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The role of China in the U.N. Peacekeeping Operations

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CPPTC	China Peace-keeping Police Training Centre
FPU	Formed Police Unit
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
MNF	Multinational Force
MINURSO	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara
MINUSTAH	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
ONUMOZ	United Nations Operation in Mozambique
PLA	People´ s Liberation Army (China)
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
UN	The United Nations
UNAMA	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
UNAMID	African Union/ United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur
UNDPKO	United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations
UNFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNIKOM	United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission
UNMIBH	United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
UNMIH	United Nations Mission in Haiti
UNMIK	United Nations Mission in Kosovo
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNMIS	United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNOMIL	United Nations Observation Mission in Liberia
UNOMSIL	United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone
UNPKO	United Nations Peace-keeping Operations
UNPSAS	United Nations Peacekeeping Standby Arrangement System
UNSAS	United Nations Standby Arrangements System
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSG	United Nations Secretary General
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
UNTAG	United Nations Transition Assistance Group
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization

Since 1971 the People's Republic of China recovered its seat as one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, the participation in the UN Peacekeeping Operations went through a tortuous path. So far some Chinese and foreign scholars have made detailed study of this process, with the history of the peacekeeping participation of China, they analysed the cause from internal or external perspectives.¹ In this article I would like to give an overview also an outlook of the evolution of Chinese participation and what kind of role China plays in the UN peacekeeping regime.

1. The history of the UN Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKO)

The establishment of U.N. Peacekeeping

The UN Peace-keeping Operations started in 1948 when the UN Truce Supervision Organisation was created to use unarmed observers to oversee the truce between Israel and the alliance of Arab nations.² Since then there have been 63 UN Peace-keeping Operations, the current ones are 17.³

But the concept of UNPKO was first formalized in the Suez Crisis of 1956. At that time Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld formulated the principles for all subsequent UNPKO: 1. the operation must get the consent of the host country or belligerent parties; 2. the impartiality of the force; 3. the nonuse of force, except as a last resort for self-defense.⁴ All the principles based on the Westphalia norms of sovereignty and non-intervention and have been widely accepted and adopted in a long time by the international society.⁵ But with the pattern of the world politics rashly changed, especially after the Cold War, many non-traditional operations were set up, and the traditional UNPKO were challenged. Consequently some analysts tried to categorize the operations in differentiated approaches. Taylor grouped peacekeeping operations into traditional and non-traditional categories,⁴ Findlay into four categories,⁶ Bellamy/Williams/Griffin into five categories and others authors mainly categorized the operations chronologically.⁷ According to the former Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the peacekeeping operations after 1988

¹ Pang, 2005, 87-104; Tang, 2003; Zhang, 1996; Fravel, 1996, 1102-1122; Staehle, 2006.

² Wikipedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_United_Nations_peace-keeping_missions (Nov. 21, 2007)

³ See Official Documents: United Nations Peace-keeping Operations. The spirit of Westphalia norms were later adopted and enhanced in the UN Charter.

⁴ Fravel, 1996, 1105.

⁵ "Peace of Westphalia." Wikipedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peace_of_Westphalia (Nov. 21, 2007)

⁶ Findlay, 2002, 5-7.

⁷ Bellamy/ Williams/ Griffin, 2004, 211.

were defined as the second generation of PKO, namely complex peacekeeping,⁸ which has also been widely accepted by the current international society.

Brahimi Report

In 1990s the UN encountered much more difficulties by conducting the peace operations, especially in Rwanda, Somalia and in the former Yugoslavia. Finally the new world conflict situation incurred the produce of the Brahimi Report, which largely influenced and challenged the role of the traditional peace-keeping principles. In August 2000 at the request of UNSG Kofi Annan, a high-level panel, chaired by the former Foreign Minister of Algeria, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, to *“undertake a thorough review of the peace and security activities, and to present a clear set of specific, concrete and practical recommendations to assist the United Nations in conducting such activities better in the future.”* The report was presented in August 2000, and the main recommendations interpreted by some analysts: (1) the absolute necessity to get “clear and achievable mandates for UN operations, (2) the UN should conduct robust peace-keeping, (3) the UN should defeat the lingering forces of war, (4) the UN operations must be supported by political states, (5) Strengthening the UN secretariat, in particular the UNPKO.⁹ In fact, the Brahimi Report sent out the signal of using “strong power” for peacekeeping and also provided the theoretical basis for the U.N. peacekeeping missions. For example, the UN peacekeepers in Haiti started the operation of arresting and disarming the local illegal armed forces in 2005, and involved itself in the combat with the illegal armed forces, which caused casualties of peacekeepers.¹⁰

Character of peacekeeping operations

In conclusion, currently there are mainly two categories of peacekeeping operations: the first one, namely first generation-traditional peacekeeping, was directly guided by the UNSG, which includes two patterns: military observation and peacekeeping troops; the second one, namely second generation-complex peacekeeping, was ratified by the UNSC, authorised by the UNSG, and formed by regional or big countries, which includes also two patterns: multinational troops and “humanitarian intervention”. The participants of peacekeeping consist of military soldiers, as well as civilian police and civilian staff. The obvious features of peacekeeping are non-compulsory and with distinct neutrality. Compared with the

⁸ Jiang/Han, 2001, 1.

⁹ Tayda, 2004, 5; Durch, 2001, 16-18.

¹⁰ Lu, 2006, 2.

traditional peacekeeping operations, the second generation has the following characters: (1) the tasks tend to be many-faceted. That means the tasks have increased from traditional supervising truce, isolating the conflicting parties, and regular reporting of the local situation, and so on, to economy rebuilding, return of refugees, humanitarian assistance, organising elections, and even take the full administrative responsibility, like in Kosovo, etc. In addition Preventive Diplomacy, Peace-making and Peace-building have also been important elements of peacekeeping operations, which were pointed by former UNSG Ghali as important measures for the UN to resolve the conflicts.¹¹ (2) The dimension has been enlarged and more departments are involved. In 2000, there were 15 peacekeeping operations deployed by the U.N., around 20,000 peacekeepers, a little more than 80 contributing countries; while currently there are 17 operations, more than 100,000 peacekeepers, and up to 119 contributing countries. The peacekeeping budget for 2007-2008 reaches up to 5.29 billion US\$, while for 1999-2000 it was only about 2.7 billion US\$. In addition, the participating departments of UN have expanded to peacekeeping, politics, law, and management, etc. (3) the traditional UN peacekeeping operations focused mainly on the conflicts between states aiming to maintain or restore peace, but now it turns much on intervention in the civil war in a state. Among the current 17 peacekeeping operations, 12 are established to help concerned countries to realize peace, stability and national reconciliation. (4) Regional organizations have begun to play more important roles in the peacekeeping operations. In the recent years, African Union, European Union, American States Organization, and Economic Community of West Africa have strongly supported and cooperated with the UNPKO through various channels, showing the specific advantage in maintaining regional peace and security, and made special contribution to the containment of conflict and easing humanitarian crisis.¹²

Problems of the new type of peacekeeping operations

For the traditional peacekeeping, there are specific principles for the UN and member states to observe, so the UNPKO has made great achievement, which was acknowledged by the 1988 Nobel Prize. As mentioned, after 1988 the second generation peacekeeping occurred. Although the 2000 Brahimi Report has put

¹¹ See Report of the Secretary-General in 1992.

¹² “China pays for large amount of peacekeeping dues (zhongguo chengdan daliang weihe tankuan).” Zhongxin Web. <http://news.tom.com/2007-11-19/OI27/35753896.html> (Nov.19, 2007); and see note 11.

forward some rules and suggestions for the operations of peacekeeping, but it is still lack of specific principles as peacekeeping guidance, however it even contributed much to the challenges to traditional principles; the UN Charter does not concern concrete articles either. In the recent years, some peacekeeping operations just seriously damage the prestige of UN. So let us see what are the typical problems existing in the second generation of peacekeeping operations:

Tend to resort to use of force. Traditionally the UN played the role as a reconciliatory and it carried out the operations by isolating the conflicting parties or supervising the cease-fire. The UN used to exert pressure on the parties through the UNSC or other diplomatic means to get the objects. But the second generation peacekeeping has just gradually changed from mitigating conflicts to intervening conflicts, and finally to use of force. Under the authorization of the UNSC, some superpowers, in the name of humanitarian and restoring the democracy, took on everything to appease the internal conflicts of some member states. The former UNSG Ghali said: “when necessary, the UN should use coercive means, such as economic sanction, even use of force to force the countries concerned to realize the peace.”¹³ The result of this kind of operations was the definition of peacekeeping operations was randomly explained, and each operation has no uniform standard. So that the scope of peacekeeping was enlarged and even some countries in the pretext of peacekeeping intervened in internal affairs of member states.

Disrespect of Human Rights. During the second generation of PKO, disrespect of Human Rights was one of the important problems. For example, in the mission of Somalia in 1992, the U.S. led a Unified Task Force (UNITAF) with the authorization of UNSC to “use all necessary means to establish as soon as possible a secure environment for humanitarian relief”. But the U.S. troops later involved itself in the conflict with the conflicting party and attacked a hospital and a civilian house, which caused many civilians to death. This action seriously violated the spirit of humanitarian and Geneva Conventions. The U.N. and the U.S. were accused of ill-treatment and murder of Somalian civilian. The Foreign Minister of France condemned the action of USA had “exceeding the humanitarian scope”, and changed to “intolerable antagonism”; while the German media described the American action as “a squalid war”. On 2nd March 1995, the last peacekeeping group of UN withdrew

¹³ See Jiang/Han, 2001, 1.

from Somalia, which signified the failure of the UN peacekeeping operation in Somalia.¹⁴

Violation of sovereignty of the member states. The UN Charter Article 2 explicitly rules the principle of non-intervention and sovereign equality of states. Ghali also said in the 1993 General Assembly that, the mission of the U.N. is to maintaining peace but not to impose peace in the conflicting regions.¹⁵ In reality, some countries always imposed their will on other countries, and even bypassed the U.N. to violate the sovereignty of other countries under the banner of peacekeeping. In 1999, US-led NATO attacked the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia without the authorization of the UNSC and caused serious loss of life and property. This so called “humanitarian intervention” violated both the UN Charter and the International Law, and made the situation in Kosovo even more complicated and until now Kosovo is struggling for its status and remains “an unfinished peace”.¹⁶

Increasing risk for the safety of peacekeepers. In August 2003, 21 UN staffs were killed in Baghdad, which reminded the world that, the U.N. has also been the target of terrorism. In the current complex peacekeeping operations, the security risk for peacekeepers is higher than any of the former time. In the internal conflict, some parties concerned did not comply with their promise to the peaceful agreement, especially when their demands were not met, they used to take the existence of UN as stumbling block and attack the UN workers or peacekeepers as reprisal. In 2005, there were 124 peacekeepers killed, in the first half year of 2006, there were 33 killed.¹⁷

2. Major events of China´s Peacekeeping operations¹⁸

1988

In November, China joined the UN Special Peacekeeping Committee¹⁹.

1989

¹⁴ “Somalia War (Suomali zhanzheng).” Baidu Baike. <http://zhidao.baidu.com/question/26088228.html?fr=qr13>

¹⁵ See Jiang/Han, 2001, 1.

¹⁶ O'Neill, 2002.

¹⁷ “UN Peacekeeping Operations and incidents of its being attacked (Lianheguo weihe xingdong he qi zaoxi shijian)” Xinhua News. <http://www.mps.gov.cn/cenweb/brj1Cenweb/jsp/common/article.jsp?inford=ABC00000000000036303> (July 26, 2006)

¹⁸ See Official Documents: Events related to police peace-keeping referred to “2000-2005 The 5th anniversary of China peace-keeping police

¹⁹ UN Web. “General Assembly and Peace-keeping.” <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/ctte/CTTEE.htm> (November 24, 2007)

Twenty Chinese civilian officials were dispatched to the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) to assist with election work.

1990

Five military observers were sent to the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) in the Middle East. This was the first time that China sent peace-keeping personnel to UNPKO.²⁰

1992-1993

During April 1992 and September 1993, China deployed 800 PLA engineering troops to the United Nations Transitional Administration in Cambodia (UNTAC). This was the first time that China sent formed military units to UNPKO.²¹

1988-1998

In this period, China dispatched 437 military observers to five UNPKO, UNTSO, UNIKOM, UNTAC, ONUMOZ, and UNOMIL.²²

1997

On 31 May, China decided to join in the UN Standby Arrangements System (UNSAS)²³, and would contribute civilian police to UN peacekeeping operations at an appropriate time.

1998

On 24 August, the government approved to select and dispatch police to UNPKO.

1999

From 4 May to 25 July, the ministry of Public Security conducted the first peace-keeping police training course.

2000

On 12 January, China sent 15 police officers to Timor-Leste for the UNTAET. It was the first time that Chinese police were sent to UNPKO.

On 8 August, China Peace-keeping Police Training Centre was officially established in China Armed Force Police Academy.

2001

On 4 January 2001, for the first time five peace-keeping police were sent to Sarajevo for the UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH).

²⁰ United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) website.
<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/untso/> (November 25, 2007)

²¹ “China’s first peace-keeping force.” Xinhua News. <http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/> (July 31, 2003)

²² See Documents: China’s National Defense 1998.

