

# Abstracts

- 01 **1. Global governance from China's perspective,** by Jiang Zhenxi, Council Member of the UN Association of China. Over the recent years, “global governance” has become a hot topic in the international community, which the international community has attached great importance to and earnestly studied. Presently, China's comprehensive strength has grown explosively, with her position and role in the international community rising with each passing day. Meanwhile, the level of China's participation in global governance has been greatly elevated. Therefore, against the international background of globalization, it is of great significance to explore global governance for China participating in the governance reforms of the international economic and security institutions and increasing its discourse power in the international affairs.
- 15 **2. The Asian security concept: an analysis of its basis in reality, source of thinking and ways of implementation,** by Li Hongcai, Postgraduate Student at the PLA University of International Relations and Prof. Yang Guanghai, Director of the Center for National Security Strategy Studies with the same university. The proposing of the Asian security concept marks a new development of China's security concept, which has great guiding significance to the resolution of security problems that Asia is faced with currently. This article believes that the proposing of the Asian security concept is directed against the deficiencies of traditional security concepts in solving security issues, and it is the requirement

of the times of peace and development and reflects the yearning of Asian countries for the common and sustainable security. The Asian security concept is a natural extension of China's traditional "He" (harmony) culture in the present era, and it goes hand in hand with the Asian-Pacific version of cooperative security concept, highly accords with the international laws and the fundamental principles of international relations. Nevertheless, the implementation of the Asian security concept is still facing many difficulties. In order to create necessary condition to foster and enhance the Asian security concept, it is necessary for us to comprehensively use the means of propaganda, public opinion and political and economic interactions, and at the same time actively promote the hot-spot issues properly resolved.

- 27 **3. Building a new model of major-country relationship between China and the United States: the ideality and the reality.** by Yuan Zheng, Research Fellow and Director of the Department of American Diplomacy at the Institute of American Studies with the CASS, and Guest Researcher of the CPDS. Due to hegemonic mentality, cultural differences and lack of mutual trust, the U.S. has made a subtle change to its attitude towards the idea of building a new model of major-country relationship with China. The structural contradiction between China's peaceful development and the U.S.' hegemonic strategy poses grave challenges to the building of a new model of major-country relationship between China and the United States. These challenges mainly fall into four aspects: A. The contradiction between the U.S. maintaining its hegemony and China's rapid rise as an emerging power; B. The different views and positions between China and the U.S. in international systems; C. The contradiction between the U.S. pursuing absolute security and China maintaining its expanding security interests; D. The competition of different development models between China and the U.S.. There are low, medium and high three different goals

in the building of a new model of major-country relationship between China and the United States. Although the road to the building of a new model of major-country relationship is by no way flat, certain initial conditions have already existed. We have every reason to believe that, so long as we maintain strategic patience, strengthen cooperation, manage and control differences, it is entirely possible for China and the U.S., after a long period of hard work and exploration, to avoid the so-called “Thucydides’ s trap” and establish a benign interaction of major-country relationship.

40 **4. New paradigm of China’ s economic diplomacy,** by Prof. Zhu Caihua, Dean of the College of International Economics with China Foreign Affairs University and Guest Researcher with the CPDS. The year of 2014 witnessed the enterprising and bumper harvest China’ s diplomacy and in which the economic diplomacy was the biggest highlight fully deserved. The launching of a number of diplomatic initiatives reflected what China needs on the one hand and demonstrated its idea and wisdom as a responsible major power on the other. Proceeding from the new situation that China’ s economic diplomacy is faced with and the strategic objectives and new ideas of China’ s economic diplomacy, this article tries to straighten out theoretically the paradigm of China’ s economic diplomacy and points out the specific problems and policy response of China’ s economic diplomacy from the perspective of risks, protection of overseas interests and the dualistic approaches of economy and politics.

57 **5. An analysis of Obama administration’ s international coalition against terrorism,** by Yang Rongguo, Doctoral Candidate at the Institute of China Contemporary Political Development Studies with the College of Marxism, Lanzhou University and Prof. Zhang Xinping, Deputy Dean of the College of Marxism. Facing with the increasingly serious global anti-terrorism situation, the Obama administration took the build-

up of broad international coalition against terrorism as an important measure of its national anti-terrorism strategy, with an aim to eliminate the extremist organization Islamic State. The basic thinking of Obama administration is to expand the scope of coalition participation; construct a multi-level and open alliance system; avoid slipping back into the mire of anti-terrorism; let the Arabian countries to play a leading role; take comprehensive and multiple measures against terrorism; enhance the legitimacy and effectiveness of anti-terrorism; and increase military support and economic aid to strengthen the anti-terrorism capability of its allies. However, it is estimated that there will be a lot of countries participating in the anti-terrorism coalition, that the problems of differentiation of interest and attitude, lack of inclusiveness of the coalition composition and insufficient of ground combat forces will add more uncertain factors to the future prospects of international coalition against terrorism.

