Relative power and China' s policy on United Nations peacekeeping operations

Gong, Lina

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Relative Power and China's Policy on United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

Gong Lina

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

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Abbreviations

AU – The African Union

AIIB – Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank

APODETI – Popular Democratic Association of Timor

ASEAN – Association of Southeast Asian Nations

ARF – ASEAN Regional Forum

CPC – The Communist Party of China

EAS – East Asia Summit

ECOSOC – The United Nations Economic and Social Council

FDI – Foreign Direct Investment

FOCAC – Forum on China-Africa Cooperation

FRETILIN – Revolutionary Front of East Timor

G-20 – Group of Twenty

IDP – Internally Displaced Persons

IGAD – Intergovernmental Authority on Development

IMF – International Monetary Fund

INTERFET – International Force for East Timor

MINURSO – United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara

MINUSMA – United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali

MINUSTAH – United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti

MONUC – United Nations Organization Mission in Democratic Republic of the Congo

NASC – New Asian Security Concept

NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

NSC – New Security Concept

PLA – People’s Liberation Army

POC – Protection of Civilians

RtoP – Responsibility to Protect

SCO – Shanghai Cooperation Organization

SIPRI – Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

UDT – Timorese Democratic Union

UN – United Nations

UNAMET – United Nations Mission in East Timor

UNAMID – African Union/ United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur

UNCTAD – United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

UNDP – United Nations Development Program

UNEF II – United Nations Emergency Force

UNFICYP – United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus

UNIFIL – United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon

UNMIH – United Nations Mission in Haiti

UNMIS – United Nations Mission in Sudan

UNMISSET – United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor

UNMISS – United Nations Mission in South Sudan

UNPKOS – United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

UNPREDEP – United Nations Preventive Deployment Force in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

UNSMIL – United Nations Support Mission in Libya

UNTAC – United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia

UNTAET – United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor

UNTAG – United Nations Transition Assistance Group

Abstract

This work seeks to understand the factors that have shaped China's disposition to UN peacekeeping in the era of economic reform since 1979. The growth of national power enables states to achieve new objectives in foreign policy (Lampton, 2008:11). From this perspective, China's growing power is supposed to automatically translate into more active and positive foreign policies. However, the case of UN peacekeeping operations (UNPKOs) shows that unit-level factors play a greater role in shaping the nuanced causal relation between China's relative power and its foreign policy.

Complementing the existing literature that mostly focuses on unit-level dynamics, this thesis uses a two-level framework to explain the drivers of the shift in China's peacekeeping policy. The growth in China's economic strength, political influence and military might prompt the reassessment of its relative power vis-à-vis the international system as well as the expansion of its national interest. While China's rising power status broadens the parameter of its foreign policy, the increase of its support for UNPKOs is substantially influenced by three unit-level factors, the vulnerability of China's economy to foreign risks, domestic perception of China's international role and its concern for sovereignty and territory.

The selection of the three unit-level factors is aimed to contribute to the understanding of why states participate in peacekeeping. The existing research argues that the propensity to contribute is closely linked with certain social traits of troop contributing countries, like regime type, political stability, the size of ground trip and geographic location. However, China does not fit the general profile of major contributors. The aforementioned three unit-level factors seek to fill in the

gap in explaining why big states with emerging economies and non-liberal democratic political system contribute to UNPKOs.

It is argued here that the growth of China's relative power influences its peacekeeping policy by inducing changes in the three unit-level factors. This study presents three hypotheses regarding how the three unit-level factors have shaped China's position. First, China grows more active in contributing to UNPKOs as its economic interests become more vulnerable to foreign risks. China's 'Going Global' strategy has broadened its economic presence abroad. This has increased the relevance of other countries' security situation to Chinese economic interests. Second, China is more positively disposed to UN peacekeeping when it becomes more influential on global agenda. The difference between China and the western liberal countries regarding certain political values was once a major cause behind China's reservation over peacekeeping. The expansion of its presence in multilateral institutions provides China with opportunities to engage with the evolution of international norms and values, some of which are directly relevant to peacekeeping. Third, China's peacekeeping contribution is positively correlated with its reading of the security situation in the region. The growth of defence capabilities substantively improve China's territorial security and thus ease the concern over infringement on its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The conclusion is that the translation of China's growing power into more proactive peacekeeping policy is a result of the combined effect of the three factors. When all three domestic factors are present and strong, China's contribution is substantive. However, China's contribution is minimal when some factors are absent or weak.

Chapter I Rising China and its Evolving Policy on UN Peacekeeping

1.1 China's Growing Power and Implications for Foreign Policy

1.1.1 Growth of China's National Power

Economic and military power are basic elements of a country's material resources while there are different approaches to measure national power. Apart from the tangible elements, soft power, which was introduced by Joseph Nye in the early 1990s, has gained increasing attention in the discussion of a country's power status. It is defined as the ability to 'shape the preference of other countries' through means other than coercion (Nye, 2011:84). Different elements of national power are mutually reinforcing. Economic growth finances improvement in military capabilities and pursuit of greater external influence. In return, powerful military and increased international influence contributes to a favorable external environment for domestic economic development and better protection for expanding economic interests. China has achieved impressive success in increasing its national power since its program of economic reforms was initiated in 1978, and this led to the discussions on the implications of China's rise for itself and the world.

I. Economic Success

Rapid economic development is among China most remarkable achievements in the era of economic reform. With its GDP annual growth rates much higher than the world average in the past three decades (see Chart 1), China replaced Japan to become the world's second largest economy in 2010 and overtook the US as the largest trading country in 2013. Economic success has brought the country world's largest foreign exchange reserves that amounted to 3843 billion USD in

2014. The robustness of the Chinese economy was manifested by its good growth rate amid the global economic downturn between 2008 and 2009. According to the data from the World Bank¹, China's GDP grew by 9 percent in 2009, which stood in contrast to the world's negative growth in the same year. The strong performance of the Chinese economy benefited the recovery of the world economy. For instance, China's thirst for raw materials helped the exporting countries that were hit by the decline in demand from developed countries (Breslin, 2011:1327).

Growing economic power provides strong support for China's effort to increase its say on global economic governance. Beijing has long considered the existing international economic order unfair and called for changes that benefit developing countries in global trade and economic cooperation (Jiang, 1998:200). The global financial crisis in 2008 exposed the weaknesses in the existing economic order and provided a good opportunity for China to push forward its reform agenda. China joined with other emerging market economies to call for reforms in the existing global economic and financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Prior to the meeting of the leaders of the Group of Twenty (G-20)² in November 2010, the member countries agreed that 6 per cent of IMF's voting power would be transferred to the emerging market and developing countries (IMF, 2010). This reform puts China at the third place in terms of voting share among all members of IMF. While the reform does not constitute a significant change to the voting system of the institution, it represents the rising importance of emerging market economies, China in particular, in global economy.

¹ The figures are from the World Development Indicator. China's GDP growth between 2008 and 2010 was 9.6 per cent, 9.2 per cent and 10.6 per cent respectively, while the corresponding figures for the world average was 1.5 per cent, -2.1 per cent, and 4.1 per cent.

<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=world-development-indicators#>

² The Group of 20 countries (G-20) that consists of major developed and developing economies emerged after the crisis as a major forum for discussion global economic issues.

In addition to reforming the existing institutions, China seeks to expand its economic influence through new initiatives and institutions. President Xi Jinping advanced the initiatives of ‘Silk Road Economic Belt’ and ‘21st-Century Maritime Silk Road’ in 2013 to boost connectivity across Asia and part of Europe by improving infrastructure. This was followed by the announcement that Beijing would contribute 40 billion USD to set up the Silk Road infrastructure fund. This was followed by the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) in June 2015, with China holding the largest share of voting right. These moves are manifestations of China’s growing economic cloud.

Chart 1 GDP Annual Growth Rate – China and the World (1978-2013)

Series : GDP growth (annual %)
Source: World Development Indicators
Created on: 12/09/2015

II. Military Modernization

Benefiting from China's economic success, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) has more resources available for its modernization drive after the early phase of the country's economic take-off. According to SIPRI's military expenditure data, China's defense budget increased at an annual rate over 10 percent in the 2000s and became the world's second largest in 2005 (SIPRI, 2015). The increasing budget has enabled the PLA to engage in extensive military modernization, through self-research and development as well as purchases. China's stealth fighter jet took its first test flight in January 2011, and this was followed by the confirmation of China's aircraft carrier program later that year (US Defense Department, 2011: 4, 46).

Military modernization has substantively improved the PLA's projection capability and thus encouraged its involvement in international security cooperation and exchanges. It started to participate in joint military training and exercises with countries like Russia, India and Central Asian countries in 2002 (Blasko, 2010:247). The Chinese navy joined the international crack-down on piracy in 2008 by deploying three warships to the Gulf of Aden. Amid the outbreak Libya's political violence in February 2011, the PLA sent its military transport planes to participate in the evacuation of Chinese citizens from the country – the first deployment of Chinese military planes in a civilian mission overseas. The increase of China's contribution to UN peacekeeping operations (UNPKOs) is another example of the PLA's more active role in international security cooperation.

III. Nascent Soft Power

The emergence of nascent soft power is another sign of the China's rise. According to Nye, there are three major sources of a country's soft power, which include its culture, political values and foreign policy. The success of Chinese economy has made its model of development a source of attraction to some

developing countries (Vickers, 2013). The China model, also known as the Beijing Consensus, was brought forward by Joshua Ramo in 2004 in the paper entitled 'The Beijing Consensus'. The Washington Consensus used to be the most influential economic agenda in the world. The main prescriptions of this liberal model include the primary role of the market, the exercise of fiscal discipline, the liberalisation of interest rates, the encouragement of cross-border investment, the deregulation of international trade and the pursuit of export-led growth.

The outbreak of the global financial crisis in 2008 shook the faith in the Washington Consensus and drew increasing attention to the China model as an alternative development paradigm to the former. The China model is characterized by gradualism, autonomy, the crucial role of the government in key industries, strong support for export and pragmatism (Breslin, 2011:1329). It is preconditioned on political stability and regime continuity, allows state intervention in market, and prioritizes economic development over political liberalization. Despite the problems accompanying China's high-speed development like environmental pollution and corruption, the China model maintains attraction to some developing countries that are wary of external interference in domestic development and prefer to delink economic development from political reforms.

1.1.2 Impacts of China's Rise on its Foreign Policy

A rising China seeks to expand its role in international economic, political and security issues, such as lending its voice on the reform of international financial system³, engaging in the discourse on the responsibility to protect⁴ (RtoP) which is

³ Chinese president Xi Jinping urged accelerated reform of international financial institutions on several occasions, such as the General Debate of the 70th Session of the UN General Assembly in September 2015 and

an important normative development in international politics in the 21st century, and deepening participation in the UN-led peace activities, peacekeeping in particular.

On the one hand, China is of the view that developing countries are in a disadvantaged position in the existing international economic order and should be given greater voice in global economic governance. However, since China's relative power remains modest vis-à-vis that of the countries benefiting from the existing order, it is necessary for China to cooperate with countries with similar agenda to push for the desired reforms. The four emerging market economies, namely Brazil, Russia, India and China, formed the association of BRIC in 2009 and were later joined by South Africa in 2010. The group's agenda initially focuses on key economic and development areas, such as the reform of the Bretton Woods system to increase the representation of developing countries in major international financial institutions. The aforementioned agreement in 2010 on IMF reform represents a good case that China expands its influence in the international system by utilizing its rising economic power. Partnership with other emerging market economies gains more support for the reform agenda and diverts the pressure from countries that are negatively affected by the redistribution of power in IMF.

On the other hand, China seeks to reinforce some of the norms that underpin the existing international system, like respect for sovereignty and non-

the G-20 summit in Turkey in November 2015 (Xi, 2015; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015a). The maintenance of international financial stability and strengthening of global financial institutions was a major agenda of Xi's state visit to the United States in September 2015 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015b).

⁴ The responsibility to protect outlines the respective responsibility of the national government and the international community in the face of four mass atrocities – genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing. The report of the responsibility to protect was produced in 2001 by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) at the behest of the then UN Secretary General. ICISS conducted extensive consultations to solicit views on issues related to the theme before the release of the report. The emerging principle defines the primary role of the state in preventing and ceasing the four atrocities and the supporting role of the international community.

intervention/interference. China works with BRICS countries on key political and security issues and coordinates its position with them. The discussion on RtoP in 2011 illustrates how BRICS countries coordinate their position on the issue. BRICS countries have different views on RtoP due to historical, geopolitical and normative reasons. For instance, South Africa is more positively disposed to RtoP than the other four countries, as incidences of mass atrocities and brutal violations of human rights in some African countries after the Cold War gravely threatened the security of people in these countries as well as regional stability. Nonetheless, in view of the humanitarian consequences of NATO's military operation in Libya, BRICS countries all expressed opposition to regime change as a result of implementing RtoP and called for effective mechanism to ensure accountability in case military means are regarded necessary by the Security Council. The Brazilian UN delegation advanced the notion of 'responsibility while protecting' (UN, 2011, A/66/551-S/2011/701) in the Security Council in November 2011 and received support from other BRICS countries in the following General Assembly debate.

More significantly, China's contribution to UN peacekeeping undergoes a substantive change in the era of economic reform. It is now the biggest troop contributor among the five permanent members of the Security Council and ranks 13th among all countries contributing peacekeeping troop and police as of November 2014. The latest development of this trend is the deployment of security force to two UN missions since 2013. Beijing sent 135 security guards to the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) in 2013 and 700 infantry soldiers to the UN Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) in 2015. This is a breakthrough China that sent only non-combat troops to previous missions it participated in.

Apart from troop contribution, China's more positive disposition to UN peacekeeping is manifested by its increased financial commitment. It will account for 10.29 per cent of the UN budget for peacekeeping between 2016 and 2018, second only to the United States (China to Become, 2015). Chinese President Xi pledged a sum of 1 billion USD to support the UN tackle development and security issues in his address to the General Assembly in September 2015. He also announced China's provision of five-year military assistance worth of 100 million USD to the African Union (AU) to support its capacity building (Martina and Brunnstrom, 2015). All the pledges of financial contribution represent China's commitment to a greater role in international peace and security.

1.1.3 Sovereignty – Bottom-line of China's International Engagement

While the thirst for foreign capital and market as well as international influence drives China's increasingly active diplomacy, sovereignty draws the line for how China interacts with international community. Sovereignty, one of the organizing principles of the contemporary international system, refers to the rights that states enjoy to territorial integrity, political independence and non-intervention (Bellamy, 2009: 8). Since the end of the Cold War, the traditional conception of sovereignty is under pressure due to the growing emphasis on the importance of human well-beings to state security. The legitimacy of sovereignty is being questioned in cases that the national government, the representative of state sovereignty, fails to protect its population from mass atrocities and gross violations of human rights.

Categorized by many western scholars as a staunch supporter for the Westphalian sovereignty, China emphasizes the state's exclusive jurisdiction over internal affairs. The traditional understanding of sovereignty shapes China's external relations as well as its position on international issues. China insists that

international relations abide by the principles of 'sovereignty equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and non-interference' (State Council, 2002). While China is a major contributing country of UNPKOs now, it is premature to claim that Beijing has no reservation towards contemporary UN peacekeeping regimes that are heavily influenced by liberal peace that associates peace and stability with the political system of a state (Bellamy and Williams, 2010:13).

Guided by the traditional understanding of sovereignty, Beijing is always cautious about endorsing UN resolutions about sanctions, condemnation of the national government of the country concerned and enforcement operations. In particular, it strongly opposes to operations with the aim of regime change after the UN-authorized NATO airstrikes in Libya in 2011 that overthrew the Qaddafi government. China emphasizes the elements of traditional peacekeeping, such as the primacy of sovereignty, peacekeeping as a tool for peaceful settlement of disputes and the three basic principles of peacekeeping – consent, impartiality and non-use of force except in self-defence and defence of the mandate.

The misgiving about the erosion of sovereignty is rooted in the concern for its own sovereignty. The Taiwan question occupies a unique status in China's foreign relations which is always conditioned on the 'one China' principle. Separatist problems in Tibet and Xinjiang are also a source of concern for Beijing. Moreover, the difference in understanding human rights between China and western countries has been a constant source of friction in China's external relations. The Nobel Peace Prize was awarded in 2010 to Liu Xiaobo who has been jailed for attempts to subvert the state and authority. This seriously affected China's relations with Norway. The Chinese embassy rejected to grant a visa to the former Norwegian Prime Minister Bondevik in 2012, which was perceived by some people as a sign of the sour relationship.

China's emphasis on the sanctity of sovereignty leads to disagreements with major Western countries on many international hotspot issues, such as the civil war of Syria, the Darfur crisis and the situation in Myanmar before the political reform since 2011. It vetoed three Security Council draft resolutions (S/2011/612, S/2012/77 and S/2012/538) in 2011 and 2012 that condemned the Syrian authorities for gross violations of human rights and authorized sanctions against the regime. Prior to Syria, China wielded or threatened to wield its veto power against draft resolutions⁵ on Myanmar and Sudan in 2007. China has justified the decisions by reaffirming its adherence to the Westphalian principles and highlighting the negative consequences of intrusive measures. As a result of such moves, Beijing was accused of protecting authoritarian regimes. The mounting criticism led to the threat to boycott the Beijing Olympics in 2008 by some western countries.

The growth of Chinese national power leads to the expectations for the country to undertake greater international responsibilities commensurate with its growing power capabilities. In some circumstances, this expectation runs into conflict with the adherence to the Westphalian principles. The recent episode is the discord at the Copenhagen Climate Change conference in 2009. At the summit, China refused to yield to the intense pressure from western countries about submitting to international monitoring of its carbon emissions cut, insisting that international verification infringed upon its sovereignty (Watts and Vidal, 2009). As a result, western countries have criticized China for blocking the sealing of a more meaningful international climate agreement. It is in China's own interest to engage in the discussions on major international issues so as to ensure its views and

⁵ In 2007, China vetoed a draft resolution (S/2007/14) on the situation in Myanmar, and threatened to veto resolutions that would impose sanctions on the Sudanese government which was accused of gross violations of human rights.

concerns are incorporated in the process of agenda-setting. Nonetheless, China needs to reconcile its traditional understanding of sovereignty with expanding international responsibilities as well as interests.

1.2 Research Design

1.2.1 Objectives of the Study

Against this background, the study aims to examine how China's disposition to UN peacekeeping has evolved in the era of economic reform, in order to demonstrate that the growth of its national power does not automatically lead to more positive disposition to UN peacekeeping. In addition to relative power, unit-level factors have played a major role in defining China's position. This study will provide a nuanced understanding of China's peacekeeping policy. Moreover, this thesis also contributes into the wider research on China's engagement with international conflict management and resolution, on its conception of sovereignty, and on the broad direction of Chinese foreign policy, given the connection between peacekeeping and these issues.

China's active participation in UN peacekeeping now is a substantive shift away from its absolute negative position in the 1970s when it refused engagement with this activity in any form⁶. In addition to increasing support for UN peacekeeping per se, it has become more accommodating and cooperative on related agendas like protection of civilians (POC) in armed conflicts, RtoP, humanitarian relief and security cooperation, which used to be considered sensitive for China.

⁶ Beijing adopted a three-non approach to UN peacekeeping in the 1970s, which means non-participation in related debates, non-troop contribution, and non-financial commitment.

Given its permanent membership in the Security Council, China's attitude have bearing on the future development of UN peacekeeping at both normative and operational levels. The policy shift hence has drawn the interest from the academic and policy circles in how this change has come into being and what implications it will have for UN peace activities as well as the broader international peace and security agendas. This study sheds light on how the growth of national power leads China to recalibrate its foreign policy, since participation in peacekeeping is a component of its international behavior. Engagement in UN peacekeeping at both policy and operation levels provides China with a channel to fulfill its responsibility as a major country as well as to influence the development of important international agendas. The analysis of the evolution of China's peacekeeping policy contributes to the understanding of how China intends to use its growing power to engage in the process of international decision-making on key international issues.

1.2.2 Research Question

This study aims to address the interrelation between China's growing power and its policy on UN peacekeeping. The overarching question is how China's power has been translated into its peacekeeping policy. Why is there a delay between the unfolding of China's rise and the substantive increase of its troop contribution to UNPKOs? What are the factors that have motivated/ inhibited China's positive disposition to UN peacekeeping?

What is Peacekeeping

Peacekeeping is the multidimensional management of a complex situation, usually in a post-civil war context. It is designed to provide interim security and

assist parties to make necessary institutional and socio-economic transformations to lay the foundation for lasting peace (Doyle and Sambanis, 2008:323). According to their respective mandate, PKOs are categorized as preventive deployments, traditional peacekeeping, wider peacekeeping, peace enforcement, assisting transitions, transitional administration and peace support operations (Bellamy and Williams, 2010:153-298).

Peacekeeping operations help reduce the likelihood of war reigniting by 86 per cent in the post-Cold War era (Bellamy and Williams, 2010:1), and are thus a critical tool for maintaining international peace and security. Hence, participation in UN peacekeeping represents a country's embrace of collective security and commitment to the provision of global public goods. Some types of peacekeeping however are controversial due to the intrusive nature of its mandate or some elements of the mandate, like peace enforcement and transitional administration. Legitimate enforcement operations are sanctioned under Chapter VII of the UN Charter and peacekeepers are thus authorized to use force to carry out their mandate. The peace enforcement that the Chinese know of best is the United Nations Forces in the Korean War, which was led by the US. Given that China was a party to that war and fought against the coalition forces, the Korean case was a source of China's reservation about UNPKOs.

The typical example of transitional administration of UNPKOs is United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) between 1999 and 2002. UNTAET assumed the sovereign authority of Timor-Leste in the duration of its mandate, and this raise the question about whether this type of operations should take this role. Moreover, the mandate of contemporary UNPKOs has been expanded to include an array of security and development issues that are critically related to international security as well as human well-beings, such as women and

peace and security, children and armed conflict, transitional justice and post-conflict reconstruction.

Why China has been slow

China is now a major contributor of peacekeepers to UNPKOs. However, the process of its evolution from a non-participant to constructive contributor took more than two decades. It is shown in Chart2 that China's troop contribution was nominal before 2000 and the substantive increase occurred in the mid-2000s. Beijing started dispatching military observers in 1988 but maintained only scores of peacekeepers on UN missions in the 1990s. This number jumped to over 1000 between 2003 and 2004, further up to 2000 in 2008. In addition, China plans to establish an 8000-strong peacekeeping standby force and is willing to play a lead role in setting up a permanent peacekeeping police squad (Xi, 2015).

The process of China's evolution has been slow compared with India as demonstrated in Chart 2. India is now an impactful contributor of UNPKOs, constantly taking the top three positions on the list of all contributing countries. It has a much longer history than China of participating in UNPKOs, starting with the United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC) between July 1960 and June 1964 (Banerjee, 2007:191). Despite temporary drops in 1994 and 1998, India has maintained a high level of contribution since 1992. The peak occurred in 2006 and 2007 when over 9,000 Indian peacekeepers were deployed on UN missions. India's significance in UN peacekeeping is also manifested by Indians holding senior positions related to peacekeeping⁷. The path of India to a key contributor of peacekeepers shows that it has attained a more significant role in a shorter time

⁷ There have been thirteen Indian force commanders in UN missions, one division commander, one military adviser and one deputy military adviser to the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) (Banerjee, 2013:226).

than China. It is worth asking why Beijing had previously been reluctant to contribute for so many years.

Chart 2 Contributions of Peacekeepers: China and India (1990-2013)

Unit of measurement: person

Source: Department of Peacekeeping, United Nations⁸

Why Different Speeds

China's contribution to UNPKOs demonstrated different dynamics in the 1990s (1989-2002) and the 2000s (2003-2015). The first period saw the beginning of China's participation in UNPKOs, with 20 civilian personnel dispatched to the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in 1989. The level of contribution however was symbolic and static in this period. Beijing began to loosen its cautious approach to UNPKOs in 2003 and when big units of engineers, police and medical personnel were sent to missions in Haiti, Liberia and Congo. The following years witnessed both quantitative and qualitative progress in China's contribution. Apart from the increase of Chinese peacekeepers, the major

⁸ The number of a country's contribution to UNPKOs may change due to the completion of existing missions or commencement of new missions. To keep the statistics consistent, the number of peacekeepers in November each year is selected to represent the country's contribution in that year.

breakthrough in this period is the deployment of security forces to Mali and South Sudan. It is obvious that the second period has witnessed more significant progress than the first period. This study seeks to explore why China's engagement with UNPKOs progressed at different speeds in the two periods in question.

Relevance of Power to Peacekeeping

China and India share similarity in some elements of national power like population, level of economic development⁹ and size of armed forces. While China is ahead of India in many of these indicators, India contributes much more troops to UNPKOs. The comparison between China and India seemingly indicates that there is no direct correlation between the power status of a country and its disposition to UN peacekeeping. Other top contributors from South Asia like Bangladesh and Nepal are even much less powerful than India in economic and military terms. The motivations behind South Asia's extensive participation are multi-fold, from India's aspiration for the leadership of the developing world (Banerjee, 2013:241-242), to the financial incentive generated by the compensation schemes of UN peacekeeping (Sotomayor, 2013:305; Zaman, 2013:188). South Asia's enthusiasm for UN peacekeeping supports the argument that large contributions are not necessarily built on strong military and economic power.

While the South Asian cases show that countries with limited material capabilities are capable of making substantive contributions to UNPKOs, they do not answer whether the growth of national power leads to more positive disposition to UN

⁹ There is now a substantive gap between China and India in economic development at both per capita and aggregate levels. However, the two countries were comparable back in the 1990s and even early 2000s. China's GDP per capita in 1990 was 316 USD and that of India was 375 USD (World Bank, 2015). Both were major developing countries then.

peacekeeping. The review of China's participation in UNPKOs in the past two decades provides a different perspective to understand whether and how power is related to peacekeeping policy.

Chart 3 presents the respective trend of China's contribution to UNPKOs and two key indicators of its national power – defense budget and GDP, in the period between 1989 and 2013. The three kinked lines show a degree of synergy after 2003. The sharp rise of China's GDP and defense budget coincides with the substantive increase of Chinese peacekeepers in this period. However, China contributed few peacekeepers despite its steady economic and military growth between 1989 and 2002. By comparing the two periods, it finds that China's contribution to UNPKOs is in pace with the growth of its national power only in some period.

Driving Factors behind Contributing to UNPKOs

Although states are driven by different reasons to participate in UNPKOs, there are general factors that illustrate the propensity for troop contribution. The research of Daniel et al. profiled troop contributing countries through seven societal indicators between 2001 and 2005, which include governance, stability, development, income, ground forces, connectivity, and region (Daniel et al., 2007:27-42). It found that governance, stability, ground forces and region have more explanatory power than the others. Democracies that are wealthy, stable, well-connected and with big ground forces are more likely to contribute. This profile however does not account for the case of China, which is not a liberal democracy and has yet to become a member of the developed world.

Governance, represented by regime type¹⁰ in this study, reflects the political values that a country identifies with. The mission of contemporary UN peacekeeping is to cultivate the favourable environment for lasting peace, which is heavily influenced by liberal values like good governance, respect and protect human rights, and the rule of law. It is thus natural that democracies account for a majority of the troop contributing countries. China, however, does not match this characteristic as it is not a liberal democracy and its political system remains unchanged since it was founded in 1949. With regard to conflict resolution and peace building, Beijing places more emphasis on economic development, rather than political issues like election and human rights. The difference in political values may provide an answer to China's reluctance to participate but do not explain the changes.

The importance of political stability is easily explained by the fact that national security and domestic stability top the work agenda of all national governments and are prioritized in resources allocation. Participation in UN peacekeeping, a fulfilment of a country's international obligation, is inevitably side-lined in the time of political instability. Maintaining political stability is always a top priority for the Chinese government since stability is a prerequisite for sustained economic development. China is stable throughout the era of economic reform, despite the Tiananmen incident in 1989. Stability is a supportive factor for China's contribution but not an explanation for its change from non-engagement to active participation.

The size of ground forces is directly related to a country's contribution as it provides the personnel pool for participating in UNPKOs. The PLA has been among the world's largest armed forces since the founding of the People's

¹⁰ Troop contributing countries are grouped into democratic, anocratic and autocratic.

Republic in 1949, despite several rounds of reduction¹¹. China therefore always has the sufficient personnel for contributing to UNPKOs. Nonetheless, it had not made any contribution until the late 1980s and became a major contributor only in the second half of the 2000s. This raises the question on what inhibited China's participation in the 1990s during the time when peacekeepers were on high demand.

Geographic location also has an effect on the propensity to contribute as countries are likely to be influenced if their neighbours are active contributors, like Nepal and Sri Lanka. South Asia and Europe are the most supportive regions while East Asia ranks the 4th among the seven regions¹² examined. Hence, the regional atmosphere is not a driving force for China to increase its participation in UNPKOs.

This thesis thus asks why China's growing national power has not always been translated into its activism in international security agenda broadly and UN peacekeeping specifically. It also aims to identify the factors that facilitate/inhibit the translation of growing national power into greater contribution and support for UN peacekeeping.

Chart 3 China's GDP, Military Expenditure and Contribution of Peacekeepers (1988-2013)

¹¹ For instance, the PLA has carried out five military reforms in the era of economic reform. The total number of troops has been cut by more than a million. The PLA army is 1,600,000 in 2015 (IISS, 1996/1997, 2015),

¹² The other six regions include Africa, South Asia, Europe, Americas, North Africa/Mideast and Central Asia

Units of Measurement:

Peacekeepers (PKOer): person

GDP: Billion US dollars (constant, 2005)

Military Expenditure (MilEx): Million US dollars (constant, 2011)

Sources: SIPRI, World Bank and United Nations

1.2.3 Argument

This thesis argues that despite the expectation that China's growing power is automatically translated into increasing contribution to UN peacekeeping, it is the unit-level factors that have actually played an important role in shaping its policy on UN peacekeeping. The decision to increase its contribution to peacekeeping has been influenced by the following three factors: the vulnerability of China's economy to foreign risks, domestic perception of China's international role, and confidence in defending sovereignty and territorial integrity.

1.2.4 Variables

China's relative power vis-à-vis the international system sets the background for the making of its broad foreign policy, of which peacekeeping is an increasingly

important component. China is seeking greater influence in the international arena by expanding its contribution to international cooperation. UN peacekeeping provides such an avenue for China to establish and reinforce its status as a major power, since it is now widely accepted as a critical tool for the provision of global public good. To develop a nuanced understanding of how China's national power is related to its peacekeeping policy, this thesis presents the following five variables in the analysis, with one dependent variable, one independent variable and three intervening variables. It is illustrated in Figure1 how the intervening variables influence the causal relation between the dependent variable and the independent variable.

Dependent Variable (DV): China's policy on UN peacekeeping (1978 – 2015)

China's engagement with UN peacekeeping in the era of economic reform has evolved in three major phases – support in principle in the 1980s, token contribution in the 1990s and active participation in the 2000s. Prior to the reform era, Beijing adopted the non-engagement approach in the 1970s. With regard to the third phase, it can be further divided into two sub-phases – constructive contribution between 2003 and 2012 and proactive contribution from 2013 onwards. The deployment of a unit of security guard to Mali in 2013 and an infantry to South Sudan in 2015 are significant steps forward in China's effort to strengthen its contribution to UN peacekeeping. The assessment of China's disposition is conducted through the analysis of its vote on peacekeeping-related resolutions, the number of Chinese peacekeepers and financial contribution.

Independent Variable (IV): China's Relative Power

Power is a ubiquitous but contested concept in international politics. Max Weber conceives power as the probability that one actor is able to carry out his own will

despite resistance. Nye defines power as the ability to achieve one's purposes or goals (Nye, 1990:177). According to Mearsheimer, power is the particular capabilities that a state possesses (Mearsheimer, 2001:55). From the constructivist perspective, a state's power is in relation with the power resources of its competitors (Guzzini, 2005: 496; 2010:34). Building on the existing conceptions of power, this thesis defines China's national power as its ability to define, achieve and defend its national goals.

The 'elements of national power' approach is a prevalent approach of power analysis in international studies (Baldwin, 2013:287). Power from this approach refers to the resources to achieve the desired results. A country's national power generally consists of territory, population, resource endowment, economic strength, military capability, political stability, and competence (Morgenthau and Thompson, 2007:127-169). Military power is foundational for a country's survival in the anarchical international system, and other resources like territory, population and wealth provide the necessary support for building up the military. The conversion of the material resources into the ability to effectively achieve the preferred outcomes is also influenced by intangible factors like competence, strategy and political will. China has the largest population and third largest territory in the world, and these two variables are elemental for being a major actor in international politics. However, China has not seen any major change to its territory since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949¹³. Despite the One-Child Policy that strictly controls China's birth rate in the reform era, the country's population remains the world's largest. Territory and population are not

¹³ As of 2004, Beijing settled all but one frontier dispute. The negotiations with India over some sections on the bilateral border like South Tibet and Aksai Chin are still going on. For more detailed discussion on China's territorial disputes, please refer to 'Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation: Explaining China's Compromises in Territorial Disputes'.

as representative of China's rapid rise as economic development and military capabilities which have seen major advances in the reform era.

Military and economic power constitutes the material basis for the country's participation in UNPKOs as well as recent expansion. UNPKOs face intensifying challenges like asymmetric conflicts, new threats to the security of civilians and peacekeepers, and increasingly difficult environment. The proliferation of aerial technologies and systems among non-state armed groups has made air capabilities essential for some operations. During the conflict between Israel and Hezbollah in 2006, UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) once confronted with the Israeli Air Force when carrying out its mandates (Anderson, 2008:69). The base of MINUSMA in Gao, Mali, was attacked by jihadists in a suicide bombing in May 2016, suffering four deaths and twelve injuries, among whom included one Chinese peacekeeper killed and four injured. This loss added to the overall casualties suffered by the operation in Mali, which is higher than other UNPKOs¹⁴. Moreover, the outbreak of Ebola in West Africa prompts the discussion on the role of UNPKOs in public health emergencies (Davies and Rushton, 2016).

High troop quality is essential for effective dealing with the precarious situation on the ground, and this heavily rest on the availability of resources, national defense budget¹⁵ in particular. Although the UN provides reimbursement of standard rates for costs associated with deployment, national defense budget is still critical as peacekeepers are trained and equipped independently by individual countries. For

¹⁴ MINUSMA suffered as string of deadly attacks recently, which brings the death toll to 60 (Tiezzi, 2016). In addition, this was not the first time that China was affected by attacks in Mali. Three Chinese citizens died during the Bamako hotel attack in November 2015.

¹⁵ Higher defense budgets are not translated into improved military capabilities in some cases, because the large size of the military thins the effect of the growth (Daniel, 2008:55). The increase of China's military spending indeed significantly benefits its military modernization given that the PLA has been through five rounds of reduction in the reform era.

major contributors that have limited budgets like Bangladesh and Nepal¹⁶, the compensation is an important financial source to sustain their militaries. There have been reports of misappropriation of the peacekeeping funding and purchase of military equipment of low quality (Sotomayor, 2013:305). With sufficient support in resources and services, the militaries are able to focus more on improving the quality of their peacekeepers.

Economic development is the foundation for building military power (Mearsheimer, 2001:61). As demonstrated in Chart 3, China's defense budget has been growing in sync with its GDP, a key indicator of economic development. Apart from GDP, trade volume, foreign direct investment (FDI) outflow and energy consumption also illustrate the trend of a country's economic activities. Therefore, the analysis of China's economic development in the rest of this thesis will focus on the changes in the afore-mentioned four economic indicators.

Intervening Variables (ITV):

i. Vulnerability of China's Economic Interests to Foreign Risks

Economic development is the most important driver of China's foreign policy in the reform era, the initial phase in particular (Shambaugh, 2012:45). While the Chinese economy has benefited significantly from the integration with the global economy, this also increases its vulnerability to external risks like global financial crisis, political violence, humanitarian disasters and complex emergencies in other countries and regions. The civil war of Libya in 2011 and South Sudan in 2013 illustrates how China's economic interests were affected by foreign crises. The Chinese enterprises in Libya suffered losses of 1.5

¹⁶ The reimbursement for contribution to UNPKOs accounted for 8 per cent of Bangladesh's total remittances in 2011.

billion USD in a week after the situation deteriorated in mid-February 2011 (Ding, 2011), and the operation to evacuate Chinese citizens cost 152 million USD (Zerba, 2013:1112). Hence, security risks to China's overseas interest were specifically noted China's Defense White Paper in 2013. This means that protection of overseas interests is now a component of China's security policy. There are a variety of factors that contribute to the vulnerability. As the Chinese economy expands, it becomes more dependent on foreign markets for import of energy and raw materials, export of manufactures, services and labours, as well as outflow of foreign direct investment.

Rapid economic development fuels China's thirst for energy and other resources in the 21st century. China replaced the United States as the world's largest net oil importer in September 2014. The dependence on oil imports increases the vulnerability of China's to instability in the origin countries. The expansion of Chinese overseas investment is part of China's growing economic cloud. According to Chinese Ministry of Commerce, China's outbound investment is projected to increase by 10 per cent annually for five years since 2015. A substantial portion of Chinese capital has been invested in the sectors of energy and mining, accounting for 16.7 percent of China's total outbound investment. The escalation of South Sudan's civil conflict since 2013 has seriously disrupted the operation of Chinese-invested oil projects in the country. The growing investment is accompanied by the rising number of Chinese citizens living and working abroad, according to the Ministry of Commerce, over 900,000 Chinese work in Chinese companies' overseas holdings. The surprisingly big number of Chinese citizens in Libya in 2011 was a good illustration of this trend. The threats to Chinese interests posed by instability in other countries prompt Beijing to review its involvement in international peace effort.

ii. China's Perception of its International Role

This variable represents how China sees its role in the regional and international security and politics and this assessment determines the level of China's commitment to global affairs. This variable is evaluated from two dimensions – the number of China's membership in multilateral institutions and the depth of its involvement. China's membership in major international and regional institutions and arrangements has increased from 26 in 1978 to over 90 in 2013¹⁷. The number of membership reflects China's willingness to engage with the international community, and such engagement has brought substantive benefits for China, both economically and politically. This number represents the extent of international recognition of the government of the People's Republic as the sole legal representative of China. This was critical for Beijing in the early stage of the reform era when it was competing with Taipei for international recognition. The competition gradually faded out in the 21st century when Beijing significantly overwhelms Taipei in power.

