thirty years since China's reform and opening-up has witnessed fundamental changes in China's international strategic thinking. China no longer focuses on confrontation or remains aloof from international society as it did in previous decades. China's diplomacy is now predicated on a set of new strategic concepts and principles, some of which have triggered debates among scholars as the international situation changes.

## Strategic objectives

The year 2008 was the thirtieth anniversary of China's reform and opening-up. While recognising the changes that have taken place in China in the past 30 years, Chinese IR scholars started a debate, quite a rare one in recent years,<sup>174</sup> on China's strategic goals. Although peaceful rise (or peaceful development) and the construction of a harmonious world have become key themes of a dominant discourse in China, it is still a contentious issue whether the creation of a powerful nation or of a better standard of living for its people should constitute the primary objective of China's diplomacy.

Yan Xuetong, director of the Institute of International Studies at Tsinghua University, published an article in the *Global Times* entitled 'The loftiest goal of a country is not being rich' in mid-March, 2009. It considered whether China should be vigilant about being rich but not powerful. His article attracted the attention of both the press and academics. He proposed that many people mistakenly regard

174. Heated debates of this kind in Chinese public life are rare mainly because debate in China is generally characterised by expressing different ideas without directly naming and targeting those who express opposing views. The debate between Yan and Ding is exceptional. It may pave the way for China to have more open debates.

national construction as enterprise management because economic construction has been China's central task for such a long time. The primary goal of a country is to safeguard the interests of the people, which include possession of wealth and security, sovereignty, international dignity and the protection of national values. These interests are hardly commodities that can be purchased with money in the market. Historically, there have been wealthy countries who have not been strong and there have even been cases of national decline in the process of accumulating wealth. Today's China is not equipped with the same military capability as Russia. Nor does China enjoy the same prowess in making significant scientific discoveries as does Germany, France and Japan. Yan Xuetong advocates that China should make use of its wealth to enhance national capabilities.<sup>175</sup>

After the publication of Yan's article, Ding Gang, senior editor of the *People's Daily*, refuted Yan Xuetong's argument, stating that Yan ignores the most important and highest goal of a country, i.e., to guarantee fairness and justice. He argues that only under a fair and just system can a country effectively turn its wealth into national capability so as to achieve the goal of a strong country and ensure a better life for the majority of its people. He adds that a strong country without a fair and just system is fragile, short-lived and unsustainable.<sup>176</sup>

Their debate has stimulated considerable discussion among the public. Some scholars and journalists explicitly endorse the view that a powerful nation should come first while others agree with Ding Gang that prosperity of the people constitutes a prerequisite for a nation to be powerful. Over the centuries China has suffered tremendous aggression and humiliation from imperialist powers, thus generating a strong aspiration to become a powerful nation. But its national weakness lies in the poverty of its people. Too much emphasis on becoming a powerful state but little attention paid to how to allow the people to prosper is exactly the difficulty that China is facing today.<sup>177</sup>

This debate has triggered another one, namely, how large should China's military be? Liu Mingfu, professor at China's National Defense University, stresses in his newly published book that China's rise must have a military dimension and that it is necessary to aim for first-rate military troops and state-of-the-art military forces. He advocates that 'China should compete for the status of champion nation and usher in the China era.'<sup>178</sup> After its publication, the book gained a number of followers.<sup>179</sup> But it has also been the target of fierce criticism. Many scholars argue that China's rise does not need to include having the strongest military. They point out that 'if China's model eventually includes having "the most powerful military troops in the world", it would not be a good one, but an old model of power politics

175. Yan Xuetong, 'Guojia Zuichonggao Mubiao Bushi Zhifu', *Huaiqiu Shibao*, 13 March 2009.

176. Ding Gang, 'Guojia Caifu Yunyong, Guanjian Shi Gongping', *Huaiqiu Shibao*, 13 March 2009.

177. Liang Xiaomin, 'Minfu Caineng Guoqiang', *Zhongguo Xinwen Zhoukan*, no. 37, 2009, p. 87; Wei Zhimin, 'Guoqiang Xu yi Minfu Wei Jichu', *Huaiqiu Shibao*, 2 March 2010.

178. Liu Mingfu, *Zhongguo Meng: Hou Meiguo Shidai de Daguo Siwei he Zhanlue Dingwei*, (Beijing: Friendship Publishing Company, 2010).

179. Guo Yadong, 'Zhongguo Yao Ganyu Jianshe Zui Qiangda de Jundui', *Huanqiu Shibao*, 25 March 2010.

competing for world hegemony.’ ‘The future world will be a world of cooperation.’ ‘China should take the lead in neo-internationalism, benefiting and letting others benefit from it.’<sup>180</sup> These two conflicting viewpoints have been followed up by various debates conducted on the internet and in various publications. Such debates are gradually evolving into profound thinking about values, which will be of great social significance to China’s future development.

## **Taoguang yanghui (keeping a low profile)**

In the early 1990s, Deng Xiaoping formulated the strategic concept of *taoguang yanghui* as a guideline for China’s diplomacy. China’s standing in international affairs was extremely low at this time as a result of the Tiananmen Square incident of 4 June 1989. Deng Xiaoping called on China to continue to calmly conduct its domestic (and foreign) affairs and insist on going its own way. He proposed that China should unswervingly pursue the reform and opening-up policy. Twenty years later, and with China having become a major economic power, some scholars believe it is no longer necessary to adhere to this principle since the situation has changed. Today, an animated debate is taking place in the Chinese IR community which centres on whether China should continue to keep a low profile (*taoguang yanghui*).

A segment of opinion holds that with the spillover effect of China’s rise and the expansion of China’s national interests, in practice it is becoming increasingly hard to justify the principle of keeping a low profile. This posture has often resulted in China being labelled as ‘irresponsible’ and ‘non-transparent’. This state of affairs is not conducive to safeguarding China’s national interests in its current phase. As an emerging power, China should not just immerse itself in self-protectionism by ‘hiding its capabilities and biding its time (another interpretation of *taoguang yanghui*)’.<sup>181</sup> Adherence to this principle has failed to create a peace-loving international image for China. ‘On the contrary, whenever we place great emphasis on the principle of keeping a low profile the China Threat theory resurges and comes at us from all directions.’<sup>182</sup>

They propose that ‘according to changing national interests and internal and external conditions, China should take an active stance on major issues, pay attention to tactics, seize the right opportunity and act properly to take control of situations.’<sup>183</sup> Deng Xiaoping’s diplomatic principle of *taoguang yanghui* and his arguments on China’s domestic development such as the ‘cat theory’<sup>184</sup> and the theory of ‘wading across the river by feeling for stones’ reveal a kind of ‘tide-surfing strategy’, which was tailored to the needs of the

180. Sun Peisong, ‘Zhongguo Bubi Zhuiqiu Zui Qiangda de Jundui’, *Huanqiu Shibao*, 16 March 2010.

181. Zhu Feng, ‘Zai “Taoguang Yinghui” yu “Yousuo Zuowei” Zhijian Qiu Pingheng’, *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 9, 2008, p. 29.

182. Gao Fei, ‘Cong “Taoguang Yanghui” Dao “Heping Jueqi” – Ping Zhongguo Waijiao de Celue Tiaozheng’, *Taipingyang Xuebao*, no. 1, 2006, p. 8.

183. Yuan Peng, ‘Hexie Shijie yu Zhongguo Xinwajiao’, *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 4, 2007, pp. 3-4.

