

STRATEGY, IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION, & CHINA'S QUEST FOR INFLUENCE:

THE ROLE OF RATIONAL SELF-INTEREST IN BEIJING'S

"RESPONSIBLE GREAT POWER" DIALOGUE

By

Michael Cunningham

Submitted to the

Faculty of the School of International Service

of American University

in Partial Fulfillment of


the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

In

International Affairs

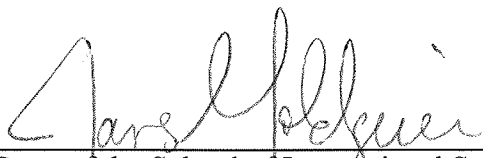
Chair:




Dr. Pek Koon Heng-Blackburn



Dr. Amitav Acharya



Dean of the School of International Service



Date

2012

American University

Washington, D.C. 20016

© COPYRIGHT

by

Michael Cunningham

2012

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

STRATEGY, IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION, & CHINA’S QUEST FOR INFLUENCE:
THE ROLE OF RATIONAL SELF-INTEREST IN BEIJING’S
“RESPONSIBLE GREAT POWER” DIALOGUE

BY

Michael Cunningham

ABSTRACT

This study uses Finnemore and Sikkink’s theory of strategic social construction to explain China’s embrace of international responsibility after decades of distrust toward the international system. After presenting an overview of Chinese academic discourse related to international responsibility, this study examines the ways officials in the People’s Republic of China (PRC) utilized the concept in three periods—the mid- to late-1990s, 2000-2008, and 2009-2012—to test my hypothesis that Beijing’s embrace of responsibility is a strategic effort to reconstruct the country’s international identity in ways that will facilitate its pursuit of both material and ideational national interests. The findings support my hypothesis, showing that Chinese officials have sought to portray the PRC as a “responsible great power,” in order to weaken the international community’s opposition to China, cultivate an international environment friendly to its rise, and ultimately allow the country to wield increasing influence in the changing international order.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express appreciation to my advisor, Dr. Pek Koon Heng-Blackburn, and my second reader, Dr. Amitav Acharya, for patiently guiding me through this undertaking and spending countless hours reading drafts and providing feedback to improve this thesis in ways I never could have accomplished on my own; Dr. David Shambaugh for introducing me to the topic that, unbeknownst to him, I chose to spend this past year of my life researching; and all the friends and colleagues who pretended to be interested in my research and provided not only moral support but also valuable insights which I have been able to incorporate into this work. I also want to thank the George Washington University library for making its Global Resources Center available to me these past several months, as it would have been impossible to carry out my research without the materials and databases housed therein. Finally, I want to thank my family, friends, and colleagues at work for their patience and understanding over the past several months as I have had to frequently place other plans on hold to meet deadlines related to this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	5
CHAPTER 2 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY	12
CHAPTER 3 CHINESE SCHOLARS' VIEWS ON RESPONSIBILITY	42
CHAPTER 4 PRESENTING CHINA AS A NONTHREATENING, STATUS- QUO COUNTRY	63
CHAPTER 5 THE CLIMAX OF CHINESE RESPONSIBILITY	86
CHAPTER 6 PUTTING THE "GREAT POWER" INTO RESPONSIBLE GREAT POWER	125
CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS	165
BIBLIOGRAPHY	170

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In September 2005, the Bush Administration sent then-Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick to deliver a message to China. The message, presented in New York City at the National Committee on the United States and China Relations, was clear—the United States welcomes a strong, prosperous China if that China is peaceful and joins with the U.S. and other great powers to address the global challenges arising in the new century. Zoellick called on the People’s Republic of China (PRC) to be a “responsible stakeholder,” saying that it is no longer sufficient for China to simply be a member of the international community; it must recognize that its “peaceful prosperity” depends on the maintenance of the existing international system and put forth concrete effort to sustain that system.¹

Since Zoellick’s remarks seven years ago, China’s responsibility on the world stage has been an increasingly hot topic in international relations. As Beijing’s economic and political clout continues to increase each year, policymakers and scholars from Washington to Bangkok have observed heightened PRC activity in areas such as global governance and United Nations peacekeeping, yet the jury is still out regarding what specific responsibilities China should have in the international system and whether its leaders are living up to those duties.

International observers often get so caught up in the various foreign opinions regarding China’s increasing global role that they miss the even more significant debate surrounding this issue within China itself. Few seem to recognize that the debate about China’s international responsibility is even more intense in the classrooms and research institutions inside the PRC than it is in their counterparts throughout the world and, contrary to the belief of many foreign

¹ Robert B. Zoellick, “Whither China: From Membership to Responsibility?,” *The DISAM Journal* 28, no. 2 (Winter 2006): 98, http://www.disam.dsca.mil/pubs/Vol%2028_2/Zoellick.pdf 98 (accessed November 21, 2012).

scholars, this debate began a full decade prior to Zoellick's 2005 speech. If one hopes to truly understand the PRC's evolving role on the world stage, it is necessary to take the Chinese perspective regarding issues like this as the starting point, as opposed to as a mere afterthought.

This thesis will explore Chinese academic thought and official discourse related to international responsibility, which is centered on the increasingly potent Chinese self-image as a "responsible great power" (*fuzeren de daguo*).² This study will show that, while some Chinese object to the idea that their country has responsibilities on the international stage, most in the PRC have come to see such responsibilities as a necessary component of their country's rise. While intense disagreement and inconsistency exist regarding the definition of "responsibility" on the international stage, the concept itself has become widely accepted domestically. This thesis will attempt to explain the motives driving the rise of responsibility in Chinese foreign policy.

The Origins of China's Responsible Great Power Dialogue

There is no question that the Chinese of the 21st Century see their country as having an important role in the world. One can scarcely listen to Beijing's diplomatic discourse without encountering at least one reference to the country's benevolence toward the global or regional community. These references often take the form of slogans or buzz words, of which the oft-cited "responsible great power" has become particularly prevalent. Widely overlooked in Western scholarship, this simple phrase has become an increasingly salient research term in China as the Asian giant has come to play an increasingly important role in world affairs. While

² Due to the imprecise nature of translations from Chinese to English, *fuzeren de daguo*, and its equivalent *fuzeren daguo*, is sometimes translated as "responsible power," "responsible big country," "responsible major country," and sometimes even the term used by Zoellick, "responsible stakeholder." I chose to use the term "responsible great power" in this paper, because not only does it more completely capture the full meaning of the original phrase in Chinese, but research also found this translation to be among the more prevalent variations found in English-language publications. Most of the research done on this term was carried out in Chinese, however.

this is perhaps among the first Western theses to date for which the “responsible great power” identity plays a major role, an October 2012 database search found 17 Chinese Masters theses and PhD dissertations in which the term appeared either in the title, in a key word search, or in both since 2003.³

There is no authoritative consensus as to when the “responsible great power” idea first entered the Chinese psyche, but searches of a database of speeches and publications by Chinese Communist Party (CCP) officials indicate that the term might have first appeared in an official context on May 1, 1998, when Premier Zhu Rongji told then-United States Secretary of State Madeleine Albright that China’s decision not to devalue its currency after the Asian financial crisis “shows that China is a responsible great power.”⁴ Of course, the term appeared in academic writing prior to Zhu’s usage, and searches of core Chinese academic journals find records of the term being used to describe the PRC as early as 1994.⁵ These journals have been the main venue for domestic debate over the issue, and this debate will be explored in depth in Chapter 3. Importantly, Chinese debate over the issue of international responsibility is not limited to this catchy slogan, and this study will attempt to capture the full discourse by examining how PRC officials speak about the concept of international responsibility in general, not only the phrase “responsible great power” itself.

³ “China Master’s Theses Full-Text Database,” China National Knowledge Infrastructure, <http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/Navigator.aspx?ID=CMFD> (accessed October 8, 2012);

“China Doctoral Dissertations Full-Text Database,” China National Knowledge Infrastructure, <http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/Navigator.aspx?ID=CDFD> (accessed October 8, 2012).

⁴ “Zhu Rongji Huijian Ao’erbulaite” [“Zhu Rongji Meets with Albright”], Archives of the Communist Party of China, May 1, 1998, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=55&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012), (original language: *shuoming Zhongguo shi yi ge fuzeren de daguo*).

⁵ “China Academic Journals Full-Text Database,” China National Knowledge Infrastructure, <http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/Brief.aspx?curpage=4&RecordsPerPage=20&QueryID=181&ID=CJFD&turnpage=1&systemno=&NaviDatabaseName=ZJCLS&NaviField=%E4%B8%93%E9%A2%98%E5%AD%90%E6%A0%8F%E7%9B%AE%E4%BB%A3%E7%A0%81&navigatorValue=> (accessed December 1, 2012).

Why Study Responsibility?

The Chinese concept of state responsibility is fascinating by virtue of its existence as one of the few topics of immense political importance over which debate in the PRC is not stifled by popular nationalism or official party line, but the significance of this concept extends beyond the trivial questions of descriptive academia. Indeed, the debate over responsibility is a key component of more significant political questions relating to China's rise and its impact on the global and regional order. What does the rise of China mean for the United States and other traditional global power centers? Is the PRC, at its core, a status-quo or a revisionist power? As China continues to develop into a regional and global power, will it remain content to rise within the existing U.S.-led system that has preserved peace and prosperity throughout Asia and the world, or will it seek to overthrow that order in favor of a more Sino-centric one, starting with its own region and then possibly spreading into other parts of the globe? Questions like these have been debated repeatedly over the years by theorists and practitioners on all sides of the political and philosophical spectra.⁶

While the recent influx of scholarship and journalism dedicated to China's identity as a rising power is a welcome development, most of this scholarship is based almost entirely on foreign interpretations of Chinese policy behavior and tends to overlook the domestic discourse

⁶ For a general overview of the main arguments surrounding the debate over the impact China's rise will have on the international order, see Jeffrey W. Legro, "What China Will Want: The Future Intentions of a Rising Power," *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 3 (September 2007): 515-534, <http://pages.shanti.virginia.edu/legro/files/2011/03/Legro2007.pdf> (accessed October 23, 2012).

See also: Zbigniew Brzezinski and John J. Mearsheimer, "Clash of the Titans," *Foreign Policy* 146 (January/February 2005), http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2005/01/05/clash_of_the_titans (accessed October 23, 2012).

surrounding that behavior.⁷ In other words, much of the literature regarding China's role in the world attempts to interpret an image that has been projected onto the PRC from the outside through political science jargon such as *revisionist* or *status-quo*, but only rarely does one read a publication exploring what the Chinese have to say about their own country. While Chinese perspectives of China—or Jordanian perspectives of Jordan or U.S. perspectives of the U.S.—usually cannot be taken as a fully authoritative indication of the country's international posture, how one describes his own country under different circumstances and to differing audiences provides substantial insight into the motives behind the description and the actions that precipitate that description.

As an indigenous attempt of the Chinese to describe their own country, the “responsible great power” narrative provides a rare glimpse into the minds of the Chinese policymakers themselves. An understanding of this concept and its usage by PRC officials does something Western theory applied to raw military or economic activity is unable to accomplish—it allows researchers to see China as the Chinese political elite see it, without many of the cultural biases and misunderstandings that often accompany outside observations of the country's domestic and foreign policy behavior. By studying this term's usage in various historical contexts and based on the speakers' various audiences, one can come to find the motives behind the concept's existence. Do the Chinese see international responsibility as a moral imperative, a strategic tactic to obtain military or economic interests, or something in between? This is the question addressed by this thesis, and the answer to this question provides one small yet crucial building block in the overall puzzle of whether the PRC is rising as a status-quo or a revisionist power.

⁷ One case in point is Brzezinski and Mearsheimer, “Clash of the Titans,” in which both authors make compelling arguments for China's future based mostly on Western international relations theory. Another good example is David C. Kang, *East Asia Before the West: Five Centuries of Trade and Tribute*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), in which Kang attempts to promote a more benign perspective of the PRC's rise based on his interpretation of ancient Chinese history, but with very limited attention to contemporary Chinese discourse.

Due to the significance of the responsible great power paradigm as an indigenous concept with an ever-expanding following throughout China, this thesis will take this term as a starting point for a greater analysis of Chinese perspectives regarding the PRC's international responsibility. By analyzing the academic debate surrounding this idea within China, I will show that Chinese perceptions of responsibility generally fit into one of three categories, or schools—the *domestic development school*, which sees China's responsibility as encompassing only those political, military, and economic motives that have a direct and immediate impact on the country's continued development at home and security against potential adversaries abroad; the *public goods school*, which feels that China and other countries have a responsibility as members of the international community to produce global public goods that benefit all of humanity; and the *global image school*, which advocates accepting and fulfilling international responsibilities as a way of creating a positive image for their country and, thus, increasing its influence throughout the world system. While all three of these schools enjoy strong support, it is this third school—the global image school—that appears to enjoy the greatest following in Chinese academic circles.

The bulk of this study will examine official usage of the responsible great power concept in an attempt to explain the PRC government's embrace of international responsibility in recent decades. I will do this by analyzing Chinese official discourse related to Beijing's international responsibility over three separate periods—the mid- to late-1990s, 2000 through 2008, and 2009 through the present (2012 at the time of this writing). By identifying the audiences to which statements were made, as well as the historical and literary context of the statements, I will show that, in each of these periods, official discourse has consistently followed the global image paradigm. In other words, Beijing's official policy has tended to side with those who see

international responsibility as a means by which to improve their country's identity and, by extension, its influence in the international community. Beijing does not seek to fulfill international responsibilities out of the goodness of its heart in order to benefit the global human family, as the public goods school prescribes—after all, what country with a rational government would readily do such a thing? Nor does the PRC leadership measure each opportunity to take on a new responsibility by its capacity to provide immediate material gains, as the domestic development adherents demand. Rather, China's adoption of increasing amounts of international responsibilities sits at the center of a sophisticated public relations campaign to market the country in a way that will improve its standing in the international community and eventually bring long-term benefits both ideational and material in nature.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

The mid-1990s were a period of revolutionary change in China's international relations. Those years brought the emergence of pacifist slogans, such as "responsible great power," "peaceful rise," and the latter's successor "peaceful development," which were used to guide China's diplomatic efforts. Even more importantly, they welcomed the birth of an entirely new foreign policy paradigm.

Since the mid-1990s, Chinese rhetoric about international responsibility has been accompanied by increasingly responsible behavior on the global and regional stage, as defined by the liberal norms of the U.S.-led international system. Globally, China has become an increasingly active member of the United Nations (UN), the World Trade Organization (WTO), and more recently the G-20, to name just a few. Within the Asia-Pacific, Beijing developed a "good neighbor policy"⁸ in the 1990s and has since resolved long-standing territorial disputes with many of its neighbors, signed the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) with its Southeast Asian counterparts in 2003, organized the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) with Russia and four Central Asian states, and become an enthusiastic member of ASEAN+1 (ASEAN and China), ASEAN+3, the ARF, the ASEAN Vision Group, the ASEAN Senior Officials Meeting, the East Asian Summit (EAS), and a myriad of other regional institutions. After refusing to participate in international peacekeeping operations before 1990, China by

⁸ For a general overview of China's regional strategy, see Zhang Yunling and Tang Shiping, "China's Regional Strategy," in *Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics*, ed. David Shambaugh (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 48-68.

2006 was deploying more peacekeeping troops worldwide than any other permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC).⁹ Chinese humanitarian aid also increased dramatically over this period. While Beijing does not release comprehensive annual foreign aid data, according to some estimates, Chinese foreign aid increased from USD 51 million in 2002 to USD 26.4 billion in 2007, and the PRC may have lent more money to underdeveloped countries in 2009 and 2010 than even the World Bank.¹⁰ Indeed, Beijing's actions leave little doubt that the CCP leadership is not merely paying lip service to the idea of international responsibility; it sees responsibility as a core component of its foreign policy.

In fact, some liberal scholars believe that, due to the PRC's increased interaction with the international community, its interests have become, for the most part, intertwined with those of the greater global system. Wu Xinbo, for example, writes that, due to China's increasing overseas interests, Beijing now "has developed a stake in securing a peaceful global environment and sustaining a workable international system."¹¹ Some scholars, such as John Ikenberry, see China's integration into what he calls the "liberal world order" as offering so much benefit to the PRC that it may become even more dedicated to preserving the order than the U.S. and other developed countries whose relative benefit from that order is declining at the expense of China and the other emerging markets.¹²

⁹Yong Deng, *China's Struggle for Status: The Realignment of International Relations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 47.