²³ UN Web. “UN Standby Arrangement System Description”,
http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/rapid/body_sys.htm (November 24, 2007)

2002

In February, China agreed to join in the United Nations Peacekeeping Standby Arrangement System (UNPSAS), set up in 1994, which is based on conditional commitment by member states of specified resources within the agreed response time for the UN peacekeeping operations.

2003

On 30 November, China sent the first contingent of five police officers to Monrovia for the UN mission in Liberia (UNMIL).

In March, 218 military logistics troops (non-combat) were sent to the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONOC).²⁴

In December, 558 military logistics troops (non-combat) were deployed to UNMIL and it is by far the largest military contingent for China to UNPKO.²⁵

2004

On 14 January, for the first time one police officer was sent to Kabul for the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA).

On 24 April, China's first contingent of 12 police officers were deployed to Pristine for the UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).

On 24 May, for the first time one police officer left for the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH).

On 17 September and 17 October, China's first FPU of 125 police officers left for MINUSTAH.

On 6 May, China sent the first police officer to the UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS).

2006

In March, China deployed 182 military logistics troops (non-combat) to the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNFIL).²⁶

In May, 435 military logistic troops (non-combat) were sent to UNMIS.²⁷

2007

²⁴ "Chinese Peace-keeping Mission heads for Congo", People's Daily News.
http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200301/24/eng20030124_110695.shtml (January 24, 2003)

²⁵ "China's Peace-keeping forces leave for Liberia." People's Daily News.
http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200312/09/eng20031209_130023.shtml (December 10, 2003).

²⁶ "China ups Lebanon force to 1000." BBC News 24. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/5355128.stm> (September 18, 2006).

²⁷ "Chinese Blue Helmets Play Active Role in Africa." China-Africa Forum.
http://english.focacsummit.org/2006-10/28/content_3981.htm (Oct.28, 2006)

On 24 November, 135 advance troops (non-military) arrived in Sudan for African Union/ United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), and the total troops will be up to 315.²⁸ It was the first time for China to deploy peace-keeper to this area.

In these years, besides the major events of peacekeeping, China has continuously deployed military troops and police contingents on regular shift.

3. China´s participating principles for the UN Peacekeeping Operations

Generally speaking, China supports the UN in keeping the international peace and security under the guidance of the principles of UN Charter. To the concrete peace-keeping operations, China firmly stands for the three principles, which formed during the Suez Crisis in 1956. In the new times, corresponding to the universally recognized principles, China has its own detailed explanation to the principles:²⁹

-- Adhere to the principles of UN Charter, especially the principles of respecting the sovereignty of all countries and not to interfere in other countries internal affairs.

- Peaceful means, such as mediation, reconciliation and negotiation should be used for disputes, but not compulsory means. Military means should not be resorted even for humanitarian aims.

-- Any one country should not impose its policies on the UNSC, and should not use military means to interfere in other countries under the pretext of UN Peace-keeping.

-- In peace-keeping operations, the three principles should be followed, because it was proved effective in the past operations.

-- When the conditions are not yet ripe, peace-keeping operations should not be undertaken. The peace-keeping force should strictly observe neutrality.

Under the guidance of these principles, China´s participation in peace-keeping operations in the last twenty years mainly focused on: Sending police, military observers, and logistical support troops of engineering, medical care, transportation to the UNPKO. That is to say, China´s peacekeeping activities focus mainly on reconstruction and medical care without political support.

²⁸ “Chinese Peace-keeping Troops Leave for Darfur.” Crienglish News.
<http://english.cri.cn/4026/2007/11/25/1361@297873.htm> (November 25, 2007)

²⁹ See Official Documents: China´s National Defence in 1998.

4. China´s change of role in UN Peacekeeping Operations

Judging from the major events happened in China´s Peace-keeping Operations and compared with the history of UNPKO, we can conclude China´s peacekeeping history is short and started even later than some other countries. As the Chinese official, Wu Miaofa, who was the former permanent representative to UN, said in an interview, China´s participation in UNPKO changed from “no involvement” to “comprehensive participation” since China´s first participation in the U.N. system and it was determined by the national interests and the analysis of the world political trend by the government.³⁰ By analysing the process of China´s attitude and policy to the U.N in different times, it would be easy to understand the development of China´s participation in UNPKO. So from China´s first participation in the U. N. system, I would like to divide the process into three phases:

1. In the 1970s (1971-1980)

In June 1945, the Chinese delegation, which included one representative of the Communist Party of China, signed the Charter of the United Nations. But owing to the U.S. hostile policy towards New China, China´s seat in the United Nations was in a long time occupied by the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which was overthrown by the Communist Party and fled to Taiwan.³¹ In October 1971, after several years´ unremitting efforts for the seat in the UN, and with the support of most developing countries, according to the UN Resolution 2758, China finally restored its legal seat in the UN, and all the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek clique were expelled from the UN and the other international organisations. During this time, China opposed the creation and continuation of all UN peacekeeping operations. Like Fravel (1996, p.1103) said: “China registered its opposition by not participating in Security Council votes on peacekeeping resolutions, not paying its annual peace-keeping contributions and not donating troops to on-going operations.” The reasons lied in the follows:

External problems

³⁰ “China´s peacekeeping: from no involvement to full participation (Zhongguo weihe: cong bu jieru dao quanmian canyu).” China Net. http://big5.china.com.cn/authority/txt/2006-09/25/content_7188931.htm (Sep.25, 2006).

³¹ See Official Documents: Struggle to restore China´s lawful seat in the United Nations

In 1950, the Korea civil war broke out, the U.S.-led forces entered into Korea to attack North- Korea troops under the name of UN mission. They even crossed the boundary between China and North Korea. So China had to fight with them and also help the North-Korea to defend the attack.³² As a consequence of this event, China considered all the UN enforcement missions as being manipulated by the superpowers. As Huang Hua, the Chinese ambassador to the UN in the 1970s condemned the establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) by stating “it would bring infinite evil consequences in its wake and pave the way for further international intervention in the Middle East with the superpowers as the behind-the-scenes bosses”.³³

At the same time of the war, U.S also deployed army to occupy the territory of Taiwan, in order to prevent China from defeating the oppositional Guo-Ming clique. In the next 20 years, U.S used the Taiwan problem to promote its policy of hostility to China. In 1954, when China liberated the islands around Taiwan, U.S even asked the UNSG to reconcile in order to stop China from liberating Taiwan. Moreover, in the 1960s U.S invaded Vietnam and from the south to make menace to China. In the 1960s China had also another security threat from the Soviet Union. They not only deployed troops in the boundary, but also invaded the territory of China for several times.³⁴

Internal problems

From the late 1960s to the 1970s, the Soviet Union, by taking advantage of American involvement in the Vietnam War, began to expand the sphere of its influence, and it became the major threat to the world security and also to China. On the contrary, the U.S. seek chance to improve the relations with China to fight against the Soviet Union. In February 1974, when meeting with the President Kuanda of Zambia, Mao Zedong put forward the strategic idea of “Three Worlds”: “The US and the USSR are the First World. Japan, Europe, and Canada belong to the Second World. We are the Third World.”³⁵ Mao´ s foreign policy was characterised as strong opposition to the super-powers (the U.S. and the Soviet Union), but close contact with developing countries, and relative isolation from international organizations. So

³² Tang, 1999, 1-2.

³³ Fravel, 1996, 1104.

³⁴ Tang, 1999, 2-3.

³⁵ Chen, 1998; and Tang, 1999.2.

under the guide of this theory, China sought to strengthen its unity with the Third World countries, to establish relations with the Second World countries, and to set up a united international front against Soviet hegemony and the U.S.

In addition, in 1970 China went through the tragic Cultural Revolution all over the country. Economy and the like suffered serious damage. China had not enough human and material resources to participate in any UN contributions.

After having gotten its legal seat in the UN, China was busy with familiarizing itself to the system of UN, like the emergency affairs of the UNSC, the daily affairs of the United Nations Special Commission for Decolonization, and so on. It was also one reason for China's non-involvement in the UNPKO. Moreover, at that time the understanding of China to the UNPKO was: the situation of UN peace-keeping operations were complicated and the operations can not truly and basically resolve the regional conflict problems. So China neither voted for the operations nor participated in any of them.³⁶

Summary

Resulted from the then-complicated political world situation around China, out of the unsafe judgement to the situation and the protection of its own national interest, China focused mainly its foreign policy out of the UN. At the end of 1960s, in such a short twenty years, China had established diplomatic relations with more than 50 countries, but as the Chinese official said, in fact, the non-involvement policy to the U.N. had widen the distance between China and the UN. So both the internal and external elements decided that China was reluctant and also not capable of participating in the UNPKO.

2. In the 1980s (1981-1987)

In 1981, China for the first time voted for the Resolution 495, regarding the extension of the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus. This was the turning point of China's changing attitude toward UN and become more supportive to the UN peacekeeping. It also started to pay its dues for the UN peacekeeping.³⁷ Although in the 1980s China took part in all the voting process on UNPKO, it chose to abstain altogether most of the time and voted only in favour of those "traditional"

³⁶ See note 30.

³⁷ Staehle, 2006, 26.

peacekeeping. Furthermore, it deployed no military troops or civilian police to the Missions.³⁸

External Elements

In the more than 40-year long era of Cold War, UN developed only 13 times of peacekeeping operations, while during the period from end of 1970s to end of 1980s, resulted from the abused veto of the superpower, UN established only one new mission-UNFIL in 1978.³⁹ Since the Soviet Union fell into the Afghanistan War, its national strength decreased. While U.S. cast itself off the Vietnam War, its situation at home and abroad improved compared with the Soviet Union, so the trend of world multi-polarization began to emerge. Maintaining peace and promoting development became the main themes of the world.

The relations between China and U.S. has made breakthrough after the “Sino-US Joint Communiqués”, in 1979, the two countries established the diplomatic relations. But the tactics of U.S. with regards to the Taiwan questions still annoyed China.⁴⁰ This was one of the main reasons why China at this time still persisted in the Westphalia norms of sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs. Foreign Minister Qian Qichen expressed China’s opinion by stating: “it is our consistent view that peace-keeping operations should strictly conform to the principles of the U.N. Charter and the norms of international relations. (...) No peace-keeping operations or humanitarian aid programs should be permitted to interfere in the internal affairs of any country, still less to use force and get embroiled in a conflict between the parties.”⁴¹

Internal Elements

(1) In 1980s, the President of second generation of Chinese Leadership Deng Xiaoping, made thorough analysis of the then-international situation and the character of the times, he decided firmly to:

Shift the working emphasis of the whole country to the socialist modernization building. That is to say, to take the economic development as the centre, and the all

³⁸ He, 2007, 20

³⁹ See note 3.

⁴⁰ Tang, 1999, 4.

⁴¹ Wang, 1992, 15-16.

the other tasks must be subordinate to this centre; Carry out the policy of economic reform and opening.

In order to realize the modernization, it is necessary to have a domestic stable political situation, and an international peaceful environment. So he further put forward the “Independent Foreign Policy of Peace” as the new Chinese foreign policy. The elements of the policy are:

- China will not build an alliance with any big countries, establish a military bloc, join in an arms race, or seek military expansion;
- China stands firmly on the side of peace and combats anyone who seeks hegemony.
- China will determine its international position and policies in the fundamental interests of the Chinese people, by considering the interests of other countries. China shall never give in to pressure of any big country.⁴²

As consequence of the new policies, China gradually developed its relations with the U.S., Japan and some European countries; improved the relations with the Soviet Union; consolidated the relations with the Third World. At that time China changed its international profile by increasing its participation in inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations, and China gradually emerged from its Mao-epoch isolation. The great adjustment in international strategy can also explain the changed attitude and actions of China in the UN regime.

(2) After the enactment of the economic policy, China made significant progress in its development. The total import and export trade increased from 20.6 billion US\$ in 1978 to 111.6 billion US\$ in 1989.⁴³ But it was still far behind of the developed countries, and all the resources should be offered firstly for the development of economy, so China still had not enough finance- and man-power to take part in the UNPKO.

Summary

The internal factors showed that China had realized the UN peace operation played an import role in averting regional conflicts and regional intensification of contradictions. Moreover positively taking part in the UN affairs was one of the effective ways to reinforce the communication with other countries and to improve the

⁴² Chen, 1998, 7-8.

⁴³ See note 40.

relationships. The external factors still made China worry about the internal intervention problems, especially with the Taiwan questions. On the other side, China's participation in the international community was only partial, and Beijing still took aversion to multilateral institutions, which Deng Xiaoping had always feared could punish or constrain China. It explained why China used several times of abstention during the voting process. At the same time lack of resources determined China still had not involve itself in the UNPKO.

3. Since 1990s (1988- Now)

(1). in the 1990s

From the major events of Chinese peace-keeping operations, it can be found that in 1988, China joined the UN Special Peace-keeping Committee. It meant the beginning of China's participation in UN peace-keeping operations, and meanwhile it was the sign of the great change of Chinese foreign policy. After that China has gradually sent peace-keeping troops to the UNPKO till in 21 century it has taken part in the UNPKO in a full-scale.