184. This alludes to a famous maxim of Deng Xiaoping: ‘it doesn’t matter whether a cat is white or black, as long as it catches mice’ – i.e. it does not matter too much if a policy is capitalist or socialist as long as it delivers good economic results.

circumstances during the past three decades of reform and opening-up. Now 'China needs a tide-making strategy to further promote peaceful development.'<sup>185</sup> In other words, China should anticipate and consciously shape a favourable international situation, continually create opportunities and open up a broader space for development. Therefore, China needs to play a constructive role in addressing topical issues globally and regionally and in tackling various global challenges. This means that China should carry out a 'constructive interference' policy when necessary and have the courage to assume international responsibilities.<sup>186</sup>

With regard to the above criticisms, some scholars emphasise that Deng Xiaoping's idea of keeping a low profile and making *some* contributions in the international arena implied that China should be navigating along the 'middle course', and concentrate on more practical things rather than seek leadership or hegemony.<sup>187</sup> 'The present international distribution of power has not undergone substantive changes, compared with that prevailing when Deng Xiaoping first put forward the idea of "keeping a low profile and making *some* contributions."' For this reason, it is necessary for us to adhere to Deng's diplomatic strategy.<sup>188</sup> 'We have learned from history that countries who challenged the most powerful state in the then international system for the sake of seeking leadership, eventually ended in failure.' So 'the principle of keeping a low profile and making *some* contributions is a wise counsel from Deng Xiaoping for China in the twenty-first century. It is definitely not an expedient policy for one or two decades, but long-term strategic thinking, a strategy to strive for the realisation of a harmonious world, and the image that a confident and modest nation shows to the outside world.'<sup>189</sup>

## Regional order in East Asia

As China increasingly defines itself as a major regional power in East Asia, an extensive debate is emerging concerning China's status and role in the East Asian region. Some hold that China is likely to become the most important centre of power in the Asia-Pacific region and to play a bridging role in communicating with and bonding actors in the region. With the increase of its overall strength, China's central status in the Asia-Pacific region cannot be supplanted by any other country, including Russia, Japan, India or the US.<sup>190</sup> There are also discussions about the role of the leading power and forms of regional cooperation. Some oppose open regionalism, arguing that it is the fundamental reason why 'it is difficult to define objectives, to make clear who belongs and who does not, and achieve substantive progress in the construction of an East Asian community.'<sup>191</sup> 'The

185. Pan Zhongqi, 'Cong 'Suishi' Dao 'Moushi' – Youguan Zhongguo Jinyibu Heping Fazhan de Zhanlue Sikao', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 2, 2010, p. 9.

186. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

187. Zhu Liqun, 'Guonei Zhengzhi Jincheng yu Zhongguo Duiwai Zhengce ji Waijiao Xingwei', pp. 254-56; Li Hengjie, 'Lun Deng Xiaoping "Taoguang Yanghui" de Waijiao Zhanlue Sixiang', *Guoji Guanxi Xueyuan Xuebao*, no. 3, 2008, p. 2.

188. Feng Zhaokui, 'Zhengqu Shixian Hexie Shijie zhi Ce – Ye Tan "Taoguang Yanghui, Yousuo Zuiwei"', *Shijie Zhishi*, no. 20, 2005, p. 53.

189. *Ibid.*; Zhou Suyuan, 'Jianshou Budangtuo Fangzhen Tuidong Jianshe Guoji Xin Zhixu', *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 9, 2008, p. 32.

190. Zhu Tingchang, 'Lun Zhongguo zai Yatai Diqiu de Quyu Zhongxin Diwei', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi Luntan*, no. 1, 2010, p. 76.

191. Xiao Huanrong, 'Fanhua de Diqiu Zhuyi yu Dongya Gongtongti de Weilai', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 10, 2008, p. 34.

lack of consensus in East Asia provides opportunities for American engagement.<sup>192</sup> Reaching consensus among major East Asian powers, especially between China and Japan, is a prerequisite for nurturing the identity of the East Asian community.<sup>193</sup> Therefore, 'East Asian regionalism'<sup>194</sup> rather than 'open regionalism'<sup>195</sup> should be pursued.

Others hold that it is of great significance for East Asian countries to uphold the principle of 'open regionalism', which allows countries outside the region such as the US, Australia, New Zealand and India to engage in the processes of East Asia integration. China has accepted open regionalism in order to avoid excluding the United States and conflicting with American core interests. It has given tacit consent to the concept of overlapping regions instead of eagerly advocating a clear and rigidly defined concept of region. China has adopted modest attitudes toward various co-existing forms of regionalism, encouraging inclusiveness and diversification and being cautious about exclusive regional cooperation. All these policies have achieved important political results, i.e., reducing American concerns and resistance and avoiding impinging on American strategic interests in this region.<sup>196</sup> At the same time, open regionalism can foster political cooperation and security coordination in East Asia, thus easing the soft strategic encircling of China. It can also attract more powers outside East Asia to exert a strategic constraint on the US-Japan alliance.<sup>197</sup>

Yet some argue that the so-called 'ASEAN-led' regional community with its commitment to open regionalism is essentially a misleading 'illusion'.<sup>198</sup> Reality shows that East Asia is not yet equipped with the conditions to build a perfect 'regional community' since it is severely lacking in a structural and cultural basis for community building.<sup>199</sup> We should strengthen mechanisms of 'fostering trust and security' and actively nurture mutual understanding and mutual trust among East Asia powers.<sup>200</sup> Opposite opinions hold that the matrix of political identity in East Asia is undergoing a fundamental transformation from animosity to community. There are many favourable elements for the construction of a community of East Asian nations such as deepening inter-dependence, a strengthened sense of a common destiny and gradually emerging and universalised common norms among East Asian countries. A kind of regional political culture is coming into being in the process of building the East Asian community.<sup>201</sup>

192. Dai Fan and Zhou Jiner, 'Dongya Diqu Zhixu de Weilai: Dongya Haishi Yatai?', *Nanyang Wenti Yanjiu*, no. 1, 2006, p. 27.

193. Xiao Huanrong, op. cit. in note 191, pp. 35-36.

194. Liu Zhenye, 'Dongya Gongtongti Bu Keneng Shi Kaifang de Diqu Zhuyi', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 10, 2008, p. 39.

195. Zheng Xianwu, 'Dongya Gongtongti Yuanjing de Xuhuanxing Xilun', *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, no. 4, 2007, p. 56.

196. Sun Xuefeng and Chen Haixi, 'Zhongguo Diqu Zhuyi Zhengce de Zhanlue Xiaoying', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 5, 2006, p. 28.

197. Men Honghua, 'Zhongguo Dongya Zhanlue de Zhankai', *Dangdai Yatai*, no. 1, 2009, p. 65.

198. Liu Aming and Zhu Mingquan, 'Guanyu Jianli Dongya Gongtongti de Jidian Sikao', *Guoji Wenti Yanjiu*, no. 1, 2006, p. 53.

199. Zhou Fangyin, 'Gongtongti yu Dongya Hezuo', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 1, 2009, p. 62.

200. Zheng Xianwu, op. cit. in note 195, p. 60.

201. Qin Yaqing, 'Dongya Gongtongti Jianshe Jincheng he Meiguo de Zuoyong', *Waijiao Pinglun*, no. 6, 2005, p. 28.

## Nationalism

A rapidly rising country will inevitably have to make a choice in terms of what should be the main driving impetus for national development. There are constant debates on whether China's development should be driven by nationalism characterised by self-centred and narrowly defined national interests, by internationalism which requires China to bear international responsibilities while pursuing its own interests, or by a combination of both. Professor Shi Yinhong, an expert in the history of international relations, has pointed out that 'China is most unique in the tenacious continuity of its history punctuated by radical and profound reforms.' 'Contemporary nationalism in China is not only a decisive force in driving forward the process of reform essential to China's modernisation but also an important conduit for preserving China's traditional features.' In his opinion, Chinese nationalism is mainly characterised by foresightedness, calmness, patience and respect for tradition, but it is also necessary to prevent narrow-minded nationalism from hindering the grand reform drive towards China's modernisation.<sup>202</sup>

202. Shi Yinhong, 'Zhongguo Lishi Zhizhong de Lianxu he Biange yu Zhongguo Xiandangdai Minzu Zhuyi', *Waijiao Pinglun*, no. 1, 2010, p. 14.

203. Zi Zhongyun, 'Weile Minzu de Zuigao Liyi, Weile Renmin de Changyuan Fuzhi', *Taipingyang Xuebao*, no. 4, 1999, p. 11.

204. One of the authors of the book *Unhappy China* is also the first author of another book, *China Can Say No*, published in 1996. The main argument of *Unhappy China* is that the West has been conducting a policy of containment towards China whereas Chinese elites have been pursuing a policy of cooperating with and integrating into international society. They believe that this will result in the failure of China's foreign policy and of its modernisation project, and they therefore advocate that China should be aiming to be a heroic country, ready to engage in confrontation with the West should circumstances warrant it. See Song Xiaojun, et al, *Zhongguo Bu Gaoxing – Dashidai, Damubiao ji Women de Neiyou Waihuan*, (Nanjing: Jiangsu People's Press, 2009).

205. Guo Shuyong, *Cong Guoji Zhuyi Dao Xin Guoji Zhuyi: Makesi Zhuyi Guoji Guanxi Sixiang Fazhan Yanjiu* (Beijing: Shishi Press, 2006), pp. 267-90; Qin Yaqing and Zhu Liqun, op. cit. in note 120, pp. 21-6.