This development changes the function of multilateral institutions membership for China, from winning recognition to asserting influence. Instead of increasing the number of its membership, the Chinese government focuses more on deepening its involvement, so as to exert greater influence on setting the agenda for key international issues. This ambition is manifested by the efforts to reform the existing institutions, to lead the establishment of new multilateral arrangements, and to engage in building new norms. In addition to the booming trade and economic cooperation with ASEAN countries, China has strengthened dialogue and consultation on political and security issues

¹⁷ This number was hand-collected from the website of China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and CIA Factbook (1979-2013).

through bilateral and multilateral mechanisms. The country acceded to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia in 2003 and was an initial member of the East Asia Summit (EAS) which was first held in 2005. Countries that have overlapping claims in the South China Sea signed the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea at the ASEAN-China summit in Phnom Penh in 2002. However, the following years have seen the disputes continue and strain China's relations with Vietnam and the Philippines. While China insists on resolving the disputes on bilateral basis, multilateral mechanisms provide channels for China to stay relevant to regional discourse on this issue.

In parallel with its activism in Southeast Asia, China started to strengthen cooperation and exchanges with countries in central Asia in late 1990s, which is of importance to the security and stability in China's northwestern regions. Different from China-ASEAN relations that first thrived in trade and economic cooperation, dialogues with central Asian countries started on security issues. The common concern for domestic Islamic extremism culminated in the establishment of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in 2001. Military cooperation and exchanges are important agenda of the organization. The PLA participated its first ever joint anti-terrorism exercise with Kyrgyzstan in October 2002 and this was followed by two joint exercises with Russia and central Asian countries in 2003 (Blasko, 2010:427). The institutionalization of multilateral engagement in central Asia helps increase China's influence in the region and to some extent checked the expansion of US presence amid the campaign of counter-terrorism. For instance, the SCO Summit in 2005 issued a statement calling for the withdrawal of US military presence from central Asia. The US bases in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan were closed respectively in 2005 and 2008. As the regional organization develops, the scope of

cooperation has been expanded to cover a variety of areas like energy, trade, education, transport and finance.

iii. Confidence in Defending Sovereignty and Territory

While economic motivations play a major role in driving Chinese foreign policy, national sovereignty and territorial integrity constitute the country's core interest. Challenges to China's sovereignty like the Taiwan question¹⁸, domestic secessionist activities and territorial disputes define China's conservative position on sovereignty-related issues. There is the concern that excessive involvement in other countries' internal affairs will backfire on its own domestic challenges. Guided by this mindset, China's approach to conflict resolution and peacebuilding emphasizes the primary role of national government and the neutrality of international actors, opposes military intervention and prioritizes development to address root causes of conflict. When China is less concerned about the backfiring effects of UNPKOs on its own challenges, it is more likely to demonstrate flexibility in peacekeeping-related issues.

¹⁸ The Taiwan question is a legacy of the Chinese civil war between 1945 and 1949. National reunification is always a core interest of Beijing.

Figure 1 Two-Level Analytical Framework for China's Policy on UN Peacekeeping

1.2.5 Hypotheses

In drawing out the influence of the three intervening variables on China's peacekeeping policy, the following three hypotheses are presented to understand the evolution of China's peacekeeping policy.

Hypothesis 1:

As China's economic interests become more vulnerable to foreign risks, the more peacekeepers China commits.

Hypothesis 2:

As China's membership in multilateral institutions increases, it becomes more positively disposed to UN peacekeeping.

Hypothesis 3:

As China's concern about encroachment on its own sovereignty and territory integrity declines, its contribution to UNPKOs increases.

1.3 Research Methods

This research looks at the evolution of China's engagement in international security cooperation and examines how the growth of China's national power is related to this process, using peacekeeping as a case study. The focus is placed on the major changes in the distribution of world power in the past three decades as well as the corresponding adjustments in China's peacekeeping policy.

1.3.1 Process Tracing

The research traces the evolution process of China's engagement with UN peacekeeping in the era of reform. It looks at how China's view on peacekeeping has changed over the years through the review of official statements and remarks on peacekeeping and related issues like POC and RtoP. The review identifies changes as well as consistent points in China's perception of UN peacekeeping. The examination of the pattern of China's troop contribution finds that two critical points in the process of evolution represent qualitative changes in how China engages with UN peacekeeping. The first is the surge in the number of Chinese peacekeepers between 2003 and 2004 when 700 more Chinese peacekeepers were sent out within one year. This marks the beginning of China constructive contribution to UN peacekeeping. The deployment of security forces to UN

missions in 2013 and 2015 is the second qualitative shift. Tracing these major turning points outlines the pattern of the evolution of China's peacekeeping policy.

1.3.2 Archival Research and Data Collection

Official statements and remarks are important empirical evidence for the study on China's peacekeeping policy. The analysis of China's position on peacekeeping is based on the review of the statements of China's UN delegation on peacekeeping and other related issues at the Security Council and the General Assembly since 1978. With regard to troop and financial contribution, the other two indicators of China's peacekeeping policy, are collected from the UN database. Beyond the UN system, data from key international institutions, think tanks and databases like the World Bank, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the Correlates of War (COW) Project and WikiLeaks are used to support the analysis in this thesis. In addition, there is also hand-collected data. For instance, the number of China's membership of multilateral institutions and arrangements is collected from the website of Chinese foreign Ministry¹⁹ and the CIA Factbook from 1979 to 2013.

1.3.3 Interviews

Personal interviews with former peacekeepers, diplomats and NGO workers are an important source of empirical evidence for this research. For instance, Professor Ibrahim Gambari, former Under-Secretary-General of the UN for the Department of Political Affairs between 2005 and 2007, was interviewed in June 2013. He also served as the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General to Myanmar between 2007 and 2009 and the African Union-UN Joint Special Envoy for Darfur

¹⁹ http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_chn/gjhdq_603914/gjhdqzz_609676/

between 2009 and 2012. Professor Gambari had close contact with Beijing when he served as the special envoy of the UN to Myanmar and Darfur. His views and insights help the understanding of Beijing's thinking on conflict-related issues. The author also had interviews with diplomats and former peacekeepers that have primary knowledge about China's view on peacekeeping-related issues at both policy and operational levels.

Interviews with scholars also provide important insights and information to support the argument that China's more positive disposition to UN peacekeeping is driven by the increase in China's relative power but the pattern of evolution is influenced by unit-level factors. As research institutes and think-tanks are playing a greater role in China's foreign policy making, reflections and insights from the research community also facilitate the understanding of the evolution process.

1.3.4 Case Studies

This thesis tests the three hypotheses through two empirical cases, UNTAET (1999-2002) and the United Nation Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) (ongoing since 2011).

Apart from the two empirical cases in this thesis, there are other missions that take special places on China's path to an active contributor of UNPKOs, like the UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia, the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) and the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). China sent twenty civilian personnel to UNTAG, the first ever contribution of personnel to UNPKOs.

UNTSO saw the first batch of Chinese military observers. MONUC and UNMIL were the first missions in the 21st century to have Chinese engineers.

In particular, UNTAC was the first ever operation that China sent out formed units of peacekeeping engineers, before which there had been only a few Chinese military observers on UN missions. The operation opened the window for a Chinese military to gain a comprehensive understanding of UNPKOs. China was in good relations with the Khmer Rouge and King Sihanouk, which made it an important actor in Cambodia's peace process. Beijing supported the communist Khmer Rouge during the Cold War and hosted King Sihanouk during his exile in the 1970s and 1980s. On the request of King Sihanouk, a battalion of 400 engineers and 47 military observers were deployed with UNTAC in 1992 and 1993 to assist local reconstruction (Wang, 1999:77). However, the number of Chinese peacekeepers on UN missions dropped back immediately after the completion of UNTAC. This temporary increase in China's personnel contribution was driven by strategic and political reasons rather than a genuine policy shift (Chanda, 2002:6; Burgos and Ear, 2010).

UNTAET and UNMISS are selected for the following reasons. First, the two missions occurred at critical junctures on China's path to an active contributor of UN peacekeepers. UNTAET was established at the time when Beijing was preparing to strengthen its contribution to UNPKOs. For instance, the announcement for the recruitment of peacekeeping police was made more than half a year before the UN decided to form UNTAET; the peacekeeping office of the Ministry of Defense was set up in 2001; China joined level one of the UN Standby Arrangements System in 2002. The substantive increase in the number of Chinese peacekeepers on UNPKOs unfolded following these steps.

UNMISS was established ten years later than UNTAET, during which China has notably strengthened its peacekeeping contribution and capabilities. The significance of this operation is that China sends an infantry battalion to a UNPKO for the first time. The deployment of combat troops to UNMISS represents another step forward in China's engagement with UN peacekeeping. Apart from that, China also participates in the peace talks to resolve South Sudan's civil conflict, which marks a breakthrough in Beijing commitment to the continuum of peace effort, from peacemaking to peacebuilding. The time gap between the two cases allows the observation of the changes that have occurred in how Beijing perceives and engages with UNPKOs.

Second, China contributed to the different components in these two missions, around 60 civilian police on UNTAET and over 1000 contingent troop on UNMISS. China's respective contribution to these two missions differs not only in size but also in the composition. Civilian police is less politically controversial than other components of UNPKOs as their work does not involve elements of the mandate authorized by Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The first Chinese infantry battalion on UNMISS however is mandated to protect civilians by all necessary means, including the use of force. It is worth investigating implications of the expansion from merely civilian police and military observers at the beginning of the 21st century to the full-ranged contribution of personnel in the mid-2010s. Third, both countries gained independent through self-determination. As aforementioned, the backfiring effect of UNPKOs on its own sovereignty-related challenges is always a concern for China. There were attempts by Chinese dissidents to draw an analogy between Timor-Leste and Taiwan, while such reports are not seen when South Sudanese voted for their independence²⁰. Given the utmost importance of

²⁰ I searched for news reports that contain the key words of "South Sudan", "Taiwan", and "independence" their headline and lead paragraph in Factiva, a database owned by Dow Jones & Company that contains news

sovereignty in Chinese foreign policy, it is worthy examining whether and why the major challenge to China's sovereignty has been perceived differently during the two cases.

1.4 Contributions and Limitations

1.4.1 Contributions

As China is becoming more influential in the international system, its foreign policy will have considerable impact on the international security environment. This dissertation is aimed to provide a better understanding of the rise of China through the following ways. First, the study contributes to the on-going debate on China's rise and the broad literature on power transition. As China's national power capabilities grow significantly, there have been heated discussions on the nature of China's rise and its security implications.

There are two opposite predictions on the future of the international and regional systems with a rising China. One assessment is that the rise of China threatens international and regional stability as well as the interests of related countries. The other view is that China's rise will be peaceful. The research in this thesis contributes to the group of literature on China's peaceful rise. Through the examination of the evolution of China's disposition to UN peacekeeping, this study demonstrates how growing national power is converted into foreign policies. By identifying the three unit-level factors that influence conversion, this thesis points out the potential avenues to increase the propensity of China's peaceful rise.

reports from major sources across the globe. Three entries are listed based on the aforementioned three key words, but none of them is about Taiwan following the suit of South Sudan.

Second, this research provides insights to the existing literature on how rising powers, China in particular, engage with international norms, regimes and institutions. The discussion on has been centered on whether China is a status quo power or a revisionist power. The status quo powers play by the established rules, while the revisionist power seeks to change the rules so as to better serve its own interests. China's policy on UNPKO is a miniature of its broad foreign policy which to a certain extent reveals the ambitions of a rising China.

Third, this study also falls in the range of conflict studies. As aforementioned, the existing UN peacekeeping regimes are heavily informed by liberal values, some of which China disagrees with. Beijing is of the view that economic development addresses the root cause of armed conflicts. While the development-security nexus long exists, the liberal peace approach is dominant in conflict resolution and peace building at this stage. Supported by its growing economic cloud, China is now seeking to materialize this nexus through bilateral and multilateral avenues.

1.4.2 Limitations

The analysis in this thesis is constrained by lack of availability of data and the difficulty in the measurement of national power which is elusive and contested. However, there are different views on the composition of national power. For instance, military capability is an essential component of national power, but the measurement of military capability is difficult. A variety of factors contribute to defense capability, the size of military manpower, the weaponry, military infrastructure, and research and development (Tellis et al., 2000:133-176). These resources and physical infrastructure into effective capabilities need to be converted into effective capabilities. The effectiveness of conversion varies among

different countries. Hence, an accurate assessment of China's defense capability involves extensive data collection and process.

Moreover, given the sensitivity of some information like China's weapon holdings, it is very unlikely collect all the information necessary for an accurate evaluation. Since the focus of this thesis is to observe the trend in China's disposition to peacekeeping, a general description of how China's defense capability has changed in the given period will suffice. Although the defense budget does not fully represent the country's defense capability, there is a strong positive correlation between the two. The increase of defense budget both enables and manifests China's expanding defense capability.

The Chinese government only started disclosing its defense budget in late 1990s and the official figures before the 1990s were missing. For the sake of consistency, China's defense budget is sourced from the COW datasets which uses the figures from the IISS and the IISS publications. To compensate the deficiencies of the data, speeches of Chinese leaders, official statements and news reports are cited to support the analysis of China's defense capability.

1.5 Organization of the Thesis

The remainder of this dissertation consists of four chapters and a conclusion. Chapter II reviews the existing literature regarding China's participation in UN peacekeeping. It finds that previous research work uses a single-level approach to explain the shift in China's policy on UN peacekeeping and examines systemic dynamics and unit-level factors separately. The existing literature captures only certain dimensions or periods of the evolution process of China's peacekeeping.

This thesis attempts to fill in the gap by applying the two-level analytical framework informed by neoclassical realism. The two-level framework integrates the change of China's relative power with the three unit-level factors – the vulnerability of China's economic interests to foreign risks, perception of China's international role and confidence in sovereignty and territory integrity. This thesis seeks to build a framework that provides more comprehensive explanations to account for the changes at different phases.

In addition, the review of peacekeeping-related official statements and remarks reveal that China is developing a holistic approach to conflict resolution from peacemaking to peacekeeping. This finding updates the empirical aspect of the research. The third section of this chapter focuses on how the evolution of China's disposition to UN peacekeeping reflects on its understanding of sovereignty – the fundamental principle of its foreign policy.

Chapter III provides a broad overview of the evolution of China's peacekeeping policy in the era of reform through the two-level conceptual framework. The process is divided into three periods – support in principle in the 1980s, symbolic contribution in the 1990s and constructive participation from 2000 onwards. The two-level framework is applied to explain China's policy in that period and examines whether and how the three unit-level factors have played a role in shaping China's disposition in each of the three periods. Beijing in the 1980s was politically motivated to demonstrate a positive position on UN peacekeeping so as to negotiate foreign support for domestic development, while the economic factor was non-existent and the concern for sovereignty and territorial security was high. The political and security factors in the 1990s did not see notable change from those in the 1980s. The economic factor began to take shape as a result of the

strategy of 'Going Global' in this decade. All three factors have become strong in the 2000s as China is rising rapidly.

Chapter IV is a case study that examines China's participation in UNTAET between 1999 and 2002. This mission marks the beginning of China's expanding presence in UNPKOs. Timor-Leste gained its independence from Indonesia through self-determination in 1999 while China always guards against any attempt to hold a referendum by the Taiwanese authorities. The Chinese government was supposed to be wary against potential implications of the case of Timor-Leste for its domestic problems. This issue was further complicated by China's relations with other countries in the region, primarily Indonesia.

This chapter examines how the three unit-level factors shaped China's attitude to the referendum of Timor-Leste and its involvement in UNTAET. The analysis begins with where China stood in the international power structure when UNTAET was deliberated and established by the UN. This is followed by the assessments of the level of the three incentives. It finds that there was lack of economic incentive to contribute as the vulnerability of Chinese economy to external risks was not high. While China opened up to attract foreign support in the 1990s, the flow of economic activities was inward. The sources of investment and technologies as well as the market for export were primarily developed countries that were politically and economically stable. Sovereignty was a concern to China as cross-strait relations saw several escalations in the 1990s, and this indicated the low level of security incentive. On the political front, there were signs that China began contributing to global public good in line with its capacities. The lack of incentives resulted in the delay in China's effort to build its peacekeeping capabilities. The limited capabilities and experience in peacekeeping posed some challenges to peacekeepers then.

Chapter V discusses China's participation in UNMISS. The case of South Sudan sees qualitative improvement in China's contribution to international peace and security. In addition to the large number of peacekeepers, this mission has the first ever Chinese infantry battalion on a UN mission. Apart from a greater role in peacekeeping, Beijing assumes the role of mediator in South Sudan's peace process. Both the dispatch of combat troops and the visible involvement in the multilateral efforts to resolve South Sudan's civil war are breakthroughs in how China engages with international conflict management and resolution. South Sudan won its independence in 2012 through self-determination, the same as Timor-Leste, the other case study in this thesis. It is thus worth to examine whether and how China's attitude to self-determination has evolved compared to a decade ago.

China's power capabilities have achieved significant growth on all fronts in the decade since UNTAET. While people were discussing how to respond to the prospect of China rising at the beginning of the 21st century, the discourse has been reoriented to living with the reality that China has ascended. Meanwhile, changes have occurred to the three incentives for China to contribute to UNPKOs. The effects of the 'Going Global' strategy begin to be seen. As the outflow component of China's economic activities takes a more important position in the overall economy, China becomes more vulnerable to crises in other countries. This significantly strengthens the economic incentive to contribute to peace and security of other countries. In terms of political incentives, China begins to practice the guiding principle of its diplomacy 'to achieve things (in international affairs)'. On the security front, the growth of economic and military power gives China more leverage on sovereignty-related issues. The analysis in this chapter finds that

China's economic and political incentives to contribute to South Sudan's peace and security are strong and the concern for sovereignty is reduced.

Chapter VI summarizes the findings of this thesis. The shift in China's disposition to UN peacekeeping is driven by the increase of its relative power in the international system. The growth of China's relative power has necessitated its cooperation with international partners. International cooperation in return has increased China's influence in the international arena and changed its perception of its own relations with the international system. China has also grown more confident in its capability to defend its sovereignty from external and internal security risks and less concerned about the backfire effects of its deeper involvement in UN peace efforts, including mediation. The expansion of overseas interests gives another motive for China to play a greater role in maintaining international security. China now views the operations as opportunities to reassure the world of its benign intention and commitment to peaceful development. By easing the suspicion and concerns of other countries, it can create a favorable external environment for its further development. In addition, by actively participating in UNPKOs, China tries to increase its influence over the agenda-setting and decision-making process concerning UN peacekeeping.

Chapter II Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

UN peace operations play an instrumental role in the international responses to conflict-induced crises in the post-Cold War era. The fighting between the government and the rebel group in Northern Mali since April 2012 has displaced more than 470,000 people, including 292,648 internally displaced persons (IDP) and 177,637 refugees (UN, 2013, S/2013/189). Romano Prodi, the UN Special Envoy to Mali, warned that the situation in Mali would have serious implications for the region if it is not resolved properly and timely (Witcher, 2013). The Security Council adopted Resolution 2100 (2013) concerning the establishment of MINUSMA in April 2013. The mission has 12,600 peacekeepers, the third largest mission of the 16 ongoing UN peace missions. It is mandated to monitor ceasefire, ensure stability, protect civilians and human rights, and facilitate other efforts to cultivate peace and security in the country.

Given the importance of UN peacekeeping for international peace and security as well as China's expanding role in this undertaking, an increasing body of literature is devoted to understanding China's engagement with UN peacekeeping. The works on China and peacekeeping basically focus on three issue areas –empirical evidence of the shift, explanations of the shift and implications for Chinese foreign policy and international politics. The remainder of this chapter review the existing literature according to the three areas respectively and identify the gaps that the two-level framework contributes to filling in.

The first section looks at the theoretical bases of the explanations for the shift in China's policy on UN peacekeeping. It finds that the existing explanations focus on the unit-level factors and the link between the systemic and the unit levels is underexplored.

The second section introduces the analytical framework of this thesis. The two-level framework informed by neoclassical realism is designed to fill in the gap in the existing analysis by linking the systemic changes with domestic dynamics. It starts with an overview of neoclassical realism, the theoretical basis of the two-level framework. It then moves to demonstrate why this variant of realism is chosen over other theories of and approaches to foreign policy analysis like classical realism, defensive realism and analytical eclecticism. This is followed by an illustration of how the framework can be applied.

The third section reviews the empirical facts concerning China's engagement with UN peacekeeping since 1971. Apart from updating China's record of voting, troop and financial contribution, this section provides a comprehensive review of Beijing's peacekeeping-related statements in the UN system from 1971 to 2013, which identifies the consistent elements and changes in the official statements.

The fourth section reviews the key issues related to China's engagement with UNPKOs. Sovereignty is a frequent element of the study of China and peacekeeping, particularly before the 2010s. While UN peacekeeping is now widely accepted as an important tool for maintaining international peace and security, China used to perceive some elements of the mandate of UNPKOs bearing the risk of interference. Sovereignty is relevant to the study because the issue has heavily influenced China's disposition to UNPKOs.

This chapter concludes that the analysis that examines only the unit-level dynamics is not sufficient for explaining China shifting from a sceptic to a constructive contributor of UNPKOs. The two-level analysis that integrates the changes in both the system and the domestic domain provides a more nuanced understanding of the changes in different phases of the evolution process. It therefore has a longer timeframe than the single-level approach.

2.2 Gaps in the Existing Theoretical Frameworks

Peacekeeping was on the periphery of China's foreign policy in the 1990s because the country refrained from taking excessive international responsibility and made only symbolic contribution to UNPKOs. The research on this topic therefore was also limited and often incorporated to the wider study on China's UN diplomacy and multilateral engagement (Fravel, 1996; Kim, 1999; Morphet, 1999; Gill and Reilly, 2000). The examinations find their theoretical basis in realism, liberalism and constructivism. But it is often that many of the analysis are eclectic and recognize that China's expanding participation has been the combined effect of multiple factors. There are four major arguments about the intentions and causes of the change in China's policy – socialization to international norms, the pursuit of a benign international image, power projection and economic interests. In addition, the changing international environment, the desire to reform the international order characterized by the US pre-eminence and the exposure of PLA officers to advanced operational practices also motivate China's contribution. In particular, socialization and the pursuit of a benign image are two popular explanations for China's shift in position on peacekeeping.

2.2.1 The Image of a Responsible Power

The pursuit of the image of a responsible great power is a most cited explanation for China's participation in peacekeeping. Keith Flick (2009) points out that the image of a responsible power is a major theme in China's official statements and media reports and UN peacekeeping offers China an ideal avenue to build the benign image. The legitimacy of UNPKOs is rooted in the UN's mission to maintain world peace and security which is embedded in Chapter VI and VII of the UN Charter. Some attributes of UNPKOs like the deployment of troops on foreign soil make it easily mistaken with the unpopular notion of humanitarian intervention. However, the basic principles and collective nature of UNPKOs distinguish this undertaking from humanitarian intervention. Adherence to these principles is essential for keeping the benign image of UNPKOs among countries holding a traditional view on sovereignty and peacekeeping. Contribution to such operations is conducive to China's pursuit of a benign image as a responsible power.

The responsible power argument is a persistent element of Chinese official statements, media reports and academic works (Zhao, 2009; Wang, 2010:55; Zhao and Xin, 2012; Lu, 2015:51). As China was ascending, Beijing placed more attention to China's image and reputation. The history of China engaging in border conflicts with its neighbours led to the perception that China was belligerent (Johnston, 1998:3). This perception reinforces other country's unease about China's ascendance. Building a benign image was an important task of Chinese diplomacy amid China's ascendance. The introduction of the term 'responsible major power' into the discourse on China's foreign policy in the 1990s was part of the effort to improve China's image. This term was first used in 1992 and frequently referred to in China's media reports, academic publications and official documents between 1998 and 2001 (Johnston, 2007:147-149).

Pang (2005) notes that the reputation as a major power in the UN has become an important national goal of China since 1997 when this notion was first advanced amid the Asian financial crisis. He points out that it is an urgent diplomatic task of China to assure the international community that it is a responsible power (He, 2007:10). Chan argues that China desires to demonstrate to the outside world that it is a responsible great power. It wants to utilize its participation in UNPKOs to assure other major powers as well as neighbor of its good will.

In addition, an extension of the good image argument is the 'charm offensive' explanation. This observation includes a variety of discourse such as peaceful development, harmonious world, soft power and responsible power (Hirono, 2011:328). Hirono views China's participation in UNTAC as a successful case of charm offensive and a good lesson for its participation in the African Union/ United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID). The Chinese peacekeepers in UNTAC built roads and bridges and removed mines in Cambodia, which reduced the negative perception of the Cambodian public of China due Beijing's support for Khmer Rouge in the 1970s and 1980s. Bi (2011) also sees China's involvement in peacekeeping as part of the charm offensive.

The pursuit of a benign image has been motivated by two considerations – restoration of past glory and assurance of its good intentions. Restoring China's status as an international great power has been advocated by successive Chinese leaders irrespective of their party affiliations, from Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek to Mao Zedong, and Mao's successors. Although these people had different understandings of China's problems and solutions, they have also exhibited similarities such as the resolve to defend sovereign and territorial integrity and the desire to restore past glory. These ideals largely originate from the national pride

in the country's long history and splendid culture and humiliation and sufferings inflicted by foreign powers.

Compared to the restoration of glory, reassurance of its good intention is a more campaign urgent for a rising China as its neighbours in the Asia Pacific and major countries in the world are uncertain about the security implications of China's rise. The suspicions and skeptics over China's intention can create difficulties and challenges for the country's further growth, such as balancing acts by regional countries. Reassurance is a way to signal the benign intentions of one country towards another and invite for cooperation (Tang, 2008:5). Participation in security cooperation, like UN peacekeeping, is a way for rising powers to demonstrate their intention to cooperate on and contribute to maintaining international and regional security.

This point is also supported in the analysis of many Chinese scholars. Chen (2012) notes that the expansion of China's participation in size, scope and depth is conducive for the effort to build the image of peace-loving and responsible major country, to defuse the negative perception based on the China threat theory, and to promote China's idea of building a harmonious world. Motivated by these positive effects, Beijing actively expands its participation. While the Asia-Pacific region does not host any ongoing peacekeeping operation, cooperation on training and capacity-building provides a platform for the PLA to have dialogue and exchanges with foreign militaries. Beijing hosted the 6th ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) Peacekeeping Experts' Meeting in October 2013, which was attended by regional experts as well as UN officials.

The responsible power discourse emerged after the Asian financial crisis in 1997. It was first uttered by Beijing as a promise not to devalue its currency to its

Southeast Asian neighbours so as to help maintain market stability. The notion of China as a responsible power was introduced to the research on peacekeeping in the new millennium (Richardson, 2011; He, 2007). Hence, this explanation is not applicable for explaining the change from support in principle in the 1980s to symbolic contribution in the 1990s. Moreover, both the desire to restore its status as a great power and the need to reassure others are largely the result of China's rising power status in the international system. The growing national power is the foundation for the effort to restore status as well as the cause of external skeptics on China. The good image arguments are basically based on institutionalism that norm-conforming behaviors are induced by the worry about reputation. However, Johnston points out that such reputation is not a credible factor in the making of a country's international strategy.

2.2.2 Socialization

Socialization is a popular explanation for China's increasing participation in peacekeeping. Compared with the good image argument, socialization provides a more complete account of the shift in China's position. Pang (2005), Carlson (2006), Staehle (2004) and Huang (2011) all identify socialization as a key explanation for China's increasing support for UN peacekeeping. While recognizing the material motivations behind Beijing's more positive policy to UN peacekeeping, Staehle argues that the change in China's position in UN peacekeeping is a result of the evolution of UN peacekeeping itself as well as China's learning and socialization into international norms since the early 1990s. Huang (2011) attributes China's increasing interest in peacekeeping to its engagement and socialization in international institutions. Carlson (2006) notes that China becomes more receptive to intervention through social learning, which leads to increased flexibility in China's position on sovereignty. Feng (2012)

argues that China's learning practice through participating UNPKOs shapes its understanding of the nature and contribution of UN peacekeeping to international security. The participation also influences how the country identifies itself and conceives sovereignty and non-interference. The knowledge acquired through the engagement helps China identify with underlying values of UN peacekeeping. In return, China's contribution also gains itself international recognition (Feng, 2012:68)

Socialization is a sociological term that represents a process of inducting actors into the norms and rules of a given community (Checkel, 2005:804). Johnston (2008) further outlines the micro-processes that constitute socialization, which include mimicking, social influence and persuasion. The three stages represent differing levels of acceptance to the norm, constituting a progression from low-level to high-level of acceptance. During this process, the actor reconstructs its identity by internalizing the norms. In the end, it becomes more comfortable about observing the norms. Johnston's three-stage division of socialization clearly presents a gradual and dynamic process with both progress and setbacks. The socialization argument accounts for some aspects of the evolution of China's peacekeeping policy. When China returned to the UN in 1971, Qiao Guanhua, the then Chinese vice Foreign Minister, acknowledged that China was not familiar the UN and need to study (Wuthnow, 2013:15). Chairman Mao Zedong also made similar remarks on China role in the UN then. These remarks mark the beginning of China's learning process.

Johnston (2010) argues that multilateral institutions open the avenue for China to understand multilateralism. The increasing engagement results in international calls for more contribution from China, which are seen in China's engagement with the international regimes like arms control and international institutions.

Staehle presents a similar process in peacekeeping – the lobbying of the ‘socialized’ officials and foreign encouragement are primary factors of China’s socialization into the UN peacekeeping regimes. Gill and Reilly support this point by noting that Chinese diplomats and military officers who have been exposed to UN peacekeeping are more open and receptive to peacekeeping. These technocrats with expertise in UN peacekeeping are slowly building links with their like-minded colleagues in other ministries.

While recognizing that lobbying has played a role in promoting the understanding of international norms in the Chinese government and military, it is also important not to overstate the effect of this process. China’s decision-making mechanism for foreign policy is centralized and top-down (ICG, 2009; Gill and Reilly, 2000), and the outcome of lobbying can be weakened during the communication process from bottom up. Gill and Reilly (2000) thus cautiously describe the effect of such lobbying as ‘limited’. Wang highlights the limited political influence of the ‘socialized’ personnel to prove the limits of socialization in China’s policy towards multilateralism (Wang, 2000:490). Given the central role of Chinese top leaders in foreign-policy making, their views on China’s role in UNPKOs are more critical for understanding the shifting approach. For instance, the decision to participate in UNTAC was first made by President Jiang Zemin who considered it was time for China to start participating in this undertaking²¹. The beginning of China’s participation therefore was a policy choice based on the top leaders’ assessment, rather than the outcome of socialization.

²¹ Personal conversation with China scholar with good knowledge of the PLA in June 2016 in Singapore.

2.2.3 Realist and Pragmatic Explanations

Explanations informed by realism focus on national interest and other pragmatic motivations. Peacekeeping traditionally does not fall in the purview of realism that emphasizes military power and absolute sovereignty. Mearsheimer who is of the view that peacekeeping only plays a limited role in resolving civil conflicts of minor powers and interstate wars involving minor powers. Its contribution to world peace is marginal, as international politics is primarily a game of great powers (Mearsheimer, 1994-95:34). Karlsson (2011) disagrees with Mearsheimer on the role of peacekeeping and maintains peacekeeping in the post-Cold War era is a tool for major powers to increase their relative power and legitimacy. He examines China's participation in UN peace operations between 2000 and 2010 through the offensive realist lens.

His argument is that China through participation in UNPKOs gains legitimacy, defend its image as a major power, modernize its military, and protect political and economic interests in the host countries. Multilateral peace operations in this framework are conceived as an intervening variable in the process of a rising China seeking greater relative power/influence (Karlsson, 2011:7). This framework is problematic in the way that it confuses the intervening variable with the dependent variable. It is unclear in the analysis whether China's participation in UNPKOs is a tool for China to increase its relative power or a result of greater relative power. Moreover, the line between UNPKOs and multilateral military operations is overly blurred. Karlsson exaggerates the significance of UN peacekeeping as a tool for major powers to pursue relative power and ignores the fact that the operations are strictly mandated and troop contributing countries have very limited space to advance their own agenda.

Power projection which refers to the capacity to deliver coercive power in an effective manner beyond one's borders (Lampton, 2008) is another realist-informed explanation. The power projection explanation assumes a link between national power and participation in UN peacekeeping. Some people see China's increased involvement in UN peacekeeping operations, particularly in Africa, as a form of power projection²². There is an observation that the weak sea-lift and air-lift capabilities of the PLA constrain its deployment of troops to destinations far away from China. Masuda (2011) links the increase of China's troop contribution with its economic development which means more invest on personnel and technology. The improvements in the regard have been demonstrated by China's participation in the joint anti-piracy in the Gulf of Aden since 2008 and the withdrawal of Chinese nationals from Libya in 2011. The deployment of security force to the Mali and South Sudan are also manifestations of China's power projection.

However, China's troop contribution to UNPKOs is still relatively small compared with its overall military size. Military capabilities alone are not sufficient for assessing the propensity of a country to participate in UNPKOs. The contrast between China and major troop contributing countries with limited power capabilities like Bangladesh and Nepal indicates that the conversion of national power into participation of peacekeeping is not automatic. It is worth to find a more nuanced understanding of the relation between China's national power and its policy on UN peacekeeping.

China's fast economic development significantly drives its demands for foreign resources. The pursuit of economic interests has become an increasingly prominent motivation behind China's greater role in international affairs, including

²² Personal interview with Professor Ibrahim Gambari in July 2013 in Singapore.

peacekeeping. Flick (2009) uses quantitative methods to examine China's selection of the operations that it contributes to. He finds that the potential for trade is a major reason for the high concentration of Chinese peacekeepers in six missions since 2003. Richardson (2011) points out that China's participation in peacekeeping is partly driven by the thirst for resources. Beijing's support for Khartoum is often linked with its pursuit of Sudan's oil and other resources (Hirono, 2011:337). The geographic distribution of Chinese contribution between 2002 and 2015 (Chart 4) supports for this argument. The share of Chinese peacekeepers in Africa was up from 56 per cent in 2002 to 86 per cent in 2015. Africa hosts more UNPKOs than other regions, and it is understandable that the number of peacekeepers stationed in Africa is larger than that of other regions. However, China's figure is constantly higher than that of the UN since 2003 when Beijing began to increase its troop contribution, as shown in Chart 5.

Chart 4 Geographic Distribution of Peacekeepers: China (2002, 2008 and 2015)

Source: Department of Peacekeeping, United Nations

Chart 5 Geographic Distribution of Peacekeepers: China and the UN (2003-2010)

China 2003

UN 2003

China 2005

UN 2005

China 2008

UN 2008

China 2010

UN 2010

Source: Department of Peacekeeping, United Nations

While recognizing the importance of economic interests in driving China's activism, the link between China's economic stakes in Africa and its peacekeeping contribution should not be overstated. As shown in Chart 6, the imports and exports between China and African countries accounts for only 4.5 per cent of China's total in 2015, which is up from 2.25 per cent in 2001. Despite the growth, the bilateral trade accounts for only a small fraction of China's total trade volume. Moreover, decisions related to China's peacekeeping contribution and its overseas commercial interests are made by different mechanisms. The agencies that oversee China's overseas economic interests are not involved in the decision-making on UNPKOs.

Chart 6 China-Africa Imports and Exports (2001 and 2015)

Source: Ministry of Commerce, China

The explanations based on different theoretical frameworks provide insights on China's participation in UNPKOs but leave many gaps to fill in. For instance, the socialization argument is not able to address the issue of selectiveness in the operations that China has participated in. The review of the peacekeeping-related

statements reveals that the elemental points that underpin China's position on peacekeeping remain consistent, like adherence to the three basic principles of UN peacekeeping, and respect for the primary role of the national government. The explanations based on realism and pragmatism are also not generalizable to all operations that China has participated in.

The 'responsible image' argument is applicable to explaining the change in the early 2000s. However, as China grows more powerful, China has joined force with other emerging market economies to seek greater representation for developing countries in global governance, which is more proactive than the reputation of 'responsible image'. The qualitative improvement in China's engagement in UN peacekeeping is an example of this trend. It is thus important not to adopt a static approach to look at China's engagement with UN peacekeeping since the change in policy is an evolving process.

While the growth of national power actually is recognized as a prerequisite in the aforementioned study on China and peacekeeping, the link between power growth and expansion of participation in peacekeeping has been underexplored. The delay in translation of growing power into active peacekeeping policy is left unanswered. The growth of power naturally leads to the ambition for greater international influence. However, the pattern of the increase in troop contribution shows that there is a ten-year gap between the growth of China's national power and its greater commitment. This can be found in section

2.3 Neoclassical Realism and the Two-Level Analytical Framework

The thesis attempts to complement the existing literature by drawing the connection between the growth of power and the evolution of China's

peacekeeping policy. It brings into the discussion how the three unit-level factors, namely vulnerability of Chinese economy to external risks, domestic perception of China's international role and confidence in defending sovereignty and territory, play a role in calibrating China's peacekeeping policy. It seeks to account for the entire evolution process of China's peacekeeping policy since 1979, through the two-level framework that is informed by neoclassical realism. This section first discusses why neoclassical realism is chosen over other theories like classical realism and structuralism to provide theoretical support for the analysis in this thesis. It then moves to explain how the two-level analytical framework of this thesis is built based on neoclassical realism.

2.3.1 Theoretical Basis: Neoclassical Realism

The research in this thesis is designed to understand how the growth of China's relative power leads to changes in the way the country engages with the international system, using UN peacekeeping as an example. States strive for more power/ influence through territorial, political and economic expansion as they become more powerful (Gilpin, 1981:23-25). The prevalence of Westphalian norms in contemporary international politics puts into question the legitimacy and efficacy of conquest of territory. Participation in multilateral institutions provides an alternative avenue for rising powers to assert their growing influence, given that institutions like the UN are important platforms for setting the agendas for key global issues. Strengthened commitment to UNPKOs is a manifestation of the rising China's ambition for greater international influence.

The foreign policy of a state generally manifests how it wishes to advance its main objectives and shape the external world (Hill, 2003:4). Two theories of foreign policy within the realist tradition, classical realism and defensive realism, provide

answers to the questions why and when states seek to expand (Zakaria, 1998:9). While the two variants of realism share fundamental premises about international politics, like the eternal struggle of power and rationality in foreign policy making, they differ in other key questions, like the source of the thirst for power and the amount of power that states seek. Classical realism, also referred to as political realism, locates the roots of war and conflict in human nature. Hans Morgenthau, a representative figure of contemporary classical realists, argues that (international) politics is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature (Morgenthau, 2007:4). Another principal assumption is that interest is defined in terms of power and interest dictates policy makers' thinking and action regarding foreign policy (Morgenthau, 2007:5). Without denying the moral and benign elements in human nature, classical realism assumes that the driver for interest defined as power is inherent in men (Donnelly, 2013:33; Waltz, 1959:35).