However in the 1990s it sent only non-combat troops to the missions to offer logistical assistance. Only after 2000, China began deploying police peace-keepers to the missions. Considering the voting behaviour and attitude to the UN Peace-keeping operations, China has its own principles and explanations. It voted in favour of all traditional peace-keeping tasks and peace-building missions.⁴⁴ Generally speaking, China still stands for the traditional three peace-keeping principles, and firmly opposes the interference in internal affairs. In 1950, the first Foreign Minister of new China, Zhou Enlai put forwarded the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The content is: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; mutual non-aggression; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; peaceful coexistence. Since then the Five Principles with the Independent Foreign Policy of Peace are always the guideline for China to develop diplomatic relationship with other countries and it has never changed on this point. While the questions of using force posted great challenges for China's position on the traditional peace-keeping principles: the nonuse of force, except as a last resort for self-defense. For example, for the vote on resolution 678 (1990), China abstained to express its opposition to the use of force, while the resolution authorized member

⁴⁴ Staehle, 2006, 45.

states to use “all necessary means to restore the international peace and security to expel Iraqi troops from Kuwait. In his statement in the 1990 Security Council meeting, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen admonished the UN of the use of force.⁴⁵ The same cases were also for Resolution 770 (1992), Resolution 929 (1994), and Resolution 940 (1994).⁴⁶

Analysis

With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Cold-Era came to the end. The fall of the Berlin wall and the collapse of the communist governments in the Eastern European countries, at the same time contributed great change to the international political situation. China as the only large communist state, thought to be the target for “peaceful evolution” of the U.S. and the other western countries.⁴⁷

In 1989 the Tiananmen incident aggravated the relationship between China and western countries. The U.S. was not only the first to exert sanctions on China, but took series of action to the Taiwan. For example, selling advanced fighter planes to Taiwan, sending aircraft carriers into the Taiwan Strait. They even illegally searched a Chinese cargo ship on the high sea.⁴⁸

In his article Fravel(2002, pp.1117-1119) defined the behaviour of China in U.N as conservative policy. And he also explained China´ s behaviour from different perspectives in detail. He said, from an international perspective, “China´ s sovereignty-based opposition to non-traditional peacekeeping represents the ambivalence of the leadership in Beijing toward China´ s position in the post-Cold War international system”, and it also reveals “the uncertainty with which the leadership views China´ s external environment”. From a domestic perspective, “China´ s sovereignty-based arguments reflect the atmosphere of caution and conservatism generated by internal challenges to the party´ s legitimacy and the on-going succession struggle to Deng Xiaoping”.

Summary

⁴⁵ Fravel, 1996, 1108; Staehle, 2006, 28.

⁴⁶ Resolution 770 authorized the use of force in Bosnia; Resolution 929 authorized to use all necessary means to achieve humanitarian objective in Rwanda; Resolution 940 authorized Member states to form a multinational force and to use all necessary means to facilitate the departure of the military leadership in Haiti. See Fravel. 1996. 1111-1115.

⁴⁷ Maxism Study Website. “The features of the western `Peaceful Evolution` strategy“, <http://myy.cass.cn/file/200512194420.html> (Dec.2007).

⁴⁸ Tang, 1999, 5.

In the post-Cold War Era, although the bipolar pattern came to an end, but the Cold War mentality still existed, hegemony and power politics were still the main menace to the world peace and stability. The phenomenon of interference in internal affairs of other countries with the pretext of “human rights” was still serious and widely existing in the world. While China considered the national interest of maintaining security and sovereignty as the most important thing; although during this time China sent some military observers and logistical troops to the missions, it can be said it was still observing the situation of the UNPKO. As Fravel(2002, p.1118) analysed, China was not fully confident in dealing with the ongoing and potential challenges from the internal and external circumstance. Besides, in the words of Chinese officials, China has not fully realized what kind of role it could play in the regime of the UN.⁴⁹

Taylor wrote this article in 1996, it can be said, in the early 90s and also in the 70s and 80s, China was truly not confident with the international situation, while the increasing instances of multilateral intervention in the post-Cold War world. But Taylor did not write something about China’s participation in U.N. especially after 2000.

(2). in the new millennium

Since 2000 China for the first time sent 15 Police Peace-keeper to UNTAET, China has began its full participation in the UNPKO, as Gill/Rilly (2000. p.50) said “ China’s support for the mission in East Timor marked the beginning of a positive evolution in Chinese cooperation”. Since then, China not only voted in favour of every newly established UN peace-keeping operations, but also sent police to each of them. China gradually increased its contribution both in quantity and quality.⁵⁰ Regarding the questions of use of force in the UNPKO, since case Somalia (1992) und Bosnia (1993), both authorized the use of force, China gradually changed its attitude to vote in favour of this kind of missions. Especially to the case East Timor, Still as Staehle (2006, p.45) said “Beijing for the first time in history, did not dissociate itself from a resolution that authorized the use of force”. (...) “This suggests that China feels comfortable with the concept of peace support operations as it stands”.

External environment

⁴⁹ See note 30.

⁵⁰ Staehle, 2006, 47-52.

In 1999, when NATO attacked Kosovo without the consent of U.N, and afterwards the UNSC authorized the establishment of the new missions in Kosovo, Sierra Leone, East Timor and Congo, the controversial discussion on UN traditional peace-keeping operations emerged, the debate shifted from the sovereignty of the state to that of individuals. The post-Westphalian concept gained support among Western states. Even the UNSG Kofi Annan in 1999 General Assembly session expressed his defence of new idea of humanitarian interventions.⁵¹ This contributed finally to the Brahimi Report in 2000. Since then, besides the traditional peace-keeping operations, new model of peace support operations came into the history of UNPKO. Based on the statistics from Staehle (see Table1), China voted in favour of all peace support operations since 2000. In addition, for the Resolution 1769, China voted for the deployment of a hybrid UN-AU peacekeeping mission in Darfur and supported the mission by sending troops to Sudan in November. Staehle (2006, p.21) also said “Both voting behaviour and contribution of personnel simultaneously mark the year 2000 as the turning point in China’s participation in the U.N. peacekeeping regime”. Some authors analysed that, China’s becoming more involved in the U.N. peacekeeping partly because the changing character of UNPKO made it more acceptable to China and China adapted itself to the international standard.⁵²

Table 1: China’s Votes on Selected Resolutions Authorizing the Use of Force in U.N. Peacekeeping Operations (Continued)

Mission Country	Resolution Date	Purpose of Resolution	Type	Provisions*				Vote*	China’s Explanation of Vote
				VII	NM	DF	PS		
INTERFET** East Timor	S/RES/1264 09/15/1999	Establishment of stable environment	Peace Enforcement	■	■		■	Y	---
UNAMSIL Sierra Leone	S/RES/1270 10/22/1999	Establishment of UNAMSIL	Peace Support Operation	■		■	■	Y	---
UNTAET East Timor	S/RES/1272 10/25/1999	Establishment of UNTAET	Peace Support Operation	■	■			Y	---
UNAMSIL Sierra Leone	S/RES/1289 01/07/2000	Enhancement of security	Peace Support Operation	■		■	■	Y	---
MONUC Congo	S/RES/1291 02/24/2000	Extension of MONUC	Peace Support Operation			■		Y	---
UNMISSET East Timor	S/RES/1410 05/27/2002	Replacement of UNTAET	Peace Support Operation	■	■			Y	---
ECOFORCE** Cote d’Ivoire	S/RES/1464 02/04/2003	Authorization of ECOFORCE	Peace Enforcement			■	■	Y	---
ECOMIL** Liberia	S/RES/1497 08/01/2003	Establishment of stable environment	Peace Enforcement	■	■		■	Y	---
UNMIL Liberia	S/RES/1509 09/19/2003	Establishment of UNMIL	Peace Support Operation	■		■		Y	---
UNOCI Cote d’Ivoire	S/RES/1528 01/27/2004	Establishment of UNOCI	Peace Support Operation	■	■	■	■	Y	---
MIF** Haiti	S/RES/1529 02/29/2004	Establishment of stable environment	Peace Enforcement	■	■			Y	---
MINUSTAH Haiti	S/RES/1542 04/30/2004	Establishment of MINUSTAH	Peace Support Operation	■		■	■	Y	---
ONUB Burundi	S/RES/1545 03/21/2004	Establishment of ONUB	Peace Support Operation	■		■		Y	---
UNMIS Sudan	S/RES/1590 03/24/2005	Establishment of UNMIS	Peace Support Operation			■		Y	---

* VII: “Acting under Chapter VII”; NM: “all necessary means”, “all necessary measures”, or “all necessary steps”; DF: Use of force is limited to the defense of U.N. personnel, of their freedom of movement, and of civilians under imminent threat; PS: Role of pivotal states or alliances; A: Abstention; Y: Yes.
** Non-U.N. Peacekeeping Operations

Table 1

⁵¹ See an interview with Kofi Annan. http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/international/july-dec99/annan_10-18.html. (Oct.18, 1999)

Internal policies

Since 1990s, the trend of world multi-polarity has become more obvious. Peace and development are still the main problems faced by the world. The third generation of leadership of China inherited and creatively implemented Deng Xiaoping's diplomatic thought and independent foreign policy of peace. Inside they focus on the economic development; outside they positively establish and improve the diplomatic relations with other countries to create a peaceful international situation. The measures taken by the leadership are:⁵³

Continue the policy of opening and creating a favourable international environment for economic development. This opening pattern contributed to settling border disputes with neighbouring countries and developing further good relations with surrounding countries through consultations and negotiations; to strengthening solidarity and cooperation with Third-world countries; to improving relations with developed countries based on Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence; to establishing strategic cooperation partnership with Russia and constructive strategic partnership with the U.S.; to play a full role in the U.N.

Expedite national unification. The successful return of Hong Kong and Macao at the end of 1990s and the their maintenance of long-term stability and prosperity, undoubtedly presented good conditions of the settlement of Taiwan issue, and at the same time gave the Chinese leadership more confidence in solving this problem base on the policy "One country, two systems".

Continue strengthening the national power and raise the role of China in the multi-polar world. Based on the Independent Foreign Policy, China firmly opposes hegemony and will never form alliance with any big countries. Only with strong national power, it could exert its strength in maintaining the peaceful and multi-polar international situation.

Join the world to establish new international order. In 1993, former Chinese President Jiang Zemin put forward the idea of just and rational new international order. In September 2005, at the U.N. Summit commemorating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the global organization Chinese President Hu Jintao put forward the notion of establishing a harmonious world. He said: "Multilateralism, mutually beneficial cooperation and the spirit of inclusiveness should be the upheld to realize

⁵² Tang, 2003; and Staehle, 2006, 62.

⁵³ Chen, 1998, 10-14.

the common security, prosperity, and to build a world where all civilizations coexist harmoniously and accommodate each other.”⁵⁴

In the new Millennium, China’s new policies made its approach to multilateral institutions and security issues more flexible and sophisticated. China began to emerge as an active player in the international arena.

5. China’s progress and contribution to the world in all aspects

In the economic field

Since the adoption of economic reform and opening-up policy in 1978, China made great progress, which also astonished the world. Its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) increased from 215.3 billion US\$ in 1978 to 2644.6 billion US\$ in 2006, and its per-capita GDP increased from 300 US\$ to 2034 US\$;⁵⁵

China has contributed to reducing human poverty and improving the life quality of the world. It has created a miracle by feeding 22 percent of the world population on less than 10 percent arable land;

China has brought hope and impetus to the growth of world economics. Based on the statistics of the World Bank, from 2000 to 2004, the economic growth of China contributed 13 percent to the economic growth of the world; in 2004, the total import and export volume of China grew two times;⁵⁶

China has made contributions to the stable development of surrounding areas. From 1999 to 2004, the Asia-Pacific economy grew at a 6-percent speed. Especially at the time of the 1997 Asian financial crisis, it stuck to the principle of keeping the value of the RMB (Chinese currency) stable and the expanded demand inside to help to stabilize the development of its neighbour countries. In 2003, China took decisive measures and with the cooperation of neighbouring countries to overcome the outbreak of SARS. In 2004, with the occurrence of Indian Ocean Tsunami, China provided in-time and sincere aid. China expressed great sympathy and extended assistance after the massive earthquakes happened in South Asia in 2005;⁵⁷

China has endeavoured to push forward multilateral economic and trade relations, actively participated in the formulation and of international economic and trade rules.

⁵⁴ “Asian Financial Crisis marked` turning point` for China’s responsible role.” Xinhua News.
<http://en1.chinabroadcast.cn/3130/2007/06/27/262@243012.htm> (June 27, 2007)

⁵⁵ Wikipedia. (2006). “List of countries by GDP”. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_GDP (Dec. 15, 2007)

⁵⁶ See Official Documents: China’s Peaceful Development Road.

⁵⁷ See note 56.

Since its participation in the WTO in December 2001, China has continually improved its foreign-related economic legal system. It sorted out and revised some 3,000 laws, regulation and department rules. China opened banking, insurance, securities, distribution and other service trade sectors wider the outside world, which amounted to 100, around 62.5 percent of the 160-odd service trade sectors listed by the WTO.⁵⁸

So far, China has provided assistance to over 110 national and regional countries for more than 2000 projects. China has reduced or cancelled 198 developing countries debts to China amounting to 16.6 billion RMB. In May 2005, the International Poverty-reduction Centre of China was set up in Beijing. In September, on the occasion of 60th anniversary of UN for high-level meeting on Financing for Development, Chinese President Hu announced the new measures of helping other developing countries.⁵⁶ According to a World Bank study in 2006, China's Export-Import Bank has provided a total of US\$12.5 billion for the infrastructural development in Africa. The Beijing Action Plan of the 2006 Forum on China-Africa Cooperation pledged even more significant aid to Africa.⁵⁹

To the International peaceful situation

Advocating cooperation and interaction with other countries within international and regional frameworks was outlined in the report of the 16th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 2002. The report pointed out "China will take an active part in multilateral activities, and play a constructive role within international and regional frameworks". At the end of 2005, the Chinese government for the first time issued a white paper on peaceful development. In the paper, "harmony" was described as the building of a peaceful and prosperous world as the ultimate goal of China's development. In 2007, the government vowed to create a sound international environment.⁶⁰

Regional cooperation

Since the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation(SCO) was established in 2001, the SCO summits have steadily deepened and expanded the cooperation in security,

⁵⁸ See note 56.

