

# **Globalization and Security: A Chinese View**

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Globalization might be the greatest world-wide force in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Leaders and governments all over the world except few countries, international organizations, business, press, intellectuals and general public, all agree that the globalization is irresistible.

Globalization has an overwhelming impact on global economy, politics, cultures, as well as security and military affairs. Countries are increasingly making major shifts to cope with the development and process of globalization. Since middle of the 1990s, the Chinese leadership, government, military, academic community, and business all have taken globalization as one of the few fundamental developments in the world, and have made necessary change, readjustments, shifts with the process of globalization.

## **I. Globalization and International and National Security**

### **1. The Changing Concept of Security**

One of the fundamental impact of globalization on Chinese security, or in other words, that Chinese response to globalization, is the changing understanding and concept on security.

For long time since the foundation the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949 till recent years, the Chinese understanding about security had been very traditional. Then, security was heavily or exclusively national sovereignty and territory integrity. And security strategy meant to use military and diplomatic means to pursue sovereignty and territory security interests. China's Defense White Paper states that "China has always attached primary importance to

safeguarding the state's sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity, and security."<sup>1</sup>

When talking about security five or six year ago in China, leaders, officials and officers mentioned little about economic security, terrorism, aids, illegal drugs, food security, energy and environment. No official talks “human security” even today.

The Chinese academics are the first people starting to change the modern Chinese concept on security. And here there has been a Japanese influence. Since middle of 1970s, the Japanese government started to use the concept of “comprehensive security” in its official language and documents. The Chinese scholars on international affairs introduced the concept into China in later 1970s and early 1980s. First the concept of “comprehensive security” was used in academic writings and press, then it became an accepted concept to the Chinese government, and even has become a guiding idea of security since the early of 1990s.

However, the “comprehensive security” was still remained as a new approach, or more approaches to reach traditional security goals when the Chinese government talking about it before the middle of 1990s. It was very much the means to security, not the ends or the content of security, for the Chinese official concept of security did not go beyond national sovereignty and territory integrity this time.

In recent years, the Chinese government has introduced the “New Security Concept” (NSC). The NSC expresses some of China’s expectations about the regional and global security order. Chinese Foreign Ministry officials first put forward the concept during the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum (ARF) Confidence Building Conference in Beijing, in March 1997. Since then, the Chinese Foreign Minister and other officials have restated the NSC during ARF annual meetings and in China’s Defense White Paper and other official publications.

The major points of the NSC are as follows: Security cannot depend on increasing military weapons, nor can it depend on military blocs; Security should depend on mutual trust and the bond of common interests. Equal, friendly, and stable relations among states should serve as the political foundation for regional peace and stability; Economic development, exchange, and cooperation deepen interdependence among states and serve as the economic basis for regional security; The use of peaceful means to resolve disputes

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<sup>1</sup> Information Office of the State Council of the PRC: “China’s National Defense,” *China Daily*, December 10, 2002, p.A2.

is the right way to maintain regional peace and stability; Dialogue and cooperation should serve as the major frameworks for promoting regional peace and development.<sup>2</sup>

In recently, Chinese government stresses “mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and cooperation” as the principle of the new security concept.<sup>3</sup>

It is clear that the NSC comprises broad, general ideas, based on principles of international relations and security. It is not a specific design or operational strategy, or a policy for a regional security structure in the Asia Pacific region. If there is something really new in the New Security Concept, it is that it reflects Chinese thought on comprehensive security, which is quite different from Chinese thinking during the Cold War era.

This new approach to security is distinguished from earlier Chinese security strategies by its comprehensive outlook. It emphasizes efforts to improve political and economic relations with neighboring countries, and with other countries in the region, as a means of maintaining a stable environment for economic development. China’s improved relations with Russia exemplify the successful application of this comprehensive approach to security.