China's development over the past few decades has taken place in the context of a struggle between tradition and reform. Nationalism (patriotism) and internationalism represent the opposite poles of this struggle. Having accumulated over many years, Chinese nationalism 'prevails over the voices of democracy. Anti-democracy forces can make use of the intrinsic and exclusive feelings of nationalism to resist the reform drive towards modernisation'.<sup>203</sup> At the same time, strong momentum towards reform also pushes China to learn from advanced civilisations and adopt a positive attitude towards internationalism. It has long been an issue how to maintain a balance between China's indigenous culture and other cultures, which means excessive dependence on extreme nationalism and internationalism alike should be avoided in China's interaction with international society.

Thus, extreme nationalism exists in China, as illustrated by the book *Unhappy China* (2009),<sup>204</sup> which adopts a sceptical and indeed confrontational attitude towards the relationship between China and international society. At the opposite end of the spectrum, neo-internationalism is advocated and indeed this constitutes the dominant discourse and the main trend in China. Neo-internationalism calls for China to get actively involved in the international system, to take part in the process of regional cooperation, adopt open regionalism and maintain a cooperative relationship with the major powers.<sup>205</sup> It stresses that what China needs is the kind of 'China model' recognised by the international community, rather than

the inward-looking nationalism which has been largely abandoned by international society.<sup>206</sup> China ought to become a rider, not a free-rider, by fully taking part in the process of globalisation in order to achieve continuous progress.<sup>207</sup> It should be recognised that Chinese nationalism has taken on more positive features in the last twenty years, with its energies directed towards fulfilling important national projects, including economic development, nation state building, political unity, independence and Chinese national rejuvenation. Its positive nature lies in three aspects. It adopts an international strategy which attaches great importance to international cooperation and global economic integration. Furthermore, it no longer advocates overturning the international *status quo* by way of revolution. It emphasises China's contributions to the welfare of the world and the region when designing and fulfilling China's own national ambition.<sup>208</sup>

Basically, therefore, topics of discussion on China's strategy range widely from objectives and principles to the values that China's foreign policy should pursue and be guided by. Opinions differ a great deal. Some opinions appear to be extreme nationalist, whereas others tend to be liberal internationalist. At this point in time, with China entering into a new stage of development after three decades of reform and opening-up, the debate on where China is heading and what kind of country China should become is of great significance both in the context of interaction with international society and within China itself.

206. Wang Yiwei, 'Tanxun Zhongguo de Xin Shenfen: Guanyu Minzuzhuyi de Shenhua', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 2, 2006, p. 21.

207. Shi Yinhong, 'Chuantong Neiwai de Dangdai Zhongguo: Zhengzhi Lingdao, Duiwai Zhengce yu Qi Zhongguo Texing', *Waijiao Pinglun*, no. 3, 2009, pp. 5-8.

208. Chen Zhimin and Jian Junbo, 'Lijie Zhongguo Waijiao Zhengce: Yi Minzu Zhuyi wei Xiansuo', *Guoji Wenti Luntan*, no. 36, Autumn, 2004. See: <http://www.studa.net/zhengzhi/051228/1407932.html>.



# Conclusion

Four conclusions can be drawn after this thorough exploration of the internal debates on China's foreign policy that have taken place over the past decade. Firstly, there is no unitary understanding of foreign policy in China. Opinions differ with regard to various aspects of China's foreign policy, and these have been publicly voiced in various print and internet media. All references quoted in this paper come from academic books, journals and newspapers. All the authors cited are scholars mainly from the international relations community and the sphere of Chinese diplomacy studies. In making known and publishing their different viewpoints, they seek to influence foreign policy making. The debates on China's foreign policy have generated lively domestic dialogues and often have a strong impact on the formulation of foreign policy. This illustrates the fact that Chinese society has increasingly evolved into a pluralistic society characterised by a wide diversity of ideas.

Secondly, liberalism, in general, dominates foreign policy debates in China. The ideological tendencies of Chinese scholars can be classified into four major categories according to their theoretical orientations, i.e. Marxism, realism, liberalism and social constructivism. Reflecting the basic assumptions underlying each theory, Marxism focuses on class and class struggle, realism on power and the conflicting nature of international relations, liberalism on weakening the forces of anarchy and increasing international institutions and cooperation, and constructivism on ideas, norms, culture and identity. The main currents in Chinese foreign policy studies can be distinguished according to the abovementioned four categories.

According to the studies of Professor Qin Yaqing, a renowned scholar in international relations theory, Chinese IR theory studies as they have evolved over the past thirty years can be split into three distinct

schools of thought. He has come to this conclusion by analysing 1,124 articles related to international relations theory published in five Chinese leading journals, *World Economics and Politics*, *European Studies*, *Foreign Affairs Review*, *International Review* and *Contemporary International Relations*, from 1978 to 2007. The three main schools of thought he identifies are liberalism, realism and social constructivism, accounting for 78 percent of the material surveyed: of these liberalism is the biggest in proportion, accounting for one third of the total. During the past thirty years, Marxist-oriented articles predominated prior to 1990 while articles with a liberal thrust have predominated since 1990. In 2007, liberal-oriented articles reached 44 in number, compared to 33 for realism-oriented ones and 35 for constructivism-oriented ones.<sup>209</sup> We argue in this paper that the trend towards liberalism has generally reflected the shift in thinking that China's foreign policy studies have so far revealed.

Thirdly, the general tendency of the world situation as it is currently evolving is interpreted by most Chinese scholars as overwhelmingly dominated by peace and cooperation, even though there is a varied spectrum of opinion in this regard. China's identity in international society is believed to have fundamentally changed from that of a revolutionary outsider and a detached state to that of a responsible member of international society. This is the main aspect of the identity issue, although questions about how deeply China should get involved in international society and how much responsibility China should bear are still under discussion. Vigorous debates on China's foreign strategy highlight the diversity and heterogeneity of Chinese society, all of which will profoundly impact China in the years to come.

Finally, a growing number of actors and factors are having an impact on China's foreign policy process. Domestic debates on China's foreign policy are driven by both internal and external forces. One strong factor is external pressure. China's adoption of the opening-up policy over the past three decades has meant that China has become both deeply involved in and tremendously influenced by international society. These influences, and the concomitant problems, issues and challenges, have stimulated Chinese academic circles to reflect on China's relationship to the international community and its policy choices, and to engage in a domestic debate on this topic. Other factors derive from the great social changes that have taken place in China. Currently there are 384 million PC internet users and 233 million mobile internet users in China.<sup>210</sup> Chinese citizens therefore have access to a vast arena in which to express themselves in the Information Age. By 2007, the urbanisation rate had reached 44.94 percent. Social stratification in China is evolving rapidly with the middle class expanding steadily. These developments constitute

209. Qin Yaqing, 'Zhongguo Guoji Guanxi Lilun Yanjiu de Jinbu yu Wenti', *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, no. 11, 2008, p. 18.

210. Zhongguo Hulian Wangluo Zixue Zhongxin, 'Di 25 Ci Zhongguo Hulianwang Fazhan Zhuangkuang Tongji Baogao'. See: [http://www.cas.cn/xw/yxd/201001/t20100115\\_2727860.shtml](http://www.cas.cn/xw/yxd/201001/t20100115_2727860.shtml).

great changes in China's foreign policy making environment and have had a direct influence on the formulation of foreign policy. At present, unfortunately, studies about how interest groups, think tanks and internet users affect decision-making in China are lacking. It is obvious that China's foreign policy process is becoming more and more open, with academic communities exerting greater influence on China's foreign policy making and on China's diplomacy.

This *Chaillot Paper* has endeavoured to give an overview of the foreign policy debate in China that, it is hoped, will provide useful insights to all those interested in China's attitude to and role in today's international system.



# Annexes

## Translations of Chinese publication titles in the footnotes

**Footnote 6:** ‘Guanxi Benwei yu Guocheng Jiangou: Jiang Zhongguo Linian Zhiru Guoji Guanxi Lilun’ = ‘Relationality and processual construction: bringing Chinese ideas into international relations theory’; *Zhongguo Shehui Kexue* = *Social Sciences in China*.