⁵⁹ Gill, 2007, 4

⁶⁰ "Harmonious world: China's ancient philosophy for new int'l." China Military.
http://english.chinamil.com.cn/site2/news-channels/2007-10/02/content_971071.htm (Oct.2, 2007).

economic, culture, fighting terrorism, separatism, extremism and drug-trafficking areas in practical terms;

Since the second half of the 1990s, China began to contact with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). In 1995, Beijing started to hold annual meetings with senior ASEAN officials. China has also gradually paid much attention to the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). At the 13th ARF Ministerial Meeting in July 2006, China called for enhancing mutual trust, respecting diversity and properly handling the ARF's relations with other mechanisms. In succession, China hosted several summits on the issues of Non-traditional Security, Non-proliferation of Weapons of mass Destruction, Disaster Relief and Trans-national Crime.

To maintain peaceful borders China has signed boundary treaties or agreement with 12 of its 14 neighbours; on the disputes over oceanic resources, China adheres to the principle of "shelving differences for joint exploration" and has reached agreements on joint development of mineral resources with neighbours, including Vietnam and the Philippines; ⁶¹

International Cooperation

With a view to promoting the steady growth of China-Africa relations in the long term, in January 2006, China issued "China's African Policy";⁶² in November the Beijing summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation brought together more than 40 leaders and heads of state from Africa.⁶³

In order to promote the understanding and intensify the exchanges between the peoples, China has in succession with France, Italy and Russia held a "year of culture"; this means China also turned its attention to improving its relations with Europe. In 1996, China was one of founding members of the Asia-Europe Meeting; Two year later, China and the EU initiated an annual political dialogue.⁶⁴

Later in 1996, China for the first time approached NATO to propose a series of conversations. In 2002 China began to develop a working or even a closer relationship with NATO. Gradually the contacts have increased between China and NATO. Along with China's rise economically in the international environment, not only NATO, other western institutions have begun to absorb China into a rule-based

⁶¹ See Official Documents: Chinese National Defence in 2006.

⁶² See Official Document: China's African Policy .

⁶³ See note 60.

⁶⁴ Medeiros/Fravel, 2003, 25.

global system. Since 2003, China, with some other major developing countries such as India, has several times attended G8 outreach summit meetings.

In addition, in recent years China has also already established important links to Latin America. For example, in 2004, China was accepted as a permanent observer of the Organization of American States (OAS).⁶⁵

Military cooperation and exchanges

China has established military ties with over 150 countries and military attaché offices in 107 countries. A total of 85 countries have military attaché offices in China. In the last few years, China had high-level military exchanges with Russian, the U.S. and Europe. Since 2002, China has had 16 joint military exercises with 11 countries, like Russia, the U.S., Pakistan, India and Thailand. It has also sent observers to military exercises held by Turkey, Thailand, Pakistan, India, the US and Australia and accepted observers from 41 countries to attend the "North Sword-2005" manoeuvres organized by the Beijing Military Area Command. Naval ships from the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, France, and Peru have paid port visits to China.⁶⁶

At the 2003 ASEAN summit, Chinese Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing proposed forming a conference to increase communication among Asian militaries. "This gesture represents a marked departure from China's posture only a decade ago, when it shied away from any security discussions with ASEAN, let alone among militaries".⁶⁷ Consequently, China and some ASEAN countries began to send navy ships to visit each other, in order to promote defence cooperation and enhance mutual understanding and confidence among the militaries of China and ASEAN countries. In 2006 two Chinese navy combat ships visited the Philippines, while Thailand and Singapore also sent navy ships to visit Chinese ports. China sent military personnel to watch military exercise in Thailand;⁶⁸ November 28th, 2007 Chinese navy missile visited Tokyo, Japan, which was the first time that Chinese warship visited Japan since 1949 and "conductive to building mutual trust between the two countries".⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Pang, 2007, 7

⁶⁶ See Official Documents: Chinese National Defence in 2006. .

⁶⁷ Medeiros/ Fravel, 2003, 3.

⁶⁸ "Chinese premier announces plan for China-ASEAN peace-keeping workshop." Xinhua News. http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-01/14/content_5603704.htm (January.14, 2007).

⁶⁹ "PLA warship's visit to Japan of far-reaching significance." People's Daily. <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90780/91342/6312088.html> (Nov.29, 2007).

China firmly keeps its commitment to the International Arms Control and Non-proliferation. It not only fully honours its obligation under the relative conventions or treaties, such as the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), the Biological Weapons Convention, the Chemical Weapons Convention, the amended Landmine Protocol to the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons, but also positively attended the annual meeting concerning the above mentioned issues. Moreover, so far China has sent landmine experts to Thailand to provide training class, and trained persons from Lebanon and Jordan. It also has properly dealt with Japan about the chemical weapons abandoned in China by Japan during the Second World War.⁷⁰

Participation in the international peacekeeping operations

Facts and figure

Since 1990 till July 2007, China has contributed over 7,500 military personnel and police to participate in 17 UN peacekeeping operations. Eight lost their lives and several dozens were wounded on duty. Among all the peacekeepers, there were 97 military observers and staff officers, 1546 military troops and a total of 180 peacekeeping police officers. Belonging to the troops, 175 engineering troops and 43 medical personnel are in Congo (Kinshasa); 275 engineering troops, 240 transportation troops and 43 medical personnel are in Liberia; 275 engineering troops, 100 transportation troops and 60 medical personnel are in Sudan; and 275 engineering troops, 60 medical personnel are in Lebanon.⁷¹ Until the large French contingent was sent to Lebanon in September 2006, China was the leading peacekeeping contributor among the five permanent members of the UNSC (P-5) for several years. Moreover, China's contribution to U.N. Missions is more than any member of the NATO.⁷²

Currently, Chinese peacekeepers are serving in 13 out of the 17 UN missions in such places as Western Sahara, Ethiopia and Eritrea, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Lebanon and Sudan.⁷³ In Sudan China has maintained peacekeeping for more than 7 years, which is the longest peacekeeping mission that China has even taken on. By December 2006, China has dispatched 2,243

⁷⁰ See Official Documents: China's National Defence in 2006.

⁷¹ "China has participated in 17 UN peacekeeping operations in 17 years (shiqi nian Zhong guo gong canjia 17 xiang weihe xingdong)." Xinjing Newspaper. <http://mil.eastday.com/m/20070730/u1a3006379.html>.

⁷² Pang, 2007, 6.

⁷³ He, 2008, 1.

peacekeepers to Liberia.⁷⁴ Since 2000 within 6 years, China sent 893 peacekeeping police officers to seven mission areas. Based on the official statistics (See Table 2),⁷⁵ we can have an explicit overview about the peacekeeping deployment of China since 1990.

Participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations
(Up to Nov. 30, 2006)

UN Peacekeeping Mission	Abbreviation	Timeframe	Troops		Observers		Police	
			Current	Total	Current	Total	Current	Total
UN Truce Supervision Organization	UNTSO	April 1990-present			3	80		
UN Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission	UNIKOM	April 1991-Oct. 2003				164		
UN Mission for Referendum in Western Sahara	MINURSO	Sept. 1991-present			15	288		
UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia	UNTAC	Dec. 1991-Sept. 1993		800		97		
UN Operation in Mozambique	ONUMOZ	June 1993-Dec. 1994				20		
UN Observer Mission in Liberia	UNOMIL	Nov. 1993-Sept. 1997				33		
UN Special Mission in Afghanistan	UNSMA	May 1998-Jan. 2000				2		
UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leone	UNOMSIL	Aug. 1998-present				37		
UN	UNMISSET	Jan. 2000-						207

⁷⁴ “Chinese peacekeepers make greater contribution to world peace.” People’s Daily.
http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200612/19/eng20061219_333752.html (Dec.19, 2006)

⁷⁵ “Participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations (up to Nov.30, 2006).” CHINA.ORG.CN.
<http://www.china.org.cn/english/China> (Dec.19, 2007)

Mission of Support in East Timor		July 2006							
UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea	UNMEE	Oct. 2000-present			7	42			
UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina	UNMIBH	Jan. 2001-Jan. 2002							20
UN Mission in Congo (Kinshasa)	MONUC	April 2001-present	218	1,308	14	69			
UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan	UNAMA	Jan. 2003-May 2005							3
UN Mission in Liberia	UNMIL	Oct. 2003-present	558	2,232	13	51	23		73
UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire	UNOCI	March 2004-present			7	19			
UN Mission in Kosovo	UNMIK	April 2004-present					18		55
UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti	MINUSTAH	May 2004-present					130		514
UN Operation in Burundi	ONUB	June 2004-present				6			
UN Mission in the Sudan	UNMIS	May 2005-present	435	435	23	40	9		21
UN Interim Force in Lebanon	UNIFIL	March 2006-present	182	182	8	8			
UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste	UNMIT	Oct. 2006-present			2	2			
Total			1,393	4,957	92	958	180		893

Table 2

Quantitative contribution.

After the mission of UNOMSIL was established in 1998, China has participated in every new mission. Currently in the total 17 UN missions, China does not take part in only 4 missions, which are Indian-Pakistani border, Cyprus, the Golan Heights, and Georgia.⁷⁶ The number of Chinese peacekeeper increased from 98 in Dec.2000 to 1824 in Dec.2007 and the total number after 1990 has increased up to more than 9000. In the same 7 years based on the country ranking, China jumped from the 43 of all the peace contributing countries to 13. Based on the updated UN statistics, till 31.January 2008, there were a total 1963 People´ s Liberation Army (PLA) troops and civilian police officers in 13 out of the 17 UN peacekeeping operations. It has overtaken France to rank number 12 among the 119 troop contributing countries and is the top contributor among the five permanent members of UNSC. (See table 3, 4)⁷⁷

Ranking of Military and Police Contributions to UN Operations



Month of Report : 31-Dec-07

	<i>Country</i>	<i>Number of Member:</i>
1)	Pakistan	10,610
2)	Bangladesh	9,856
3)	India	9,357
4)	Nepal	3,676
5)	Jordan	3,574
6)	Ghana	3,379
7)	Nigeria	2,694
8)	Uruguay	2,588
9)	Italy	2,431
10)	Senegal	2,004
11)	France	1,944
12)	Ethiopia	1,839
13)	China	1,824
14)	Morocco	1,538
15)	Benin	1,339
16)	South Africa	1,296

Table 3

⁷⁶ Staehle, 2006, 50; see He, 2008, 1

⁷⁷ See Official Documents: Monthly Summary of Contributors of Military and Civilian Police Personnel

Ranking of Military and Police Contributions to UN Operations



Month of Report : 31-Jan-08

<i>Country</i>	<i>Number of Members</i>
1) Pakistan	10,594
2) Bangladesh	9,853
3) India	9,376
4) Nigeria	5,571
5) Nepal	3,675
6) Jordan	3,582
7) Ghana	3,399
8) Rwanda	2,984
9) Uruguay	2,593
10) Italy	2,565
11) Senegal	2,560
12) China	1,963
13) South Africa	1,888
14) Ethiopia	1,820

Table 4

Qualitative contribution.

From the “Major Events of China’s Peace-keeping Operations”, it can be seen that during the 1990s, China sent only military observers to UNPKO. While since 2000, China began to send also military troops and police officers. In 2004, China for the first time sent FPU to MINUSTAH. FPU means China deployed not only 125 police officers to the mission, but also equipped the unit with all necessary personal arms and armed vehicles. According to the record of the Police Peacekeeping Training Centre, the first FPU was armed with equipment materials worth 60 million RMB and 59 armed vehicles.⁷⁸ Moreover, more and more Chinese peacekeepers are taking import position in the UN peacekeeping missions. For example, in 2002, one Chinese police officer became the deputy UN police commissioner in UNTAET. On 18 April 2003, a Chinese police officer assumed office at the Police Division of UN Headquarters.⁷⁹ In September 2007, a Chinese senior military officer was

⁷⁸ “China’s Peacekeeping Civilian Police (Zhongguo weihe minshi jingcha).” the Armed Force Police Academy of China Website. <http://www.ga/wps/wcm/connect/> (Jan.9, 2008)

⁷⁹ He, 2007, 31.

appointed as force commander of the UN missions for the referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO).⁸⁰

Finance contribution.