Structural theories like neorealism that focus on systemic dynamics and provide more parsimonious explanations over why different units behave similarly. The central assumption of neorealism is that systemic pressures push different states to behave alike. All states struggle for relative power in order to survive in the anarchical international system. Based on this assumption there exist variants of structural realism. Offensive realism assumes that international anarchy determines that security is scarce and states try to achieve it by maximizing their relative power (Mearsheimer, 2001:30).

Defensive realism finds its foundation in Kenneth Waltz's works. In his *Man, the State and War*, Waltz classifies into three images the existing theories that explain the causes of conflict in the international system. The three images are individuals, the state and the international system. The first image theories assume that 'the evilness of men, or their improper behavior, leads to war; individual goodness, if it

could be universalized, would mean peace' (Waltz, 1959:39). The second image refers to the effects of domestic political structure on war and peace in the international system. Democracies are more peaceful than autocratic governments. Capitalist democracies are more belligerent than socialist democracies. While the first two images have explanatory power over certain aspects of international politics, Waltz argues that it is international anarchy that has the ultimate constraining effects on states' international behavior. Waltz further expands his focus on the 'third image' into structural realism in his *Theory of International Politics*. Structural realism posits the absence of higher authority in the international system forces states to be self-help and ensure their own survival by pursuing power. Defensive realists argue that it is more often that aggression inflicts losses rather than brings benefits. States therefore expand only when they are threatened and adopt minimal foreign policy (Taliaferro, 2000-2001:129). In other words, systemic factors explain certain behaviors of states but not all of them (Rose, 1998:146).

According to Waltz's classification, classical realism is in line with the first image and defensive realism is a third-image theory. Each of the two theories accounts for certain aspects of China's attitude to international cooperation, including UN peacekeeping. At the individual level, the assessment of the central leadership about China's international status conditions its engagement with the system. For instance, Deng Xiaoping saw China as one pole in the multi-polar international system and believed that China was an influential actor in international affairs (Liu, 1994:6; Deng, 1985:128). Meanwhile, he was also soberly aware the gap between China and the two superpowers in terms of material capabilities and rejected the notion of the great power triangle composed of the US, USSR and China (Deng, 1985:128). His assessment therefore was that China was a developing country with limited capabilities. The weaknesses like poverty, lack of capital, and low

level of science and technology, constrained the realization of the national ambition to attain great power status. As economic power constitutes the basis for the growth of other components of national power, underdevelopment was a major barrier on China's path to the great power status. Economic development has thus been prioritized throughout the reform era, and Chinese foreign policy serves this priority.

The domestic assessment however was not independent from the systemic context. The systemic imperatives on China change as its relative power increase. Cooperative behaviors on global issues in the 1980s were a channel for China to end its isolation and integrate with the international system. As the China threat theory began to attract more international attention in the 21st century, fulfillment of international responsibilities became a necessary component of China's foreign policy to support its argument that China pursues peaceful development and the growth of China brings benefits to the international community. As China's relative power increases further in the 2010s, the country seeks to play a greater role in setting the global agendas, for which participation in international cooperation provides an important avenue. The study on the change of China's disposition should be put in the context of its relationship vis-à-vis the system.

The focus on the dynamics at the unit level is not able to capture the complete picture of the complicated and sophisticated process of foreign policy making (Carlsnaes, 2007:97). Proponents of systemic theories argue that state's foreign policy in the long run cannot transcend the limits and opportunities created by the system (Rose, 1998:151). The analysis that considers only systemic dynamics but excludes unit-level factors is inaccurate and incomprehensive. Instead of dictating how states respond to systemic imperatives, the system only sets the limit of states' responses (Taliaferro, Lobell and Ripsman, 2010:2).

Neither the first-image nor the third-image theories alone are sufficient for answering the questions raised in this thesis. Large contributions by South Asian countries to UNPKOs demonstrate that strong material power capabilities are a precondition for active participation in UN peacekeeping. However, the effect is unclear when the causal relationship is reversed – does the growth of relative power lead to more active foreign policy, like greater contribution to UN peacekeeping? The evolution pattern of China's participation in UNP peacekeeping shows the coincidence between the substantive increase in personnel contribution and the accelerated growth of its economic and military power in 2003 and 2004. Although China also maintained steady growth in these two elements of national power in the 1990s, its contribution then was nominal. This prompts me to explore the circumstances that enable the conversion of growing power into active foreign policy, peacekeeping in this study.

To answer these questions, neoclassical realism conveniently provides a theoretical basis that incorporates the three images into a single framework. Neoclassical realists agree with other variants of realism on that states always seek to expand their influence (power) through foreign policies. They also share with the neorealist assumption that systemic pressures are the ultimate drivers behind states' international behaviors. The relative power of a state vis-à-vis the system is the independent variable. Apart from systemic factors, neoclassical realism recognizes the complexities and nuances of state behaviors, which are related to the domestic traits of individual states. In addition to systemic factors, the process of foreign policy making is intervened by a variety of unit-level factors like the perception of leaders, the capacity of the politico-military institutions in extracting and mobilizing resources, the influence of domestic society actors, the

degree of state autonomy from society, socioeconomic structure and interest groups.

Neoclassical realism incorporates both systemic and domestic variables into foreign policy analysis, as illustrated in Figure 2. The basic assumption of neoclassical realism is that the relative power of a state sets the scope of its foreign policy and the aforementioned unit-level factors intervene in the process of relative power being translated into foreign policy. Given the scarcity of security and the uncertainty arising from the anarchic nature of the international system, states pursue security by seeking to control and shape their external environment. Because the relative power of a state sets the parameter of its external behaviors, its ambition, the efforts to seek influence abroad vary according to the change of its relative power vis-à-vis the system (Rose, 1998:152).

Figure 2 Sample of Neoclassical Realist Framework

The two-level framework of this thesis is designed to explain the evolution of China's disposition to UN peacekeeping throughout the reform era, rather than providing over-simplified or ad hoc answers to a specific period. China's relative power vis-à-vis the system as well as the major countries in the system at each of the periods²³ divided in this thesis sets the background of its policy on UN peacekeeping. Moreover, this thesis seeks to enrich the analysis by incorporating three unit-level factors, which are economic vulnerability to foreign crises, domestic perception of China's international role and assessment of threats to its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Since China's foreign policy in the reform era serves its development agenda, the development pattern of China's economy is selected to observe how the top priority of domestic policy influences a component of foreign policy. China's self-assessment of its international role indicates the resources that Beijing is willing to commit to global public goods, of which UN peacekeeping is a component. Sovereignty and territorial integrity is a core element of China's national interests. China vetoed two Security Council resolutions related to peacekeeping in the 1990s due to the Taiwan question. The security of China's sovereignty and territorial integrity has implications for how Beijing reconciles its understanding of sovereignty with its international role.

2.3.2 The Two-Level Analysis

I. China's Rise: Stability of the System under Challenge?

As the relative power of a state vis-à-vis the system sets the parameter of its ambition and external behaviors, states seek greater external influence as their power position rises (Rose, 1998:152). Stability of the international system hinges on the distribution of relative power. There are competing explanations with regard

²³ This thesis divides China's engagement with UN peacekeeping in the reform era into three main stages, which include support in principle in the 1980s, nominal contribution in the 1990s and constructive contribution in the 2000s.

to the proper power structure that preserves systemic stability, such as hegemonic stability, bipolarity, unipolarity and multipolarity²⁴ (Waltz, 1964; Layne, 1993; Kupchan, 1998).

The system is stable when it reaches a state of equilibrium in terms of cost and benefit to pursue changes in the system. Two factors are elemental such equilibrium – power disparity between the dominant power and other great powers and the degree of satisfaction of the great powers with their respective share of interest in the system (Gilpin, 1981:11). The power disparity between the dominant power and the rising power determines the cost for changes. The probability of systematic war increases as the rising power approach power parity with the dominant power. The self-help system dictates that states always struggle for more power to ensure survival. However, differential growth rates among great powers decide the efficacy of the struggle for power, leading to changes in power parity. The gap is narrowed down when the rising power outpaces the dominant power. Political, economic and ideological differences all contribute to the race. The threshold for a violent power transition is when the power capabilities of the challenger amount to 80 per cent of that of the dominant power (Tammen et al., 2001:21). Nonetheless, peaceful transition is possible if the rising power and the dominant power share similar values, such as the transition between the United States and Britain at the turn of the 20th century.

The international system in post-cold war era is characterized by the preponderance of American capabilities. In addition, there exist major economic or military powers like Russia, Japan and China, powerful group of countries – European Union, middle powers and small powers. This structure has not seen systemic war or intense rivalry since the end of the cold war, despite internal

²⁴ For further discussion on this question, please refer to Wohlforth (2009), Monteiro (2011/12)

armed conflicts in some parts of the world. The disparity between the US and the rest of the world is considered by many scholars as foundational to stability of the world (Wolfworth, 1999; Huntington, 1993).

China seems to emerge as a challenger to the existing structure. The share of China's defense budget in the world rose from 1.2 per cent in 1989 to 11.3 per cent in 2014²⁵. China's GDP accounted for 9 per cent of the world's total in 2014, up from 0.8 per cent in 1978. As illustrated in Chart 7 and Chart 8, differential growth rates in economy as well as defense budget has substantially increased China's share in world power and narrowed down the gap between China and the US. Apart from the rise of China, security and financial challenges faced by the United States in recent years fuel the debate on possible power transition, such as the two debilitating wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the sub-mortgage crisis in 2008, and the White House shutdown in 2013. Layne concludes that the unipolar moment is coming to end as the US hegemony is waning (Layne, 2006).

Chart 7 Defense Budget – China, US and the World (1989 and 2014)

Unit of Measurement: Constant US dollar (2011)

Source: SIPRI Defense Database, accessed on 14 December 2015

²⁵ China's defense budget was 18.263 billion USD in 1989 and 190.974 billion in 2014. The world's total was respectively 1549.173 billion USD in 1989 and 1686.837 billion in 2014. The figures are at constant 2011 prices and exchange rates. All the figures are from SIPRI defense budget database.

Chart 8 GDP – China, US and the World (1978 and 2014)

Unit of Measurement: Constant US dollar (2005)

Source: World Development Indicators, World Bank Database, accessed on 14 December 2015.

II. External Assessment of China's Rise

The way that China uses its growing power interacts with other countries' assessment and responses, and such interactions shape the shift in power. The assessment of the consequences caused by China's rise is divided into two camps – the optimist and the pessimist (Friedberg, 2005). The optimistic assessments argue that the increase in China's national power will not undermine stability in the system, while the pessimists view a rising China as a destabilizing factor (Friedberg, 2005; Goldstein, 2007; Chan, 2008).

a. Optimist

Reasons for optimism include economic interdependence, institutional constraint, democratization of China's political system, socialization of China into international norms, and China's modest capabilities vis-à-vis the US primacy. Integration with international and regional economy raises the cost of disrupting

the existing international economic arrangements. The development opportunities generated by China's growing economy are welcome by countries benefiting from this process. China accounted for 16 per cent of the world's total export in manufactures in 2014, reflecting China as the world's manufacturing basis. China has transformed from the receiving end of foreign direct investment to a growing source. Chinese tourists are increasingly important consumers for foreign tourist destinations, spending 48 billion US dollars in 2010 (Booming Chinese outbound, 2011). At the regional level, the volume of bilateral trade between China and ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations) exceeded 400 billion US dollars in 2012. ASEAN is China's 3rd largest trade partner, 4th largest export market and 2nd largest source of import (Renmin, 2013).

In addition to greater economic interdependence, China has adopted a more cooperative approach in political and security issues, with its participation in international institutions doubled over the past two decades. China has deepened its engagement in political and security regimes, like the international disarmament regimes and the UN human rights regimes (Sceats and Breslin, 2012). Beijing has called for a greater role for regional arrangements, such as ARF and EAS. The region was impressed by China's diplomatic activism in the APEC summit in Bali and EAS in Brunei in October 2013. On the side-line of the 2013 APEC summit, President Xi attended nearly 50 bilateral and multilateral events in a week, delivering speeches to illustrate China's vision of its future. Prior to the APEC summit, he paid state visit to Indonesia and Malaysia and signed agreements on cooperation in a range of issues, consolidating China's friendship with the two important members of ASEAN. According to liberal optimists, bilateral and multilateral interactions help China enhance mutual understanding and address the mistrust of other countries in its intentions. Shambaugh pointed out

that China's engaging approach has altered the perception that a rising China would threaten regional security (Shambaugh, 2004/05).

b. Pessimist

The concern over China's rise emerged as early as in the 1990s. Roy claims that China is more likely to become a regional hegemon than Japan and Chinese hegemony threatens regional security because stronger national power will make it more assertive and belligerent (Roy, 1994). Mearsheimer predicts that China will not be a status quo power but an aggressive state determined to achieve regional hegemony. This would create an unbalanced power structure in Northeast Asia which carries with it high risks of conflicts (Mearsheimer, 2001).

The perception of a rising China as a threat finds its theoretical support in the power transition theory that argues the rise of relative power provides great powers with the incentives and capabilities to seek redistribution of world power in its favor (Gilpin, 1981:26-30). The prediction informed by the power transition theory is that the rise will prompt China to change the international system to better accommodate its interests. The growth of China's national power challenges the US dominance and breaks the power equilibrium of the international system, with the possibility of leading to rivalry and tension (Buzan, 2010:23). Regardless of the inter-dependence between the two countries, frictions and tensions arise from the disagreement over an array of issues, such as human rights, democracy, trade, international financial institutions and climate change. For instance, China was blamed for blocking a stronger agreement on emission reduction at the 2009 UN Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen while the Chinese premier maintained that China was committed to dealing with climate change had taken its due responsibility as a developing country (Branigan and Watts, 2010). Beijing has been accused of manipulating the exchange rate of the

Chinese currency to favor its foreign trade and thus under pressure to liberalize the transaction of the currency.

The emerging rivalry between China and the United States has also been seen in Asia-Pacific (Ramos, 2004; Goldstein, 2007). The region is of strategic importance for both countries. Situated in the region, China places high importance on relations with regional countries as demonstrated by its active regional diplomacy since the 1990s. The interest of the US is reflected by the presence of sizable US military force as well as its security alliances with regional countries. At the converging point of the interests of the dominant power and the rising power, the Asia-Pacific region is home to flashpoints in Sino-US relations, like the Taiwan question, territorial disputes in the South China Sea and the East China Sea, and the North Korean nuclear crisis (Goldstein, 2007). China's rise and the vibrant growth of other regional countries have increased the gravity of the region in global economy as well as international politics, and this has raised the importance of the region in the US global strategy as illustrated by the US pivot to Asia. There is the view that the US should reinforce its relationship with regional countries to cope with China's rise²⁶. As the US military capabilities were spared from the operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, the Obama administration advanced the strategy of rebalancing to Asia. The latest move is to increase its naval fleet in the Asia-Pacific to 60 per cent of its total naval capabilities by 2020²⁷.

In view of the security alliances and partnership between the US and countries like Japan, South Korea and the Philippines, the contemporary dominant power is regarded by many scholars as a key force for regional stability and security. On

²⁶ Stephen Walt mentioned this point during his talk at S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore in 2011.

²⁷ US Defense Secretary Leon Panetta announced at the Shangri-La Dialogue in Singapore that the US will realign its naval forces and increase the share of the deployment to the Pacific from the current 50 per cent to 60 per cent (Schonhardt, 2012)

the contrary, regional countries' distrust in China's intention is rooted in historical legacy and geopolitics. China supported communist insurgencies in Southeast Asian countries like Indonesia, Myanmar and Malaysia in the 1960s and 1970s. Japan's invasion in China between 1937 and 1945 is a recurring source of tension in Sino-Japanese relations. Territorial dispute is a critical issue in China's relations with Japan, India, Vietnam and the Philippines. The escalation of the dispute between China and Japan over the Diaoyu islands in the summer of 2012 seriously strained the bilateral relations, affecting the bilateral economic ties and cultural exchanges. The Chinese patrol ships have been involved in confrontational incidents with those from the Philippines and Vietnam in South China Sea since 2009.

Tensions have also arisen between China and countries in the lower Mekong basin over exploring the Mekong River that originates in China and runs through the continental members of ASEAN²⁸ (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations). China is criticized for neglecting the negative impacts of its hydropower projects on countries in the lower basin. The rapid rise of China inevitably exacerbates the concern over its intentions. Hence, the continual US presence in the region is welcome by regional countries (Sutter, 2012:207). For instance, amid the Diaoyu/Senkaku dispute, the Japanese government agreed over the deployment of US Osprey helicopters, regardless of fierce public opposition out of safety concerns following a series of crashes (Sekiguchi, 2012).

The concern over the unfolding power shift places pressure on China over its international behavior. The perception of China as a threat to the system increases the possibility of balancing behaviors of other countries against China and even a hegemonic war led by the dominant power (Gilpin, 1981:197).

²⁸ The continental ASEAN countries here refer to Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand and Vietnam.

Confrontational responses from other countries are detrimental to China's aim to maintain a peaceful environment for continued economic development. Hence, proper management of other countries' negative perception of rise is a key dimension of China's foreign policy. In both optimistic and pessimistic scenarios, cooperative behaviour is in China's interest.

From the liberal optimistic perspective, cooperation demonstrates China's willingness to deepen integration with the system which raises the costs for China to pursue revolutionary changes in the system. From the realist pessimistic perspective, cooperative behaviors serve as a reassurance to states that harbor suspicion over the rise of China. The benefit of cooperative behaviour is illustrated by the lexicon change in the discussion on the implications of China's rise. Instead of China threat, the 'China challenge'²⁹ has been used in some academic discussion on China's rise since the mid-2000s. The new expression indicates that the rise of China is gradually accepted as a new normal of the international and regional system. The need to construct a friendly external environment for further growth has driven bilateral and multilateral cooperation in China's external relations.

1.3.2 Unit Level – A Status Quo Power with Limited Revisionist Aims

The international order is constructed based on the distribution of power in the system to represent the respective interest of the major powers. According to the power transition theory, the level of the rising power's satisfaction with the existing order determines the nature of its rise. Robert Gilpin argues that 'as the power of a state increases, it seeks to extend its territorial control, its political influence,

²⁹ For instance, Goh, Evelyn, 2007, 'Southeast Asian perspectives on the China Challenge', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 30, No.4-5; Christensen, Thomas J., 2015, *The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power*.

and/or its domination of the international economy' (Gilpin, 1981:10). Rising powers are categorized as status quo power and revisionist power. Status quo powers are satisfied with their share of interest in the system because they participate in constructing the rules that underpins the existing order. On the contrary, revisionist powers are dissatisfied and seek to reshape the system so as to better serve its interest. Revisionist intentions of the rising power threaten the interest of the dominant power as the existing order is constructed to favour the latter and its allies.

a. Reforming the Liberal Economic System

China's relative satisfaction is essential to the assessment of the implications of the changing distribution of world power. Beijing is of the view that the existing international order is unfair and thus needs changes. Former Chinese President Jiang Zemin remarked at the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in October 2001 that the inequality and injustice in the existing international political and economic orders resulted in the widening gap between developed and developing countries and that unbalanced development intensified social tensions and fuelled armed conflicts. China's dissatisfaction with the international economic order is rooted in the fact that Beijing was not involved in the establishment of the post-world war II international economic system due to domestic reasons³⁰ as well as the ideological divide during the cold war. For instance, China had been represented by Taipei in the World Bank Group before Beijing resumed the representation in 1980. China's growing economic power encourages its ambition for a greater role in global economy and intensifies its dissatisfaction with the existing mechanism of governance. President Xi Jinping repeated at various

³⁰ China was in civil war between 1945 and 1949 and was represented by the Nationalist Party in the international arena in the period. After the Communist Party of China came into power in 1949, Beijing sided with the communist camp in the 1950s. Due to the deterioration of relationship with Soviet Union and the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and early 1970s, China was in isolation when major rules that govern the contemporary international system were established and developed.

occasions that greater representation should be allocated to developing countries so as to better accommodate their interests and concerns.

However, there are also reasons for China to maintain the status quo of the international economic order. China's economic development has benefited from the financial and technical support from major international financial and development institutions in the early stage of the reform era. The World Bank lent 3.3 billion US dollars to China in 1994 (World Bank, 2005:8). The IMF provided technical assistance to China in the form of seminars, visits by experts, and training programs, which brought in expertise on taxation, fiscal policy-making, and finance regulation (IMF, 2004). In view of its vested interests, China aims to improve rather than to replace the existing international economic arrangements. This agenda has been advanced through two tracks – reform of the existing mechanism and creation of new institutions. Examples of such attempt include the aforementioned reforms of the IMF, the growing importance of G-20 in global economic governance, and the establishment of new multilateral financial institutions like the AIIB.

b. Reinforcing the Westphalian Political Order

Different from its pursuit of economic goals, China seeks to reinforce the norms and institutions in the international system that is based on Westphalian sovereignty. China's dissatisfaction centres on the fact that this norm is not abided by in international politics. During the cold war, Beijing criticized the great powers of hegemonic rivalry and disrespect of the sovereignty of less powerful states. The end of the cold war saw the breakout of civil wars in countries like former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Angola. Appalling humanitarian consequences of these armed conflicts gave rise to the discussion on the necessity and legitimacy of external military intervention. As a staunch supporter of Westphalian sovereignty,

China was the tendency and the concern peaked at NATO's airstrikes on the former Yugoslavia in 1999, in which the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade was bombed.

The reflection on the boundary between domestic jurisdiction and the international duty of states culminated in the introduction of RtoP in 2001. However, the development of RtoP has been fraught with differences and controversies. At the centre of the contention is use of force. Western countries are more receptive to military means than many developing countries. Directed by its traditional understanding of sovereignty, China takes a conservative position on military intervention for humanitarian purposes. It is thus critical for China to engage in the discourse so as to feed its view into the evolution of the norm that is elemental to the international political order.

In addition to adherence to Westphalian sovereignty, China supports the authority of the international institutions that reinforce the existing international political order. Based on sovereign equality, the United Nations is regarded as a critical force in the international order built on the Westphalian principles. As a permanent member of the Security Council, China protests against actions undermining the authority of the organization in international peace and security, like the aforementioned NATO airstrikes in 1999 and the US-led military operations in Iraq in 2003. Chinese leaders have repeatedly called for consolidating the central role of the UN in dealing with political and security crises. Tang Jiaxuan, the former Chinese Foreign Minister, inexplicitly criticized NATO of launching military actions without the authorization of the Security Council at the 54th session of General Assembly in September 1999. The Chinese UN delegation called for rebuilding and strengthening the authority of the UN system at the General Assembly debate

in 2003. The centrality of the UN in international peace and security provides crucial support for China's political status in the international system.

National interests are an important basis for the formulation of foreign policy, and relative power as well as external intentions are key indicators for defining national interest (Taliaferro, Lobell and Ripsman, 2009: 26). National interests basically cover four aspects – economic, security, political and cultural. Although the first three elements are more often discussed in foreign policy analysis, cultural interest also constitutes an important source of foreign policy. The popularity of the US movies and songs across the globe as well as the rise of the Korean pop culture are good examples of the importance of culture. However, for China in the late 1990s, culture played a very limited role in its external relations, if any. As aforementioned, the promotion of Chinese culture was discussed in the domestic context and was not linked with the Chinese diplomatic works in President Jiang's report to the 16th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 2002. Hence, the analysis in this chapter focused on the other three aspects.

2.3 Review of Empirical Facts

This section reviews four groups empirical literature on China's engagement with UN peacekeeping, which include voting records, official statements, troop contribution and capacity-building. China's votes in the Security Council and troop contributions are two major groups of empirical evidence to demonstrate the shift in China's position (ICG, 2009; He, 2007; Wuthnow, 2013; Pang, 2005), as they have demonstrated clear change over the past three decades. China's voting record represents its position on peacekeeping in general as well as specific missions. The shift in China's voting pattern demonstrates its changing position,

and the use of veto and abstention indicates China's key concerns about endorsing UN peacekeeping missions. The statements on peacekeeping in general as well as specific operations since the 1970s elaborate how China's official position has evolved, which complement the voting records. Troop contribution reflects China's willingness to contribute to UN peacekeeping at the operational level. China's institutional and material capabilities in peacekeeping are also an important factor that influences the level of its troop contribution.

2.3.1 Voting Record (1971-2013)

China started attending the Security Council's debates on peacekeeping in 1971, almost two decades earlier than its troop contribution to specific operations. The voting record thus provides a more complete picture than the history of its troop contribution. As China's contribution to UNPKOs in the early years was nominal, the study on China and UN peacekeeping was focused on the votes and included as part of the broader research on China's multilateral diplomacy and UN studies. Samuel Kim discusses China's votes on peacekeeping under the category of engagement with the collective security system (Kim, 1999). Wang argues that one indicator of China's embrace of multilateralism is its advocacy for the central role of the UN in international peace and security, and peacekeeping is a key mechanism in the UN system (Wang, 2005:164).

However, while delivering their statements during the debates, Beijing did not participate in the voting. China held a negative attitude towards peacekeeping in the 1970s, viewing it as interference in internal affairs of host countries and infringement on sovereignty of the host state (ICG, 2009:1; Fravel, 1996:1116). In the Security Council debate on the establishment of UN Emergency Force (UNEF II) in October 1973, the then Chinese representative explicitly expressed China's

opposition and asserted that the operation would be useless and complicate the situation. The wording of the statement was very ideological, with such expressions as 'leave infinite evil consequences', 'turning sovereignty Arab states in the Middle East into an area of international control', and 'with the superpowers as the behind-the-scenes boss' (UN, 1973, S/PV.1750). China's reservations about UN peacekeeping can be explained by the PLA's confrontation with the US-led coalition force during the Korean War between 1950 and 1953 (Wuthnow, 2013:16). Nonetheless, as a new comer to the UN, Beijing restrained from being too assertive. The non-participation approach avoided the tension with countries in favor of peacekeeping.

China abandoned non-participation in the 1980s and voted in favor of all peacekeeping-related resolutions in this decade. The first vote in favour was cast for the resolution on the extension of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) in 1981 (S/RES/495). China continued its cooperative voting in the 1990s, with only two exceptions – the vetoes against the deployment of peacekeepers in Guatemala (S/1997/18) and the extension of UNPREDEP's mandate in Macedonia (S/1999/201). The Taiwan question lied behind the two vetoes. Both Guatemala and Macedonia had diplomatic ties with Taiwan, and Guatemala had supported Taiwan's application for UN membership (Wuthnow, 2013:22). The Chinese UN ambassador stated that Guatemala's diplomatic relationship with Taiwan infringed upon China's sovereignty so the former should not expect China's cooperation in the Security Council. He further asserted that 'no country's peace process should be at the expense of another country's sovereignty and territorial integrity' (UN, 1997, S/PV.3730).

In addition to the two vetoes, China abstained from nine resolutions related to peacekeeping (Hsiu, 2010). The key reason behind the abstentions was its

reservation over enforcement operations and invocation of Chapter VII of the UN Charter. China's cooperative position was further strengthened in the 2000s as it abstained only once in the new century. The abstention was cast on Security Council Resolution 1706 (2006) that authorized the expansion of the mandates of UNMIS and strengthening of the capabilities of the peacekeepers (Hsiu, 2010). The Chinese delegation justified its vote by citing the absence of the phrase of 'with the consent of the Government of National Unity' in the resolution.

Although China holds a traditional understanding of sovereignty and peacekeeping, the votes show that it has restrained from being an obstructionist. The cooperative voting behavior has been a reflection of its overall international strategy. Wuthnow argued that the domestic development goals prompted China to abandon its opposition in the 1980s (Wuthnow, 2013:20). Furthermore, the Tiananmen incident in 1989 led to China's isolation in the international community. Hence, cooperation in the Security Council was instrumental for China to break out diplomatic isolation in the early 1990s (Cheodon, 2005:44).

Veto and abstention are two instruments to express reservations about the issue under debate but has different meanings. A veto prevents the draft from being adopted and would result in pressure or even criticism from countries that support the draft. For instance, China and Russia vetoed a draft resolution (S/2012/538) that would impose sanctions on Syria in July 2012. They were criticized by the British ambassador to the UN, Lyall Grant as 'failing its responsibilities as permanent security council members' (Gabbatt, 2012). Hence, China has only exercised the veto power when it perceives the draft resolution undermining the fundamental principles of its foreign policy or threatening its core national interest, such as the Taiwan question, as demonstrated by the two vetoes in the 1990s. Compared to veto, abstention is a softer but more ambivalent way to express the

opposition to the issue under debate. Some people consider abstention on peacekeeping-related resolutions as cooperation by acquiescence (ICG, 2009:5). Hempson-Jones noted that China has been able to offer tacit cooperation without bending its principled opposition to intervention since the 1970s (Hempson-Jone, 2005:714).

Nonetheless, some other scholars, such as Taylor Fravel, note that abstention reflected China's deep-rooted opposition to military intervention. For instance, it abstained on resolution 678 in 1990 that authorized use of force against Iraq to force its withdrawal from Kuwait. The abstention represented China's reluctance to endorse enforcement operations or peacekeeping operations with enforcement elements. Qian Qichen, the then Chinese Foreign Minister, stated that use of force ran counter to China's consistent approach to conflict resolution – peaceful means (Fravel, 1996:1108). Although China has voted in favor of operations with mandates authorized under Chapter VII in the 2000s, such as the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) (S/RES/1291), it has insisted that the use of force be strictly restricted to implementing the mandates and peacekeepers comply with the basic principles governing UN peacekeeping.

In addition to the votes, the consultation processes are also essential for understanding China's key concerns, because the votes only represents the final compromises among member states. In the 1990s, Haiti maintained official diplomatic relationship with Taiwan, as Guatemala and Cyprus. Yet China did not veto the resolution (S/RES/1048) in 1996 about downsizing the UN Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) but only abstained, which did not reflect its assertive position on issues related to Taiwan. China had actually proposed a more significant reduction of the strength of UNMIH from 6000 to 1000. This proposal was strongly

opposed by other members of the Security Council. (Wuthnow, 2013:22). As noted above, China opposed to the deployment of UN mission to Guatemala. Yet the military observer mission was approved ten days later after the two countries reached an agreement on the question of Taiwan (Wuthnow, 2013:23). In the Congo, sexual violence perpetrated by both rebel armed groups and elements of government has posed a serious threat to women and girls as well as a challenge to the work of the UN peacekeeping operations in the country. In 2007, the Security Council deliberated strengthening the protection mandate of MONUC so as to enable better prevention and protection against sexual abuses. China voted in favor of the related resolution (S/RES/1794) but only after it was assured that the sovereignty of DRC would be respected (van Hoeymissen, 2011: 152).

2.3.2 Official Statements (1971-2013)

In the Security Council debates, member states elaborate their positions on the issues under discussion and justify their votes in their respective statements. Hence, quotations from the statements of the Chinese delegation have been an important source of argument for articles on China's engagement with peacekeeping. For instance, Stefan Staehle and Joel Wuthnow extensively quote from the statements of Chinese representatives on various UN missions in their respective work on China and peacekeeping. The quotations provide important support for their arguments. However, the quotes are primarily from the statements on specific missions. Since the early 1990s, the Council has regularly held debates on peacekeeping operations to improve the management, efficiency and effectiveness of the operations. Between 1994 and 2013, the Security Council has held 18 open debates on peacekeeping operations.

In addition, given the relevance of peacekeeping to the issue of POC, the Chinese delegation frequently elaborates China's position on peacekeeping in its statements during the Security Council debate on POC since 1999. Successive statements on the same theme are critical for understanding evolution of the state's position on the issue concerned. The consistent elements in the statements reflect the fundamental principles and major concerns regarding the issue, while the variations are signals of changes or an emerging trend. Moreover, a systematic review of the statements identifies the justifications for the exceptional votes and differentiates exceptions from a new trend. Based on the review of the 42 peacekeeping-related statements, it finds that the sanctity of sovereignty underpins China's position on issues related to sovereignty and intervention. The respect for sovereignty leads to the preference to peaceful means and principled opposition to interference in the internal affairs of the state concerned. Nonetheless, China's position is not static. In particular, the remark by President Hu Jintao at the UN World Summit in 2005 indicates that a holistic approach to peace that incorporates peacekeeping as a key component is in formation.

I. Position on sovereignty and non-interference

The principles of respect for sovereignty and non-interference define China's foreign policy, including its approach to peacekeeping. On the basis of these principles, two aspects have been repeatedly emphasized. First, the Security Council has the primary responsibility to maintain peace and security, and the state concerned and its people should play the primary role in resolving the conflict in their own country. The centrality of the Security Council in maintaining international peace and security ensures that China is able to prevent the adoption of decisions that it considers complicating the situations since it is a veto-wielding member of the body. In particular, the Security Council provides a crucial

platform for China to utter its opposition to military intervention. In the wake of the NATO airstrikes against the former Yugoslavia in 1999 when Chinese embassy in Belgrade was targeted by NATO bombs, China explicitly stated its strong opposition to any military intervention without the authorization of the Security Council (UN, 1999, S/PV. 4046).

Second, China has emphasized the importance of compliance with the UN Charter and the three basic principles of peacekeeping by not only peacekeepers but also humanitarian workers. Although the three principles and the Council's authorizations distinguish peacekeeping from the controversial notion of humanitarian intervention, peacekeeping operations still constitute a form of involvement by external actors in issues within the jurisdiction of the host country. The Chinese representative cautioned in 2009 that 'misunderstandings of the host countries concerning peacekeeping operations' could be a cause of security challenges to peacekeepers on the ground (UN, 2009, S/PV.6153). He further noted that 'adherence to Dag Hammarskjöld's three principles of peacekeeping is an important basis for carrying out a successful United Nations peacekeeping operation'. While recognizing the important contribution of humanitarian workers, China opposed the politicization of humanitarian issues as the pretext for military intervention (UN, 1999, S/PV.3968).

II. Emergence of Holistic Approach to Conflict Resolution

As noted above, China asserted in the 1970s that peacekeeping was controlled and manipulated by superpowers. In 1995, the statement was changed to 'Mounting peace-keeping operations is one of the means by which the UN eases and resolves conflicts and creates conditions for the peaceful settlement of disputes' (UN, 1995, S/PV.3611). The contribution of peacekeeping to peace and security was further affirmed in 2006, when Wang Guangya, the then Chinese

representative stated that 'peacekeeping operations are one of the most effective measures used by the United Nations to maintain peace and achieving collective security' (UN, 2006, S/PV.5376). The Chinese representative recognized that peacekeeping is one of the most important UN measures for maintaining peace and security (UN, 2010, S/PV.6270). The increasingly positive evaluation of the role of peacekeeping indicates China's shifting perception.

In particular, President Hu Jintao pointed out the direction for the evolution of China's approach to conflict resolution at the UN World Summit in 2005. He said that conflict resolution needs a comprehensive strategy featuring prevention, peace restoration, peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction (UN, 2005, S/PV.5261). The Chinese representative mentioned in the statement that peacekeeping and peacemaking are related but independent activities in the debate in July 2011. The statement stressed on the coordination between peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding (UN, 2011, S/PV.6592). In August the same year, the rhetoric was slightly changed, with peacekeeping referred to as 'an important component of the peacemaking exercise' (UN, 2011, S/PV.6603). Furthermore, the role of peacekeeping in conflict resolution was further specified in the statement in 2013 as the 'agent and mediator in the political process and process of national reconciliation in the host country' (UN, 2013, S/PV.6987). The adjustment in language indicates that the China's evolving perception of peacekeeping, from a tool of evil to means for international goods.

Two issues have been highlighted in the statements – prevention and development. China is of the view that prevention is a fundamental solution to conflict and lack of development is a root cause of many conflicts. In many cases, poverty exacerbates other causes of political violence and armed conflicts, like ethnic tension, social divide, and institutional and political factors. In the second

debate in 1999, the Chinese representative pointed out that 'poverty eradication, economic development, national reconciliation and the maintenance of national stability' were essential for addressing the root cause of the conflict. Enhancing governance in these areas contributes to easing social tensions and thus reduces risks of conflicts. Moreover, recognizing the development-security nexus is crucial for effective conflict mediation efforts.

The emphasis on the UN Charter and the basic principles concerning peacekeeping conforms to China's traditionally conservative approach to peacekeeping. Moreover, China keeps repeating this point in its statements and this challenges the observation that China has become much more flexible on sovereignty. The emerging comprehensive approach to conflict and peace is developed on the basis of China's own strength. As we will discuss in the next paragraphs, Chinese peacekeepers have been praised by UN officials for their contributions to local development,

2.3.3 Troop Contribution

China started its first troop contribution to UN peacekeeping in 1990 when five Chinese military observers were deployed with the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) in the Middle East (He, 2007:24). The number of Chinese peacekeepers stayed around 200 throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, except for UNTAC between 1992 and 1993. A substantive increase in troop contribution was seen in 2003 and 2004 when the number of Chinese peacekeepers deployed with UN missions jumped from 300 to 1000. The level of China's troop contribution has remained between 1000 and 2000 since then. There are 1782 Chinese peacekeepers and policemen deployed on nine UN

missions as of June 2013. China has sent a total of 22,000 peacekeepers to 23 UN peacekeeping missions since 1990 (UN Chief, 2013).

The pattern of China's contribution to specific missions corresponds with its voting behavior in the Security Council. Although its position regarding peacekeeping began to soften in the 1980s, it did not contribute peacekeepers. The primary reason was that the UN did not establish any peacekeeping mission until 1988. The modest contribution between 1990 and 2002 was shaped by a mixture of factors. On one hand, the domestic development necessitated the engagement with the international community (Fravel, 1996:1104). On the other hand, China's diplomacy in the 1990s was guided by the approach of keeping a low profile (Pang, 2005:97). Moreover, its limited ability to project its military force overseas which has been a constraint of China's participation in peacekeeping for a long time (ICG, 2009:29). The surge in troop contribution since 2003 is compatible with the more cooperative voting behavior in this period. Wuthnow explains this change from two perspectives – opportunities to learn advanced practice and experience from foreign peacekeepers through the operations and the pursuit of the image of a responsible great power in the international arena.

The Chinese peacekeeping force consisted of civilian police, military observers, engineering and medical units before 2013. They engage in a variety of non-combat activities, such as training local, assisting reforms in security and legal sectors, and construction works. The engineering component has always been the strength of Chinese peacekeeping force since its early involvement. The contributions of Chinese peacekeepers to local development have been viewed key to local peace as well as the success of UNPKOs (ICG, 2009:i). It was pointed out by people with close knowledge of the Darfur crisis that scarce water

resources are a root cause of the crisis³¹, apart from ethnical and religious factors. The Chinese peacekeepers to Darfur has drilled wells for Darfur and thus alleviated the shortage of drinking water for local population (Chinese peacekeeping engineer, 2009). Soon after South Sudan became independent in July 2011, they carried out construction works in the country (Chinese peacekeeping, 2011). The development-oriented composition of the Chinese peacekeeping force corresponds to China's position that development is a root cause of conflict.