72 **6. The non-governmental organizations and the U.S. cultural diplomacy towards China.** by Dr. Ma Fangfang, Associate Professor at the School of International Relations with Beijing Language and Culture University. Since the end of the Cold War, the U.S. cultural diplomacy towards China has demonstrated dual characteristics of diversified activity patterns and diversified participating players, in which “human rights castigation”, “cultural, educational and economic assistance” and “public opinion suppression” are three important paths. The NGOs in the U.S., by virtue of their unique advantage of being neither governmental agencies nor private enterprises, played an important role in the above-mentioned three paths. In analyzing the role that the NGOs have played in the U.S. cultural diplomacy towards China, the author maintains that under current international situation, in order to enhance China’s international image it is of great significance for China to build up its own core cultural system, strengthen the construction of its own NGOs.

- 84 **7. China-Canada cooperation in the Arctic region within the ken of the Arctic Council,** by Dr. Xiao Yang, Associate Professor and Research Fellow at the Center for International Studies with Beijing International Studies University. The Arctic Council is a major achievement of the Canadian Arctic strategy and a multiple platform for China's institutional participation in the Arctic governance. Under such a framework, Canada actively cooperated with various countries inside and outside the region, set up the image of a responsible major country and got greater discourse power. This article, based on the analysis of the "three pillars" of the Canadian Arctic strategy, points out that obtaining the support of China and other Asian countries is the new developments for Canada to promote its leading position in the Arctic Council. At the same time, China's interests and appeals in the Arctic have to get the recognition and support from Canada, the cooperation between the two countries under the framework of the Arctic Council has vast space and a bright future.
- 98 **8. Historical facts distinguish right from wrong of the Shimla Conference which instigated the independence of Tibet,** by Ma Jiali, Permanent Council Member of China Reform Forum and Guest Researcher of the CPDS. The Shimla Conference held in 1913 was a plot hatched single-handed by the British imperialists, and a product to realize the intention of invading Tibet and agitating and supporting the independence of Tibet, while the "McMahon Line", brought about by the illegal secret dealing of the conference, was seen as a genetic freak. Even though the "McMahon Line" was illegal and invalid, it still produces far-reaching influence and serves as a breeding ground to spark off border disputes between China and India. It will be of important practical significance for China-India relations to faithfully restore this period of history.

# Global Governance from China's Perspective

Jiang Zhenxi

Over the recent years, “global governance” has become a hot topic in the international community, which the international community has attached great importance to and earnestly studied. Presently, China's comprehensive strength has grown explosively, with her position and role in the international community rising with each passing day. Meanwhile, the level of China's participation in global governance has been greatly elevated. Therefore, against the international background of globalization, it is of great significance to explore global governance for China's participating in the governance reforms of the international economic and security institutions and increasing China's discourse power in the international affairs.

## **I.The Historical Background of Global Governance and the New Developments it Faces**

The theory and practice of global governance emerged in the 1990s, which is related to the historical background of the time, as seen in the following facts: first, the antagonism between the two blocs headed respectively by the US and the USSR disappeared with the Cold War coming to an end, which made it possible for the

international organizations such as the UN to play a growing role in resolving the world issues; second, globalization developed very fast, which became the impetus for the global governance. Globalization is a process that includes the interpenetration of global economy, politics and culture, which is an integrated multi-dimensional development. And it is a new development form of the international economic and political order in the post Cold War era, and the actual requirement of the effectiveness of the international rules.

Under globalization, the world situation has changed greatly as expressed in the following ways: first, global politics is developing towards multi-polarity, with several power growth centers emerging; second, with fast development of the economic globalization, economic interdependence between nations has gone deep and development cooperation been increased; third, the development and application of high-tech have greatly improved the living environment for ordinary people, providing an important driving force for economic development and social changes.

In addition, there are lately two major changes in the international situation: first, the emerging economies have risen quickly, exemplified by the BRICS nations, whose political and economic positions in the world have been elevated, as they are playing a positive role in promoting the multi-polarization of world politics as well as peace and prosperity of the world, and exerting an important impact on the future development of global governance. Second, since the outbreak of the world financial crisis in 2008, "G20" has played a prominent role in stabilizing the international financial order.