To the UN missions, since it joined the UN Special Peacekeeping Committee in 1988, China has been trying to pay all the dues to UN, including the peacekeeping allotment. In 2007, China's dues and peacekeeping allotment amounted to 0.27 billion US\$, increasing 42% than in 2006, which profoundly increased the financial burden for the whole year. However, China overcame various difficulties and paid all the commitment to U.N., which signifies that China is taking practical action to make contributions to ensure a solid financial foundation of U.N.⁸¹ Besides its more positive participation in helping the local people in peace, stability and development, China has also devoted lot of financial contributions to the missions. Since in 1999 the UNTAET was established, China has continuously offer aid to East Timor. On receiving independence, China pledged US\$6 million in reconstruction aid to East Timor, in addition to the \$10 million in aid and grants that it had extended in 2000.⁸² In 2002 China made a commitment to Afghanistan for US\$150 within five years.⁸³ In 2004, China provided material aid worth US\$125,000 to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) for its peacekeeping purposes. Until April 2007, China has offered humanitarian aid worth 80 million RMB (about 10.4 million U.S. dollar) to the Darfur region.⁸⁴ In August, China donated 300,000 U.S. dollars to the African Union (AU) to assist its ongoing peacekeeping operations in Somalia.⁸⁵ At the Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in November 2006, China announced that over the next three years, it will provide 300 million RMB (about 38.5 million U.S. dollars) to Africa.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ "First Chinese head of UN peacekeepers says his position shows trust in China." Xinhua News. <http://english.zjol.com.cn/05english/system/2007/12/06/009033316.shtml> (Dec.6, 2007)

⁸¹ "In 2007 China's commitment to UN increased 42%." Cnsphoto. <http://www.cnsphoto.com/NewsPhoto/printNews.asp?ID=413460> (Nov.21, 2007)

⁸² Storey. 2006, 4

⁸³ "China offers US\$15m aid to Afghanistan." China Daily. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2004-04/01/content_319880.htm (April 1, 2004)

⁸⁴ "China is `crucial` persuader of Sudan peace plan: senior diplomat." People's Daily Online. http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200704/12/eng20070412_365701.html (April 12, 2007)

⁸⁵ "China donates 300,000 USD for AU's Somalia peacekeeping operations." Xinhua News. http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-08/29/content_6621651.htm (August 29, 2007)

⁸⁶ "Chinese, Liberian leaders meet on closer ties." Chinese Government's Official Web Portal. http://www.gov.cn/misc/2007-02/02/content_515488.htm (Feb.2, 2007)

Role of Reconciliation

In the new millennium, China has played a constructive role in resolving the regional and international issues for the world common security. Concerning the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula, China has worked in cooperation with the other relevant parties, and succeeded in convening and hosting first the Three-Party Talks (China, North Korea and the United States) and then the following rounds of Six-Party Talks (China, North Korea, the United States, the Republic of Korea, Russia and Japan).⁸⁷ With respect to the Middle East Issue, Chinese Ambassador and the Special Convoy on the Middle East Issue have visited Middle East many times to exchange opinions and promote the peaceful progress between Palestine and Israel. China encourages the parties involved to set up mutual trust and resume talks on the principle of “Land for Peace”.⁸⁸ The same as for the Iran nuclear issue, China has tried several approaches to encourage the involved parties through consultation and dialogue to resolve the problems within the IAEA framework.⁸⁹ Regarding the Iraq issue, China advocates to seek a political solution in the UN framework.⁹⁰

6. Reasons of China´s increasing participation in the UNPKO

Since 1990s China has gradually sent peacekeepers to take part in the UNPKO, till now it has comprehensively involved itself in this world cause as well as in the international society. Concluded from the above-mentioned, China´s activities in the UN peacekeeping operations are mainly determined by the national interests and the analysis on the international environment.

Favourable international and national environment. With the changing political structure of the international situation, China has realized that the time of war and innovation has passed by, and Peace, development and cooperation have become the topic of the world. So it has accordingly shifted its internal policy from class struggle to the building of harmonious society. Since its foundation in 1949, new China has experienced four generations of presidency, and each presidency had its own theory in governing the nation. In Mao Zedong´s time, class struggle was the

⁸⁷ “Six-party talks on the Korean peninsula to be held soon.” People´s Daily Online.

http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200610/31/eng20061031_316953.html

⁸⁸ See Official Documents: Chinese Special Envoy on the Middle East Issue Wang Shijie Talks about His Visit to the Middle East.

⁸⁹ “China hopes to solve Iran's nuclear issue properly.” People´s Daily Online.

http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200411/30/eng20041130_165542.html (Nov.30, 2004)

⁹⁰ “China´s position on Iraq Issue Clear cut: Article.” People´s Daily Online.

http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200303/08/eng20030308_112917.shtml (March.8, 2003)

priority; In Deng Xiaoping's theory was White cat and Black Cat- Economy Reform and opening; In Jiang Zemin's it was Three- Representative; Communist is a national party and should serve all the people. Now China is under the presidency of Hu Jintao, and he proposed the Harmonious Society theory. Later he expanded the theory to establish a harmonious world.⁹¹ To outside it has changed its diplomacy policy and become more positive in establishing relationship with other countries and more active in taking part in the international affairs. From some foreign researchers' perspective, "China has begun to take a less confrontational, more sophisticated, more confident, and at times, more constructive approach toward regional and global affairs."⁹²

Chinese leaders' showing more support to the UN peacekeeping operation can also reflect China's changing attitude. This kind of support embodies in different forms, from instructions during their inspection of the peacekeeping training, to the encouragement before departure for the UN missions; from warm greetings to the peacekeepers through the telephone line, to visits to the mission areas. For example, since the first police contingent started its peacekeeping operation in the missions, the leaders from the Public Security Ministry of China have visited UN missions constantly to extend warm regards to the peacekeepers and help resolve difficulties. Before the first FPU of 125 officers left for MINUSTAH in Haiti in 2004, the Minister of the Public Security Ministry, who is also a state councillor, inspected the unit and extended regards to all police officers of the unit. On 1st February 2007, President HU visited the peacekeepers in Liberia, which was the first time that Chinese President inspected the UN missions.⁹³ In June 2007, the first China's military peacekeeping meeting was held in Beijing for four days, by which there were representatives from the army, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Public Security.⁹⁴

Based on the statistics, China's participation in the UN peacekeeping operations have also attained much encouragement and support from the people. Although up to July 2007, 10 Chinese peacekeepers lost their lives and several dozens had been wounded, the general public has given great understanding and support. For

⁹¹ See "Asian Financial Crisis marked turning point for China's responsible role." Xinhua News. <http://en1.chinabroadcast.cn/3130/2007/06/27/262@243012.htm> (June 27, 2007).

⁹² Medeiros/ Fravel, 2003, 22.

⁹³ "President HU Jintao visited the peacekeepers in Liberia." People's Daily. <http://military.people.com.cn/GB/1076/52963/5362185.html> (Feb.3, 2007)

example, besides awarded by the Ministry of Public Security, almost every police peacekeeper would be solemnly welcomed by his/her unit and local government when he returned from the mission. In addition, promotion and material award would be granted. In 2005, China's Central Television (CCTV), in cooperation with the Ministry of Public Security, invested US\$1.25 million to produce a television series "China's Peacekeeping Police" to narrate the stories of Chinese peacekeepers. In 2006, undergoing several months, a group of journalists from CCTV, ignoring the difficulties and danger, visited all the peacekeeping missions with Chinese peacekeepers working there, from Sudan to Liberia, from Kosovo to Haiti..., and programmed the real life of peacekeepers in the mission. The program was later broadcasted all over China and caused great resonance from the people.

In the international peacekeeping field, the 2000 Brahimi Report gave the impetus for the change of UN peacekeeping module. The previous analysis of China's attitude and behaviour has suggested that in the new millennium, the new peacekeeping model has become more acceptable to China, like the rapid deployment capacity of the U.N; an enhanced cooperation between the UNSC and troop contributing countries; and a stronger involvement of neighbouring countries and regional organizations in UNPKO. For example, to the UNSC Resolution 1769, China not only voted for it but rapidly deployed military troops to support the operations in UNAMID. In 2003, China publicly expressed its support of the new model of peacekeeping: "Given the growing complexity of operations, traditional operations were no longer suited for certain types of conflict; the situations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in Liberia, for example, had highlighted the need for rapid, early and robust intervention."⁹⁵ In fact, China's changing behaviour was also to answer the call from UN on the implementation of the Brahimi Report. In his report about the Brahimi Report, the Secretary General said that peacekeeping is the responsibility of all member states, especially for the members of the Security Council.⁹⁶

In addition, the world political situation proved to be suitable for China to participate in the UN peacekeeping operations. While normally there are religious elements and colonized history in the missions, Chinese troops have no record of

⁹⁴ "The first military peacekeeping meeting." Xinhua News. http://news.xinhuanet.com/mil/2007-06/23/content_6280029.htm (June 23, 2007)

⁹⁵ U.N. General Assembly, Forth Committee, A/C.4/58/SR.11. (Nov.14, 2003)

⁹⁶ Gray, 2001, 267-288.

conquering outside and specific established interests in the missions, so that it can be easier to be accepted by the conflicting parties concerned in the mission.

Pressure and call from the international community. As discussed before, China as a permanent member of the UNSC has always drawn attention from outside on its behaviour in the UNPKO. In the past, to Chinese passive attitude and non-participation, many countries especially from western have criticized a lot. Since 1990s China's positive participation in UN peacekeeping operations has also aroused much attention. Some countries took the re-emergence of China as a disturbing sight and disseminate the so-called "China threat" theory. Coming into 2007 some countries even use Beijing Olympics as a pretext to exert pressure on China on Darfur as well as on other international issues.⁹⁷ But generally, most countries gave positive appraisal on China's participation and called on more participation from China. During his visits to China in 2001 and 2004, former UNSG Kofi Annan urged China to play a bigger role in the U.N. and take more responsibilities.⁹⁸ In recent years, the U.S. and the EU, have constantly been confronting with new global challenges and been pressuring China to undertake more responsibilities in the international system. When he visited China in 2004, the British Defence Secretary said it would be very welcome if China played a larger role in UNPKO. Recently On Darfur issue British foreign secretary and U.S envoy have commented on China's endeavour as "crucial, important and constructive role";⁹⁹ the voices from the missions like Liberia, Lebanon, Haiti, and Cote d'Ivoire, have also given high comments on China's "utter professionalism" peacekeeping operations, and at the same time expected more aid from China.¹⁰⁰ For example in September 2006, China's promise to deploy more 1000 soldiers to Lebanon was under the several requests from Lebanese government and the U.N.

⁹⁷ "Don't link Darfur issue to the Beijing Olympics." Xinhua News. http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-04/24/content_6018360.htm (April 24, 2007)

⁹⁸"UN General Secretary expects China to play bigger role." Chinahouston. <http://www.chinahouston.org/news/2001120190402.html> (Jan.21, 2001); "UN Chief: World expects China more direct participation in int'l peacekeeping operations." People's Daily. http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200410/13/eng20041013_160004.html (Oct.13, 2004); "China is 'crucial' persuader of Sudan peace plan." Xinhua News. http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200704/12/eng20070412_365701.html (April 12, 2007)

⁹⁹ "U.S envoy: China plays constructive role in Darfur; UN official praises China's role on Darfur issue; China plays a positive role on Darfur issue, British Foreign Secretary says." Xinhua News. Xinhua News. <http://www.Chinaview.cn>. (Jan.3, 2008)

¹⁰⁰"Chinese, Liberian leaders meet on closer ties; UNFIL commander highlights Chinese peacekeeper's role in Lebanon; UN hopes China plays bigger role in stabilizing Haiti; Cote d'Ivoire hails China's contribution to its peace process." Xinhua News. <http://www.Chinaview.cn>. (Jan.3, 2008)

Furthermore, it is also a strategic support for the vast developing countries in peacekeeping operations. From table 4 we can see developing countries account for the majority of all the peacekeeping contributors. According to the statistics from UN, by September 1996, the biggest five peacekeeping contributors were Pakistan, Russia, Bangladesh, India, and Brazil.¹⁰¹ Brahimi Report also noted that before 2000, 77 per cent of troops were contributed by developing countries. In the 59th UN General Assembly, the vice Secretary General mentioned that, in the recent years for African missions, the developing countries have been the main contributors, but the peacekeepers from the U.S., Great Britain, France and other western countries are totally less than 1000.¹⁰² Therefore China's participation means far more than its own participation, to the developing countries it also means a great support.

Take the responsibility as a big country. "China's role in the crisis in the late 1990s can be regarded as a turning point because it began to show more responsibility on the world stage." said Wang Yizhou, deputy head of the World Economy and Politics Research Institute belonging to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. "Prior to this, China had not paid much attention to international affairs, but after the crisis, the government realized its neighbour's interests were of the same importance as its won." He also said.¹⁰³ In the last few years, Chinese officials have talked explicitly about the need to "share global responsibilities". Fravel and Medeiros (2003, p.32) said that President Hu Jintao as the first Chinese leader to attend a meeting of the group of eight highly industrialized countries (G-8) in 2003 just reflected the changes. In 2006, Premier Wen Jiabao announced China would deploy a military troop of 1000 to Lebanon has aroused great reaction. Italian Premier Prodi said: China's willingness to send peacekeepers to the Middle East reflects that there has been a great change in the most populous country in the world; China is shifting to play a more active role in the international affairs.¹⁰⁴

Set the image as a big power. During the 100-odd years following the Opium War in 1840, China suffered humiliation and insult from big powers, even after the founding the new Republic, China has faced different kinds of challenges in the Cold-

¹⁰¹ "The sacred mission of the UN." China Military. <http://www.pladaily.com.cn/item/peace/txt/27.htm> (Jan.4, 2008)

¹⁰² "Set good example for the world peacekeeping, the participation of China is valuable." Aixin. <http://web.jlnu.edu.cn/ggw/html/guofangjiaoyu/guofangpinglun/2007/0313/1006.html> (Jan.3, 2008)

¹⁰³ See "Asian Financial Crisis marked 'turning point' for China's responsible role." Xinhua News. <http://en1.chinabroadcast.cn/3130/2007/06/27/262@243012.htm> (June 27, 2007).

