The pursuit of peaceful development

How China's foreign policy and its national security are connected

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Abstract

Since the Open-Door Policy has been carried out in 1979, China has gained dramatic improvements in many fields, such as economies and military. At the same time, the considerable changes also bring China many crises from the complicated international environment. This thesis will illustrate these questions through nationalism and realism theoretical framework by using case study with a qualitative approach as the method. With the Five Peaceful Principles of Co-existence based foreign policy, this thesis will experience “Century of Humiliation” of China again and redefine the rising power of China through a case study about Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands dispute between China and Japan. Although it is a little hard to analyze this case under a complicated international environment, plenty of document information will support to get a result of how China’s foreign policy and national security are interlinked? Finally, “national insecurities” and “humiliating history” are drawn as the key factors that affect China’s foreign policy making, and the interconnections of China’s peaceful diplomacy and national security. “National insecurities” and “humiliating history” drive China to make the foreign policy of peaceful development, otherwise, to ensure national security, China need to strengthen the comprehensive national power.

Key Words: the Open-Door Policy, the Five Peaceful Principles of Co-existence, international environment, foreign policy, national security, nationalism, realism, case study, Century of Humiliation, Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands, national insecurities
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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

China has long advocated the road of peaceful development, specially based on the Five Peaceful Principles of co-existence as the core of foreign policy. Through decades of diplomatic practice, China increasingly believe that a peaceful rising up cannot leave the basis of “Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty”, “Mutual non-aggression”, “Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs”, “Equality and mutual benefit” and “Peaceful co-existence” which are the major content of the Five Principles.

Since the first Prime Minister of People’s Republic of China (founded on 1st October, 1949) Zhou Enlai had signed an agreement with India in order to peacefully solve the conflicts between Tibet region of China and India in Beijing on 29th April 1954, China has always followed the five principles in this agreement, which are stated above, as the fundamental framework of its foreign policy. Due to the period of the last 200 hundred years from Qing dynasty, China has been threatened, aggressed and colonized by the West great powers, the governors of new China are therefore always worried China’s territories and sovereignty. Meanwhile, the governors also realized that China should show its respect to other countries in order to gain their respects, then China will probably get well long with them based on respecting each other, and this can be the original intention that the Five Peaceful Principles of Co-existence was set as the diplomacy framework.

Till now, China’s diplomacy is still running based on these five principles. In 2007, the president of China Hu Jintao had a speech in the 17th National Congress of the CPC, and this speech shows China’s present foreign policy. "Hu said that whatever changes take place in the international situation, the Chinese government and people
will always hold the banner of peace, development and cooperation, pursue an independent and peaceful foreign policy, safeguard China’s interests in terms of sovereignty, security and development, and uphold its foreign policy purposes of maintaining world peace and promoting common development.”¹ Is this case, the Chinese Foreign Policy seems to be always about getting mutual interests for development under the circumstances of peaceful co-existence to achieve mutual national security.

However, in the modern era with a complex international political environment, have the five peaceful principles really brought benefits to China’s national security? This thesis will focus on China’s national security based on its foreign policy to examine how they are connected, and how they affect each other in China’s circumstance, through the theoretical frameworks of nationalism and realism. Therefore, various literatures are selected, some perspectives of Chinese scholars and other countries’ scholars are objective to support the result of this thesis.

1.2 Purpose of the study and problem formulation

The main objective of this study is to take an in-depth (but not full-scale, see explanation in 1.4 Delimitation) analysis of the connections of China’s foreign policy and its national security. Furthermore, one recent case in reality with combining some theoretical thoughts will be also discussed to examine how China’s foreign policy and its national security affect each other (or what they actually mean to each other), and what consequences have been generated by the effects so far. Hence, around the aim of this study, we set out two central research questions:

1) What are the key factors that affect China’s foreign policy making?

2) How is foreign policy and China’s national security interlinked?

These two research questions correspond to two theories of nationalism and realism. Both nationalism and realism will help with explaining the key factors why the current China has such foreign policy, through examining the meaning of China’s pursuit of peaceful development in the globalization era, and how China is applying its foreign policy to achieve the goal of securing the nation. Based on the analysis of the first research question, the core task of this study of the connection of China’s foreign policy and its national security will be examined.

Aims to set out the problem formulation, firstly, does this study constitute a task? We think Five Peaceful Principles of co-existence based foreign policy is unique to China, whether or not to become the power, China government has advocated to be using this policy. In fact, China indeed do follow this policy. As well as many scholars has researched on similar tasks. However, the central research questions are puzzling, what factors drive China to advocate this foreign policy? And the interconnections of China’s foreign policy and national security when actually talking about this kind of problem. So, this study will further develop the research regarding China’s pursuit of peaceful diplomacy and make it clearer. Secondly, is this study feasible? First of all we ask in this study is what key factors that affect China’s foreign policy making? We think the first central question is very important for this study, it not only is the core concept of this study, but also is helpful to answer the second central question. Many literatures (details in the section of Previous Research) are helpful to answer the question; secondly ask in this study is how is foreign policy and China’s national security interlinked? As the core task of this study, we will analyze it from a historical perspective. We focus on the case in reality (details in the section of Analysis) and some reliable researches will help us to answer this question. It is obviously difficult to analyze clearly the central research questions, however, with a historical analysis and many reliable literatures supported, we believe to find the answers to the research questions posed in the study.
1.3 Previous Research

At the beginning, we spend a long time to think over the nature of China’s foreign policy and other countries’ foreign policy through the collected data that is used for further helping us to research the main problem of this study regarding the interconnections of China’s foreign policy and national security. We consider China’s foreign policy making is associated with a history of aggression, so national security is paid more attention. Unlike the situation in America, America have grown powerful enough, its foreign policy making is close to the intention of global domination. Japan and Western Europe desire to be developed, so their foreign policy is making pursuant to the demand of national economy. Here we will not talk about much more other countries’ foreign policy, we want to express China’s foreign policy making is associated with national security under a specific background which distinguishes other countries.

After reading many other relevant literatures, we find less research papers clearly addressed the interconnections of China’s foreign policy and national security, so we rapidly realize that this task is interesting and meaningful. It drives us to look for much more material to support this study. Due to we have some experiences on writing some essays regarding foreign policy and security problem, we find much information is helpful to do the research of this task. Our tutor also gives us much help through many relevant datum and oral guidance. Based on the work above, making us easier to get on well this task.

