

Research Series on the Chinese Dream
and China's Development Path

Yunling Zhang
Binhong Shao *Editors*

China's International Relations

Evolving Landscape and Strategic
Adaptations



 Springer

Research Series on the Chinese Dream and China's Development Path

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Chapter 1

Constructing Theories of Diplomacy: Preparing for China's Transition to Global Great Power



Jiemian Yang

Abstract China has been transitioning from a global power to a global great power. As it does so, it is important for those working on constructing theories of diplomacy to clarify not only the country's overarching foreign policy objectives but also the central theory construction tasks in different historical periods. The mission of construction goes in three phases in ascending order: peaceful coexistence, peaceful symbiosis and harmonious symbiosis. At present, the mission is transitioning from the first phase of peaceful coexistence to the second phase of peaceful symbiosis. The theory of peaceful symbiosis is designed to incorporate such concepts as endogenous growth, exogenous interaction and symbiotic construction. The remoter third phase of the mission is to develop the theory of harmonious symbiosis so that global relations can move up to a higher level both materially and spiritually. The focal points of foreign policy theory construction in all phases should fall on the consolidation of basic or guiding theories and the strengthening of operational theories so as to guarantee the unity of knowledge and practice in foreign policy theories governing China's transition to global great power. In terms of its theoretical development for the coming decades, China needs to build up its global great power theories under the general framework of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, transcend one-way or linear thinking, enhance theoretical consciousness and confidence, be pioneering and innovative, get into the habit of multi-dimensional and multi-directional thinking, build, disseminate and direct new theories, and expect greater contributions from Chinese thinkers and theorists.

Keywords Foreign policy theories · Peaceful symbiosis · Harmonious symbiosis · Practical self-consciousness

As it moves gradually from a global power to a global powerhouse, China is faced with an environment that is clearly different from what any rising power in history had faced. Correspondingly, the requirements for physical and theoretical preparation are vastly different as well. In terms of physical preparation, with the deepening of

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global integration, independent and exclusive development has become increasingly difficult and is being replaced by joint and shared development. Therefore, there is also a need for foreign policy theories that match joint and shared development. To be specific, as China constructs diplomatic theories befitting its transition to a global powerhouse, it needs both to define its mission during different phases and pinpoint key elements of theoretical construction in all phases.

It is a mission that goes in three phases in ascending order: peaceful coexistence, peaceful symbiosis¹ and harmonious symbiosis. With the gradual establishment of the theory of peaceful coexistence,² the first phase which began in 1949 has already been completed. In the current phase of transition from a global power to a global great power, China is developing a foreign policy theory of peaceful symbiosis through endogenous growth, exogenous interaction and symbiotic construction. Meanwhile, China should also focus on the next phase of its mission and promote the harmonious symbiosis theory together with other global powers and the rest of the world so that global relations can go a step further both materially and spiritually. The focal points of foreign policy theory construction in all phases should fall on the consolidation of basic or guiding theories and the strengthening of operational theories so as to guarantee the unity of knowledge and practice in foreign policy theories governing China's transition to global great power.

1.1 Interaction and Complementarity of Endogenous and Exogenous Theories

After completing the first phase of the mission to construct a foreign policy theory covering its transition to a global great power, China is currently engaged in the second phase of the mission, which is to develop a foreign policy theory of peaceful symbiosis. To make it happen, China needs to continue to build its foreign policy theories with Chinese characteristics (endogenous theories) while absorbing the outstanding theoretical achievements of all civilizations in the world (exogenous theories) and, through positive interaction between endogenous and exogenous theories, achieve the purpose of uplifting and optimizing the theories, thus fulfilling the

¹ The dictionary meaning of "symbiosis" is any interdependent or mutually beneficial relationship between two persons or groups, also known as "mutually beneficial symbiosis." In its broader sense, it refers to mutual relationship(s) between two or more organisms that live together, usually a mutually beneficial relationship established through the abiding of one living organism in or on another living organism (See *Ci Hai* compiled by Xia Zhenrong & Chen Zhili, Shanghai Lexicographical Publishing House, 2009, pp.730–1). In recent years, the word "symbiosis" has become a term in international relations that has appeared in government documents (such as the white paper on *China's Peaceful Development*) and a number of academic papers. This paper is an analysis of global power theories from "endogenous," (inside a country) "exogenous" (outside a country) and "symbiotic" (interdependence co-established by the international community) perspectives.

² There has been a lot of research on the diplomatic theory of peaceful coexistence, though it has never been systematically discussed as one of the phases of the mission to construct China's diplomatic theories for transitioning to a global great power.

peaceful symbiosis of China's foreign policy theories and laying a solid foundation for the third phase of harmonious symbiosis.