¹⁰ Jonathan Weston et al., "China's Foreign Assistance in Review: Implications for the United States," U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission Staff Research Backgrounder (September 1, 2011): 1, http://www.uscc.gov/researchpapers/2011/9_1_%202011_ChinasForeignAssistanceinReview.pdf (accessed October 24, 2012).

¹¹ Xinbo Wu, "Chinese Visions of the Future of U.S.-China Relations," in *Tangled Titans: The United States and China*, ed. David Shambaugh (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2013), 376.

¹² See G. John Ikenberry, "The Future of the Liberal World Order," *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 3 (May/June 2011), <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail?sid=71eeb835-b0e4-4bdb-ad45->

Of course, not all of the norms canonized in this liberal international order appeal to China, and Beijing has been careful to pick and choose those norms it is willing to adopt while doing its best to ignore or oppose those it views as demanding too much of the PRC government. Generally, Beijing has embraced international norms related to economic integration and cooperation against transnational threats, but shows no interest in political norms such as human rights and democracy. In addition, while Beijing has become increasingly cooperative and conciliatory in its interactions with other states, much of its posture toward security issues still smacks of dissatisfaction and zero-sum logic. Nevertheless, the degree to which China has embraced the norms of the international system and sought to become a constructive, cooperative rising power is undeniable.

The significance of China's participation in international organizations and transnational challenges lies not merely in what these actions mean for the countries and individuals involved; it is even more exceptional when compared with Beijing's foreign policy experience prior to the mid-1990s. During most of its history, the PRC was a unilateral—even reckless—actor in East Asia and throughout the world. Far from seeking a responsible role within the U.S.-led international system, the PRC government, since its founding in 1949, had sought to change the global and regional power structures by supporting communist insurgencies abroad and even fighting against the U.S. in North Korea and Vietnam.¹³ In addition, PRC founder Mao Zedong viewed multilateralism with such suspicion that he eventually went so far as to withdraw China's observer status in the USSR-backed Warsaw Pact and stop responding to invitations from

ce0be8ff4e71%40sessionmgr104&vid=1&hid=126&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=aph&AN=60123024 (accessed December 5, 2012).

¹³ See David Shambaugh, "China Engages Asia: Reshaping the Regional Order," *International Security* 29, no. 3 (Winter 2004/05): 65, <http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/0162288043467496> (accessed December 6, 2011).

international communist grouping COMECON due to concerns that too much interdependence threatened China's sovereignty.¹⁴

Mao's successor, the great reformer Deng Xiaoping, was not much more accepting of international entanglements than his predecessor. Though rightfully credited with opening China's borders to economic interaction with the outside world, Deng, like Mao, operated according to the principles of strict realpolitik. While Deng did not actively seek to overthrow the Western-led international order as his predecessor did, his policies were hyper-focused on obtaining immediate material benefits for his country, and he himself was extremely suspicious of liberal initiatives such as global governance and peacekeeping. Like Mao, Deng saw China as a "victimized developing nation," and "always feared [international organizations] could be used to punish or constrain China."¹⁵ Even when the Chinese government began experimenting with international cooperation in the early 1990s, it did so mostly passively, preferring to improve individual bilateral relationships rather than accept multilateral commitments.¹⁶ One exception to this trend was the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which China joined as a consultative partner as early as 1992 and an official dialogue partner in 1994.¹⁷ Nevertheless, it is unknown how much of a role Deng played in this engagement with ASEAN. While widely

¹⁴ Marc Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 58-60.

¹⁵ Evan S. Medeiros and M. Taylor Fravel, "China's New Diplomacy," *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 6 (December 2003): 24-25, http://taylorfravel.com/documents/research/fravel_medeiros.2003.FA.new.diplo.pdf (accessed November 5, 2012).

¹⁶ For an example of Chinese cautiousness regarding international organizations, see Susan L. Shirk, "Chinese Views on Asia-Pacific Regional Security Cooperation," *NBR Analysis* 5, no. 5 (1994): 6-7, <http://www.nbr.org/publications/analysis/pdf/vol5no5.pdf> (accessed November 27, 2012).

¹⁷ See Seng Tan, "The Perils and Prospects of Dragon Riding: Reassurance and 'Costly Signals' in China-ASEAN Relations," in *Rising China: Power and Reassurance* ed. Ron Huiskens (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2009): 172, http://epress.anu.edu.au/sdsc/rc/pdf/whole_book.pdf#page=177 (accessed October 24, 2012).

considered to have held political power until his 1997 death, Deng retired from his last formal government posts in 1990.¹⁸

This comparison between Chinese foreign policy before and after the mid-1990s serves two important functions in this study. First, it shows that Chinese dialogue related to international responsibility is more than empty words designed to rationalize long-standing policy; after all, similar dialogue regarding partnership and cooperation existed to an extent under both Mao and Deng, but never until the decision to embrace the concept of international responsibility in the mid-1990s did such rhetoric ever accompany a policy shift to the extent that occurred at that time. As such, the responsibility rhetoric ought to be recognized as having real meaning, as opposed to being just hallow words aimed at disguising or rationalizing Beijing's unpopular actions in the international community. Second, and more importantly for this particular chapter, the very fact that a policy shift occurred shows that, sometime in the mid-1990s, China experienced a normative shift, in which it went from viewing the very idea of international responsibility as an infringement on state sovereignty to becoming an enthusiastic participant in and supporter of the global liberal order.

Theoretical Background and Definitions

The purpose of this thesis is to determine why the Chinese became interested in international responsibility in the 1990s after decades of avoiding entanglements with the world community and why they have continued to show interest in the decades that followed this initial shift. The study of responsibility is a study of *norms*, for it is upon norms that responsibility is determined. In this study, norms will be defined as “[standards] of appropriate behavior for

¹⁸ See Steven Mufson, “Deng’s Successor to Lead Memorial Rites Tuesday,” *The Washington Post*, February 21, 1997, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/asia/feb/20/deng.htm> (accessed October 24, 2012).

actors with a given identity.”¹⁹ There are numerous alternative definitions of norms in the existing literature, but most share this basic explanation of being standards of appropriateness. In addition, while not all definitions explicitly state this, most seem to agree with Ann Florini’s observation that norms’ most important characteristic is that states and other actors obey them “not because they are enforced, but because they are seen as legitimate.”²⁰

Before continuing this discussion of norms, it is important to clarify the relationship between norms and the topic of this study, which is responsibility. As an analysis of responsibility, this thesis is also a study of norms, because the concept of responsibility only has meaning as it relates to the norms upon which the said responsibility is predicated. For example, when a parent expresses hope that his child will mature into a “responsible” adult, the child understands what the parent means, because she is familiar with the societal norms her parent holds dear, which may include hard work, obedience to the laws of the land in which the child lives, and perhaps adherence to the commandments and rituals of the religion in which the child was raised. Another example is the oft-cited “responsibility” that citizens in a democracy like the United States have to vote. This responsibility to vote would be difficult to explain without addressing certain norms of democracy and citizen involvement in the political process. In both of these examples, whether an individual is acting responsibly or not is determined by whether or not he complies with the particular norm upon which this responsibility is predicated.

There are no norms that do not carry responsibility, and there can be no responsibility without norms. Thus, every time the word “responsibility” is used by any sort of actor, it implies

¹⁹ Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change,” *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (Autumn 1998): 891, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2601361.pdf?acceptTC=true> (accessed November 27, 2012).

²⁰ Ann Florini, “The Evolution of International Norms,” *International Studies Quarterly* 40, no. 3 (September 1996): 364-365, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2600716.pdf?acceptTC=true> (accessed November 3, 2012).

acknowledgment or promotion of a specific norm or group of norms. Therefore, when Zoellick called on China to act as a “responsible stakeholder” of the international system, he was telling the country to act in compliance with the norms of that system, as introduced briefly above. China uses the term “responsibility” the same way. Every time the concept finds voice in Chinese discourse, the nature and significance of the responsibility is understood only in the context of certain norms, whether they be universal norms such as free trade or environmental protection or some normative concoction the PRC created itself. Thus, while this study focuses on the responsibility discourse, this discourse cannot be understood in a vacuum; it must be examined through the lens of the norms it represents.

The Role of Norms in International Relations Theory

Generally speaking, any serious study of norms in international relations is, by definition, constructivist, because norms are a constructivist concept. While scholars from all the major theoretical perspectives acknowledge the existence of norms, the two most dominant international relations (IR) paradigms—realism and liberalism—do not offer a prominent role for these variables in IR theory.²¹ Constructivists, on the other hand, see norms as an integral—even central—element in IR theory. While realist and liberal scholars recognize that norms may at times alter the cost-benefit analyses of policymakers, this process falls outside the causal logic of today’s leading realist and liberal theories.²²

Realism, in its several forms, is the oldest, most widely accepted theory of international relations, and its modern neorealist varieties, such as Mearsheimer’s offensive realism,²³ hold a

²¹ See Florini, “Evolution,” 365.

²² Ibid.

²³ See John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001).

lot of sway in discussions of the rise of great powers such as China. Nevertheless, neorealism is inadequate to discuss the role or function of norms, because its causal mechanism does not leave room for norms to play a significant role in the process of international relations. Realism concerns itself primarily with the distribution of material power, and even those realists who accept a limited role for norms in international affairs insist that they exist only as intervening variables²⁴ and usually serve to “reflect the power and interests of the powerful and interested.”²⁵ Thus, to most neorealists, the fact that one state complies with the norms promoted by another is little more than an indication of the relative power discrepancy between the mighty norm creator and the less-powerful norm observer.

Like realists, liberal thinkers assign a peripheral role to norms, relegating them to the ranks of intervening variables that fall largely outside their main theoretical body; however, neoliberals allow these intervening variables greater, more enduring influence than do the neorealists.²⁶ Like their neorealist counterparts, neoliberals do not deny the existence of norms. In fact, cooperative economic norms play an important role in their theory. After all, the only way the modern liberal economic order manages to function is through globally accepted norms related to trade, development, fiscal policy, diplomacy, and so forth. Neoliberals see these norms as rules of the game, without which, international cooperation would not be possible.²⁷ Nevertheless, neoliberal scholars see norms as just that—rules and institutions designed to mitigate the anarchy prevailing in the international system and allow international actors to achieve the greatest gain possible through cooperation. States follow these rules and institutions

²⁴ Florini, “Evolution,” 365.

²⁵ Richard K. Ashley, “The Poverty of Neorealism,” *International Organization* 38, no. 2 (Spring 1984): 256, , <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2706440.pdf?acceptTC=true> (accessed March 3, 2012).

²⁶ Florini, “Evolution,” 365.

²⁷ See Florini, “Evolution,” 365.

not because they see them as inherently legitimate—which legitimacy Florini called the most important characteristic of norms—but because they recognize the benefits these norms bring to their national interest. Thus, both realists and liberals see international politics through a lens of rationalism and *realpolitik*, which most mainstream scholars see as inherently at odds with the ideational value of norms.

Constructivism, on the other hand, is a theory built around norms and other ideational forces in international politics. Unlike realism and liberalism, which focus on material interests, constructivism focuses on ideas and values. Alexander Wendt sums up the two basic premises of constructivism as being that “the fundamental structures of international politics are social rather than strictly material” and “these structures shape actors’ identities and interests, rather than just their behavior.”²⁸ According to Wendt, these premises rule out both materialism and rationalism as guiding principles of international relations, two claims with which I disagree, as will be shown hereafter.²⁹ Nevertheless, I agree with Wendt’s observations about the centrality of ideational forces such as norms in international politics, and the ideational value of norms will play a critical role in this study.

While realist and liberal scholars base their theories on the inherent dangers and challenges of international anarchy, Wendt and other constructivists acknowledge anarchy exists, but maintain that “anarchy is what states make of it.”³⁰ In other words, since the international system is ideational, it matters not that the world lacks a central authority to which all states must

²⁸ Alexander Wendt, “Constructing International Politics,” *International Security* 20, no. 1 (Summer 1995): 71-72, <http://faculty.maxwell.syr.edu/hpschmitz/PSC124/PSC124Readings/WendtConstructivism.pdf> (accessed November 3, 2012).

²⁹ Wendt, “Constructing,” 71-72.

³⁰ See Alexander Wendt, “Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics,” *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 391-425, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2706858.pdf?acceptTC=true> (accessed November 3, 2012).

answer; what matter are the ideas that compose the international system. International politics is derived from norms, and it is these norms that determine state behavior. Not only do norms shape states' goals; they also shape the means by which the states pursue these goals.³¹ Thus, far from being mere intervening variables, norms are one of the central components of constructivist theory, and they directly alter the ways states act. As Florini points out, while realist and liberal theories assume that state interests are fixed and constant—"that states know what they want"—constructivists argue that "states must learn what they want" through social construction.³²

Theories of Norm Diffusion

As the last quote above implies, norms are not stagnant, and they do not exist independent of interaction among political actors. Additionally, as will be shown in this study, norms themselves change overtime. Not only do norms evolve and mature within societies, but they also routinely spread from one state or society to another. The process by which states adopt international norms that they did not previously recognize is frequently referred to as norm diffusion. As with most general international relations topics, extensive theoretical research has been done on the subject of norm diffusion, only a few highlights of which are provided in this section.

While norm diffusion is overwhelmingly a constructivist concept, it is beneficial to briefly mention the mainstream neorealist and neoliberal theories regarding the phenomenon, as they will play a role in my hypothesis. In the case of both realist and liberal political thought, norm diffusion can be explained in terms of rational self-interest. According to realists, in whose minds, we have seen, norms reflect the distribution of power, norm diffusion occurs when a more powerful state coerces a less powerful state to adopt a norm. Thus, according to realists, states

³¹ Florini, "Evolution," 366.

³² Ibid., 366-367.

may adopt norms out of fear for survival. This can be due either to an imminent threat from a more powerful state or, as Acharya mentions, perhaps an effort to preemptively seek favor with the powerful states promoting the norm so as to prevent conflict with that state in the future.³³ Liberal thinkers, on the other hand, see norms as rational endeavors made not out of desperation for the purpose of survival interests, but rather voluntarily in search of greater economic interests. The indirect role norms play in these theories makes them unsuitable by themselves for a study on norm diffusion.

Extensive constructivist research has been conducted in recent decades on the topic of norm diffusion. One of the foremost students of norm diffusion, Amitav Acharya, in his 2009 book entitled *Whose Ideas Matter? Agency and Power in Asian Regionalism*, dedicated the greater part of a chapter to providing a historical overview of norm diffusion literature.³⁴ Acharya divides the existing literature into two phases, which he calls “waves.” He calls the first wave “moral cosmopolitanism.”³⁵ During this wave, scholars focused on universal norms being spread by transnational agents, known as “moral entrepreneurs,” through pressure and “proselytism.”³⁶ Studies during this wave viewed norm diffusion through the lens of the norm transmitters, viewing norm contestation or resistance as illegitimate or even immoral.³⁷ Acharya points out that, by focusing entirely on norm entrepreneurs, the research ignored the agency role local actors played in adopting norms, and it created an inaccurate dichotomy in which global

³³ Amitav Acharya, “How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism,” *International Organization* 58, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 266, <http://www.rochelleterman.com/ir/sites/default/files/acharya%202004.pdf> (accessed November 5, 2012).

³⁴ Amitav Acharya, *Whose Ideas Matter? Agency and Power in Asian Regionalism* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2009).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

norms were viewed as “good” and more likely to prevail, and local norms were viewed as “bad” and doomed to failure.³⁸

The second wave of norm diffusion research, according to Acharya, reversed the trend to view diffusion entirely through the eyes of norm entrepreneurs, and looked at the phenomenon through the perspective of domestic agents and political structures instead.³⁹ This wave introduced concepts such as the *cultural match*, situations where global norms converge with domestic norms; *framing*, in which domestic proponents of a norm actively construct linkages between the norm and an existing local norm that are not initially obvious; and *grafting*, which occurs when proponents institutionalize a norm by associating it with a separate pre-existing norm.⁴⁰

Sometime in between the first and second waves recounted by Acharya, Ann Florini attempted to describe the change and diffusion of norms over time in a way that had not been done before.⁴¹ In an innovative and unique theoretical attempt to explain why some norms become institutionalized globally while others emerge in one country or bloc only to disappear a short time later, Florini compares competing norms to competing genes in biology, hypothesizing that the competition among norms results in a process of evolution by natural selection similar to the biological process by which humans and other life forms are said to evolve to fit their environment.⁴² In the case of norms, natural selection occurs when a certain norm is *prominent*, meaning that a norm entrepreneur or other actor is actively promoting the

³⁸ Ibid., 10-11.