This study will focus on the Open-Door stage (after the year of 1979) (referred in the section of Delimitations), so we will focus on various relevant literatures under this timeline. Since the reform and Opening-up Policy has been carried out by Deng Xiaoping who is the second-generation of Chinese leader, no matter domestic or

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foreign scholars are mainly holding a commonly positive attitude that Deng has further developed and improved the foreign policy of the modern China. The article “Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping”, especially the third volume (1982-1992) is an important work of Deng Xiaoping. Based on Deng Xiaoping’s perspectives, “peace and development are the two outstanding issues in the world today, the forces for world peace are growing, but the danger of war still exists”. 3 Besides, he holds the view “the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence provides the best way to handles the relations between nations” 4 This article records several important speeches pursuant to many perspectives of foreign policy from Deng Xiaoping which provides huge help to examine China’s foreign policy.

The article “China’s Rise Doesn’t Mean War” in Foreign Policy written by Joseph S. Nye Jr, quoting the viewpoints of the author, “not every power's rise leads to war -- witness America’s peaceful overtaking of Britain at the end of the 19th century”, 5 it claims that China’s rise does not mean a threat to the world, author’s viewpoints are helpful to support our argument that China is pursuing the way of peaceful development in this study.

The literature named “The Characteristics of China’s National Security” that is written by Ou Chen, he points out “China has her particular characteristics on national security. China's national security has been affected by domestic factors and international factors”, and “China has been seriously violated since 1840 that is a turning point of China’s national security”, 6 author thinks that a lack of China’s national security is due to humiliating history. He provides an important idea to us for analyzing what factors effect China’s national security.

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We pose a case study in this study, the article "Energy and Insecurity in Asia" by Mark Valencia and the article "Asia’s Energy Insecurity: Cooperation or Conflict?" by Mikkal Herberg provide specific views on Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands dispute between China and Japan, they insist that "Natural resources is one of central issues in this disputes, China requires this kind of natural resources for a continuously development that is important factor to ensure national security". It is an important opinion helps us consider the interconnection of China’s national security and foreign policy.

While, the relations between China’s foreign policy and its economic development those articles talk about are not included in this study, nor the parts that demonstrate China Threat, however, it does not mean that any opinions with personal emotions will be announced in the thesis. It is because, although, economic factor is an important part of Chinese diplomacy, it does not really keep coherent to the core of this study. As regard to the articles about China Threat, they trend to treat the idea of peaceful diplomacy of Chinese foreign policy as an approach to cheat other countries in order to build relationships with them for sort of gathering allies, in the ways of trying to show some evidences of proofing China’s rapid development with more and more powerful military and influences in the international society are threatens to the rest of the world, and this can be another sphere of political issue.

Meanwhile, the academic articles this study is going to use mainly claim positive attitudes to the effects of modern China’s foreign policy on its national security in the Open-Door era, and they are affirmative about the peaceful foreign policy is also made for guaranteeing its national security. What is more, some scholars (like Nora Vanaga, in section 2.2 Realism) also suggest that strengthening armament, on the other hand, is an approach for China to safeguard its national security and sovereignty,

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9 A contemporary theory that treats the rise of China and the consequences as threatens to the world.

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and it as well as fits China's development in contemporary.

1.4 Delimitations

Due to the limitation of pages, even though, numbers of resources have been used for answering the major research questions, there are also some other issues, which are somewhat connected to this study, could have been analyzed are not included:

- *How Chinese foreign policy and its economics are connected.* In spite that China emphasizes on encouraging economic, commercial and technological exchange and cooperation through Opening-up policy, and economic security is also an important part of national security, while economic factor is not really the core issue of this study.

- *China Threat.* Some scholars, analysts and certain articles, which are usually holding aggressive views, wantonly advocate that the rise of China could be a threat to the world in order to deny Chinese foreign policy. This can be, as mentioned above, another sphere of political issue, thus these kinds of narratively-focusing opinions have not been considered in this study, although some points of this theory will be used to show the emergence that China needs a peaceful development policy.

- *The limitation of time period.* This study is mainly discussing Chinese foreign policy in the Open-Door era (from 1979 till the present), therefore, things in before-Open-Door period, except some analysis needs that will be mentioned later in the context, will not be analyzed too much, although China's foreign policy during Mao's era will be somewhat mentioned.
2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter emphasizes the theoretical explanation of realism on foreign policy, and it points out a more specific theoretical approach, which is nationalism, that is used to analyze the interlinks of China’s foreign policy and national security.

2.1 Nationalism

In order to examine nationalism better, it is important to discuss what is nationalism? For Gellner, it is a political principle, ‘which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent’. It is a theory of political legitimacy.¹⁰ To define nationalism, state and nation are two important terms. According to the definition of the state by Weber, who holds ‘The state constitutes a highly distinctive and important elaboration of the social division of labour ... the state is the specialization and concentration of order maintenance’.¹¹ According to definition, if a society is stateless, it cannot experience nationalism. So, the state is a prior to nationalism. However, with the absence of the nation, it is harder to define the state. Although the absence of the nation and the absence of state is based on a historical contingency, but it is different.¹² Hence, Gellner combines three factors: power, education, and shared culture, to create a typology of nationalism. He holds ‘nationalism only emerged in situations of cultural difference’.¹³

In 1944, Hans Kohn had pointed out ‘nationalism was an ‘organic’ type which viewed the nation as an organism of fixed’.¹⁴ Organic nationalism held that the world consists of natural nations and nations were rooted in history; nations’ characters are

¹² Ibid, p.5.
¹³ Ibid, p.83.
organism that can be easily recognized by their different culture; the members of nations may have frequently lost their national self-consciousness along with their independence; the duty of nationalists is to restore that self-consciousness and independence to the ‘reawakened’ organic nation.15

Further, nationalism has always been the fundamental base on foreign policy making.16 According to John Breuilly, nationalism is an idea that claims the world is divided into many different nation-states, to achieve national self-determination the nation-states have put significant focus on political identity and loyalty.17 It is because that, in this globalization era, the increasingly connected world undermines nation-states’ sovereign territorial power and self-identities.18 During the past decades, globalization has obviously shrunk the gaps and differences among countries. For instance, Chinese people never celebrated Christmas before, while Christmas is famous in China nowadays, this can be a cultural corrosion, and not good for self-determination in a long-term run. John claims that nationalism is frequently represented as ethnic politics, however it is requiring more cultural recognition and affirmative action than ever before.19 Therefore, nationalism can be a very important reason to achieve national self-determination for an identity-focused country in this globalization era.20

Meanwhile, once nationalism is mentioned, many will probably associate about patriotism. However, nationalism emphasized on national identity, while patriotism pays more attentions to the social conditioning and individual behaviors that support the state’s actions and decisions.21 It cannot be denied that nationalism includes both

18 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
21 Roth, Despina M., Lyons Evanthia & Chrysochoou Xenia (2005). National attachment and
elements of nationalism and patriotism, which can be reflected in this study: China is a multiethnic country who has a huge population, to better manage the country, making citizens a common national identity seems to be necessary. Through a reflection of “humiliating history”, most of Chinese people have accepted this kind of patriotic education, and this can be basic work for supporting its nationalism foreign policy.