The official Chinese mind-set on security started to change fundamentally since Asian Financial Crisis in 1997. This time there is a content change. For what had happened in Indonesia, Thailand, Republic of Korea and other places in Asia and in the world tell the Chinese leaders that a financial, economic crisis can turn into social, political crisis, and bring down government and leadership, as it happened clearly in Indonesia. Thus the Chinese leadership understands that economic problems at certain circumstances can be security problems, and the leadership formally accepts the concept of economic security. Premier Zhu Rongji and other Chinese leaders publicly and officially talk about economic security in the annual governmental report to the National People’s Congress (NPC) and in other official settings. Chinese academics have published many articles and books on the nation’s economic security in a time of globalization. The Chinese Defense White Paper states that “economic security is becoming daily more important for state security,” and that “more and more countries regard economic security as an important aspect of state security. The financial crisis in Asia has made the issue of economic security more prominent, and has set out a new task for governments of all countries to strengthen

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<sup>2</sup> “President Jiang Zemin’s Speech at the United Nations’ Summit,” *Remin Ribao* (People’s Daily), September 8, 2000, p.A1.

<sup>3</sup> Xinhua News Agency: “PLA Chief Outlines Anti-terror Policy,” *China Daily*, February 10, 2003, p. A1.

coordination and face challenges together in the course of economic globalization."<sup>4</sup> The Chinese Defense White Paper states that "economic security is becoming daily more important for state security," and that "more and more countries regard economic security as an important aspect of state security. The financial crisis in Asia has made the issue of economic security more prominent, and has set out a new task for governments of all countries to strengthen coordination and face challenges together in the course of economic globalization."<sup>5</sup>

In the past years since Asian financial crisis, the Chinese concept on security becomes more broad. Not only economic security has been accepted in the security thinking, other related issues such as food security, energy security, environmental protection, human resource, cultural influence seem all become related to security, and all have come into the language of security in the Chinese press and official speeches.

The SARS (severe acute respiratory syndrome) crisis in the first half of 2003 further challenges the traditional Chinese security thinking. A number of countries in Asia, if not the whole region, was in the war situation then. In China, Mongolia, Vietnam, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, people and governments were in the battle ground against the serious threat of the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS). Other countries in the region were in high alert situation.

SARS is not in any respect as a war situation. There is not foreign invasion, no military conflicts, no plane was shutting down, and nor building and bridges are destroyed. However, in many other fundamental respects, it is a situation very same as a major war. Most people feel serious threat and scared, more than 700 people were died, everything was slowdown, if not stopped. Flights and trains were canceled; restraints, shops, schools were closed; streets became almost empty...It is the first time in more than a half century that people in Beijing and other parts of China are so scared. People born in China after 1949 have not had the experience of war. There was no mass fear for more than five decades. But this time, everybody is in dangerous situation, everybody faces the threat of her or his life. People cannot image how the war situation would be different then the SARS.

Thus in China, the scope of security has been enlarged, and new levels of understanding have been developed. While continuing to emphasize national security,

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<sup>4</sup> "China's National Defense," *China Daily*, July 28, 1998, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

the Chinese government now pays more attention to system security, i.e., state security, regime security and people's safety. Internal stability, which includes political stability and social stability, has become a major concern for the party and for the government of China. As the Chinese Foreign Minister Mr. Tang Jiaxuan pointed out at the ARF meeting in 2002, the content of security has enlarged from military, political arenas to economic, scientific and technological, environmental, and cultural areas.<sup>6</sup>

China's security thinking and practice is becoming increasingly non-traditional, with a new emphasis on non-traditional security issues. Chinese leaders and the population in general increasingly use the new security terminology in their speeches and documents. Economic security, food security, energy security, financial security, environmental security, cooperative security/security cooperation, common security, and multilateral security have all become part of the official language, and are now widely used terms in Chinese academic writing, in the news media, and in expressions of public opinion. This language has increasingly become part of Chinese thinking and of China's approach to security.

## **2. Threat Perception: Traditional Security**

Even the Chinese security concept and thinking are under way of changing, and the trends are becoming more comprehensive and non-traditional, there is still a strong part of traditional security concern in China's security thinking and strategy. Or in other words, traditional concept on sovereignty and territory integrity still plays a major role in the Chinese minds. Currently and for the time being, Taiwan issue is the number one security problem of China now and in the foreseeable future.