**Footnote 7:** *Lun Heping yu Fazhang Shidai* = *On the Era of Peace and Development*; ‘Dangjin Shijie de Shidai Tezheng yu Deng Xiaoping Lilun de Guoji Yiyi’ = ‘Features of today’s world and international implications of Deng Xiaoping’s theory’; *Fazhan Luntan* = *Development Forum*; ‘Shijie Zaoyi Jinru Heping yu Fazhan Shidai’ = ‘The world already in the era of peace and development’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*; *Zailun Heping yu Fazhang Shidai* = ‘Rethinking on the era of peace and development’; *Guoji Zhengzhi Yanjiu* = *Studies of International Politics*; ‘Cong “Zhanzheng yu Geming” Dao “Heping yu Fazhan” – Dui Shidai Zhuti de Zai Renshi’ = ‘From “war and revolution” to “peace and development”: Rethinking the themes of the times’; *Guoji Zhanwang* = *International Outlook*.

**Footnote 8:** ‘Shidai yu He Zhan Wenti Yiji Guoji Guanxi’ = ‘The times, issues of peace and war and international relations’; *Zhanlue yu Guanli* = *Strategy and Management*; ‘Shidai Tezheng Shouxian Shige Keguan Cunzai’ = ‘Features of the times being first of all objective existence’; ‘Shidai Zhuti zai Yatai Biaoxian de Gengwei Mingxian’ = ‘The themes of the times most obviously displayed in the Asia Pacific Region’; ‘Guanyu Heping yu Fazhan de Jidian Sikao’ = ‘Some Thoughts on Peace and Development’; ‘Ya’erTa Tixi: Heping yu Fazhan de Kongjian’ = ‘The Yalta system: Room for peace and development’; *Shijie Zhishi* = *World Affairs*.

**Footnote 9:** ‘Chonggu Zhongguo Waijiao Suochu zhi Guoji Huanjing – Heping Yu Fazhan Bingfei Dangdai Shijie Zhuti’ = ‘Reevaluating the international environment of China’s diplomacy: peace and development not being the themes of the times’; *Zhanlue yu Guanli* = *Strategy and Management*; ‘Kesuowo Zhanzheng yu Zhongguo Xin Shiji Anquan Zhanlue’ = ‘The Kosovo War and China’s security strategy in the new century’; ‘Shijie Jinru le “Heping yu Fazhan de Shidai” le ma? – Xuexi Deng Xiaoping “Heping yu Fazhan Sixiang” de Jidian Sikao’ = ‘The world already in the “era of peace and development”?’: Some thoughts on Deng Xiaoping’s “theory of peace and development”’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 10:** ‘Chonggu Zhongguo Waijiao Suochu zhi Guoji Huanjing – Heping Yu Fazhan Bingfei Dangdai Shijie Zhuti’ = ‘Reevaluating the international environment of China’s diplomacy: Peace and development not being the themes of the times’; *Zhanlue yu Guanli* = *Strategy and Management*.

## A **Annex: Translations of Chinese publication titles in the footnotes**

**Footnote 11:** Hu Jintao Shidaiguan de Wuda Zhongguo Zhuzhang' = 'Hu Jintao's five viewpoints on the features of the times'; *Liaowang Xinwen Zhoukan* = *Outlook Weekly*; Zhongguo Gongchandang Xinwen Wang = Chinese Communist Party News Web.

**Footnote 13:** 'Baquan yu Guoji Guanxi Linian' = 'Hegemony and ideas in international relations'; 'Baquan Wending Lun' yu Zhongguo de Xin Anquan Guan: Yizhong Bijiao Shijiao' = 'Hegemonic stability theory vs. the Chinese new concept of security: a comparative approach'; 'Baquan, Quanqiu Zhuyi he Diqu Zhuyi: Quanqiuhua Beijing Xia Guoji Gonggong Wupin Gongji de Duoyuanhua' = 'Hegemony, globalism and regionalism: the pluralism of supply of international public goods against the background of globalisation'; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 14:** 'Baquan Wending Lun: Pipan yu Xiuzheng' = 'Hegemonic stability theory: criticism and revision'; *Taipingyang Xuebao* = *Pacific Journal*.

**Footnote 15:** 'Baquan Wending Lun' yu Dangdai Guoji Jingjifa: Yizhong Guoji Zhengzhi Jingjixue Shijiao de Quanshi' = "Hegemonic stability theory and contemporary international economic law: An interpretation from international political economics"; *Taipingyang Xuebao* = *Pacific Journal*.

**Footnote 17:** 'Quanqiu Jiegou Chongtu yu Meiguo Baquan de Hefaxing Weiji – Jiedu Yilake Zhanzheng Hou de Shijie Zhengzhi' = 'Global structural conflict and the legitimacy crisis of American hegemony: Interpretation of world politics after the Iraq war'; *Meiguo Yanjiu* = *American Studies Quarterly*.

**Footnote 18:** 'Baquan Zhouqi Lun de Pinkun – Jian Xi Meiguo Baquan Shifou Zouxian Shuailuo' = 'The poverty of the theory of hegemonic cycles: An analysis of whether American hegemony is going downhill'; *Meiguo Yanjiu* = *American Studies Quarterly*.

**Footnote 19:** 'Zhanguoce de Baquan Sixiang ji Qishi' = 'Hegemonic thinking in *Strategies of Warring States* and its revelations'; *Guoji Zhengzhi Kexue* = *Quarterly Journal of International Politics*.

**Footnote 20:** 'Baquan Guo yu Guoji Gonggong Wupin – Meiguo Zai Diqu Jinrong Weiji Zhong de Xuanxing Yuanzhu Xingwei' = 'The hegemon and international public goods: the US's selective approach to assistance in regional financial crises'; *Guoji Zhengzhi Kexue* = *Quarterly Journal of International Politics*.

**Footnote 21:** 'Baguo Jituan yu Quanqiu Gonggong Chanping de Gongji: Jiti Baquan de Shijiao' = 'The G-8 and the supply of global public goods: An approach of collective hegemony'; *Guoji Zhengzhi Yanjiu* = *Studies of International Politics*.

**Footnote 22:** 'Daguo Jueqi de Lishi Jingyan yu Zhongguo de Xuanze' = 'Historical lessons of the rise of major powers and China's choice'; *Zhanlue yu Guanli* = *Strategy and Management*; 'Baquan, Tongmeng Jiqi Dui Zhongguo de Qishi' = 'Hegemony, alliance and revelations on China'; *Dangdai Shijie yu Shehui Zhuyi* = *Contemporary World and Socialism*.

**Footnote 23:** ‘Baquan Ganshe, Daguo Duikang yu Dongya Diqun Anquan de Goujian’ = ‘Hegemonic interference, great power rivalry and regional security building in East Asia’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 24:** ‘Meiguo Baquan he Dongya Yitihua – Yizhong Xin Xianshi Zhuyi de Jieshi’ = ‘US hegemony and East Asian integration: A neo-realist perspective’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 25:** ‘Meiguo Baquan de Fazhan Weidu – Aobama Zhengfu Quanqiu Fazhan Zhanlue Pingxi’ = ‘A developmental perspective of American hegemony: A critique of the Obama Administration’s strategy for global development’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*; ‘Jinrong Weiji dui Meiguo Baquan Diwei de Chongji’ = ‘The impact of the financial crisis on America’s hegemonic status’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* = *Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 26:** ‘Baquan Zhili yu Quanqiu Zhili’ = ‘Hegemonic governance and global governance’; *Waijiao Pinglun* = *Foreign Affairs Review*; ‘Jinrong Weiji, Meiguo Shuailuo yu Guoji Guanxi Geju Bianpinghua’ = ‘The global financial crisis, the United States’ decline and flattening of the international order’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 27:** ‘Jinrong Weiji yu Meiguo Jingji Baquan: Lishi yu Zhengzhi de Jiedu’ = ‘The global financial crisis and American economic hegemony: history and politics’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* = *Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 28:** ‘G-2, “Zhongmeiguo” yu Zhongmei Guanxi de Xianshi Dingwei’ = ‘The G-2, “a Sino-American State” and the realistic positioning of China-US relations’; *Hongqi Wengao* = *Red Flag Manuscript*.

**Footnote 29:** *2009 Zhongguo Guoji Diwei Baogao* = *China’s International Status Report 2009*.

**Footnote 31:** ‘Guoji Xingshi he Jingji Weiti’ = ‘The international situation and economic issues’; *Deng Xiaoping Wenxuan*, Di 3 Juan = *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, vol. 3.

**Footnote 32:** ‘Qianxi Dangjin “Yichao DuoQiang” de Guoji Geju’ = ‘A tentative analysis of the contemporary “simultaneously unipolar and multipolar” international order’; *Fazhi yu Shehui* = *The Legal System and Society*.