In the late 20th century, nationalism had a significant rise with the rapid economic and military budget growth, modernized military power, and assertiveness reflected in foreign behaviors. Huntington claims that China can be dangerous like Germany in 1930s when it becomes powerful, unless democracy is established there; Kurth also suggests that the rise of China and its economic reform will pose big threats to the US, no matter in economy or military, and even to the Asian regional balance of power and trade. Moreover, since the 1990s, certain numbers of theories have been carried out by the West as the response to the rise of China or the rise of Chinese nationalism, such as “China threat” as mentioned before, and “containing China”. In the history, China has been invaded and its territory was carved up, thus Chinese call those years “Century of Humiliation”, this can be the basis and key driving force of the rising of Chinese nationalism. Therefore, China’s nationalism more like patriotism, and they have been taught to love their country and get ready to protect their country at any time, because they do not want to let “Century of Humiliation” happen again; And we can understand the ultimate goal of China’s nationalism depended foreign policy is to seek and preserve its national independence.

23 Ibid.
The above Chinese perspective of views of nationalism will be helpful with examining the core research question in the following text. While, except nationalism, there is also one another theory can embody China’s diplomacy behaviors, and it is realism.

2.2 Realism

Realism is a school of thought based on three core assumptions, which are groupism, egoism and power-centrism, represent how the world works.26 According to Glaser’s opinions, nation-states and nationalism are the most important human groups and source of in-group cohesion, and also he claims that self-interest basically drives political behavior and power is the fundamental feature of politics.27 For the methodology realism uses is likely qualitative method, because realism uses lots of actual cases from history to analyses foreign policy in details, and it can be sure that analysts find realism is very useful in foreign policy analysis. According to the situation of China, there has been certain number of examples since the Open-Door Policy explaining how realism analyses foreign policy from its perspective of view. In the next paragraphs in this part, several basic shared elements of realism will be presented to explain China’s foreign policy.

First, Glaser claims that the international system is anarchic, which means there is no any authorities who can enforce agreements and prevent the use of force.28 His point of view also corresponds the Five Peaceful Principles of Co-existence, because the original tenet of the five principles emphasizes peace, equality, territorial integrity and sovereignty (due to the history of China as mentioned in the Introduction, Chinese government cares much about its territory and sovereignty), and Chinese government always believes that only mutual respects are established, peaceful development can

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27 Ibid.
28 Ibid, p.17
be achieved then. Therefore, China will probably not have the intention to be the authority of the international society as long as China still follows the five principles during diplomacy.

Second, Glaser claims that the defining feature of the international environment that states facing is power, which includes several key elements of state’s wealth, technological sophistication and population, and the more powerful states are, the more sophisticated and larger military forces the states can build.29 Since there is no authority in the international system to protect states, states need to develop their own comprehensive capabilities to achieve national security and their international goals. Due to this anarchic nature of the international system, it is important that power and military capabilities follow closely from this nature, and power really plays a pivotal role in enabling states to acquire these capabilities. Since 1979, China has achieved a dramatic development in different fields, especially in economy, military and technology. By doing this, China gains its discourse power in the international society, which can for certain extent reflect the realism in China’s foreign policy.

Further, Waltz asserts that decreasing the primary objective of the state is ensuring its security, which is reflected in balance of power theory and the assumption that “balancing is more common than bandwagoning”.30 As regard to China, where there is a huge population, in order to gain enough capabilities to protect it to achieve national security, one fatal task needed to be accomplished is to develop its economy. Economic development is actually one of the biggest improvements of China since the Open-Door Policy in 1979. To assess the contribution of the Open-Door Policy, it is necessary to briefly look back the achievements that China has made so far. In 1978, China was ranked the thirty-second in the world in export gross, while in the next 10 years till 1989, China almost doubled its export volume and became the world’s

thirteenth largest exporter. According to the statistics between 1978 and 1990, the average annual increasing rate of trade has always been above 15 percent, it was almost three times higher than the total world trade.  

31 Till 2010, China has surpassed Japan and becomes the second economy in the world.  

Since the reform of economies, China has put a lot of funds on its military development. After Mao’s death, Hua Guofeng came to power with the help of the military and promises to back military modernization. In the next six years from 1978 to 1983, the Chinese government spent totally 510 million dollars to import arms. While in the past ten years from 1968 to 1977, this amount of funds was only estimated to be 675 million dollars. In the recent years, China also independently developed many high-tech arms, such as J-10, J-15 and J-20 fighters, Type 99 main battle tanks, and strategic nuclear submarines. China is a big country, to ensure its national security, powerful military capabilities seem to be necessarily required. Nora Vanaga claims that “China should not be perceived as a threat to other countries through the increase in its military expenditure and the development of its military capabilities, because its foreign policy is based on a ‘peaceful development’ concept and its security strategy embraces the principles of ‘active defense’”36, Nora also suggests four important reasons of the necessary requirement:  

1. First of all, it is justifiable for China to increase its military spending, due to “historical debt”, as development of military capabilities had been neglected for 20 years.  


32 Hosaka, Tomoko A (2010), China surpasses Japan as world’s No. 2 economy. Available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/08/15/AR2010081503697.html  


37 Ibid.
2. Secondly, China wants to avoid the shame of being invaded again in the future.
3. Thirdly, China has to be able to reduce the military gap with Western countries and particular countries in the Asia Pacific region.
4. Fourthly, the security environment China faces – vast land and maritime frontiers, four nuclear neighbors, and four disputed areas in its proximity – has exacerbated tensions in the region.