China insists that the issue of Taiwan is an internal Chinese affair, and stands strongly against any move towards "two Chinas," or "one China, one Taiwan," or any talk of Taiwan's independence. China opposes any foreign interference in Taiwanese affairs and is against Taiwan's participation in any international organization which requires statehood as a precondition of membership.

The Chinese government has adopted a "one country, two system" solution to resolve the Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan issues. First proposed by former Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping in the early 1980s, this approach assumes that the three separate parts should be returned or reunited with the Chinese Mainland. After their return and

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<sup>6</sup> Yang Zhiwang and Yang Qinchuan: "Tang Jiaxuan's Speech at ARF Meeting," *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily), August 1, 2002, p.A4.

reunification, the three parts become “special administered areas” where they can keep their current political, economic, and social systems as well as most of their own laws, and enjoy great autonomy. For Taiwan, the “one country, two systems” formulation even permits it to keep its armed forces after reunification with Mainland China. Therefore, Hong Kong, Macao, and, in the future, Taiwan will not have to change anything when they reunite with Mainland China. Their standard of living will not be affected by the reunification. The Chinese government does not and will not collect a single cent as tax from Hong Kong, Macao and in the future, Taiwan. The only thing Taiwan must give up is its “name”—such as “Republic of China”—when it reunites with Mainland China. As in the case of Hong Kong and Macao, Chinese official policy on the Taiwan issue is apparently to consider a high degree of sovereignty for Taiwan in exchange for Taipei’s acceptance of the “one China, two systems” formula. The Chinese government argues that the “one country, two systems” formula has worked well in Hong Kong and Macao, and therefore it should work with Taiwan. But Taiwanese leaders so far refuse this formulation.

The Chinese government still insists that its approach to Taiwan is one of peaceful reunification, but it will not commit to non-peaceful options when Taiwan declares independence or if Taiwan indefinitely refuses to reunite with the Mainland. It looks like future relations between the two sides across the Taiwan Strait depend very much on the ongoing changes to their societies. Hopefully, both sides will find they have enough in common in the future to agree on an internal change and find a solution which is acceptable to both sides. It is a great challenge for the Chinese people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait to search for a new form of national sovereignty that can resolve the current deadlock. However, if Mr. Chen Suibian continues to push too much towards Taiwan independence in next few years if he gets the second term next March, Mainland China is very likely to use military forces to stop the dangerous trend.

### **3. Threat Perception: Non-Traditional Security**

As the world enters the information age and Chinese living standards rise, the Chinese people are becoming more aware of personal security issues, such as terrorism, human rights, the environmental situation, public health, and food safety. These “low politics” topics generate headlines, and have become matters of concern. Recent events such as a number of bombing incidents in Chinese cities (including Beijing), the kidnapping and killing of Chinese citizens working in the Philippines, and the September 11 terrorist attack on the United States and SARS have all contributed to the Chinese government’s and population’s concerns about terrorism and public health problems as

major threats to people's security.

Fighting terrorism inside and outside China. Terrorism has become a major security concern and problem to China and the world even before the September 11, 2001. In June of 2001, Zhang Dongqiang and four other Chinese citizens were seized by unidentified gunmen in the Philippines. Mr. Zhang and the others had been sent to the Philippines by China Electric Power Technology Import & Export Corporation to work on an irrigation project. The Chinese government and its embassy in Manila asked the Philippine government to help ensure the release of the five Chinese. On August 19, 2001, during fighting between the Philippine army and the gunmen, two of the abducted Chinese were killed, one was released, and another one remained in the hands of the gunmen. The Chinese government expressed sadness over the deaths of the two Chinese, and asked the Philippine government to take all necessary measures to ensure the safe and speedy release of the remaining hostage.