¹⁰⁴ Ministry of Public Security Website. "Zhongguo Weihe Xingdong (Chinese Peacekeeping Operations)." <http://www.ga/wps/wcm/connect/> (Nov. 20, 2007)

war Era, and also from the western countries. So for a long time, China has formed the mentality of victim. In recent years some Chinese analysts have begun to promote China's adoption of a "great-power mentality"- with the confidence and vision of a big country to take the responsibilities for the world. Like discussed before, in the last few years China has positively participated in the international affairs, like hold some regional and international summits, and also attended some world-level conferences, which shows China has begun to reconsider itself and desiring to play the role as a big power. In the UN, through more support to the UN regime China has also profoundly changed its image in the world. As mentioned above, China's dues to the UN peacekeeping have increased by 168 percent in a time span of five years since 2000. China has actively participated in the decision-making process regarding UNPKO, and voted for all the new missions established in the millennium. From the dimension of China's participation in the UN peacekeeping missions in the recent years, it can also say China has regarded itself as not only a key force for development but also a major force for the global peace. While the troop contributions of developed states to Blue Helmet missions declined, especially in Africa,¹⁰⁵ China felt "it is the right time to fill this vacuum."¹⁰⁶

Balancing the world pattern and against American hegemony. China's changing behaviour in UNPKO attributed to some extent to the U.S policy in the world regime. In their article about the peacekeeping evolving models, Jones and Cherif (2003, p.9) said: In the evolution of peacekeeping, a set of strategic forces continue to shape the evolution of UN peacekeeping. The most significant of these strategic forces has been the evolution of US security policy, both in the 1990s and more recently. They also said: "current US policy- in its more expansive (...) is shaping the evolution of foreign policies and foreign policy structures in Europe, in China (...) in ways that create both opportunities and challenges for UN peacekeeping." In his remarks to the China Studies Centre, Washington, Ambassador Freeman said: "For the time being, Chinese seem willing in most respects to accept continued American management of the world's affairs. But we cannot expect them to agree that the United States is entitled to act as the-controlling stakeholder-of those affairs."¹⁰⁷ The U.S.-led NATO's intervention in Kosovo in 1999 as well as the 2003 U.S.-led invasion in Iraq

¹⁰⁵ Jones/Cherif, 2003, 5.

¹⁰⁶ "China Filling Void Left by West in U.N. Peacekeeping." Washingtonpost.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/11/23/AR2006112301007.html> (Nov.24, 2006)

¹⁰⁷ Freeman, 2007, 4.

challenged the U.N. authority and also demonstrated to China that “hegemony and power politics have manifested themselves in new expressions.” In the last few years China has persistently urged “ensure more institutional participation by developing countries in the discussion, decision-making and implementation of peacekeeping operations, in order to prevent a small number of countries from dictating peacekeeping policies.”¹⁰⁸

Having more confidence in the international regime. Since the new economic and foreign policy enforced in China, China benefited a lot from the rapid economic increase and the stable social and political environment. As showed above, since 1979 the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of China has continued to maintain an annual growth of 9.6 percent on average. In 2007, it grew up to 11.1%.¹⁰⁹ In addition, the increase of economy has also greatly promoted the advance of science, technology and industry. In the past few years in China the priority has been given to upgrading technologies and products in the nuclear, space, aviation, shipbuilding, weaponry, electronics and other defence-related industries, which oppositely drive the growth of China's economy. Major scientific and technological projects, such as manned space flights and the Lunar Probe Project, are being carried out to spur the leapfrogging development of high-tech enterprises combining military and civilian needs and to bring about overall improvements in defence-related science and technology. Since in April 1970 China launched its first manmade satellite, China gradually realized its dream from launching the manned spacecraft to the lunar satellite.¹¹⁰ Consequently the world has begun to regard China as a military power and even incurred the theory of “China threat”. But anyway all these have contributed to the enhancement of national strength and make China more competent and confidence in dealing with the international affairs, including UNPKO. Freeman (2007, p.1) said: “As China restores itself to wealth and power, its leaders display a resolute confidence in the future.” To the Taiwan issue, which has since a long time been China’s greatest security challenge and most sensitive foreign policy issue, China has also changed its policy learned from the experience and become more confidence in dealing with this cross-strait problem. Before the new millennium, China’s policies on Taiwan were insecure and reactive-it focused more on the

¹⁰⁸ Staehle, 2006, 77-78.

¹⁰⁹ See Official Documents: National Annual Report of Statistics.

¹¹⁰ “The history of manned space flight development of China.” People’s Daily.
<http://www.people.com.cn/GB/paper68/10403/948196.html> (Oct.15, 2003)

coercive measures to prevent Taiwan to be independent. For example, it conducted several missile tests in the sea and published a white paper on Taiwan, which noted that it may use “drastic measures”, including force to resolve the Taiwan question. But the results proved just to be counterproductive, and in the past few years, China has learned from the lessons, shifted to use milder ways to resolve the problem, like through economic or civilian visits and the other folk activities to promote the communication between Taiwan and the mainland. From 26th April to 3rd May 2005, the chairman of Guo-ming party in Taiwan since the civil war in 1949 for the first time visited the mainland. This visit was commented by the media as “historic step in cross-strait relations to promote reconciliation, dialogue, peace, and win-win opened up a historic opportunity.”¹¹¹ As some foreign analysts said “What with the explosion in cross-strait economic links and Taiwan’s current financial problems, China’s leaders have grown confident that time is on their side and that their leverage over Taiwan is growing.”¹¹²

Developing China’s peacekeeping capacities. As mentioned before, since the foundation of the People’s Republic of China, Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence has been the guideline for China to develop diplomatic relationship with other countries. On this basis in the new time China has realized its peaceful coexistence with its neighbours and has been keeping a relative stable international environment. That also means in the current situation, China focuses its military power on its own building in accordance with the development of economy. In China there is a famous proverb: Man should always have a sense of danger, or he will die in happiness. To a country that means even in a peaceful environment, it should always be aware of the potential danger. So for Chinese military troops and Police, on the other side the peacekeeping operations undoubtedly provide the opportunity to field exercise and to enrich their practical experiences. At the same time, it is also a challenge for them to adapt to the complicated circumstances and therefore find ways to build up the necessary capacities. Now in China two academies have taken the burden of training the troops and police, who are going to be deployed to UN missions. This part will be discussed in more detail later in this article.

Through the communication and exchange with other countries, China has also largely improved its peacekeeping capacities. In June 2000 and March 2003, China

¹¹¹ “High comments on the historic conversation between HU Jintao and Lian Zhan.” Xinhua News.
http://news.xinhuanet.com/world/2005-04/30/content_2901661.htm (April 30, 2005)

¹¹² Medeiros/Fravel. 2003. 29.

held two of the four China-Britain joint peacekeeping seminars, which aimed at “increasing cooperation between the two permanent UN Security Council members”.¹¹³ In November 2004, China held the BEIJING International Seminar on Challenges of Peace Operation in the 21st Century, where over 70 participants from the United Nations and other 13 partner organisations in 13 countries like UK, US, France.¹¹⁴ In 2006, China and the UN’s DPKO held a seminar in the Police Peacekeeping Training Centre of China on training modules for FPU.

Moreover China has also sent peacekeeping trainers to the UNPKO and inspection delegations to the missions to get the direct experience to improve their training skills., China has regulated that, all the police peacekeepers in the missions must write a report depicting their adventure and what they have learned in the mission every three months, in the end they need to write a conclusive report. In addition when they return to China, most of them would be invited by the Peacekeeping Training Centre to give lectures to impart their experience to the following peacekeepers.

Through these activities in training and mission areas, Chinese PLA and police peacekeepers have gained exposure to the operational practices and methods of foreign partners, and the enrichment in turn contributed to the modernization of Chinese military and police forces. For example, all the police officers that have worked in the missions will service the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games for higher professionalism.

7. Peacekeeping Training in China

Development of training

Training is also thought to be central to show how China prepares itself for the UN peacekeeping missions. Since China began to take more positive steps in the UN peacekeeping regime, it has also accelerated and enlarged its training for the peacekeeping. For better participating in UN peacekeeping operation, Chinese government has established two training bases in Nanjing, Jiangsu province and Lang fang, Hebei province. Those candidates who get chosen and trained will have greater language comprehension, ability of dealing with emergency cases, insurance

¹¹³ “China, Britain hold seminar on UN Peacekeeping.” Global Policy Forum.
<http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/peacekpg/general/chinauk.htm> (June 26, 2000); “UK Peacekeeping training for People’s Liberation Army.” Britain in China Press Office.
http://www.uk.cn/bj/aboutnew_index.asp?menu_id=337&artid=1132 (July 14, 2005)

¹¹⁴ Zhuang, 2005, 1.

of logistic supply, action in frontline, ability of preventing local conflict from intensifying, ability of getting along with local civilians, and ability of keeping better relationship with other peacekeeping contingents, etc.

For military peacekeeping, China has so far sent only non-combat troops to missions and they offered mainly logistical and medical support. The Peacekeeping Affairs Office of the State Council takes the responsibility of military peacekeeping. Usually the troops to be deployed are formed unit and receive collective training in the camp everyday or they are military doctors and nurses in China. So before their departure to the missions, they need relatively shorter intensive time compared with the police only to get knowledge about the mission situation; to learn international law and some more English or French knowledge, including the local customs. The training base for the military troops situated in the International Relations Academy of the People's Liberation Army in Nanjing City, Jiangsu Province.

The Ministry of Chinese Public Security takes charge of police peacekeeping training. A Peacekeeping Police Leading Team was founded in Public Security Ministry. Peacekeeping Civilian Police Affair Department of International Cooperation Bureau takes charge of the work of the leading team, and specifically takes charge of selection, training, deployment management and external communication of peacekeeping police. Public Security Ministry organizes the selection of Chinese peacekeeping police and FPU and the Training Centre holds testing and training. China Civilian Peacekeeping Police Officer Training Base lies in Lang fang city, Hebei province, 50km away from Beijing, being subordinate to China Armed Force Police Academy, instructed by Foreign Affaires Bureau of Public Security Ministry. It sets up teaching-learning office, peacekeeping research office and trainee brigade.

Dispatching civilian peacekeeping police officers to UN field operation is a significant decision as China is one of the five permanent member states of UN Security Council. In March 2000, the Public Security Ministry decided to found "China Civilian Peacekeeping Police Officer Training Base" in China Armed Force Police Academy, being charged with peacekeeping police officer selection and training. Its foundation importantly marks the standardization and basic of China's peacekeeping police officer training.

The State Council approved the construct project of China Civilian Peacekeeping Police Officer Training Base in April 2001. The new-built and being-used training base covers 14-hectare land, 170000 square meters and costs 150 million RMB. It is

the biggest comprehensive peacekeeping training base in Asia with modern training facilities and beautiful environment.

The main task of the training base is to select and train peacekeeping police officer, carry out peacekeeping research work, train police liaison officer and foreign police officer. Since its foundation, training base has held 21 sessions of peacekeeping police officer training and 5 sessions of peacekeeping formed-unit police training. 1033 police officers have been trained, and 8 UN selection tests have been undertaken. Since January 2001, 404 trainees have been dispatched to UN mission in East Timor, Bosnia, Liberia, Kosovo, Haiti, and Afghanistan. In June 2004, it first held peacekeeping formed-unit police training and all the candidates passed the UN selection test. The 125 armed-force officers, who conducted peacekeeping riot policing with their strict self-discipline and outstanding performance gained remarkable praise from UN Special Representative for Haiti Mission and other countries.

Training centre actively communicates and cooperates with outside world. It has established long-term and stable relationship with UN Peacekeeping Department and peacekeeping related institutions of UK and Denmark. Staffs have been sent to UK, Norway, Sweden, and Finland participating training courses, joining international conferences and peacekeeping seminar in Germany, Canada and Thailand. Many big potatoes visited here, UN General-Secretary Kofi Anan, Vice-General-Secretary Gnor, British Defence Minister Hunn, and East Timor Inner Minister Locator, East Timor Chief Inspector and some peacekeeping officials and experts. Such visiting communication supposedly is thought to be, to some degree, promotion of the development of the centre.

Before going outside for peacekeeping operation to be a real UN civilian peacekeeping police officer, candidates must undertake very strict selection, training, and UN selection. There is certain threshold for candidates` sign up. According to UN regulation, candidates must pass language test. Therefore, it is requested that Chinese candidates must bear junior college diploma, college English test band 4, two-year driving experience and good health condition. Chinese Public Security Ministry is the absolute authority in charge of the civil selection based on the principals and processes of voluntary signing up, recommended by candidates` unit, testing at the same time, and selecting the best, which are specifically organized and implemented by training centre.