(I) Construction of endogenous theories

Although China has a history of more than 5,000 years, it has never as yet become a global power in its true sense. After entering the modern age, China got bogged down in long-term economic and political stagnation and even retrogression. Furthermore, China was severely bullied and oppressed by Western powers when it was forced to open up its ports in the aftermath of the Opium Wars. Today, international relations and foreign policy theories dominated by Western powers are still full of pride and prejudice against China and they would even reject or pummel at China from time to time.³ Therefore, as China marches to its goal of becoming a global great power, it is faced with an urgent need to build an endogenous foreign policy theory based on its domestic and foreign policies, especially its main practice and theories of peaceful development.

1. Basic conditions are met for developing endogenous foreign policy theories for China's transition to global great power

China has the world's largest population, second largest economy and third largest territory. It is also a great sports and cultural powerhouse. Two major state policies—reform and opening up and peaceful development—have triggered the country to make universally acknowledged achievements. With sustained rapid growth of its overall national strength, China is playing such an increasingly important role in current international affairs that it has effectively become an advocate and initiator of reform of the international system. Meanwhile, theories of socialism with Chinese characteristics are becoming ever more sophisticated. The treasury of China's foreign policy theories now includes Mao Zedong diplomacy, Deng Xiaoping diplomacy, Jiang Zemin diplomacy, and Hu Jintao diplomacy. The Chinese characteristics theory, the Chinese road of development and the China success model have not only filled the country with faith in its road, theory and system, but have also made it a development model for many other countries.

2. China's great philosophical and cultural traditions are an important source of its global great power foreign policy theories.

In exploring and analyzing the trajectories of historical development, the Chinese nation has established an excellent cultural tradition marked by the interplay of culture, history and philosophy. In traditional Chinese culture, national power does not refer to economic and military strength alone, but also cultural and moral force. China's pre-Qin Hundred-School philosophers saw China's rise and fall from the perspective of the nation's development cycles and proposed many consequential ideas of national empowerment. Their consensus was that order among different states depended on the nature of leadership among the states, namely, whether it was a matter of rule by authority or by hegemony.

³ As many researchers have stated, international relations and diplomatic theories today remain an "American science." See [1–3].

Seeing state power as a moral authority, Confucius, Mencius and Xunzi believed that moral cultivation and benevolent rule were the essence and foundation of governance. Xunzi believed that a morally cultivated person is one who “knows all sound doctrines,” and a benevolent governor is one who “knows all laws and decrees.”⁴ Laozi thought the way of governance was a prestige based on a moral spirit to suffer for the people that would draw the world to unity. Using the ocean that embraces the water of hundreds of rivers as an analogy, he said that “rivers and oceans could rule over hundreds of valleys because they are willing to bend down.”⁵ Han Fei thought governance should be maintained by military force and legal systems, saying that the ruler should be good at attacking people and that “the law is the foundation of the ruler’s power.”⁶ The ones who wrote more about hegemony and made a detailed comparison between that and governance were Mencius and Xunzi. Mencius believed that governance was to be maintained by moral ethics, while hegemony depended on material forces. As he put it, “He who uses force to make a pretense to benevolence is the leader of the princes. A leader of the princes requires a large kingdom. He who uses virtue and practices benevolence is the sovereign of the kingdom. To become the sovereign of the kingdom, a prince need not wait for a large kingdom.”⁷ Xunzi believed that rule by authority and hegemony both needed to be maintained by material power and moral strength, but the sway of moral strength in maintaining governance surpasses that of material power. As he put it, “The wise minister of governance takes appropriate actions guided by etiquette and justice and abides by the law when making various decisions on public affairs.”⁸

3. Construction of China’s foreign policy theories of global great power is possible if we conform to the trends of history and time.

China’s foreign policies theories of global great power are not geared to seek hegemony in the world, but to pursue the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation by peaceful means. The goal of building a comprehensively well-off society fully spelt out at the 18th CPC National Congress has reaffirmed this. In its long-term practice, China has adhered to the principle of not seeking hegemony or bossiness. After the breakout of the 2008 global financial crisis, China has unequivocally opposed the “Group Two” proposal (a.k.a. “Sino-American rule”) while pulling it together with many countries of the world. The new leadership team under Xi Jinping has reiterated on numerous occasions that China has no intention of becoming the leader of the world. This shows that the theory and practice China has been adhering to will ensure that we will continue to march on the path of peaceful development and gain more recognition and support of the international community.

⁴ Xunzi: *Undoing Fixation*.

⁵ Laozi, Chap. 66

⁶ Han Feizi, *Five Vermin, A Pathological Analysis of Politics*.

⁷ Mencius: *Gong Sun Chou I*.

⁸ Xunzi: *The Rule of a True King*.