With these major changes in the international situation, the threats to world security have become diversified. Although the world situation is stable on the whole, armed conflicts broke out in several regions of the world, with the conflicts relating to such traditional

threats as sovereign and territorial disputes still outstanding. Meanwhile, non-traditional security threats brought about by terrorism, spread of WMDs, drug trafficking, energy security and climate change are also on the rise, which have become a major area of international concern. Further still, cybersecurity, space security and maritime security have become new areas concerned by the international community. Therefore, international security is still an important area of global governance.

## **II. Global Governance and the United Nations**

The year of 2015 witnesses the 70th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. The stormy course of the 70 years has indicated that the UN is the most universal and legitimate IGO of today's world, which is playing the dominant role in global governance, mobilizing international public opinions, setting the international norms, implementing international actions, and monitoring the implementation of the UN resolutions. In global governance, the UN has the following features: first, it is its universality, as the UN is the most universal international organization of the world with 193 member states and the resolutions passed by the UN are complied with by the world as a whole. Second, it is its legitimacy, as the UN is the most prestigious organization of the world with strong legitimacy and credibility, and the functions of passing international laws. Third, it is its authority, as such mandatory measures as sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council are supported by big powers, and generally have strong authority and binding force. Over the years, the role played by the UN in global governance has been obvious.

In the area of non-traditional security, such as climate change: the UN drafted the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in 1992, which is the programmatic document to cope with the



global issue of climate change. Afterwards, the UN worked out the Kyoto Protocol, in which concrete measures have been raised to reduce pollutant emission. In 2000, the UN drew up the UNMDGs, resolving to lower the poverty level by half, on the basis of 1990, by 2015. These actions have great impetus for global governance. In addition, the UN has also played an outstanding role in the area of global security governance, such as fighting terrorism and Ebola virus.

In the area of international security: the UN has played a central role in international security, which can be seen in the following aspects: first, the UN has played an effective mediation role in regional armed conflicts, such as those in the Middle East. All in all, the UN has sent out 14 special political missions, appointed 10 UN envoys or special advisers, set up more than 100 UN country teams over the world, and carried out several peace-keeping operations to safeguard world peace and security. Second, the UN has provided humanitarian aids, with its humanitarian office designated to coordinate the work and play the organizing and coordinating role in international rescue operations. Third, the UN has laid down the international arms control treaties to prevent the proliferation of WMDs. The UN, as the chief mechanism for international arms control and disarmament, has set up within itself the deliberative, negotiation and decision-making bodies for international arms control and disarmament. The Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty passed in 1968 has played a vital role in preventing the nuclear proliferation and promoting nuclear disarmament and peaceful use of nuclear energy. In addition, since 2013, the UN, together with the OPCW, has completed the destruction of Syria's chemical weapons, making it a successful case for the international efforts to prevent the proliferation of WMDs. Fourth, since the 1990s, the UN has taken fighting terrorism as an important task of itself and imposed sanctions on any activity related to terrorism. In 2005, the UN Summit specially passed the

UN Global Counter-terrorism Strategy, taking harsh measures to fight terrorism and keep countries concerned from providing any support for terrorism. Besides, the UN has also played an important role in fighting transnational crimes, such as money laundry and drug interdiction.

In addition to the UN, many other international or regional organizations, such as WTO, WHO, IMF, AU, EU, APEC and ASEAN, as well as some international treaties, have also played important roles in global governance, which cannot be neglected in political, economic and security areas. The concept of global governance is intended to integrate, coordinate and reform these roles to make them more effective, which is of great significance for promoting international economic cooperation and the establishment of new international political and economic orders.

### **III. Global Governance from China's Perspective**

Recently, Chinese scholars have positively engaged themselves in the theoretical studies of global governance and put forward unique views from China's perspective. The Chinese scholars believed that global governance is the democratic consultation and cooperation among governments, international organizations and citizens of the world to maximize the common benefits, whose core idea is to establish a set of new international political and economic orders to safeguard human security, peace, development, welfare and human rights. Global governance refers to limited but necessary international management of global issues, in which sovereign governments should play the dominant role.

A. Chinese scholars' theoretical cognition of global governance.

First, the concept of global governance is, as a matter of fact, the real reflection of the existing international management order,

which has nevertheless transcended the original order in both depth and scale. Global governance is involved in a much broader area than the existing international management system, including not only international security and economy, but also such non-traditional security areas as climate change, environmental conservation and global financial security.