The Chinese government condemns the September 11, 2001 attacks on New York and Washington. China strongly supports the American-British military action in fighting against terrorism in Afghanistan. China has cooperated with the United States in regard to information and intelligence sharing, controlling financial flows, immigration law enforcement, and smuggling. China is also providing food, medicine, and other aid to Pakistani and Afghan people after the military action. It supports the establishment of a coalition government in Afghanistan to ensure peace in the troubled country.

China has defined its basic anti-terror policies as: Condemn terrorism in any form; seek both a temporary solution and a permanent solution in the process of anti-terrorism; fight terrorism in a comprehensive way and ensure the United Nations play a leading role in the war, according to General Xiong Guangkai, the deputy chief of the General Staff of the PLA.<sup>7</sup>

Xingjiang in the western part of China has in recent years posed a major threat to China's national unity and security. Bordering the former Soviet states of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan, this area is home to seven million Uighur people. Xingjiang is also home to other Turkic peoples such as the one million Kazakhs in the north, 140,000 Kyrgyz people in the west of the province, as well as 700,000 Tungan Muslims and pockets of Mongols. Altogether, these minorities account for roughly 60 per cent of the population in Xingjiang.

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<sup>7</sup> Xinhua News Agency: "PLA Chief Outlines Anti-terror Policy," *China Daily*, February 10, 2003, p.A1.

Xingjiang has been a part of China for thousands of years, since the Han Dynasty. In 1933, when the National Party (KMT) ruled China, some local Uighurs proclaimed the “Republic of Eastern Turkistan,” but the territory was reannexed a year later; in 1944, the second “Republic of Eastern Turkistan” was declared, and this time it lasted for only a few days. After the end of the Cold War and the changed status of the former Soviet Central Asian republics, the separatist movement in Central Asia and China’s Xingjiang province has become active again. The newfound independence of the former Soviet states has fuelled nationalist sentiments among some Uighurs. Their goal is to establish a democratic and secular country in Eastern Turkistan, an area covers China’s Xingjiang and some parts in central Asia. In recent years, a spate of bombings and killings have been carried out by Uighur militants in Xingjiang and other parts of China, including Beijing. China has asked the Central Asian countries and Turkey to curtail the activities of Uighur exiles. These countries act as major centers for the exile movements. They have organizations and offices, publish newspapers and magazines, frequently discuss relevant topics on television, and hold meetings and other activities. China’s Ministry of Public Security named four identified “Eastern Turkistan” terrorist organizations and 11 terrorists in December 2003, calling for tighter international cooperation in the fight against terrorism.<sup>8</sup>

Environmental protection. A public opinion survey in 1999 indicated that urban citizens in China rate the environment higher than possessions in their view of “things that are most important in an ideal life.” According to the survey—conducted in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Wuhan, and Chengdu—people rated clean air, grassland and flowers, clean rivers, and trees higher than TV sets, cars, tall buildings, highways, air conditioners, and modern factories in terms of their contribution to an ideal life. Sixty-two percent of people surveyed emphasized that economic development should go ahead at the cost of the environment. Seventy-three percent of people said they are increasingly concerned about the environment.<sup>9</sup>

China is set to fulfill a key list of environmental protection targets during the 10th Five Year Plan period (2001-05). Among the goals, officials hope the environmental protection sector will account for 1.2 per cent of China's gross domestic product by 2005. They also aim to see nationwide pollutant discharges drop by 10 per cent from the 2000 level and to put in place requirements that industrial enterprises meet more stringent

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<sup>8</sup> Xin Dingding: “Nation Names Terror Groups,” *China Daily*, December 16, 2003, p. A1.