Chinese peacekeeping police officers are normally trained twice before being deployed, namely three-month regular training and 15-day intensive training organized and conducted by the centre. Those who are admitted and thought to be excellent will attend a planned three-month regular training in the training centre, with the main training courses based on the require of UN peacekeeping training outline.

Candidates get trained on driving, shooting, peacekeeping knowledge, policing, telecommunication, mapping, anti-mine, first aid, security, international law, humanitarian succour, English comprehension on listening, speaking, reading and report-writing. It is more than 20 subjects in total. During the period, candidates are supposed to pass language test, as well as change their minds to adapt UN peacekeeping civilian police officer code of conduct. By using simulation exercise, the centre advances candidates` awareness of security, negotiation capability and comprehensive competence.

Ones who get completion certificate can attend UN selection test. UN selection team is sent to China holding UN selection test once a year and qualification certificate is issued on the day when candidates pass the UN selection test, which also means there are three thresholds waiting for those who have passed previous two.

Two-day selection test is up next carried out in UN Peacekeeping Training Centre in Lang fang city, Hebei province given by real UN officials Generally, UN selection test is held by three foreign UN officials. The content of the test includes: listening, reading, report-writing and communicating in English; driving techniques; five-meter quick shooting; seven-meter slow shooting; weapon dismantlement and reassemble, some physical strength exercises; psychological test and face-to-face interview. Result is announced on the spot after the test. The selection test is held by the rule of "sudden death", which means candidates would be eliminated immediately if they failed one of all the tests. Overseas telephone interview from UN HQ could possibly be received before deployment, after candidates have passed all the tests.

November 5, 2007, UN and national flags were flying over the sky of training centre. 125 riot police candidates, wearing eye-catching UN blue helmet and peacekeeping police battle and training wear with UN shoulder patch on right arms and Chinese police patch on left arms were exercising the course of vehicle check and hostage rescue. They were the 6th formed-unit for Haiti mission. Right at the same day, they undertook the UN special representative strict evaluation tests and

selection on foreign language and techniques and tactics, and they all successfully passed the tests.

“I was witnessing their outstanding exercises, which made me strongly believe the reason why they are so excellent is because the training centre offers the first-class facilities, first-class organization, and first-class training. What makes us convinced that Chinese formed-unit is the best considering each police candidate’s professional standard and spiritual aspect they performed”, assesses John Borer, a 26-year rich experienced police professional UN official.¹¹⁵

Since the first Chinese contingent was dispatched to UN mission in January 2000, there have been 430 peacekeeping personnel who have been deployed to UN missions in East Timor, Bosnia, Kosovo, Liberia, Afghanistan, Haiti and Sudan. Five formed-units with 625 members have been deployed so far.

As mentioned above, although the history of China’s participation in the UNPKO is short, Chinese peacekeepers have been receiving comprehensive recognition from international society and locals in the missions because of the prominent contribution, strict self-disciplined behaviour and experienced working expertise. They have been doing in the realms of maintenance of world peace, service for national general diplomatic policy, setup of China’s image.

Deficiency of China’s peacekeeping

As mentioned, the peacekeeping missions present China’s army and police in the general peaceful time good opportunities to testify its abilities. Police peacekeeping is different from military peacekeeping according to the pattern and the task. For Police peacekeepers, when they come to the missions, they will be rapidly divided from their own contingent and be merged into the whole police peacekeeping system and worked within a multicultural environment. That means each police officer has its own task and work in a relatively independent position. So it needs much more personal expertise for the police peacekeepers compared with the military soldiers. In the contrast with the peacekeeper from western countries, Chinese Police Peacekeeping history was even shorter and there are still lots of problems with the operations quality in facing the complicated peacekeeping environment. In fact, in the missions except China, it is hard to find another contingent, of which all the Police peacekeepers have achieved the university degree.

Then where are the problems from? Based on personal Police peacekeeping experiences, the problems can be concluded as follows:

Lack of fluency in English speaking. Most Chinese Police peacekeepers are shy in talking with the others, especially lack of confidence in using the walkie-talkie to report their work.

Non-proficient driving technique. Most missions feature with mountains, so the roads are usually steep or muddy. It makes high demands on the driving technique of the peacekeepers. According to the survey, many casualties happened in the missions resulted from the traffic accident.

Lack of police experience and professional expertise. For example, in UNMIBH, the European Police officers aged between 34.5-38.7, the working time was between 13.5-18.5 years, the peacekeeping experience was between 1.75-2.5 times; while Chinese Police officers aged averagely 31.9 years old, the working times was 9.5 years, and the peacekeeping experience was 1 time.¹¹⁶ These aspects have contained the Chinese peacekeeping in taking higher position and responsibilities compared with the western peacekeepers.

In fact, all the problems have close relation with the policing system and peacekeeping training system of China. In the UN missions the adopted policing system mainly comes from the western countries, like the U.S. and the European countries. They have advanced policing theory, scientific training method, high-technique weapons, and perfect management structure. In contrast, the building of Chinese police has a very short history, and also on a low level. Only by the end of the 1990s, the western concept of the police had arrived in China. So it is imminent for China to advance the development of new policing system to meet the international demand. In addition, as mentioned China has created good conditions for the Police peacekeeping, like the modern and biggest training centre of Asia, but its training system has just begun since the new Millennium, and needs the international experience to improve itself. Compared with other countries, China invests more in the peacekeeping training, but less practicable. Before a Police officer is sent to the mission, he will receive at least 14 weeks training, while the training content for English and driving has little use for the mission situation, while mainly orients to the UN Selection Test. In fact, it cannot be expected that in short

¹¹⁵ See “China’s Peacekeeping Civilian Police (Zhongguo weihe minshi jingcha).” the Armed Force Police Academy of China Website. <http://www.ga/wps/wcm/connect/> (Jan.9, 2008).

¹¹⁶ Zeng Zhaoyue, 2003, 5.

times to let the officer master higher-level skills, it mainly depends on the routine work the officer does in his own position. So it concerns a lot with the daily Police training and management. In China, it has been a long time that the police management focuses on the administrative ones and neglects the practical training. That is why the Chinese police peacekeepers in the missions are always good at computer or other office jobs but relatively weak in the practical operations.

8. Reasons of China´s limited role in the UNPKO

China´s increasing active participation in the UN peacekeeping regimes as one of the signal of positive involvement in the international affairs has been obvious. But compared with the other big powers like the U.S. and the EU, China´s participation is still limited and it always “keep a low profile”.¹¹⁷ There are some reasons from inside and outside, which determine the role of China in the UN peacekeeping operations.

Internal elements

Normative Concerns. As mentioned above, since the Millennium China has become more flexible to the UNPKO, like the questions of use of force and intervention in the civil war of a state. But that does not mean China accepts all this kind of missions against its principle. To China, when it is necessary to take peacekeeping measures in such situations, the condition is that the UN must get the consent of the concerned parties or governments. Like when voting for the international intervention in East Timor in 1999, China said the Australia-led intervention was invited by the concerned parties, Indonesia and East Timor. To the deployment in Darfur, China insisted on the consent of the Sudanese government. In the routine press conference, the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of China, Qin Gang said: “It has been our position that the United Nations in any region of the world peacekeeping operations should be with the consent of the parties the Government's consent and cooperation, and this stance is not only in response to the Darfur problem.”¹¹⁸ Since 1648 the Peace of Westphalia treaties were adopted and accepted, later its norm of sovereignty and non-intervention were written in the UN Charter, this norm have been one of the main principles for the world to deal with the relations

¹¹⁷ Keeping a low profile is a Chinese idiom which was put forward by Deng Xiaoping as one of the principles of China´s foreign policy after the end of the Cold War. In fact, this phrase simply reflects China´s intention to create peaceful environment and avoid conflicts with the outside world, so that it can focus on the domestic development.

¹¹⁸“Spokesman in the routine press conference.” Embassy of China in the Republic of Kenya.
<http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceke/chn/fyrth/t272676.htm> (Sep.19, 2006)

among states. China has been always the firm supporter of the norms. Later China put forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and even emphasized its stance on this norm. This non-intervention policy of China, as we discussed, attributed to the humiliating history by the invading western countries in the 1840s. Of course, it can also be found that, this policy to some extent has caused disputes between China and the western countries and limited China in dealing with the situation of humanitarian intervention.

Although China has also firmly stood for the UN Charter IV to oppose the threat or use of force in international relations, the actual international situation after the end of the Cold War, during which the frequent use of force to solve conflicts, has forced China to readjust its policy on peace enforcement and other forms of forceful interventions—it become more flexible and voted for all the Resolutions, which authorized the use of force (see table 1), but it insists that use of force should only be conducted with the authorization of the UNSC except out of humanitarian considerations.¹¹⁹

“- We are of the view that Article 51 of the Charter should neither be amended nor reinterpreted. (...). Use of force shall not be resorted to without the authorization of the Security Council with the exception of self-defense under armed attack.....

- The Security Council is the only body that can decide the use of force. Regional arrangements or organizations must obtain Security Council authorization prior to any enforcement action.”

Up to now, China's reservation on this issue determined that China refuses to send combat troops to the UN missions as political support, only deploy logistical and medical troops. Some analysts said: in no time there is possibility that China will deploy combat troops for the peacekeeping operations. But on the other hand, China flexibly takes other measures to compensate its scarcity in this aspect and also to soothe the dispute between China and other countries on this issue. Since 2004, it began to deploy to Haiti the Formed Police Unit (FPU), the members of which were fully armed and can use force and conducts combat duties in various enforcement operations.

Certain national interest. It can be said that since its foundation, China has always been confronting the sovereignty integrity problems challenging by outside, as well as in the UN regime. While Taiwan problem has always concerned China and

influenced its policy to much extent. From fighting for the status in the UN against Taiwan to the continuous support from a few countries by proposing accepting Taiwan in the U.N., China has made persistent effort in maintaining its stance and which consequently to a large extent determined its foreign policy in dealing with the international affairs. "One China" policy has always been and the most important principle for China to set up relations with other countries. Moreover it also determines the extent when China develops relations with other countries. The recent example was in September 2007, German Chancellor ignoring the protest of China and met Dalai in the Prime Minister's office. So China consequently cancelled a serious of high-level meeting between the two countries and the relations came to a low point until in January 2008 German Government took some measures to improve the situation.

In the international peacekeeping regime, China's policy and behaviour have inevitably been affected by these sovereignty-related problems. As discussed above, for China's conservative policy to UN peacekeeping before the Millennium, Fravel Taylor (1996, pp. 1115-1119) said it was based on the defending of the national interest in terms of sovereignty. In the UN history, until 2004 China has used 5 times of veto, two of which was related to Taiwan problem. In January 1997, China vetoed against the Resolution Draft of UN to deploy military observer to Guatemala, while Guatemala had diplomatic relations with Guatemala and had every year supported Taiwan to bid for U.N. membership. In February 1999, China vetoed the UN Resolution to extend the UN Preventive Deployment Force in Macedonia, because in January Macedonia restore its diplomatic relations with Taiwan.¹²⁰ But with China's expanding economic influence in the world, some countries have shifted it diplomatic relations with Taiwan to with China, like Macedonia in 2001, Liberia in 2003. Coming to the new Millennium, with China's increasing confidence and abilities, China becomes more flexible in the peacekeeping regime by providing peacekeeping support to the countries, which have relations with Taiwan, in order to isolate Taiwan, like the case of Haiti, which has since 1956 kept the diplomatic relations with Taiwan. In April 2004, China voted for UN Resolution 1542 to establish MINUSTAH in Haiti. In September 2004, it for the first time set up a police FPU of 125 officers and sent to

¹¹⁹“Position Paper of the People's Republic of China on the United Nations Reform.” <http://na.china-embassy.org/eng/xwdt/t199361.htm> (June 9, 2005)

¹²⁰ “China uses veto.” Xinhua News. http://news.xinhuanet.com/world/2005-09/13/content_3484976.htm (Sep.13, 2005)

Haiti for peacekeeping operations. This was also the first time that China sent peacekeepers to a country with which it did not have diplomatic relations. Now the sixth Unit is receiving intensive training and ready to supersede the fifth in Haiti.

But all the change does not mean that China has no concern for Taiwan, which in fact is closely related with the question of territorial integrity and physical security. As well as Taiwan problem, in China there are also many separatist movements in Tibet, Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia. Just like most governments ultimately justify their foreign policy as defending the national interest, it is impossible for China to change its firm stance on the sovereignty. Like discussed China's normative concerns, it will still have its reservations in international peacekeeping regime, concerning like the use of force or intervention in civil wars.

Internal development limitation. Since the economic reform policy was put into force in 1978, China has for a long time treated economic growth as a matter of overriding importance and paid little attention to the problems brought by the economic transformation, like the degradation of the environment, the massively sacrificed land, water and other natural resources. These problems have severely affected the country's development sustainability. Just as some analysts said: "China has become one of the worst victims of weather-related disasters, with economic losses amounting to up to 300 billion Yuan a year, about 2 per cent to 5 per cent of the country's gross domestic product."¹²¹ Medeiros and Fravel (2003, p.33) also said, even China has becomes more active in the diplomatic affairs, its domestic situation remains uncertain, as its leaders have to confront the political, social and economic changes brought by the transition. It is true. In fact, although China has made gigantic achievements, it still remains the largest developing country in the world. According to the statistics of the State Council, by the end of 2004, 26.1 million rural Chinese still lived under the poverty line. There is still along way for China to realize to be a moderately developed country and to achieve the common prosperity for the whole country. So the situation limited China currently to put more attention and energy on the international affairs, including the UN peacekeeping operations.