³⁹ Ibid., 11.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 12-13.

⁴¹ Florini, “Evolution.”

⁴² Ibid.

norm internationally; is *coherent*, meaning it is seen as legitimate and fits within the existing “rule community”; and emerges in an international *environment* beneficial to the norm.⁴³ Norm evolution can occur either vertically, meaning a norm evolves within one state, or horizontally, meaning that the norm passes from one state to another.⁴⁴ According to Florini, norms are transferred through an “inherently nonrational” process of “simple imitation.”⁴⁵

Florini’s hypothesis is intriguing and likely does an effective job of explaining the rise and fall of norms in the international society. Nevertheless, her theory is not an appropriate framework for this study for three reasons. First, Florini’s framework attempts to explain the evolution of norms in the international system as a whole, while my study seeks to explain the diffusion only of those norms which Chinese officials spoke about when promoting their responsibility on the world stage. Second, Florini seeks to explain a system-wide natural process that determines which norms become widely accepted and which ones become largely extinct, while mine seeks to explain the motivations of an individual norm taker. In other words, Florini’s theory seeks to answer the question of *what* occurs during norm diffusion, while mine seeks to answer the question *why* the diffusion happens in the first place. Finally, Florini’s framework does not suffice for a study on norm diffusion to China, because “simple imitation” does not appear in China’s adoption of norms. Indeed, later chapters will show that China’s decision to make itself responsible to international norms, after refusing to imitate these norms for decades, resulted more from rational choice than Florini or most other constructivists would like to believe.

⁴³ Ibid., 374-377.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 378.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Two studies by Acharya provide greater insight into why and how states adopt international norms, yet even these theoretical frameworks do not entirely match my research question. The first of these, norm localization, hypothesizes that states do not passively adopt international norms, as most of the leading theories state, but rather, actively localize these norms to fit their domestic circumstances.⁴⁶ Localization is a demand-driven process of diffusion, which generally comes about for one or more of the following four reasons. First, norms are sometimes actively sought out and localized in response to an economic or security crisis that exemplifies the need for new “rules of the game.”⁴⁷ Second, norm localization can occur in response to a shift in the international distribution of power or in the interests of great powers.⁴⁸ Third, localization can be a result of domestic political changes within the country adopting the norm, such as when newly-democratic regimes take on norms to legitimize their new identity.⁴⁹ Finally, it can occur more like Florini hypothesized, as a result of what Acharya calls the “international or regional demonstration effect,” in which states borrow new norms through “emulation, imitation, contagion, and so on.”⁵⁰

Acharya’s other theory, norm subsidiarity, is a process by which local actors in third world states create new rules, provide new understanding of existing global rules, or reaffirm and apply global rules to the regional context “to preserve their autonomy from dominance, neglect,

⁴⁶ Acharya, *Whose Ideas Matter?*, 14-15.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 16.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

violation, or abuse by more powerful central actors.”⁵¹ Subsidiarity differs from localization in five key ways. First, subsidiarity is outward-looking, focusing on relations with external powers.⁵² Second, in subsidiarity, actors can be norm makers and norm rejecters as well as norm-takers.⁵³ Third, in addition to localizing global norms, subsidiarity allows local actors to export locally-constructed norms.⁵⁴ Fourth, in subsidiarity, instead of redefining foreign norms to suit domestic needs, local agents reject foreign norms they do believe fit their local situation.⁵⁵ Finally, unlike localization, which is common among all sorts of actors, subsidiarity is specific to third world states, which by definition are more likely to have their autonomy challenged.⁵⁶ Acharya identifies two main reasons third world states engage in norm subsidiarity, namely to challenge their exclusion from the global norm-making process and to challenge what they see as “great power *hypocrisy*” in which powerful actors violate the global norms that these states hold dear and institutions tasked with defending those norms are either incapable or unwilling to prevent the violation.⁵⁷

Norm localization and norm subsidiarity provide interesting angles from which to view China’s decision to adopt global norms and promote these norms as international responsibility. Indeed, the empirical research presented in this study, along with the PRC’s imperfect and often creative compliance with norms makes a case for localization as opposed to full-scale adoption.

⁵¹ Amitav Acharya, “Norm Subsidiarity and Regional Orders: Sovereignty, Regionalism, and Rule-Making in the Third World,” *International Studies Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (March 2011): 96-97, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2010.00637.x/pdf> (accessed December 1, 2012).

⁵² *Ibid.*, 97-98.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 98.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, emphasis in original.

Localization also better fits the Chinese domestic political situation, which does not look highly on foreign ideas and would not readily accept wholesale adoption of such ideas in the mid-1990s and certainly not today. Additionally, although some in the United States might wish to believe that Zoellick's call for China to act as a "responsible stakeholder" precipitated Beijing's adoption of international norms, making him an external norm entrepreneur, the statements and writings of China's political and academic elite both prior to and after Zoellick's speech show that this norm adoption was an active decision, not passive acceptance, by the PRC leadership. As will be shown in Chapters 4 – 6, this decision was rational, and likely can be traced, with varying degrees of exactness, to the rationale Acharya points out in both of these frameworks, namely economic and security crises, shifts in the distribution of power following the end of the Cold War, and, to a lesser extent, domestic changes within China and, in more recent years, attempts to challenge Beijing's exclusion from the norm-making process and to confront great power hypocrisy.

As well as Acharya's norm localization and subsidiarity studies apply to China, however, neither one is a suitable framework through which to judge my hypothesis, because Acharya's studies ask a different research question than the one in this study. This study is not concerned with whether Beijing decided to make itself responsible to international norms through full-scale adoption of these norms or by localization. Rather, it seeks to show *why* Beijing adopted this group of liberal norms in the first place and why it continues to promote these norms as an international responsibility today. While Acharya's localization and subsidiarity studies help by pointing to some of the potential reasons for this adoption to occur, as discussed above, these are not the focus of his studies and, thus, he does not fully investigate the causal reasoning or rationale behind these catalysts. Likewise, while China can be seen, particularly over the past

five to ten years, adding its own norm to the idea of international responsibility, as will be shown in Chapters 5 and 6, this is not the main focus of my study. The purpose of this study is to locate the rational logic by which China's leaders chose to adopt or localize the norms which they speak about in terms of international responsibility, and the logic by which they continue to do so today. A more refined theory particular to my study is needed.

With the exception of Acharya's two frameworks, the greatest flaw most of the existing studies on norm diffusion have is that they reject rational choice, saying it has no role in ideational factors such as norms. A satisfactory theory for studying China's adoption of norms associated with international responsibility would have to be eclectic, showing how realist interests, liberal norms, and socio-cultural conditions within a country combine to drive changes in the risk-benefit calculations, and thus policy choices, of that country's leaders. In other words, this study requires a new perspective of rational interest and its role in norm diffusion.

A New Theoretical Framework

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink's 1998 article "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change" provides one such perspective. Finnemore and Sikkink disagree with the general tendency of scholars to separate constructivist norms from the rational decisionmaking processes described by realist and liberal philosophers, labeling the two as "intimately connected."⁵⁸ Unlike dogmatic realists, however, these authors resist the temptation to focus exclusively on states' maximization of material power, instead adding to the mix powerful cultural and ideational forces such as "emotional appeal" and "moral judgment."⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Finnemore and Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics," 888.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 889.

The result of Finnemore and Sikkink's eclectic theoretical concoction is called "strategic social construction," which they define as the process through which "actors strategize rationally to reconfigure preferences, identities, or social context."⁶⁰ While these actors make "detailed means-ends calculations to maximize their utilities" as a realist would expect, the utilities these actors seek to maximize relate to ideational factors, such as identities, influence, and moral authority, as opposed to strictly material factors such as military might and economic prosperity.⁶¹ From this perspective, states do not always adopt norms for moral reasons; they often do so for rational, even selfish, reasons, which include not only material benefits, but also prominence, international legitimacy, and any number of benefits that might arise from the intrinsic characteristics of the given norm.⁶²

This study will show that China's belated decision to embrace international responsibility—and by extension, the liberal norms this responsibility reflects—has been the product of just the sort of ideational and material "means-ends calculations" to which Finnemore and Sikkink refer. Particularly, the normative shift is the result of what Deng Yong calls "China's struggle for status."⁶³ The decision of the PRC leadership to leap into the formerly forbidden arena of international responsibility is best explained as a desire to create a new identity on the international stage. This identity is often described by Western scholars as that of a "responsible stakeholder" and by the Chinese as a "responsible great power." Of course, China's motivation for reconstructing its identity reaches far beyond a petty desire to be liked; concrete national interests are at stake.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 888.

⁶¹ Ibid., 910.

⁶² Ibid., 906.

⁶³ Deng, *China's Struggle for Status*.

This study's hypothesis essentially maintains that China's decision to embrace international responsibility is part of a public relations (PR) campaign aimed at changing hearts and minds throughout the world in ways that benefit Beijing's interests. At the core of this campaign is China's image, or its identity in the eyes of other participants in the system. Much like corporate PR campaigns, which are designed to mentally and emotionally persuade customers, investors, other companies, and governments to act in ways that benefit a corporation's interests, this Chinese strategy seeks to persuade countries, international organizations, and individual citizens throughout the world to see the PRC in a different light, thus creating an international environment conducive to the realization of Beijing's ambitious objectives.

In seeking support for my hypothesis, this study will show that identity reconstruction is indeed responsible for China's embrace of international responsibility in recent decades. While some liberal scholars in the PRC consider responsibility a moral imperative, the Chinese leadership itself tends to stress the *appearance*, rather than the reality, of acting responsibly. In fact, while Beijing appears to have truly become socialized in most of the liberal norms it has embraced through this process, the way the Chinese government refers to its responsibility varies continuously in accordance with the norms Beijing seeks to emphasize, and the norms Beijing emphasizes vary according to its specific identity objectives, based on national interest. While the country's identity objectives have changed three times since the mid-1990s, the overarching goal has remained constant—to create an international environment conducive to China's rise and to maximize Beijing's influence in the international community.

Before describing the methodology used in this study, it is important to make two observations concerning my identity hypothesis and the strategic social construction theory upon

which it was developed. The first observation is the way in which this theory differs from realism. Some students of international relations mistakenly believe that rational choice is synonymous with realism and, thus, any theory that discusses an actor's making choices to satisfy its rational self-interest is a form of realism. It is true that this hypothesis holds a lot in common with realism, and indeed even many who consider themselves realists do not fully understand that their own embrace of ideational realpolitik crosses the border into constructivism. Chinese realists are particularly vulnerable to this discrepancy, and indeed some of the scholars who most enthusiastically promote the strategy presented here are also among the country's most well-known realists.⁶⁴ While aligned with the basic realist premise of rational interest and realpolitik, however, the idea that abstract notions such as perception and identity can play such a prominent role in a state's risk-benefit calculations does not jive well with the pure realist perspective that material interests trump all else in international politics. While my hypothesis does not discount the key role material interests have played in China's decision to embrace responsibility, it maintains that not all of the interests driving this norm diffusion are material in nature, and many of them are long-term endeavors that may at times appear to sacrifice some of Beijing's material interests in the near-term.

While realists see norms and identities as reflecting the relative power of a given state, strategic social construction presents these ideas and norms as key components of state power. This idea that the presence of certain norms can actually increase a state's relative power is best explained by neoliberal scholar Joseph Nye, who in his landmark 2004 book coined the phrase "soft power."⁶⁵ Recognizing from recent U.S. experiences that even an overwhelming advantage

⁶⁴ See, for example, the various quotes from Yan Xuetong provided in chapter 3.

⁶⁵ Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2004).

in military and economic power no longer guarantees that a state will be able to accomplish its foreign policy objectives, Nye defines *soft power* as the ability to achieve the outcomes one wants by attracting other actors to one's values, culture, or example, without having to rely on threats or payoffs.⁶⁶ In other words, soft power is "the power of attraction and seduction"⁶⁷, by which a state gets other states to genuinely want what it wants without having to force or bribe those states to do what they do not want to do.⁶⁸

The resources of soft power include a country's culture, political values, and foreign policy, inasmuch as the culture, values, and foreign policy are attractive to other countries and the state is seen truly abiding by these principles and values, as opposed to merely promoting them for purposes of propaganda.⁶⁹ This last point is essential to understanding why Beijing actually changed its policy to one of actively seeking responsibilities within the liberal order instead of simply making the case for its responsible nature without changing its behavior. Indeed, soft power requires action in order to be seen as legitimate, and Beijing's policymakers doubtless realized that, if they did not add action to their rhetoric, they would likely never achieve their objectives of creating an environment more conducive to China's rise and maximizing their influence in the international community.

It is also important to note that strategic social construction theory does not stipulate that an actor's compliance with a norm has to be visible 100% of the time. In fact, the manner in which states break their commitments tells as much about their acceptance of the relevant norm

⁶⁶ Joseph S. Nye, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): 94-95, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/25097996.pdf?acceptTC=true> (accessed December 1, 2012).

⁶⁷ Nye, *Soft Power*, 5.

⁶⁸ Nye, "Public Diplomacy," 95.

⁶⁹ Nye, *Soft Power*, 11.

as does the manner in which these commitments are kept. As Finnemore and Sikkink point out, for example, the very fact that the United States feels compelled to rationalize its refusal to rule out the continued use of land mines proves that Washington recognizes the validity of the anti-landmine regime, even though it refuses to sign its name to that norm.⁷⁰ This study will reveal examples of China invoking responsibility to rationalize actions that fall outside the scope of what most in the international system consider “responsible.” The fact that China uses the term in this way shows that, whether or not Beijing has become fully converted to the norms associated with its membership in the international system, it recognizes the importance of these norms, if nothing else, for purposes related to its identity as a “responsible great power.”

Countries break treaties and international regulations every day without feeling any need to rationalize their actions, and this is only natural considering the prevailing notion accepted by most theoretical paradigms that states place their national interests above everything else in international affairs. The fact that China rationalizes some of its actions that run counter to international norms by saying that these actions fit within its international responsibility shows that China recognizes its responsibility to comply with the norms upon which the liberal global order was established and wants others to see it as complying with these norms.

This theoretical background has shown that my hypothesis is neither purely realist, purely liberal, nor purely constructivist. Rather, it takes as its framework an eclectic theory with underpinnings from all three major philosophical perspectives. At its core it is a constructivist theory, because it studies norms and their diffusion across state borders. Norms are a constructivist notion, because they deal with morality—questions of right and wrong—as opposed to simple national interests. The hypothesis also contains liberal underpinnings, because most of the norms reflected in Beijing’s responsible great power narrative are liberal in nature,

⁷⁰ Finnemore and Sikkink, “International Norm Dynamics,” 892.

stressing cooperation, economic interdependence, and participation in international organizations. Another liberal underpinning in this study has to do with Beijing's soft power motivation for pursuing a "responsible great power" image. While it contains some strong constructivist elements, the concept of soft power was developed by one of the founding fathers of the neoliberal movement, and as such falls into the liberal category. Of course, this study does not claim that all of China's interests are of the soft power variety; indeed one of China's main motivations for seeking to develop its soft power relates to its perceived ability to translate this into material power vis-à-vis the U.S. and other global and regional powers. As such, my hypothesis has clear realist—or at least realpolitik—underpinnings. Indeed, this is a truly eclectic explanatory framework that draws from all three leading philosophical traditions. I now turn to a discussion of how this theory will be tested in the coming chapters.

Methodology

This study will test my hypothesis that China's decision in the late 1990s to break with decades of tradition and embrace international responsibility was and is a state-run public relations campaign—a strategic, interest-driven attempt to craft a new national identity, branding itself as a "responsible great power" in the eyes of other nations and peoples. The remainder of this study will examine how this hypothesis holds up both in elite discourse and actual state behavior.