4. Principle and pragmatism in China's foreign policy theories of global great power
When theories and reality do not conform, China would adjust its theories instead of pointing fingers at reality. The practice of "wading across the river by feeling at the stones" demonstrates China's explorative and pragmatism in theory construction, a feature that will continue on for a long time to come. In the next 30 years or longer, China will make a transition from how to become a global great power to how to be a global great power. So, corresponding theoretical adjustments have to be made, which can include broadening the theoretical bases of interests and values, expanding the geographical and subject areas to which the theories would be applied, improving theoretical systems and increasing the validity of the theories.

(II) The peaceful coexistence of endogenous and exogenous theories

Today, we live in an era that places new demands on interaction between endogenous and exogenous theories. In this symbiotic era of globalization and interdependence, China's peaceful development cannot but be realized in a symbiotic global environment. The 18th CPC National Congress mentioned that a spirit of "equality and mutual trust, tolerance, mutual learning and win-win cooperation" needs to be promoted in international relations to meet the contemporary need of peaceful development. Since the beginning of reform and opening, China has been voraciously learning the good theories and practices of other countries and in doing so it has also adapted the theories to the Chinese context. Since international relations necessarily involve more than one country, China needs more than ever to construct global theories based on the world's collective wisdom. Hence, besides constructing and developing endogenous diplomatic theories, it must also diligently absorb the cream of exogenous theories, seek the peaceful coexistence of endogenous and exogenous theories and develop them through cooperation and competition.

To begin with, China needs to know about exogenous foreign policy theories of global great power. In the recent 500 years since the great geographical discovery, during which capitalism spread throughout the world, the political and academic circles of capitalist, colonial and imperialist countries have undergone frequent interaction, and have established a complete theoretical system in the global theoretical framework and in the sub-theories of economic, political, and diplomatic relations.

Britain's theory of "balance of power" during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth I and Oliver Cromwell served the purpose of expanding its huge colonial empire overseas as it maintained relations with other countries of the European continent. France's Napoleon I and Napoleon III advocated and trumpeted expansionism. Prussian Chancellor Otto von Bismarck's balance of power diplomacy outwitted Kaiser Wilhelm II's theory of global hegemony and conquest because the former sought the most favorable international environment for countries that had not yet matured as a great power. Catherine II and Alexander I, heirs to the expansionist Peter the Great of Russia, both attached great importance to promoting Russia's position in Europe and the rest of the world through system and order. During the early 20th century, US Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt both had world views, systems and values of their times. Meanwhile, through the joint efforts of political, business and academic circles in the US, international relations gradually became

an independent branch of science whose impact on the global elite has persisted to this day. After World War II, the completion of European unity became an important source of international relations theories.

Similar historical experiences and common historical missions of China and other developing countries provide a unique political, economic and social foundation for theoretical interaction. During their process of seeking national liberation or independence from colonial and semi-colonial oppression and during their process of national construction, a great many developing countries have been trying hard to establish more effective and more epoch-making theories through the combination of endogenous and exogenous theories. At the end of World War II, during the climax of national independence and liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America, Bung Sukarno, former president of Indonesia, proposed “Pancasila,” namely, five principles for Indonesian independence (i.e. nationalism, internationalism, democracy, social prosperity and faith in Allah); Nkrumah Kwame, the “Father of Ghana,” advocated pan-Africanism; and Juan Domingo Peron, former president of Argentina, authored Peronism which stood for “political sovereignty, economic independence and social justice.” China’s struggle for national liberation, which lasted more than a century, culminated in the birth of Dr. Sun Yat-sen’s Three Principles of the People and the later Mao Zedong thought which would become new ideological and theoretical weapons for China and some other developing countries.

One the other hand, China’s foreign policy theories of global great power need to be tested and modified through interaction. In a probe that lasted about two centuries, Chinese theoreticians have raised slogans such as “Chinese learning for fundamental principles and Western learning for practical application.” People like Li Hongzhang and Sun Yat-sen had focused their efforts on getting input and inspiration from Western theoreticians. In its three decades of revolutionary wars prior to seizing state power, the CPC had been through successes and setbacks in its theoretical and practical journey. It was only after initiating reform and opening up in 1978 that China began to be mature and effective in its theoretical and practical endeavors. Theoretical interaction takes the form of comparison and clash of various ideas, concepts and ideologies both at home and abroad. Compared with tangible, material interaction, intangible, spiritual interaction is even more profound and comprehensive.

China’s endogenous theories need to interact closely with exogenous theories in order to make headway. Each power theory may have its uniquely objective and scientific features, but each also has its inevitable limitations. China has a dual responsibility in terms of the theoretical complementarity in the future. Apart from absorbing the cream of advanced theories in the outer world, China needs to inform the outer world of the worth and insight of its own theories. Just as China has won a share of the world market through complementarity of commercial goods in the past three decades or so, it needs to be more proactive and aggressive in promoting its own theories on the market of ideas. Only when we win more understanding and recognition from the international community can our theories of peaceful development and non-hegemonic great power benefit the rest of the world.