<sup>9</sup> Jin Baicheng: “UN Report Shows Rise in Human Conditions,” *China Daily*, July 2001, p.A1.

pollution standards. Efforts are also underway to control pollution in major river valleys, regions, cities, and marine areas and to meet the requirements set out in the China National Ecological Environment Protection Blueprint. In the 10th Five Year Plan of Economic and Social Development (2001 and 2005), the Chinese government is going to spend 700 billion Chinese yuan on "natural construction and environmental protection."<sup>10</sup>

Fighting illegal drugs, immigration, and AIDS. With more illegal narcotics being smuggled into China and the production of various domestic drugs, drug consumption is rising and causing real damage to economic development and social stability. According to the Chinese government, the Golden Triangle (an area between Myanmar, Thailand, and Laos) and the Golden Crescent in Central Asia are notorious for their drug production and trafficking. "More than 95 per cent of China's heroin consumption was smuggled from the Golden Triangle." The government plans to intensify its efforts against drugs coming into China from abroad, especially through the province of Yunnan in southwest China, which is adjacent to the Golden Triangle.<sup>11</sup>

China and ASEAN signed a joint action plan on drug control cooperation in October 2000. China signed the "Beijing Declaration" with Laos, Burma, and Thailand in August 2001, agreeing to cooperate on the issue of drug control. Under the agreement, China sends a liaison official to Thailand.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) co-organized a workshop on "Operational Cooperation to Combat Irregular Migration, Trafficking, and Smuggling of Migrants" in Beijing in June 2001. Mr. Liu Jieyi, deputy director-general of the Department of International Organization and Conferences at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said that China will strengthen cooperation with regional and international organizations to combat trafficking in, and the smuggling of, human beings. Greater efforts will also be made to stem illegal migration, said Mr. Liu.<sup>20</sup> "Both regional and global irregular migration, trafficking, and smuggling of human beings pose grave threats to social stability and give rise to a multitude of social problems," Liu said.<sup>12</sup> The Chinese government has always attached great importance to putting in place measures to combat irregular migration; this can be achieved by focusing on enhanced legislation, law enforcement, and administration. According to a Chinese official, exchanges, consultations, and cooperation efforts have been carried out with other

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<sup>10</sup> Zhu Jianhong: "700 Billion on Naural Construction and Environmental Protection in Five Years," *Remin Ribao*, July 6, 2001, p.A2.

<sup>11</sup> "Nation Pushes Anti-drug Cooperation," *China Daily*, October 12, 2000, p.A1.

<sup>12</sup> Jiang Zhuqing: "Nations Steps up Efforts in Illegal Migration Fight," *China Daily*, June 12, 2001, p.A2.

countries and with relevant international organizations, on the basis of mutual respect and equality.<sup>22</sup> Five ministers of public security from China, Thailand, India, Myanmar, and Laos had a meeting on fighting against illegal drugs in Thailand in July of 2003.

Participants attending the workshop are also parties to the Manila process, a framework launched by the IOM in 1996 that requires members to exchange information and cooperation in the fight against illegal migration. China recently took on IOM observer status.

China identified the first patient with Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) in 1985; by the middle of 2003, China is estimated to have 840,000 HIV carriers, including 80,000 AIDS patients.<sup>13</sup> In 1996, the Chinese government established an inter-agency group to fight AIDS in China. In May of 2001, the State Council issued an "Action Plan in Containing and Preventing AIDS in China." The plan's goal for 2005 is to keep the spread of AIDS in China limited to 10 per cent. The government has allotted 1.5 billion Chinese yuan toward fighting AIDS in the next five years.

**Climate Change.** China is one of the first ten nations to approve the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. The central government of China has established a coordinating group on climate change. However, the government insists that China and other developing countries should not and cannot accept more responsibility in cutting down gas emissions; developed countries should bear the major responsibility. During his meeting with visiting British Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott in July 2001, Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji called on developed countries to provide concrete help to developing countries in dealing with climate change. He also called on developed countries to take concrete measures to cut down greenhouse gas emissions. Zhu said the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol reflect the common will and interests of the international community concerning the issue of climate change.<sup>14</sup> During the visit, China and Britain signed a statement agreeing to joint work on climate change research.

## II. Globalization and Security Cooperation

Under the condition of globalization, security is increasingly becoming a multilateral

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<sup>13</sup> Zhang Feng: "More Action Needed on AIDS," *China Daily*, November 11, 2003, p.A1.

<sup>14</sup> Shao Zongwei: "Zhu Urges Help in Climate Change," *China Daily*, July 9, 2001, p.A1.

business. And China in recent years has stressed its bilateral and multilateral approaches in dealing with security issues.