Chapter 3 will provide a framework for understanding the PRC's embrace of international responsibility by examining the academic discourse within China surrounding the "responsible great power" concept since it emerged in the mid-1990s. This chapter will rely heavily on textual analysis of primary sources, mostly from Chinese academic journals and other publications. I will show that Chinese thought concerning the matter is highly fractured, but most

PRC scholars writing about responsibility generally fit into one of three schools, which I call the domestic development school, the public goods school, and the global image school. The domestic development school is made up of realists and nationalists who see China's sole responsibility in the international community as being to provide good governance to its own people, and reject the notion that the PRC has or could at some future time have any additional obligations to the international community, especially if such obligations are decided by some international actor other than the Chinese government. The public goods school is a liberal perspective maintaining that the PRC, along with the other countries in the international community, has an inherent responsibility to contribute to global peace, prosperity, and cooperation. The global image school consists of the adherents of the strategic social construction narrative presented above, which is that by actively fulfilling responsibilities related to its normative commitments to the world community, China can improve its image and, by so doing, create an international environment conducive to China's rise and increase the country's influence within the international system.

The rest of this study will explore the ways in which Chinese government officials and spokespersons refer to international responsibility, and will find that official use of the concept overwhelmingly supports the global image narrative. Official speeches and statements relating to Beijing's international responsibility have evolved over time and can, for the most part, be separated into three periods—the mid- to late-1990s, 2000 through 2008, and 2009 through the present. Chapters 4 – 6 will each be dedicated to exploring official dialogue related to international responsibility in one of these three periods, using both primary source textual analysis and historical context to determine Beijing's motivation for seeking and fulfilling

international responsibilities during that period, whether or not an identity was being constructed, and if so, how this identity relates to China's national interests during the given time period.

I have chosen to use these three periods to test my hypothesis because each of them presents a China facing substantially different advantages and crises from the China of any other period. In the early- to mid-1990s, the Chinese government was mired in a deep legitimacy crisis both at home and abroad, facing numerous sanctions and almost universal stigma due to its handling of the Tiananmen Square incident, and concerned for its survival after the fall of the Soviet Union and the breakup of the Communist Bloc. During this period, China's greatest diplomatic challenge was not so much to gain the support of the international community, a daunting task during that era, but more realistically, to decrease the strength of the international opposition to its rise by neutralizing the so-called "China threat theories," which its leadership saw as an international conspiracy to prevent it from ever rising to great power status. The period from 2000 – 2008 was characterized by a China that had re-solidified its position as a legitimate regional actor and sought to more completely join the ranks of the global powers, a logical next step in its development process. This desire to increase cooperation with the West was met by a demand for Chinese support by the United States and other Western powers in the post-9-11 era. Finally, the current period, which began in 2009, is one in which the Chinese feel like they have attained a high degree of global influence and seek to exercise this influence and increase their freedom of discourse in pursuit of a greater degree of leadership in the regional and global arenas.

The differences in China's relative power and the key challenges it faced during these three time periods resulted in differences in the country's national interests, as well as its decisionmakers' risk-benefit calculations and, thus, serve as an effective laboratory in which to

test whether Chinese analysis and policymaking regarding the utility of international responsibilities changed as the country grew stronger or remained constant over time. This thesis will show that, in each of these three periods, China's decision to take on international commitments related directly to its desire to promote itself as a "responsible great power" in order to improve its international environment and increase its influence in the world system.

These chapters will include both historical analysis and textual analysis. The historical analysis will draw mainly from secondary sources, such as scholarly publications and newspaper and magazine articles, as well as from general knowledge of Chinese and world history, and will seek to recreate for the reader the international environment in which the Chinese government found itself during the period at hand. I will attempt to explain the concerns, interests, and opportunities the PRC faced during these unique periods, and it is against these that I will measure the intent of Beijing's official speech related to international responsibility.

The textual analysis portion of my research will focus on primary sources in the form of PRC official speeches, government publications, and a few state-run media articles, centering on how China's government uses the international responsibility theme in explaining its foreign policy behavior. The data used in this section come from searches of the China National Knowledge Infrastructure's Archives of the Chinese Government, Archives of the Communist Party of China, Database of the National People's Congress, and Database of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Searches will focus on the terms "responsible great power" ("*fuzeren de daguo*," "*fuzeren daguo*"), "great power responsibility" ("*daguo zeren*"), "international responsibility" ("*guoji zeren*"), and the search string "responsible AND great power AND China" ("*fuzeren*daguo*Zhongguo*").⁷¹ In reviewing the speeches and statements

⁷¹ Due to the nature of the China National Knowledge Infrastructure's databases, which require a subscription in order to log in and are constantly being updated, resulting in changing URLs, the links in the citations provided in

found through these searches, I make no attempt to address how responsible China in fact is or how responsible its leadership thinks it is. This study focuses, rather, on how PRC officials *use* the idea of responsibility in discussing their behavior and policymaking, with the belief that a proper understanding of how they use this term under varying circumstances and while speaking to differing audiences will clarify the question of *why* they chose to become “responsible” in the first place.

This study consists of one dependent variable—official employment of the term “responsible great power,” “great power responsibility,” “international responsibility,” or some other rendition of the word “responsibility” as it relates to China’s international policy behavior. Two general independent variables will be used in this study. The first of these is the situation under which the speech or publication was issued, and is studied contextually as an identification of interests, advantages, and disadvantages the PRC faced during the given period. The second independent variable is the audience to whom the speech or statement was presented. This is a dichotomous variable that separates speeches and statements according to whether they were presented to domestic Chinese audiences or foreign audiences, which are defined as audiences in which one or more of those expected to be in attendance is not a Chinese national.

The independent variable examining the situation under which a statement was made is admittedly not as clear-cut or easily measurable as some scholars would prefer, but the textual analysis done here would not be possible without it. The purpose of this variable is to determine the key interests, both material and ideological, that drove China during the period under examination and to explain the relationship between these interests and the particular responsibility narrative China pursued. As such, this variable will help uncover the Chinese

this thesis may not be operable. Nevertheless, all of the materials cited from these sources can be accessed by anyone with a subscription to the given database by conducting a title search, regardless of whether the URL is operable.

government's rational foreign policy objectives at the time the speech or statement was made and, thus, uncover some of the government's motives for acting responsibly in the way presented in the given statement.

The second independent variable—audience—will be the most important variable in this study. I define a domestic audience as one in which the main audience of the speech or written announcement is the government or people of the PRC. While some foreign nationals may be mixed in the audience or may hear or read the words through future reproduction, the words were prepared with a domestic audience in mind, and as such, will be considered domestic in this study. A foreign, or international, audience is one in which the main audience includes nationals or governments not falling under the jurisdiction of the PRC or that belong to the semi-autonomous regions of Hong Kong or Macau. Some Chinese nationals may be present when the words are spoken, or they may read them at a later time, but the main audience for which the words were prepared is non-Chinese.

It is important to note that it was not always readily apparent whether a speech was directed to a foreign or domestic audience. In order not to allow this uncertainty to jeopardize the validity of my research, I did not use those statements for which the destination was unknown, replacing them instead with similar statements made to known audiences, except when the spokesperson or context reasonably appeared to indicate one audience type or the other. For example, where not specified otherwise, I considered statements made by foreign ministers or spokespersons of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to have been made with foreign audiences in mind. This is because, due to the nature of the position, a statement made by a representative of a country's foreign ministry speaking in his or her official capacity can usually be considered to have been prepared with foreign audiences in mind.

With this variable, I seek to determine whether the explanation given for China's accepting international responsibilities is the same or different when presented to differing types of audiences. I assume, and research confirms, that use of the term "responsibility" usually gives the impression of the liberal motives prescribed by the public goods scholars introduced above. It is expected that Chinese officials will almost always speak of their responsibility in a liberal manner when addressing an international audience, independent of their true motive, but one would expect officials to be more candid about their real motives when speaking to a domestic audience, especially if the statement includes instructions or reporting intended for other government officials. Therefore, the liberal null hypothesis will be essentially confirmed if the official responsible great power dialogue is equally profuse with normative commitment when addressing both international and domestic audiences. If use of the concept differs when presented to a domestic audience, however, I will note that difference and pay especially close attention to how officials use the term when addressing these domestic audiences.

My hypothesis that the Chinese government is engaging in a PR campaign to maximize its country's influence in the world by improving its global identity will be supported if officials discuss the ideational benefits of creating a responsible image when speaking to domestic audiences. This is an important variable, and no matter how many academics believe that their country should engage in international responsibility for this reason, it will be difficult to confirm my hypothesis if government officials never recognize that they are following this path.

Following the discussion in Chapters 4 – 6, a summary of my findings will be provided in Chapter 7. In this chapter, I will also suggest implications for policymaking and further research. There, I conclude that the official speeches and statements examined in this study support my hypothesis that China's embrace of international responsibility is a key component of a grand

public relations campaign to maximize the country's influence on the international stage by rebranding its identity as that of a "responsible great power." While this does not by its self imply that China is a dissatisfied rising power intent on revising or overthrowing the global order, it does support the notion that China's leadership is using this PR campaign to mask its true intentions to place itself in a position to have significant sway in the future direction of the global and regional order. Nevertheless, the PRC remains socialized to those international norms which it embraced throughout the course of this campaign, and, thus, is likely to continue exhibiting both revisionist and status-quo characteristics. In general, China can be expected to continue embracing norms that are economic in nature and rejecting those that are more political in nature. Additionally, while Beijing is unlikely to try to overthrow the liberal order that currently provides it so much benefit, the findings of this study indicate that it is seeking greater leadership within this order.

Finally, it should be noted that this is a study on China's embrace of international responsibility only. It should not be read as a comprehensive essay on PRC norm acceptance or Chinese grand strategy. "Responsible great power" is just one of several terms used by the Chinese academic and political elite to define their country to the international community, and all these terms combined compose just a small piece of the PRC's overall foreign policy. It is more than likely that each of these other phrases, such as "peace and development," "harmony," and "international democracy," also have at their core the goal of improving China's image abroad, yet I do not address these concepts in this paper, except to the extent that they occur within the "responsible great power" narrative.

CHAPTER 3

CHINESE SCHOLARS' VIEWS ON RESPONSIBILITY

Zhu Rongji's 1998 assertion that China is a "*responsible* great power" was, at its root, an acknowledgement that states in the international system have responsibilities and that those responsibilities increase as states acquire greater capacity to contribute to this system. Chapter 1 touched briefly on how significantly this idea differs from the prevailing paradigm during the Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping eras. What is surprising, however, is that Zhu's declaration met with virtual consensus among the PRC's political and academic elite. While the Chinese agree to the concept of international responsibility in principle, however, it is important to realize that they do not all agree on how it applies to China. Indeed, Chinese elite discourse is divided among several competing schools of thought, and adherents of these schools perceive both the nature of international responsibility and the importance of fulfilling this responsibility in drastically different ways.

The diversity of Chinese thought is captured well in an article by George Washington University's David Shambaugh that appeared in the Winter 2011 edition of *The Washington Quarterly*. In this article, Shambaugh identifies seven distinct, albeit not mutually-exclusive, schools of thought related to China's global identity, which he helpfully ranks from isolationist to fully embracing of global governance.⁷² These schools include the "nativists," who believe that China should avoid entanglements in what they see as a malicious international community; the "realists," who advise that China should be cautious internationally and act purely in accordance with national interest; the "major powers school" adherents, who believe China should concentrate its efforts on building harmonious relations with either Washington or

⁷² David Shambaugh, "Coping with a Conflicted China," *The Washington Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 10, <http://csis.org/files/publication/twq11wintershambaugh.pdf> (accessed November 28, 2012).

Moscow; the “Asia first” proponents, who see China’s continued development and security as being tied to its immediate neighborhood; the “global south” advocates, who emphasize China’s role in the developing world; the “selective multilateralists,” who feel China should engage in more international cooperative efforts, but only those that have a direct impact on its own national security interests; and the “globalists,” who believe China has an inherent responsibility to use its expanding power to address transnational challenges and contribute to global public goods.⁷³

Shambaugh concludes that neither one of these schools completely dominates the domestic discourse in China, but rather the PRC has become a land of “multiple international identities and a schizophrenic personality.”⁷⁴ While each of the schools enjoys support from influential figures in the academic and political communities, however, Shambaugh finds that the “the center of gravity” is “anchored on the Realists but with strong pull from the Nativists and weaker influence from the Major Powers and Global South schools.”⁷⁵ Sadly, Shambaugh finds that the globalist school has essentially gone silent since 2008.⁷⁶

Shambaugh’s introduction of the various schools of thought paints a clear picture of the divided nature of Chinese thinkers with regard to their country’s international posture and provides an appropriate starting point for my narrower research topic of Chinese views toward international responsibility. For this section, I conducted subject searches on the China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI) database for articles and other publications related to the concepts “responsible great power” (“*fuzeren de daguo*,” “*fuzeren daguo*”), “great power

⁷³ Ibid., 10-21.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 21.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 24.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 23

responsibility” (“*daguo zeren*”), and “international responsibility” (“*guoji zeren*”). As these searches generated more results than could reasonably be processed, I limited my focus to publications in the PRC’s most authoritative social science and IR journals, such as *World Economics and Politics*, *Contemporary International Relations*, and *International Security Studies*, among others.⁷⁷

My research concluded that Chinese academics generally fit roughly into one of three schools of thought, which I introduced in Chapter 2 as the domestic development school, the public goods school, and the global image school. Adherents to each of these perspectives have a unique way of defining China’s responsibility in the international community and why that responsibility is important. These schools are not intended as alternatives or subgroups of any of the schools of thought addressed in Shambaugh’s article; rather, this discussion will show that each of the schools presented by Shambaugh fits into one of the three schools presented in this study.

Furthermore, like Shambaugh’s schools, the groups I present here are not mutually-exclusive. Indeed, in much of the research conducted for this paper, authors appear to argue in favor of more than one perspective in the same article. This is likely due in part to the overlapping nature of many of these schools. For example, when a scholar argues that focusing on domestic development is a morally correct goal because it will help pull much of the world’s population out of poverty or that helping promote a peaceful international environment assists China in achieving its domestic goals, the burden falls on the researcher to determine whether that particular statement best fits into the domestic development or public goods school, if such a

⁷⁷ Due to the high volume of scholarly articles generated even from this narrow search, I selected as a sample size the first several pages of search results based on relevance, in addition to several hard copy articles I found in the George Washington University library’s Global Resources Center. I focused on articles that presented some degree of rationale for why China should or should not fulfill greater responsibilities in the international community.

distinction is even possible. In addition, some of the information used for the descriptions of the different schools presented below comes from supporters of opposing schools providing an overview of their opponents' arguments prior to sharing their own rebuttals. For these reasons, the overviews of the three competing schools may contain some overlap in which one scholar is quoted in conjunction with more than one school. This should not affect the validity of this chapter, which is intended to be a brief overview, not a comprehensive analysis, of the three schools. I now proceed to discuss the three schools.

The Domestic Development School

Adherents of what I call the domestic development perspective of international responsibility believe that a country's sole responsibility is to its own people. This line of thought, which consists of the nativist and part of the realist schools identified by Shambaugh, rejects the idea that other countries or multilateral organizations can assign responsibilities to China or that Beijing should feel obligated to contribute to the international community in order to prove itself a responsible global citizen. The very concept of "great power responsibility" is flawed in their view, as it only serves to bolster the global hegemon's power by compromising the sovereignty of other states, holding those states accountable to so-called "universal" values that were invented by an exclusive group of dominant powers, and ensuring that a nation's relative power remains the key determinant of its position in the international order.⁷⁸ In this regard, the domestic development school adheres closely to the realist interpretation of the origin and role of international norms. Indeed, many in China see Western-defined international responsibilities as part of a U.S. and European plot to constrain China's rise by holding it down

⁷⁸ Yang Cao, "Guoji Zhixu Zhong 'Daguo Zeren' De Kunjing Yu Chonggou" ["The Dilemma and Reconstruction of 'Great Power Responsibility' in the International Order"], *Dangdai Shijie (Contemporary World)* 2011 (11): 48-49, <http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/detail.aspx?QueryID=339&CurRec=1> (accessed December 1, 2012).

in “a variety of foreign entanglements where China does not belong.”⁷⁹ Some even resent China’s self-imposed “peaceful development” strategy, which the country created to allay global unease over its rise, as they feel it “bound China’s own hands and feet.”⁸⁰

While uncomfortable with the term “responsibility,” domestic development thinkers are not opposed to the idea of international responsibility per se; they are just wary of the origin and implications of that responsibility. This is articulately depicted in the pointed words of one Chinese analyst quoted by Shambaugh: “Responsible to whom? To whose standards? The United States? Never!”⁸¹ Indeed, these scholars believe that every country has responsibilities to fulfill, yet they see these responsibilities purely in domestic terms. According to domestic development thinkers, the most important contribution a country can make to the international community is to provide good governance to its own people, thus eliminating or preventing poverty, violence, disease, and other potentially destabilizing factors from originating within its borders and spreading to other countries.