1.2 Innovation in the Symbiotic Theory

Phase Three of the theory construction mission is to materialize the upgrading from peaceful symbiosis to harmonious symbiosis. “The degree and height any country’s ‘self-actualization’ could reach, excluding that country’s own internal conditions and efforts, are not just indispensable from other countries’ fruits of ‘self-actualization’, but also are reachable only in the process of other countries’ ‘self-realization.’”⁹ In fact, it is globalization that has made international symbiosis possible and imperative. In the process of China’s rise along with the massive rising of other emerging powers, China needs to join hands with these other countries in pushing for innovation in the development of symbiotic theories.

(I) Hold fast to the theoretical cornerstone and consolidate the symbiotic foundation

All global great power theories so far have originated from single nations and have been exclusive. Moreover, hegemony theories developed by the US and the European powers bear clear marks of the bully and oppressor. But in the era of globalization and multi-polarization, resources needed for common and shared development have made it possible to construct the theory and practice of great power symbiosis for the first time. China’s concepts of a harmonious world, peaceful development and a new type of big-power relations are part of its theoretical exploration and practical endeavor. To push for political multi-polarization, economic globalization, cultural diversity and socialization of information is to add to the foundation of symbiotic and win-win cooperation in the international community. The world we live in is first and foremost material, and so, reinforcing cooperation in world economy, trade, finance, security and social work is a top priority. However, the international community still needs to go beyond the material perspective to deepen its understanding of the world’s material relationships, to regulate the interrelated rights and interests with a common system, and to strive for more and better symbiosis and win-win situations with a common ideal. In addition to accentuating material wealth, we also need to build spiritual wealth and increase the magnitude of investment in theoretical construction. Striving for the win-win of national interests and the common interests of humanity is the cornerstone underpinning China’s global great power theories, while reinforcing the building of a global community of shared destiny is the goal of the international symbiotic society. Only from such strategic height and long-term perspective can the symbiotic foundation of the international community be established and consolidated.

(II) Joint construction of a symbiotic theory system

Despite the urgency and the weight of the task of building the global great power symbiotic theory, construction of theories related to the international community can neither be fragmented nor expedient. Construction of a theoretical system requires discernment and comprehensive and careful planning. A deep understanding of the

⁹ Jin [4, 5].

historical background and the requirements is a prerequisite. We are now at the crossroad of transition from multilateral relations to global relations. If the human society could grab the historical moment, it may for the very first time in the history of human civilization realize the ideal of win-win and peaceful symbiosis of all global great powers. If the opportunity is lost, humanity may have to keep exploring for a long time to come. Secondly, there must be a precise definition of the theories' main connotations and conditions. The territories and fields that theories of global great power symbiosis involve are innumerable, though its main connotations should be focused on core concepts such as "equality and mutual trust, tolerance and mutual learning, and win-win cooperation." As far as conditions are concerned, what is needed is not reactive description alone, but to a greater extent, creative portrayal as well, so that based on changes, more favorable conditions would be created.¹⁰ Thirdly, basic laws and logic must be probed. In the past nearly 500 years of history dominated by Europe and America, the dramatic play of different forces has often led to the squeezing and deformation of political and economic plates, forcing emerging powers and established powers into military showdowns.¹¹ Whether these laws and logic would repeat in the new period depends largely upon the judgment and reaction of the international community on the time and situation. The last phase of the mission is repeated test and trial use. Practice is the sole test of truth. Whether China's global great power diplomacy theory is true or not must be tested in practice. To this end, the first step is to put ideas into constant practice before upgrading them into theories. China would also need to strive to facilitate other actors to act together in practicing the global great power symbiosis theory, revise it and update it so that it would become more sound and mature.

(III) React effectively to various theoretical and practical challenges

Although we are striving for the ideal of win-win symbiosis, we still need to recognize and effectively deal with various forms of competition, gaming and conflicts. Currently, we are faced with the practical and theoretical challenges of increasingly serious global issues and related global governance mechanism deficiencies. In terms of practical challenges, China should work together with the international community to address the increasingly serious issues of environmental protection, climate change, population, energy and security of strategic resources, food and water, and provide the world with relevant material and theoretical public goods. In terms of future challenges, China and the international community will need to work together to build up consensus on the logical reasoning of China's global great power theory, chart the future course of the world, establish an international system, strengthen

¹⁰ For more information on the discussion on the great powers' bid for hegemony and war, see Paul Kennedy: *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers - Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (Chinese version translated by Wang Baocun et al), Beijing: Qushi Press, 1988; Qin Yaqing: Hegemonic system and international conflicts, Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1999; Zhou Piqu: Hegemonic stability theory: criticism and correction, *Pacific Journal*, 2005 (1), pp. 13–23.