From the above text, it is not difficult to see that there are also several realism elements, especially the concept of “survival” and “balance of power”, are showing in China’s foreign policy, and China has done a various number of tasks to maintain survival in the international society, which is the core task of keeping its national security. Meanwhile, things that are also worth to be noticed are the history and territory, because no matter the rise of Chinese nationalism or its realistic development are both related to the historical and territorial reasons. Therefore, some historical analysis and a case study about China’s territory issue will be quite helpful for testing these two theoretic frameworks and examining the research questions. In the following part, historical analysis and case study methods will be stated in detail, and some actual analysis will show in section 4. Case Study and Analysis.
3. Methodology—Case Study with A Qualitative Approach

We will use case study with a qualitative approach as the method. Qualitative data, such as text/discourse analysis and historical analysis are more justified to be used in answering the research questions. Case study is used to analyze a specific issue in an in-depth way so that getting better understandings of the context of the case. And Case study is also a method that fits well with two theoretical frameworks—Realism and nationalism. The study aims at analyzing the interconnections of China’s foreign policy and its national security. We choose a limited period of time which is the post-Open-Door period, and we do believe that we get a suitable period of time analyzing an interesting topic.

3.1 What is Qualitative Research Method?

Qualitative methods, as the name indicates, are methods that do not involve measurement or statistics. It is because that the natural sciences have had such resounding success with quantitative methods, qualitative methods are sometimes looked down upon as less scientific. That is, of course, a mistake. Qualitative methods have been in use in philosophy, sociology, history and other social sciences for centuries and have a great importance for the researchers.

Qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and

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collection of a variety of empirical materials - case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts - that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals’ lives.\footnote{Denzin, N and Lincoln, Y (1998), *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues*, Thousand Oaks (Calif), p.28.}

Qualitative research is characterized by its aims, which relate to understanding some aspect of social life, and its methods which (in general) generate words, rather than numbers, as data for analysis. In situations where little is known, it is often better to start with qualitative methods (interviews, focus groups, etc).\footnote{Boeree, C. George (2005), *Qualitative Methods*, Available on http://webspace.ship.edu/cgboer/genpsyqualmeth.html}

3.2 How is case study with a qualitative approach applied for this study?

Case study with a qualitative approach deals with a problem of practice from a holistic perspective in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and its meaning for those involved. The interest is in process rather than outcomes, in context rather than a specific variable, in discovery rather than in conformation.\footnote{Flick, U (1998), *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*, London, p. 142.}

The method used in our study will help the study of theory and literature. The theory of nationalism will be used to analyze the main factors that affect China’s foreign policy making. Based on this theoretical framework, case study with a qualitative approach is concerned with the interplay between subjectivity and causality, so this study emphasizes more on interpretations and the impact. A “humiliating history” can be reflected in China’s foreign policy making.\footnote{Marsh, D & Stoker, G (2010). “ Debating Methods: Rediscovering Qualitative Approaches” in *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. (Palgrave MacMillan: Basingstoke), p. 255.} While, realism theory is mainly used to explain the interconnection of China’s foreign policy and national security, the reason why China should be realism, and how China acts in realist way to keep its
own national security during diplomacy. We will present one case for testing the two theories. One case study about the territory conflicts of Diaoyu Islands (Senkaku Islands in Japanese) between China and Japan recent years to examine how China keeps its national security by the current foreign policy. This is a case about territory conflicts can reflect certain clues to the study questions, so it is substantively important, according to Mahoney and Goertz’s words, which worth studying and examining in detail.\textsuperscript{44} Besides, we choose case study with a qualitative approach for helping to confirm the theory for analyzing. Case study with a qualitative approach is not only used to analyze specific issues in our study, but also a method can fit well with the two theoretical frameworks.

Case study with a qualitative approach is more than simply conducting research on a single-mind-individual or situation. This method helped with dealing with the major questions in this study. It enabled us to answer “what” and “how” types of questions, while taking into consideration how the phenomenon is influenced by the context within which it is situated. After we have determined our research questions the best way was to use qualitative case study in order to investigate the real life examples and connect them with the theoretical knowledge. According to some main criteria, which include the main questions that are presented during the case study, this study has selected several cases about “what is the meaning of the current foreign policy for China’s national security” and shown the real life examples. The focus of using this method is to answer “what” and “how” questions while answering “what are the key factors that China’s pursuit of peaceful development” and analyzing “how are China’s foreign policy and its national security interlinked”.

Further, an inductive analysis is necessary to our study, Ariadne Vromen points out: “Inductive analysis that is premised on discovering categories and being exploratory with open questions, rather than only testing theoretically derived hypotheses through

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid, p. 256.
deduction." For answering our research questions, we need collect the full picture from undertaking detailed in-depth research, finally deduce the conclusion.

For the purpose of our study, it does not any need numerical data. Aims to answer the relevant research questions in the limited period of time, there are more historical statements than numerical analysis. We need much more information come from text, data as descriptive material. Besides, due to the high complexity and uniqueness of the case, a quantitative approach would be hard to justify. So, for answering the research questions and understanding the purpose of this study, a quantitative approach is not used. Quantitative data such as statistics and surveys research would not help me answer the research questions, qualitative approach is more effective to provide richer detail about what need to be said.46

A discourse analysis will be used in our study. When conducting a discourse analysis, there is enough material need to be analyzed to draw reliable conclusions. Jacobs said: “Discourse analysis id fundamentally concerned with the analysis of language, and offers a qualitative method of ‘uncovering some of the ways in which people or groups seeks to represent their actions in texts and language.” 47 In the discourse analysis, it is mainly to interpret the qualitative data with the broader social, cultural and political frameworks. The discourse analysis not only fits very well with the theoretical frameworks in this study, but also helps us answer the research questions.

Related primary material will be chosen to use in this study. Ariadne Vromen thinks “most primary sources are original documents produced by political actors ranging from government, policy-making agencies or non-government organizations”.48

Primary sources are present during an experience or time period and offer an inside

view of a particular event, for example speeches, interviews and official records.\footnote{What is a Primary Source? Available at: \url{http://www.princeton.edu/~refdesk/primary2.html}} There is one point need to be mentioned that some Chinese leaders’ discourse and some treaties will be used in this study. Secondary source interprets and analyzes primary sources, and secondary sources may contain photos, quotes or graphics of primary sources. So, secondary sources will take the primary sources into context.\footnote{Ibid.} By analyzing a large amount of different secondary sources, we are able to draw own views of the cases, and finally help us to answer the research questions.