The deployment of military force overseas, a form of power projection, is sensitive as this is likely to intensify the concern of the countries that are sceptical of China's intention (ICG, 2009:28). The dispatch of Chinese infantry to South Sudan in 2015 is widely reported in western media as China's move to protect its oil interests in the country (Smith, 2014; Tiezzi, 2014). China has thus been very cautious on this issue, so as not to upset countries that are uneasy with China's growing national power. However, the improvements in the PLA's peacekeeping experience and capabilities and the rising demands for peacekeepers lead to increasing discussions on Chinese peacekeepers undertaking combat responsibilities. A senior PLA officer said in July 2010 that China would consider sending combat troops to UNPKOs upon the UN's request (Chinese combat troops, 2010). In a press briefing on China's Defense White Paper in April 2013, the decision on sending combat troops would be based on several factors, the overall planning of UN peacekeeping, China's related laws and regulations, the position of the host country concerned and international response.

MINUSMA saw China's breakthrough in this regard and was followed by UNMISS, as aforementioned. The Chinese contingent on MINUSMA is 395-strong, with a

³¹ Personal interview with Professor Ibrahim Gambari in July 2013 in Singapore.

security patrol squad of 170 peacekeepers, an engineering unit and a medical team. Yet the spokesman of Chinese Defense Ministry clarified that the patrol squad was not combat troops but security force responsible for protecting the mission headquarters and campuses (China to Send, 2013). This clarification demonstrates that China remains wary of other countries' concern and tries to keep low profile about the expanding scope of its participation in UN peacekeeping.

2.3.4 Capabilities and Constraints

China's greater commitment to UNPKOs gives rise to higher requirements for peacekeeping capabilities, at both individual and institutional levels. China started to engage in peacekeeping-related training and exchange activities in the late 1990s (He, 2007:37). The Civilian Peacekeeping Police Training Centre in Langfang was established in 2003, the largest of its kind in Asia. This institution is affiliated with The Peacekeeping Center in Huairou was established in 2009. The former is administered by the Ministry of Public Security and the latter under the Ministry of National Defense. PLA officers and policemen are selected from their regular units and receive two-month training in the centers. A wide range of training to peacekeeping police and troop are offered, from combat training to language learning. Experienced peacekeepers and foreign experts have been invited to deliver lectures and demonstrations to the trainees.

The Peacekeeping Center in Huairou organized an international symposium in 2009, with 110 participants from a variety of backgrounds (Yan and Li, 2009). The theme of the conference was enhancing exchanges and cooperation and improving efficiency and effectiveness. In 2011, the peacekeeping office, in collaboration with the Jinan Military Region, organized the first peacekeeping drill

– Blue Helmet Operation 2011 – in Weifang, Shandong Province. In addition, the centers have also engaged in exchange activities with foreign counterparts. In June 2013, the peacekeeping office and the Beijing Military Region held an event for representatives of Chinese peacekeeping forces to share experience on pre-deployment training (Pre-departure training, 2013).

The trainings and exchanges have well prepared the Chinese peacekeepers for difficulties and challenges in their deployments. The UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon highly praised the contributions of Chinese peacekeepers to world peace and security during his visit to China in June 2013. In addition to the peacekeeping-specific trainings, the Chinese military has engaged in extensive exchanges and cooperation with its foreign counterpart. For instance, China joined the multilateral operation against piracy in the Gulf of Aden. This provides an opportunity for China to conduct real-time operations and thus improve its weakness in long-distance force projection. The ICG report pointed out that lack of airlift and sealift capabilities are a constraint of China's expanding role in peacekeeping.

In addition to the trainings and exchange activities, the strengthened capabilities are attributable to the institutional developments. The greater role in peacekeeping increases the work in management, logistics and coordination. The Ministry of Defense set up the peacekeeping office in 2001 to manage peacekeeping-related affairs and coordinate among agencies involved in this issue. In addition, a small group of PLA officers with expertise in peacekeeping are stationed with the permanent mission in New York. These two groups of officers have played an important role in providing information and recommendations for policy-making as well as coordinating between different opinions on peacekeeping within China (Gill and Reilly, 2000:51).

Despite the aforementioned progress and development, China faces challenges to and constraints on further expansion of its participation. Language proficiency is a major challenge for Chinese to assume commanding positions in UNPKOs (ICG, 2009:7), although all Chinese peacekeepers pass the language test before deployment. Major General Liu Chao, the commander of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) between 2011 and 2014, admitted that his language skill was key enabling factor for his appointment (Apps, 2013). Lack of combat experience in real-world conditions is another barrier for Chinese peacekeepers to compete for the top positions of UNPKOs. As of 2013, there have been only two Chinese officers serving as the commander of a peacekeeping mission. In addition to the aforementioned General Liu, Major General Zhao Jingmin commanded the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) between 2007 and 2011. While these two cases are achievements of the Chinese peacekeepers, it should be noted that the two operations are in relatively small size. MINURSO is authorized to have 245 military personnel and UNFICYP is 1063-strong. Moreover, they are not Chapter VII operations and the situation on the ground is not as precarious and challenging as some other operations like MINUSMA and UNMISS, which are authorized to use force to carry out their mandates. The commandship of senior Chinese officers over large missions in more challenges situations remains to be tested. The small number of Chinese holding senior positions in UNPKOs indicates China's limited influence on the making of decisions and policies regarding UN peacekeeping as well as specific operations (Lu, 2015:57).

China's cautious attitude to UN peacekeeping is also reflected by its relatively slow decision-making process, which may impede China's timely response to the calls for troop contribution on short notice. The approval from the Central Military

Commission and the Standing Committee of the Politburo is required for controversial cases (Gill and Reilly, 2000:51). Gill and Reilly pointed out that the multi-layer approval system has in some cases slowed down or even impeded the participation in peacekeeping, such as in the case of East Timor. China's original plan was to dispatch military observers. However, because the approval for contribution came after all the positions of military observer had been filled, Beijing then decided to send out civilian police.

The above review of the four types of empirical literature illustrates that China is becoming increasing positive disposition to peacekeeping. The dispatch of security force to the mission in Mali in 2013 and to South Sudan in 2015 is the latest development of this trend. In addition to increasing troop contribution, the review of the statements shows that China is developing its own approach to conflict resolution that emphasizes the development-security nexus. While recognizing China's increasing support, the statements demonstrate the limits of its engagement with the UN peacekeeping regime. The expansion of China's presence in UN peacekeeping highlights the progress in PLA's capacity-building in this area.

2.4 Key Issues Related to China's Participation in UNPKOs

China's changing policy on UN peacekeeping manifests its position on a range of broader issues, such as interactions with international institutions, compliance with international norms, projection of national power and conflict resolution. In particular, sovereignty is the most frequently implicated concept in the discussion on China's engagement with UN peacekeeping (Pang, 2005; He, 2007; ICG, 2009; Hoeymissen, 2011; Bellamy, 2009). Categorized by many western scholars as an

advocate for the Westphalian sovereignty, China holds a relatively traditional and static view on the concept, emphasizing the state's exclusive jurisdiction over internal matters. Issues related to sovereignty and territorial integrity are a critical component of Chinese core interests. The Chinese government insists that international relations abide by the principles of 'sovereignty equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and non-interference' (State Council, 2002). While the need for economic development has driven China's increasingly active diplomacy in the past three decades, sovereignty remains the benchmark for its external relations.

One natural inference from China's expanding role in UNPKOs is the softening of its position on the question of sovereignty (Morphet, 2000; Stahle, 2008; Pang, 2005; He, 2007). The increasing flexibility in China's understanding of sovereignty constitutes a precondition for its more active participation in UNPKOs. Stahle notes that 'Beijing still feels uneasy about international involvement in the internal affairs of sovereign states.... But China has clearly moved away from its strict Westphalian interpretation of state sovereignty and from promoting the traditional definition of the three UNPKOs principles'. Hempson-Jones notes that 'China has relaxed its hard-line realism in favor of greater cooperation and a moderation of its rigid defense of absolute sovereignty'. Allen Carlson finds that an increasing number of Chinese scholars adopt a more flexible view on sovereignty and this trend to some extent spreads to the policy-making community (Huang, 2011:259).

Despite the substantive increase in China's peacekeeping contribution, China's flexibility in sovereignty remains on a case-by-case basis. Its abstention on Resolution 1973 that imposed no-fly zone in Libya in 2011 was once perceived by

some scholars as a breakthrough in its traditional understanding of sovereignty³². However, its vetoes on the draft resolutions on Syria reversed this observation. China's conservative position on sovereignty-related issues is shaped by the concern for its own sovereignty. Sources of this concern include the Taiwan question, the secessionist activities in its restive border regions in the west and territorial disputes with its neighbors.

The aforementioned reasons explain China's traditional understanding of sovereignty and relatively conservative position on sovereignty-related issues. While insisting on the lead role of the UN in international security issues, China began to make its contribution through bilateral channels, which manifests its emerging approach to conflict resolution. To complement the contribution to UN peacekeeping, China has provided substantial support for the UN good offices. Gambari spoke from his own experience as the UN Special Envoy to Myanmar that Beijing played an important role in facilitating his communication with the Myanmar government. During his visit to Sudan in February 2007, the Chinese President Hu Jintao proposed four principles for addressing the Darfur crisis. Following Hu's visit, senior diplomats, Zhai Jun and Liu Guijin, made follow-up efforts to persuade the Sudanese side to cooperate with international peace efforts (Van Hoeymissen, 2011:156). The Sudanese government accepted the deployment of UNAMID in 2007. After Kofi Annan resigned as Special Envoy to Syria in August 2012, China presented a four-point plan for addressing the Syrian crisis two months later (MacFarquhar, 2012). The rise of the country's power status creates the pressure on China to reconcile its adherence to Westphalian sovereignty with its expanding national interests and international responsibility.

³² Personal interview with Thomas G. Weiss in April 2014 in New York.

2.5 Conclusion

Through the review of the existing literature on China's engagement with UN peace keeping, this chapter categorises into three major groups the existing explanations over the shift in China's disposition. It is pointed out in many existing studies that the growth of China's national power encourages its contribution to global public goods like UN peacekeeping. The learning experience from previous engagement with multilateralism has socializing effects on the country's international behaviour, which increases its positive perception of UN peacekeeping. The pursuit of a benign international image drives China's greater contribution. It is also noted that Beijing has demonstrated more flexibility on sovereignty-related issues, which also explains China more positive disposition to peacekeeping. However, these explanations are single-level, which only account for the change in a certain period of China's engagement with UN peacekeeping.

This thesis thus seeks to fill in the gap by using a two-level framework informed by neoclassical realism to provide a more nuanced understanding of the shift in China's disposition to UN peacekeeping in the 1979. In this framework, China's place in the international system sets the parameter for its general peacekeeping policy. The unit-level factors like economic vulnerability, the central leaders' assessment of China's international role and the threat to its sovereignty shape and determine how the processes unfold. The policy change is viewed as an evolving process rather than a result.

This chapter also updates the empirical facts about China's contribution. In particular, it reviews China's statements on peacekeeping-related issues between 1971 and 2013. This sheds light on the consistent elements of China's position as well as the changes in its approach to the broad multilateral peace effort. The

review finds that China is forming a holistic view on peace and security, which is informed by the security-development nexus. Beijing is of the view that security and development are mutually reinforcing and conflict resolution should address the root causes of armed conflicts. China translates this view into practice through participation in UNPKOs. Beijing sent out only support units which focus on the developmental dimension of UNPKOs, like demining, transport and infrastructure construction. This trend is also reflected in the emerging scholarly discussion in China's role in the continuum from preventive diplomacy to peacebuilding.

Chapter III Evolution of China's Peacekeeping Policy: A Historical Overview

3.1 Introduction

This chapter demonstrates how the two-level framework accounts for China's policy adjustments at different periods of its engagement with UN peacekeeping. Beijing started shifting away from its resistant approach to UN peacekeeping at the beginning of the 1980s when it embarked on its reform and opening up. This change came after the Sino-US rapprochement in the 1970s and amid the rising tensions between the US and the Soviet Union in the 1980s. The number of Chinese peacekeepers saw a meaningful rise in the early 2000s when China was increasingly regarded as a potential challenger to the US pre-eminence in the international system. Moreover, as China's national power continues to grow in the 2010s, the international community sees China expand its contribution to international peace and security beyond peacekeeping to include peacemaking.

The analysis in the rest of this chapter is divided into three sections, in accordance with the changes in the international power structure since 1971, which include the Cold War era, the Post-Cold War period, and the rise of China. It argues that the redistribution of world power sets the background for the shift in China's engagement with UN peacekeeping in each of the three periods. The three unit-level factors, shape the specific steps Beijing takes to increase its presence in UNPKOs. As China's relative power vis-à-vis the system increases, the country becomes more confident and capable in dealing with the side effects accompanying international cooperation. Issues that challenge China's sovereignty like separatism and territorial disputes have been a major concern behind its hesitance to expand its role in peacekeeping throughout the period

examined in this thesis. China's confidence to deal with such challenges has an important bearing on its disposition to UN peacekeeping.

3.2 Maneuvering the East-West Confrontation and Reservation over UN Peacekeeping (1971-1989)

The functions of the UN were paralyzed the hegemonic rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union in the Cold War. There were thus just a few UN-sanctioned peacekeeping operations³³ in this period. Nonetheless, there was still a shift in how China engaged with UN peacekeeping, from non-participation in the 1970s to support in principle in the 1980s.

China's relative power vis-à-vis the two great powers was a critical factor in the central leadership's deliberations of foreign policy in the era of Cold War, including its UN diplomacy. At the domestic level, there was the political incentive for China to be cooperative in the deliberations on peacekeeping-related issues in the UN system. This however was offset by the lack of the economic and security incentives. In addition, ideology should be factored into the examination of China's position in the 1970s since both the international politics as well as China's domestic political life was fraught with ideological struggle.

3.2.1 Non-participation in the 1970s

With the strong support from many developing countries, Beijing resumed its seat in the United Nations in 1971, replacing Taiwan as the sole legal representative of

³³ Peacekeeping-related resolutions in the 1970s involved four missions, which include the second UN Emergency Force (UNEF II, 1973-1979), the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF, 1974-ongoing), the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL, 1978-ongoing), and the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP, 1964-ongoing) (Wuthnow, 2011:28).

China in the UN system. The beginning phase of China's UN diplomacy was featured by cautiousness and low profile. With regard to UN peacekeeping, China saw peacekeeping as a tool for powerful states, particularly the superpowers, to meddle in other countries' internal affairs. The negative perception heavily shaped how China engaged with the UN peacekeeping regimes in the 1970s. The Chinese delegation participated in the Security Council debates but chose abstention or non-participation in the voting on resolutions that it had reservations over. However, Beijing did not wield its veto power against any peacekeeping-related resolutions in this period.

China had been in isolation from both camps due to ideological and doctrinal differences with the two superpowers since the early 1960s. The tension between Beijing and Moscow was further heightened by a skirmish over a disputed border area in northeast China. The geographical proximity and the rapid expansion of the military power made the Soviet Union a more imminent threat to China's physical security than the US, the other distant hegemonic power. There was the systemic imperative for China to improve its relations with the US so as to counter the pressure from a threatening Soviet Union. Although the differences in ideology and national interests between China and the US made a formal alliance unlikely, the rapprochement can also have an effect on Soviet's assessment of its relations with China. The signs for China's more moderate policy towards the US emerged in the late 1960s when some people in the Chinese leadership signalled the interest in resuming ambassadorial talks with the US (Sutter, 2013:187). The normalization process continued throughout the 1970s and culminated in the establishment of official diplomatic ties in 1979.

The Chinese government also launched a diplomatic campaign to reach out to other countries. China received 290 delegations from 80 countries and sent out 70

delegations to 40 countries in 1971. It also established or resumed diplomatic relations with around 20 countries between 1970 and 1971 (Kim, 1974:303). Beijing was a member of only a dozen of international and regional organizations before 1971. This number was up to around 40 by 1980. Beijing's adoption of a more open policy in the 1970s was a decision based on the assessment of its relative power vis-à-vis the major countries in the system as well as the dynamics in the international system. The rapprochement with the US and the strained bilateral relations with the Soviet Union set the systemic background for China's calculation of its UN diplomacy, including its position on UN peacekeeping.

Beijing, as a newcomer to the UN, needed to familiarize itself with UN diplomacy and gain the recognition of other countries. Despite Beijing's resumption of the UN seat in 1971, Taipei remained as the representative of China in many multilateral institutions, like the World Bank and the IMF³⁴. This seriously threatened the legitimacy of the People's Republic. There was the concern upon China's return to the UN that the Chinese delegation was likely to be obstructive on many issues (Kim, 1974:310). Playing the role of spoiler was therefore not in the interest of China. One example of China conceding to the majority opinion was the votes on the admission of Bangladesh to the UN in 1972 (Kim, 1974:312). The Chinese delegation vetoed at first the request by Bangladesh for its membership in the UN but softened its position after the parties concerned in Bangladesh's independence war reached an agreement on the settlement of refugees.

On the economic front, there was no incentive to support or contribute to UNPKOs. China's economic interest was invulnerable to foreign crises as Beijing isolated itself from the international community since severing friendly relations with the Soviet Union in the early 1960s. In addition, China's own security concerns

³⁴ Beijing resumed its seat in these two organizations in 1980.

contributed to its non-participatory approach to UN peacekeeping in this period. Beijing perceived UN peacekeeping as a tool for great powers to intervene other countries to achieve their own agenda. The misgiving originated from its military encounter with the US-led UN force in the Korean War between 1950 and 1953. The Chinese representative cited the split of the Korean Peninsula as an example of powerful states manipulating peacekeeping in his statement in the discussion on the establishment of UN Emergency Force II in 1973 and repeated the anti-hegemony rhetoric on many other occasions (Wuthnow, 2013:16).

The Taiwan question is always a challenge to China's sovereignty. Beijing's emphasis on the Westphalian sovereignty and criticism of UN peacekeeping as a tool of power politics laid the normative foundation for preventing foreign interference in the Taiwan question. Moreover, the adherence to the Westphalian principles was also conducive for the alignment with developing countries that provided significant support for China's return to the UN. The wave of decolonization and self-determination in the developing regions led to the revulsion of the developing countries against external intervention.

3.2.2 Support in Principle in the 1980s

China adjusted its approach to peacekeeping in the 1980s, becoming more supportive and engaging. The Chinese delegation no longer shunned the votes on peacekeeping-related resolutions, casting their first vote in December 1981. This was followed by Beijing's first payment of its peacekeeping dues in 1986 amid the UN's financial difficulties (Kim, 1994:422). It became a member of the General Assembly's Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations in 1988 and announced its first commitment of personnel to UN operations at the 10th meeting

of the Special Political Committee in October 1989 (Tang, 2002:39). These moves represent China's effort to integrate with the international system.

The systemic drivers for the opening of Chinese foreign policy in the 1970s remained. Despite the attempts to improve the bilateral relations in the 1980s, the tension between China and Soviet Union persisted. The adjustment in domestic policies reinforced the political incentive for Beijing to be cooperative on the UN agendas like peacekeeping. Having launched the economic reform programme, the Chinese government sought to build good relations with developed countries, so as to gain financial and technical support for domestic economic reform and development. Contribution to the UN agendas was an avenue for demonstrating China's commitment to global affairs. The Chinese delegation to the UN substantially reduced the rhetoric of ideological struggle. In addition, China valued the opinion of developing countries. The then Chinese Ambassador to the UN admitted that China's decision to pay its peacekeeping dues was partly influenced by the opinions of developing countries (Kim, 1994:421).

However, China's reservations over UN peacekeeping persisted as Beijing still faced the challenges to sovereignty in the 1980s. The competition with Taiwan for international recognition continued. As economic development was prioritized over other domestic agendas, the Chinese government carried out military reforms between 1985 and 1987, which included cutting the national defense budget, streamlining the PLA, and reorganizing military institutions (Blasko, 2012:5). The freeze of military growth made it imperative for Beijing to reinforce the normative foundation for its claim of sovereignty over Taiwan. The opposition to interference in other countries internal affairs through activities like UNPKOs served the aim to emphasize the importance of the Westphalian principles.

The re-emergence of the call for independence by some Tibetan separatists was another negative factor in the assessment of the security of China's sovereignty. This was further complicated by China's territorial dispute with India and the criticism of the human rights records in the region (Carlson, 2004). The central government moderated its policies in Tibet in the early 1980s, strengthening economic support for Tibet's development, instituting more moderate policies on religious activity and initiating contacts with Dalai Lama (Carlson, 2004:13-21). This trend however was reversed in late 1980s and an important reason for the shift was the rising tension between China and India over the border areas (Carlson, 2004:21). The fact that Dalai Lama resides in India further complicates the situation. In addition to territorial dispute, human right is a subject of international criticism of China's policy in Tibet (Carlson, 2005:112). This was rebuked by Beijing as interference since the Chinese government perceives human rights as internal affairs.

China moved a small step forward on its path to a constructive contributor of UNPKOs. This was driven by the need to attract foreign support and create a favourable external environment for domestic development. On the security front, the challenges to the integrity of China's sovereignty determined that the change was limited. In addition, China's reservation was also reinforced by Because there lack specific provisions on peacekeeping in the UN Charter, the balance between respecting sovereignty and ending massive human rights violations is subject to debate even in the 21st century (Bellamy et al., 2010:81-82).

3.3 Redistribution of World Power and China's Symbolic Contribution (1989-2000)

3.3.1 Beginning of Personnel Contribution

Ushering in the post-Cold War era, the international community saw a surge in the need for peacekeeping as armed conflicts broke out in many countries across the world, like former Yugoslavia, Angola and Somalia, some of which continue until today. The United Nations, which was largely paralyzed by the East-West confrontation, restored its authority in maintaining world peace in this period. The United Nations formed 20 peace operations between 1988 and 1993 while the total number during the Cold War was 13. Against this background, China started its participation in UNPKOs, with the dispatch of a team of 20 civilian observers to the UN Transition Assistance Group for Namibia (UNTAG) in 1989 (Tang, 2002:39).

The beginning of troop contribution was a landmark event in China's engagement with UN peacekeeping. However, the level of Chinese contribution was modest relative to the huge demand for peacekeepers in the 1990s, with a constant number of less than 100 Chinese peacekeepers deployed on UN missions. The voting records also presented a mixed picture of China's disposition. On the one hand, China seemed to be more flexible on peace enforcement by voting in favor of or not vetoing resolutions that authorized mandates under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, like resolutions 678 (1990) and 814 (1993). Yet when explaining its abstention on resolution 678 on Iraq and Kuwait, the Chinese representative noted that they took account the international consensus on some contents of the

resolution and decided not to veto (UN, 1990, S/PV.2963). With regard to the vote in favor for peace enforcement in Somalia, the then Chinese Foreign Minister emphasized the unique and exceptional nature of the situation in Somalia. On the other hand, the Chinese delegation its only two vetoes on peacekeeping-related resolutions in 1997 and 1999, both related to the Taiwan question. The draft resolutions were on the extension of the respective peacekeeping operation Guatemala and Macedonia.

3.3.2 Distribution of World Power after the Cold War

China's cooperation on peacekeeping issues can be traced to the change of its relative status in the international power structure. The anarchic nature of the international system and the uncertainty of other states' intentions, great powers always seek to maximize their relative power vis-à-vis the system (Mearsheimer, 2001:29). The demise of the US-Soviet bipolarity which prompted the redistribution of global power presented both opportunities and challenges to Beijing. The dissolution of the Soviet Union and the preliminary progress in China's reform and opening-up drive culminated in new balance of power between China and its northern neighbor - Russia that inherited the majority of Soviet Union's military and political heritages but was significantly weakened by political instability and economic disruption after the dissolution. Hence, Sino-Russian relations saw notable improvement in the wake of the Cold War. Leaders of the two states exchanged visits and conducted consultations on a range of issues from security to economic development. During the visit to Moscow in 1994, Chinese President Jiang Zemin and Russian President Yeltsin agreed that the two states would not aim nuclear missiles at each other, never use force against each other and sharply reduce the size of troops on the border (Zhao, 1997). Stable

relations with Russia, a good extent, relieved Beijing from the defense pressure on its northern border and allowed it to focus on internal development.

The breakup of the communist superpower removed the major driver behind the Sino-US rapprochement, while China's potential to be a major power inserted competitive elements into the bilateral relations. The US preeminence inspired extensive debates on the future structure of the international system after the Cold War. Some scholars argue that the unipolarity built on the US pre-eminence is stable as the potential rivals of the US like Japan, China and Germany are all constrained by their respective limitations., Hence, the threats to the unipolar structure only arise from within the domestic institutions rather than other major powers (Wohlforth, 1999). From the neorealist perspective, the concentration of power on a single pole is dangerous and volatile and bipolarity is the most stable structure. Hence, Waltz predicted in 1993 that other great powers would quickly emerge to end the unipolarity (Waltz, 1993).

In the immediate period after the Cold War, Japan was considered closer to the polar status due to its strong economy, large population and advanced technological capability (Waltz, 1993; Wohlforth, 1999; Layne, 1993). There were forecasts that Japan would overtake the United States by the end of the 20th century as the world's largest economy. The economic success was a critical factor for Japan to become a great power. Some people argued that Japan benefited the most from the Cold War (Funabashi, 1992). Some US analysts and policy-makers had been disturbed by Japan's advancement on the economic and technological fronts since the late 1980s, as this indicated the increase of Japanese leverage over the US (Mastanduno, 1991:77). These concerns had been reflected in the policy making regarding the bilateral relations with Japan.

For instance, the US imposed technology restrictions in co-production of aircraft in the late 1980s (ibid.: 109).

China also received much attention in the discussions on the future international power hierarchy. Although China lagged behind other major countries in terms of material capabilities in the 1990s, China scholars generally agree that China has a strong ambition to become a great power and possesses the essential attributes – military power, wealth, a large population, vast territory and rich resources (Mearsheimer, 2001; Goldstein, 1997). The Chinese economy was more vibrant than many developed countries in the 1990s, and the prospect was backed by its cheap labor forces and vast consumption market. Its formidable military might was a key factor in the assessment of China's potential to be a major power in the system – nuclear deterrence and over three million of troops. China's material capabilities and the potential for further growth made it competitive in the competition for the polar status in the long run (Waltz, 2000:36). The focus on Japan as the most likely candidate for the polar status borrowed time for Beijing to concentrate on domestic development.

As is aforementioned, foreign financial and technical support and international trade greatly contributed to China's economic take-off since the 1980s (Oksenberg, 1991:4). According to the World Bank data, China began to accept official development assistance (ODA) in 1979. The percentage of net ODA in China's Gross National Income increased from less than 0.01 per cent in 1979 to 0.73 in 1993, and the share of inward-direct foreign investment in China's GDP was up from 0.21 per cent in 1982 to 6 per cent in 1994. Despite the remarkable progress in China's development, it still lagged much behind the developed countries. In 1992, China's industrial output was only a quarter of the US (Betts,

1993-1994:52). A friendly external environment was thus essential for China's sustained rapid growth.

Nonetheless, the ideological difference made other states sensitive to the increase of China's power and the Tiananmen incident in 1989 further fuelled such the concern and scepticism over China's intention. In 1993, the New York Times published two articles in two months warning about China's military build-up, which indicated the sensitivity to China's expanding military power. To address external concerns over its growth and restore the international image tarnished by the Tiananmen incident, China strengthened its engagement with multilateral regimes, such as the international trade regime and human rights system (Carlson, 2005:161-164). Contribution to UN peacekeeping was obviously helpful to that end, since the international community recognized the importance of peacekeeping for post-Cold War international peace and security (Hirono, 2011:335).

3.3.3 Concern for Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity

China's two vetoes and reluctance to support intrusive measures including use of force indicate that the concern for its own sovereignty and territorial integrity heavily influenced decisions on peacekeeping. Beijing and Taipei started competing for diplomatic recognition after the former regained the UN seat in 1971. In the 1980s the two sides used economic incentives like direct grants, soft loans and funding for infrastructure projects to encourage the target countries to sever relations with the other side and established official diplomatic ties with themselves instead. The recipients were mostly small developing countries in the South Pacific, Africa and Caribbean, like Gambia, Vanuatu and Haiti. Tonga switched recognition to Beijing in 1998 due to economic incentives and Beijing's

influence in the UN (Van Fossen, 2007:132). Nonetheless, Taipei maintained diplomatic relations with a score of countries in the 1990s.

Although these countries are peripheral in international power politics, they hold equal votes as powerful countries in the General Assembly, which created embarrassing situations for Beijing on some occasions. The Solomon Islands kept calling for annual debates in the UN on the readmission of Taiwan (ibid.: 126). In addition, to the diplomatic competition, there were risks of military confrontation between the two sides in the mid-1990s. The 1996 Taiwan Strait Crisis was triggered by the visit of Lee Teng-hui, the Taiwanese leader, to the US in 1995. Beijing perceived this visit breaking the consensus between China and the United States that the Taiwanese leader should not be allowed to visit the US given the unofficial ties between Taiwan and the US. This visit provoked the PLA to conduct rounds of missile tests on mainland side of the Taiwan Strait. In response, the United States sent two aircraft carrier battle groups to the region to deter further escalation.

China's military capabilities lagged far behind that of the US in the 1990s. Economic development has been China's top priority in the reform era, and all domestic and foreign policies were formulated to serve this goal. The Chinese military force and defense industry were side-lined to save resources for development in the 1980s. Deng instructed that PLA support and involve itself in the national economic development when addressing the Central Military Committee in 1984. Some military facilities and technologies can be diverted for civilian use (Deng, 1984:99). This course was only reversed when the Chinese leaders realized the urgent need of military modernization in the 1990s, and the 1996 Taiwan Strait Crisis was believed as one of the drivers behind this cause (Lai and Miller, 2009:4).

In addition to advancements in the hard components, combat experience is also critical for the improvement in China's military capabilities. Domestic stability and peace with neighbouring countries means that UN peacekeeping provides a critical avenue for the Chinese soldiers to get exposure to real combat situations (ICG, 2009:14; Gill and Huang, 2009:16)³⁵. The PLA therefore actively supports the participation in UNPKOs, particularly for the early operations in the 1990s like UNTAC³⁶. However, the PLA is subordinated to the civilian leadership, following the principle of the party leading the gun. There have been occasions that the military have a different view from the civilian leadership but still follow the decisions. For instance, the share of China's defense budget in its GDP has been lower than the PLA have requested (You, 2013:11). Despite the PLA's strong interest in participating in UNPKOs in the 1990s, China's contribution had to keep in line with its broad foreign policy that was characterized by low profile and limited international commitment.

3.3.4 Low Vulnerability to External Risks

The Chinese government advanced the dual-track strategy of 'going global and bringing in' in the 1990s. The concept of 'bringing-in and going-global' was first noted in President Jiang Zemin's report to the 14th National Congress of the CPC on 12 October 1992. It was included in the section on opening wider to capitalize on foreign capital, resources, technologies and management expertise (Jiang, 2006a:230). This was later strengthened as a strategy for China's use of foreign and domestic capitals to support economic growth in Jiang's address to a national meeting on the utilization of foreign capitals in December 1997 (Jiang, 2006b:92).

³⁵ This was also confirmed by personal interviews with a former Chinese peacekeeper in October 2014 in Singapore.

³⁶ Personal interview with a China scholar with close knowledge of the PLA in June 2016 in Singapore.

While recognizing the importance of both tracks for China's economic, more space was given to attracting foreign capitals.

According to the data from the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), China received 41.725 billion USD of FDI in 1996 and invested 2 billion USD abroad. In the same year, the United States saw a balance between the two directions of flow and Japan invested much more than what it received. China's ratio indicated that the expansion of economic presence abroad was yet a priority for the Chinese government and enterprises. In addition, China in this decade was self-sufficient in energy supply except in 1999 and 2000, as shown in Chart 9. The low dependence on foreign energy sources means that the energy supply for China's economic development, the top priority of domestic agendas, would not be heavily disrupted by foreign crises. The economic incentive to contribute to the peace and security in foreign countries was thus limited in this period.

Chart 9 The Percentage of China's Energy Imports in Total Energy Use (1988-2001)

Source: World Bank data, accessed in December 2014.

3.3.5 Limited Ambition for International Role

Chinese diplomacy in the 1990s was guided by Deng Xiaoping's instruction that China should keep a low profile in international affairs so as to avoid distraction from domestic development. This guideline has shaped China's engagement with international peace effort. In line with its development-first policy at home, China's approach to conflict resolution emphasized the security-development nexus. This was manifested in both its peacekeeping-related statements as well as its contribution of troops. China sent a 400-strong engineering unit to UNTAC between 1992 and 1993. The Chinese battalion undertook 19 per cent of UNTAC's engineering tasks and their contribution was highly appraised by the mission (Hirono, 2011:334). China's emphasis on development was divergent from the liberal paradigm for UN peacekeeping that believes liberal values like democracy, election and respect for human rights are the foundation for durable peace. Guided by the low-profile principle of diplomacy, Beijing dealt with the difference by limiting its participation in UNPKOs, rather than advocating for its own approach. The Chinese government preferred sending military observers to UNPKOs in the 1990s, and UNTAC was the only mission that had Chinese engineering troops in this period.

3.4 Rise of China and Constructive Involvement in Peacekeeping (2000s onwards)

3.4.1 Expanding Contribution to International Peace Efforts – From peacekeeping to peacemaking

The new millennium has witnessed China's international posture transforming from reticent and reactive to increasingly outgoing and active. China's

strengthened participation in UN peacekeeping is a good example of this trend. The number of Chinese peacekeeper jumped from less than a hundred in 2000 to several hundred in 2003 and exceeded two thousand in 2008. In addition to the increase in quantity, the qualitative change in China's engagement with UN peacekeeping is reflected by the increased diversification of its contribution. The first sign of greater Chinese commitment to UN peacekeeping was the dispatch of civilian police to Timor-Leste in 2000. This was followed by batches of engineers, transport and medical staff to other UN missions. The Chinese peacekeepers in the non-combat components of UNPKOs play an important role in delivering human security to local people. Lack of development and competition for resources are root causes for many armed conflicts. Solutions to these problems are essential for efforts to end conflicts and bring lasting peace.

The Chinese government became more active in materializing the development-security nexus in peacekeeping practices, compared with the 1990s. In view of the fact that water shortage is a source of tension in the Darfur crisis, Beijing included a water supply unit that specializes in exploring water sources and drilling well in its troop contribution to UNAMID between 2008 and 2012 (Li, 2012; The Eighth Detachment, 2013). In South Sudan, the Chinese peacekeepers have built roads, villages and schools for local villages, some of which were solely funded by the Chinese side³⁷. While peace has yet to be achieved in Darfur and South Sudan, the infrastructure work undertaken by Chinese peacekeepers has demonstrated China's solid capacity to facilitate reconstruction in the war-torn areas. In addition to infrastructure construction, Chinese peacekeepers on UNIFIL conduct de-mining in Lebanon, which is critical for the safety of civilians and lays the foundation for reconstruction. The deployment of security guards to MINUSMA and infantry troops to UNMISS demonstrates that China begins to involve in

³⁷ Personal interview with a former Chinese peacekeeper in June 2016 in Singapore.

provision of physical security to civilians, which marks a significant change in its contribution. Qian Qichen, a former Chinese Foreign Minister, once declared that while China participated in UNPKOs, it would not dispatch combat troops (Zhao, 2009:63).

Apart from the expanding contribution to UNPKOs, Beijing began to assume the role of peacemaker in South Sudan's peace talks. Peacemaking is not completely new to China. Beijing facilitated Ibrahim Gambari's mediation efforts at the issues of Myanmar as the UN Special Envoy between 2007 and 2009. Strong bilateral ties have placed China in a better position as a mediator and liaison than Western countries in the conflict between the Myanmar government troop and the Kachin Independence Army (Kor, 2013). On 30 May 2013, a tentative agreement was signed between the Kachin Independence Organization and the Myanmar government, and China has made critical contribution by persuading the two sides back to the negotiation table (ICG, 2013). As early as 2011, China had hosted several rounds of peace talks between of Ruili, a Chinese town bordering Myanmar (Feng, 2012).

Similar efforts at mediation were made by the Chinese President Hu Jintao during his visit to Sudan in February 2007 where he proposed four principles for addressing the Darfur crisis. Following Hu's visit, senior diplomats, Zhai Jun and Liu Guijin, made follow-up efforts to persuade the Sudanese side to cooperate with international peace efforts (Van Hoeymissen, 2011:156). The Sudanese government accepted the deployment of the African Union/ United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) in 2007. However, in these cases, Chinese contribution was mostly supportive and behind the scene due to its adherence to the principle of non-interference.

In South Sudan's peace process, China has adopted a more proactive approach. After the internal conflict unfolded in December 2013, the Chinese government immediately dispatched an envoy there for mediation. A few weeks after the outbreak, Wang Yi, Chinese Foreign Minister, met with representatives from both sides of the conflict to press for ceasefire and peace talks. This move was unprecedented as the Chinese government used to avoid contact with the rebel groups and communicate with the national government only in other cases. For instance, Liu Guijin, the former Chinese envoy on Darfur, noted in 2007 that China had not contact with the rebels and would contribute to the peace efforts through its channel with the national government³⁸.

China always emphasizes the primary role of the national government concerned in issues related to peace and security, as has been seen in its statements in the Security Council annual thematic debate on protection of civilians since 1999. However, it should be noted that the Chinese government has tried to avoid excessive emphasis on its lead role. Minister Wang Yi attended a China-organized meeting on South Sudan process in Khartoum in January 2015. The Chinese Foreign Ministry saw the consultation as a support for the mediation efforts by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, a regional mediator in South Sudan.

Non-interference remains the fundamental principle of Chinese foreign policy, despite the accusation that China's commitment to it has been rhetorical and selective (ICG, 2009:3). China's stance on the Syrian crisis that emphasizes political and dialogue and opposes to coercive measures has put itself under pressure and criticism. The foreign ministers of Member states of the Arab League

³⁸ 'PRC Special Envoy Liu Guijin on Chinese Policy Toward Darfur', WikiLeaks, 7 March 2008. https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08BEIJING845_a.html

called for a peacekeeping mission to Syria after a meeting in Cairo in February 2012, but it did not culminate in the proposed operation as the Security Council was deeply divided over how to respond to the Syrian crisis. China's attitude to the operation was ambiguous as the Chinese government avoided explicit response to this proposal (Stack and MacFarquhar, 2012).