**Footnote 33:** ‘Guoji Geju Duanqinei Buhui Fasheng Genbenxing Bianhua’ = ‘Fundamental changes will not take place in the international structure in the short term’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* = *Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 34:** ‘Xinxing Daguo Qunti Zai Guoji Tixi Zhuanxin Zhong de Zhanlue Xuanze’ = ‘Emerging Powers’ strategic options in the transitional international system’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 35:** ‘Dui Zhongguo Duojihua Zhalue de Lishi yu Lilun Fasi’ = ‘Reflections on the history and theories of China’s multipolarity strategy’; *Guoji Zhengzhi Yanjiu* = *Studies of International*

## **A** **Annex: Translations of Chinese publication titles in the footnotes**

*Politics*; ‘Quanqiu hua, Shehui Bianhua yu Zhongguo Waijiao’ = ‘Globalisation, social change and China’s diplomacy’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 36:** ‘21 Shiji: Shi Baquan Zhuanyi Haishi Baquan Zhongjie’ = ‘The 21<sup>st</sup> Century: transfer or end of hegemony?’; *Dangdai Shijie yu Shehui Zhuyi* = *Contemporary World and Socialism*.

**Footnote 39:** ‘Xin Guoji Zhixu Goujian Zhong de Oumeng’ = ‘The EU in the construction of a new world order’; *Nankai Xuebao (Zhaxue Shehui Kexue Ban)* = *Journal of Nankai University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Version)*.

**Footnote 40:** ‘Oumeng Shi Yige Shenmeyang de Liliang?’ = ‘What kind of role is the EU playing in the international system?’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*; *Guoji Tixi yu Zhongou guanxi* = *The International System and Sino-European Relations*.

**Footnote 41:** *Ouzhou Yanji* = *Journal of European Studies*.

**Footnote 42:** ‘Oumeng de Junshihua: Cong Minshi Liliang Xiang Junshi Liliang de Bianxing?’ = ‘The Militarisation of the European Union: From Civilian Power to Military Power’; *Ouzhou Yanjiu* = *Chinese Journal of European Studies*.

**Footnote 43:** ‘Ouzhou Qiantu Bingbu Andan’ = ‘The future for Europe is not bleak’; *Ouzhou Yanjiu* = *Chinese Journal of European Studies*.

**Footnote 45:** ‘Oumeng de “Rualiliang”’: Oumeng Fahui Guoji Yingxiang de Fangshi’ = ‘The civilian power’ of the EU: Ways of influencing the world’; *Ouzhou Yanjiu* = *Chinese Journal of European Studies*.

**Footnote 46:** “‘Ouzhou Moshi Jiqi Dui Shijie de Yingxiang’ Yantaohui Zongshu’ = ‘Review of the Symposium on “The EU model and its influence on the world”’; *Ouzhou Yanjiu* = *Chinese Journal of European Studies*.

**Footnote 47:** ‘Guanyu Ouzhou Moshi de Tansuo he Sibian’ = ‘An exploration and analysis of the EU model’; *Ouzhou Yanjiu* = *Chinese Journal of European Studies*.

**Footnote 48:** ‘Ouzhou Zai Shijie Qipan Shang de “Bianyuanhua”’ = ‘The “marginalising” of Europe on the world chessboard’; *Ouzhou Yanjiu* = *Chinese Journal of European Studies*, Preface.

**Footnote 49:** “‘Guifanxing Liliang Ouzhou’ yu Oumeng Duihua Waijiao’ = “Normative power Europe” and the EU’s diplomacy towards China’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 52:** ‘Eluosi Shizai Huhuan “Tiewan”, Huhuan Qiangquan – Dui Eluosi Jinnian Chuxian de Suowei “Chongping Sichao” de Pouxu’ = ‘A comment on the call for the “Iron Hand” and “Power” in Russia: analysis of the “reevaluation tendency” in Russia in recent years’; *Shijie Lishi* = *World History*.

**Footnote 53:** ‘Eluosi Chongxin Jueqi: Xianzhuang, Fazhan yu Qianjing – Shanghai Dongou Zhongya Xuehui 2004 Nian Disanci Zhuanqi Yantaohui Jiyao’ = ‘Russia’s revival: *status quo*, development and prospects’ – Summary of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Symposium of East Europe and Middle Asia Academy, 2004, Shanghai; *Guoji GuanCha* = *International Review*.

**Footnote 54:** ‘Eluosi de Qiangsheng Weihe Buneng Chijiu – Dui Guojia yu Shehui Guanxi de Lishi Fenxi’ = ‘Why Russian power cannot last long: A historical analysis of the state and society relationship’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 55:** ‘Di’erci Zhuanxing yu Eluosi de Chongxin Jueqi’ = ‘The 2<sup>nd</sup> Transition and Russia’s Revival’; *Eluosi Yanjiu* = *Russian Studies*.

**Footnote 56:** ‘Eluosi Guojiguan de Bianhua yu Duiwai Zhengce Tiaozheng’ = ‘Change in Russia’s world view and the readjustment of Russian foreign policy’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* = *Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 57:** ‘Shilun Eluosi de Guoji Dingwei yu Zhanlue Zouxiang’ = ‘A tentative analysis of Russia’s international position and strategic orientation’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* = *Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 58:** ‘Lun Eluosi de Shiyong Zhuyi Waijiao’ = ‘On Russia’s pragmatic diplomacy’; *Shijie Zhengzhi yu Jingji Luntan* = *Forum of World Politics and Economics*.

**Footnote 59:** Zhongguo Xiandai Guoji Guanxi Yanjiuyuan Riben Zhanlue Zouxiang Ketizu = Japan’s Strategic Orientation Project Team with the Institute of China Contemporary International Relations; ‘Dangqian Riben Duiwai Zhanlue: Chengyin, Shouduan ji Qianjing’ = ‘Japan’s current foreign strategy: Causes, means and prospects’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* = *Contemporary International Relations*; ‘Ribei Zai Guoji Shehui Shenfen Rentong Shang de Kunjing’ = ‘Japan’s dilemma in defining its international identity’; *Heping yu Fazhan* = *Peace and Development*; ‘21 Shiji Chu Riben Duiwai Mubiao ji Waijiao Zhanlue Tanxi’ = ‘Japan’s external goals and diplomatic strategy at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century’; *Riben Wenti Yanjiu* = *Japanese Research*; ‘Lun Riben Guojia Anquan zhanlue Tiaozheng – Jiyu Riben Zhanlue Wenhua he Zhanlue Yiyuan de Shijiao’ = ‘On Japan’s readjustment of its aational security strategy: A Perspective of Japanese strategic culture and intention’; *Guoji GuanCha* = *International Review*; ‘Guanyu Zhanhou ‘Putong Guojia’ Lun de Guannianxing Sikao’ = ‘Conceptual analysis of Post-War Japan’s “normal state” theory’; *Riben Xuekan* = *Japanese Studies*.

**Footnote 60:** ‘Ribei de Daguo Zhixiang yu Xiaoguo Waijiao’ = ‘Japan’s big power ambition and small state diplomacy’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* = *Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 61:** ‘Guoji Quanli Zhuanyi yu Ribei de Zhanlue Huiying’ = ‘The International power transition and Japan’s strategic response’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* = *Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 62:** ‘Shixi Ribei de Dongya Diqu Zhixu Zhanlue’ = ‘Japan’s strategy towards the East Asian regional order’; *Guoji Luntan* = *International Forum*.

## **A** **Annex: Translations of Chinese publication titles in the footnotes**

**Footnote 63:** ‘Quanmian Jiedu Lengzhanhou Riben Guojia Zhanlue de Biange yu Yingxiang – Cong Mohu Zhanlue dao Qingxi Zhanlue de Zhuanxing’ = ‘An overall analysis of change in Japan’s national strategy in the Post-War era and its influence: From ambiguous strategy to clear strategy’; *Guoji Guancha* = *International Review*.

**Footnote 64:** ‘Chuyu Zhuanxingqi de Riben yu Zhongguo Duiqi Zhengce’ = ‘Transitional Japan and China’s policy toward Japan’; *Dangdai Yatai* = *Journal of Contemporary Asia-Pacific Studies*.

**Footnote 65:** ‘Ribei “Bei Bianyuanhua” de Youlv Jiqi Waijiao Zhengce Zouxiang’ = ‘Japan’s fear of being marginalised and its foreign policy orientation’; *Guoji Ziliao Xinxi* = *International Data Information*.

**Footnote 68:** ‘21 Shiji Riben Waijiao de Jueze’ = ‘Japan’s diplomatic choice in the 21<sup>st</sup> century’; *Guoji Zhengzhi Yanjiu* = *Studies of International Politics*.