Not opposed to norms per se, these scholars seek to promote norms that benefit the PRC, and often seek to uphold norms that position China’s political, economic, and even military development as responsible policies that will increase the country’s stability and spread benefits to other states in the international system. If China can pull the majority of its people, which compose one-fifth of the world’s population, out of poverty and make them into a prosperous,

⁷⁹ Shambaugh, “Coping with a Conflicted China,” 18.

⁸⁰ Jianfei Liu, “Heping Jueqi Shi Zhongguo De Zhanlue Xuanze” [“A Peaceful Rise is China’s Strategic Choice”], *Shijie Jingji Yu Zhengzhi* (*World Economics and Politics*) 2006 (2): 36, <http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/detail.aspx?QueryID=445&CurRec=2> (accessed December 1, 2012), (original language: *shufu le Zhongguo ziji de shoujiao*).

⁸¹ Shambaugh, “Coping with a Conflicted China,” 18.

civilized society, they say, the whole world will have changed for the better.⁸² One Chinese scholar writes more boldly that China has contributed more to global governance than any other country simply by lifting 400 million people from poverty since the 1990s.⁸³

Thus, according to domestic development adherents, China can and should make significant contributions to global governance and the stability of the international system, but this requires it to build a harmonious society at home, or in other words, contribute by focusing on its own internal affairs.⁸⁴ Of course, pulling the majority of its population out of poverty requires that Beijing resolve any existing threats to its basic security and prosperity, and for this reason, military modernization, economic growth, and progress toward achieving unification with Taiwan cannot be separated from the PRC's so-called international responsibility. Another important ingredient of internal development is to maintain peaceful development with neighboring countries and great powers such as the U.S. and Japan, as Beijing will have a hard time fulfilling its responsibilities to its people in a hostile international environment.⁸⁵

In summary, domestic development scholars see China's responsibility in the international community as significant. Unlike the other schools explored in this chapter, however, they believe China is already fulfilling its responsibilities, and they reject the idea that more responsibilities should be placed upon the country as it becomes more powerful.

⁸² Laiman Su and Sen Ya, "Heping Fazhan Zuo Fuzeren De Dagu" ["Peaceful Development Be a Responsible Great Power"], *Xinjiang Shifan Daxue Xuebao—Zhaxue Shehui Kexue Ban (Xinjiang Normal University Journal—Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)* 29, no. 2 (2008): 67, <http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/detail.aspx?QueryID=517&CurRec=1> (accessed December 1, 2012).

⁸³ Zaibang Wang, "China and Global Governance," *Contemporary International Relations (English)* 17, no. 2 (March/April 2007): 7.

⁸⁴ Wang, "China and Global Governance," 11.

⁸⁵ See Su and Ya, "Heping Fazhan" ["Peaceful Development"], 1-2.

The Public Goods School

Another significant group of Chinese thinkers belong to what I call the public goods school. Public goods scholars agree with Zoellick's observation that much of China's domestic and international success in recent decades has been facilitated by international institutions and that China should become a more active participant in preserving and strengthening these institutions. Public goods scholars consist of Shambaugh's "globalism" school and part of his "global south" and "Asia first schools. As the name implies, the public goods school adheres to liberal notions of absolute gains and mutual benefit through cooperation, and these scholars seek for China to produce public goods, not only in the economic sense but also in areas of nontraditional security such as human security, organized crime, trafficking in persons, and maritime piracy.⁸⁶

Whereas domestic development scholars shudder at the idea that their government might participate in initiatives that provide no direct benefit to their national interest, those of the public goods persuasion see responsibility as being just as important as their domestic initiatives. In fact, some of the same rationale the domestic development scholars use to support their cause is used just as persuasively by proponents of this school to argue the need for more responsible Chinese engagement with the international community. For example, Li Huiming turns the large population argument used so forcefully by the domestic development school on its head by saying, "as the largest developing power, which holds one-fifth of the world population . . . China has an unavoidable responsibility to protect the common interests of the entire human race."⁸⁷ Renmin University's Pang Zhongying, on the other hand, evokes China's other

⁸⁶ Shambaugh, "Coping with a Conflicted China," 20-21.

⁸⁷ Huiming Li, "Leng Zhan Hou Zhongguo Goujian Fuzeren Daguo Shenfen De Beijing Fenxi" ["A Background Analysis of China's Post-Cold War Responsible Great Power Identity Construction"], *Nei Menggu Nongye Daxue*

identity—that of a rising power—in a 2006 *Contemporary International Relations* article, stating that China should match its increasing global power by shouldering more responsibility and turning Hu Jintao’s rhetoric about developing a “harmonious world” into concrete policy behavior.⁸⁸

In contrast to the domestic development scholars who see limited global involvement as beneficial only when it benefits China’s domestic well-being, the public goods proponents call on their government to continue effective policies associated with their country’s “reform and opening” and “peaceful development” because doing so contributes to globalization and benefits other countries, particularly developing countries, making it “an international responsibility that China should fulfill.”⁸⁹ According to China Institute for International Strategic Studies Chairman General Xiong Guangkai, persisting in such policies as peaceful development is “not an expedient, but a serious choice and solemn promise made by the Chinese government and the Chinese people.”⁹⁰

This is not to say that the public goods scholars promote fulfilling international responsibilities that harm their national interest; most are upfront in stressing the important role that domestic policy plays in international responsibility. In fact, the majority of public goods scholars see a country’s responsibility as comprising at least two subunits—domestic and international responsibilities—and as increasing in accordance with a country’s power and

Xuebao—Shehui Kexue Ban (Journal of Inner Mongolia Agricultural University—Social Science Edition) 10, no. 39 (2008): 65, <http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/detail.aspx?QueryID=744&CurRec=1> (accessed December 1, 2012), (original language: *Zuowei yige zhan shijie 1/5 renkou de zui da fazhanzhong daguo . . . Zhongguo dui weihu quan renlei gongtong liyi dou juyou buke tuixie de zeren.*).

⁸⁸ Zhongying Pang, “China’s Self-defined Role in the International System,” *Contemporary International Relations* (English) 16, no. 4 (April 2006): 39-40.

⁸⁹ Li, “Leng Zhan Hou” [“Post-Cold War”], 65, (original language: *Zhongguo yinggai chengdan de guoji zeren.*).

⁹⁰ Guangkai Xiong, “China’s Peaceful Development and International Security,” *International Strategic Studies* (English) 4, no. 86 (2007): 2.

influence. In the words of one scholar, the PRC's two greatest responsibilities are, first, to maintain its own internal stability so as not to become a burden to the international community—a view that loosely echoes that of the domestic development perspective—and, second, to carry out peaceful diplomacy based on the “five principles of peaceful coexistence,” helping other countries to develop as it continues to do so peacefully.⁹¹

Perhaps the most comprehensive account of a public goods scholar's views is seen in a 2003 article by Communication University of China's Xiao Huanrong, who divides international responsibility into three categories—local (domestic), regional, and global—and assigns countries different roles in each of these categories depending on whether they are “average powers,” “regional powers,” or superpowers.⁹² According to Xiao, China is an average power domestically, due to its uneven economic development and persisting security threats around its periphery, and a regional power on the regional and global levels.⁹³ As such, Beijing's key responsibilities are to continue pursuing basic wealth and security domestically, while playing a larger role in global governance, but at the same time focusing most of its international efforts on Asian regionalism.⁹⁴ The importance of regionalism in China's international responsibility is echoed in an article by Xie Wenqing, who maintains that China's very existence as a large Asia-

⁹¹ Liu, “Heping Jueqi” [“Peaceful Rise”], 40.

⁹² Huanrong Xiao, “Zhongguo De Daguó Zeren Yu Diqu Zhuyi Zhanlue” [“China's Duty as a Big Power and the Strategy of Regionalism”], *Shijie Jingji Yu Zhengzhi* (*World Economics and International Politics*), 2003 (1): 46-51, <http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/detail.aspx?QueryID=784&CurRec=1> (accessed December 1, 2012).

⁹³ Xiao, “Zhongguo De Daguó Zeren” [“China's Duty”], 49.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

Pacific country that doubles as a major global power through its permanent seat in the UN Security Council makes it “duty-bound to safeguard regional peace and stability.”⁹⁵

While not all public goods adherents agree with Professor Xiao’s conclusion that China’s greatest responsibility lies at the regional level, most agree that China has a real responsibility to contribute to global peace, development, cooperation, and other liberal norms, and that it does not necessarily have to receive any direct benefit for its contributions to be worthwhile. They also are commonly of the perspective that China’s responsibilities are greater now than they once were and that these responsibilities will continue to increase commensurate with China’s strength.

The Global Image School

The global image perspective of responsible great power thought, seemingly the most successful school in terms of numbers of adherents, agrees with much of what the public goods theorists say about the importance of taking on domestic, regional, and global responsibilities, but adherents of this school differ from the public goods scholars in one fundamental way—these thinkers see the utility of China’s contributions to the international system not in the benefit these contributions bring to the international system, but rather in the positive image they give their country on the international stage. These scholars recognize that it is only natural for other countries to perceive the rise of a country the size of China as a threat to the existing international order.⁹⁶ Furthermore, they recognize that the PRC’s overall power is still relatively weak by global standards, and the only way for Beijing to minimize international opposition and

⁹⁵ Wenqing Xie, “The Security Situation in the Asia-Pacific Region and the Role China Plays in Safeguarding the Regional Security,” *International Security Studies* (English) 2, no. 80 (April 2000): 28.

⁹⁶ Liu, “Heping Jueqi” [“Peaceful Rise”], 40.

accomplish its ambitious international agenda is to convince the world that China is a country that loves peace and is willing to contribute to the international system.⁹⁷

Global image scholars look upon the U.S. rise to global dominance in the 20th Century as an example of the power a good international reputation can have in helping a country as ambitious as China to fulfill its objectives.⁹⁸ In fact, some scholars go so far as to state that creating a good international image has become one of the two most important national interests of China, equally as important as the country's economic interests.⁹⁹ While certainly few scholars would agree that international image can be *more* important than material interests, a defining characteristic of this school of thought is the belief that ideological interests such as identity can be just as important as material interests at times.

On the surface, this notion that an abstract concept such as image can sometimes rival material interests in importance may sound like heresy to the realists who dominate Chinese political thought, yet many of China's realists align with this camp. Yan Xuetong, one of China's most prominent realist thinkers, in 2011 published an opinion piece in *The New York Times*, in which he stresses the importance of moral appeal, which he writes "can play a key role in shaping international competition between political powers—and separating the winners from the losers."¹⁰⁰ In fact, according to Yan, ancient Chinese strategic thought found that "the key to international influence was political power, and the central attribute of political power was

⁹⁷ Ibid., 38.

⁹⁸ Fengchun Lin, "Jiedu Zhongguo De Guoji Nuoyan—'Fuzeren Daguo' De Neihan" ["Deciphering China's International Promise—the Meaning of 'Responsible Great Power'"] (Master's thesis, Jinan University, 2006), 13.

⁹⁹ See Yue Xing and Yijia Zhan, "Xin Shenfen; Xin Liyi; Xin Waijiao: Dui Zhongguo Xin Waijiao De Jianshezhuayi Fenxi" ["New Identity, New Interests, and New Diplomacy: A Constructivist Analysis of China's New Diplomacy"], *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi (Contemporary International Relations)* 16, no. 11 (2006): 21.

¹⁰⁰ Xuetong Yan, "How China Can Defeat America," *The New York Times*, November 20, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/21/opinion/how-china-can-defeat-america.html?pagewanted=all> (accessed November 26, 2011).

morally informed leadership. Rulers who acted in accordance with moral norms . . . tended to win the race for leadership over the long term.”¹⁰¹ These two quotes by Yan reveal more than just an embrace of norms; they betray a rational motive behind this embrace, and that motive is to increase a government’s influence and leadership on the international stage. This increased influence cannot come, according to Yan, from economic or military might alone. To the contrary, Yan states that China’s first priority should be to reform its political and economic conditions at home, shifting its focus away from economic development and toward creating a harmonious, equal society at home and “creating a desirable model at home that inspires people abroad.”¹⁰² In addition, China must exhibit humane authority in international affairs in order to gain more friends abroad than the United States, which Yan says will make conditions right for the PRC to fully rise within the international system.¹⁰³

The philosophy behind Yan’s assertions is that of soft power, which was introduced briefly in Chapter 2. Yan recognizes that it is not enough for foreign governments to hear China preaching moral authority; it must be *seen* as being morally informed and responsible in its actions both at home and abroad in order for the world community to accept its rise to leadership. This strategic imperative to be seen as a morally informed country is at the root of the global image school’s philosophy, and in this regard, proponents of this school agree with the observation of Shambaugh’s so-called “selective multilateralism” scholars that “contributing to global governance is a *tactic*, not a *philosophy*.”¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Yan, “How China Can Defeat America.”

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Shambaugh, “Coping with a Conflicted China,” 19 (emphasis in original).

Philosophers of the global image perspective recognize that China's existing identity is not facilitating its continued rise as a global power. While they disagree heartily with the negative image that they believe was thrust upon them by Western hegemons¹⁰⁵, they recognize that this image matters whether they agree with it or not and that the only way they can change their image is through increased and improved interaction with the world community.¹⁰⁶ After all, if Beijing does not proactively promote the identity it desires, other countries will have no other choice but to create an image of China based on their own perceptions, and the resulting image has historically not been positive.¹⁰⁷ In this way, the global image scholars take a critical introspective look at their country and realize that a significant portion of their country's woes on the international stage result from its own failure to properly define itself to the world. They hope Beijing, rather than letting the existing image become a self-fulfilling prophecy as in decades past, will make up for these past failures by rewriting its identity in a manner that will contribute to its rise in the international system and increase its influence in world affairs.

The precise nature of the image this school seeks to cultivate is a matter of continuous debate within the school itself. In general, however, they tend to converge on the "responsible great power" concept. Just what this means has never been decided, partially because, as Chapters 4 – 6 will show, this image has evolved over time. After all, it is an abstract concept aimed at achieving support for its increased leadership in an international environment that is

¹⁰⁵ Xiao Wang, "Guoji Huayu Quan Yu Zhongguo Guoji Xingxiang De Suzao" ["International Freedom of Discourse and the Shaping of China's International Image"], *Guoji Guanxi Xueyuan Xuebao (Journal of University of International Relations)* 2010 (6): 60-61, <http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/detail.aspx?QueryID=824&CurRec=1> (accessed December 1, 2012).

¹⁰⁶ Qingling Dong and Aihua Li, "Heping, Fazhan, Hezuo: Guanyu Zhongguo Guojia Xingxiang Jianshe De Ji Dian Sixiang" ["Peace, Development, Cooperation—A Few Thoughts about China National Image Construction"], *Lilun Xuekan (Theory Journal)* 2006 (4): 70, <http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/detail.aspx?QueryID=864&CurRec=7> (accessed December 1, 2012).

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 72.

always changing. Therefore, one can only expect the precise nature of what it means to be a “responsible great power” to change based on the evolving environment. In general, most scholars depict the “responsible great power” identity as a three-pronged image consisting of peace, development, and cooperation.¹⁰⁸ This image helps Beijing show the world that it is not a revisionist power seeking to overthrow the system but rather is dedicated to developing within the current system, that its development is not only helping bring its own people out of poverty but also propelling economic development in Asia and throughout the world, and that by working together, China and other countries can cooperate in ways that are mutually beneficial to all involved rather than falling into the trap of seeing international relations through a lens of zero-sum rivalry.¹⁰⁹ While most in this school want China to become more active in seeking and fulfilling responsibilities on the international stage, they caution Beijing to avoid leadership roles in most of its endeavors, fearing that leadership at this point could give credence to the so-called “China threat” theories if interpreted as an attempt by the PRC to increase its authority in the international system.¹¹⁰

Scholars of this perspective believe that coming to be seen as a “responsible great power” abroad will help their country achieve three fundamental objectives, which they see as the basis of the PRC’s continued rise and ability to protect its core national interests. The first objective is in defeating the so-called “China threat theories,” which they say have threatened the country’s continued development since the 1990s.¹¹¹ By engaging in global governance and taking on international responsibilities commensurate with its capability, China can gradually eliminate

¹⁰⁸ See Ibid., 71.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ See Pang, “China’s Self-Defined Role,” 30-32.