Therefore, in the following part Analysis, the mentioned case will be discussed with some related primary materials, to show readers an overall view of the issue, and how things that impact China’s national security influence its foreign policy making, in turn how China keeps its national security by its foreign policy. Then it will not be difficult to examine the core study question how China’s foreign policy and its national security are connected.
Analysis

4.1 What is the meaning that China’s pursuit of peaceful development?

This section will be as a discussion part to talk about the importance of pursuit peaceful development to the modern China. Two spheres, which are China and international society, will be discussed to understand China’s peaceful development. How does the peaceful development influence the development of China? What is the meaning that China’s pursuit of peaceful development? The two questions are set to be answered in this section. Deng Xiaoping has pointed out that “peace and development are two main themes at current” to China in 1982. At the same time, with the further development of economic and cultural globalization, the international society is now facing significant challenges and threats than ever before, such as terrorism, financial and energy crisis. Therefore, the need of the world to develop under a peaceful environment can be more urgent than ever before, China, who has gone through decades of war-time, is inevitable to choose the way of peaceful development.

What is more, China’s peaceful development is combined with the “peace” and the “development”. Firstly, “peace” includes two meanings: one is the domestic peace which means domestic stability; the other one is the international peace which means no conflicts and wars between other countries. According to the history (will be discussed in detail the next section), China’s development needs both conditions of a stable domestic environment and peaceful international relations with other countries. Then, the “development” means to get rid of poverty and to strengthen comprehensive national power and international influence. With the pursuit of peaceful

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development, China actively opens up to the external world and building up international cooperation, and joins in economic global and regional organizations. Through practicing peaceful development for decades, China has not only got significant achievements in domestic, but also made big contributions to the world peace:

- First, the comprehensive national power gets a big enhancement. Chinese economic aggregate has enhanced rapidly since 1978, becoming one of the world’s largest economy today. Besides, China’s modernization construction is developing rapidly so that people’s life gets better.\(^5\)

- Second, making important contributions to the world’s economic stability. No matter in the Asian financial crisis of 1997 or international financial crisis of 2008, China actively joins in the cooperation of international finance and helps the countries who are in trouble.

- Third, playing an important role to maintain world peace. China is the only country to promise not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Besides, China actively takes an active part in anti-terrorism activities, and to combat piracy in the Gulf of Aden, Somalia waters. China played a constructive role on the North Korean nuclear issue and the Iranian nuclear issue, promotes the formation of mechanism of talks on the Korean peninsula nuclear issue.\(^6\)

Meanwhile, the pursuit of peaceful development is also reflected in China’s foreign policy. The maintenance of world peace and promote common development is the purpose of China’s independent foreign policy of peace. China advocates constructing lasting and common security with other countries. In long-term practice, China insists

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\(^6\) Ibid, p. 20.
on the basis of the Five Peaceful Principles of Co-existence since it is first time put forward by Premier Zhou Enlai in 1953, establishes and develops friendly relations with all countries in the world.\textsuperscript{55} The concept of peaceful development is not only the essential requirement of China and it accords with the common wish of the people of the world.

However, in the history of human civilization, the rise of great powers were often associated with blood and wars. Therefore, what kind of impacts will be presented by an increasingly developed China on the world in present and the future, it is quite a question that many scholars are focusing on. According to Gilpin, “a challenger is a country that has significant population, economic growth, technological primacy and certain leverage in global culture accompanied by military potential and is not satisfied with the position that has been assigned to it within the existing order and aims to change it”.\textsuperscript{56} In this case, China satisfies every single condition of being a “challenger” in the international arena: firstly, it is all known that China has the biggest population in the world; secondly, as mentioned before, China’s economy and technology have developed significantly since Opening-up and the economic reform; thirdly, China’s military modernization also poses the world a potentially powerful army in the future; finally, China has been actively taking part in different kinds of organizations and international activities recent years, and with its increasing influence in the international society, it is making efforts to claim the disputed territories at the same time.

In addition, there is a popular theory called China Threat recently, it is based on the offensive realist Mearsheimer’s concepts.\textsuperscript{57} Mearsheimer claims that China is

\textsuperscript{55} Saba, Paul (1972), \textit{China’s Foreign Policy: A Leninist Policy}, (The Creative Commons Common Deed, Introduction. Available at: http://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-1/china-foreign.htm


developing fast to maximize its comprehensive national strength gap between its neighbors and trying to dominate Asia, and push the US out of Asia, in this way to make sure it is powerful enough so that no states in Asia can be threat to it.\textsuperscript{58} Together with Gilpin’s concept, all of China’s behaviors during its developing seem to make China a potential threat with regional hegemony ambition to some other great powers and regional balance of power. What is more, many media and propaganda also specially pose negative views of China’s rise, such as a very interesting webpage called \textit{China-Threat}.\textsuperscript{59}

However, Joseph S. Nye Jr. does not think China is rising with threat and suggests that “not every power’s rise leads to war”, like the US peacefully overtook Britain at the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, it is just because of some “faulty projections that create hubris among some Chinese and unnecessary fear of decline among Americans” creating worries about China’s rising.\textsuperscript{60} At the same time, China has also repeatedly clarified that it will choose the peaceful way to develop by insisting on the Five Peaceful Principles of Co-existence, which are based on the respect of international law and also reflect Chinese anti-hegemonic foreign policy.\textsuperscript{61} Till now, China’s peaceful development has obtained many achievements and shown the world the meaning of its peaceful rise for a certain extent, and China will pay more attention to summarize the successful experiences and learn the good experiences from other countries, so that further develop the way of peace and development.\textsuperscript{62} In a word, a peaceful rising is not only what China needs, but also the international society’s need during China’s development.

\textsuperscript{59} Available at: http://www.china-threat.com/
4.2 How are foreign policy and China’s national security interlinked?

As it is shown above, a peaceful development is required for China, while, how does a peaceful development based foreign policy keep China surviving in the international arena? How does China’s national security influence its foreign policy making? This chapter will be divided into two sections to respectively examine these two questions, then the interconnection of China’s foreign policy and its national security will be illustrated.