**Footnote 71:** ‘Cong “Jianzhiguan Waijiao” Dao Jiji de “Yazhou Waijiao” –Ribei Anbei, Futian Neige Yazhou Waijiao de Bijiao Fenxi’ ‘From “value diplomacy” to “proactive Asian diplomacy”: A comparative analysis of Abe’s and Fukuda’s Asian diplomacy’; *Guoji Wenti Yanjiu* = *International Studies*.

**Footnote 73:** ‘Ribei dui Dangqian Shijie Xingshi de Kanfa Jiqi Waijiao Zhanlue’ = ‘Japan’s view on the current international situation and its diplomatic strategy’; *Dangdai Shijie* = *Contemporary World*.

**Footnote 74:** ‘G-20 de Shidai Yiyi yu Xianshi Qishi’ = ‘The significance of the G-20 and its revelations on reality’; ‘G-20 Jueqi Shi Guoji Tixi Zhuanxing de Qidian – Jinjin Shi Qidian!’ = ‘The emergence of the G-20 is the starting point of an international systemic transition: Just a starting point!’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* = *Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 75:** ‘Fazhanzhong Guojia de Xunsu Xingqi Jiqi Yingxiang’ = ‘The rise of developing countries and its impact’; *Yafei Zongheng* = *Asia and Africa Review*.

**Footnote 76:** ‘G-20 yu Guoji Zhixu Dabianju’ = ‘The G-20 and big change in the international order’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* = *Contemporary International Relations*; ‘Fazhanzhong Guojia Dafenhua de Zhanlue Yingxiang’ = ‘The strategic impact of the great division among developing countries’; *Guoji Wenti Yanjiu* = *International Studies*.

**Footnote 78:** ‘Guoji Tixi yu Yindu Jueqi’ = ‘The international system and India’s rise’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* = *Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 79:** ‘Yindu Jueqi de Taishi’ = ‘The posture of India’s rise’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* = *Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 80:** ‘Touxu Yindu Jueqi Wenti’ = ‘An analysis of the rise of India’; *Guoji Wenti Yanjiu* = *International Studies*.

**Footnote 81:** 'Shijie Zhengzhi zhong Yindu Heping Jueqi de Xianshi yu Qianjing' = 'The reality and prospect of India's peaceful rise in world politics'; *Nanya Yanjiu* = *South Asian Studies*.

**Footnote 83:** 'Yindu Zhanlue Jueqi yu Zhongyin Guanxi: Wenti, Qushi yu Yingdui' = 'India's strategic rise and China-Indian relations: Questions, trends and responses'; *Nanya Yanjiu Jikan* = *South Asian Studies Quarterly*.

**Footnote 85:** 'Cong Fazahn Lilun de Shijiao Kan Yindu Jingji Jueqi' = 'The economic rise of India in the perspective of development theory'; *Nanya Yanjiu Jikan* = *South Asian Studies Quarterly*.

**Footnote 86:** 'Zhongguo yu Yindu Jingji Gaige zhi Bijiao' = 'Comparing the economic reforms of China and India'; *Tianfu Xinlun* = *Sichuan's Outlook*; 'Yindu Fazhan Moshi Jiexi' = 'An analysis of India's development model'; *Nanya Yanjiu Jikan* = *South Asian Studies Quarterly*.

**Footnote 87:** 'Ruanshili yu Yindu de Jueqi' = 'Soft power and India's rise'; *Guoji Wenti Yanjiu* = *International Studies*.

**Footnote 91:** 'Yindu Jueqi Moshi Tanxi' = 'A probe into the pattern of India's rising'; *Nanya Yanjiu* = *South Asian Studies*.

**Footnote 95:** 'Quanqiu Jujiao xia Zhongguo, Yindu Jueqi de Zhanlue Fenxi' = 'Strategic analysis of the rise of China and India under global focus'; *Dangdai Shijie yu Shehui Zhuyi* = *Contemporary World & Socialism*.

**Footnote 97:** 'Yindu Jueqi de Guoji Zhengzhi Jingjixue Fenxi' = 'Using the IPE method to analyse India's ascent'; *Nanjing Shida Xuebao (Shehui Kexue Ban)* = *Journal Of Nanjing Normal University (Social Science Edition)*

**Footnote 100:** 'G-20 Beihou de Quanli Jiju yu Fensan' = 'Power accumulation and decentralisation behind the G-20'; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* = *Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 102:** 'G-20 Kaiqi le Tansuo "Quanqiu Zhili" Xin Lujing de Jihui zhi Chuang' = 'The G-20 has opened a window of opportunity to new ways of exploring "Global Governance"'; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* = *Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 104:** 'G-20 Fenghui yu Shijie Xin Zhixu de Yanjin' = 'The G-20 summit and the evolution of the new world order'; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* = *Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 105:** 'Quanqiu hua yu G-20' = 'Globalisation and the G-20'; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* = *Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 107:** 'Baguo Jituan, ErshiGuo Jituan yu Zhongguo' = 'The G-8, the G-20 and China'; *Dongnanya Zongheng* = *Around Southeast Asia*.

**Footnote 110:** 'Zhongguo Jueqi yu Duiwai Kaifang: Cong Shijiexing Kaifang Daguo Dao Shijiexing Kaifang Qiangguo' = 'China's rise and opening-up: from an open great economy to an open strong economy'; *Xueshu Yuekan* = *Academic Monthly*.

## **A** **Annex: Translations of Chinese publication titles in the footnotes**

**Footnote 111:** ‘Guoji Geju de Bianhua Qushi’ = ‘Tendency of change in the international structure’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* = *Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 113:** ‘Zhongguo Waijiao de Quanqiuhua ji Qishi’ = ‘Globalisation of China’s diplomacy and its revelations’; *Dangdai Yatai* = *Journal of Contemporary Asia-Pacific Studies*.

**Footnote 114:** ‘Miandui Guoji Diwei de Tigao, Zhongguo Gai Zenmeban’ = ‘What should China do in the face of its improving international status?’; *Jinri Zhongguo* = *China Today*.

**Footnote 115:** ‘Tanxun Zhongguo de Xin Shenfen: Guanyu Minzu Zhuyi de Shenhua’ = ‘Seeking China’s new identity: the myth of Chinese nationalism’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 116:** ‘Ruhe Kan Zhongguo Guoji Diwei Xinbianhua’ = ‘How to look at new changes in China’s international status’; *Shishi Baogao* = *Current Affairs Report*.

**Footnote 118:** ‘Zhongguo Guoji Jiaose Fenxi’ = ‘Analysing China’s international role’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* = *Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 119:** ‘Quanqiuhua Guannian yu Zhongguo Duiwai Zhanlue de Zhuanxing – Gaige Kaifang 30 Nian de Waijiao Zhexue Shenshi’ = ‘Ideas of globalisation and transition of China’s foreign strategies: a review of China’s philosophy of diplomacy in the past 30 years’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 120:** ‘Xin Guoji Zhuyi yu Zhongguo Waijiao’ = ‘Neo-internationalism and China’s diplomacy’; *Waijiao Pinglun* = *Foreign Affairs Review*; Qin Yaqing, ‘Wuzhengfu Wenhua yu Guoji Baoli – Daguo de Qiangxing Jueqi yu Heping Fazhan’ = ‘Anarchic culture and international violence: the rise of major powers by force and peaceful development’; *Zhongguo Shehui Kexue* = *Social Sciences in China*.

**Footnote 121:** ‘Zhongguo Jueqi yu Guoji Zhixu’ = ‘China’s rise and the international order’; *Taipingyang Xuebao* = *Pacific Journal*.

**Footnote 122:** ‘Zhongguo Canyu Guoji Tixi de Pinggu Zhibiao ji Xiangguan Fengxi’ = ‘Evaluation index for China’s participation in the international system and relevant analysis’; *Jianghai Xuekan* = *Jianghai Academic Journal*.

**Footnote 123:** ‘Zhongguo Waijiao de “Zhongyong Tese”’ = ‘The “Golden Mean” characteristic of China’s diplomacy’; *Waijiao Pinglun* = *Foreign Affairs Review*.

**Footnote 127:** ‘Gaibian Ziji, Yingxiang Shijie – 20 Shiji Zhongguo Waijiao Jiben Xiansuo Chuyi’ = ‘Change ourselves and influence the world – An overview of China’s diplomacy in the twentieth century’; *Zhongguo Shehui Kexue* = *Social Sciences in China*.