The increased Chinese contribution to UN peacekeeping and the wider peace and security agenda reflect a new trend in Chinese foreign policy that gradually shifts away from the guideline of keeping a low profile that was laid down by Deng Xiaoping in early 1990s. In the new century, the international community has witnessed China taking a greater responsibility in international affairs, from global economic governance to international peace and security. This change and the international reactions to it constitute the international setting for China's foreign policy in the new era. The rise of China's status in the international power hierarchy entails in Beijing's perception of its role in global affairs and the scope of Chinese national interests also expands accordingly. The growth of national power also boosts China's capability and confidence in defending its sovereignty from both external and internal threats. These factors contribute to the new dynamics in China's engagement with UN peacekeeping.

3.4.2 Stronger Systemic Pressure for Cooperative Behaviors

I. Emerging Sino-US Rivalry

China's ascent makes Sino-US relations a defining issue for international peace and stability. The last decade of the Cold War saw close contacts between the two states at various levels. The security threat posed by the USSR to both states

constituted an important driver for the honey-moon period in the bilateral relations. After the collapse of the common threat, the bilateral relations have been characterized by a mix of cooperation and competition. Neither balancing nor bandwagoning are accurate and sufficient to capture China's policy to US. This has been determined by the relative power of the two states vis-à-vis each other as well as the system. Bandwagoning refers to international behavior that ally with rather than against the dominant power (Walt, 1987:111). Bandwagoning with the US means China needs to accommodate the US interests and preferences in exchange for national security and economic gains secured by the alliance. Nonetheless, ideological differences and China's self-identification have made bandwagoning an undesirable choice. States tend to form alliance with those sharing similar values and beliefs. China and the United States disagree on a range of issues, such as democracy, human rights, and intervention. China's rapidly-growing national power makes itself a potential peer competitor to the US rather than an ally. In addition, bandwagoning means that China has to largely cease its military modernization and entrust its security on the protection of the US. This contradicts the fundamental principles of China's international strategy – independence and self-reliance.

Balancing hypothesizes that states form alliances against a rising power that is perceived to be dangerous. China needs to look for allies that share the same concern over the security threat from the US. Among the great powers in the region, given China's relatively alienated relationship and historical mistrust with Japan and India, Russia represents the only potential candidate for the alliance against the US. However, the diminishing national power of Russia and the still huge power gap between China and the US have greatly reduced the appeal of such alliance to both countries. Moreover, China is usually more concerned about its regime legitimacy and stability than external power projection. Hence domestic

problems such as secessionist movement and economic development have discouraged it from balancing the US.

In face of China's growing capabilities to compete with the US in regional and international affairs, the debate on the US China policy has been divided between containment and engagement. Washington's perception of Beijing's intention is an importance factor for formulating its strategies toward China and even Asia. States with malign intentions are more likely to pursue aggressive behaviors and other states may respond with balance and deterrence. Since China aims to develop peacefully and avoid diversion of national resources from internal development to war-fighting capacities, it is crucial to demonstrate its benign intentions.

Two groups of factors are essential for assessing a state's intention – domestic political and social characteristics and behavioral indicators (Edelstein, 2002:10). China's non-liberal ideology and political system fuels the suspicion over its intentions. Many western countries criticize Beijing for lack of transparency over its defense budget and the actual increase of its military spending is higher than the numbers released. To compensate the uncertainty arising from ideological and political differences, China adopts a more engaging and cooperative approach to some issues, such as expanding participation in peacekeeping and playing a key role in facilitating the multilateral nuclear talks on North Korea. Moreover, economic globalization and emergence of non-traditional security threats, such as climate change, nuclear accident, global financial crisis and piracy, give rise to the need to cooperate. In July 2013, presidents of the two states reached a deal on cutting emission of greenhouse gases. Hence, the growth of China's national power to some extent intensifies the competitive dimension in the bilateral

relations but also strengthens the importance of bilateral cooperation for both states.

II. Regional Responses

Regional reactions are another reason why China needs to demonstrate its peaceful intentions (Lampton, 2008:76). In addition to the US, China's is surrounded by Russia, Japan and India and a group of medium and small states in Southeast Asia which are moving towards integration. Due to geographic proximity, they are on the forefront to experience the changes induced by China's rise. On the economic front, China's fast economic development presents vast business opportunities for regional economies. The trade volume between China and ASEAN is expected to reach one trillion US dollars by 2020 as leaders from the eleven countries agreed to further increase the two-way trade. China is the largest trading partner of Japan and Russia. Given the huge economic interests, regional states have welcomed the growth of Chinese economy. During his visit to Washington in 2012, Singaporean Foreign Minister welcomed the US pivot towards Asia but also noted that the rise of China cannot be contained and anti-China rhetoric is a mistake (Mahtani, 2012).

However, despite the huge economic interest, some regional countries are worried of being overwhelmed by China's increasing power, due to the difficult history, ideological difference, and territorial disputes (Ramo, 2004; Goldstein, 2007; Shambaugh, 2003). Beijing has been accused of supporting communist insurgent groups in some Southeast Asian countries in the 1960s and 1970s. This history had resulted in distrust between China and its southern neighbours. Although China has improved its relations with ASEAN countries through economic cooperation and multilateral engagement, some are still concerned that

China may strive for its own interests at the expense of other countries. China has been accused of assertiveness in the territorial disputes with its neighbors and a string of skirmishes with Japan as well as Philippine since 2011 have heightened the tensions. States tend to join alliance with distant powers to balance against threats posed the rising power in the vicinity (Walt, 1987:23). China should be aware of the possibility that its neighbors may balance against it if they perceive its growing power as a threat to their own security.

In view of these concerns and suspicions, Beijing has extended its engagement with neighboring countries beyond trade to include dialogue in security and defense. China and ASEAN have held workshops on various issues related to regional peace and security, with the aim to enhancing mutual understanding and confidence between each other. The two sides held the first-ever workshop on regional security in Beijing in 2006, the focus of which was on the influences of China and ASEAN on security in the Asia-Pacific and prospects of cooperation between the two sides on traditional and non-traditional security. In November 2007, the Chinese government hosted the China-ASEAN peacekeeping workshop in Beijing to exchange experience and views on UN peace operations and discuss cooperation in this regard. These exchanges help ameliorate the concern over China's intension and improve political trust.

3.4.3 Increasing Vulnerability to Foreign Crises

The fast expansion of Chinese economy has tightened China's connection with the international system and given rise to the need to deepen and broaden its involvement in global affairs. The growing needs for overseas market as well as resources have accelerated China's going-out strategy. Oil is China's second

largest energy source, accounting for 19 per cent of its energy consumption in 2009. China became a net oil importer in 1993 and is now the world's largest oil importer, importing 59 per cent of its oil supply in 2013 (Jiang and Ding, 2014:10). This number is projected to increase further to 75 per cent by 2035 (EIA, 2012). Given the country's thirst for energy, President Hu identified oil of strategic importance for China's economic security (Lai, 2010:118). As the demands largely exceed domestic supplies, Chinese government and enterprises have to resort to foreign energy resources. Hence, the Chinese government has actively cultivated its relations with countries with rich natural resources through contacts at various levels, such as Saudi Arabia, Iran, Sudan, Congo, Russia and central Asian countries. The Chinese leaders and officials have held regular meetings and exchanges with their counterparts from these countries (ibid., 118-124).

Provision of development assistance and investment is another way for China to maintain good relations with the supplying countries. China's economic success has moved it from the receiving end of assistance and development to the source position. The Chinese government estimates that China's overseas direct investment will grow at 10 per cent annually in the five years from 2015 (Shih and Miller 2014). The expansion of China's economic and trade connection with African countries has been particularly impressive in the past few years. In 2009, 45.7 per cent of Chinese economic assistance was directed to Africa in forms of loans, state-sponsored investments, grants, debt cancellation or relief and in-kind aid, exceeding the aid program of the World Bank in Africa (Weston, Campbell, and Koleski, 2011: 4 and 7). Chinese assistance has also been delivered in the form of infrastructure construction like in Sudan and Congo (Lai, 2010:122). The African Development Bank looks to China for closing the gap of funding for infrastructure in African countries (Vollgraaff and Doya, 2014). Although the thirst for raw materials and foreign consumer market is a driver behind China's

increasing activism in Africa, Chinese funding and infrastructure projects to some extent contribute to the rebuilding of the countries emerging from conflicts in areas such as electricity and transportation.

Besides government-funded projects, Chinese enterprises have also been encouraged to seek business opportunities abroad, exemplified by the strategy of 'going global'. The merger and acquisition deals by Chinese companies accounted for 13 per cent of the world's total (Jiang and Ding, 2011:10). China's good political ties with the national government of the host countries have culminated in business opportunities for Chinese enterprises. For instance, China's energy companies, such as China Petrochemical Corporation (Sinopec) and China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC), have played an important role in Sudan's oil industry. CNPC started investing in Sudan in 1996 and operated seven upstream projects as of 2010. China imported 52 per cent of Sudan's crude oil output in 2009 (ibid.:14). In Venezuela, CNPC will cooperate with the state oil company Petroleos de Venezuela S.A (PDVSA) to develop the country's oil reserves in the Junin 10 block (Wallis, 2013). However, violence and instability in some of the destination countries have brought economic losses to Chinese investment there. It was estimated that the internal conflict of South Sudan since December 2013 led to significant reduction in the oil production of CNPC and Sinopec in the country (Jiang and Ding, 2014:32).

The expanding Chinese overseas interests also include the growing number of overseas Chinese citizens, who are employees of the overseas offices of Chinese companies, small business owners and migrant workers. There have been repeated reports of Chinese engineers and workers being killed in explosions or abducted by insurgents in foreign countries. The incident first that drew the attention of the Chinese government to the fact that instability in other countries

could adversely affect China's interest and security was the abduction of a few Chinese workers in Darfur in 2003. 14 Chinese workers were killed in Pakistan and Afghanistan due to attacks on their camps and working sites. Between 2006 and 2010, the Chinese government evacuated 6000 citizens from countries that were experiencing instability, like Chad, Haiti and Timor-Leste (Duchatel and Gill, 2012). Amid the outbreak of the Libyan crisis in 2011, the Chinese government was surprised to find that there were over 32,000 Chinese in Libya, a small country far away from China, some of who did not record with the Chinese embassy in Libya.

The economic losses and attacks on Chinese citizens show that peace and national reconciliation in these countries are in China's interest. China's growing economic presence in the countries concerned gives it more leverage in mediating the peace talks. In 2012, China managed to persuade Sudan and South Sudan to seal an oil revenue share agreement by withholding its supports for the project of Lamu-Juba corridor until the deal was almost reached (Zhang 2012, 5). Compared to China conspicuous role in Sudan and South Sudan, its involvement in the peace process of Afghanistan is less publicized and more surprising. Amid the US withdrawal from Afghanistan and the lack of progress in the peace process, China stepped in by offering to mediate talks between the government and the Taliban in November 2014 (Donati, 2014). The geographical position of Afghanistan is of strategic importance for China's economy and national security. The 'One Belt, One Road' project that is aimed to enhance connectivity in Asia and Europe will go through this central Asian country. Moreover, the Taliban-controlled areas provide a basis for the terrorist activities in China. A peaceful and stable Afghanistan is conducive for China's connectivity initiatives as well as the crackdown on terrorism at home. China's increasing interest in mediating

negotiations are illustrative of the change in Chinese policy regarding conflicts in other countries.

3.4.4 Greater activism in Norm-building and Agenda-setting

Since Beijing started the reform and opening-up in 1971, China's engagement with the international system has been a mix of resistance, cooperation and revision. Cooperation has been a critical dimension of China's diplomacy in the past three decades. As noted above, China has been cooperating with international organizations and foreign countries on a wide range of issues, from trade to arms control. These interactions have facilitated China's economic development and integration with the international system. Moreover, they also serve as a channel for the Chinese government to demonstrate its benign intentions and thus avoid misunderstanding. Participation in UN peacekeeping operations represents an example of China's cooperativeness.

The resistant component in China's international behavior is rooted in value differences between China and some western countries. The Chinese government resists values and practices that it perceives undermining its national interests. Non-interference has been the consistent stance of the Chinese government towards other states' domestic issues. Beijing has repeatedly criticized some countries for being double-standard and using human rights as a pretext to interfere in other countries' internal affairs (Human rights, 2011). However, as aforementioned, cooperativeness was essential in the early stage of China's integration with the international system. Since 1979, China have signed on to human rights treaties and conventions and endorsed General Assembly resolutions that were aimed to reinforce human rights. The Chinese government

permitted a visit by the UN special rapporteur on education in 2003 (Carlson, 2005:164). As China's national power grows substantively, revision has been added to its international behaviors. China was elected to the UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC) in November 2013, which has been the third time since the body was founded in 2006. The seat on the UNHRC enables China to defend its position on human rights issues which is often in conflict with that of western countries.

The establishment of new mechanisms constitutes a revision to the existing system. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, officially established in 2001, has evolved from a dialogue mechanism in late 1990s to an inter-governmental organization that promotes regional cooperation on economy, trade, security and education in central Asia. BRICS, the association of the emerging market economies, has evolved from a forum of dialogue to an institution that facilitates coordination and cooperation on major issues among the countries. Suffering from the impacts of the 2008 financial crisis, the group sought to improve their resilience to financial crisis and announced the establishment of the New Development Bank in 2013. The bank is aimed to help developing countries finance infrastructure projects and cope with financial emergencies. China contributes 41 billion US dollars to the Contingent Reserve Arrangement, the total of which is 100 billion US dollars. The emerging economies share common grounds on some international security issues. For instance, the BRICS hold similar views on some aspects of the responsibility, like the sanctity of sovereignty, use of force as last resort, the central role of the UN and the priority of prevention and peaceful means. In Asia, China has led the establishment of New Asia Development Bank and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank in 2014. China's lead role in these new international arrangements adds to its influence in the international arena.

3.4.5 Improved Security of Sovereignty

Jurisdictional sovereignty refers to a state's right to rule over the population residing in its territory and is closely associated with the principle of self-determination (Carlson, 2005:13). The Chinese government faces increasing challenges in maintaining stability in its restive border areas in the west. According to a report by the Voice of America on 6 June 2013, about a hundred Tibetan monks have set themselves on fire, demanding the independence of Tibet since 2009, evidence of the growing unrest in this region. The situation in Xinjiang has become even more tense as terrorist groups have escalated their attacks in terms of scale and cruelty. They target not only government agencies but also civilian facilities, such as the explosion in a market in Urumqi in May 2014. Moreover, the violence has spilled over to other parts of China. In March 2014, a group of terrorists attacked passengers with knife at Kunming train station in the capital of Yunnan province. This was followed by another knife attack happened in Guangzhou train station. The series of attacks prompted the central government to launch a year-long campaign against terrorism in May 2014. The simmering tensions in the ethnic regions pose a threat to China's internal stability and thus rank high on the government's agenda.

With regard to the Taiwan question, the Chinese government explicitly states that Taiwan is core interest. National unity is a fundamental interest of the Chinese nation. As noted above, the two sides across the Taiwan Strait were involved in a diplomatic competition for recognition since the 1980s. The cross-strait relations have been improved since the Nationalist Party took power in 2008. Against this background, Beijing has adjusted its approach to the competition. Rather than aiming to defeat Taiwan, the Chinese government seeks to improve its relations

with Taiwan by using its rising international influence. For instance, it did not obstruct Taiwan's attendance to the 62nd World Health Assembly under the name of Chinese Taipei as an observer. This constituted a concession Beijing given that it used to oppose to Taiwan's participation in international organizations in any form. The Chinese government also declined the request by a few countries to switch recognition to Beijing, like Gambia, Panama and El Salvatore (Drun, 2014). The adjustment reflects Beijing's growing self-confidence that the pursuit of recognition through dollar diplomacy is not a preferred approach.

The change in how Beijing deals with its relations with Taipei is attributable to the favourable assessment of China's overall security situation since 2006. Beijing's concern about sovereignty has been eased in the 2010s as improvements are seen in the cross-strait relations, which has been noted in China's Defense White Papers since 2008. The discussion on sovereignty in the paper has no longer been closely linked to the Taiwan question since 2008. For instance, sovereignty was not mentioned in the paragraph about Taiwan in the White Paper in 2015. Instead, it perceived the 'Taiwan Independence' forces and their activities as the biggest threat to the peaceful development of the cross-strait relations.

The ease of the cross-strait tension allows the PLA to allocate resources for other operations. Non-combat military operations like peacekeeping and disaster relief have been listed as a component in China's use of military power since the White Paper in 2008. The growing attention to this type of operation also strengthens the importance of UNPKOs for the PLA as an avenue to test the combat and non-combat capabilities in real-world conflict situations. The military plays a role in shaping China's security-related foreign policy. Qin Jiwei, the then Defense Minister, was included in the Foreign Affairs Leading Small Group in the 13th National Congress of the CPC in 1987 (Lu, 1997:161). This signaled the

relevance of the PLA in the formulation of foreign policy. The civilian leadership gives full respect to the autonomy of the PLA in strategic and security issues, for which the military has better expertise and knowledge.

Peacekeeping, a component of non-combat military operations, is in the purview of the military. The PLA has played an instrumental role in the making of China's policy on UN peacekeeping. The PLA also lead in the decisions related to deployment and operation on the ground. For each of the UNPKOs that the PLA participates in, a high-ranking military officer is assigned to monitor and supervise the work on the ground. The preparation for UNPKOs provides the opportunity for the PLA to practice certain mobilization procedures for overseas deployment.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter adopts the two-level framework to examine the evolution of Chinese peacekeeping policy from 1978 to 2015. The international system transformed from the hegemonic rivalry in the Cold War to the US preponderance in the 1990s. The 21st century has witnessed the rapid growth of China in the international power hierarchy. China's power relative to the system as well as other countries set the parameter for its engagement with UN peacekeeping. The systemic pressure to counter the security threat posed by its neighbor in the north substantively decreased in the 1990s as a result of the dissolution of the Soviet Union, but the need to integrate with the international system remained.

While China's relative power set out the general orientation of its foreign policy, the three factors have shaped the specific way that China's specific position in each of the three designated periods. The political incentive to support UN

peacekeeping exists throughout the process of evolution as a benign international image is always desirable. China's early contributions to UNPKOs like UNTAG in 1989 were primarily motivated by political objectives, as international recognition was critical for winning foreign support for domestic development. The political incentive has been expanded from building a good image to playing a greater role in making of international norms and setting global agendas in the 2010s.

The economic factor did not exist until the end of the 1990s but has strong explanatory power over the increase of China's peacekeeping contribution since the mid-2000s. China's economic was not easily affected by foreign crises in the 1980s and 1990s as the foreign support for its domestic development was mostly sourced from stable developed countries. Therefore, the economic factor is not able to account for China's contributions to missions like UNTAG and UNTAC. The vulnerability of China's economic interests has substantially increased due to the expansion of Chinese overseas investment, increase of energy dependence on foreign sources and growth of outbound Chinese citizens.

The concern for sovereignty is always a constraining factor for China's positive disposition to UN peacekeeping, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s. Among the challenges to China's sovereignty, the Taiwan question is more complicated, which directly led to Beijing's veto of two peacekeeping-related resolutions. This territory is not under Beijing's controlled and it is entangled with China's relations with the US. A Chinese scholar said in 2008 that the state of Sino-US relations and the situation in the Taiwan Strait were critical factors that shaped China's contribution to UNPKOs³⁹. It was pointed out by this scholar that threats to China's

³⁹ According to a US diplomatic cable, this point was made by Lu Dehong in 2008 in his communication with the political officer of the US Embassy in Beijing. Lu was then the deputy director of the Department of Research of the China Foundation for International Strategic Studies (CFISS), a PLA-affiliated think tank. https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08BEIJING3285_a.html. This point was implicitly mentioned in my interview with a former Chinese peacekeepers in June 2016 in

physical security, the Taiwan question in particular, limited the country's ability to contribute to UNPKOs. In the face of any heightened tension in external security situation, it is natural that the PLA prioritizes the preparation to counter external security threats in resource allocation. Compared with national security, participation in UNPKOs is a much less important agenda. The concern over sovereignty has to some extent eased as the cross-strait power balance changes amid China's rise in the 21st century. Instead, non-combat military operations receive more attention in the military and protecting overseas interests was listed as a component of the PLA's mission in China's Defense White Paper 2013. This shift in security policy heralds China's continued interest in extensive participation in UNPKOs.

The changes in China's engagement with UN peacekeeping in different periods have been the result of the combined effects of the unit-level factors. There are cases that the effect of the enabling factor is offset by the inhibiting factor. For instance, the need to build a benign image is not sufficient for driving China to make substantive contribution without the economic and security incentives. The concern for sovereignty used to be a strong pulling force of China's greater role in UNPKOs in the 1990s. In addition, components of a unit-level factor shape China's participation differently. Beijing needs to make substantive contribution in order to influence the norm-making and agenda-setting related to UN peacekeeping. The following empirical chapters illustrate how the three factors have shaped the level of China's support for UNPKOs in different cases.

Chapter IV Timor-Leste – Beginning of China’s Increasing Contribution

4.1 Introduction

This chapter uses the two-level framework to examine whether and how the three unit-level factors – economic interest, international role and sovereignty – contribute to shaping China’s attitude to the mission in Timor-Leste. After the reform and opening-up policy was initiated in 1978, China maintained the fastest growth rate among major countries in the world and attained impressive achievement in economic development by the turn of the century. The tremendous economic success was largely built on the integration of Chinese economy into the global economic system as export was a major driver of China’s growth (Sutter, 2012:70). China joined the World Trade Organization in 2001 and became the world’s third-largest trading economy in 2004. The increasing economic significance also led to the expansion of China’s share of responsibility for global and regional economic security. China’s decision not to depreciate its currency in the 1997 Asian financial crisis was widely perceived as the beginning of the effort to build and project the image of a responsible major power (Deng, 2015:120).

The world also saw the increase of Chinese contributions to other components of global governance, such as UN peacekeeping. In the 1990s, China’s support for the resolutions on specific operations was conditional on that the operations under discussion would not lead to negative implications for its own sovereignty. Chinese contributions to UN peacekeeping were modest. The number of Chinese peacekeepers remained below 100 for most of the time in the 1990s and China’s peacekeeping dues were much lower than other permanent members of the

Security Council. In the new century, China demonstrated the willingness to assume more responsibilities for international peace and security and gradually shifted away from the approach of symbolic participation to UN peacekeeping. This trend was illustrated by the increase of the number of Chinese peacekeepers and the diversification of peacekeeping personnel. China augmented its troop contribution from 37 in 1999 to 1036 in 2004. In the 1990s Chinese peacekeepers were mostly military observers who were not permitted to carry weapons, except for UNTAC. Chinese personnel began to fill other posts in the operations in the 2000s, such as policing, engineering, transport and medical units (He, 2007:31-2).

In February 2001, a contingent of 55 Chinese civilian police was sent to East Timor – a newly independent state in Southeast Asia (UN, 2001). The participation in UNTAET was a seminal step towards a greater Chinese role in UN peacekeeping. The East Timor operation presents a good case to understand the dynamics that led to the change in four ways. First, it is a signal of the direction in the following few years of China's engagement with UN peacekeeping – a critical collective toll for maintaining international peace and security. It also reflects the view on other components of global governance. Second, East Timor gained independence through self-determination while the Chinese government faces the call for independence from some Tibetans and Uighurs at home. It is worth to study whether the contribution reflects its increased confidence in dealing with the challenges to its sovereignty. Third, the shift came after two-decades of phenomenal growth of China's capabilities. The analysis on how the change is related to the increase of relative national power helps the understanding of China's future use of its growing power. Four, East Timor is located in Southeast Asia, with which the Chinese government strived to build good relations. The independence of East Timor tested China's regional diplomacy which was a focal point of China's foreign policy in the 1990s.

This chapter argues that the decision to participate in the operations in East Timor was based on the assessment of the need for China to demonstrate its benign intentions and contribute to the global public goods. The scale of Chinese contribution was constrained by its traditional understanding of sovereignty and limited capabilities. The rest of this chapter starts with an overview of the East Timorese's struggle for independence and the post-independence nation-building. It is followed by a review of UN peace operations to facilitate the transition and China's contributions. Section three examines the systemic factors at the time that prompted the Chinese government to inch away from the lying-low principle for diplomacy that was laid down by Deng Xiaoping in the early 1990s. The systemic factors consist of two layers – the international system and the regional subsystem. Section four is focused on how the growth of China's relative power was perceived by the Chinese leadership and thus translated into the definition of national interests. Section five looks at how the definition of national interests led to the adjustment in the security, political and economic components of Chinese diplomacy.

4.2 Path to Independence

East Timor is located on the east half of the Timor Island at the southern tip of maritime Southeast Asia and borders Indonesia's west Timor. It had been a colony of Portugal since the 16th century. Amid the movement of decolonization across the globe in the 1960s and 1970s, the demand for the end of Portugal's colonization in East Timor grew stronger. The division over the future destiny led to the breakout of armed conflicts in August 1975 among different political/armed

groups of East Timor⁴⁰. This was followed by the intervention by Indonesia a few months later (Call, 2012:137). The UDT and APODETI formed a coalition and put forward the request for incorporation to Indonesia in 1976. The incorporation was not recognized by the international community as it was forcibly realized through military intervention.

The opportunity for a settlement arose in the late 1990s as growing international attention was paid to human rights and the Indonesian government was in need of international support to recover from the 1997 Asian financial crisis. Indonesia and Portugal reached an agreement on East Timor on 5 May 1999 under the auspices of the UN which allowed a referendum on the future of East Timor. East Timorese were offered two options – special autonomy within Indonesia or full independence. The situation before the vote was tense as the parties concerned were taking efforts to secure votes.

The ballot showed that 78.5 per cent of the votes were in favour separation from Indonesia and this directly led to the independence of East Timor. Within a few hours after the ballot, pro-Indonesia local militias and some elements of the Indonesian security forces launched an appalling campaign of violence against independence supporters. It was estimated that 1500 were killed and 500,000 displaced by the riots in a few weeks, with many incidences of rapes, beatings and destruction of properties. The violence and subsequent humanitarian emergency seriously derailed the transition to independence. The situation was brought under control by the UN-authorized multinational force led by Australia, the International Force for East Timor (INTERFET) between September 1999 and

⁴⁰ Prior to the decolonization, the major political forces in East Timor divided over the future of the nation. The Revolutionary Front of East Timor (FRETILIN) advocated for independence; the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) favoured a gradual transition to independence and certain association with Portugal; the Popular Democratic Association of Timor (APODETI) supported integration with Indonesia.

February 2000, and the subsequent UN-sanctioned peacekeeping operation, UNTAET (October 1999 – May 2002). With the assistance from the UN and other international actors, East Timor formalized its independence on 20 May 2002 and changed its official name to Timor-Leste.

4.3 The UN Peacekeeping Operations

The United Nations had been playing a key role in brokering talks between Indonesia and Portugal on the status of East Timor since 1983. As UN Secretary General Anna prioritised the East Timor issues during his term, the negotiations eventually led to the substantive result of a referendum in August 1999. The Security Council authorized the establishment of the UN Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) in June 1999 to organize and administer the referendum. Since UNAMET was an unarmed political mission, the responsibility to ensure stability and security rested with the Indonesian side.

4.3.1 Post-independence Challenges

The founding of the republic marked the conclusion of the struggle for independence as well as the beginning to build a properly-functioning, independent state. To that end, Timor-Leste had to address challenges arising from security, social reconciliation, capacity-building, institution-building, reconstruction and economic development. Without substantive progress in these areas, independence and sustainable peace will be elusive for the fledgling country. The four areas are inter-connected and mutually reinforcing. Reconciliation is central to building national unity that constitutes the foundation of East Timor's nation building. As aforementioned, East Timorese society was deeply divided as a result of Indonesia's repressive rule and the violence prior to

and after the referendum. The lingering division was a trigger to the security crisis in 2006 that unfolded in protests and quickly escalated into general violence.

Security is not possible without development and vice versa. A UN Secretary-General's report on the causes of conflict in Africa in April 1999 pointed out that economic problems such as poverty and inequitable development could exacerbate social tensions and breed conflict (A/52/871-S/1998/318). Infrastructure is critical to economic development. The violence destroyed more than half of the country's infrastructure, including public buildings, schools, hospitals and utilities (Margesson and Vaughn, 2009:7). In terms of capacity-building, the country faced a shortage of properly-trained personnel for positions in the government, police force, judicial system and health sector. For a small territory that emerged from two decades of repressive rule and armed resistance, these tasks were beyond its capacity and had to rely on external assistance.

4.3.2 UNTAET

In view of post-referendum security crisis, the Security Council passed resolution 1272 (1999) to authorize UNTAET, the mandate of which was from 25 October 1999 to 20 May 2002. According to the resolution, UNTAET operated as the sovereign administration of East Timor and held the legislative, executive and justice authority. The ultimate goal was to assist East Timor in the transition from a former colony and occupied territory to stand on its own feet. To that end, UNTAET consisted of an administrative component, a civilian police component of about 1600 civilian police, a force of 9000 peacekeepers, and humanitarian assistance and rehabilitation components. UNTAET's mandate included elements as follow:

“To provide security and maintain law and order throughout the territory of East Timor; to establish an effective administration; to assist in the development of civil and social services; to ensure the coordination and delivery of humanitarian assistance, rehabilitation and development assistance; to support capacity-building for self-government; to assist in the establishment of conditions for sustainable development.”

Under the administration of UNTAET, a basic structure of governance was had been built. The first presidential election was held on 14 April 2002, with Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the resistance movement, elected as the country's first president. They also had the legislative and judicial authority in place. The national constitution came into force on 20 May 2002, the official independence day of East Timor. The founding of Timor-Leste also marked the completion of UNTAET's mandate as the transitional administration.

4.4 China and the East Timor Issues

4.4.1 China's Relations with East Timor

China's position on the East Timor issues has been influenced by the change of its own interests. In the 1970s, the Chinese government supported the guerrilla activities of FRETILIN as many of the FRETILIN leaders were influenced by China's communist theory. However, the assistance dwindled in the 1980s as China retracted its support for insurgent groups in Southeast Asia and improved its relations with the United States that supported Indonesia's claim. The friendly relations were resumed after the referendum. China was the first country to

establish diplomatic relation with East Timor on the day of the latter's independence.

With regard to the intervention by the multilateral force and the subsequent UN operations, China was supportive in principle. The statements of the Chinese delegation on East Timor between 1999 and 2005 revealed China's views on specific issues related to the operations in East Timor. The Chinese delegation repeatedly emphasized the primary role of East Timor in the independence process, using phrases like self-reliance, self-governance and self-sufficiency. In the speech on 22 December 1999, the Chinese representative noted that 'the United Nations presence in East Timor is for the purpose of helping the East Timorese to realize independence and self-reliance' (UN, 1999, S/PV.4085). To this end, China also noted the importance of consultation and local participation in the decision-making regarding the future of East Timor. In February 2000, the Chinese representative expressed that 'we hope UNTAET will continue its broad consultations with all the sides and will train local personnel with a view to the independence and self-governance of the East Timorese people' (UN, 2000, S/PV.4097). In addition, China also called for respect for local tradition and culture. These messages illustrated China's sensitivity to the principle of non-interference, a consistent principle of Chinese diplomacy since its founding in 1949.

China's statements were sensitive to the role of Indonesia in the East Timor issues and to some extent sympathetic to the criticism on Indonesia. China always commended Indonesia's agreement to hold the referendum and cooperation afterwards in its statements on the issue of East Timor. The Chinese representative pointed out in the speech on 26 January 2001 that Indonesia's understanding and cooperation was critical to the settlement of refugees (UN, 2001, S/PV.4265). In addition to understanding of Indonesia's role and concern,

China also aligned its position with that of ASEAN, the most related regional organization to the East Timor issues. In the General Assembly session on the financing of UNTAET on 9 May 2000, China shared the views expressed by Malaysia on issues related to financing UNTAET (UN, 2000, A/C.5.54/SR.57).

The shared understanding of human rights and human security provides an avenue for China to build common grounds with ASEAN countries. The UNDP's *Human Development Report* articulated the notion of human security that shifts the referent subject of security from the state to people. This has made the well-being of human beings more relevant and visible in international politics. Human security basically consists of two dimensions – protection and development. Western countries that uphold liberal values emphasize the physical protection dimension, maintaining that 'peace and security – national, regional, and international – are possible only if they are derived from people's security' (Axworthy, 2003: 23).

On the contrary, China and ASEAN countries stress the centrality of development, holding the view that the right to development should be prioritized as the provision of basic need is fundamental to human survival. Human security means the fulfilment of basic human needs such as food, shelter, education, health care, and employment, and all these rely on economic development. Many Asian countries are of the view that poverty and lack of development is a root cause of social tensions and conflicts. Durable peace is built on economic development. The Asian perspective constitutes an important component of the contemporary discourse on human rights and human security. The conceptual divergence raised the concern in China that human security and human rights may be used to justify external interference.

China's permanent seat in the Security Council provides itself with a critical leverage for defending the traditional understanding of sovereignty-related issues. Being a member of the UN Commission on Human rights, China managed to block the passage of draft resolutions in the 1990s and 2000s that criticized human rights conditions in China (Sceats and Breslin, 2012:2). With regard to the issue of East Timor, China voted against the draft resolution 1999/S-4/1 of the Commission on Human Rights – Situation of human rights in East Timor on 17 July 2000. The draft resolution condemned systematic violations of human rights in East Timor, while elements of the Indonesian military had been accused of supporting the post-referendum violence (UN, 2000, E/1999/SR.5).

The Chinese delegation also mentioned rehabilitation of infrastructure and economic development and this was consistent with China's view that lack of economic development constitutes the root cause for many conflicts. China's emphasis on the importance of development originates from the development-security nexus which has gained momentum in policy as well as academic communities since the 1990s. The Chinese delegation noted the link between economic development and security many times in their speeches on issues like protection of civilians and the responsibility to protect. In the Security Council meeting on 26 January 2001, the Chinese representative called for intensified attention to economic development and warned that the under-performance of economy in East Timor might adversely impact on the transition to independence (UN, 2001, S/PV.4265). China also expressed its willingness to provide assistance to East Timor within its capacity and to develop bilateral economic and trade cooperation.

4.4.2 Chinese Contribution and Assistance

The Chinese government assisted in East Timor's transition to independence and state-building in two ways – participation in the UN missions and provision of assistance through bilateral channel. The Chinese government sent 15 civilian police to UNTAET in January 2000 and raised the number to 55 in September the same year. The participation in UNTAET set the precedence in several ways in China's engagement with UN peacekeeping. It was the first time that China sent out peacekeeping civilian police to a UN mission and also that Chinese policemen carried weapons and patrolled on foreign soil as UNTAET was authorized under Chapter VII and the peacekeeping police were lightly armed.

As first-timers, the Chinese policemen faced challenges both at work and in daily life. The Chinese police were mostly deployed in remote districts where the conditions were harsher than Dili, the capital city. In the villages, they had to deal with challenges like shortage of water and electricity and tropical diseases. Their duty ranged from small cases like settling disputes between villagers and petty crimes to responding to mass incidents like riots. The Chinese policemen impressed their foreign colleagues and local population with a high-level of capability, discipline and professionalism.

For instance, officer Kou Bo, from the Entry and Exit Division of the Public Security Bureau of Beijing, was appointed to lead the effort to set up a police division in Maubara in April 2000, which is located in the west of Dili. This area used to be the stronghold of the resistance movement and suffered great losses in the violence. The pro-integration militia groups were still carrying out activities there and the situation remained tense. Officer Kou took the lead in the preparation for establishing the division and transferred the practice of community

policing in China to his work in East Timor. The Maubara police division developed policing mechanisms that encouraged local participation, like setting up a local committee of law and order. The policemen reached out to local residents and built mutual trust with them. Kou was promoted for his outstanding performance to the position of deputy director of the central police division of Liquica in September 2000 (Lou, 2001:59). Kou was one of the few Chinese police who took the position of division head. In addition, Lian Changgang, another Chinese officer, was appointed as the deputy UN police commissioner in UNTAET in March 2000, the highest position that a Chinese peacekeeper had achieved in a UN mission by then (He, 2007:31). Apart from civilian police, eight Chinese staff from seven ministries and agencies of the Chinese government worked in different components of UNTAET.

In addition to participating in the peacekeeping operations, the Chinese government also provided assistance through bilateral channel. The Chinese government offered an aid package worth of 6 million US dollars to East Timor during Mr Gusmao's visit to Beijing in 2000 (Lanteigne, 2011:323). The Chinese assistance was focused on areas like agriculture and fishery, health and construction. In the agricultural sector, China's assistance was delivered in the form of agricultural machinery, fishing gear, farm tools and agricultural machinery (UN, 2001, S/PV.4308). The two governments signed a deal in September 2003 on the dispatch of a medical team to work in the National Hospital of Guido Valadares in Dili for two years (2003). China also funded the construction of several government buildings, like the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

4.4.3 The Importance of the East Timor Case in China's Peacekeeping History

China's contribution of civilian police to UNTAET marked the beginning of China's shift to a more flexible and engaging approach to sovereignty-related issues, including peacekeeping (He, 2007:10; Lanteigne, 2001:317). The participation in UNTEAT heralded greater Chinese commitments to UN peacekeeping operations in the 21st century, which was consolidated by several rounds of substantive increase of Chinese peacekeepers in the following years. China sent 200 troops to MONUC in April 2003, the first time that China contributed over 100 personnel to a single operation since UNTAC. This was followed by augmented Chinese contribution to operations in Liberia, Lebanon and Sudan. In addition, the dispatch of civilian police to East Timor represented China's effort to diversify its contribution to UN peacekeeping. Before UNTAET, China usually sent military observers and UNTAC was the only incidence that engineering contingents were deployed.

China's willingness to upgrade its commitment to UN peacekeeping was demonstrated a few years earlier and materialized in a gradual manner. The Chinese government agreed in principle to join the UN Standby Arrangements System (UNSAS) in 1997 which was set up in 1994 to improve the speed of deployment of UNPKOs. The system keeps an inventory of the human and material resources that a member state is willing and able to commit to UN peacekeeping. Member states engage with UNSAS at four levels, ranging from the provision of the list of resources available to the pledge to deploy resources to a UN mission within 30 to 90 days (United Nations, 2003:7). It was until January 2002 that China officially committed resources to Level 1 of UNSAS. At the meeting of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations in February 2002, Wang Yingfan, the Chinese Ambassador to the UN, stated "the Chinese

Government has decided to upgrade its participation in UNSAS by designating non-combat formed units to take part in UNSAS. The first batch will include one Engineering Unit, one Medical Unit and two Transport Units". The dispatch of civilian police to a UN mission was a concrete step to greater Chinese contribution. The recruitment of peacekeeping civilian police was announced in January 1999, earlier than the UN's decision to deploy an operation in East Timor. This indicates that China's participation in UNTAET was the result of its more engaging attitude to UN peacekeeping rather than was driven by political and strategic reasons as in the case of UNTAC.