4.2.1 National security as the core of China’s diplomacy

Firstly, some historical analysis need to be presented, in order to show that how China’s national security influences its foreign policy making. As mentioned above, the “Century of Humiliation” can be a very important reason why China makes its national security as the core during diplomacy. The “Century of Humiliation” refers to more than one hundreds of years of intervention and imperialism by the Western powers and Japan in China from 1839 to 1949, until 1949 China’s sovereignty still has not fully regained when the People’s Republic of China was established.63

In 1839, the First Opium War (also called the First Anglo-Chinese War) was launched by Britain, it was the war to open the Chinese empire to Western capitalism, and the beginning of the “Century of Humiliation”.64 At that time, because of secluding the country from the outside world Qing dynasty China’s power has lagged far behind from the world’s trend, meanwhile Qing dynasty China stayed surplus during trading with Britain. To reverse this situation, Britain started to smuggle opium to China to seek exorbitant profits, until people realized that opium has deeply corroded the country and started to fight against opium trading, this movement has impacted

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Britain's interest a lot, then it sent expeditionary forces to China and tried to open the market in China again with force. Self-closing and decayed feudal system both made Qing dynasty China unable to win the war, and signed the Treaty of Nanking after being defeated in 1842, which was the first unequal treaty signed in China's history. In that treaty, there were several key terms, which are showed below:

- **Article II**: The Emperor of China agrees that British Subjects, with their families and establishments, shall be allowed to reside, for the purpose of carrying on their Mercantile pursuits, without molestation or restraint at the Cities and Towns of Canton, Amoy, Foochow-fu, Ningpo, and Shanghai...  

- **Article III**: ...the Island of Hongkong, to be possessed in perpetuity by Her Britannic Majesty, Her Heirs and Successors, and to be governed by such Laws and Regulations as Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, etc., shall see fit to direct.

- **Article VII**: It is agreed that the Total amount of Twenty-one Millions of Dollars...shall be paid...

- **Article VIII**: The Emperor of China agrees to release unconditionally all Subjects of her Britannic Majesty (whether Natives of Europe or India) who may be in confinement at this moment, in any part of the Chinese Empire.

- **Article X**: ...China agrees to establish at all the Ports which are by the 2nd Article of this Treaty to be thrown open for the resort of British Merchants, a fair and regular Tariff of Export and Import Customs and other Dues...

  -- Treaty of Nanking

The Article II and X made China lost its economic sovereignty of trade and tariff, especially in Canton (Guangdong), Amoy (Xia'men), Foochow-fu (Fu'zhou) and Shanghai, which were the five biggest and flourishing ports in China, thus China had

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no advantages anymore during import and export trade with other countries, together
with the Article VII’s 21 millions of dollars reparations, which was a huge amount of
money at that time, China’s finance encountered a heavy blow. Meanwhile, the Article
III and VIII made China lost its political sovereignty, especially the sovereignty of
Hongkong. All in all, the Treaty of Nanking meant that China lost its independence,
and started to become a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society.\textsuperscript{66} However, it was just
the beginning, since this treaty has been signed, many other Western powers followed
to force China to sign more and more unequal treaties through gunboat diplomacy.\textsuperscript{67}
For instance, the Treaty of Wangxia signed with the US in 1844, it gained the US the
same privileges as Britain got from the Treaty of Nanking, but an extra privilege
"Whenever ships of war of the United States, in cruizing for the protection of the
commerce of their country, shall arrive at any of the ports of China…"\textsuperscript{68} was included,
in this case China’s national security could be further threatened; the Treaty of
Huangpu (also Treaty of Whampoa) signed with France in the same year after the US,
it gave France the same privileges as the US and Britain got from the previous treaties,
also there was an extra term that France was allowed to build churches in China and
these churches should be protected by the Qing government (the original texts are
French and Chinese, here are directly translated into English),\textsuperscript{69} this “import” of a
foreign religion also undermined the further invasions from the western powers in a
cultural way.

What is more, since the Meiji Revolution, which was Japan’s industrial revolution,
has been carried out in Japan from 1868, Japan had a rapid modernization and its
military power had a significant rise, it then also joined the western great powers to

\textsuperscript{66} The Complication Group for the “History of Modern China” Series (2000) (Ed.), The Opium War
(University Press of the Pacific), Chapter 10, p. 110.
\textsuperscript{67} Eng, Robert Y (2003), "Nanking Treaty" in Page, Melvin E “Colonialism” (Santa Barbara: Cal.), p.
402.
\textsuperscript{68} The Treaty of Wangxia (1844), Article XXXII. see:
http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN659094002&PHYSID=PHYS_0646&US
E=800
\textsuperscript{69} The Treaty of Whampoa (1844), see:
http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN659094002&DMDID=DMDLOG_0119
aggress China. In 1894, the First Sino-Japanese War was launched between Qing China and Meiji Japan, and the *Treaty of Maguan* (also *Treaty of Shimonoseki*) was signed after China was defeated in 1985, the same as previous unequal treaties, huge amount of reparations were paid and wide territories were ceded to Japan. Especially the terms “China cedes to Japan in perpetuity and full sovereignty...The south portion of the province Feng-tien...The island of Formosa, together with all islands appertaining or belonging to the said island of Formosa...The Pescadores Group...”, which makes Taiwan and Diaoyu Islands (Senkaku Islands) are still disputed territories to China today. The last unequal treaty in China’s modern history was the *Boxer Protocol* signed with the Eight-Nation Alliance in 1901, it was also the most shameful unequal treaty China has ever signed, this treaty included the most reparations paid and the widest territories ceded from China, Chinese often call it the most “humiliate the country and forfeit its sovereignty” treaty, since then China thoroughly became a semi-colonialism and semi-feudal society.

In a word, China’s national security has been seriously violated since 1840, and China has signed more than 1,100 unequal treaties within 100 years after 1840, which all further violated China’s national security. To be specific, three the most significant impacts were drew on China’s national security after 1840: firstly, with much of China’s territories were carved up by other great powers and the changing of international order in East Asia, China lost its absolute advantage on national security in this region; secondly, it was a turning point of China’s national security, and China had to change its national security defensive strategy from only land defense to land and sea defense, because for the past thousands of years the wide ocean had prevented any enemies who wanted to attack China via sea, however this advantage has

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70 Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895), Article II, see: http://digitalstaatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN660747170&PHYSID=PHYS_0577
71 Boxer Protocol (1901), see: http://china.usc.edu/Slvmlzuvquerbb456dhbpse/ArirVJ2QZVywFkAAAAYWQ2mNiZGMtZTBhNC00MDc1Ltj5ZITOGQ4OGU4MGJ0NTk3vu36FF2ptKt0e-4GD64z6sKQqsw1)/ShowArticle.aspx?articleID=420
obviously disappeared since the industrial revolution when oceangoing voyage was not a problem; thirdly, the transformation from “self-affirmation” to “self-denial”, from the loss of the First Opium War, Chinese saw those advanced western industrial-revolution-outcomes and started to deny their own politic and economic systems, and their own technology and culture, this self-denial made China directly defeated on the psychology in the coming wars.\(^73\)

As mentioned in the theoretical part, national security means national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and people’s lives and property should be kept away from the threats of foreign forces and violations, country’s political system should not be subverted and economic development and social stability should not be threatened, in this case, none of the terms in the definition shows that China’s national security was guaranteed due to all of those aggressions, unequal treaties and their consequences. However, from the “Century of Humiliation”, Chinese did see their lags between the western great powers in many fields, therefore, until 1979, the Open-Door policy was carried out and started to communicate with the external world. While, this Open-Door policy is based on China’s Five Peaceful Principles of Co-existence, and “mutual respect” and “non-interference” are specially emphasized in order to prevent the western great powers from violating its national security again like before, also China does need a peaceful international environment to support its Open-Door policy.\(^74\) Overall, after more than 100 years’ turmoil, those national insecurities have influenced China’s foreign policy significantly, and safeguarding national security through a peaceful approach has been China’s fundamental task in its foreign policy since 1979.