Second, the momentum of public participation in global governance should be increased. Global governance involves more levels in regard to governance subjects, mainly referring to NGOs and civilian groups. In the past, it had been believed that global governance was intended to manage relations between governments, but now it has been involved not only with governments and intergovernmental organizations, but also with NGOs, transnational corporations, academia and mass media. Of late, NGOs from certain countries have been very active in areas of international arms control, economy and society, and human rights, positively promoting the passing of certain international treaties, such as Greenpeace that advocates environmental conservation and ICBL that advocates humanitarianism.

Third, reform of the international institutions has been more stressed. Chinese scholars emphasized that the core of global governance is universal participation and universal benefits of the international community, enabling the developing countries to have more favorable conditions and environment, and better use the multilateral diplomacy platforms, such as the UN, to conduct consultation on equal basis and win-win cooperation. Of course, global governance is not intended to set up a "world government". Chinese scholars insisted that world government may be a distant dream of the human society, but global governance is a real and expected goal. Presently, the UN is not a world government, nor will another world government be set up, and the only way out is to strengthen cooperation and coordination between sovereign states

and international organizations concerned.

B. Chinese scholars' analysis of global governance. Global governance has a positive role in managing the international affairs: first, conducive to the development of globalization. Globalization has gathered different regions and nations of the world closely together, making them more interdependent of one another. Currently, both developed nations and developing countries are more concerned with the agenda and goals of global governance. Second, conducive to the world in jointly handling global issues. Presently, a concept of global governance is badly needed for making holistic considerations, setting up a framework for cooperation and taking joint actions, as international conflicts and hot spots flare, issues relating to the reconstruction of economic order, the reform of the UN, climate change and environmental conservation mushroom, and governance extends to new areas of cyber security, the polar region, sky and oceans. Third, conducive to the sovereign states in strengthening their cooperation. Sovereign states are the fundamental and critical actors in resolving global issues, as they represent the fundamental interests of their nationals, and have the capability and responsibility of global governance. In fact, global governance is intended to strengthen international coordination and cooperation among sovereign states. Fourth, conducive to the existing international organizations in playing their parts. So far, there are many international institutions, regional bodies and professional organizations, which have formed a multi-layer and multi-domain international network. What is pressing at the moment is that we should enable them to play their parts more effectively. Fifth, conducive to the establishment of new international orders. Global governance should abide by the acknowledged international laws, the norms for international relations and international conventions, and work out new rules accordingly with the development of the situation so as to deal

with the world issues properly.

On the whole, the concept of global governance is accepted internationally and is feasible, in that: first, global governance lives up to the fundamental interests of all the nations in the world, as they benefit from globalization, but are confronted with common security threats at the same time. As a result, the international community has common demand in safeguarding its common interests, which would make it possible for it to form an interest community. Second, the existing international systems and institutions are running steadily, as the Bretton Woods System consisting of the World Bank and IMF, and the international nuclear non-proliferation regime have played outstanding roles in global governance, while WHO has played an important part too in controlling the epidemics. Third, the international treaties have been perfected, as the UN Charter has laid down the norms for international relations and ensure the world peace and security, while NNPT, UNFCCC and UNCLOS have played and will continue to play their important roles.

On the other hand, global governance has its limits: first, the concept of global governance is so general, hollow and not accurately defined, that it cannot guide specific actions. Second, the global governance lacks of enforcement power. Without a “world government”, global governance can only rely on international cooperation. The enforcement power of the international institutions is limited, and it usually takes a long and complicated process to reach an international agreement. Third, as the sovereign states have different interests and values, it is hard for them to reach consensus and understanding. Fourth, with the participation of non-state actors that have different interest appeals, it has become harder to reach an agreement and implement it. Therefore, there is a long way for global governance to be turned from a catchword into reality.

Under the current circumstances, global governance should

base itself upon practice and push forward the reforms of the global governance systems: first, to clarify the focal points of global governance, strengthening the governance of such major international issues as global security, promotion of international economic cooperation, and control of epidemics. Second, to strengthen cooperation and coordination among sovereign states, especially among big powers. Third, to promote the coordination among international organizations. Fourth, to encourage and increase the participation of NGOs in international affairs, as global governance regulations need wide participation of the private entities and civilians to reflect the aspirations of the broad masses.