China's decision to send its first batch of civilian police to East Timor was influenced by the new dynamics of UN peacekeeping activities as well as the urgent need in East Timor. The success and failure of UN peacekeeping in the 1990s prompted the reflection on how to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of UN peacekeeping in the new century. The importance of civilian police for stability and rule of law was increasingly recognized. The Brahimi report, a milestone in the development of UN peacekeeping, pointed out that a doctrinal shift was needed for civilian police to better facilitate restoring order and stability in war-torn countries. However, the greater expectation on the police component faced the reality that there was a serious shortage of peacekeeping police. According to the Brahimi report, the UN peacekeeping operations were short of a quarter of the police force needed as of August 2000 (United Nations, 2000:20).

The Chinese delegation provided support for strengthening the police component both in rhetoric and action. Shen Guofang, the Chinese representative, stated "as for the civilian police, China was in favour of strengthening the work of that particular component of the operations, including increasing its staff" at a meeting on UN peacekeeping in January 1999 (United Nations, 1999, A/C.4/53/SR.14).

China materialized its support by committing civilian police to UN missions in the following years, with UNTAET as the beginning of this effort. In the case of East Timor, the police component was mandated to enforce law and maintain stability so as to lay the foundation for reconstruction and lasting peace in East Timor. Militia attacks, gang activities, unrests and crimes threatened law and order in the fledgling country. The Secretary General's report on UNTAET pointed out that crime rate was rising and incidents involving militia groups were seen in areas bordering Indonesia, some of which resulted in casualties (United Nations, 2000, S/2000/53). The Chinese delegation saw the maintenance of stability among the most pressing tasks of UNTAET (United Nations, 2000, S/PV.4097).

Despite China's aim to upgrade its commitment, the expansion of Chinese role in UN peacekeeping was constrained by its limited capacity at the time. Given the short history of China's participation and its mostly symbolic contribution, China had yet to build its pool of peacekeeping personnel when UNTAET was formed. The decision to send out peacekeeping civilian police was made in early 1999 when the selection was announced to the police force across the country. The criteria of appraisal covered English proficiency, physical fitness, policing-related skills and experience. Out of over ten thousand applications, twenty finalists were selected to receive a three-month intensive training and formed the first pool of Chinese peacekeeping civilian police. The training of peacekeeping police was not institutionalized in China until the official establishment of the training center of peacekeeping civilian police in 2003 in Langfang, which is affiliated with the Chinese People's Armed Police Force Academy. One year later, the number of Chinese police on UN missions rose to 187 and remained at this level since. The center has built China's pool of peacekeeping police and substantively improved China's capacity in peacekeeping.

The participation in UNTAET also had normative implication for China's engagement with the international community. Beijing has held a traditional view of peacekeeping, maintaining that UN peacekeeping operations should observe the three basic principles. The Chinese delegation has repeated this position fourteen times out of the 28 statements on peacekeeping-related issues between 1989 and 2014. China's emphasis on the principles of respect for sovereignty and non-interference explained its reluctance in the 1990s to support invocation of Chapter VII of the UN Charter. China supported the deployment of a peacekeeping operation in former Yugoslavia to facilitate the peaceful settlement of the civil war in the country but opposed to the invocation of Chapter VII to expand the mandate of the operation. The Chinese representative explicitly expressed their reservation that the authorization of use of force even for humanitarian purpose would complicate the situation and compromise the original mandate of the operation (United Nations, 1992, S/PV.3106). Although there were incidences that China voted in favour of Chapter VII operation, like the UN Mission in Somalia II (UNOSOM II) in 1993. The Chinese representative cited the absence of effective national authority in Somalia as the key factor to justify its position. He said "...this authorization is based on the needs of the unique situation in Somalia and should not constitute a precedent for United Nations peace-keeping operations" (United Nations, 1993, S/PV.3188). China's votes on the operations in Rwanda and Haiti in 1994 were consistent with position that UNOSOM II did not set the precedent (Fravel, 1996:1114-1115). The case-by-case approach allows more flexibility for China to justify its position.

UNTAET was supposed to create difficulty for China to give its support as it was authorized under Chapter VII and functioned as the transitional sovereign authority of East Timor. The mandate of the operation was widened to include administering domestic affairs (Bellamy and Williams, 2010:255), which is even

more intrusive than other types of peacekeeping. The Chinese representative expressed full support for UNTAET and did not mention the exceptional circumstances of East Timor to justify its position (United Nations, 1999, S/PV.4057). China's support for the UN's transitional administration of East Timor signalled its willingness to heed on operations based on the post-Westphalian conception of sovereignty.

Nonetheless, China's position remained in line with its conservative approach to sovereignty-related issues. Informed by the basic principles of UN peacekeeping, Beijing highly values the consent of the parties concerned when shaping its position on a peacekeeping operation. In the case of UNTAET, the consent from Indonesia, the East Timor side and Portugal were essential for China to grant its support for the operation. Given Indonesia's claim of sovereignty over East Timor and de facto rule of the territory since 1975, the Chinese delegation emphasized the role of Indonesia in ensuring East Timor's transition to independence. Shen Guofang, the then Chinese representative noted that good relations between East Timor and Indonesia were conducive for settling the unresolved issues (UN, 2000, S/PV.4097).

The role of regional actors has been a consistent element in China's statements on peacekeeping and specific organizations. The Chinese delegation highlighted the need to strengthen cooperation between the UN and regional organizations in the debates in January 1999 and February 2005 (UN, 1999, A/C.4/53/SR.14; Zhang, 2005). Southeast Asian countries' support for and involvement in UNTAET eased China's concern about interference and intrusion (Lanteigne, 2011:322). For instance, the commanders were all from Southeast Asian countries. The Chinese delegation repeatedly emphasized the importance of local participation in the transition process and the assisting role of the international community. The

division of roles demonstrated that China remained sensitive to the line between UNTAET's mandate to facilitate the transition and external interference. Although civilian police in UNTAET were permitted to carry light weapons, this component was less controversial than other components of peacekeeping operations (UN, 2000, A/55/305–S/2000/809). Civilian police dealt with domestic public security problems like crimes and unrests which were less sensitive than the responsibilities of the military component. The dispatch of civilian police as the first step to expand the Chinese role in UN peacekeeping was politically safe for Beijing.

4.5 Understanding China's Shift in Approach

China's contribution to UNTAET sent the signal that China was to strengthen its involvement in international cooperation and commitment to global public goods, conforming to China's posture as an ascendant major power. The growth of China's national power by the end of the 20th century received increasing international attention. The ascendance had impacts on how other countries perceived China and how the Chinese leadership defined national interests. The changing international setting and definition of national interests prompted the recalibration of policies on the economic, security and political fronts.

4.5.1 China as a Rising Power

China's economy made substantial strides forward in the reform since 1979. As of 1997, China's GDP grew at an annual rate of 9.8 per cent while the world's average in the same period was 3.3 per cent. It was the seventh largest economy in the world in 1999 and had the second largest reserve of foreign currencies (Wang, 1999:22). Nonetheless, the economic miracle appeared less impactful at

the per capita level. China's GDP per capita was around 950 USD, ranking 161 among 248 economies listed in the World Bank's data on GDP per capita. The World Bank data also showed that 36 per cent of the Chinese population lived under the poverty line in 1999, namely less than 1.25 USD a day.

China also saw substantive growth of its military might in this period. Economic development has been the top priority in the reform era and all domestic and foreign policies were formulated to serve this goal. The Chinese military force and defense industry were sidelined to save resources for development, particularly in the 1980s. Deng instructed that PLA support and involve itself in the national economic development when addressing the Central Military Committee in 1984. Some military facilities and technologies can be diverted for civilian use (Deng, 1984:99). In order to cut military spending, PLA carried out reforms between 1985 and 1987 to reorganize military institutions and downsize the number of military personnel by one million (Blasko, 2012:5).

This course was reversed as the Chinese leaders realized the urgent need to modernize the PLA after witnessing the advanced weapons, military equipment and technologies of the US military during the 1991 Gulf War (Cordesman, Hess and Yarosh, 2013:54). The support from the leadership and growing financial resources created essential conditions for the PLA modernization. The Chinese defense budget saw an annual increase over 10 per cent in the 1990s and more funding was available for domestic military research and development as well as procurement of foreign weapons. The PLA's projection capabilities were substantially strengthened after a series of upgrade of weapons and equipment (Shambaugh, 1997:26). However, there remained a big gap between PLA and their major foreign counterparts due to China's isolation in the 1960s and 1970s and the marginalization of the defense industry in the 1980s. For instance, despite

the upgrade, the Chinese navy lagged far behind the US navy and was not in the position of advantage over its neighbours like Japan and India (Shambaugh, 1997:25).

Along with the growing hard power, the Chinese soft power also began to take shape. The Chinese soft power before the reform era, if any, was largely manifested as the export of Maoism to some Asian countries where the insurgent movements were instructed by the Maoist thinking, as in the case of Indonesia and East Timor. China retracted from this course and focused on domestic economic development in the early stage of the reform era, and this form of soft power declined accordingly. The discussion on soft power in the Chinese academic circle surfaced after Nye introduced the term in 1990. The term began to appear in official speeches and statements at the turn of the century (Li, 2009:291, 289).

However, the exploration on Chinese soft power in both the academic and policy circles were still at the nascent stage in the period between late 1990s and early 2000s. The research on soft power in China surged after 2004 (Li, 2009). In official statements and speeches, elements of soft power were mentioned. For instance, President Jiang Zemin noted in his report to the 16th CCP Congress in November 2002 that culture was playing an increasingly prominent role in the international competition of comprehensive national power (Jiang, 2002). The fact that the importance of culture was discussed in the section on domestic cultural development of the report instead of the foreign policy section demonstrated that China had yet to come up with a strategy to promote and utilize its soft power.

4.5.2 Systemic Incentives for Changes

I. International Level

China possesses the essential qualities of a great power like a large population, vast territory and strong industrial productivity. The rapid growth of Chinese military and economic power since 1979 has led to the discussion on the implications of China's rise for the world. In the post-cold war era, new challenges present countries with opportunities to strengthen their international influence through non-military means. While economic globalization significantly facilitates development and trade around the world, the integration also makes economic downturn and crisis more contagious, like the impacts of the Asian financial crisis in 1997 and the global financial crisis in 2008. The severe humanitarian consequences of the civil conflicts in some countries in the 1990s prompted the soul-searching of the international community about its role and responsibility in such crisis. Other common challenges like poverty, climate change, thirst for energy and epidemics require joint commitment from all countries, particularly major countries that have more resources and capabilities available to deal with these issues. China's response to the financial crisis in 1997 and increasing contribution to UN peacekeeping were initial attempts in this direction.

The growing prominence of the ascendant power inevitably escalate the tension with the preponderant power as the existing international arrangements generally favour the latter's interest. Nonetheless, the concern over China's rise appeared in the 1990s, illustrated by the emergence of the China threat theory in policy and academic discussions. The assessment of the implications of China's rise for the international system can be categorized into two groups – the optimist and the pessimist.

In addition, China's strengthened involvement in international political and security issues also reduces the incentive to pursue drastic changes to the system. Its membership in major international and regional institutions was doubled from 32 to 75 between 1979 and 1999. Deepened participation in multilateral institutions, on the one hand, exposes China to different perspectives and understandings on issues of international concern, and this feeds into China's adjustment in its views and approaches. For instance, the Chinese government joined the UN Conference on Disarmament in 1980 and had since developed related research and institutional capacity on issues related to arms control to better express China's position. On the other hand, the commitment to the international disarmament regimes demonstrated China's willingness to concede to some extent on arms development (Sutter, 2013:94).

Despite its reservation over use of force for humanitarian purposes, China has voted in favor of incorporating a protection of civilian mandate into PKOs since 1999, some of which were authorized under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. According to liberal optimists, these bilateral and multilateral interactions enhance the mutual understanding between China and related countries on their individual interests and concerns. Another reason behind the optimism is that China still lags behind the United States in many terms and its continual growth faces many challenges, such as income gap, regional disparity, social inequalities, corruption, pollution, and ethnic tensions. These problems constrain China's ability to challenge the US-dominated international system.

In contrast to the optimistic assessments, pessimists see a much gloomier future with the ascendance of China – the inevitable clash between the status quo power and the revisionist power. Some scholars and analyst have been concerned that

the growth of Chinese national power will have disruptive effects on the stability of the international system. Roy claims that China is likely to become a regional hegemon than Japan and Chinese hegemony threatens regional security because stronger national power will make it more assertive and belligerent (Roy, 1994). Mearsheimer predicts that China would not be a status quo power but an aggressive state determined to achieve regional hegemony. This would create an unbalanced power structure in Northeast Asia which carries with it high risks of conflicts (Mearsheimer, 2001). Among the reasons for the pessimistic predictions, the difference between the Chinese characteristics and the western liberal values is a focal point. The power transition can be peaceful if the preponderant power and the rising power share similar values, according to the power transition theory. Since the Chinese political system, development model and values are all different from the liberal paradigm, the transition is likely to be violent. It is crucial for China to ease such concerns and avoid security competition and confrontation with other countries so as to maintain a favourable external environment for its domestic development.

II. Regional Level

The international system consists of regional and sub-regional systems. The United States is the only country that is able to project its influence across the globe, while other major powers focus more on their own regions. East Asia has been a focus of Chinese diplomacy in the reform era as China's modest power capabilities and domestic agenda has limited its ability and intention to project its influence outside of the region, particularly in the 1990s. For instance, China established diplomatic relations with Singapore and South Korea in 1990 and 1992 respectively and resumed relations with Indonesia in 1990. East Asian countries are the first to see how the implications of China's rise play out as the region is within China's immediate reach.

The power structure in East Asia shares similarities with that of the international system. The United States has decisive influence in the region given its security alliances and close economic and trade ties with some regional countries. As the world's second largest economy, Japan has deeply penetrated into Asian economies and channel its influence through economic diplomacy (Kazenstein, 1997:35). It is the leading founder and capital contributor of Asian Development Bank (ADB) – a key source of investment for development in Asia. It is also a major donor in natural disasters, humanitarian crises and poverty reduction. The deepening regional integration in Southeast Asia has made the region's voice stronger and more impactful. Russia, Australia, India and South Korea are also relevant to regional economic and security issues.

Due to historical and geopolitical factors, some regional countries were concerned about the implications of China's rise for their own security. Beijing anticipated this unease back in the 1980s (Deng, 1985:104). Japan, Philippine and Vietnam have overlapping territorial claims with China. Countries like Malaysia and Indonesia still have a fresh memory of China supporting the communist insurgency in their countries during the cold war. Hence, some regional countries hold concern and suspicion over the rising China's intention. For instance, Lee Kuan Yew, the founding Prime Minister of Singapore, once promised to be the last ASEAN country to establish diplomatic ties with China, so as not to be perceived as a proxy of China (Storey, 2002:207).

The Chinese Foreign Ministry expressed its concern towards an anti-Chinese riot in northern Sumatra in 1994 while this statement was perceived by the Indonesian side as interference in its internal affairs (Sukma, 2002:185). Goh Chok Tong, Singapore's former Prime Minister noted the anxiety and discomfort of some

Asian countries over the rise of China in his address to an international forum in Beijing in 1995 (Storey, 2002:210). Due to the scarcity of security in the system, the rise of a great power is often perceived by other states, particularly great powers, as the reduction in their share of security. To counter this trend, states are likely to enter into alliance against the rising power, either through balancing or bandwagoning, to curb the potential hegemon (Walt, 1987:18). Although Walt's theory is conceived to explain alliances in the international system, it is also applicable to regional systems. A regional alliance balancing against China is the least scenario that the Chinese leaders want to face. Economic development has been China's top priority and regional countries' perceptions matter to the success of this priority. Hence, an important task of Chinese foreign policy in the new century was to reassure other countries about China's benign intentions and commitment to a peaceful region.

4.5.3 Domestic Assessment of China's Capabilities and Interests

I. Domestic Perception of China's Relative Power

State goals steer states' external behaviours and foreign policy is formulated to facilitate the realization of the goals (Onea, 2012:146). Survival and security are the ultimate goal of all states that prompts the persistent pursuit of power (Mearsheimer; Waltz). In addition to this universal goal, the great power status has always been a goal of the Chinese nation (Zhang and Tang, 2005:49). This ambition is largely rooted in China's past glory as the most powerful and influential empire in the East and possession of many attributes of a great power. Nonetheless, the Chinese leaders have had a sober assessment of China's status in the international system. Deng Xiaoping saw China as one pole in the multi-

polar international system and believed that China was an influential actor in international affairs (Liu, 1994:6; Deng, 1985:128).

Meanwhile, he also recognized the gap between China and the two superpowers in terms of material capabilities and rejected the notion of the great power triangle composed of the US, USSR and China (Deng, 1985:128). He noted that China was a developing country with limited capabilities. The weaknesses like poverty, lack of capital, and low level of science and technology, constrained the realization of the national ambition to attain great power status. As economic power constitutes the basis for the growth of other components of national power, underdevelopment was once a major barrier on China's path to the great power status. Economic development has thus been prioritized throughout the reform era.

The end of the cold war entailed the restructuring of the international system. The Chinese leaders saw the formation of a multi-polar world that was characterized by the preponderance of the United States and the existence of other poles – the European Union, Russia, Japan and developing countries. Regarding China's status in the international system, President Jiang pointed out that China was the world's largest development country with a socialist political system and the difference in political values set China apart from the developed countries (Jiang, 1996:197). China's national defense was still constrained by the low level of economic development, backward science and technology and limited financial resources (Jiang, 1996). Recollecting China's path to WTO, Jiang admitted that China had very few bargaining chips at the early stage of the negotiations as the size of its economy and trade volume was modest (Jiang, 2002:443).

In the new century, the assessment of China's relative power was further amended as new dynamics emerged both at the domestic and international levels.

China had strengthened its national power in a comprehensive way since 1979, as President Jiang noted in his address to the military in October 2001. He saw China as a major force in international politics (Jiang, 2002:356). National power was critical to the survival of a state in international struggle. While China remained the largest developing country in the world, it was also a major power that achieved great success in its reform and opening-up, with rising international influence. From China's perspective, the current international political and economic orders are the foundation of the west-dominated international system. Jiang explicitly pointed out that the inequality of the international economic order that disfavoured developing countries threatened their sovereignty and economic security.

Guided by this perception and the recognition of the gap between China and the developed countries, the Chinese leadership continued to place emphasis on economic development. They set out specific targets for different components of national power in the first decade of the 21st century. Economic development remained fundamental to the achievement of the target. The aggregate Gross National Production was expected to double the level of 2000 by 2010. In addition to expanding the size of China's economy, it was also important to strengthen China's competitiveness as economic globalization was deepening. Military modernization was also critical to the pursuit for great power status. The modernization of PLA would involve further personnel scaling-down, improvement in mobilization and education of military personnel, and development of an advanced weapon system. The ultimate goal was to substantially upgrade the PLA's capabilities in hi-tech wars. The set of targets pointed the direction of the reform and development in the next phase.

II. Economic, Political and Security Incentives in the 1990s

Economic development has been the utmost priority of the Chinese government and source of legitimacy of the ruling party in the reform era. Integration with global economy provides the essential capital as well as market for China's continual growth as foreign investment and foreign trade were engines of China's economic miracle. Despite China's criticism about the unfairness of the existing international economic order, China has been a beneficiary of such order. The ecstasy in China after it joined the World Trade Organization in 2001 reflected the significance of the accession. President Jiang regarded it as a landmark event in China's reform and opening-up (Jiang, 2002:442), which has important economic and political implications for the country's ascent. Economic interdependence raises the cost for China to disrupt the existing international orders.

President Jiang pointed out that China should focus on economic development unless major security crisis occurs like the third World War, massive military intervention and Taiwan independence when analysing the international situation in 1998 (Jiang, 1998:423). The remarks sent a clear signal on how China sequenced its interests. In the first two decades of the reform era, Beijing was inward-looking and focused primarily on domestic development. Apart from providing the necessary resources for strengthening national power, economic growth is a source of legitimacy of the CPC's rule which largely rests on improving people's well-beings. Major elements of China's economic interest in relation to the rest of the world in the 1990s include foreign trade, foreign investment and economic competitiveness. Export of goods and services accounted for one fifth of China's GDP in 2000, according to the data of the World Bank. Capital shortage was a constraint of China's development and attracting foreign investments was one of the purposes of the opening-up. While economic globalization facilitates access to trade, investment and technologies, it also escalates competitions

between economies. From the Chinese perspective, China was in a disadvantaged position due to its low level of science and technology and the unreasonable international economic order. Enhancing competitiveness is essential to ensure the continual expansion of China's economy.

With regard to security interest, Beijing's primary focus in the 1990s was to prevent massive invasion and protect territorial integrity as demonstrated in Jiang's remarks in 1998. Both Deng and Jiang, head of the second and third generations of China's leadership, made the assessment that factors conducive for international peace were increasing and the possibility of world war was low (Deng, 1985:105; Jiang, 1998:197). Sources of security threats to China in the 1990s mainly included the Taiwan question and territorial disputes with its neighbours. The unification of Taiwan with the mainland has been regarded as a national goal since the founding of the People's Republic. Beijing has been firmly resolved to prevent Taiwan independence in any form given the island's strategic and political importance for China. The Taiwan question implicates not only the cross-strait relations but also China's relations with the US as well as regional stability as illustrated by the Taiwan Strait crises in the 1990s. In addition, territorial disputes were potential disruptive factors in view of China's conflicts with India, the Soviet Union and Vietnam over disputed lands in the 1960s and 1970s.

Political interest ranges from political values to international legitimacy and reputation. The traditional conception of sovereignty is a key element of China's political interest. The adherence to the Westphalian sovereignty has characterized China's foreign relations. The rise of the liberal values like human rights and humanitarianism after the cold war posed challenge to the Westphalian sovereignty. Moreover, the end of the cold war saw the overthrow of communist rule in many former communist countries. Given China's traditional understanding

of these issues, it was an outlier of this trend and stayed alert to the impacts of these changes on its socialist system and political values. This point remained in the remarks of the Chinese leaders throughout the 1990s.

In addition to protecting its political system and values, it is also important for China to strengthen its international legitimacy and improve its image. The competition for recognition between Beijing and Taipei continued in the 1990s and the one-China principle remained a precondition in China's foreign relations. President Jiang warned that some elements in the West persisted in the attempt to subvert China's socialist system and turn it into a capitalist country (Jiang, 1998:198). In addition, Western countries kept criticizing China's human rights record after the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989, particularly the civil and political rights. Ten draft resolutions on China's human rights conditions were tabled at the Commission on Human Rights between 1990 and 2004 (Sceats and Breslin, 2012:4). China insisted on the priority of economic and social rights and perceived the criticisms as meddling with its internal affairs. Chinese diplomacy in those years needed to balance between protecting its political interests and maintaining normal relations with major countries.

All components of national interests are equally important but the sequence is subject to the assessment of domestic priorities and international environment. Economic interest obviously took the lead position on the agenda of the Chinese leaders in the 1990s. Economic development was seen by the leaders as the key to ensuring other interests like solving the Taiwan question (Jiang, 2001:352). Security interest has bearing on state survival. Despite sources of tensions with neighbouring countries, the situation in China's neighbourhood was peaceful in general. Hence, the urgency of security interest was not as high as economic development. With regard to political interest, as the international recognition of

the mainland grew vis-à-vis Taiwan, Beijing's legitimacy was further consolidated in the 1990s. Human right was a source of tension in China's foreign relations but did not result in consequences that hampered economic development, except for the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989.

4.6 Policy Adjustments

Guided by the development-first principle, China's international strategy in the reform era has been characterized by three goals – to create a stable international environment, to undertake international commitments within its capacities, and to engage with the international system constructively to facilitate domestic development (Zhang and Tang, 2005:49). China's policies on the economic, security and political fronts were tailored to attain these goals. A peaceful international environment avoids unnecessary military build-up which distracts resources from economic development. The peace and stability of China's external environment primarily hinges on relations with key regional actors like the United States, Japan, Russia and ASEAN. China's effort to improve its relations with the relevant countries was illustrated by the normalization of its relations with the US and Japan in late 1970s. The confrontational elements in Sino-Soviet/Russian relations notably faded as the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991. China's territorial disputes with its neighbours were a source of instability, which may distract China from its top priority. Deng Xiaoping advanced the idea of 'shelving differences first and pursuing joint development' in late 1970s. China settled most of its remaining territorial disputes with its neighbours in the 1990s, making substantive compromises in exchange for early settlement (Carlson, 2003:687). The ease of tension in the border areas released the attention and resources back to economic development.

Southeast Asia takes an important place in China's external relations in the era of economic reform. Beijing has sought to improve its relations with its neighbours through both bilateral and multilateral channels. Economic cooperation has been the starting and focal point of China-ASEAN relations. The trade volume between China and ASEAN countries grew six times between 1985 and 1994 and reached 19.2 billion USD (Guo, 2008:96). China entered into the Greater Mekong Subregion (GSM) with five other continental ASEAN countries in 1992, a program to enhance economic cooperation and connectivity among the countries involved. GSM covers a range of sectors from electricity and sustainable development to transport and human resources. With regard to bilateral relations, Beijing's changing attitude to the resistance movement of East Timor in the 1980s and 1990s reflected its effort to seek friendly relations with Indonesia. China reduced support for FRETILIN's struggle for independence in the 1980s (Horta, 2009:3). In the Security Council deliberation on East Timor issues, the Chinese delegation always emphasized the importance of Indonesia's consent and cooperation.

Apart from economic cooperation, China has also made efforts to strengthen the political and security aspects of its relations with ASEAN. Beijing established various bilateral and multilateral mechanisms for consultation and dialogues on political and security issues (Sutter, 2012:218) and China's activism in ARF was a good example of this kind. ARF has been a helpful platform for Beijing to enhance mutual understanding and trust with its neighbours since the late 1990s. For instance, China and the Philippines jointly held an 'inter-sessional support group' meeting of the ARF on confidence building measures in Beijing. It was the first time that China hosted an official multilateral event on security issues (Foot, 1998:426).

On the security front, China sought to build the common ground for issues of shared concern (Jiang, 2001:317). For instance, the Chinese leaders recalled in their remarks China's shared experience with its neighbours, such as the history of invasion by great power and the difficulties as a developing country in the existing international economic order, to enhance mutual understanding with regional countries. China put forward the new security concept in mid-1990s and released an official document on this concept at the ARF Foreign Ministers' meeting in 2002. According to the position paper, the core value of the concept is mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination. It is based on the understanding that the scope of security is broadening beyond sole military and political terms. Dialogue and cooperation are increasingly important for achieving security. China conceived this concept as an alternative to the confrontational zero-sum game and first materialized it in the interactions with SCO countries.

China also strengthened engagement with international arrangements, particularly the economic and financial institutions. China's accession to WTO in 2001 was a landmark in its integration with the global trading system, which benefited China's foreign trade in many ways like tariff, access to market and investment, transfer of technologies, and movement of people and commodities. Without the membership, China's economy had faced a range of barriers in the international market. For instance, in the bilateral trade with the US, China's most-favoured-nation status was subject to annual renewal by the US congress and susceptible to the US domestic politics as well as other aspects of the bilateral relations. As of 2004, exports of goods and services accounted for 30 per cent of China's GDP, up from 20 per cent in 2000. The strategy of 'Going Global' was another element of China's effort to integrate with global economy. Driven by the growing need for resources, Chinese companies began to turn their eyes to foreign sources and the first attempts were seen in the energy sector. China National Petroleum

Corporation Advanced in late 1990s, this policy encourages Chinese enterprises to seek opportunities of investment and cooperation abroad, particularly developing countries that have vast unexplored markets.

Sovereignty and territorial integrity has been a key source of tension in China's foreign relations and this also reflect the Chinese leadership's sense of insecurity. Although the Chinese government followed the principle of 'shelving differences and seeking joint development' in dealing with territorial disputes, China was still involved in confrontations with its neighbours over the disputed areas, like the skirmish with Vietnam in 1988 and the incident at Mischief Reef in 1995. The prevention of Taiwan independence remained at the center of Chinese security and foreign policy. While Beijing tried to ease mistrust and enhance mutual understanding through strengthened communications, military capabilities were always perceived as a key to deter the attempt of separation. The cross-strait tension heightened because Lee Teng Hui, the leader of Taiwan in the 1990s, described the cross-strait relationship as state to state in an interview with Deutsche Welle in 1999, and this provoked Beijing to conduct military exercises along its east coast.

With regard to international commitment, the Chinese government avoided undertaking onerous international responsibilities in the 1980s and 1990s. This decision was based on the assessment its limited capabilities and the urgency of domestic development. The Chinese leaders repeated that China was a developing country and should focus all its resources on economic development. When meeting with the visiting Brazilian President Figueiredo on 29 May 1984, Deng pointed out that China was still very poor but would be able to make more contributions to human society by the end of the 20th century when its aggregate GNP reached one trillion USD (Deng, 1993:57). He thus set out the famous

guideline for China's diplomacy in the 1990s – to lie low and bide its time, and also instructed that China should not seek leadership in global affairs. In the early period of Jiang's leadership, China's diplomatic work adopted a differentiated approach to international hotspot issues based on the calculation of geopolitical and economic factors. China should secure its fundamental interests when dealing issues of immediate concern and avoid unnecessary involvement in the regions where its influence was limited (Jiang, 1999). This explains the low level of Chinese contribution to UN peacekeeping in the 1990s.

In the new century, the Chinese diplomacy continued to follow Deng's instruction, there were adjustments in practice. President Jiang said that China should exercise more flexibility balancing between not seeking leadership and accomplishing something as its international status was rising (Jiang, 1998:198). The ascent entailed the expectation of the international community for greater Chinese commitment to global affairs. The outbreak of the Asian financial crisis in 1997 saw China moving toward a responsible major power. In that crisis the Chinese government provided aid packages to countries like Indonesia and Thailand and promised not to depreciate its currency to avoid further disturbances in the market. The increase of contribution to UN peacekeeping was an effort to strengthen China's image as a responsible power on the security front.

4.7 Conclusion

UNTAET marked the start of China's transition from a symbolic contributor to a constructive player of UN peacekeeping. The small number of Chinese civilian police on UNTAET reflected China's limited capabilities at the time. In the first two decades of the reform era, distribution of material resources notably tilted towards domestic development and military spending was cut down. Hence, China

stressed the point that Chinese contribution was within its capacities. Non-combat military operations received relatively low attention in the years prior to UNTAET, partly due to the limited resources allocated for this segment of China's security policy. Among the PLA's missions, national security and territorial integrity is always of utmost importance, particularly the Taiwan question (Lai and Miller, 2009). As the PLA began to diversify its missions in the 2000s, non-combat military operations such as counter-terrorism, peacekeeping and humanitarian relief have gained more attention and resources. Peacekeeping was first officially mentioned as a component of China's participation in international security cooperation in China's Defense White Paper in 2002. This change heralds the increase of China's peacekeeping contribution in the following years.

China's limited role in UN peacekeeping in the 1990s is a manifestation of its broad foreign policy that revolved around facilitating domestic development. The ascendance of China gave rise to the need for China to participate in international cooperation and contribute to the provision of global public goods. In other words, the choice of civilian police as the first step of its increasing contribution was in line with China cautious approach to sovereignty-related issues in the 1990s, including peacekeeping, as the responsibilities of this component are less controversial.

Chapter V South Sudan – China Becoming a Constructive Contributor

5.1 Introduction

The international community saw a notable expansion of China's role in UN peacekeeping in the 2010s, compared with the beginning of the 21st century. There are 2181 Chinese peacekeepers on 9 missions as of December 2014, ranking the 13th among all contributing countries. In addition, the Chinese contribution has become more diverse, which now covers all components of UNPKOs. These moves received wide international attention as China used to contribute only non-combat units due to its concern over the risk of interference in the host country's internal affairs. Hence, the deployment of an infantry to South Sudan has been regarded as a qualitative shift away from its long-held stand on non-interference.

In addition to the increased contribution to peacekeeping, China has deepened involvement in other international peace efforts in recent years, like peacemaking. China's engagement with the multilateral efforts to address the conflicts in Sudan has been the most substantive and publicized among its peacemaking activities. As early as 2007, China played an important role in persuading Khartoum to consent on the deployment of a UN-AU joint peacekeeping operation to Darfur. In the case of South Sudan, China has stepped up its mediation activities, reaching out to both parties to the civil war. This move is unprecedented (Martina, 2014; Smith, 2014), as Beijing used to engage only with the national government of the country concerned, due to the view that the national government is the legal and legitimate representative of the sovereignty.

This chapter examines China's increasing contribution to UN peacekeeping through the case of UNMISS. It also looks at the implications of a more active Chinese role in this undertaking on the broad Chinese foreign policy as well as the development of UN peacekeeping. The scale and depth of Chinese involvement in the international effort to resolve crisis in South Sudan represents a qualitative change in how China engages with UN peacekeeping. UNTAET marked the beginning of China becoming a constructive actor in peacekeeping activities, and UNMISS is a substantive step forward of the transformation. The study to understand this change needs to be placed in the context of China's ascent in the international system. China celebrated in 2009 the 30th anniversary of the initiation of the program of economic reforms, which has induced significant improvement in all aspects of Chinese national power. China's more proactive role in peacemaking and peacekeeping raises interesting questions regarding Chinese foreign policy amid its ascent in the international system. The international reaction to the Chinese role in South Sudan's crisis indicates the need for China to reconcile the non-interference/intervention principle with its growing responsibilities as a rising power. In addition, there is the criticism that China's deep involvement in South Sudan's crisis is motivated by the heavy investment by Chinese companies in the the country's oil industry. The examination of China's role in the international peace efforts to resolve the crisis in South Sudan feeds into the research on why and how China expands its role in global governance.

The rest of this chapter consists of three sections. The first section briefly reviews the breakout of the civil war in South Sudan in 2013 and the consequences of the protracted conflicts for the country and the region. This is followed by an overview of Chinese contribution to the multilateral efforts to resolve the crisis and the implications for China's peacekeeping policy in general. Section three explains the substantive increase of China's contribution by using the two-level framework.

This chapter argues that the qualitative change in China's contribution to UN peacekeeping is caused by the redefinition of China's national interest which is induced by the increase of its relative power. While limited international commitment was in China's interest in the 1990s, the rise of its international standing makes it imperative for China to undertake greater international responsibilities, so as to engage in setting the agenda for global affairs. The participation in UNMISS represents China's efforts to play the role in global affairs commensurate with its rising international status. The increase of China's overseas investment and dependence on foreign sources of natural resources

5.2 Overview of the Crisis in South Sudan

5.2.1 South Sudan's Path to Independence

South Sudan, the world's youngest country, gained independence from Sudan in July 2011. Prior to the separation, the two Sudans had fought two civil wars between 1955 and 2005. Ethnic and religious differences were the principal cause of Sudan's protracted civil wars. The north was heavily influenced by the Arabic in culture and religion, while the south was close to the African traditions and many southerners are Christian. As the two regions were merged into one in 1946, tensions arose as the north benefited more from the integration. The central government was located in the north and Arabic was made the official language in the South. The Muslim population in the north enjoyed preferential treatments guaranteed by the constitution. For instance, Islamic law and custom formed the foundation of the Sudanese laws (Warburg, 1990: 632).

The first Sudanese civil war was set onset by the mutiny of a group of soldiers in the South in August 1955.. This war was ended by the Addis Ababa Agreement in March 1972 mediated by the World Council of Churches and the All Africa Conference of Churches. Nonetheless, this failed to bring lasting peace and conflict resumed in 1983 with the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) championing the South.

The peace process from 2002 culminated in the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in January 2005 (Lyman, 2011:1). The CPA consisted of protocols, agreements and appendixes on ceasefire, sharing of power and wealth, status on disputed regions. It also laid down the conditions for South Sudan's independence in six year. A self-determination referendum was held between 9 and 15 January 2011 and an overwhelming majority of Southerners chose independence from Sudan. The Republic of South Sudan was officially established on 9 July 2011.

The independence however does not end the disputes between the two parties. Although the CPA has outlined the solutions to major issues like the sharing of power and wealth and the status of disputed areas, the details remain to be negotiated and implemented. The two Sudans played different roles in oil production before the partition. Most of the fields are located in the South, and the North was responsible for refinery, transport and shipment. After the independence, South Sudan has to pay for using the oil infrastructure and facilities in Sudan. The disagreement on the payment of transit fees prompted South Sudan to suspend oil production in January 2012. The shutdown was a big blow to both countries that rely heavily on oil revenues.

Apart from the dispute on payment, demarcation is another source of tension. Abyei is located between the two Sudans and has rich oil reserves. According to the CPA in 2005, a referendum on whether Abyei stays with Sudan or become part of South Sudan was supposed to be held simultaneously with the one in South Sudan. However, because of disagreements on the procedures between the parties concerned, the referendum was delayed indefinitely and the status of Abyei remains disputed. Border conflicts broke out in April 2012 in Heglig, a district in Abyei (Sudan – South Sudan, 2012).

5.2.2 The Civil War

Apart from the unsettled disputes with its neighbour in the north, the security of South Sudan is also threatened by domestic tensions which re-emerged after the referendum because the root causes of South Sudan's internal tensions were largely unaddressed (ICG, 2011:2). Disagreements over distribution of power and wealth among different political factions seriously divided the ruling elites and sew the seed of conflict. As the leading negotiator on behalf of the South, SPLM was allocated 70 per cent of the seats in South Sudan's regional legislature during the interim period in the CPA, and the domination continues after independence. Opposition groups have voiced their discontent with the concentration of power in the hands of SPLM. Communities in the oil-producing states inevitably expect some preferential benefits from the endowment of oil (ICG, 2011:22), while the national government needs also to take into account the non-producing states. South Sudan's legislature passed the Petroleum Revenue Management Bill in April 2013 but the law is still waiting for the approval of President Kiir.

Ethnic division further intensifies the fragmentation of the ruling force. South Sudan has multiple ethnicities and tribes, with Dinka and Nuer as the two largest

groups. Dinka people account for 36 per cent of South Sudan's population and Nuer 16 per cent. The two ethnic groups and their sub-groups have histories of fighting for resources for living and production like water, land and oil. South Sudan saw grave casualties from tribal conflicts in 2009, with 2500 killed and 350,000 displaced. Conflicts involving Dinka and Lou Nuer, a sub-group of the Nuer people inhabiting in area across the north-central and eastern part of Jonglei, was a major cause for the humanitarian emergencies in the state in 2009 (ICG, 2009:1).