¹¹¹ See, for example, Wang, “Guoji Huayu Quan” [“International Freedom of Discourse”], 58.

other countries' fears and create a new international image for itself as a constructive member of the international community, thus vastly reducing the incentive for other countries to balance against its rise.¹¹² Economic opportunities alone will not guarantee against balancing; a positive image is essential.¹¹³

The second objective these scholars associate with a “responsible great power” image is closely connected with the first; it is to preserve the stability of its regional and global environment so it can continue developing peacefully. If China’s rise is seen to significantly disrupt the normal functioning of the international system, as many believe it will, Beijing’s ability to continue its peaceful development within this system will be placed in jeopardy. China’s obsession with “peaceful development” is more than just propaganda; it is an utter necessity for a country that hopes to complete its economic transformation and bring prosperity to its masses. As one scholar notes, the globalized environment in which China finds itself gives Beijing no choice but to develop peacefully; an “unpeaceful” or “semi-peaceful” path to development is not a viable option.¹¹⁴ The Chinese realize that their country’s breakneck development has only been possible thanks to the peaceful, stable environment in which it has occurred and that heightened fears related to its rise have the potential to place this system in jeopardy. The best way to preserve that environment amid China’s ever increasing power is to at least make the world *believe* that it is a key preserver of the existing international system.

The third, and more long-term, objective that Chinese scholars in the global image school attach to the “responsible great power” image relates to their desire for China to have a more

¹¹² See Liu, “Heping Jueqi” [“Peaceful Rise”], 40.

¹¹³ See Wang, “Guoji Huayu Quan” [“International Freedom of Discourse”], 63.

¹¹⁴ Liu, “Heping Jueqi” [“Peaceful Rise”], 39.

prominent voice in the international system. While some scholars refer to “soft power”¹¹⁵ and others write about “global freedom of discourse”¹¹⁶, the general idea these thinkers promote is the same. They contend that a positive global image increases a country’s influence on the international stage, which in turn incentivizes other countries to agree to its diplomatic agenda and gives the country a certain degree of authority in crafting and defining some of the rules and norms by which the international system operates.¹¹⁷ As discussed above, getting other countries to willingly comply with one’s initiatives requires more than a vibrant economy or a strong military; it depends upon real, concrete moral authority, exhibited not just in word, but in deed.¹¹⁸

Significantly, unlike the domestic development theorists and other dogmatic realists, who may see a positive image as a desirable ingredient of fluffy diplomacy but largely unimportant to the economic and security interests that truly determine a country’s national power, the global image scholars see identity as a form of power. In the words of Shandong Normal University’s Dong Qingling and Li Aihua, in contemporary international relations, identity “is not just an instrument of power . . . it is also power itself.”¹¹⁹ The power of which they speak is soft power, a concept that Joseph Nye defined as the ability to get others to want the things you want so that you do not need to force them to do the things they do not want, as quoted in Chapter 2.¹²⁰ While I sometimes describe image and identity as abstract concepts in this paper in order to compare

¹¹⁵ Dong and Li, “Heping, Fazhan, Hezuo” [“Peace, Development, Cooperation”], 70.

¹¹⁶ Wang, “Guoji Huayu Quan” [“International Freedom of Discourse”], 59.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Yan, “How China Can Defeat America.”

¹¹⁹ Dong and Li, “Heping, Fazhan, Hezuo” [“Peace, Development, Cooperation”], 72 (original language: *bujin shi quanli de gongju, tongshi ye shi quanli benshen*).

¹²⁰ See discussion of soft power on pages 15-16.

them with more traditional forms of national power, such as economic and military might, China's global image philosophers view "world image" as actually being somewhat material in nature.¹²¹ Wang Xiao of China's National Defense University calls image and prestige "real strategic national resources" in a globalized world.¹²² Dong and Li further clarify the strategic nature of image by stating that whoever controls the ability to craft a nation's image "has the upper-hand in the international power struggle."¹²³

Once this moral, or "responsible," image has been accepted abroad and China's voice is heard throughout the globe, proponents of the global image school hope their country will use its influence to change the international order and make it more aligned with China's interests as opposed to largely serving the West as they believe it currently does. This idea is expressed to varying degrees by many of the authors cited in this paper, but most plainly so by Yan Xuetong, who in a lecture at George Washington University in late 2011, stated that China prefers "building new buildings" as opposed to "[renovating] old buildings," by which he meant that, when Beijing becomes more involved in global governance, it will prefer to create new institutions instead of reforming the existing ones.¹²⁴ In order to accomplish this and other, more immediate goals, such as a Greater China economic grouping, attracting Taiwan to move closer toward integration with the Mainland, and so forth, it is essential that China be seen as

¹²¹ See Li, "Leng Zhan Hou" ["Post- Cold War"], 67.

¹²² Wang, "Guoji Huayu Quan" ["International Freedom of Discourse"], 60, (original language: *yige guojia zhenshi de zhanlue ziyuan*).

¹²³ Dong and Li, "Heping, Fazhan, Hezuo" ["Peace, Development, Cooperation"], 71, (original language: *shei jiu zhangwo le guoji quanli douzheng de zhigaodian*).

¹²⁴ Xuetong Yan, "Chinese Views of China's Role in Global Governance," speech given at The George Washington University, November 8, 2011, <http://www.gwu.edu/~sigur/assets/audio/2011%20Audio/11.8.11%20Yan%20Xuetong.mp3> (accessed December 5, 2011).

responsible and cooperative throughout the world.¹²⁵ Another scholar correctly states that, since China has no credible hope of matching the U.S. and other competitors in material power, all its government can do to advance its interests in contentious issues such as Taiwan unification, is “cry peace.”¹²⁶ This cry for peace is effective imagery of what the global image scholars hope to do with their country’s identity abroad, and it is this identity that they believe will allow their country to fulfill its diplomatic objectives even as international opposition increases along with the country’s national power.

It is important to note that, while the global image school favors China’s taking large amounts of international responsibility in many areas, this is subject to two conditions. First, adherents of this school agree with the public goods faction’s contestation that a nation’s responsibility depends on its capability to do what is expected of it, which in turn is a function of its comprehensive national power. Thus, scholars of this persuasion expect China to play major international roles in areas where it is strong, such as in economic matters, while rejecting opportunities to cooperate substantially in areas such as security, where the country is still relatively weak.¹²⁷ The other condition is that China is responsible first and foremost to its own people and will accept responsibilities of its own free will when it deems appropriate and not simply when a more powerful state asks it to.¹²⁸ In this aspect, the global image school overlaps slightly with the domestic development school. The two schools differ, however, in that global image proponents have a far wider definition of what benefits the Chinese people, and this

¹²⁵ Lin, “Jiedu Zhongguo De Guoji Nuoyan” [“Deciphering China’s International Promise”], 13.

¹²⁶ Liu, “Heping Jueqi” [“Peaceful Rise”], 38, (original language: *qiu heping*).

¹²⁷ Yan, “Chinese Views.”

¹²⁸ Ibid.

definition includes fulfilling large quantities of responsibilities that neither directly impact the PRC's economic development nor were developed by China.

As mentioned above, this global image school of “responsible great power” thought enjoys many proponents in China, and this has been the case ever since academics first developed the term in the 1990s. While some in China see the importance of great power responsibility through the lens of helping other members of the community, a greater number of them advocate responsibility for rational, self-serving reasons. The national image perspective enjoys the backing of adherents of most of the schools of thought identified by Shambaugh, including some realists, many in the Asia first and global south schools, and essentially everyone associated with the major powers and selective multilateralism schools. Selective multilateralists fit in particularly well with this perspective, as the idea of accepting responsibilities in accordance with national interest is already an integral part of their thinking. Only nativists, with their aversion to any sort of obligation to the international community, and globalists, who see the purpose of responsibility as being to make the world a better place irrespective of China's national interest, fall entirely outside the global image perspective. Not all global image adherents agree on the specific areas on which China should focus its “responsible” efforts, but they are united on *why* these efforts are important. The mainstream Chinese view of international responsibility is thus not one of selfless global harmony but rather one of selfish national interest. It does not matter so much to the Chinese that their country *is* responsible as that it is *seen* by the world as being so.

This chapter has given just a basic overview of the three rich theoretical perspectives that dominate political thought related to the emerging “responsible great power” image in China. At their root, each of the three schools presented here promotes China's accepting international

responsibilities, but they differ in their definitions of responsibility and in the motivations for which Beijing should determine which responsibilities to focus its efforts on. The domestic development school maintains that a country's only international responsibility is to execute effective governance domestically. Any further responsibility should relate to this overall goal and should be decided upon only by the Chinese government. Scholars in this school hold deep suspicion of international responsibility pushed onto China by foreign actors. The public goods school believes that China has a true responsibility to create global public goods, and sees these public goods as the appropriate motivation for Beijing to fulfill responsibilities in the international system. The global image school calls for the adoption of norms for the purpose of constructing an identity that China has created public goods both domestically and globally. They hope this identity will contribute to China's rise by creating an international environment friendly to the PRC, eventually leading to greater international influence within the global system. Of the three schools examined in this chapter, it is the global image school that has the most support among the Chinese academic community.

The remainder of this study will focus on the ways in which international responsibility is discussed by Chinese policymakers and officials both in domestic and international settings. By examining Chinese leaders' use of the terms "responsible great power," "great power responsibility," "international responsibility," and other similar terms since the 1990s, this study will show that the Chinese government, like mainstream scholars, has been focused primarily on improving the legitimacy of its international agenda by promoting China's global image as a constructive, responsible member of the world community, as opposed to producing international public goods per se.

This is not to say that the image China seeks to create has remained constant. Indeed, Chinese leaders' usage of the concept has changed through the years as they have continuously developed and refined the image they seek to project onto the international conscience. When Chinese leaders first adopted the phrase in the mid-1990s, they used it generically, as a way to dispel "China threat theories" by presenting themselves as nonthreatening benefactors of the international order. With the exception of talking about China's successful intervention in the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997, officials raised the concept of responsibility in a largely abstract sense, and made little mention of public goods during this era. The Chinese began to add action to their image campaign after the turn of the century, as Beijing took on one responsibility after another, creating public goods everywhere it went as it sought to convince the U.S. and other great powers that China was not only benevolent; it was an active contributor to the U.S.-led liberal international order. This image changed again starting in 2009, arising in part from China's confidence boost following its rapid recovery from the global financial crisis and the prolonged economic difficulties in the U.S. and Europe, under which circumstances China has begun using its growing influence to construct its own definitions of international responsibility, which it uses both to rationalize what Western countries see as its shortcomings and to criticize other governments that do not comply with its definitions of responsibility. The main strategic goal during this period has been to exercise influence and freedom of discourse in the international community. Thus, one can see that the exact nature of the image Beijing seeks to promote has evolved over the past two decades. All throughout, however, Beijing's strategic objective has remained the same—to transform China's identity in ways that will make it better able to accomplish the strategic goals related to its rise in the international community.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTING CHINA AS A NONTHREATENING, STATUS-QUO COUNTRY

As discussed in previous chapters, the concept of international responsibility did not exist in China before the 1990s. In fact, prior to 1995, most official references to responsibility in the PRC related to the individual responsibility of citizens or bureaucrats and usually appeared in the negative form. For example, it was common to hear Chinese officials criticize as “irresponsible” civil servants caught engaging in corrupt practices or individual citizens failing to abide by the one child policy. Under few conditions did Chinese officials ever employ the idea of responsibility while referring to international affairs. Rare exceptions to this trend included a speech to the National People’s Congress in 1991, in which then-Premier Li Peng highlighted the PRC’s “responsible” policy toward the Persian Gulf crisis, which was to join with the international community in condemning Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait and do what it could diplomatically to help prevent an escalation of the war.¹²⁹

Beijing began actively referring to its responsibility as a state in the international system in 1995, and especially following the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997. Although the sheer number of references to the PRC’s responsibility in the international system lagged far behind that of later periods, clear patterns in its usage during this period show that this concept fulfilled a conscious role in Beijing’s foreign policy in the mid- to late-1990s.

This chapter will explore the ways PRC officials applied the concept of international responsibility to their country’s foreign policy behavior between 1995 and 1999. In so doing, it will show that Chinese official employment of the concept during this period reflects a desire by

¹²⁹ “Guanyu Guomin Jingji Yu Shehui Fazhan Shi Nian Guihua He Di Ba Ge Wu Nian Jihua Gangyao De Baogao (1991)” [“An Outline Report Regarding the National Economic and Social Development Ten Year Plan and the Eighth Five Year Plan (1991)”], Archives of the Chinese Government, March 25, 1991, http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=440&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE*B4%F3%B9%FA*D6%D0%B9%FA (accessed December 1, 2012).

the PRC leadership to remove international attention from Beijing's shortcomings and shift it to the relatively few areas in which China's domestic growth and diplomatic activities had contributed to abstract yet powerful global norms related to peace, prosperity, and stability. In other words, Chinese officials' overt embrace of international responsibility during this time period, which was defined in terms of supporting the liberal international order, was part of a strategic effort to change the PRC's international profile from that of a revisionist, totalitarian pariah state to one of a peaceful, cooperative, friendly international statesman driven more by international duty than by self-serving national interest.

This chapter consists of two main discussions, which test the independent variables introduced in Chapter 2 and support my hypothesis that China pursued international responsibility to create a positive identity in the world community. The first discussion will present an overview of the historical background under which the concept of state responsibility emerged in Chinese official discourse. This background is key to understanding the interests, both material and abstract, that, according to my hypothesis and the policy prescriptions of countless Chinese scholars in the global image school, drove Beijing to seek to reconstruct its identity on the world stage. In other words, this first section will identify the motivating forces driving Beijing's overall diplomatic strategy, irrespective of whether or not my hypothesis is accurate. This section will fulfill two roles. First, it will further reinforce the observation made in Chapter 2 that Beijing's decision to embrace international responsibility cannot be explained as a pursuit of material economic and military interests alone, as some of the "responsible" actions in which Beijing engaged did not directly benefit, and at times even threatened, Beijing's security and economic goals in the near-term. Even more importantly, by expounding on Beijing's

ideational and material interests in the 1990s, this section will provide a controlled laboratory in which to test my hypothesis.

With the laboratory established, the second section will test the variables. This section will evaluate statements Chinese officials made about international responsibility between 1995 and 1999. This section is subdivided into two parts—one reviewing speeches and statements made to international, or non-Chinese, audiences, and the other exposing official discourse presented to domestic audiences, which consist mainly of Chinese journalists and fellow Communist Party or government officials. This section will show that the way Chinese officials spoke about responsibility during this period varied significantly depending on their audience. The identity presented to international audiences portrays responsibility to the norms and interests of the existing global order as a goal to which all regional or global powers must aspire, and appears highly consistent with the aims of the liberal public goods scholars. When the same officials speak to domestic audiences, however, they refer to responsibility more as a tactic, or a means through which to manipulate international opinion in pursuit of rational goals, making them appear more aligned with the global image school of Chinese responsibility. Assuming that Chinese officials speak more candidly among each other than they do to the governments and media reporters of other countries, I will conclude that official discourse during this period supports my hypothesis that China's embrace of international responsibility in the 1990s reflects a strategic imperative to change its international image, rather than a normative commitment to make the world a better place.

A brief concluding section will bring together the historical and textual analyses of the preceding sections to summarize the contents of the identity narrative that Chinese officials promoted in the 1990s. This brief conclusion will show that the PRC leadership's initial decision

to embrace international responsibility starting in 1995 arose not from actual commitment to the related norms per se, but rather a desperate effort to improve the country's security landscape by delegitimizing suspicions and fears related to its rise and earning friends—or at least weakening the ire of its enemies—by presenting itself as both harmless and helpful to the goals and interests of its neighbors and of the world's global powers.

Struggling for Survival – China's Security Challenges in the 1990s

When the PRC leadership first began speaking about international responsibility in the mid-1990s, they did so under a historical backdrop which threatened both their legitimacy and their very survival in the international system. The early 1990s were dangerous years for the PRC leadership, as communist governments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe collapsed, the United States' strategic interest in China as a balancer against the USSR dissolved, and Beijing faced continuing international stigma caused by its brutal suppression of the Tiananmen Square protests in 1989. To make matters worse, China seemed to be filling the void left by the USSR as the greatest perceived threat to the Western-led international system.