**Footnote 129:** ‘Guojia Liyi, Gongyou Liyi yu Guoji Zerenguan – Jianlun Zhongguo Guoji Zerenguan de Goujian’ = ‘National interest, shared interest, and international responsibility’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 130:** ‘Zai ‘Taoguang Yanghui’ yu ‘Yousuo Zuowei’ Zhijian Qiu Pingheng’ = ‘Seeking a balance between “keeping a low profile” and “doing something”’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi = Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 131:** ‘Gaige Kaifang Yilai Zhongguo Chengdan Guoji Zeren de Zhanlue Sikao’ = ‘Strategic reflection on China’s international responsibility since the reform and opening-up policy’; *Dangdai Shijie Shehuizhuyi Wenti = Issues of Contemporary World Socialism*.

**Footnote 132:** ‘Feichuantong Anquan Wenti yu Guoji Gongong Chanpin Gongji – Jianlun Zhongguo Zerenlun yu Hexie Shijie Linian de Shijian’ = ‘Non-traditional security issues and international public goods supply: on China’s responsibility and building a “harmonious world”’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi = World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 133:** ‘Yanjiu he Lijie Zhongguo de Guoji Zeren’ = ‘Studies and understanding of China’s international responsibility’; *Shehui Kexue = Journal of Social Sciences*.

**Footnote 134:** ‘Zhongguo Zeren yu Heping Fazhan Daolu’ = “China’s Responsibility” and peaceful development’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi = Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 135:** ‘Xiang Shijie Shuoming Zhongguo de Zeren – Du 2008 Zhongguo Guoji Diwei Baogao Yougan’ = ‘Explaining China’s responsibility to the world: comments on China’s International Status Report 2008’; *Shijie Jingji Yanjiu = World Economy Study*.

**Footnote 136:** ‘Zhongguo Zerenlun Keyi Xiuyi’ = ‘Theory of “China’s Responsibility” can be laid to rest’; *Renmin Luntan = People’s Tribune*.

**Footnote 137:** ‘Lixing Bianxi Zhongguo Zerenlun’ = ‘Rational interpretation of China’s Responsibility’; *Renmin Luntan = People’s Tribune*.

**Footnote 138:** ‘Morang Guoji Zeren Gei Huyou Diao Le’ = ‘Avoid being cheated by international responsibility’; *Shijie Zhishi = World Affairs*.

**Footnote 139:** ‘Zhongguo Guoji Zerenlun Pingxi’ = ‘Analyses of arguments for China’s international responsibility’; *Mao Zedong Deng Xiaoping Lilun Yanjiu = Studies on Mao Zedong’s and Deng Xiaoping’s Theories*.

**Footnote 140:** ‘Zhongguo de Guoji Zerenlun Yantaohui Zongshu’ = ‘Summary of the Symposium on China’s concept of international responsibility’; *Dangdai Yatai = Journal of Contemporary Asia-Pacific Studies*.

**Footnote 141:** ‘Zhongguo Jueqi Guochengzhong de Guoji Zeren’ = ‘China’s international responsibility in the process of its rise’; *Jianghai Xuekan = Jianghai Academic Journal*.

**Footnote 142:** ‘Cong Zerenlun Toushi Guoji Tixi Zhuanxing’ = ‘Analysing the international system transformation through the Responsibility Theory’; *Gujie Wenti Yanjiu = International Studies*.

## **A** **Annex: Translations of Chinese publication titles in the footnotes**

**Footnote 144:** ‘Cong Zhongfei Guanxi Kan Woguo Zai Fazhangzhong Guojia de Liyi he Zhanlue’ = ‘China’s national interest and strategy in developing countries in terms of Sino-African relations’; *Yafei Yanjiu* = *Journal of Asian and African Studies*.

**Footnote 146:** ‘Shixi Zhongguo Dui Feizhou Waijiao Zhong de Buganshe Neizheng Yuanze’ = ‘An analysis of non-interference in China’s foreign policy towards Africa’; *Xiya Feizhou* = *Journal of West Asian and African Studies*.

**Footnote 147:** ‘Wei Zhongguo Zhengming: Zhongguo de Feizhou Zhanlue Yu Guojia Xingxiang’ = ‘Speaking for China: China’s African strategy and the image of China’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 148:** ‘Zhongfei Guanxi Sanshinian: Qiaodong Zhongguo yu Waibu Shijie Guanxi Jiegou de Zhidian’ = ‘Thirty years of Sino-African relations: a pivot in reshaping the structure of China’s relations with the outside world’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 149:** ‘Jianshe Kechixu de Zhanlue Huoban Guanxi’ = ‘China and Africa: building a sustainable and strategic partnership’; *Xiya Feizhou* = *Journal of West Asian and African Studies*.

**Footnote 150:** ‘Quanqihua Jincheng zhong de Guojia Zhuquan: Yuanze, Tiaozhan ji Xuanze’ = ‘Sovereignty in globalisation: principles, challenges and choices’; *Guoji Guanxi Xueyuan Xuebao* = *Journal of University of International Relations*.

**Footnote 151:** ‘Zhuquan de Qiyuan: Lishi Lixing, Hefaxing yu Rentong Jichu’ = ‘The origin of sovereignty: historical justice, legitimacy and the basis of identity’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 152:** ‘Guojia Zhuquan de Dangdai Fazhan ji Lixing Xuanze’ = ‘Contemporary development and rational choice of state sovereignty’; *Guangxi Shehui Kexue* = *Guangxi Social Sciences*.

**Footnote 153:** ‘Lun Quanqihua Shidai Tichu Guojia Zhuquan Zizhu Youxian Randu Fanshi de Yanjiu Jiazhi’ = ‘On the research value of the proposal of independent partial transfer of state sovereignty in the era of globalisation’; *Guoji Guanxi Xueyuan Xuebao* = *Journal of University of International Relations*.

**Footnote 155:** ‘Zhuquan Yuanze yu Zhongguo zai Lianheguo Weihe Yi’an zhong de Toupiao Xingwei (1994-2004)’ = ‘The sovereignty principle and China’s voting records regarding UN Peacekeeping operations (1994-2004)’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 156:** ‘Zhuquan, Renquan yu Rendao Zhuyi Ganshe: Wensente de Guoji Shehui Guan’ = ‘Sovereignty, human rights and humanitarian intervention: R. J. Vincent’s concept of international society’; *Ouzhou Yanjiu* = *European Studies*.

**Footnote 157:** “Rendao Zhuyi Ganshe” de Guojifa Lilun ji qi Xin Fazhan’ = ‘International law regarding “Humanitarian Intervention” and its new development’; *Faxue* = *The Science of Law*.

**Footnote 158:** ‘Rendao Junshi Ganshe yu Guoji Rendaofa’ = ‘Humanitarian military intervention and international humanitarian law’; *Wuda Guojifa Pinglun* = *International Law Review of Wuhan University*.

**Footnote 161:** ‘Guoji Ganshe de Guifan Weidu’ = ‘Reconstructing norms of international interventions’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 163:** ‘Da’erfu’er Weiji: Zhongguo Waijiao Zhuanxing de Tiaozhan yu Qiji’ = ‘Crisis management: the challenge and opportunities of China’s foreign policy in the case of Darfur’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 169:** ‘Cong Guojifa Kan Rendao Zhuyi Ganshe’ = ‘Humanitarian intervention in international law’; *Wuhan Daxue Xuebao (Zhaxue Shehui Kexue Ban)* = *Wuhan University Journal (Philosophy & Social Sciences)*.

**Footnote 170:** ‘Jingti Xifang yi “Rendao Zhuyi Ganyu” Weiming Dianfu Xianxing Guoji Zhixu’ = ‘Be vigilant about the West upsetting the existing international order in the name of “humanitarian intervention”’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* = *Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 173:** ‘Guonei Zhengzhi Jincheng yu Zhongguo Duiwai Zhengce ji Waijiao Xingwei’ = ‘Domestic political processes, China’s foreign policy and diplomatic behaviour’; *Guoji Tixi yu Zhongguo Waijiao* = *The International System and China’s Diplomacy*.

**Footnote 175:** ‘Guojia Zuichonggao Mubiao Bushi Zhifu’ = ‘The loftiest goal of a country is not to get rich’; *Huaiqiu Shibao* = *Global Times*.

**Footnote 176:** ‘Guojia Caifu Yunyong, Guanjian Shi Gongping’ = ‘Fairness is the key to the use of national wealth’; *Huaiqiu Shibao* = *Global Times*.