The civil conflict started with the fighting between the Dinka and the Nuer elements in the presidential guard on 15 December 2013. The eruption of violence manifests the escalation of tensions in SPLM/A leadership. Apart from the historical fractions, the recent divide stemmed from the disagreement on how SPLM/A transforms into a formal political party (ICG, 2014:4). President Kiir had announced a series of dismissal and replacement of top leaders in earlier 2013, including his vice president Riek Machar since July 2015 (ICG, 2014:4). The two sides have provided different accounts on how and why the violence erupted, exchanging accusations over the responsibility of triggering the civil war. President Kiir, a Dinka, accused Machar of attempted coup, while Machar, a Nuer, denied the accusation and placed the blame on Kiir's. Machar established the SPLM/A in opposition shortly after the fighting erupted. Violence escalated quickly along the ethnic divide and spread first in Juba and then across the country.

The conflict has posed serious security threats to South Sudan and the region. Civilians are hit the hardest by the violence, facing grave threats to both physical security as well as other aspects of human security. It was estimated by some NGOs that the casualties reached more than 50,000 by November 2014 (Martell, 2014). There have been reports of appalling physical abuses on civilians by both

government troops and opposition forces, like gang rapes and ethnically-driven killings (Human Rights Watch, 2015). According to UNHCR, a total of 2.2 million people have been displaced as of July 2015. The scale of humanitarian emergency in South Sudan has exceeded the humanitarian capacity of the international community, and this puts a majority of South Sudanese facing the danger of starvation and lack of access to health care and sanitation. One third of children in the states that are at the center of the fighting are seriously malnourished. Substantive increases have been reported in cases of respiratory and digestive infectious disease like cholera and viral leishmaniasis, some of which are fatal (UN, 2015: 6). Moreover, the gap in humanitarian aids also led to violent competition for food, water and other materials in the IDP and refugee camps.

Peace in South Sudan has important bearing on regional security as the armed groups in conflicts in the region are often connected and interwoven. For instance, some units of SPLA based in the northern side of the north-south border formed the Sudan Revolutionary Front with rebel groups in Darfur. The two Sudans accuse each other of supporting rebel armed groups in their respective territory (McCutchen, 2014:38-40). Uganda sent troops to South Sudan to fight alongside with the government forces, while the rebel groups in South Sudan is alleged to have links with the Lord Resistance Army, a rebel group in northern Uganda. The complicated relations in the region mean that regional countries have an important role to play in South Sudan's peace process.

5.2.3 International Responses

I. Peacekeeping – UNMISS

UNMISS was established on 8 July 2011, succeeding UNMIS (United Nations Mission in Sudan) to support South Sudan's post-independence rebuilding. According to the initial authorization, UNMISS consisted of 7000 military personnel, 900 civilian police officers, and a civilian component (UN, 2011, S/RES/1996). The mission was intended to create conditions for peace and development in the war-torn country by provision of good offices, civilian protection and support for institutional and capacity building. However, mass atrocities and human rights abuses have been widespread amid the crisis. According to the UNMISS report in March 2014, extrajudicial killings along ethnic lines, forced disappearance, gang rape as a tactic were witnessed in the areas in conflict. Fierce fighting forced 184,000 South Sudanese to flee other part of the country three weeks after the conflict broke out.

Reinforcement of UNMISS was thus a key component of international efforts to prevent further deterioration of the situation. The scale of internal displacement overwhelmed the capacity of UNMISS to provide protection and accommodation to the people in need. The head of UNMISS repeated the resource constraints of the mission in her briefings to the Security Council during the crisis. Recognizing the difficulties facing the mission, the Security Council decided on 27 May 2014 to strengthen the operation. The numbers of military and civilian police were raised to 12,500 and 1,323 respectively. In view of the threat posed by the conflict to civilians, the top priority of UNMISS was placed on POC, an adjustment from the initial sequence that emphasized post-conflict peacebuilding. This was followed by monitoring human rights conditions and assisting humanitarian efforts, both of which are essential measures to protect the human security of those affected in the conflict. Protection sites at UNMISS bases across South Sudan

host round ten per cent of the internally displaced people. UNMISS has been a major actor in the international response to South Sudan's crisis.

II. Peacemaking

In view of the security and humanitarian consequence, the crisis in South Sudan has drawn wide international attention. International and regional organizations as well as major countries expressed concern over the situation and called on the conflicting parties to end of violence in the days following the outbreak. Apart from humanitarian relief, the international responses focus on peacemaking. Mediation activities were initiated to search for solutions to the crisis through multilateral and bilateral channels. In the immediate period following the outbreak, countries that maintain close interactions with South Sudan initiated bilateral efforts to bring the conflicting parties to the negotiating table. Norwegian Foreign Minister Børge Brende visited South Sudan, meeting respectively with Kiir and Machar to discuss the issue.

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the regional bloc of East Africa that facilitated the north-south negotiations of the Sudan, responded to the crisis swiftly by sending out a ministerial delegation to South Sudan and convening a summit of member states on this issue in two weeks after the outbreak. This was followed by a meeting of the AU Peace and Security Council on 30 December 2013 in Banjul Gambia (Apuuli, 2014:129). Under the mediation of the international community, South Sudan's warring parties started peace talks in late January 2014 and rounds of negotiations culminated in a peace agreement in August 2015. The agreement contains provisions on political and security arrangements as well as humanitarian relief, which are critical to the resolution of the crisis, like the demilitarization of Juba, the process of Machar's return to the

government, control of oil fields and humanitarian access. However, implementation is under question as clashes continue in some parts of Sudan.

5.3 China's Role in South Sudan

South Sudan has witnessed landmark development in China's engagement with international security issues, heralding a more active Chinese role in preventive diplomacy, mediation, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. This section looks at how China has contributed to peace and security in South Sudan. It also discusses the significance of this case and assesses the propensity of China playing a greater role in multilateral peace effort in the future.

5.3.1 China's Involvement in Resolving South Sudan's Crisis

I. China as peacekeeper

China's contribution to the operations in South Sudan started in May 2006, when 435 Chinese peacekeepers were deployed at the Wau base of UNMIS, Western Bahr el Ghazal State, as marked out in Map 1. The Chinese detachment consisted of a 275-strong engineering unit, a transport team of 100, and a medical team of 60. This and the following detachments to South Sudan are all from the Jinan Military Area Command. By the completion of UNMIS in 2012, China sent eight batches of peacekeepers to the mission, which rotated every eight months. Their work responsibilities include construction and maintenance of infrastructure and facilities, transportation of personnel and materials, as well as medical services for local population.

UNMIS was succeeded by UNMISS upon South Sudan's independence in January 2012. The initial Chinese contribution to UNMISS was 360 troops, including engineers and medical personnel, and remains stationed in Wau. The Chinese engineering unit is mandated to construct and repair a range of facilities, from roads and airport to barracks to shelters of the UN base. They also provide engineering service to support the work of other components of the mission. As of 2015, there have been six batches of Chinese peacekeepers serving on the mission.

Map 1 Deployment Map of UNMISS

Source: United Nations

According to the initial mandate of UNMISS, the priority was to create favourable conditions for peace and development in the war-torn country. Protracted armed conflicts and underdevelopment has resulted in high inadequacy of infrastructure

in South Sudan where only 2 per cent of the roads are paved. The weather and terrain conditions compound the difficulty in the delivery of development aid and humanitarian relief (Boutellis and Smith, 2014:6). Inaccessibility and lack of other physical infrastructure like schools and hospitals obstruct post-conflict rebuilding and provision of human security for people in the country, which are essential for eliminating root causes of conflict. This also affects the logistics of UNMISS which involves delivery and transport of heavy equipment. The tasks of the military engineering units of a UN peacekeeping operation include well-drilling, force protection, logistics, airfield or helipad construction, or road and bridge construction (ibid., 6).

The Chinese engineering units are known for their high quality of work. The engineering units are thus a frequent component of Chinese contribution to UN peace operations. As aforementioned, UNMISS faces a heavy workload in construction and repairing of infrastructure like roads, bridges and airports. Upon the outbreak of the civil war, such work has become more urgent as accessibility is essential for international humanitarian efforts but has become difficult due to destruction induced by violence and extreme weather conditions. The Chinese engineers repaired the Wau airport in July 2014 and the road between Wau and Mayom in March 2015. Both projects were critical for the delivery of humanitarian assistance as the Wau airport is the logistical centre for airlift operations and the road connects Wau and Bentiu, the capital of Unity state that is worst affected by the civil war.

In response to the Security Council's resolution 2132 (2013) that reinforces UNMISS with additional troops to deal with South Sudan's civil war, Beijing send out a 700-strong infantry to the Juba base. The reinforcement brought the number of Chinese peacekeepers with UNMISS up to 1057, making China the 5th largest contributor among 61 countries contributing troops to UNMISS. The battalion is

formed by three infantry companies and one support company, with soldiers from departments of the artillery, the armoured, reconnaissance and communication (The second batch, 2015). In particular, there are 13 female soldiers in the infantry who will carry out the same mandate as their male colleagues. The inclusion of female soldiers in the infantry is out of consideration for the need to engage women and children in the implementation of the POC mandate. An advanced team of 180 Chinese troops arrived in Juba by February 2015 to carry about preparation for the full deployment of the Chinese infantry in April.

The primary tasks of the UN infantry battalions include patrol, observation post, checkpoint, outreach and engagement, situational awareness, cordon and search, convoy and escort, and operation base (UN, 2012). As civilians face grave threats to physical security in the on-going conflict, POC has become the top priority of UNMISS. The riot squad of the Chinese infantry managed to prevent the escalation of a massive fighting in a refugee camp in Juba in May 2015, which caused two deaths and over 100 injuries. In October 2015, the Chinese peacekeepers escorted a convoy of Food and Agriculture Organization into the conflict zone west of Juba to deliver food aid and were tailed by a group of armed militants on the way. Such experience is rare for Chinese soldiers who have never engaged in any real-time armed conflict since China's border conflict in the 1980s and is conducive for them to gain a better understanding on such situations.

This mission is a landmark in China's engagement with UN peacekeeping. It is the first time that China contributes over a thousand troops to a single mission and also the first time that Chinese troops will involve in the combat dimension of a UN peace operation. With the addition of the infantry battalion, China has involved with all components of UN peace operations. This is a significant step forward in

China's engagement with UN peacekeeping, compared to UNTAET, the first empirical case of this thesis.

I. China as peacemaker

The other component of China's contribution to the multilateral efforts to resolve South Sudan's crisis is peacemaking. Peacemaking refers to actions that bring hostile parties to agreement through diplomatic means (UN, 2009:3). Such means, according to Chapter VI of the UN Charter, include negotiation, mediation, arbitration as well as other peaceful means. Statistics show that mediation has positive contribution to the de-escalation and resolution of conflicts (Giessmann and Wils, 2011:184). As the world's primary inter-governmental organization for peace and security, the UN plays a critical role in this activity and pays growing attention to it. The Mediation Support Unit under the UN Department of Political Affairs was established at the behest of Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon to strengthen the UN's capacity and effectiveness in this work. Ban submitted to the Security Council a report on mediation in 2009 which outlined essential conditions and dynamics that may affect the success of mediation. Successful mediation rests on a range of factors and dynamics, such as skills and capabilities of the mediation team, logistical and financial support as well as political will of the parties concerned (UN, 2009).

China is new to the role of peacemaker in another country's civil conflict. Upholding the principle of non-interference, China used to have the concern that mediation may be confused with interference in others' internal affairs as this usually involves engagement with all parties concerned including the rebel groups. The case of South Sudan has witnessed China shifting away from its previous stand and assuming the responsibility of mediating South Sudan's peace talks. Chinese special representative on African affairs Zhong Jianhua called South

Sudanese Foreign Minister a few days after the outbreak to urge for restraint of both parties and initiation of peace talks. In addition, Zhong attended rounds of the IGAD-led talks and shuttled between Beijing and African capitals to exchange views with relevant countries.

China's mediation has been brought to a higher level by the involvement of Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi. Wang met with representatives from both sides to the conflict during his visit to four African countries in early January 2014, expressing China's concern about the worsening security situation and calling for immediate cessation of violence and launch of peace talks. This was followed by another two meetings between the Foreign Minister and the two parties in the rest of the year and a consultation hosted by China in Khartoum on 12 January 2015 to discuss how to support the IGAD-led peace process. Apart from the overseas activities of Chinese diplomats, China received the delegation of the opposition movement in Beijing in September 2014 to enhance understanding of their views and concerns. Despite the peace agreement signed in August 2015, it is premature to assess China's role as a mediator in South Sudan's crisis since clashes continue in some parts of the country and the implementation of the agreement remains to be evaluated.

5.3.2 The Significance of South Sudan for China's Engagement in Multilateral Peace Efforts

South Sudan has seen a substantive shift in China's approach to conflict resolution, in which Beijing contributes to peace and security in South Sudan through combining two tracks of effort – peacemaking and peacekeeping. This marks the transformation of China from a symbolic contributor to a constructive actor in UN-led conflict resolution. The deepening Chinese involvement in

international conflict resolution has two dimensions of implication for the research to understand Chinese foreign policy during its ascent in the international system. First, the greater Chinese role in international peace effort reflects China's enhanced capabilities in fulfilling its international responsibility as a rising power. Second, China has demonstrated increased flexibility regarding the principle of non-interference, but whether such flexibility is consistent or just contingent remains to be seen. Moreover, China's understanding of peace and security is built on the development-security nexus, which is different from the liberal-paradigm that emphasizes more on liberal values like democracy and human rights.

Improved Peacekeeping Capabilities

China started to build up its peacekeeping capability at the beginning of the 21st century, and progress in such effort is reflected by the gradual expansion of Chinese footprint on UN peacekeeping. UNMISS have seen the transition of China's contribution from non-combat troops only to a full range of personnel contribution. While MINUSMA has been viewed by some people as the turning point, the mandate of the Chinese security guard detachment is to safeguard the base only. The infantry is responsible for patrolling the operation zone and escorting the non-combat peacekeepers and UN personnel. This means that they design the route for patrol and escort. In combat situations, they need to coordinate with foreign militaries⁴¹. These are precious experience for the PLA that has not engaged in any real combat since the end of the border conflicts with Vietnam in the 1989.

The PLA has accumulated extensive experiences and lessons through previous operations. For instance, there are overlapping between UNMIS and UNMISS in

⁴¹ Personal interview with a former peacekeeper in January 2015 in Singapore.

operation zones and certain elements of the mandate like protection of civilians and UN personnel. Wau has been the base for some elements of the Chinese units since UNMIS, and some of the peacekeepers have been deployed to this base for both missions. In the first batch of the infantry with UNMISS, 43 Chinese peacekeepers have experience in peacekeeping before. The commander of the second batch of the infantry headed the Chinese unit with UNAMID in 2011 (The second batch, 2015). Knowledge of local situation and good relations with local communities facilitate the work of the following detachments⁴².

The increase of Chinese contribution is also built on the growth of PLA's capabilities. Chinese peacekeepers used to be constrained by lack of proper equipment and vehicles for the operations in countries that just emerge from conflict and have extremely weak infrastructure as illustrated by the case of South Sudan. The difficulties to carry out the mandate are often compounded by local landscape and weather conditions. With continuous increase in defense budget, the PLA's has made impressive achievement in military modernization. The infantry to UNMISS are equipped with infantry fighting vehicle, armoured personnel carrier, anti-tank rocket, mortar, and machine gun. The individual equipment for the soldiers include 108 items like bullet-proof clothing and helmet, designed to provide more effective protection (China sending out, 2015). While there remains a certain gap in individual equipment and communication devices between the Chinese units and the militaries of some developed countries, China's self-produced heavy equipment and weapons are already of good quality⁴³.

⁴² According to my interview with a former peacekeeper with UNMISS, his unit built a school and a hospital for the villages near the UN base. The funding for these projects was from the Chinese government. This contributes significantly to positive local impression of China and Chinese peacekeepers.

⁴³ Personal interview with a former peacekeeper.

In particular, the infantry bring with them unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV, drones), a recent addition to the peacekeeping equipment system. The UN started using drones in peacekeeping operations in 2013 to support intelligence gathering, with MONUSCO and MINUSMA as the first two missions to see the deployment. Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon saw this as an evolution in peacekeeping during his visit to China in June 2013 (Ban, 2013). China has been working on developing its own UAVs and progress has been seen in recent years. A test flight of a stealth drone, jointly designed by the Hongdu Aviation Industry Group and Shenyang Aviation Corporation, was completed in November 2013 (Cordesman, Hess and Yarosh, 2013:210). The advancement of Chinese military technologies helps China keep pace with the new trends in UN peacekeeping.

The institutionalization of the training and management has been another enabling factor for greater Chinese commitments. Non-combat missions have been receiving growing attention in the PLA's strategy in recent years. As mentioned in Chapter IV, China started to build its pool of peacekeeping personnel in early 2000s, by setting up training facilities. The training centers serve as the base for various peacekeeping-related activities, such as pre-deployment training, training of stand-by forces, exchanges with foreign counterparts and academic communications. For instance, a conference on peacekeeping in 2009 was hosted here, with over 100 participants from 21 countries and 6 regional and international organizations. The experience accumulated from previous operations contributes to improvements in training. The training for peacekeeping is becoming a regular agenda of the PLA. For instance, the PLA's conducted the first ever drill on peacekeeping in Weifang in 2011. As a result of this trend, the pre-deployment training period has been

shortened from half a year to three months⁴⁴. The trainings for the infantry to South Sudan simulated the operation headquarter, refugee camps, urban resident communities, checkpoint and temporary operating bases.

In addition to the improvement of the physical facilities, the PLA has also made institutional effort to strengthen the management on peacekeeping-related matters. The Central Military Commission put in place the Regulation on PLA's Participation in UN Peacekeeping on 1 May 2012. The regulation guides the work like division of labor among different departments, selection of peacekeepers, deployment and withdrawal, as well as decoration and promotion. Experience in UN peacekeeping operations used to help the promotion of Chinese military officers, but this has changed since contribution to UN peacekeeping has been a regular component of the PLA's engagement in international security cooperation.

Initial Engagement in Peacemaking

Compared with peacekeeping, peacemaking is a relatively new component of Chinese diplomacy and Beijing is at the early stage of developing its capabilities in mediation. Prior to South Sudan, Beijing has already involved in similar efforts for resolving other conflicts, like Myanmar and Afghanistan. China had hosted several rounds of peace talks between the Kachin Independence Organization and the Myanmar government in Ruili, a Chinese town bordering Myanmar since 2011 (Sun, 2013), and these talks culminated in a tentative peace agreement on 30 May 2013. Although the conflict in the Kachin State continues and the prospect of peace remains slim, the Chinese involvement illustrates a more constructive role of China in facilitating regional peace and security. Chinese efforts at mediation have been expanded to some situations where China used to maintain limited involvement like Afghanistan. Wang Yi, the Chinese Foreign Minister, expressed

⁴⁴ Personal interview with a former peacekeeper in January 2015 in Singapore.

during his visit to Pakistan in February 2015 that China was willing to facilitate talks between the Afghan government and the Taliban (Golovnina, 2015).

South Sudan however is the first case that the Chinese government openly placed pressure on the conflicting parties of a civil war for peace talks. China's mediation in South Sudan's civil conflict is based on its involvement in Sudan-related issues since the Darfur crisis as well as its investment on the Sudan's oil industry since mid-1990s. Beijing set up the position of Special Representative on African Affairs in 2007 to handle regional issues of relevance to China, among which the Darfur crisis topped the work arrangement. The first representative was Ambassador Liu Guijin who has worked in Africa for more than 20 years and has good knowledge of the region. Amid the separation of the Sudan and the deterioration of security situation in South Sudan, the focus of the Representative was shifted to South Sudan. Although Darfur and South Sudan are two different crises, the experience in dealing with Darfur and the knowledge on the region are helpful for China's current diplomacy in South Sudan.

China's economic influence on South Sudan is a powerful leverage for China's mediation effort. Beijing managed to broker a deal on the sharing of oil revenues between Sudan and South Sudan in 2012 by using its economic leverage on both countries (Zhang, 2012:5). The UN has been committed to develop its pool of mediators. An appropriate mediator (or mediation team) is supposed to possess an array of qualities like mediation skills, experience, knowledge of the situation concerned, and understanding of the regional context (UN, S/2009/189). Given China's permanent membership in the Security Council and its rising global prominence, the UN Department of Political Affairs is keen on seeing China's

cooperation and commitment in this regard. However, Beijing's engagement in this UN agenda is limited at this stage⁴⁵.

Despite the increased flexibility in dealing with South Sudan's crisis, the principle of non-interference determines that China will maintain a cautious attitude regarding involvement in peacemaking effort for civil wars in other countries. China's role as a mediator in South Sudan's crisis brings up the discussion on the normative implication for Chinese foreign policy. Some people perceive these moves as the evidence of China shifting away from the principle of non-interference, and a major driver of such shift is China's expanding economic interests in the countries concerned like Sudan (Duchatel, Brauner and Zhou, 2014; Alden and Large, 2015). The counter argument to this observation is that China's involvement is invited by the two conflicting parties and the Chinese peacekeepers will strictly stick to their mandate.

Moreover, ambassador Zhong sees China's activism in South Sudan as a solid step in materializing the country's commitment to peace and security in Africa. Former Chinese President Hu Jintao identified security cooperation as one of the five areas to strengthen China's strategic partnership with Africa at the Ministerial Meeting of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in July 2012. While China has demonstrated more flexibility and pragmatism in dealing with South Sudan, it should be noted that China tries to downplay its role and in South Sudan's peace process. This tendency was illustrated by special consultation on support of IGAD organized by China in January 2015. The emphasis on the lead of IGAD conforms to China's persistent stand that regional organizations have a key role to play in conflict resolution, representing the continuity of China's sensitivity to sovereignty-related issues.

⁴⁵ Interview with UN official at April 2014 in New York.

Peace through Development: An Alternative to Liberal Peace?

Economic development has been the top priority of China's domestic policy in the reform era and this mind-set also informs its approach to conflict-related issues. China is of the view that poor economic development constitutes the root cause of many conflicts. China's emphasis on the importance of development originates from the security – development nexus which has gained momentum in policy as well as academic communities since the 1990s. The fundamental point of the nexus is the understanding that development and security are mutually reinforcing. Security is not possible without development and vice versa. A UN Secretary-General report on the causes of conflict in Africa in April 1998 pointed out that economic problems such as poverty and inequitable development could exacerbate social tensions and breed conflict (United Nations 1998). Hence, promoting economic development and social justice have been key components of UN peace efforts, as recommended in the follow-up report in 2010 (United Nations 2010).

This understanding has shaped China's approach to conflict resolution and its position on conflict-related issues like POC. When POC was first adopted as a thematic issue agenda of the Security Council in 1999, China considered the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) more appropriate forums to discuss POC-related issues because 'the issue of protecting civilians in armed conflict cuts across the political, humanitarian, development and assistance fields and would thus be more appropriately and more thoroughly deliberated in the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council' (United Nations Security Council 1999b, 21). Given the mandates of the General

Assembly and ECOSOC, the emphasis on their roles is consistent with China's understanding of the security – development nexus.

Despite its reservation over the use of force for the purpose of protection, China has voted in favor of incorporating a POC mandate into UNPKOs, some of which were authorized under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) established in 1999 was the first such operation. Peacekeepers on UNAMSIL were authorized to take the necessary action to protect civilians under imminent physical threats in the Security Council resolution 1270 (1999). China voted in favour of the mission and commended the incorporation of the protection mandate. The Chinese representative pointed out the need to explore ways to better integrate POCs with UNPKOs in 2001. The recent example of China's embrace of the protection responsibility is the deployment of the infantry to South Sudan, which is mandated to carry out POC. China disposition to POC has undergone a substantive change, from reservation to contribution.

Economic development and the distribution of revenues from natural resources are oftentimes contentious and notably are an important part of peace talks, such as those between the Myanmar government and ethnic armed groups. Professor Ibrahim Gambari, an seasoned diplomat and mediator⁴⁶ pointed out that it is crucial to recognize the importance of the development-security nexus so as to achieve effective conflict mediation. China's understanding on this issue is in line with this trend and it calls for strategies that not only focus on the humanitarian aspect, but also that address root causes of conflict, and promotes reconciliation so as to achieve a durable peace (United Nations Security Council 2004, S/PV.5100). The Chinese delegation identified poverty eradication, economic

⁴⁶ Personal interview with Ibrahim Gambari in June 2013 in Singapore.

development, national reconciliation, and the maintenance of national stability as elemental to the resolution of many conflicts, and repeated this point many times over the years. In the Security Council debate on Darfur in 2007, the Chinese representative maintained that economic development is equally as important as security, political process, and humanitarian assistance in addressing the crises in Darfur (United Nations Security Council 2007).

China supports peace efforts under the UN auspices and this corresponds to the emphasis on the lead role of the UN in its statements. Participation in UN PKOs provides an important channel for China to contribute to efforts to resolve conflicts. Chinese peacekeepers are made up mostly of engineering and medical forces that are important for post-conflict peacebuilding. As noted above, scarce water resources are one of the root causes of the Darfur crisis. In the first few batches of China's deployment to UNAMID, there was an engineering unit that focused on identifying water sources and well-drilling. They drilled wells for Darfur and thus alleviated the shortage of drinking water for the local population (PLA Daily 2009). All these activities contributed to addressing the root causes of tension and eased the difficulties in people's daily life. In addition to peacekeeping, China's contribution to resolution has recently been reinforced by peacemaking activities, as illustrated by the case of South Sudan.

China's engagement with conflict resolution is not limited to the UN framework, but also includes bilateral economic relations with the countries concerned. As noted earlier, the security – development nexus underlies China's understanding of peace and security. China's rapid economic rise in the past three decades has significantly driven its economic assistance and overseas investment. In 2009, 45.7 per cent of Chinese economic assistance was directed to Africa in the form of loans, state-sponsored investments, grants, debt cancellation or relief, and in-kind

aid, exceeding the aid program of the World Bank in Africa (Weston, Campbell, & Koleski 2011, 4, 7).

Myanmar has also been a major recipient of Chinese economic assistance since 1999 (International Crisis Group 2009). The Chinese government estimates that China's overseas direct investment will grow at 10 per cent annually over the next five years (Shih & Miller 2014). The African Development Bank looks to China to close the gap of funding for infrastructure in African countries (Vollgraaff & Doya 2014). Although the fast expansion of outbound investment is motivated by China's thirst for raw materials and foreign markets in the first place, it is undeniable that Chinese capital funds infrastructure projects, such as electricity and transportation provision, that are critical for countries emerging from conflicts. China's growing economic presence in conflicted countries provides it with more leverage to press parties to the conflict back to negotiations. In 2012, China managed to persuade Sudan and South Sudan to seal an oil revenue share agreement by withholding its support for the project of the Lamu-Juba corridor until the deal was almost reached (Zhang 2012, 5).

In addition to strengthened economic relationships, the Chinese government has adopted a pragmatic approach to domestic problems in other countries. For instance, given that China has been criticized for its human rights record, it has kept its distance from Western countries' sanctions on some developing countries for human rights issues, such as Sudan and Myanmar. Strong bilateral ties have often placed China in a better position as a mediator and liaison than Western countries that have been critical of respective governments, such as in the conflict. Efforts at mediation were made by the Chinese President Hu Jintao during his visit to Sudan in February 2007 where he proposed four principles for addressing the Darfur crisis. Following Hu's visit, senior diplomats made follow-up efforts to

persuade the Sudanese side to cooperate with international peace efforts (Van Hoeymissen 2011, 156). These activities, together with the efforts by other parties, culminated in Khartoum's consent to the deployment of UNAMID in 2007.

5.4 Understanding Increased Chinese Activism

This section uses the two-level framework to explore the factors that have driven China's expanded contribution to the peace effort in South Sudan. It starts with a review of China's current standing in the international power structure. This is followed by an examination of economic, political and security incentives for China to assume a greater role in multilateral peace efforts, South Sudan in particular.

5.4.1 China as a Major Power

Building on the achievement of the first two decades of the reform era, China's material capabilities has achieved qualitative improvement in the 21st century. On the economic front, China replaced Japan as the world's second largest economy in terms of GDP in the 2nd quarter of 2010. It is now one of the most important economies in global trade – the largest exporter and 2nd largest importer in terms of merchandise trade in 2014. China's growing weight in global economy is built on its strong industrial capacity which is illustrated by the fact that manufacture accounted for 94 per cent of China's export in 2014. Although a substantial gap remains between China and the leading countries in terms of cutting-edge technologies, Chinese enterprises are catching up in the technology-based sector like telecoms, appliances and computer (Shambaugh, 2012:154-159). For instance, the assembly of China's first home-grown passenger plane was completed on in early November 2015. The continuous increase of Chinese

military expenditure has been transformed into the rapid modernization of PLA. In addition to the aforementioned UAV, China has unveiled its first aircraft carrier and the two advanced jet fighters – J20 and J31. The military modernization has substantially improved the PLA's projection capability, as illustrated by the PLA navy's anti-pirate patrol in the Gulf of Aiden since 2008 and the evacuation of Chinese citizens amid the security crisis in Libya in 2011.

Apart from the growth of the tangible elements, notable progress has been seen in China's effort to promote its soft power, through provision of development aid as well as export of Chinese culture and development model. China has opened 350 Confucius Institutes across the globe as of 2011 (Shambaugh, 2012:94,196). The Chinese language, philosophy and history are taught here, which constitutes important platforms to enhance cultural exchanges between China and the rest of the world. In addition to Confucius Institutes, China begins to capitalize on its growing economic resources through provision of development aid to less developed countries. Development aid takes the forms of financial aid, assistance in infrastructure projects, technical cooperation and training of human resources. Given China's close trade relations with Africa and the underdevelopment in the region, African is a major destination of China's foreign aid, receiving 51.8 per cent of China's financial aid between 2010 and 2012 (China's foreign aid, 2014). Beijing announced to grant debt relief to 32 African countries in October 2010. The Chinese government started to release in 2011 the White Paper, *China's Foreign Aid*, indicating that provision of foreign aid is becoming an important instrument in China's foreign relations (Brautigam, 2011; Wolf, Wang and Warner, 2013).

While China has achieved significant progress in raising its national power, the country's ascent to the great power status has yet to complete. Despite being the

world's 2nd largest economy, China remains a member of the developing world in terms of the per capita value. Economic development has slowed down since 2013, with the GDP growth rate for the 3rd quarter of 2015 dropping below 7 per cent. Weak economic performance places the legitimacy of the CPC regime under challenge as it is largely built on economic prosperity and improvement in people's life standard. Moreover, the negative impacts of fast economic development are increasingly seen, such as income disparity, environmental pollution and corruption, fuelling social discontent. The past two decades have witnessed the surge in the annual number of mass incidents, from 8,700 in 1993 to 180,000 in 2010 (Wang, 2010:87; Orlik, 2011). Such challenges risk undermining the domestic foundation of the China model and weakening the attraction of this model abroad.

5.4.2 Stronger Incentives for a Greater International Role

I. China's Expanding Overseas Interests

Beijing released a white paper entitled *China's Peaceful Development* on 6 September 2011 that defined the country's core interests – state sovereignty, national security, territorial integrity, national reunification, stability of the political system and social order, as well as sustainable socio-economic development. While national security and territorial integrity are always critical national interests, the peaceful regional environment and China's growing military might determines that these two interests are not facing imminent threats. As China's rise has yet to complete, economic development remains the foundation for this process.

China's quest for overseas resources and growing outbound Chinese investment has expanded the scope of Chinese economic interest. As shown in Chart 10,

China's outbound FDI surged after 2005. Beijing has benefited from its strong bilateral relationship with Myanmar, for instance, winning important infrastructure contracts and access to extractive industries, as well as carrying out extensive investments in Myanmar. One of the most significant of these contracts was the joint Tagaung Taung nickel deposit that was granted to China by the Myanmar government in 2008. This was the largest mining project with an investment of over US\$800 million (International Crisis Group, 2009:17).

Chart 10 China's Foreign Direct Investment Outflow (1980-2013)

Source: UNCTAD

China's engagement in Africa has been driven by its quest for natural resources, and by the potentially lucrative export market for Chinese goods (Saferworld, 2011:7). The expansion of China's overseas interests is particularly evident in Sudan/South Sudan. China cultivated friendly relations with African countries in Mao's era through supporting the anti-colonial movement on the continent, but the friendship cooled down as Beijing retracted from international commitment and focused on domestic development in Deng's era. The close bilateral relationship between China and Sudan was resumed in the 1990s from the economic sector

when Khartoum was isolated and sanctioned by the west for the military coup by the National Islamist Front against the elected government.

The withdrawal of western oil companies made the Sudanese government to look for partners to develop its oil reserves and this coincided with China's need to source for foreign oil after the country became a net oil importer in 1993. China imported 52 per cent of Sudan's crude oil production in 2009. Encouraged by the strategy of 'Going Global', Chinese state-owned oil companies began in mid-1990s to fill in the vacuum in South Sudan's oil industry left by their western competitors and became major players in the 2000s. For instance, the blocks of which CNPC is the major shareholder produced over 90 per cent of Sudan's crude oil in 2009. Apart from economic cooperation, Beijing has also provided important political support for Khartoum on issues like the Darfur crisis and human rights. China's UN delegation threatened in 2007 to veto draft resolutions that would impose sanctions on the Sudanese government for perpetration of gross violations of human rights. In the Security Council consultations on the formation of UNAMID, China insisted that its support was subject to the consent from Khartoum.

Beijing's good relationship with Khartoum and decisive role in Sudan's oil industry became a double-edged sword after Juba was granted certain autonomy by the CPA in 2005. Guided by the non-interference principle, China used to maintain the stand to avoid engagement with rebel groups of countries in civil conflict. While this approach has helped China to forge friendly relations with the national government of many African countries including Sudan, it created difficulties for China's relations with Juba after 2005. Perceiving Beijing as a close friend of Khartoum, some rebel groups in South Sudan held negative views on China's deep involvement in Sudan's oil industry. The South Sudan Defense Force (SSDF)

and its political wing, the South Sudan United Defense Alliance (SSUDA) threatened to withdraw the approval on Chinese investment in oil projects in the South and sought to establish contact with Taiwan, according to a diplomatic cable on 7 March 2006 disclosed on Wikileaks.

The turning point in the China-South Sudan relationship appeared in 2005 when the CPA outlined the self-determination referendum in 2011. Despite the uneasiness with China's close relationship with Khartoum, elites in Juba have to face the reality of China's influential role in the country's oil industry. China imported 86 per cent of crude oil produced by Sudan and South Sudan in 2013 (EIA, 2014:11). While the south is home to 75 per cent of the Sudan's oil reserves, the north controls the oil infrastructure as well as human resources. Such division of labour has left the south reliant on the north for refining and export after the separation. This sowed the seed of dispute as was illustrated by Juba's decision to shut down production in January 2012 due to disagreement on transit fees. Hence, South Sudan looks to construct its own pipelines and refineries to build independent capacity in oil production, and China is a major source of investment and technical support for such projects. Salva Kiir visited Beijing in 2005 as the head of the SPLM delegation and then 2007 as the head of the regional southern government. He paid visit to Beijing in April 2012 as the head of state of South Sudan for the first time and attended the launch of the South Sudanese Embassy in Beijing, one of the country's four embassies in Asia. Economic cooperation was a focal point in the bilateral meetings during the visits (Large, 2011:167).

While preferring the unity of Sudan, Beijing also needs to heed the implications for itself of the south region becoming a sovereign state. China has been pursuing a strategy of diversifying its sources of oil import to enhance its energy security. Sudan and South Sudan is an important source of oil import for China, supplying

around 5 per cent of China's crude oil in 2011 (IEA, 2014:31). Although China's oil import from South Sudan shrank to 2 per cent in 2014 due to the shutdown in 2012 and the conflict since 2013, the extensive investment by Chinese companies in South Sudan's oil industry is a key factor in the bilateral relationship. Cooperation and support of the South Sudanese government is essential for the safety of Chinese investment. Progress in the bilateral relations started in the business sector which is less sensitive than the high politics, with small Chinese businesses moving in to the Juba and other southern towns after 2005 (Large, 2011:162).

In addition, the unstable border facilitates transnational crime in both directions. The drug trade has been a major revenue source for the northern ethnic armed groups on the Myanmar–China border. The Special Regions in Shan State and the Kokang autonomous region are a primary source of drugs, including methamphetamines (UNODC, 2010:115). Sanctions imposed on Myanmar by Western countries have further weakened state capacity, encouraging some military officers to engage in illicit drug smuggling and natural resource extraction to generate income (Englehart, 2005:641). The drug trade originating in Myanmar affects China's social and economic development. China now has the largest number of injecting drug-users, which in turn has led to the spread of infectious diseases such as HIV and Hepatitis C and B (UNODC, 2011:30). In addition to drug trafficking, the porous border areas have also become a venue for smuggling, illegal migration, and other criminal activities (Li and Lye, 2010:184) that are perceived as a threat to China's border security and sources of potential instability within China.

II. From Lying Low to Achieving Something

China's political interest basically include upholding the its own understanding of sovereignty and human rights as well as advocating the international economic and political orders that are more equal and representative (Yan, 1996:191-221). While the elements of Chinese political interest remain similar in the reform era, the way that they are pursued and protected has evolved as China grows more powerful. The growth of Chinese power prompts Beijing to revisit the guiding principle of its diplomacy in the reform era – keeping a low profile and achieving something. China as a rising power begins to pay more attention to the second half of the principle, seeking to secure the international status and influence commensurate with its growing power.

According to the power transition theory, the rising power is usually dissatisfied with the status quo in the international system and thus seeks to change it to better serve its own interests. China has long called for the reform on the existing international orders. As the international system was largely established on the Western values to serve the interests of western powers, China finds some aspects of the system out-dated (Cui, 2013:11) and advocates for reforms on the international orders that reflects the changing of distribution power in the system and increases the representation of emerging economies and developing countries.

At the international level, China has raised an issue with the existing distribution of power in the two major international financial institutions – the World Bank and IMF. It demands that the two organizations adjust its voting share so as to better reflect the voice of the developing countries. IMF promised in 2010 to carry out reforms on its voting power distribution, raising the representation of China and other emerging economies. Apart from reforming the existing arrangements,

Beijing has championed the establishment of new institutions, to provide better financing for economic development in developing countries.

At the regional level, Beijing has become more active on the political and security fronts. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization has seen notable development since its establishment in and promoted the 'new security concept' through extensive cooperation in the organization. It is active in the EAS, to which the US has yet to participate. However, China seeks only to readjust the rules to maximize its interests, but not to break them. On the other hand, it is a staunch defender of the Westphalian system and norms. It calls for reinforcing the UN as the central body to address international political and security issues. Therefore, China aims to revise the international system and regimes, but only to the degree that it can ensure its rights will not be sacrificed.