\(^{4.2.2}\) Foreign policy maintains national security

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A state’s national security and its diplomacy are closely related, in this section, a case study about the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands issue will be examined, to show how China’s foreign policy maintains its national security through its territorial disputes. While, since Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands issue is still disputed, this study will not claim the ownership of the sovereignty on the islands, this issue is just applied as a case to draw a conclusion about the research question.

Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands are a group of five separated islands that located in the East China Sea (about 410 km far from Japan), in the east of Mainland China (about 330 km), northeast of Taiwan (about 170 km), west of Okinawa Islands and southwest of the Ryukyu Islands. During the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895, Japan incorporated Diaoyu/Senkaku islands under the administration of Okinawa on 14th January, the Japanese government claimed that it had conducted surveys since 1884, and that the islands were terra nullius (land belong to no one), because there were no evidences to suggest that they had been under the control of the Qing dynasty China. After China lost the war, both countries signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki in April 1895, and in the treaty it stipulated that China would cede to Japan “the island of Formosa (Taiwan) together with all islands appertaining or belonging to said island of Formosa”. However, the treaty was superseded in 1945 by the Treaty of San Francisco, which was signed between Japan and part of the Allied Powers in 1951 after Japan was defeated in the Second World War. In the Treaty of San Francisco, Japan explicitly relinquished the control of Taiwan/Formosa together with all islands appertaining or belonging to it. Meanwhile, there is still a disagreement between the Japanese, Chinese and Taiwanese governments as to whether Diaoyu/Senkaku islands are implied to be part of the “islands appertaining or belonging to said island of Formosa” in the Treaty of Shimonoseki.

75 “Q&A on the Senkaku Islands”, Ministry of Foreign Policy Affairs of Japan, see: http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-pac/senkaku/qa_1010.html
76 Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895), see: http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN660747170&PHYSID=PHYS_0577
77 Treaty of San Francisco, Chapter II, see: http://www.taiwandocuments.org/sanfrancisco01.htm
78 Unryu Suganuma (2000), "Sovereign Rights and Territorial Space in Sino-Japanese Relations"
Despite the complexity of relations between the China Mainland and Taiwan, both governments have the same agreement that the islands are belonging to Taiwan as parts of Toucheng Township in Yilan County of their respective divisions. Japan does not officially recognize Taiwan as a sovereign state, and regards the islands as a part of Ishigaki, Okinawa Prefecture and acknowledges neither the claims of China and Taiwan to the islands. Therefore, the islands become an issue in the foreign relations between Japan and China, and between Japan and Taiwan.

Although China claims sovereignty over the Diaoyu/Senkakus Islands, it does not exercise effective authority over the islands, conversely Japan is like the “defender” in this dispute because it controls the islands in question since 1972. However, for the historical reasons from the beginning of this dispute as the described case above, China was likely lost the territories of Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands by the unequal treaty, which is included in the “Century of Humiliation” and directly promoting the rising of Chinese nationalism, thus for China getting back the lost territories is like retrieving its lost honor and eliminating the remaining shame to enhance its national security. While, it is just one of the reasons why China’s diplomacy never relaxes its vigilance on Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands, the most important reason can be the strategic values of the islands, which are related to China’s national security in another spheres, also show the realism factors of China’s foreign policy.

First and foremost, in the aspect of military strategic value, as mentioned above, although Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands are a tiny group of islands, the particular location makes them special to China. According to a Chinese study, some Japanese military experts suggest that it could be possible and desirable to establish a radar system, a missile base or a submarine base on the biggest island among Diaoyu/Senkaku

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Islands. In this case, it is not difficult to imagine that if any of the assumptions was established in the island, where is right in the frontier of China’s border and very short distance from China mainland, it definitely could be a threat to China’s national security. Simultaneously, as Japan’s political requirement to be a military great power, it pays much attention to the significant important strategic value of Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands, because if Japan has the sovereignty of the islands its maritime defensive and operational range will be extended about 300 miles to the west, so that it can enhance the monitor to the costal of China and Taiwan Strait, make the islands a “staging base” of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan. At the same time, due to the US-led China Threat Theory, containing China’s development through Japan can be a public secret in international relations, therefore, China seems to prefer to make the islands disputed, rather than Japan’s control of them, to keep its national security as possible as it can, especially in recent years when China’s comprehensive national power is growing rapidly and facing more and more international consensus.

Then, in the political sphere, the US has to be mentioned a lot, because the US is playing an important and subtle role in trilateral relations among the US, China and Japan, and especially in the Diaoyu/Senkaku dispute. Since China Threat Theory has been a typical realism support for the US to gain enough reasons to regard China as a competitor or an ideological enemy, and to contain China’s development, so that it can prevent its dominant status in the international arena being taken away. Furthermore, the US is planning to return the Asia-Pacific Region because this region is the most economically vibrant region in the world, but still China can be the core source of threat to the US’s returning. However, at the same time, some analysts claim that, in order to successfully develop its strategic setting in Asia-Pacific Region,

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81 Ibid, pp. 3-4.
83 “We’re back – America reaches a pivot point in Asia”, in The Economist, 19th Nov 2011, see: http://www.economist.com/node/21538803
the US cannot set other powers against itself, especially China who is holding an important discourse power and status in the international arena. Consequence, the US government does not really follow the words that it gave to Japan to claim the Japanese government’s control on Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands, the US now poses a neutral position in the dispute between China and Japan, and support neither side’s sovereignty of Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands. In this case, China-US relationship will not be so intensified by only making a choice, the US then can smoothly build it strategic setting in Asia-Pacific Region without having conflicts with China. In another way, once the US builds allied relations between the countries who are around China, the US will be able to take an easier approach to use diplomacy to indirectly put pressure on China’s development through its neighbors. Therefore, China has always been trying to use diplomatic way to keep good relations with its surrounding countries based on its Five Peaceful Principles of Co-existence, at the same time, trying to strive for the sovereignty of Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands to keep watch the maritime threat from Japan.