¹¹ For more information on the discussion on the great powers' bid for hegemony and war, see [6–8].

relations between emerging and established powers, reinforce social management and promote cultural diversity. An integrated and coordinated plan to meet current and future challenges is an even higher-level challenge on the theory and practice of global great power symbiosis, a challenge China has to face off more effectively from this time forth.

(IV) Addition of Chinese elements to the symbiotic theory

The unprecedented rise of China will inevitably greatly impact global balance of power, the global system and global trends. Apart from huge material resources, China also wields great ideological and cultural influence. First, the global great power symbiotic theory needs to develop on the material and spiritual foundation of a global scale. As an indispensable member of the international community, China has to be an important part of that. Secondly, Western theoretical and discourse hegemony has done injustice to the world in modern history and now is the time to make things right. As an important Eastern country, China has been advancing with the times. Just as emerging market countries add to the vitality to world economy, China and other emerging powers are injecting new connotations to global theories. Last, since China is the most successful developing country so far, its theories are carrying more and more global significance, and the international community wants to see more of the Beijing Consensus, the Chinese Road and the China Model.¹²

1.3 Construction of Guiding and Operational Theories

One commonality of the three-phase mission of China's great power diplomacy theory is that they all have to pay attention to the key elements of both guiding and operational theories, without preferring or prejudicing either category. Otherwise, the problem of separation of theory from practice is bound to occur—either the theory is too novel to be operational or too far behind practice to avoid falling into “theoretical poverty.”

(I) Guiding theories

In terms of global great power theory preparation, guiding theories are the basic theories on seeking global great power status, which include the German balance of power theory that lasted from the Prussia era to post-Cold War era Germany, the European balance of power concept under which Britain engaged in colonial expansion, and the American isolationist theory that existed for more than a century after the US gained independence. Post-reform China, on the other hand, has been adhering to the path of peaceful development and socialism with Chinese characteristics.

¹² China needs to supply not only material public goods but also strategic and ideological public goods concerning global security. See [9].

1. General meaning

Global great power guiding theories consist of three components. The first is overall objective. Since modern times, most of the countries that seek to be global great powers have set their eyes on dominating the world, and end up using beggar-thy-neighbor policies and forging ahead by trampling on other countries. This is the case with the Netherlands, Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, the United States, Germany and Japan. Since the end of World War II, however, new changes began to take place. Within the international community there arose a growing consensus to expand individual interests through the increase of overall interests of the general public. The strategy works to make peaceful symbiosis possible through joint planning and regulation. After the 2008 global financial crisis, a significant increase in mutual consultation and coordination within the international community effectively fended off a replay of the Great Depression that occurred in the 1930s.

The second component is basic connotation. Different goals can lead to difference in basic connotations. In European and North American countries, theories on pursuit of global great power essentially follow the same logic, be it race supremacy (God's elect), living space or ideology (political system).¹³ China, however, insists on the theory of peaceful development with an emphasis on win-win cooperation.

The third component is theory promotion. Although goals and connotations differ, the ways and means through which the countries promote their theories are largely similar. In the course of pursuing global great power status, European and North American countries all attach a lot of importance to theory promotion by making them predominant theories domestically and guiding theories internationally through platforms such as public opinion channels, school and education systems, meetings and seminars and non-governmental exchanges.

2. Special meaning

Based on the Constitution of the People's Republic of China and the Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party, the guiding theories governing all aspects of work in China, including diplomacy, are Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the important thought of "three represents," and the scientific approach to development. However, since global great power theory is a new subject in China both in theory and practice, the theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics, or Sinicized Marxism as we may put it, is the most important and most immediate guiding theory.

The 18th CPC National Congress called for "holding high the banner of peace, development, and win-win cooperation," upgrading the previously economic concept of win-win cooperation to comprehensive win-win cooperation in global traditional and non-traditional affairs, thus further highlighting features of globalism or the sense of global village. This big goal is quite a challenge to China because its theory of global great power diplomacy has to go beyond its own interests so that it may see itself and the rest of the world with a broader mind and from a larger and longer-term

¹³ Zhao [10].

perspective, and on top of that, find the ways and means of reaching the common goal of a win-win situation both in theory and practice.

(II) Operational theories

Obviously, the importance of operational theories lies in its applicability or operability. It can be divided into three theories based on time span: long-term theory (ten years or more), mid-term theory (five-ten years) and short-term theory (within five years).