## **1. CBMs**

Since early of the 1990s, China has accepted and adopted the model for enhancing security through confidence building measures (CBMs) with other countries in Asia and the world. China signed a number of agreements for CBMs, dealing with border area issues and military affairs. Such agreements have been signed with Russia and the Central Asian states, India, Vietnam, and the United States for maritime security. China has also signed the Code of Conduct agreement in the South China Sea with ASEAN countries.

Among these efforts are the 1996 Agreement on Confidence Building in the Military Field in the Border Area (Shanghai Agreement) and the April 1997 Agreement on Arms Reduction in Border Areas (the Moscow Agreement). Parties to these agreements were China, Russia, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Tajikistan. The Chinese view these agreements as the most significant steps they have taken toward national and regional security. The "Shanghai Five" process has developed into a sub-regional cooperation effort aimed at improving traditional and non-traditional situations in Central Asia, Russia, and China.

## **2. Regional Security Cooperation: Multilateral Approaches**

Besides bilateral confidence building measures and cooperation on security, China has also become more and more active in multilateral security dialogue and cooperation processes in Asia.

APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) is basically and fundamentally an economic cooperative body. But APEC has spent more and more time talking security issues such as counter-terrorism in recent years. China has used the gatherings of APEC meeting for multilateral and bilateral discussions on many issues including political/security ones among the member states, especially among China, the U.S., Russia and Japan. However, China does not expect APEC becoming a security institution in Asia because Taiwan has been there in APEC.

ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum) is an official security forum in Asia and there is the possibility for it to become a more workable multilateral institution for regional security cooperation in East Asia and whole Asia. China become more active in the Forum, but

China's policy is emphasizing confidence building of the Forum, does not want to see the Forum becoming a binding or problem-resolving organization. In recent years, China calls the Forum to enhance national cooperation in non-traditional security areas such as illegal drugs, transnational crimes, counter-terrorism.

Like CSCE (Council on Security Cooperation in Europe), CSCAP (Council on Security Cooperation in Asia-Pacific) has been a loose security dialogue process. It is less official compared with other multilateral approaches. It has been a useful place or process for exchange views on regional security, and lot of Chinese scholars, officials, former governmental officials have participated broad range discussions in the CSCAP settings.

ACD (Asia Cooperation Dialogue) is an official process on Asian regional cooperation. Proposed by Thai government in 2001, the first foreign ministers' meeting of ACD was taken place in June 2002 in Thailand. Seventeen Asian countries of ASEAN (except Myanmar), China, Japan, ROK, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bahrain, Qatar participated the meeting. The first meeting set the priority of the new process to be focus on economic cooperation. The second meeting was also held in Thailand in June in 2003, and it decided to have annual foreign ministers' meeting. The third one will be in China in 2004. China has taken positive attitude toward process eventhough it does not have a clear understanding on the function and direction of the ACD.

SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization) is the most "real" and Chinese-oriented security organization that China has pushed for in recent years. From "Shanghai Five" to SCO, the Chinese and other governments within the organization have found common interests and position in fighting against "the three evils" of separatism, terrorism, and religious extremism. The presidents of the "Shanghai Five" countries reached an agreement in 2000 to take joint measures to fight against separatism, terrorism, extremism, arms trafficking, drug smuggling, and other types of crime. The July 2000 "Shanghai Five" summit agreed to establish a joint center for fighting against terrorism, and the June 2001 summit of the "Shanghai Cooperation Organization" endorsed that plan. In July 2001, foreign affairs, security, and judiciary officials from the six countries got together to complete the charter for the anti-terrorism center. The charter was shortly thereafter discussed and passed by the meeting of the heads of government for the six countries.

The SCO concluded its first multilateral joint military exercise against terrorism in Kazakhstan and China recently.