Last but not least, economically speaking, Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands can cover 40,000 square kilometer of surrounding continental shelf or exclusive economic zone (such as industry of fishery, oil and gas reserves), which means control of the islands will offer the ownership of natural resources in their vicinity. For China, a continuously developing is the basic way to secure the state, and different kinds of resources are quite required for its rapid development, while for such a huge area and population country, resource shortage is the problem China will face, especially unrenewable resources; meanwhile, as an island country, the limited land resources make Japan also quite desire the potential resources around Diaoyu/Senkaku Island. Given both

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84 In 1971, when the US signed the Okinawa Reversion Treaty with Japan, and return the areas and territories being administered by the US to Japan, and the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands were included. See: Kerry Dumbaugh (2001) (Coordinator), “China’s Maritime Territorial Claims: Implications for U.S. Interests”, p. 6.
China and Japan’s increasing voracious appetite for energy, it can be understandable to regard natural resources as one of the central issues in the dispute.\textsuperscript{86} \textsuperscript{87}

In consequence, from military, political and economic concerns, China is trying to gain the sovereignty of Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands and keep friendly relations with its neighbors, in order to protect its national security. Meanwhile, some historical reasons also drive China to do so, because China needs a peaceful international environment for its developing and a completed sovereignty to satisfy its nationalism due to its dark modern history. Especially since its opening up in 1979, the rapid economic and military development have brought China many international consensus, under this situation, China still never stops improving its comprehensive national strength and international influence in order to enhance its ability of securing the state. Therefore, national insecurities and humiliating history have deeply affected China’s foreign policy that including nationalism and realism factors, and due to the need of its development and the complicated international environment, peaceful diplomacy is also a key element in its foreign policy; simultaneously, this diplomatic approach, which although contains many critical factors from scholars, also makes China stronger and more secured than the before opening up era. In a word, “national insecurities” and “humiliating history” are the key factors of China’s foreign policy making, and the interlinkages of this Five Peaceful Principles of Co-existence based foreign policy and China’s national security.

4. Conclusion

This thesis examines why China is pursuing peaceful development, and how its Five Peaceful Principles of Co-existence based foreign policy and its national security are connected, especially since 1979 when China’s Open-Door policy and economic reform have been put on agenda, and its rapid rising up has been significantly focused by the international society. The Five Peaceful Principles of Co-existence is China’s diplomatic framework that carried out by the first Prime Minister of People’s Republic of China Zhou Enlai on 29th April 1954, in order to build friendly relationships with other states on the basis of “Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty”, “Mutual non-aggression”, “Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs”, “Equality and mutual benefit” and “Peaceful co-existence”, finally achieve a peaceful rising up.

Meanwhile, there is a strong sense of nationalism in China’s foreign policy. One reason why nationalism appears in China’s foreign policy is because of globalization, when the increasingly connected world undermines nation-states’ sovereign territorial power and self-identities, and China has cultivated its civilians the senses of nationalism and patriotism in order to support its nationalism foreign policy. Although certain western scholars have showed their concerns about the rise of Chinese nationalism together with its rapid development can be a threat to the US and the Asian regional balance of power and trade, in Chinese perspective of views, it seems that they definitely do not agree with the China Threat Theory, and they think whatever they have done that shows their nationalism is just to prevent their country from being aggressed and experiencing “Century of Humiliation” again, and their nationalism is also built on the basis of respecting other’s sovereignty. While, except nationalism, realism is also a key factor of China’s foreign policy. Firstly, the term of non-authorities who can enforce agreements and prevent the use of force in international system, it corresponds China’s peaceful principles of non-aggression and
mutual respect; secondly, from China’s dramatic development in economy and military, it is not difficult to see that China has realized the defining feature of international environment that states facing is power, which is also a realism factor. Although this rising power bring many concerns to the western scholars, some do not think it can be a threat to the world, because the humiliating years when China was aggressed made China necessary to do so to secure the state.

Since the humiliating years, which is known as the “Century of Humiliation”, have deeply influenced China’s foreign policy making, this thesis then examines the core research questions through a qualitative historical analysis approach, in addition, a case study is also used during examining. The “Century of Humiliation” refers to more than one hundreds of years of intervention and imperialism by the Western powers and Japan in China from 1839 to 1949, when the People’s Republic of China was founded. During the era of humiliation, the Qing dynasty China lost every single war fighting against the western powers and Japan, because of excluding the country from the outside world its power has lagged far behind theirs, then China signed a lot of unequal treaties with the victorious states, through which wide-scale territories were ceded and huge amount of fund was paid from China. Even though, the “Century of Humiliation” is full of darkness for China, Chinese leaders did realize that China’s lags between the western great powers, the Open-Door policy was therefore carried out in 1979 and China started to communicate with the external world since then. However, the humiliating history has made China desired for peaceful diplomacy for a stable development with “mutual respect” and “non-interference”, which are based on its Five Peaceful Principles of Co-existence.

In the end of this thesis, a case study about Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands dispute between China and Japan is examined, in order to illustrate how China’s foreign policy maintains its national security. Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands are a group of tiny islands that were ceded together with Taiwan from Qing dynasty China by the Treaty of
Shimonoseki in 1895, while, the special location and the potential natural resources around them make them owned important military and economic strategic values for both China and Japan, thus the islands has always been disputed till now. For China, the “Century of Humiliation” can be key leading force of the nationalism factor in China’s foreign policy, due to this strong sense of nationalism, getting back the lost territories is one of the most important tasks of its diplomacy, while, the military and economic strategic values of Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands make them even more important for China to ensure its national security. At the same time, the US is also an indispensable actor in the dispute, and it makes China further requiring for peaceful associations with its surrounding countries. From all of the analysis above, “national insecurities” and “humiliating history” are finally drawn as the key factors that affect China’s foreign policy making, and the interconnections of its peaceful diplomacy and national security. “National insecurities” and “humiliating history” drive China to make the foreign policy of peaceful development, otherwise, to ensure national security, China need to strengthen the comprehensive national power.
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