**Footnote 177:** ‘Minfu Caineng Guoqiang’ = ‘Only when citizens are rich can a country be strong’; *Zhongguo Xinwen Zhoukan* = *China Newsweek*; ‘Guoqiang Xu yi Minfu Wei Jichu’ = ‘A powerful nation should be based upon prosperous people’; *Huaiqiu Shibao* = *Global Times*.

**Footnote 178:** *Zhongguo Meng: Hou Meiguo Shidai de Daguo Siwei he Zhanlue Dingwei* = *The China Dream: The Great Power Thinking and Strategic Positioning of China in the Post-American Era*.

**Footnote 179:** ‘Zhongguo Yao Ganyu Jianshe Zui Qiangda de Jundui’ = ‘China should dare to build the strongest military’; *Huanqiu Shibao* = *Global Times*.

**Footnote 180:** ‘Zhongguo Bubi Zhuiqiu Zui Qiangda de Jundui’ = ‘China doesn’t need to build the strongest military’; *Huanqiu Shibao* = *Global Times*.

## **A** *Annex: Translations of Chinese publication titles in the footnotes*

**Footnote 181:** ‘Zai “Taoguang Yinghui” yu “Yousuo Zuowei” Zhijian Qiu Pingheng’ = ‘Seeking balance between “Taoguang Yanghui” and “Yousuo Zuowei”’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi = Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 182:** ‘Cong “Taoguang Yanghui” Dao “Heping Jueqi” – Ping Zhongguo Waijiao de Celue Tiaozheng’ = ‘From “Taoguang Yanghui” to “Peaceful Rise”: Comments on China’s readjustment of foreign policy’; *Taipingyang Xuebao = Pacific Journal*.

**Footnote 183:** ‘Hexie Shijie yu Zhongguo Xinwajiao’ = ‘The Harmonious World and China’s new diplomacy’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi = Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 185:** ‘Cong “Suishi” Dao “Moushi” – Youguan Zhongguo Jinyibu Heping Fazhan de Zhanlue Sikao’ = ‘China’s new strategy for peaceful development: From “tide-surfing” to “tide-making”’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi = World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 187:** ‘Guonei Zhengzhi Jincheng yu Zhongguo Duiwai Zhengce ji Waijiao Xingwei’ = ‘Domestic political processes and China’s foreign policy and diplomatic behaviour’; ‘Lun Deng Xiaoping Taoguang Yanghui de Waijiao Zhanlue Sixiang’ = ‘On Deng Xiaoping’s diplomatic strategy of “keeping a low profile”’.

**Footnote 188:** ‘Zhengqu Shixian Hexie Shijie zhi Ce – Ye Tan “Taoguang Yanghui, Yousuo Zuiwei”’ = ‘The strategy of striving for a Harmonious World: analysis of “taoguang yanghui” and “yousuo zuowei”’; *Shijie Zhishi = World Affairs*.

**Footnote 189:** ‘Jianshou Budangtou Fangzhen Tuidong Jianshe Guoji Xin Zhixu’ = ‘Adhering to the guideline of not seeking leadership and promoting the building of a new world order’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi = Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 190:** ‘Lun Zhongguo zai Yatai Diqu de Quyu Zhongxin Diwei’ = ‘China’s central role in the Asia-Pacific region’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi Luntan = Forum of World Economy and Politics*.

**Footnote 191:** ‘Fanhua de Diqu Zhuyi yu Dongya Gongtongti de Weilai’ = ‘Pan-regionalism and the future of the East Asian community’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi = World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 192:** ‘Dongya Diqu Zhixu de Weilai: Dongya Haishi Yatai?’ = ‘The Future of the East Asian Order: East Asia or Asia-Pacific?’; *Nanyang Wenti Yanjiu = South Asian Affairs*.

**Footnote 194:** ‘Dongya Gongtongti Bu Keneng Shi Kaifang de Diqu Zhuyi’ = ‘The East Asian community cannot be an open regionalism’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi = World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 195:** ‘Dongya Gongtongti Yuanjing de Xuhuanxing Xilun’ = ‘East Asian community: reality or illusion?’; *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi = Contemporary International Relations*.

**Footnote 196:** ‘Zhongguo Diqu Zhuyi Zhengce de Zhanlue Xiaoying’ = ‘China’s regional policy and its strategic consequences’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi = World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 197:** ‘Zhongguo Dongya Zhanlue de Zhankai’ = ‘The evolution of China’s East Asian strategy’; *Dangdai Yatai* = *Journal of Contemporary Asia-Pacific Studies*.

**Footnote 198:** ‘Guanyu Jianli Dongya Gongtongti de Jidian Sikao’ = ‘Some thoughts on establishing an East Asian community’; *Guoji Wenti Yanjiu* = *International Studies*.

**Footnote 199:** ‘Gongtongti yu Dongya Hezuo’ = ‘Community and East Asian cooperation’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 201:** ‘Dongya Gongtongti Jianshe Jincheng he Meiguo de Zuoyong’ = ‘The process of East Asia community building and America’s role’; *Waijiao Pinglun* = *Foreign Affairs Review*.

**Footnote 202:** ‘Zhongguo Lishi Zhizhong de Lianxu he Biange yu Zhongguo Xiandangdai Minzu Zhuyi’ = ‘Continuity and change in Chinese history and nationalism in modern and contemporary China’; *Waijiao Pinglun* = *Foreign Affairs Review*.

**Footnote 203:** ‘Weile Minzu de Zuigao Liyi, Weile Renmin de Changyuan Fuzhi’ = ‘For the supreme interests of the Nation and for the long-term welfare of the people’; *Taipingyang Xuebao* = *Pacific Journal*.

**Footnote 204:** *Zhongguo Bu Gaoxing – Dashidai, Damubiao ji Women de Neiyu Waihuan* = *Unhappy China: The Great Time, Grand Vision and Our Challenges*.

**Footnote 205:** *Cong Guoji Zhuyi Dao Xin Guoji Zhuyi: Makesi Zhuyi Guoji Guanxi Sixiang Fazhan Yanjiu* = *From Internationalism to Neo-internationalism: Study of the development of Marxist Thinking on International Relations*.

**Footnote 206:** ‘Tanxun Zhongguo de Xin Shenfen: Guanyu Minzuzhuyi de Shenhua’ = ‘Seeking China’s new identity: the myth of Chinese nationalism’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 207:** ‘Chuantong Neiwai de Dangdai Zhongguo: Zhengzhi Lingdao, Duiwai Zhengce yu Qi Zhongguo Texing’ = ‘Contemporary China with and without traditions: Political leadership, foreign policy and Chinese characteristics’; *Waijiao Pinglun* = *Foreign Affairs Review*.

**Footnote 208:** ‘Lijie Zhongguo Waijiao Zhengce: Yi Minzu Zhuyi wei Xiansuo’ = ‘Understanding China’s foreign policy: nationalism as a clue’; *Guoji Wenti Luntan* = *International Forum*.

**Footnote 209:** ‘Zhongguo Guoji Guanxi Lilun Yanjiu de Jinbu yu Wenti’ = ‘Study of international relations theories in China: progress and problems’; *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* = *World Economics and Politics*.

**Footnote 210:** *Zhongguo Hulian Wangluo Zixue Zhongxin* = *China Internet Network Information Centre*; ‘Di 25 Ci Zhongguo Hulianwang Fazhan Zhuangkuang Tongji Baogao’ = ‘The 25<sup>th</sup> Statistical Report on Internet Development in China’.



## **Abbreviations**

ASEAN	Association of South-East Asian Nations
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India and China
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IR	International Relations
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
ODA	Official Development Assistance



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Against the background of China's ascent as a major economic power, this *Chaillot Paper* offers a unique overview of the debates on foreign policy that have taken place in China over the past decade. It analyses the main trends in the domestic strategic debate and the extent to which they are likely to shape China's role in the international arena. Various issues are highlighted, including the implications of the 'peaceful rise' strategy for China's foreign policy, the question of China's international identity and China's responsibility as a stakeholder in the international system. Chinese attitudes to the concepts of sovereignty, hegemony and multipolarity, and how they differ from prevailing Western assumptions, are also explored. The analysis also focuses on the tensions between the 'peaceful risers' and the proponents of a more militant nationalism in China.

China's future evolution as a world power is an issue of paramount importance to the European Union. For the EU, the key challenge is to engage China in a multilateral approach to global governance. In this context, it is hoped that this *Chaillot Paper* will provide valuable insights into the different schools of thought underpinning the formulation of Chinese foreign policy.

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