1. Long-term operational goal theories

Long-term operational theories carry both guiding and operational features, but their focus is strategic planning and implementation. There is no lack of examples of such theories in the modern history of international relations. The flying geese paradigm put forth by a Japanese scholar can be traced back to pre-World War II. Following World War II, two French men—statesman Robert Schuman and political economist Jean Monnet initiated the theory of European integration meant to bury the hatchet and unite for self-empowerment. China's three-step development strategy and 20-year strategic opportunity period geared towards fulfilling rejuvenation of the Chinese nation fall into the same category. Contemporary world affairs and internal and foreign affairs of the countries need to be guided by long-term theories and strategies. Due to the two-term tenure of office system in most countries, only a limited few theorists and politicians of insight would endeavor to construct operational theories that would guide political programs covering more than a decade, which is definitely a theoretical shortfall for contemporary politics and international relations.

2. Mid-term action plan theories

As mentioned above, due to term limits, the governments of most countries can usually only make action plans ranging from five to ten years, which makes it hard to develop sophisticated theories. And the theories that exist often tend to focus on "early returns." Of course, there are exceptions too. Examples include West Germany's "change through engagement" theory targeting East Germany between the 1970s and the 1980s, the conservative governing concepts of US President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher during the 1980s, and "the third road" governing concepts proposed by Bill Clinton and British Prime Minister Tony Blair between the 1990s and the early 2000s.

3. Short-term operational implementation theories.

The focus of short-term operational implementation theories during major powers' pursuit of global great power status lies in their stratagem and responsiveness. The Clinton Administration's Engagement Policy towards China and India's Look East Policy fall in here. Though the emphasis of short-term operational implementation theories is responsiveness, they are often more of a planning and systematic nature than "policy without theory" scenarios, because theory-guided policies are more stable and reproducible.

1.4 Tasks at the current phase

As the saying goes, “a thousand-mile journey begins with the first step.” The task of theory construction has a long way to go, and the most pressing need is to set practical and feasible objectives for the current phase (2013–2022) from the perspective of developing overall and long-term theories.

(I) Improving nationwide recognition of predominant theories

As an important component of the diplomatic theory with Chinese characteristics, global great power theory requires nationwide understanding and recognition. The top priority for China’s political and academic circles is to work out sound and applicable theories that are systematic and scientific. Secondly, theoretical construction should not be limited to the academia. The current focus should be put on education in two areas. One is to improve the theoretical and cognitive level of party, state and military leaders. Frankly speaking, during the past three decades, when China has concentrated on building the economy, leaders at all levels have had the tendency to maintain one-sided and pragmatic thinking on issues of international relations and diplomacy. In many cases, the leaders and the led are on the level in terms of theory and information and the role of leadership and guidance is deplorably missing. There is therefore an urgent need to reinforce the training of cadres in their theoretical knowledge of international relations and foreign policy. On the other hand, in the contemporary context of broad participation of the masses in international relations, lack of theoretical instruction and guidance has led to the growing rise of narrow nationalism and populism. Hence, there is a need to strengthen the training and popularization of international relations and diplomacy theories.

(II) Repositioning of values and ideological factors in theories

In the historical transition from theories of revolution and war to theories of peace and development, China needs to re-comprehend and redefine the status and role of values, ideology and culture in theoretical construction. During the period of reform and opening up, China took the practical approach of exploration without theoretical debate on issues such as market economy. This was a special measure under special national conditions that should not become permanent. In its march to global great power, China cannot keep staying away from the theoretical debate and competition. Hence, we should make good and full preparations for having the international community theoretically acknowledge China as a global great power. Admittedly, this work has gotten off to a good start. In building its theories, China tends to advance principles, guidelines and concepts in correspondence to the evolving situations. Examples include the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, Asian Spirit, and Harmonious World. The principles, guidelines and concepts advocated by China actually reflect its values and ideology. The key is to comb through their logical relations and gradually render them an integral part of its theoretical system.

(iii) Making full use of the growing integrated power and systemic advantages of the country

Currently, three imbalances exist in China's global great power theory preparation. The first is systemic imbalance in the overall coordination between the practical and theoretical departments; the second lies in the cognition of the importance of natural sciences vis à vis social sciences; and the third imbalance, within the confines of social sciences, concerns disparities between "domestic theories" and "international theories" as well as between "applied theories" and "foundational theories." Furthermore, there are problems of improper and inequitable allocation and use of the limited funds for global great power theory research. Obviously, China has a long way to go before its "five great advantages"¹⁴ could be actually utilized.

1.5 Conclusions

In order to become a global great power, China not only needs a strong material foundation, but also a solid theoretical foundation. Both involve arduous work, though the task of theoretical construction is even more challenging. In the coming decades of theoretical development, China needs to gradually accomplish the following four tasks

First, China needs to update its global great power symbiosis theory in a larger theoretical framework. Since it was created through the practical interaction of domestic and foreign situations and it grew through the interaction and collision between endogenous and exogenous theories, the symbiosis theory needs to go far beyond diplomacy theory in its narrow sense and needs to be constructed and developed in broader theoretical and practical spheres. In other words, the branch of global great power symbiosis theory needs to be grafted to the tree of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Second, China's global great power diplomacy theory needs to transcend the linear mental trajectory. China's concepts and theories, such as the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, Harmonious World and New Model of Major Power Relations, are largely unidirectional and lack reverse thinking, which may easily lead to inconsistency between what is expected and what is real, separation of guiding theories from strategic thinking and the conflict between operational theories and real-life policies. All these issues command sound solution in China's future development.