### **3. International Multilateral Cooperation**

In recent years, China has become more supportive on international intervention on security issues in the world, however, China insists any international action must have United Nations approval and even led by the United Nations. It is in this line, China supported the first Gulf War against Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, UN operation in Cambodia in early 1990s, and UN operation in East Timor in recent years, and China opposed NATO's action in Kosovo in 1999 and does not support American/British military action against Iraq this time because they did not have the UN approval..

UN Peace-keeping and Humanitarian Interventions. One major part security action is UN peace-keeping and China has become much more positive and active in the operation of United Nations' in recent years.

China has supported many international interventions in regional and internal conflicts and even participated in some of those international interventions. China has participated in UN peacekeeping operations since 1990, when it began to assign military observers. China has taken more than ten UN peacekeeping operation since 1990. So far it has sent more than 2000 military observers, liaison officers, advisers or staff officers, engineering officers, soldiers and civilian police to 12 UN peacekeeping operations. China becomes more positive toward UN peacekeeping, and it is likely that the country will involve more actively in the missions in future.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, China, France, the US, and the ASEAN countries worked together on a peace agreement for Cambodia, and China sent military and civilian people to assist in UN peacekeeping and rebuilding. In 1992, the Chinese government dispatched an engineering unit to support the UN transitional authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). A total of 800 men were sent in two batches for 18 months; they worked on airport and highway repair and extension, and on building new bridges, among other projects. In May 1997, the Chinese government decided that China would take part in the UN's stand-by arrangements and would, in due time, provide military observers and civilian policemen, as well as engineering, medical, transportation, and other logistical services for UN peacekeeping operations.

China has sent 178 civilian policeman and policewomen to East Timor for UN peace-keeping.

China has also participated in some UN peacekeeping operations in the Middle East

and Africa. In January 2001, five Chinese peacekeeping civil policemen were sent by the Chinese government to Bosnia to join the UN peacekeeping task force. This was the first time that China sent police on peacekeeping activities outside Asia. China has also supported some international intervention in African countries. In January 2000, China called on the international community to help bring about an end to the strife in Angola.

China welcomed the UN Security Council's discussion on the Congo conflict. The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman said in January 2000 that China hoped the UN would take concrete measures on the issue, including sending a peacekeeping force to Congo to restore peace and stability.<sup>15</sup> In early 2003, China put 175-member engineering brigade and 43-member medical team on 24-hour-call for their United Nations peacekeeping mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and those people have been in Congo. And in early December, 240 transportation troops, 275 person engineering unit and 35 person medical group flighted to Liberia to join the UN peace-keeping force there.

#### **4. Partnership and Ad Hoc Multilateralism**

China also supports and participates some ad hoc multilateral activities for maintaining peace and stability in Asia and the world. Korean Peninsula is a good example. China supported and participated the four-party talk on Korean issues in middle and late 1990s, and has made great efforts to promote the three-party and six-party talks on Korean nuclear issue since later 2002.

China has tried hard to bring the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), the US and other parties together to resolve the Korean nuclear issue peacefully. Chinese officials go between Pyongyang and Washington, and Chinese leaders talk lot with leaders of the US, North Korea and other countries over the issue. China hosted the trilateral talk among DPRK, the US and China in Beijing later April, 2003, and the first Six-Party Talks (DPRK, USA, China, ROK, Japan and Russia) in August. China now works hard to keep the six-party process going on and resolving the issue through the process. China sees the maintaining stability and a nuclear free of Korean Peninsula is both its own national interests and the interests of other countries in the region and the world.

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<sup>15</sup> "Foreign Ministry's Spokesman on Congo," *Renmin Ribao*, January 24, 2000, p.A4.

### **III. Globalization and Military Transformation**

The world has changed so much and every military in the world has been in the process of some sort of transitions. And for any military, the key issues remain same: what a kind of military the country should have and, what kind of the mission or war that the military is going to have, or fighting for?