#### **IV. China's Actions in Global Governance**

In recent years, with the fast growth of comprehensive strength, China's participation in international affairs has continuously increased. China has advocated that "the spirit of equality and mutual trust, tolerance and mutual learning, and win-win cooperation should be propagated in international relations for jointly safeguarding the international equity and justice". China has also advocated to advance democracy in international relations, and establish a new and more equal as well as balanced global development partnership to promote the common interests of the mankind. Presently, China is deeply integrated into the international systems, having joined more than 300 international treaties, and is an important member of major international organizations. Especially since the outbreak of the global financial crisis, China has played an active and leading role in G20, as China has taken a positive attitude in participating in the constitution of international rules and made great efforts to turn herself from a "by-stander" to a "participant" and "leader".

A. China has actively participated in the reform of the global governance system. In 2005, China raised the concept of harmonious world. At the UN Summit celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the UN, President Hu Jintao made a speech entitled *Striving to Build a Harmonious World of Lasting Peace and Common Prosperity*, in which he made a four-point proposal, namely “safeguarding peace and stability of the world”, “advancing common prosperity”, “promoting win-win cooperation”, and “realizing peaceful coexistence”, taking the construction of a harmonious world as the ultimate goal of China in her pursuit of peaceful development. There are similarities between the ideas of harmonious world and global governance, which is China’s special understanding of global governance. In 2014, President Xi Jinping of China proposed to “promote a common, integrated, cooperative and sustainable security concept”, stressing on the need to “make real efforts to advance multilateral diplomacy, reform international systems and global governance, and increase the representation and discourse power of China and the developing countries”.

China has taken the reforms of international systems and global governance as one of the major tasks in her multilateral diplomacy, wishing that the international community “should promote peace and development within the framework of international law. And every country in the international community should make efforts to safeguard the authority and effectiveness of the UN, and reform as well as perfect the global governance system.”

B. China has taken the common responsibility of the international community. Over the years, China has provided support of various kinds to and been engaged in cooperation with the international organizations including the UN.

First, China participates in the peacekeeping operations of the UN. China has been a firm supporter and active participant of the UN peacekeeping operations. As a developing nation, China’s share

of payment for the UN peacekeeping operations ranks sixth of all the member states. Since China first sent military men and women to the UN peacekeeping operations in 1990, China has played a growing role in and made increasing contributions to the UN peacekeeping operations. Up to now, China has sent more than 25000 peacekeepers to the UN peacekeeping operations in total, of whom 17 service men and police gave up their precious lives. At the moment, about 2100 Chinese peacekeepers are fulfilling their duties at the conflict areas of the world.

Second, Chinese navy engages in the escort at the Gulf of Aden. On December 26 of 2008, China began to send navy fleet to the Gulf of Aden and waters adjacent to Somalia, providing escort mainly for the Chinese merchant fleet, the ships transporting humanitarian materials for WFP and other international organizations, and foreign civilian ships passing through these waters to ensure their safety. The first of Chinese Somalia Escort Fleet sailed from Sanya Naval Port to the mission zones on December 26 of 2008 and now it is the 19th escort fleet of Chinese navy that is doing the mission at the Gulf of Aden and Somalia waters. Till now, the escort fleets of Chinese navy have provided escort for more than 50000 ships and successfully rescued more than 60 ships from pirates.

Last, China helps African countries in their fight against the Ebola epidemics. In 2014, after the breakout of Ebola pandemics in Africa, China lost no time in sending people, materials and funds to help African countries fight the pandemics. By November 21 last year, the Chinese government had provided emergency aid worth RMB 0.75 billion successively and sent about 400 medical personnel to the affected areas. On November 25, the clinical center for Ebola fever built by the Chinese government in Liberia began functioning.

(This article was finished on 19 January, 2015 Jiang Zhenxi is Council Member of the UN Association of China.)



# The Asian Security Concept: An Analysis of Its Basis in Reality, Source of Thinking and Ways of Implementation

By Li Hongcai & Yang Guanghai

At the Fourth Summit of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA) on May 21, 2014, Chinese President Xi Jinping called on Asian countries to cast away traditional mode of thinking, try to build a new type of security relationship between them, and proposed “that it is necessary to advocate common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security in Asia. We need to innovate with our security concept, establish new regional security cooperation architecture, and jointly build a road for security of Asia that is shared by and win-win to all.” According to President Xi, the core content of the Asian security concept lies in the “common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security in Asia”. “Common security” means that the security of every country should be respected and protected. “Comprehensive security” means that both traditional and non-traditional security should be given equal considerations. “Cooperative security” means that the security of every country

and the region should be promoted through dialogue and cooperation. “Sustainable security” means that equal stress should be given both to development and security so as to realize enduring security. The proposing of the Asian security concept is not only a further demonstration of China’s practice of peaceful development strategy, but also the realistic requirement to resolve security issues and all the more the demand for peace and development of our times.