Third, China's theoretical self-consciousness and self-confidence need to accrue as it constructs its global great power symbiosis theory. Any theory, however good, will not be able to provide any guidance if it stops at the theoretician's own appreciation and does not get propagated and recognized globally. China is pursuing a

¹⁴ In the past 91 years, the CPC has made great strides and built up advantages in theoretical, political, organizational and mass work as well as systemic reform, Xi Jinping said at a national conference commending excellent innovators and workers on June 28, 2012. *People's Daily*, June 30, 2012, A1.

road of national strengthening through peaceful development, which is innovative and epoch-making. We therefore need to have an innovative and pioneering spirit to construct, proliferate and spearhead new theories.

Fourth, construction of China's global great power symbiosis theory necessitates the emergence of applicable thinkers and theorists. China's state leaders have set a good example and have made great contributions in this regard, but we still need the joint efforts of more political thinkers, strategists, diplomats, experts on international studies, economists, jurists and socialists. And on top of that, we need to forge a batch of topnotch experts and scholars so that they become leaders of the global great power symbiosis theory.

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Chapter 2

The Implications of Xi Jinping's Thinking on Comprehensive National Security



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Abstract Corruption and lax law enforcement are the biggest factors of political insecurity in China today. Numerous problems and conflicts accumulated during 30 plus years of reform and opening to the outside world are now entering a period of sensitivity, abruptness, multiplicity, fragility and complicity. Chief among them are problems of political corruption, lax and opaque law enforcement, rule of power instead of law, and unfair distribution etc., which have caused mass grievances in many areas.

2.1 The Composite Nature of Security Risks Facing China

A lot of domestic and international factors affect China's comprehensive security today, but the principal and most proximate factors comprise the following:

(I) Domestic factors

1. Corruption and lax law enforcement are the biggest factors of political insecurity in China today. Numerous problems and conflicts accumulated during 30 plus years of reform and opening to the outside world are now entering a period of sensitivity, abruptness, multiplicity, fragility and complicity. Chief among them are problems of political corruption, lax and opaque law enforcement, rule of power instead of law, and unfair distribution etc., which have caused mass grievances in many areas. Meanwhile, antagonistic forces such as those calling for Taiwan independence, Xinjiang and Tibet separatists and the followers of Falun Gong are taking the opportunity to foment disturbances, thus posing considerable threat to political security.

2. Security problems associated with China's economic transformation. Economic transformation in China covers transitions in six facets: from a predominantly export-oriented economy to a predominantly domestic consumption-oriented economy, from a high-energy consumption and high pollution economy to a green economy,

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from a manufacturing-based economy to a service industry based economy, from low-cost labor to human capital with high productivity, from high-speed development to medium high-speed development, from focus on aggregate volume to focus on balance of volume and quality and further to focus on prioritized quality, and from unbalanced distribution to fairer and more reasonable distribution. During economic transformation, numerous uncertainties can have complicated impact on national security.

3. Air, water and land pollution has become a sticking-point issue affecting national security. In recent years, economic development has done a lot of damage to the environment, causing serious water, land surface and air pollution, including, worse still, large areas of haze. This not only has drastically increased the costs of conservation and environmental protection and seriously jeopardized the physical and spiritual health of the people, but has also imposed huge pressure upon the sustainability of the Chinese economy and has at times triggered diplomatic rows with neighboring countries.

Xi Jinping's national security strategy is based on an idea of comprehensive security, with political security as the core, economic security as the foundation, military, social and cultural security as the guarantee, and public safety and security as the goal. The strategy has distinct Chinese characteristics that can be summarized as a combination of internal and external security, inclusive and exclusive security in one, integration of conventional and unconventional security, national security and civil security in one, and the intermingling of political, economic and cultural security.

(II) External factors

1. The US factor. The US is a global great power that has the capability and will to challenge China's national security. Although US officials have made remarks welcoming China as a strong power, strong anti-China forces do exist in the US. Moreover, the US has been containing China through arms sales to Taiwan and it has been further reinforcing its military alliance with Japan and South Korea in the pretext of the so-called return to the Asia-Pacific.

2. Sovereign security and South China Sea disputes. After resolving historical land border delimitation disputes with neighboring countries, maritime delimitation became a major territorial sovereignty issue and a severe challenge for China. China is faced with Japan's provocation on the Diaoyu Islands, while multiple islets and reefs in the South China Sea are occupied by neighboring countries. Hence, China's maritime rights and interests are seriously violated.