External elements

"China threat" theory. Since reform and opening up, China has experienced rapid economic development, scientific and technological advances, and the overall

¹²¹Pang, 2007, 4.

national strength has become increasingly strong, with the unprecedented international status improved. All this has aroused some countries jealousy and fear; they tried to use ways to contain China's development, so the theory of "China threat" occurred under this situation, while the U.S. and Japan are the typical representatives. Since 2000, the U.S. Department of Defence renders an annual report on China's military power to the Congress; in the recent years, Japan in its annual Defence White Paper has began to include the situation of China.¹²² This kind of reports include much about China's Defence expenditure without reliable evidence, but have generated much negative affects on other countries. China's leaders have in many public occasions emphasized that China will never re-emerge as the hegemony. This determination was recorded in the 2005 White Paper on "China's Peaceful Development Road" announced by Premier Wen Jiabao.¹²³ Although China is willing to shoulder more responsibilities as a big power for international peace and security, it is reluctant to be regarded as "assertive", after all, it still has much internal problems to resolve and keeping good relations with other countries means still a lot to it. So it would rather "keep a low profile" than "taking the lead".

Definition of "New wave of colonialism in Africa". Up to June 2007, China's military troops are carrying out the peacekeeping operations in 10 missions with 1643 peacekeepers. Among them 1211 are for reconstruction and medical assistance in Africa: Congo, Liberia and Sudan. (See table4)¹²⁴ As mentioned above, while most western countries would rather provide material assistance than deploy peacekeepers to Africa, China just "filled the void".¹²⁵ Besides, in the recent years, China has also increased its economic assistance to Africa and promised to provide even more in the coming years.¹²⁶ This aroused much attention of the world and a hot debate in the West, which named China's growing investment in Africa as a "new wave of colonialism"; (Pang Zhongying, p.5). Hilary Benn, the international development secretary commented on China's unconditional aid and cheap loan to

¹²² "The theory of China threat and its reasons." China Net. <http://www.china.com.cn/chinese/news/943552.htm> (Aug.17, 2005)

¹²³ See Official Documents: China's Peaceful Development Road.

¹²⁴ "China's Deployment Situation of Military Peacekeeping Troops." Xinhua News. http://news.xinhuanet.com/photo/2007-06/19/content_6265752.htm (June 19, 2007)

¹²⁵ See note 106.

¹²⁶ See Official Documents: China's Peaceful Development.

Africa as “Chinese aid to Africa may do more harm than good”.¹²⁷ Elizabeth Economy, director of Asia studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, even said to Washington Post that China’s new role has forced the government to counter the perception that it is interested only in exploiting resources in places such as Africa.¹²⁸

China’s Deployment Situation of Military peacekeeping Troops

	Engineering Detachment	Medical Detachment	Transport Detachment
Congo	175	43	
Liberia	275	43	24
Sudan	275	60	100
Libanon	275	60	

Table 4

These comments resulted from the ideology of comparing China’s role today and Europe’s colonist role in the 1950s. In fact, since 1956, China has started its assistance to Africa in human and social development, including providing much needed health and medical assistance. China and Africa have common history of colonization and China has also offered much help for Africa in the process of achieving independence. “For more than 100 years of China’s modern history, the Chinese people were subjected to colonial aggression and oppression by foreign powers and went through suffering and agony similar to that the majority of African countries endured.”¹²⁹ In 2006, China published the White Paper “China’s African Policy” to present to the world the objectives of China’s policy towards Africa, its measures and its proposals to achieve the steady growth of China-Africa relations. The paper emphasized the principles of China’s African policy are equality, mutual benefit and close cooperation, etc.¹³⁰

9. Prospects of China’s role in the U.N. peacekeeping operations

Based on the analysis of China’s policy and the developing trend of the world situation, it is not hard to say that China’s participation will become more positive

¹²⁷ “Chinese aid to Africa may do more harm than good, warns Benn” Guardian unlimited.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/debt/Story/0,,2008248,00.html> (Feb.8, 2007).

¹²⁸ See “China Filling Void Left by West in U.N. Peacekeeping.” Washingtonpost.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/11/23/AR2006112301007.html> (Nov.24, 2006).

¹²⁹ Hu, Jintao. (2007). Enhance China-Africa Unity and Promote the Harmonious World Building. Speech at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. <http://xn--tlq87w5j9b.cn/eng/wjdt/zyjh/t298174.htm> (Feb.7, 2007).

¹³⁰ See “China’s African Policy.” Xinhua News. <http://www.Chinaview.cn> (Oct.19, 2006).

and increase in both quantity and quality in general. But it will go through difference in concrete affairs varying with the change of the policy and the international environment. Let us see from the following aspects:

Need of the international peacekeeping

Based on the UN Charter, one of the main purposes of the U.N. is maintaining the international peace and security. Nowadays the international conflicts have decreased obviously, but the regional conflicts have emerged as the main challenge to the U.N., and they present a significant rise in demand for UN engagement. For example, the continuing demand in Africa and the Middle East, the potential new missions in Latin America and Asia. Although in the last decades, new models of peacekeeping operations, like hybrid operations without UN command have weakened the influence of the U.N., but UN, as the most universal, representative inter-governmental international organization, has the right in maintaining peace and security, can not be replaced. Like Kofi Annan said: “Although there are both success and failure in peacekeeping, the peacekeeping operations should be continued.” China, as one of the five permanent members of the UNSC enjoying the right entitled by the UN and the Security Council, well-deservedly should take its responsibilities and duties.

Need of China's national interest

Through peacekeeping to enhance China's international reputation. In the past, China's conservative attitude and activities have attracted much criticism from the western countries, and some developing countries also commented negatively. In the current world, countries especially the big powers use full of the “soft power” founded on the base of economic strength, to establish and expand the prestige in order to maintain their status in the world stage.¹³¹ So participation in the UNPKO for China means not only to demonstrate its image to the outside, but also to increase the world's understanding of China. The experience got from the peacekeeping operations of China up to now has proved the feasibility of this theory.

Participating peacekeeping is the imperative way for China to broadly take part in the international multilateral mechanism. International multilateral mechanism has made much influence on the development of the international relations after the Cold War. Peacekeeping mechanism, as the important component of international

¹³¹ “The analysis of reasons for China to participate in the UN peacekeeping operations (Zhongguo canyu lianheguo weihe xingdong yuanyin tanxi).” 66WEN.
<http://www.66wen.com/03fx/zhengzhi/guojizhengzhi/20060909/21061.html> (Sep.9, 2006).

multilateral mechanism, plays an important role in world peace and security. Through the participation in peacekeeping system, China can better adjust its relations with other countries, especially with the U.S., so that it will decrease the strategic pressure on China.

Through peacekeeping to strengthen the international military exchanges for China to learn from outside and to accelerate its military modernization. As discussed before, since the reform and opening-up, China has experienced a long period of peace, so if China's army wanted to get the adventure of practical combat, besides military exercises, participation in peacekeeping operations would be a good choice. Based on this analysis, it is certain that China will enlarge its participation in the UNPKO.

Need of the developing trend of the world multi-polar situation

Following the end of the Cold War, the international strength was seriously unbalanced. The U.S. had profound advantages in military, science and economy, etc. It became the only super-state. Before the new international pattern was set up, the U.S. used fully this time to implement its global strategic expansion in order to set up a unipolar world. The Gulf war, Bosnia and Kosovo war, Afghanistan war, and Iraq war were just its means to realize its ambition. In the peacekeeping regime, the U.S. also increased its extent and dimension of peacekeeping participation. It added the peacekeeping deployment into its global strategy, in order to change the peacekeeping thought or to control the international affairs by dominating peacekeeping.¹³² Just like most countries, China firmly opposes the dominance of the world by the U.S., while promoting a new international order through multi-polarization.¹³³ The recent years' experience of participation in the UN peacekeeping regime has proved that, by completely exercising its voting right and positively deployment in the missions is a practical way to balance the hegemonism. The new world pattern has not been formed, so it is still necessary for China and other countries to exert their function in the process of the multi-polarization. So out of this reason, China will also increase its peacekeeping participation.

Considering existing problems of China and its policies

Up to now, China has formed its own fixed principles of foreign policies, like the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, Independent Foreign Policy of Peace, one-China, etc. These principles have been adopted with the development of China and

¹³² "The Iraq war (Yi la ke zhanzheng)." Baidu Baike. <http://baike.baidu.com/view/7324.htm> (Feb.2, 2007).

have never been changed, and will not be changed in a long time either. As long as the Taiwan problem is not resolved, and the internal disturbs like in Tibet, Xinjiang remain, China will continuously stand up for the Westphalia norms of sovereignty and non-interference. These elements determine that in a long time China will still keep its reservations in the UN peacekeeping operations, like facing the situation of peace enforcement and intervention in civil war. Gill (2007, p.5) also speculated that “Given the typical reluctance of United Nations members generally to support active military intervention and peace enforcement missions (...), China’s peacekeepers are unlikely to be engaged in combat. Moreover, Beijing will not likely offer active political support, let alone offer up soldiers, under circumstances where sovereign governments openly oppose the intervention of United Nations forces.” It can be concluded that some of China’s peacekeeping principles are in contradiction with the second generation of peacekeeping, which occupies a big proportion of the current peacekeeping operations. So in this situation, what kind of attitude to take and what kind of policies to adopt relating to UN Peace Operations are the questions for China to consider and even will attract the attention of the world. But one thing is certain that China would not linger at the current level of peacekeeping. With its rapidly increasing national strength and more integrated national power, China would certainly enlarge its peacekeeping participation in various ways. We may foresee that a great number of ready-to-be Formed Police Units (FPU) would be assigned by Chinese government to other UN mission areas in the near future besides the ones in Haiti.

10. Conclusion

China’s participation in the UN peacekeeping operations underwent a tortuous path, which has evolved from the role of “no involvement” to “active peacekeeper” in the UN peacekeeping contribution. Like most countries in the world, China’s activities in peacekeeping operations reflect one of the aspects of its foreign policy, which was influenced by a county’s national interest, temporary international environment and other relative factors, like the comprehensive national strength in a certain period.

In the 1970s, around ten years after its acquirement of the seat in the U.N., China thought the UNPKO was manipulated by the superpower; therefore China avoided

¹³³ Staehle, 2006, 75.

participating in any peacekeeping-related affairs. It neither paid its dues to the U.N., nor sent peacekeepers to the UN missions. On the other hand, China had to manage to handle issues of state sovereignty integrity, non-interventional policy, undeveloped domestic economy and poor national strength that limited China to participate in UNPKO as well as in other worldwide activities.)

In the 1980s, due to its changing interest in a stable and peaceful environment for better concentrative building of its economy and modernization, China showed the world its changing attitude towards UNPKO by voting for the extension of UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus. Subsequently it began to pay its dues and took part in the UN voting system for peacekeeping operations; however it chose to abstain most of the time and firmly opposed those peacekeeping operations departed from the traditional model. During this period, China still remained none peacekeepers contribution to the UNPKO.

Coming into the 1990s, China has begun its era of participation in UNPKO, which evolved from “symbolic participation” in the 1990s to “full participation” in the new Millennium. Judged from the major events of peacekeeping operations, it could be concluded, in the 1990s, China deployed in total 800 PLA engineering troops and 437 military observers to five UN missions, while it was only after the year of 2000 China began to play its active role-its deployment to East Timor marked the beginning of new evolution of its role to participate in the UN peacekeeping operations. Furthermore, its attitude and policy to UNPKO showed unexpected much more flexibility by voting for the use of force in the Millennium. In 2004, China for the first time set up FPU and for the first time deployed FPU to a country with which it has no diplomatic relation, contrarily, the country has diplomatic relation with Taiwan. Up to now, due to its persistent concern regarding state sovereignty integrity and non-intervention, plus, due to uncertain and complicated factors coming from outside that might possibly tamper China’s national administrative system and externally international image, like “China threat” theory, new colonialism, and so on, China has not yet sent any combat military troops to UNPKO and tended to keep a low profile.

Altogether, under the favourable international and national environment, China has fully realized the necessity to play active role in international affairs as well as in the UN peacekeeping regime. Its ambition as a world responsible big country, its eagerness to strengthen the role of UN in maintaining international peace and security and balance the world political pattern, its determination to reinforce

peacekeeping training and excising its troops, and its aspiration to make much more contribution to a harmonious world, clearly unfold to the world that China has taken participation in peacekeeping operations as a diplomatic strategy, which in turn serves as one of the favourable conditions for its peaceful development and modernization.

With its surprising rise of economy, China has for around three decades continuously enjoyed increasing national strength, which is one of the decisive impetus for China to make much more contribution to the UNPKO. Of course, if China's active peacekeeping participation were admitted by international society on more positive level, not seen as "threat expansion", China would consider more to fulfil its peacekeeping obligation and enlarge its peace-building participation. Then it would not be hard for the whole world to believe in the up-coming years, China would play more important role in the world affairs and contribute more to the U.N. peacekeeping operations.

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Statement

To the thesis “the role of China in the U.N Peacekeeping Operations” for Criminology and Police Science, I would like to make a statement that I wrote the thesis completely by myself, except citing the documents which were recorded in the References and the footnotes, no other person helped me with this thesis.

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Bochum

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