China’s National Security Strategy of Peaceful Coexistence

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Outline

1) The basis of China’s influence: Coexistence

2) Does coexistence apply in the Asia-Pacific? Southeast, Northeast, South and Central Asia

3) Implications for regional and global level
Coexistence

Overlooks three characteristics:
1) China has risen in the group of secondary powers
2) Political great power
3) The role of secondary and small powers
⇒ coexistence is a means to preserve national unity as defined by China

2010

1. EU 14.627
2. USA 14.256
3. China 5.068
4. Japan 4.909
5. Germany 3.347

GDP at MER (2009 USD bn)
Source: PWC World In 2050 & Goldman Sachs and the Danish Embassy in Beijing
Coexistence

The preservation of peace and stability through common habits and practices designed to regulate international conduct

A strategy of influence for powers that do not have the material capabilities to claim great power status

Limited cooperation to avoid that great power conflicts jeopardize international order
Coexistence

Grand strategy

*Peaceful Coexistence*

**Objective:** a greater role in international politics without jeopardizing relations with other states

**Methods:** Change the status quo by changing the balance of power and the interpretation of international law without the use of deadly force
Coexistence

Strategy: Peaceful coexistence principles:
1) Non-interference in the internal affairs of others
2) Mutual non-aggression
3) The legal equality of states and mutual benefit
4) Mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity
Coexistence

Means:
1) Compromises where use of force between great powers is possible
2) Peacemaking operations require governmental consent unless UN system has proved threats to international peace and security
3) Solidarity with governments and regional/functional organizations
4) Absolute sovereignty maintains fundamental status in international law
Coexistence in Southeast Asia

How well does it work?

**Pro:**
ASEAN-China shelving sovereignty disputes, stability, peaceful pursuit of national interests, acceding to TAC (2003)

**Contra:**
- US reassertion of influence
  ⇒ disagreements because Chinese coexistence policies come up against the US alliance system
- Historical legal claim and shifting local balance of power
  ⇒ Random use of force at China’s discretion, restoration of Chinese motherland, South China Sea as Chinese lake
Coexistence in Northeast Asia

How well does it work?

**Pro:**
Korea: convergence of Seoul’s and Beijing’s aims on Korean Peninsula, six-party talks, carrot rather than stick
Japan: area of peace, cooperation and friendship (2006), high level of economic and popular interaction, dialogue

**Contra:**
Korea: Seoul depends on US security guarantees, defusing conflict but not permanent conflict management mechanisms
Japan: Historical claim to restore Chinese motherland, Japan illegitimate great power, 20\textsuperscript{th} century co-prosperity sphere
Coexistence in South Asia

Pro:
Occasional dialogue on Sino-Indian border dispute and cross-border trade, Indian support for coexistence principles as a basis of world order

Contra:
Indian strategic rapprochement with the US alliance system due to difficulties with controlling the subcontinent and with realizing great power ambitions beyond the subcontinent; junior peer competitor; Chinese longstanding strategic partnership with Pakistan; India’s hosting of the Dalai Lama
Coexistence in Central Asia

**Pro:**
Shanghai Cooperation Organization as microcosm, limited multilateral policy coordination, facilitate bilateral agreement, flexible platform for policy coordination between member states, UN-based, focus on the pursuit of national interests

**Contra:**
Presence of US alliance system after 9/11; Russian fears of rising China; disagreements on issues such as immigration and use of force in regional spheres of influence
Implications for regional level

Coexistence as primary theme depends on the regional context faced by China

Dominant pattern: coexistence is implemented against the backdrop of the US alliance system

=> China does not have regional spheres of influence where it has hegemonic status
Implications for global level

Coexistence best strategy to protect China’s principal objective of national unity

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coexistence <=> integration

International system characterized by:

- absence of coherent unitary global order
- ad hoc frameworks of conflict management
- trial-and-error policy coordination
- influential secondary and small powers
- no geographical spheres of influence