### **I. The Basis in Reality of the Asian Security Concept**

1. The realistic predicaments: realistic security concept is becoming more and more incapable of addressing security issues. Realism is one of the mainstream theories in the realm of international relations. Its tradition is of long-standing and well-established and has produced far-reaching influence. However, realism only looks at security issues from narrow military security perspective, and excludes the non-state social units (such as individuals, domestic organizations, international community, etc) and non-military factors (such as economy, social system, ideology and culture ), paying no heed to the new changes in international security situation under the backdrop of mutual dependence. The security policy guided by such security concept has become more and more incapable of addressing the security problems in the new period of times.

In today’s Asia, traditional and non-traditional security threats intertwined. In face of such complex security situation, some countries still stick to traditional security thinking. Instead of promoting security cooperation, they continue to take measures to exacerbate tensions in the territorial and maritime

sovereignty disputes. In so doing, they not only failed to achieve their goals, but also provoked new rounds of confrontation, hindered the development of security cooperation. As a result, the Asian region is badly in need of breaking the shackles of traditional security concepts, promoting the solution of Asian security problems with new security concept and builds a new Asian security order.

2. The demand of the times: the main theme of peace and development and the acceleration of globalization have promoted Asian countries to cooperate for common security. Since the end of the Cold War, development is gradually becoming the key issue of the world. The rise of a country's international status depends more on the development of its economic strength and innovation abilities in science and technology, than on its military strength. Rapid development of globalization has not only made countries in the region increasingly interdependent in economic field, but in the security field as well, this made them to seek common security through cooperation. So cooperation is not only the active choice of the Asian countries, but also the practical requirement of their development. This is exactly true under such a historical setting that the Asian security concept was advocated, which meets the urgent demand of current international security situation, and the Asian security situation in particular.

3. The basis of public opinion: the peoples of Asian countries have a deep yearning for peace and development. Most of the Asian countries had suffered from the imperialist aggression and enslavement in the past so they have a deep hatred of war. After the end of the Cold War, they can really see the dawn of peace and development. Bitter experiences learned from the war made them to cherish the hard-won opportunities of peace and development and

it is the consensus of the Asian people to pursue a peaceful and secure regional environment to ensure their economic development. That's why the Asian peoples, although faced with so many challenges after the end of the Cold War, chose to solve their problems through cooperation and consultation instead of the means of war.

## **II. The Source of Thinking of the Asian Security Concept**

1. The cultural origin: China's historical and cultural traditions of "He Wei Gui" (harmony is most precious). "He" (harmony) is the fundamental of Chinese culture, and a core element of Chinese traditional culture. As a concept of value, "He" means harmony, amity and a state of peace. As a kind of method, "He" is referred to as a means that can make various kinds of factors supplemented and coexisted together in peace. Only when "He" is used as a means, can different individuals be combined organically, balanced each other, making the world full of vitality and surge forward. The ultimate goal of "He" is to achieve universal peace and harmony in the world where various kinds of organism live together and benefit from each other. In short, China's traditional security culture "He Wei Gui" comes down in one continuous line with the common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security initiated by China, and is the source of thinking of new security concept.

2. The theoretical origin: from Asia-Pacific version of cooperative security concept to Asian security concept. Since the end of the Cold War, new security concepts have emerged in an endless stream. As new security concept develops, the concept of security is also broadened. Following the Canadian Government

firstly introduced the Asia-Pacific cooperative security concept in 1990, scholars and researchers from Australia, the ASEAN countries, Japan, China and others began to study and research on the subject, and gradually formed a unique Asia-Pacific security concept. The Asia-Pacific version of cooperative security concept integrated the new security concept of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security into one organic whole, provided enlightenment for the initiation of Asian security concept.

The security areas, security means and security objectives included in the Asian security concept all consistent with the Asia-Pacific cooperative security concept. In addition, the Asian security concept pays special attention to “heal” the distrust between Asian countries psychologically, and weakens the realistic mindset that “Everyone is insecure”. In such a way, a new understanding on national security could be reached and active interaction rather than passive confrontation between countries in Asia would be achieved, so that their security relations will get rid of the plague of security dilemma and realize a benign development. Compared with traditional security concepts, the Asian security concept has made some breakthroughs and innovations which lie in that, a country does not necessarily have to obtain its security by forming an alliance with other countries, nor has it to obtain its security by enjoying overwhelming superiority. Rather, it needs to create a security environment and security mentality through mutual security cooperation. Only then can everyone not only feel secure, but also avoid being put into an arms race or security dilemma.