The impact of such power capabilities on foreign policy is indirect and complex, because systemic pressure must be translated through intervening variables at the unit level. The leadership's assessment of China's power and interest is a key intervening variable in shaping Chinese foreign policy. Despite the success of the reform and opening-up policy, the Chinese leaders also have a reasonable understanding of the country's deficiencies. President Hu Jintao pointed out at the Boao Forum for Asia in April 2004 that China's development had a weak foundation and faced with challenges like regional disparity, ecological and environmental deterioration and depletion of natural resources. He also noted the contrast between the large size of Chinese economy and the small per capita value. President Xi Jinping, Hu's successor, reaffirmed China's positioning as a developing country at a meeting of the CPC's Politburo in October 2015.

This assessment determines that the conditions essential for China's economic take-off in the 1980s and 1990s remain critical for China's continued growth, like peaceful regional environment and international cooperation. It is therefore important for China to address regional countries' concern over its ascendance. To counter the China threat theory, the Chinese government advanced the idea of 'peaceful rise' in the early 2000s and released a series of white papers⁴⁷ that elaborates the objectives, guidelines and implications of China's development for international peace. The white paper reviews China's achievement in poverty reduction, public health and pollution control as well as its tightened connections with the international community. The main argument is that China's development significantly contributes to international peace, which is based on the link between development and peace. Increased participation in UN peacekeeping is one of China's contributions to world peace. It is also worth to note that rise was replaced by development in the official discourse, which reflects Beijing's sensitivity to the competitive connotation associated with rise.

III. Reduced Concern for Sovereignty and Broadening Scope of Security

As a result of the increasing economic interdependence, China's role in African affairs has been expanded from the economic realm to peace and security issues. South Sudan presents a good example to illustrate such a shift. The post-Cold War era has seen the evolution of the concept of security, with the emergence of such concepts as human security and non-traditional security. Security is no longer defined in military term but expanded to include non-traditional issues like energy security, health security and economic security. Globalization and economic interdependence has made peace and security in other countries linked with China's security interests.

⁴⁷ *China's Peaceful Development Road* was released in December 2005, and this was followed by *China's Peaceful Development* in September 2011.

In Sudan and South Sudan, armed rebels have attacked Chinese project sites and abducted or even killed engineers and construction workers. Armed conflicts in oil-supplying countries like Sudan, South Sudan and Libya have negative implications for China's energy security. Moreover, the physical security of Chinese citizens are also threatened by violence in other countries as a result of the expansion of China's economic presence and growing number of outbound Chinese tourists. The evacuation of Chinese citizens from Libya in 2011 and repeated abductions of Chinese workers by armed groups in Sudan and South Sudan illustrate how China's security interest is affected by other people's war.

The spill-over effects of the ethnic conflicts in Myanmar are more directly felt by China as the two countries are neighbours. Clashes between government armed forces and ethnic armed groups have threatened China's security in terms of traditional as well as non-traditional threats. Two Chinese citizens were killed and another 15 injured in the 2009 Kokang incident. More than 37,000 refugees fled to China's side of the common border (Li 2011, 114). The influx of refugees imposed logistical and financial burdens on Yunnan province, one of China's less developed provinces.

5.5 Conclusion

South Sudan stands as a breakthrough in China's contribution to conflict resolution – mediation and deployment of the largest number of peacekeepers in Chinese peacekeeping history. This chapter has argued that this shift has been driven by the adjustment of national interest amid China's ascendance. China has called for changes to the existing international system and increase of the representation of developing countries in global governance. Conflict resolution

provides a channel for China to promote this agenda on the security front. In addition, the expansion of China's overseas interests helps explain its increasing activism on international peace and security issues. It is likely that China's economic interests and the physical security of overseas Chinese citizens are key factors that determine how the government responds to crises in other countries.

China's emphasizes the importance of the security-development nexus in resolving conflicts and achieving lasting peace. This has led to China's contributions focusing more on the development dimension, such as infrastructure construction or provision of funds for such projects. As China's overseas interests grow, it will have to pay higher prices if the situation in the recipient countries of Chinese investment deteriorates. Hence, the Chinese government in recent years has been more proactive in playing a constructive role in conflict resolution in countries like Sudan and South Sudan. Importantly, China's growth in economic and military might and political influence has given it more leverage to engage in peacekeeping and peacemaking which are mutually reinforcing. China has become a constructive contributor to UN peacekeeping but just a beginner in peacemaking. Due to the non-interference principle and capacity issues, the prospect of China's role as a mediator is uncertain.

The case of UNMISS demonstrates how a rising China contributes to multilateral peace efforts, including UNPKOs. The report of a high-level expert panel on UN peacekeeping released in June 2015 notes that UN peace operations have been stretched by the dilemma between growing demands and capacity gaps (UN, 2015, A/70/95–S/2015/446). In view of China's growing military capabilities and the rising importance of non-combat operations in China's military strategy, China is in a good place to help fill in the gaps. In addition, China understands peace and security differently from liberal peace that shapes UN peace operations in the

post-cold war era. While China also recognizes the importance of issues like democracy and human rights, it maintains that lack of development is a root cause of many armed conflicts. Wang Guangya, the Chinese ambassador to the UN between 2003 and 2008, called for greater attention to issues like economic development and capacity building in a Security Council meeting on UN peacekeeping in May 2004 (UN, 2004, S/PV.4970). The understanding that development and security are mutually reinforcing forms the basis of China's position on many issues, like peacekeeping, civilian protection, conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Growing involvement in peacekeeping activities provides China with a channel to promote its understanding of peace and security as a complement to the existing liberal paradigm.

Chapter VI Summary and Conclusion

6.1 Revisiting the Argument and Hypotheses

This work seeks to understand the factors that have shaped China's policy on UN peacekeeping in the era of economic reform since 1979. A country's foreign policy is the sum of its official external relations. As an increasingly important component of its foreign policy, China's disposition to UNPKOs indicates its attitude to the broad international security cooperation. The formulation of foreign policy reflects how various competing interests are accommodated and highlights the priorities in external engagement (Hill, 2003:3-5). The growth of national power enables states to achieve new objectives in foreign policy (Lampton, 2008:11). China's growing power is supposed to automatically translate into more positive foreign policies, so as to expand the scope and depth of its international influence. However, the case of UN peacekeeping shows that the unit-level factors play an important role in shaping the nuanced causal relation between power and foreign policy.

China's growth in economic strength, political influence and military might has changed its relative standing vis-à-vis the system, and this has culminated adjustments in its foreign policy goals, and participation in UNPKOs provide an avenue for the realization of such goals. However, while the China's power status sets the parameters of its foreign policy, the growing power is not directly and smoothly converted into policy adjustments. But instead it is channeled through the reassessment and redefinition of interest and threat. It is argued here that the delay in the translation of China's growing power into more positive peacekeeping policy is a result of the influence of the three unit-level factors – the vulnerability of China's economy to foreign risks, domestic perception of China's international role and its concern for sovereignty and territory.

Using the two-level framework, this study presents three hypotheses. First, China grows more active in contributing to UN PKOs as the Chinese economy becomes more easily affected by political and security crises in foreign countries. The economic relations between China and the globe have undergone transformations in the course of China's economic reform. China in the 1980s and 1990s thirsted for capital and technologies, the primary source of which were developed countries and multilateral organizations. With the financial and technological support from abroad as well as preferential domestic policies, China quickly grew into a world factory. The destinations of the world factory's products were also politically stable developed countries. The risk that China's economic activities were disturbed by foreign crises was low. The economic incentive was thus not strong for China to contribute to UNPKOs and other multilateral peace efforts in this period. The pattern of China's economic interactions with the world has evolved as a result of China's strong economic development. As aforementioned, China moves from the receiving end of FDI to the sourcing point in the 2010s and heavily relies on foreign sources for energy and raw materials to sustain high-speed economic growth. The new pattern of China's interaction with global economy increases its economic vulnerability to foreign crises.

With regard to the two empirical cases in this thesis, we see a substantive increase of the vulnerability from the time of UNTAET to that of UNMISS. China resumed dialogue and exchanges with ASEAN countries only in the early 1990s. The bilateral investment and trade volume was not significant with regional countries, compared with other countries and regions like Japan and US. Indonesia was China's 3rd largest trading partner in ASEAN⁴⁸ in 1994 (Trade with China, 1995), with a trade value of 2.64 USD. In addition, it is Indonesia that held

⁴⁸ ASEAN as whole ranked 6th among China's trading partners in 1994 (Walker, 1995).

the trade surplus. The Timor-Leste crisis did not significantly threaten China's trade with Indonesia or other economic interest in the region. On the contrary, the threat of South Sudan's civil conflict to China's interest was visible, given the latter's extensive investment in the country's oil sector. China's the economic incentive to contribute to UNMISS is thus much stronger than UNTAET.

Second, China is more positively disposed to UN peacekeeping when it becomes more influential on global agenda. The disagreement between China and the western liberal countries on certain political values like sovereignty and human rights was once a major cause behind China's reservation over peacekeeping. However, China's top priority in the 1990s was domestic development. The country positioned itself as the world's biggest developing country and undertook international responsibilities commensurate with this positioning. Limited involvement in international affairs was to create a favourable external environment for China to concentrate on domestic issues. As the country grows more powerful economically and militarily, it becomes more articulate of its views on political norms and values. In addition, the growing national power gives itself more leverage in implement its approach to addressing political and security challenges.

The political incentive exists throughout the course of China's participation in UNPKOs. In the 1980s and early 1990s, Beijing needed to show its cooperative attitude to integrate with the international system. This purpose was replaced by the image of 'responsible power' in the late 1990s and early 2000s. However, China's willingness to contribute in these periods was always conditioned by its limited capabilities. In the Security Council debates on Timor-Leste after its independence, the Chinese delegation to the UN always modified Beijing's offer of assistance with the phrase of 'within its capacity'. In the 2010s Beijing takes a

more active posture on global governance. When interviewed by media about China's role in South Sudan's peace process, Zhong Jianhua, China's special representative on African affairs, noted that China's involvement was requested by both parties to South Sudan's conflicts⁴⁹. With regard to the deployment of the infantry to UNMISS, Ambassador Zhong responded that this was a natural development of China's growth. The presence in multilateral institutions provides China with the opportunities to contribute its views to the evolution of international norms, values and practices, some of which are directly relevant to peacekeeping.

On the security front, China's understanding of Westphalian sovereignty and the internal challenges in this regard shape its threat assessment. Defending sovereignty and territorial integrity is at the core of China's security policies, as highlighted in its biennial Defense White Papers since 1998. The heightened cross-straits relations in the 1990s and early 2000s were a source of insecurity of its sovereignty and territorial insecurity in that period. China's Defense White Paper in 2000 criticized that the independence-seeking attempts by the Taiwan authorities severely undermined China's sovereignty and threatened national security. It also accused foreign governments of interfering in China's internal affairs through activities like arms sales to Taiwan. In the wake of Timor-Leste's independence through referendum, China warned against the attempt to draw an analogy between Timor-Leste and Taiwan, maintaining that the two issues were of different nature (Lim, 1999). This position was reiterated by President Jiang Zemin during his first visit to Australia in 1999 (Thornhill, 1999). While it was important to court the friendship with ASEAN by supporting the positions of Indonesia and ASEAN, sovereignty valued the most in China's calculation of its attitude to Timor-Leste's independence. Given the possibility of this issue being used against

⁴⁹ Ambassador Zhong responded to a series of questions on China's role in South Sudan on a show called 'Talk Africa', which was aired by the China Central Television Station in October 2014. <http://www.travelbook.tv/video/talk-africa-china-s-role-in-south-sudan/Fm09sUelyM4>

China's reunification, Beijing demonstrated its support in a more controlled and nuanced manner.

The overall assessment of China's security was generally favourable since 2006. Beijing's concern about sovereignty has been eased in the 2010s as improvements are seen in the cross-strait relations, which has been noted in China's Defense White Papers since 2008. The discussion on sovereignty in the paper has no longer been closely linked to the Taiwan question since 2008. For instance, sovereignty was not mentioned in the paragraph about Taiwan in the Defense White Paper in 2015. Instead, it perceived the 'Taiwan Independence' forces and their activities as the biggest threat to the peaceful development of the cross-strait relations. In addition, while sovereignty remains at the core of China's security, the White Papers in recent years give increasing attention to insecurity of multiple sources, both traditional and non-traditional. These developments indicate that the security constraint on Beijing's positive disposition has been loosened to some extent in the 2010s. Against this background, we have seen China's engagement with UN peacekeeping further expand and deepen in recent years.

In summary, China's relative power is translated into its foreign policy through the three domestic incentives. In cases where some of the incentives are absent or weak, the Chinese contribution is nominal at best, like UNTAET and other cases in the 1990s. When the unit-level factors are all strong, the contribution increases accordingly, like the operations after the mid-2000 and UNMISS in particular.

The translation of growing relative power into positive peacekeeping policy is a gradual process of the change of perception as well as capacity-building. The review of China's peacekeeping-related statements demonstrates that the

perception of UN peacekeeping by Chinese officials and scholars has gone through notable changes. China asserted in the 1970s that peacekeeping was controlled and manipulated by superpowers. The statement in 1995 was that 'mounting peace-keeping operations is one of the means by which the UN eases and resolves conflicts and creates conditions for the peaceful settlement of disputes' (UN, 1995, S/PV.3611). China's positive evaluation of the role of UNPKOs in world peace was reaffirmed in the statement in 2006. Wang Guangya, the then Chinese representative, said that 'peacekeeping operations are one of the most effective measures used by the United Nations to maintain peace and achieving collective security' (UN, 2006, S/PV.5376). The Chinese representative recognized that peacekeeping is one of the most important UN measures for maintaining peace and security (UN, 2010, S/PV.6270). The increasingly positive evaluation of the role of peacekeeping indicates the shift in how Beijing perceives UN peacekeeping.

In addition, it also takes time to build sufficient capacity for peacekeeping, from human resources to support service and institutions. It was pointed even in 2015 that China still lags behind some troop contributing countries in many aspects of peacekeeping, like legislation and the lack of senior commanders for missions in complex situations. The selection of peacekeeping police consists of multiple rounds, from application on notice to passage of the UN qualification test. The candidates go through regular training, intensive training before the qualification test, and pre-deployment training. The whole process takes three months to half a year, which was longer at the early stage of China's participation given that the training arrangement was not institutionalized yet. The UN aims to deploy operations within 30 to 90 days after the adoption of a mandate. The absence of a standing pool of peacekeeping personnel at the turn of the 21st century limited the speed and scale of China's contribution.

China started in the early 2000s to build the pool of qualified peacekeepers for extensive and sustainable contributions to UNPKOs. The two training centers respectively for peacekeeping police and troops were established in 2003 and 2009. The two facilities facilitate the regularization and standardization of peacekeeping training in China and also provide the platforms for exchange activities between Chinese peacekeeping forces and their foreign counterpart. However, the issue of lack of capabilities was even raised in a Chinese journal article in 2009 (Zhang, 2009:57), which means capacity-building is a long-term task for China's peacekeeping force. Another effort was adoption of the Regulation on PLA's Participation in UN Peacekeeping on 1 May 2012. The regulation guides the work like division of labor among different departments, selection of peacekeepers, deployment and withdrawal, as well as decoration and promotion. It took ten years from 2003 to 2012 for China to establish a relatively comprehensive institution for peacekeeping participation.

6.2 China's Rise and the Redistribution of World Power

China as a major country in the international system has been inevitably affected by the changing power dynamics at the systemic level. The heightened competition between the US and the Soviet Union created incentives and opportunities for US-China rapprochement in the 1970s and 1980s. The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 broke the power equilibrium of the international system and gave rise to the debate on the future global political landscape. China was considered as a potential contender for the polar status in view of its expansive territory, large population and powerful military force. The relief of security threat from the Soviet Union and the possibility of China obtaining

a pole status began to crack the rapprochement. The decade after the end of the Cold War witnessed China's impressive economic success and increase of political influence and military capabilities. The increase of China's relative power heightens its competition with the US for international influence.

China's economic growth and military modernization raises its status in the international power hierarchy and this inevitably leads to the speculations on the nature of China's rise and the intentions behind its foreign policy. The external reactions have been a mix of both optimistic and pessimistic predictions. The positive external perception often centres on the economic implications of China's rise for regional and global economy. Countries that benefit economically from this process welcome China's development and engage in cooperation, as illustrated by the fast growth of trade between China, and US, Japan as well as ASEAN. However, concerns emerge as the competitive dimension of China's economic growth is increasingly felt by countries that have benefited from China's economic development. Among such accusations as manipulation of interest rates, pollution and intensified competition for natural resources, China's model of development has put the liberal economic agenda under challenge.

The discussion on the security implications of China's ascendance has been diverse. The China threat theory reflects the unease over the unfolding redistribution of power in the regional and international system and the uncertainties associated with this process. Such assessments that focus on the negative impacts of this change pose more challenge to China which strives for maintaining favourable external environment for domestic development. It is thus crucial for China to engage with this discourse and enhance understanding and confidence. For instance, through regional multilateralism, Southeast Asian countries begin to accept China's rise as a 'regional status quo' (Goh, 2007) and

seek to engage with the rising power in the way that favour regional peace and stability. The emergence of the term, China challenge, reflects the evolution of external reaction to China's rise.

From the neoclassical realist perspective, a rising China naturally seeks to increase external influence because its growing relative power expands the scope of its activities abroad. Traditionally, territorial conquest is a direct and effective means to achieve this purpose. However, economic interdependence and expansion of international institutions have made the pursuit of international influence through military means more difficult and less effective. Given the rising importance of UN peacekeeping in maintaining international security, participation in UNPKOs has become an avenue for China to increase its influence abroad without transgressing the Westphalian principles. In addition, China's rise prompts other states, particularly great powers, to assess the implications of the structural change for their own security. Due to the scarcity of security in the international system, the rise of a great power is naturally associated with the decline of security for other states, particularly great powers. Hence, states are likely to enter into alliance against the rising power, either through balancing or bandwagoning, to curb the potential hegemon (Walt, 1987:18). It is crucial for China to reassure other states about its benign intentions so as to maintain a favorable external environment.

China's relative standing in the international power structure generates the systemic pressure for its policy on UN peacekeeping in the designated period. China's systemic pressures in the past four decades include the rapprochement with the US in the Cold War, integration with the international system in the 1990s, reassurance of its benign intention to other states, and reform the existing international order to accommodate its own interest. These pressures result in

changes in China's peacekeeping policy through influencing the three unit-level factors.

6.3 The Unit-Level Dynamics

6.3.1 China's International Role: From Norm-Taker to Norm-Maker

China's political interest at the international level is evolving in the course of China's rise, from defending the Westphalian principles like respect for sovereignty and non-interference to developing its approach to key issues like development, security and human rights. The Westphalian principles are the cornerstone of Chinese foreign policy and the Taiwan question is a major factor that contributes to China's traditional understanding of sovereignty. Beijing has competed with Taipei for recognition since regaining the UN membership in 1971. Hence, securing international recognition was a key task of Chinese diplomacy in the 1980s and 1990s. The competition ended in the mid-2000s as China has grown more powerful and overshadowed Taiwan in provision of financial aid and other assistance to the target countries.

The defence for Westphalian sovereignty continues to be an important element of China's political interest as this notion has been under challenge due to the emergence of concepts like RtoP that question the traditional understanding of sovereignty. Although RtoP was unanimously adopted in 2005 by the UN, there have been controversies revolving the concept as countries disagree on some aspects of its implementation. The NATO operation in Libya has intensified the controversies and disagreements. China contributes to shaping this concept through coordination with like-minded countries like ASEAN countries that uphold Westphalian sovereignty and BRICS countries that seek to assert their influence on the development new international norms. The common grounds among these

countries include reservation over the effectiveness of military intervention and poverty and social inequality as root causes of mass atrocities.

Backed by its growing power, China seeks to complement the existing views on security, regional security in particular. The articulation of the 'New Security Concept'⁵⁰ (NSC) in the mid-1990s represents an attempt in this direction. NSC emphasizes mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination in inter-state relationship, conforming to China's adherence to the Westphalian principles. The position paper on NSC reveals the change in how China understands security. Different from the realist perspective that security is scarce, the NSC assumes that common security is achievable through cooperation. In the face of new security challenges like energy insecurity, financial crisis and food shortage, the scope of security is extended to areas like economy, environment and culture. The change in understanding coincided with the emerging trend in the international community to securitize non-military challenges as represented by the release of the Human Development Report 1994 by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

Nonetheless, the NSC sticks to the state-centric approach and reaffirms the leading role of the United Nations in international security. The NSC shares similar positions on the Westphalian principles with the SCO Charter that steers interactions among member states as well as the political direction of the organization. During the Georgia crisis in 2008, the SCO summit in Dushanbe issued a joint communiqué that reiterated the importance of the sovereignty norm to the organization and the leading role of the Security Council in international peace and security. With regard to the issue of South Ossetia, the leaders called

⁵⁰ 'China's Position Paper on the New Security Concept', <http://www.china-un.org/eng/xw/t27742.htm>, accessed on 5 January 2016.

for dialogue and peaceful means and supported Russia to play a constructive role in resolving the crisis. The communiqué demonstrated that the SOC refrained from involvement in the issue and the rhetoric support was symbolic considering Russia's influence in central Asia and the organization⁵¹.

The effort to provide an alternative perspective of security was further developed by the introduction of the New Asian Security Concept. President Xi Jinping articulated this notion in his address at the 4th Summit of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia in Shanghai in May 2014 (Xi, 2014). In addition to the basic position of the NSC like cooperation, equality, non-interference and comprehensive security, the New Asian Security Concept (NASC) highlights two additional points regarding security in Asia. First, while recognizing the importance of cooperation with countries of other regions, the NASC emphasizes that the people of Asia take the lead in addressing regional affairs. Second, President Xi explicitly drew in his speech the nexus between development and security. China sees development and security mutually reinforcing and this view is embedded in its position on related issues like POC, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. The development from the NSC to the NASC represents China's effort to search for proper engagement in building future regional security with its growing relative power. The two versions of security concept demonstrate that the regional security order that China envisions is consistent with its support for the Westphalian-based international order.

Security and development are inter-connected and mutually reinforcing through practice on the ground, as illustrated by its involvement in the UNMISS case. China's participates in multilateral mediation, contributes to peacekeeping and provide other assistance through bilateral channel. Chinese peacekeepers have

⁵¹ Wikileaks, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08SHANGHAI386_a.html, last accessed on 5 January 2016.

been engaged in infrastructure (re)construction and other activities like demining that contribute to post-conflict rebuilding. Through these activities, China attempts to present an alternative avenue to understand peace and security. China's views on economic development and political values are different from the status quo powers that are proponents of the liberal paradigm. China as a rising power has attempted to complement the existing system with its own values.

6.3.2 Increasing Economic Vulnerability to Foreign Crises

Economic development is China's fundamental interest throughout the reform era. As the development proceeds to different stages, the focus evolves. In the first two decades since 1979, China was inward-looking and the foreign policy primarily served domestic development. The flow of investment and technology was inbound. China began to improve its relations with neighboring countries and major powers in the 1970s to end self-imposed isolation. The normalization of relations with Japan and the United States, respectively in 1972 and 1979, marked the start of a series of moves to foster a supportive environment for domestic development. Fruits of improved external relations were particularly seen on the economic front. China became the 2nd largest destination of direct Japanese investment in the early 1990s and the 4th largest trading partner of the EU countries in 1993 (Sutter, 2012:180,286). The trade volume between China and ASEAN increased by 15 per cent annually in the 1990s (Yang and Heng, 2010:671). Closer economic and trade ties catalyzed activities in other areas like high-level official visits and cultural exchanges. Emperor Akihito made the first-ever visit to China in 1992 since the defeat of Japan in World War II. The EU-China annual summit started in 1998. Interactions between China and Southeast Asia were deepened and broadened in the 1990s through various bilateral and

multilateral arrangements, such as ARF, ASEAN+3, and ASEAN-China Joint Cooperation Committee.

Economic growth drives the quest for resources and energy, and domestic capitals are looking at overseas opportunities for investment. The outbound movement of capital and people expands the scope of Chinese economic interest but makes China more vulnerable to instability and armed violence in foreign countries. The Chinese enterprises started investing overseas from mid 1990s, led by state-owned oil companies that sourced for oil to meet the country growing appetite for energy. From UNTAET to UNMISS, China has seen its outbound FDI increase by 100 times, from 915.777 million USD in 2000 to 101 billion USD in 2013. Security and humanitarian crises in other countries in recent year like the civil wars in Libya, Syria and South Sudan demonstrate that China's economic interests are increasingly vulnerable to foreign risks. This factor has an important role in explaining the case of South Sudan. However, China's participation should not be misunderstood as deployment of troops for overseas interests. The Chinese peacekeepers are under the UN command to carry out the mandate of UNMISS.

6.3.3 Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity

The concern for the integrity of its own sovereignty has shaped China's relatively conservative position on related issues, and the Taiwan question has been at the centre of this concern. Although Beijing took over the representation of China in the UN in 1971, there were many countries in the world that maintained diplomatic relations with the Taiwan authorities. Hence, Beijing had competed for international recognition with Taiwan until the mid-2000s. China's engagement

with UN peacekeeping was directly affected by this competition in the 1990s as the Chinese delegation vetoed two resolutions on specific UN operations due to the Taiwan question. These were the only two vetoes China has ever cast on peacekeeping-related resolutions since 1971, which demonstrates the importance of the Taiwan question in China's engagement with the international community, particularly in the 1990s.

The new century has witnessed changes in how China deals with the Taiwan question in context of peacekeeping. Beijing sent in 2004 its first formed unit of police to the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), which does not have diplomatic relationship with China, and this stands in contrast to the two vetoes in the 1990s. The shift in approach indicates China's increased confidence in its sovereignty as peacekeeping is no longer a tool to force other countries to recognize Beijing as the sole representative of China. Instead, it has provided a channel for China to cultivate and improve its foreign relations.

6.4 Changes in China's Disposition to UN Peacekeeping

I. Support in Principle in the 1980s

During the bipolar period in the 1980s, China's relative power was weak and this determines its position on UN peacekeeping tends to be conservative given its negative view in the 1970s. Moreover, as China just emerged from isolation from the global economy in the 1980s, China's economy was relatively independent and thus not vulnerable to foreign risks. In terms of sovereignty and territorial integrity, China's was involved in border conflicts in most of the decade and competed with Taiwan for international competition. Hence, the economic and security incentives for China to support UN peacekeeping were limited or even

non-existent. With regard to China's international role, the country resumed engagement with the international community but with limited international influence. Foreign aid, investment and technical assistance were urgently needed for China's economic development. Hence, UN peacekeeping presented a channel for China to signal its willingness to engage in cooperation so as to negotiate support for domestic development. Political incentive existed in this period and Beijing supported UN peacekeeping in principle through participation in voting and payment of financial contribution.

II. Symbolic Contribution in the 1990s

China began to send peacekeepers to UN missions in 1989 and the level of troop contribution remained below 100 except UNTAC. In terms of voting, China was generally supportive except two vetoes on missions that were related to the Taiwan question. The vetoes demonstrate that sovereignty, particularly the Taiwan question, remained a major concern in China's engagement with UN peacekeeping. With regard to China's international role, the guideline for Chinese diplomacy was keeping low profile and not seeking leadership, which was intended to avoid distraction of resources from domestic development. Hence, China assumed a relatively symbolic role in international affairs. China was more active at the regional level, engaging in regional multilateral diplomacy on both economic and security issues. While the political incentive for the position in 1980s continued, the guiding principle of diplomacy determined that China kept its contribution at a modest level.

On the economic front, China's state-owned enterprises, particularly oil companies, began to make investment abroad in mid-1990s as China became a net oil importer in 1993. Moreover, Beijing advanced the dual-track strategy – Going Global and Bring In in early 1990s. While the focus of China's economic foreign

relations was to continue attracting foreign support and assistance to facilitate domestic development, the leadership also began to pay attention to the importance of the outward economic activities. However, the Chinese companies were on trial of making overseas investment and the scale of investment was limited due to their modest capacity. Hence, the economic incentive for participation in UN peacekeeping began to take shape but was weak since the scale and scope of China's overseas interests was modest.

III. Constructive to Proactive Contribution in the 2000s

This period has seen all three incentives become stronger. China's perception of its role in global affairs is changing as it grows more powerful, moving from keeping a low profile to achieving something. The Chinese leadership in the reform era has called for reforms of the existing international economic and political orders to increase the representation of developing countries. This started with the economic and trade sector. Chinese leaders repeated the desire to participate in setting the rules governing international trade (Jiang, 2001; Dai, 2004). Since taking power in 2012, President Xi Jinping has stressed the need to reform global governance. Cui Tiankai, the Chinese ambassador to the US, also cited the model of G20 as a desirable direction for reform, that status quo powers and emerging powers have equal say on global economic and financial issues (Cui, 2013:12).

In addition to global economic governance, China stresses the importance of cooperation and the central role of the UN in peace and security issues. As discussed in Chapter I, a rising China's aim regarding the international political order is to reinforce the established norms and institutions because the country is a proponent of Westphalian sovereignty and benefits from the permanent

membership in the Security Council. UN peacekeeping provides a critical channel for China to strive for this agenda. China repeatedly calls for adherence to the three basic principles of UN peacekeeping which is based on respect for sovereignty of the host country in peacekeeping-related statements. In addition, UN authorization is always a precondition for China's support for any peacekeeping operation. Hence, engagement with UN peacekeeping at both policy and operation levels help China to advance the agenda of consolidating the importance of Westphalian sovereignty in international politics.

The new century has seen the expansion of Chinese overseas interests, from investment by state-owned enterprises to private business. It is extensively discussed in Chapter III and Chapter V how growing overseas interests have influenced China's perception of the relevance of foreign crises to its own interests. Such examples include Darfur, Myanmar, Libya and South Sudan. As China's economic presence expands across the globe, Chinese investment, safety of Chinese citizens and security of the supply of oil and raw materials are increasingly at stake in the crises of foreign countries. The protection of China's overseas interests has become a component of China's security policy as illustrated in the Defense White Paper in 2013. This new dynamic motivates China to strengthen commitment to peace and security in other countries.

China's increased confidence in its sovereignty and territorial integrity in the 2010s is reflected by its flexibility on sovereignty issues, which is illustrated by its involvement in South Sudan's peace process. China's military capabilities have witnessed remarkable improvement in the 21st century, which benefited from increased allocation of resources to military modernization since the 1990s. In addition to the improvement in military capabilities, engagement in the

international discourse on sovereignty-related issues like RtoP also contributes to strengthening China's confidence on this issue.

6.5 From Timor-Leste to South Sudan

The two empirical cases, Timor-Leste and South Sudan, which are ten years apart, witness the evolution of China's peacekeeping contribution from symbolic to substantive. Such evolution includes the increase in the number of Chinese peacekeepers and the expansion of Chinese presence in different components of a peacekeeping mission. In addition, South Sudan has seen China step beyond UN peacekeeping and start to engage in peacemaking which Beijing used to avoid involvement.

China's participation in UNTAET conforms to its role as a symbolic contributor of UN peacekeeping. The limited contribution was a result of policy reservation and capacity constraint. UNTAET took place at the time when the international community was reflecting on the lessons and failures of the peacekeeping operations in the 1990s. This effort was of significance for shaping future operations as illustrated by the release of the Brahimi Report. It was thus important for China to engage with this process to contribute its views on the evolution of UN peacekeeping.

The Chinese delegation at various UN meetings on peacekeeping in the 1990s called for adherence to the basic principles of UN peacekeeping, balance between developing and developed countries in terms of personnel placement, the lead role of the UN in international peace and security, support for regional organizations and assistance in building the peacekeeping capacity of developing countries. For instance, the Chinese representative warned against 'military

intervention under the disguise of regional security' at a General Assembly meeting on peacekeeping on 6 January 1999 (UN, 1999, A/C.4/53/SR.14). Some of the points have been consistently expressed in China's statements on UN peacekeeping until today, such as adhering to the basic principles, the lead of the UN and the important role of regional organizations, which were under challenge by deficiencies of UN operations and the NATO operation in Kosovo. These conform to China's support for the Westphalian sovereignty as well as the institutions that are built on such traditional conception of sovereignty.

In addition to participating in the discourse on peacekeeping at the policy level, contribution of personnel on the ground was another track of China's engagement with UN peacekeeping. China's upholding of non-interference helps explain the choice of civilian police over other component to increase its presence as the responsibility of civilian police is politically less controversial. Lack of capacity constrained Chinese contribution in this period. Peacekeeping was then a peripheral item on the PLA's agenda and the defence of sovereignty and territorial integrity were at the centre (Shambaugh, 1999/2000).

South Sudan stands as a breakthrough in China's engagement with UN peacekeeping as well as the wider international effort on conflict resolution. Chinese contribution to UNMISS represents qualitative progress compared with previous operations. This mission has the largest number of Chinese peacekeepers in the country's peacekeeping history and the first ever Chinese infantry on UN missions. While the quantitative change illustrates the improvement in Chinese peacekeeping capacity and wider military capabilities, the deployment of the infantry demonstrates China's changing attitude to the component of UN peacekeeping that it considered controversial before.

In addition, Beijing's mediation effort at South Sudan's civil war is another illustration of China's deep involvement in the international peace effort. It is undeniable that extensive Chinese investment in South Sudan is behind China's strong interest in resolving the country's crisis. More importantly, the South Sudan case also reflects China's evolving understanding of conflict resolution. The Chinese delegation started to incorporate peacebuilding in their statement in the Security Council debate on peacekeeping on 29 June 2009 (UN, 2009, S/PV.6153), noting the importance of coordination between peacekeeping and peacebuilding for achieving lasting peace. This was further expanded by adding peacemaking to the chain in the Security Council debate on 27 July 2011. China's inclusion of three activities in the statement indicates its broadening perspective on conflict resolution. The involvement in South Sudan's crisis is the empirical aspect of China's effort to develop its own approach to conflict management and resolution.

As discussed in preceding chapters, sovereignty and non-interference is the bottom-line for China's engagement with the international system. Some people perceive China's involvement in peace effort on South Sudan as evidence of the country inching away from the long-held principles. Beijing indeed has demonstrated increased flexibility in the principle of non-interference towards South Sudan's civil war. Nonetheless, the Chinese government maintains that its mediation has been requested by the South Sudanese government and IGAG plays the lead role in the peace process. This position conforms with its approach to conflict resolution that emphasizes the primary role of the national government and the importance of regional organization. Given China's tradition of pragmatism in foreign relations, it is premature to question the relevance of non-interference to Chinese foreign policy. This makes the prospect of China's continued or bigger role in peacemaking remain to be seen.

6.6 Contribution and Scope for Future Research

This thesis is situated within the debates about the nature and purpose of China's growing power as well as the literature on the international responsibility and identity of rising powers. A two-level framework is used to outline the evolution of China's disposition to UN peacekeeping in the era of its economic reform. More importantly, this study demonstrates that there is no linear correlation between power and foreign policy. Instead, the interplay of systemic and unit-level factors plays a more decisive role in shaping foreign policy.

This study can be expanded to include China's involvement in peacemaking and peacebuilding which are at the early stage at the time of this research. By examining China's role in the continuum of peace activities, the research will provide a more comprehensive understanding of China's approach to international peace and security. In addition, a comparative study can be conducted on the evolution of China's engagement with international economic regimes and explores the factors that have shaped China's policy in this domain. Economic development and international security are two separate but inter-related agenda, both of which have played a critical role in defining China's power and shaping its foreign policy. In expanding these areas of inquiries, one is able to check whether the three unit-level factors are generalizable to China's policy on non-security issues and to identify other factors, if any, that have played a role in shaping the foreign policy of a rising China.

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List of Interviews⁵²

- Chow, Alice, United Nations Department of Political Affairs
- Clark, Sarah, Quaker United Nations Office
- Mancini, Francesco, Former Senior Director of Research, International Peace Institute
- Gambari, Ibrahim, Former Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations
- Lampton, David M., Professor, Johns Hopkins University
- Liu, Tiewa, Associate Professor, Beijing Foreign Studies University
- Megan, Schmidt, Senior Program Officer, International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect
- Nathan, Andrew J., Professor, Columbia University
- Shambaugh, David, Professor, The George Washington University
- Shinn, David H., Former US Ambassador to Ethiopia and Burkina Faso
- Sutter, Robert, Professor, The George Washington University
- Tan, Huck Gim, Force Commander of UNMISSET (2002-2003)
- Weiss, Thomas G., Professor, City University of New York
- Wishnick, Elizabeth, Associate Professor, Montclair State University
- Xue, Lei, Assistant Research Fellow, Shanghai Institute for International Studies
- Zha, Daojiong, Professor, Peking University
- Zhu, Chenghu, Professor, PLA National Defense University

⁵² Because some interviewees prefer to remain anonymous, this list shows only those that can be named.

Appendix

UNPKOs China has contributed to (Completed, as of December 2015)

Operation	Duration	Size of Contribution
United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), Namibia	April 1989 to March 1990	20 civilian personnel
United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM)	April 1991 to October 2003	15 military observers
United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)	February 1992 to September 1993	450 troop
United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)	December 1992 to December 1994	10 military observers
United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH)	December 1995 to December 2002	15 civilian police
United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)	October 1999 to December 2005	6 military observers
United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET)	October 1999 to May 2002	60 civilian police
United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE)	July 2000 to July 2008	7 military observers
United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET)	May 2002 to May 2005	16 civilian police
United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB)	June 2004 to December 2006	3 military observers
United Nations Mission in the Sudan	March 2005 to 9	473 (443 troop, 15

(UNMIS)	July 2011	police and 15 military observers)
United Nations Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT)	August 2006 to December 2012	23 (21 police and 2 military observers)

UNPKOs China has contributed to (Ongoing, as of December 2015)

Operation	Time of Establishment	Size of Contribution
United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO)	June 1948	4 military observers
United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO)	April 1991	16 military observers
United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) ⁵³	November 1999	230 (221 troop and 9 military observer
United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)	September 2003	667 (513 troop, 2 experts on mission, 12 civilian police and 140 formed police units)
United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI)	April 2004 to present	7 military observers
United Nations Interim	June 1999 to present	18 civilian police

⁵³ MONUC was renamed as the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) as of 1 July 2010.

Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK)		
United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH)	February 2004	130 formed police unit
African Union/United Nations Hybrid operation in Darfur (UNAMID)	July 2007 to present	321 troop
United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS)	July 2011 to present	1068 (1051 troop, 14 civilian police, and 3 experts on mission)
United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA)	April 2013 to present	400 troop
United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)	March 1964 to present	3 civilian police
United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)	March 1978 to present	187 troop

Source: United Nations Peacekeeping, accessed on 13 July 2016