Adding to this dilemma, the development-driven Chinese leadership was reaching a pivotal stage in their modernization strategy which, if not handled properly, threatened to derail Beijing's relationship with Washington even further. After previously drawing resources away from the military to promote economic growth in keeping with the 1978 Four Modernizations policy, Beijing had once again begun the process of modernizing its military. China's leaders perceived the suspicion Western powers and Asian neighbors had toward the PRC and knew that this suspicion would only grow stronger as the country's economy and military might increasingly became a force to be reckoned with. To close down its military modernization program would not only leave China at the mercy of foreign powers such as the U.S. and Japan;

it would also interrupt the country's modernization program in general, for national defense was one of the four pillars of Beijing's modernization strategy. Thus, China found itself in the predicament of having to balance its pursuit of national security interests against the need to allay the fear and distrust that most of the world felt regarding its intentions.

The domestic development school presented in Chapter 3 would likely echo the realist claim that fear and distrust are bound to exist between established powers like the U.S. and rising powers like China and argue that, as there is nothing Beijing can do to extinguish this distrust, Beijing must speed up the development and modernization of its military. Under such a policy, China might pay particularly close attention to the development of its strategic nuclear arsenal, and might also seek to more effectively seal its borders against potential aggressors attempting to take advantage of it in a time of relative weakness.

In practice, China continued its military modernization and responded to many of its threats in ways that the domestic development realists would have prescribed. It protected its borders and did not shy away from issuing threats to countries by which it felt threatened. Even as Beijing sought to amass and exercise material power, however, it also realized that military and economic might alone would not suffice to keep China safe from potential aggressors. No matter how quickly the PRC developed into a military power, it would be decades before the People's Liberation Army (PLA) was in a position to rival the U.S. and its allies, and as long as Beijing could not pose a sustained threat to its potential allies, it would never be secure under the existing diplomatic environment. Another source of power would be needed in order for China to keep developing into a world power.

Unlike the domestic development and other realist-leaning schools that concern themselves mainly with instruments of material power, the Chinese government realized that its

security and other interests depended as much on image and perception as it did on raw military and economic might. Therefore, in addition to continuing full-force with its military modernization, Beijing began during the mid-1990s to engage in cooperative, even conciliatory behavior and promote its image as a “responsible great power” that is dedicated to preserving the status-quo of the existing international order. As this chapter will show, this attempt to alter the way the international community saw the PRC was not an empty propaganda campaign, but was rooted in actual policy implementation that, while requiring significant effort on the part of the Chinese government, often provided little direct benefit to China’s short-term economic and defense interests. In fact, some of these actions officials engaged in for this purpose actually placed the country’s material interests in jeopardy. This was most clearly the case during the Asian Financial Crisis (AFC), in which both Chinese and foreign analysts maintain that Beijing’s “responsible” decision not to devalue the *Renminbi* could have had negative repercussions for the country’s economic growth.¹³⁰ More broadly, Chinese officials put at risk one of their country’s most treasured interests and one of its favorite international norms—sovereignty—each time they referred to “duties” or “responsibilities” in such a way as to imply that the PRC could be held accountable for its actions to a country or international body other than its own government.

Indeed, despite the fact that the PRC during the 1990s appeared to be just as much of a realist country driven by quantifiable security interests as in previous decades, the leadership in Beijing began during this time to present their country to the international community in a way

¹³⁰ See Steven Mufson, “China Not Going to Devalue Currency, U.S. Official Says,” *Washington Post*, February 16, 1998, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpshr/inatl/longterm/china/stories/devalue.htm> (accessed October 31, 2012);

“Zhu Rongji Huijian Ao’erbulaite” [“Zhu Rongji Meets with Albright”], Archives of the Communist Part of China, May 1, 1998.

that had never been witnessed before, and this change was so salient that it actually found its way into key policy decisions. The fact that Beijing engaged in international responsibilities not directly aligned with its immediate economic and security interests shows that its leadership did not adhere to the policies of the domestic development school. Thus, only two possible explanations exist. One possible explanation is that the neoliberal philosophical thought advanced by the public goods school crept into the hearts of the PRC leadership during this period and began to shape the words and actions of the country's senior officials.

The other possible explanation is that, unlike pure realists, PRC officials saw their security interests as dependant on more than just material interests. Chinese scholarship asserts that, facing the security threats described above, the CCP leadership determined that, in order for China to continue on its trajectory of peaceful development, it must eliminate foreign suspicions and fears, and to do this, it must first develop a new identity with which to market itself both to its neighbors and to major global powers like the United States. The answer, they concluded, was to remake their country's international identity into that of a cooperative, constructive, "responsible great power."¹³¹ Research for this section confirms this to be the avenue Beijing took. In other words, the PRC's policy shift in favor of responsibility during the 1990s was not a moral, but a strategic imperative—China had to eliminate Asian and Western fears of its rise, and the only way officials found to do that and still continue developing according to the priorities indicated by the Four Modernizations policy was to recreate its image into that of a status-quo power that acts in ways considered responsible by the international system.

Responsibility as a Strategy of Appeasement – the Crafting of an Identity

Compared with later periods, Chinese official references to international responsibility were underdeveloped during the 1990s and were generally used reactively or following rare

¹³¹ Lin, "Jiedu Zhongguo De Guoji Nuoyan" ["Deciphering China's International Promise"], 11.

diplomatic victories abroad. This is partially due to the fact that the “responsible great power” concept—and the idea of international responsibility in general—did not enter the Chinese psyche until the mid-1990s, and officials naturally had to go through a socialization process before this concept could begin to take root. It also likely resulted in part from the fact that China still had not risen to the degree of economic and political importance that it started to have in later years, and this relative unimportance allowed it the luxury of remaining relatively passive in how it engaged the world.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the data used in this section come from searches of the China National Knowledge Infrastructure’s Archives of the Chinese Government, Archives of the Communist Party of China, Database of the National People’s Congress, and Database of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference. Searches focused on the terms “responsible great power” (“*fuzeren de daguo*,” “*fuzeren daguo*”), “great power responsibility” (“*daguo zeren*”), “international responsibility” (“*guoji zeren*”), and the search string “responsible AND great power AND China” (“*fuzeren*daguo*Zhongguo*”). Searches of these resources found only limited references to these search terms, although the quantity increased several fold in the two more recent periods covered in Chapters 5 and 6.

Despite the small quantity of references compared with later periods, the search results revealed significant patterns in the ways government and party officials referred to international responsibility. For example, it is noteworthy that the concept was generally used during these years only by Beijing’s top leadership, with the bulk of the references coming from Premiers Li Peng and Zhu Rongji and President Jiang Zemin. Very few instances were found of lower-ranking officials speaking of this concept, although both high- and lower-ranking officials employed the concept profusely during later periods. Also, unlike in later periods, usage during

this era related to actions and policies that complied, without a doubt, with the norms and interests either of world powers, of China's neighbors, or of the particular audience the official was addressing. Nowhere are leaders seen during this period invoking state responsibility to rationalize policies or behaviors that did not fit the norms of the international community.

Another important pattern found in this section relates to the way the idea of responsibility appears linguistically. The term "responsible," both in English and in Chinese, can take the form either of a generic adjective free from any assumed commitment or of a concrete duty to adhere to specific obligations or demands. Often when officials referred to the PRC's responsibility in the 1990s, they did so in the generic sense, flaunting the term in a way similar to that of a teenager defiantly referring to herself as a "responsible adult" in order to justify disobeying her parents. While the term was used generically most of the time, however, this chapter will also reveal instances in which Chinese officials referred to Beijing's "responsibilities and obligations," using the word as an acknowledgement that their country had concrete expectations, or duties to fulfill in the international community. The officials usually did not identify these duties by name, but the fact that they accepted the existence of specific obligations shows that Beijing viewed its responsibility in terms of concrete action as opposed to mere rhetoric during this period.

This section will explore Chinese official speeches and statements delivered to both foreign and domestic audiences. It will not address the statements one-by-one, but will instead focus on the general trends. A simple analysis of these trends will show that, while official dialogue offered to international audiences appeared very much in line with the ideology of the public goods school—which supports my hypothesis—official discourse presented to domestic audiences reveals a deliberate strategy to engage in behavior that the international community

considered responsible in order to promote a positive image of the PRC throughout the international community. Thus, the analysis of official speeches and statements presented to both types of audiences supports my hypothesis that China chose to adopt international responsibilities in pursuit of rational objectives—in this case to improve its standing in the international community.

Presenting China's International Responsibility to Foreign Audiences

If this study's hypothesis is true, then China's embrace of international responsibility is essentially a public relations campaign aimed at improving the country's image abroad. This motive is not always readily observable, however, in PRC government speeches addressed to foreign audiences. Indeed, official statements to international audiences in the latter 1990s almost always adhered to liberal norms such as multilateral cooperation and humanitarian aid to struggling countries. It must not be forgotten, however, that this is in keeping with my hypothesis, which states that China will seek to establish such an image in its interactions with the international community.

In general two main trends were found in official statements about China's responsibility directed at foreign audiences in the 1990s. The first of these was the underdeveloped, yet decidedly liberal definition of responsibility, as observed in the officials' general tendency to present China as a liberal, status-quo power, while at the same time presenting this image in extremely vague terms. Even when they referred to "responsibilities" in the obligatory sense, officials tended either to remain mum concerning the identity of these responsibilities or to define the term using abstract concepts such as "peace" and "cooperation," while cleverly steering clear of specific policy imperatives. The second trend, which is closely related to the first, is the fluidity of the message, which varied along with the audience of a given speech. The

fact that the same PRC official can speak of contradicting obligations when addressing different countries is significant regardless of how one interprets China's newfound fascination with this concept.

Most official references to China's international responsibility in the 1990s went largely to the tune of a 1997 remark former Premier Li Peng, who called the country a "principled, responsible, trustworthy country."¹³² These references used the term in the abstract sense, void of obligations, thus allowing decisionmakers the flexibility to promote Beijing's responsible identity without creating expectations for future compliance with specific norms.

Nowhere is this form of the term better illustrated in the 1990s than in the ways Chinese officials spoke about Beijing's "responsible" reaction to the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis (AFC). The PRC's action, which included giving aid to Southeast Asian neighbors hit hard by the crisis and committing not to devalue the *Renminbi*, was addressed briefly in the previous section. What is important here is not what Beijing did, but the way Chinese officials portrayed their policy decision. Following the successful resolution of the AFC, Chinese officials across the board embarked on a diplomatic offensive, highlighting Beijing's actions everywhere they went as proof of the Chinese nation's dedication to preserving regional stability and global prosperity. In essence, officials promoted the AFC as proof that China was no longer the subversive, revisionist power it had been in the 1950s, but that it had developed into a state that is responsible and cooperative, dedicated to promoting the global and regional welfare even when doing so is domestically unpopular or strategically irrational.

¹³² "Jiang Zemin Li Peng Fenbie Huijian Meiguo Guowuqing Qian Qichen Tong Aoerbulaite Huitan" ["Jiang Zemin and Li Peng Meet Separately with U.S. Secretary of State; Qian Qichen and Albright Hold Discussions"], Archives of the Communist Party of China, February 25, 1997, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=237&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA%D6%D0%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012), (original language: *jiang yuanze de, fuzeren de, shouxinyi de guojia*).

This study began with the 1998 statement by Premier Zhu Rongji, widely believed to be the first time a Chinese official uttered the phrase “responsible great power” in public. Before uttering those lines to then-U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Zhu highlighted the risks to which China exposed its economy by refusing to devalue its currency. According to Zhu, the AFC inflicted considerable damage on the Chinese economy, and many saw devaluing its currency as the safest way to recovery. Zhu explained Beijing’s decision not to do what common sense seemed to require with those six simple words cited in Chapter 1: “China is a responsible great power.”¹³³ Equally reminiscent of liberal values was former foreign minister Qian Qichen’s answer to a Singaporean journalist’s question about China’s reaction to the AFC. Qian first reminded the journalist of Beijing’s generous donations to its Southeast Asian neighbors in need, emphasizing the sympathy China felt for the countries affected by the crisis. Following this, Qian portrayed the country’s decision not to devalue the *Renminbi* “a responsible tactic” and “our greatest contribution to resolving this financial crisis.”¹³⁴

Statements like the two presented above abound in the official discourse studied from this period. These statements present the PRC in a very different light from the subversive, xenophobic, and revisionist identity that China had unwittingly constructed during the previous four decades. Nevertheless, these statements of peace, development, cooperation, and responsibility had more in common than just their connection to liberal thought and the theory of global public goods; they also shared a vagueness that, when examined more deeply, erases

¹³³ “Zhu Rongji Huijian Ao’erbulaite” [“Zhu Rongji Meets with Albright”], Archives of the Communist Part of China, May 1, 1998, (original language: *Zhongguo shi yi ge fuzeren de daguo*).

¹³⁴ “Zai Jiu Jie Renda Yi Ci Huiyi Jizhe Zhaodaihui Shang Qian Qichen Tan Guoji Xingshi He Zhongguo Duiwai Zhengce” [“During the Press Conference of the First Session of the Ninth National People’s Congress, Qian Qichen Discusses the International System and Chinese Foreign Policy”], Database of the National People’s Congress, March 13, 1998, <http://58.68.145.22/directLogin.do?target=109> (accessed July 30, 2012), (original language: *yi zhong fuzeren de zuofa; women dui huanjie zheci jinrong weiji de zui da gongxian*).

much of the greater meaning of what these officials said and of the policy victory upon which their statements were based.

The vagueness of these statements puts into question just what Chinese officials saw as their state responsibility during this period, or even if they thought the PRC has any responsibilities at all. No Chinese official is on record stating that Beijing had the responsibility not to devalue its currency when financial crises hit. Such an assertion would engender a sense of obligation that would make it easier to convince the world of China's sincerity, but would also weaken Beijing's freedom of choice the next time a similar crisis occurred. Thus, "responsible" is used here mainly as an adjective, as if to say that China, because it is responsible, thought about the situation, weighed the pros and cons of its various policy options, and ultimately chose the option that provided the greatest benefit to the regional community. While this may be what China did, it gives little indication of how Beijing will act in the next crisis. Lacking a definition of Chinese state responsibility, foreign leaders are just as likely in a future financial crisis to witness the PRC devalue its currency on the grounds that, as the region's most important economy, China has a responsibility to make sure it is not affected by the crisis in a way that will place its economic growth in jeopardy.

Similar liberal but vague usage of the word "responsible" is found in discussions of other Chinese policies and behavior. These include, but are not limited to, Beijing's policies related to national defense, arms control, nuclear strategy, and environmental protection. As with the AFC, official discourse described these policies generically, labeling either the country or its actions as "responsible," but failing to use the term in a way indicative of any specific obligation that could potentially constrain the country's future policy options. This made the responsible identity a hard sell, as the destabilizing factor of uncertainty regarding how Beijing would act in the future

still existed in the minds of foreign powers. Nevertheless, these statements and actions did cause foreign peoples and governments to take a second look at China, and this was especially the case with Southeast Asian states in the direct aftermath of the AFC.

Even when Chinese officials spoke of state responsibility in the obligatory sense of having “responsibilities” or “obligations,” they defined these obligations in vague terms that left wide open policy options, allowing Beijing to employ *realpolitik*, neomercantilism, and other policies out of line with international norm, as long as it could rationalize the behavior. For example, during a ceremony to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the United Nations in 1995, President Jiang Zemin spoke to the international community about what he termed China’s “international responsibilities and obligations.”¹³⁵ Jiang never actually revealed the identities of these obligations, and instead described them in terms of lofty liberal goals such as mutual benefit, friendship, cooperation, international peace and development, and security.¹³⁶ Employing the concept as a noun—*responsibility*—rather than simply an adjective—*responsible*—seemed to make state responsibility more concrete and tied to specific types of behavior, yet this behavior is never clearly defined. Perhaps the only time a Chinese leader spoke of responsibility in a truly concrete manner occurred when National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) Chairman Li Ruihuan, in a 1998 meeting with the Spanish Prime Minister, did not specifically state, but nevertheless alluded to, the idea

¹³⁵ “Rang Women Gongtong Dizao Yi Ge Geng Meihao De Shijie” [“Let Us Jointly Create a Better World”], Archives of the Communist Party of China, October 24, 1995, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=64&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed December 1, 2012), (original language: *guoji zeren he yiwu*).