3. The legal origin: high degree of conformity with the UN Charter, the principles of international law and the basic norms of international relations. The UN Charter enjoys the highest

level of authority in modern international law and the norms of international relations. It plays a decisive role in the formulation and development of the basic principles of modern international law. In the basic principle system of modern international law, the seven principles laid out in the UN Charter are at the core position. The “Declaration on the Principles of the International Law for the Establishment of Friendly Relations and Cooperation in Line with the UN Charter” passed in 1970 by the UN General Assembly, once again reiterated those principles with new wording.

The common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security outlined in the Asian security concept not only embodied the basic principles of the international law of respecting the equal rights of peoples in various countries, peaceful settlement of disputes, and enhancement of international cooperation, but also inherited and developed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, demonstrated the basic spirits of mutual respect, mutual restraint, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.

### **III. Current Difficulties and Obstacles in the Implementation of the Asian Security Concept**

Although the Asian security concept has a profound realistic basis and deep ideological origin, it still has to face quite a few difficulties and obstacles in order to bring it into full play.

1. The U.S. and Western countries deliberately distort the Asian security concept. The Asian security concept is a new kind of security concept that pursues common and sustainable security by means of consultation and cooperation. But in the eyes of the U.S. and Western countries, it is a means that China uses to win

over the neighboring countries and edge out opponents. As soon as the Asian security concept was proposed, some U.S. scholars wasted no time to interpret it with ill will. They asserted that, because of its exclusiveness, the Chinese proposal tries to weaken the U.S. influence in Asia, or drive the U.S. out of Asia, and lay a foundation for China-led regional order. When the CICA Summit was concluded in Shanghai in 2014, public opinions in the West, by interpreting out of context, tried their best to distort the true meanings of what President Xi advocated at the Summit, “It is for the people of Asia to run the affairs of Asia, solve the problems of Asia and uphold the security of Asia. The people of Asia have the capability and wisdom to achieve peace and stability in the region through enhanced cooperation.” They tarnished the Asian security concept by labeling it as Chinese version of the “Monroe Doctrine”. Actually this kind of outrageous distortion by the Western countries shows that they turn a blind eye on China’s practice of peaceful development, the essence of their intention is to distort China peaceful development strategy, negate the ideological connotation and legal basis of the Asian security concept and weaken the identification of Asian countries with the Asian security concept.

2. Traditional security concept still has deep influence on the foreign policies of Asian countries. China has always persisted in a defensive security strategy of “We will not attack unless we are attacked”. Since entering the new century, the Chinese government has been pushing forward the construction of world security order with new Asian security concept, tried hard to build a good neighboring and friendly peripheral security environment and a harmonious world. The initiation of Asian security concept could be seen as a solemn declaration and promise by China to its

Asian neighbors and the whole world that, it will certainly follow the path of peaceful development, rather than the path of seeing hegemony with force. However, there are still some countries in the world that hold deep misgivings about China's rise, try to contain China's rise by consolidating alliance, stirring up hot issues. A small number of Asian countries made use of the Island and maritime disputes with China as a pretext to actively develop arms, frequently take actions to breach the peaceful and friendly atmosphere, led the hot-spot issues escalating. In addition, some individual country is reluctant to face up to its history of aggression, and looks at the rising and declining changes of its own and other countries' strength with twisted mind.

All these instances are typical manifestations of traditional security mentality, which runs counter to the main theme of peace and development of our times, and the features of mutual interdependence. In today's world, stubborn persistence in such security mentality will invariably bring no benefits to the relevant countries, but will only arouse hostility and conflict between countries. Many security issues which should be tackled by joint efforts were laid on the shelf, to say nothing of creating a common security by mutual cooperation. In the end, the result will be that countries will not only be unable to gain their security, but on the contrary they will have to face more serious security situation.

3. The rise of nationalism in Asian countries retards the implementation of the Asian security concept. All Asian countries are built on the ruins of Western colonialism and they show a strong sovereignty consciousness. Due to historical reasons, there still exists a certain degree of misunderstanding between the East Asian countries. Besides, individual countries are unable to take



a positive attitude toward history issues, leading to the rise of narrow-minded nationalism, even mingled with some elements of populism. The Diaoyu Island dispute leads to the confrontation of domestic national sentiments both in China and Japan, the collision of China and Vietnam boats on the sea leads to the anti-China demonstration in Vietnam, and they are clear indications of the rise of nationalism.