#### **1. A High-tech Military**

Since the first Gulf War in 1991, the Chinese have been very clear for what kind of military they should have in the post-Cold War era. China no longer emphasized the numbers, or the quantity of its military, troops and weapons. Instead, the Chinese leadership emphasizes to build “a modern and high-tech qualitative army.”<sup>16</sup>

In order to concentrate resources for building a qualitative army, China has engaged a number of rounds major military reductions in the past years. After 1 million troop reduction in middle of 1980s, the PLA started to cut another half million troops since 1997. And in September 2003, China announced that another 200,000 troops will be cut by 2005, reducing the overall number to 2.3 million.<sup>17</sup> The decision is said not only in accordance with world military trends for reform, but also out of necessity for China’s economic construction. The Chinese Central Military Commission Chairman (CMC) Jiang Zemin says that with the development of modern science and technology, especially information technology, global competition in military affairs has been intensified. And during the current transformation from mechanized warfare to information warfare, the information capability of the army plays an increasingly decisive role. Thus the further reducing the scale of the army will help China concentrate its limited resources on speeding up the army’s information technology construction. Jiang said this is a very significant decision which will promote the construction of the nation’s army, stimulate national economic development.<sup>18</sup>

The new Chinese leader, Mr. Hu Jintao, the Party’s General Secretary and President of PRC, calls for faster progress in national defence and military modernization in light of the country’s economic development and scientific advancement.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Jiang Zemin: “On the Historical Experiences of Military Building in the Past 20 Years,” *Renmin Ribao* (People’s Daily), August 1, 1999, p.A1.

<sup>17</sup> Xinhua News Agency: “Disarmament to Cut 200,000,” *China Daily*, September 2, 2003, p.A1.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

Hu made the call during a lecture for members of the Communist Party Central Committee's Political Bureau, the highest leading body of China, meeting in May 2003. There were briefed about the new military changes in the world by two military researchers at the meeting. Hu said global development of new and high-tech has had a subtle impact on people's life and on international political, economic and cultural relations, and it has also greatly facilitated new military changes in the world. He said China must upgrade its research to improve national defence and military modernization to safeguard the building of a more affluent society.<sup>20</sup>

## 2. The Limited, High-tech Local War

The Chinese threat perception and military/security strategy against the threats have changed greatly after the end of the Cold War in late 1980s and early 1990s. At the time of the Peoples Republic was founded in 1949, China's strategy was dealing with Japanese and American threat or possible invasion. And after the split of Sino-Soviet alliance in early 1960s, the Chinese saw Russians as their major threat and the whole country and military had prepared for a war against the Soviet invasion for decades till early 1990s.

In 1993, the CMC (The Central Military Commission) made a strategic shift in Chinese strategic doctrine. It abandoned a large war scenario against Soviet invasion, and set that "a limited, modern, especially high-tech local war" will be the form of conflict that Chinese military most like to face in the future.<sup>21</sup> Thus the major mission for the Chinese military becomes to prepare and win a limited, high-tech local war. The Chinese leadership and military never made clearly where and with whom that they are going to fight such a war with, however, that seems to be cross-Taiwan strait against Taiwan independence and possible American intervention, large scale South China Sea conflict, and military operation in Xingjiang against armed rebellion of separatists. With the South China Sea disputes becoming quiet and Xingjiang situation remains controlled, the most likely place the "limited, high-tech local war" seems to be cross-Taiwan Strait in the future years.

As another part of military transition, the Chinese military involves more and more in non-traditional security areas. The Chinese military has held a joint military exercise with Pakistan recently. The naval warships of the two countries carried out a search and rescue

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<sup>19</sup> Xinhua News Agency: "Top Leader Stresses Military Modernization," *China Daily*, May 26, 2003, p.A1.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Jiang Zemin: "On the Historical Experiences of Military Building in the past 20 Years," *People's Daily*, August 1, 1999, p.A1.

operation in the East China Sea in October, 2003. This is the first time Chinese naval forces had conducted joint military exercises with its foreign counterpart in a non-traditional security field. Similar joint military exercise was also held with the Indian military later. The Chinese armed forces also conducted a number of counter-terrorism military exercises in China, and with Kyrgyzstan in 2002, and with SCO joint militaries in Central Asia and Xingjiang in August, 2003.