3. Other external factors affecting China's economic security.

China's economy is an open economy subject to increasing influence of the external environment, which is mainly reflected in the following aspects: (A) an unfair and unreasonable international economic order poses severe challenges to developing countries. Western countries control the pricing power of bulk commodities, the invention patents of core technologies, and controlling power of the major markets, the issuing right of major currencies, and the decision-making power of

major international economic organizations. (B) China's heavy dependence on the international market makes its economy highly vulnerable and volatile. For example, in 2009, China imported 630 million tons of iron ore, indicating external dependence of 69%; and in 2011, China imported 256 million tons of oil, with external dependence of 56%. (C) Exceedingly great influence of foreign capital in China's open industries has led to declining competitiveness of her national enterprises. The top five enterprises in each of the industries already open in China were almost all controlled by foreign investors. Foreign capital controls the majority of assets of 21 of China's 28 leading industrial sectors. (D) Financial security predicament. In the era of globalization and informatization, as financial elements circulate around the world, financial crisis of other countries could quickly spread into China and shock her economy and finance. The US financial crisis of 2008, for example, sparked a worldwide economic meltdown, whose negative effects are felt even today.

2.2 Comprehensive National Security: A Supremely Complex Entity

Under such circumstances, past concepts of national security can no longer adapt to the complex security situations we are faced with today. In view of that, in his address on national security, Xi Jinping not only attached primary importance to national security, but also proposed a new concept of comprehensive national security based on the changes and developments of internal and external situations.

Take food as an example. The food issue is a survival issue directly related to the well-being and security of the people. Ample food supply is the preconditions for peace and stability, while food shortages can lead to turmoil and peril that threaten political and social stability. Food production, transportation and preservation are not just matters of economic security, but matters of resource security as well, because food is the most important national resource. See food as a futures commodity, and we'll have a financial security issue. And since food production is related to the quality of arable farmland, we need to come to grips with land security. Food importers may come across external security issues, while ensuring smooth food transportation can become an unconventional military security concern. All links of the food industry today, from production, transportation to preservation, are inseparable from information networks which can be hacked by hostile forces via the Internet and thus have something to do with conventional security. Moreover, valuing and not wasting food and maintaining integrity, professional ethics and a good conscience during the food and foodstuff processing are a cultural security issue. In sum, food has to do with security in all sectors except the nuclear industry. Therefore, all security issues are complex issues. Security based on any one unit or institution will inevitably incur huge gaps or loophole.

The so-called comprehensive national security is a concept that regards national security as a supremely complicated system. Xi Jinping said that national security

in China today has more profound implications than any time in history. “The kind of time frame and space it is involved with are broader and more extensive than any time in history and its internal and external factors are more complicated than any time in history.” So, we must attach importance to both internal and external security, both homeland security and security of the people, and both conventional and unconventional security because they are part of a comprehensive national security system that together constitutes political security, land security, military security, economic security, cultural security, social security, technological security, information security, ecological security, resource security, and even nuclear security. In the comprehensive security system, security in every specific area has a focus of its own, but it first has to be closely linked with and inseparable from security in all other areas. National security issues can never be understood in an isolated and piecemeal manner.

The concept of comprehensive national security is the extension of the idea of composite security developed in China in recent years. The two concepts belong to the same category, except that the former is higher, deeper and broader in scope. The intermingling of political security and economic security can be said to be composite security, but do not yet constitute comprehensive security. Apart from political and economic security, comprehensive security must also take into consideration issues such as military, cultural, civil, resource and other aspects of security. In other words, comprehensive security has to be a more comprehensive kind of composite security.

2.3 The Chinese Characteristics of Comprehensive Security

The concept of comprehensive national security is a Chinese concept with Chinese characteristics. Both its systemic structure and specific connotations manifest distinct Chinese characteristics. As Xi Jinping has pointed out, China’s comprehensive security will go the way of national security with Chinese characteristics, which embodies the people’s security as its purpose, political security as the essence, economic security as the foundation, military, social and cultural security as the guarantee, and promoting international security as the pillar of support.

Firstly, comprehensive security reflects the cream of China’s traditional cultural thinking. Security awareness is essentially a crisis consciousness. In his speech at the first National Security Council meeting, Xi Jinping highlighted the importance of consistently strengthening crisis consciousness and of being prepared for danger in times of security, calling it a key principle for state and party governance. Security consciousness is a risk-prevention concept. In traditional Chinese culture, security and risk are interconnected. Security means freedom from internal and external danger. Security consciousness is consciousness of the complete and whole picture. *The Book of Changes* has distinct big-picture mentality and other Chinese classics such as *Guan Zi* also stresses the integration of politics, economics, military affairs and culture.