In the process of promoting the construction of new type of Asian security order, the Asian security concept has to be based on the establishment of relevant security mechanisms. In so doing, self-restraint and modest compromise are reasonable necessities. But Asian countries, as they extremely value their national independence and sovereignty, keep a wary eye on the mechanism construction. Especially when come up with any form of regional cooperative mechanisms that will weaken national sovereignty, the Asian countries will show an instinct resistance to them. Furthermore, if the nationalism of Asian countries were unable to be effectively contained, the governments will continue to be coerced by the nationalism, even if they intend to show self-restraint and modest compromise. Besides, there exists an apparent discrepancy in history, culture, system and the level of economic development among Asian countries, and this will certainly make them to face greater obstacles in the further development of relevant regional security cooperation mechanism.

#### **IV. Some Reflections on How to Resolve Differences and Remove Obstacles**

1. Make efforts to propagate and disseminate the Asian security concept. The Asian security concept is a new kind of security concept that is different from the traditional security concepts.

Its newness is manifested in its belief that military strength is not necessarily the only solution in the handling of country-to-country relations, and what is needed is that such thinking should be changed. Only when the mentality that “Everyone feels insecure” is removed, a consensus of maintaining a common security environment is reached, and the idea of seeking common development through cooperation is formulated, can a new way of solving the security dilemma be found. So it is clear that, in order to implement the Asian security concept, the first thing to do is to advance concept, use every opportunity and platform to propagate and disseminate the Asian security concept, push the renew of security concepts of Asian countries, promote the consensus of Asian countries on security issues, and strengthen their initiative and enthusiasm of implementing the Asian security concept.

2. Promote the implementation of the Asian security concept by properly resolving the hot-spot issues. In order to get the Asian security concept accepted, it is crucial to see how it works and what results it can produce in the implementation process. Great efforts should be given to make the idea of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security a common security consensus of the disputed parties, and push for the proper resolution of the disputes on this basis. China has committed itself to the practice of the Asian security concept, played an important role in managing and controlling regional conflicts, and preventing the escalation of confrontation.

On the South China Sea issue, the Chinese government puts forward a “dual-track approach” recently, that is, the peace and stability of the South China Sea should be jointly maintained by China and the ASEAN, and the South China Sea disputes should be resolved by the disputing parties through bilateral negotiations.

The proposition of jointly maintaining the stability of the South China Sea and resolving disputes through negotiations is just the embodiment of the Asian security concept. With regard to security cooperation in the South China Sea, we could take the Asian security concept a guide, work out cooperative project in fighting against piracy and terrorism and maintaining the safety of sea routes and sea lanes, thus setting an example of cooperative security and common security.

3. Take the Asian security concept as a guide to expand international cooperation from economic field to security field. In today's East Asia, indication shows a clear separation of economic cooperation from the security cooperation. For example, some countries hitch a ride with China's economic development while at the same time they guard against and check China in security field. As a result, an abnormal phenomenon comes into sight, that is, "Depend on China economicly while depend on the U.S. in the security." Under such circumstances, we should take the Asian security concept as a guide, take the security cooperation as a basis, and try to promote the cooperation to expand from economic field to security field, strive for a breakthrough in security cooperation. Currently, China brings forward a series of regional economic cooperation initiatives, such as "The Silk Road Economic Belt", "The 21st Century Maritime Silk Road", "The Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor", and "The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor". These initiatives gained warm responses from China's neighboring countries, because they could enjoy the dividends of China's development. However, the implementation of this strategy needs benign political and security interaction of various countries to ensure its smooth operating. On the other hand, this also provides a favorable opportunity for China to

promote security cooperation with its neighboring countries.

4. Intensifying exchanges and cooperation in security field and creating a good atmosphere in favor of the implementation of the Asian security concept. First of all, strengthen the exchanges on security issue, avoiding misunderstanding and miscalculation of other sides' policies and intentions. Mutual suspicion in security field can only be healed, to a great extent, by communications and contacts. Multilateral security dialogues between regional countries should be encouraged. On the one hand, they will strengthen the interoperability of the regional countries in coping with non-traditional security threats, and on the other hand enhance the mutual trust of regional countries in security field.

In a word, it is important to fully utilize the guiding role of the public opinion, the demonstrating role of resolving hot-spot issues, the dragging role of economic cooperation and the lubricating role of security interaction to overcome all kinds of difficulties and obstacles in the implementation of the Asian security concept, promote to achieve good results in the practice of the Asian security concept, and play an important role in creating a new Asian security order and “a community of shared destiny”.

(Li Hongcai is a postgraduate student and Yang Guanghai is Director of the Center for National Security Strategy Studies of the PLA University of International Relations. This article was finished on 8 January, 2015)