¹³⁶ “Rang Women Gongtong Dizao Yi Ge Geng Meihao De Shijie” [“Let Us Jointly Create a Better World”], Archives of the Communist Party of China, October 24, 1995.

that, the PRC had the responsibility to continue opening up its economy to the international community.¹³⁷

Thus we see that, during the latter half of the 1990s, Chinese official discourse presented the country's responsibility both as an identity and as an imperative. While both types of usage presented the country to the world community as a liberal, cooperative power, they lacked hard and fast definitions of the specific responsibilities China must fulfill, showing that the Chinese leadership either was not serious about the term or still was not sure which responsibilities it was willing to accept.

The second trend observed in the 1990s is the radically different message Chinese officials presented to different foreign audiences when discussing responsibility. For example, President Jiang's speech to the United Nations in 1995 and Premier Zhu's 1998 speech to the United States, both highlighted above, painted a clear picture of a country dedicated to policies that favored the Western-dominated international system. In 1996, however, the same Jiang Zemin who spoke so highly of peace, stability, and cooperation to the United Nations body a year earlier and who spoke repeatedly in favor of the global status quo in the months and years that followed, described China's responsibility in a completely different way when addressing an Egyptian audience. During a press conference connected to Jiang's visit with the president of that country, Jiang responded to an Egyptian reporter's question about China's international role by portraying the PRC essentially as a representative of the unsatisfied developing world. After reviewing the PRC's credentials as both a developing country and permanent member of the UN

¹³⁷ "Li Ruihuan Yu Xibanya Shouxiang Huijian" ["Li Ruihuan Meets with the Prime Minister of Spain"], Archives of the Communist Party of China, May 23, 1998, http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=234&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE*B4%F3%B9%FA*D6%D0%B9%FA (accessed December 1, 2012).

Security Council, Jiang stated that Beijing “thoroughly comprehends”¹³⁸ its “responsibilities and obligations”¹³⁹ to the world, which include “the opposition of hegemonism, power politics, and all unjust and unfair behavior in the international community.”¹⁴⁰ This remark essentially contradicted everything that PRC officials—including Jiang himself—had previously stated to Western audiences, as well as much of what they would later say regarding their sense of responsibility to the world. When addressing the U.S. and other nations heavily invested in the existing international order, Chinese leaders presented themselves as co-beneficiaries and loyal preservers of the same order they appeared intent on changing when speaking with their Egyptian counterparts.

These two statements appear contradictory when viewed from the angle of China’s norms, but not so contradictory when seen as reflections of the norms of China’s opposing audiences. These two statements show the same China attempting to build rapport with two very different audiences—one that is completely vested in the existing international system and that will choose its friends and enemies based on their stances toward the preservation of that system, and another that wants to gain a greater piece of the international economic and political pie but needs powerful friends to push against certain aspects of the existing global system in order to do so. In both cases, China presented itself as a friend and partner to the government it was addressing.

¹³⁸ Original language: *chongfen yishi dao*.

¹³⁹ Original language: *zeren he yiwu*.

¹⁴⁰ “Jiu Zhong Ai Guanxi Zhongdong He Guoji Xingshi Deng Jiang Zemin Jieshou Zhong Ai Jizhe Caifang” [“Jiang Zemin Accepts Chinese and Egyptian Media Interviews Regarding Sino-Egyptian Relations, the Middle East, and the International Situation”], Archives of the Communist Party of China, May 16, 1996, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=62&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed December 1, 2012), (original language: *wei fandui baquanzhuyi, qiangquan zhengzhi he guoji shehui zhong yiqie bu gongzheng bu heli de xingwei, zuochu jiji de gongxian*).

In summary, Chinese officials spoke to international audiences about their country's international responsibility in liberal, yet vague, terms during the latter half of the 1990s. While there is little doubt that the Chinese leadership saw international responsibility as important, and in fact many of their speeches flowed with liberal norms, in only one case did they bind themselves down to specific policy decisions, and even then, the decision to deepen economic opening had already been made years previously, and the commitment promised through the statement was weak. Even when officials spoke of "responsibilities" in the obligatory sense, these obligations were abstract and normative in nature, and generally changed to fit the norms of the audience of the given speech. Despite the vagueness, however, it is clear from the statements examined in this section that officials were speaking of responsibility in an effort to present their country in a positive light to the international community.

Presenting China's International Responsibility to Domestic Audiences

Chinese leadership speeches to domestic audiences in the 1990s took a decidedly different tone than those designed for international audiences and, in so doing, provided firm support for my hypothesis. While speeches to international audiences generally took a normative tone, stressing the PRC's commitment toward the international community, domestic statements in the 1990s stressed the self-serving rationale behind the PRC's responsible activity abroad. While speeches to foreign audiences stressed commitment, those to domestic audiences stressed interests; where those to foreign audiences highlighted responsibility itself, those to domestic audiences highlighted the need to create a responsible *image*, or *identity*.

In only a few cases, such as the 1991 Gulf War statement presented at the beginning of the chapter, which occurred years before the responsible image strategy was conceived, did a Chinese official present responsibility in non-self-serving terms to a domestic audience. Most of

the time officials spoke to domestic audiences about the need to comply with international norms or responsibilities, they used as their rationale the benefit of creating a responsible identity as a tactic for fulfilling China's rational interest where traditional realist policies failed to do so. Thus, the statements examined in this section not only support my hypothesis; they are almost word-for-word reiterations of my hypothesis. As in the last section, only a few of the many statements directed to domestic audiences in the 1990s are provided here. Those provided have been carefully selected to represent the full sample of references found from this time period.

The difference between speeches to domestic versus foreign audiences is most pronounced perhaps in the official reactions to China's response to the AFC. While official statements to international audiences about Beijing's reaction to the AFC tended to brim with liberal philosophy and normative appeal, in not one of the statements to domestic audiences was there much indication of true concern over anything other than China's interest. To the contrary, these statements almost always based the success of China's reaction to the AFC on the value it added to Beijing's international image. For example, in 1999 during the Second Session of the Ninth National People's Congress, one Chinese official hailed China's "responsible" actions during the AFC for "[winning] the praise of the world."¹⁴¹ That same year, foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan used the AFC as an example, telling a Chinese journalist that, thanks to China's actions during the crisis:

"the peaceful, friendly, cooperative, responsible great power image that China cultivated on the international stage has gained the acceptance of the international community and has earned positive feedback from the governments and people of every country in the

¹⁴¹ "Yangfan Polang Zicong Rong—Daibiao, Weiyuan Tan Yi Nian Lai Wo Guo Waijiao (Liang Hui Tegao 7)" ["Setting Sail Calmly—Representatives, Committee Discuss Our Country's Diplomacy Over the Past Year (NPC-CPPCC Special Draft 7)"], Database of the National People's Congress, March 4, 1999, <http://58.68.145.22/directLogin.do?target=109> (accessed July 3, 2012), (original language: *yingde le jushi zanyu*).

world. In sum, China's international position is rising, and China's international influence is expanding."¹⁴²

These two statements reveal a motive in China's actions during the Asian Financial Crisis that differs substantially from the motives expressed to international audiences. While the same lofty rhetoric about world peace and cooperation is used in statements issued to both types of audiences, the focal point of statements made to international audiences is on what China can do for the world, while the statements made to Chinese audiences generally come in response to questions about China's well-being and relate to the benefits these actions bring to the country's national image and prestige. These messages are unconcerned with what China's actions meant for the world, except to the extent that the result of its actions increased the country's likeability and helped it gain approval from the world community.

The purpose of placing so much emphasis on the country's image could potentially be the subject of a lively debate, but it is expressed well by former Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade's International Relations Department Long Yongtu. In 1998, a reporter asked Long if China's handling of the AFC would impact its efforts to enter the World Trade Organization (WTO)—a concrete national interest, based on the economic benefits membership in that organization would bring Beijing.¹⁴³ Long responded to the reporter's question by acknowledging that China's entering the WTO depended on the decisions of other

¹⁴² "Tang Jiaxuan Waizhang Zai Jiu Jie Quanguo Renda Er Ci Huiyi Juxing De Jizhe Zhaodaihui Shang Jiu Guoji Xingshi He Zhongguo Waijiao Zhengce Deng Da Jizhe Wen" ["During Press Conference Held at the Second Session of the Ninth National People's Congress, Tang Jiaxuan Answers Reporters' Questions About the International System and China's Foreign Policy"], Database of the National People's Congress, March 8, 1999, <http://58.68.145.22/directLogin.do?target=109> (accessed July 3, 2012), (original language: *Zhongguo zai guoji shang suo shuli de heping, youhao, hezuo, fuzeren de daguo xingxiang yijing dedao guoji shehui de gongren, shoudao shijie ge guo zhengfu he renmin de haoping. Zongzhi, Zhongguo de guoji diwei zai tigao, Zhongguo de guoji yingxiang zai jin yi bu kuoda*).

¹⁴³ "Jiu Jie Renda Yi Ci Huiyi Juxing Jizhe Zhaodaihui Jieshao Wo Guo Duiwai Jingmao Qingkuang" ["Introducing Our Country's International Economics and Trade Situation in the Press Conference for the First Session of the Ninth National People's Congress"], Database of the National People's Congress, March 10, 1998, <http://58.68.145.22/directLogin.do?target=109> (accessed July 30, 2012).

countries; nothing China did could directly speed up the process of its admission into that international body.¹⁴⁴ The value of promoting China's reaction to the AFC is that this reaction shows the world that China is a responsible member of the international community, that it keeps its commitments, and that it is willing to take the difficult road and act responsibly even when things are not going the way the PRC would prefer.¹⁴⁵

In other words, the Chinese leadership have no illusions about their inability to rise within the international community on their own. They cannot rise beyond the level permitted by the current global power brokers. This being the case, one of the Chinese government's tasks is to influence the perceptions these power brokers have of the PRC. To do this, they must create a positive image, or identity, in the minds of foreign peoples and governments, and China made substantial progress in this regard by portraying itself as "responsible" in the wake of the financial crisis. Long made this clear in his statement, and in so doing, he also indicated that, no matter what other motivations Beijing might have had, one of its main impetuses for responding to the AFC in the responsible way that it did had to do with the ideational and, indirectly, the material benefits China would receive from its actions.

Of course, domestic references to international responsibility were not limited to talking about the AFC; any area where Beijing succeeded at gaining favor with the international community played a part in its strategy, and officials referenced several of these areas in their speeches to domestic audiences. Just one of the many examples found occurred when former governor of Guangdong Province Ye Xuanping praised China's expanding diplomatic outreach, showing that the "responsible great power" image has helped the country benefit from increasing

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

numbers of official visits with other countries.¹⁴⁶ Like the others, this statement lauded China's outreach not for what it did for the world, but for what it did for China. Nevertheless, the outreach did not directly affect China's material power; rather, it helped create an identity which, in turn, increased the country's international prestige.

As with the international speeches, there were some outliers from the general trend. In the latter half of the 1990s, only one speech was found in which officials spoke to a domestic audience about international responsibility while emphasizing China's responsibility to provide for global public goods instead of emphasizing the beneficial image engaging in such responsibilities brings to China. This speech occurred in 1996 when Jiang Zemin spoke to senior CCP leadership about China's "international responsibility" to pursue a more peaceful, stable, and fair international political-economic order.¹⁴⁷ This, like Jiang's speech in Egypt, displays at least an outward normative commitment.

This normative commitment is liberal at its core, yet not liberal in a way that is necessarily welcomed by the West. While the West wants China to be absolutely loyal to the international system as it now exists, this statement reveals a normative commitment to make that system friendlier to developing countries, putting it more in line with the ultimate goal of the Chinese government to gain greater freedom of discourse by which to mold the future international community in a way that benefits China. As such, Jiang's authoritative call to active

¹⁴⁶ "Zhongguo Renmin Zhengzhi Xieshang Huiyi Di Jiu Jie Quanguo Weiyuanhui Changwu Weiyuanhui Gongzuo Baogao (1999 Nian 3 Yue 3 Ri Zai Zhengxie Di Jiu Jie Quanguo Weiyuanhui Di Er Ci Huiyi Shang)" ["Work Report of the Standing Committee of the Ninth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (March 3, 1999 During the Second Session of the Ninth National Committee of the CPPCC)"], Archives of the Chinese Government, March 3, 1999, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=125&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed July 3, 2012).

¹⁴⁷ "Zhonggong Zhongyang Juxing Guojifa Zhishi Jiangzuo" ["CCP Central Committee Holds International Law Lecture"], Archives of the Communist Party of China, December 10, 1996, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=61&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed July 3, 2012).

responsibility could still support my hypothesis by showing that the motive for China's identity construction existed, even if Jiang did not mention the identity in his speech. Doing so could be a stretch, however, and reading between an official's lines would only serve to weaken my argument. Thus, for the purpose of this study, I will assume that this is an outlier. As the only domestic reference to international responsibility in this period that fails to conform with my hypothesis that Chinese leaders will emphasize ideational and material national interests, as opposed to actual commitment, when discussing responsibility domestically, this outlier does not jeopardize the validity or reliability of this chapter's other findings. It does, on the other hand, provide further evidence that the PRC leadership were not as committed to sustaining the international status-quo during this period as they portrayed themselves as being when addressing their Western counterparts.

Conclusion – China's Identity in the 1990s

This chapter has shown that, with the exception of the statement by Jiang Zemin discussed in the previous two paragraphs, essentially all observed Chinese official references to international responsibility in the latter half of the 1990s either support or fail to contradict my hypothesis that the China's decision to embrace responsibility was part of a strategy to reconstruct its identity, or image, in the international community. This chapter also has shown a specific identity that the Chinese government sought to establish in the 1990s and the initial motivation it had for pursuing this identity.

The discussions above show that one of the Chinese government's main interests in the 1990s was to completely change the PRC's global image. In an attempt to discredit the China threat theories, gain friends in its home region, which was dominated by the U.S. and Japanese influence, and dismantle great power opposition to its rise, Beijing sought out to transform

China's image from that of a self-absorbed, revisionist country driven by Maoist ideology to subvert the global capitalist order into that of a helpful, cooperative country that bases its important policy decisions on the norms and interests of the overall world community rather than its own interests and ideology. While this image would become stronger and more active in the succeeding decades, during this period, the Chinese sought only to present themselves as a friendly, nonthreatening benefactor of the international community. Only in so doing could they hope the international barriers built up against their rise would eventually fall.

Overall, one can conclude that China accomplished its objectives during the 1990s, albeit to a limited extent. While it failed, due to the vague nature of its normative commitment, to completely transform its image and convince the world that it had truly internalized its rhetoric about peace and cooperation, Beijing's reaction to the AFC did provide its neighbors with first-hand experience of the ways a strong China can contribute to the global and regional welfare.

The next period would bring the world transnational security challenges that all the Western powers combined could not manage to resolve on their own, and with these challenges, Beijing would have an opportunity to prove its worth to the international community in ways it did not even attempt in the 1990s. It is to this second period, 2000 – 2008, that we now turn.

CHAPTER 5

THE CLIMAX OF CHINESE RESPONSIBILITY

The years 2000-2008 will likely go down in history as some of the greatest years of Chinese diplomacy and the heyday of Beijing's "responsible great power" narrative. While the idea of state responsibility was underdeveloped and underrepresented in PRC official discourse in the 1990s, during the nine years covered in this chapter, one rarely finds a speech by a Chinese official that does not include at least some sort of reference to Beijing's obligations abroad. Along with this trend, one sees a sharp increase in the occurrence of the words "responsible great power" and the other search terms used in this study, such that references examined for this timeframe increased several fold over the previous period.

These trends come as no surprise, considering the intensity of Beijing's diplomatic efforts during this time period. Indeed, the years leading up to the 2008 Beijing Olympics were an exciting and hopeful time for China scholars everywhere. While there certainly were sore spots in the PRC's relationships with the U.S. and other world powers during this period, overall Beijing managed to integrate its fate with that of the greater global community more between 2000 and 2008 than at any other time in its long-lived civilization. It was during these years that the PRC accomplished its long-standing goal of joining the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. The WTO appeared to be somewhat of a doorway for Chinese international integration; following its admittance into that grouping, the country continued joining organization after organization, such that by the time it hosted the Olympics in 2008, there was scarcely an institution to which China was not a party.

In regional diplomacy, Beijing managed during these years to practice a policy of give and take, resulting in the resolution of long-standing border disputes with Russia and Vietnam, among other neighbors. Globally, the PRC looked past a series of recent crises in Sino-U.S.

relations and an overwhelming distrust toward President George W. Bush and stood by America's side in the post-September 11 War on Terror, a move that opened further diplomatic opportunities for Beijing. Relations warmed with Western Europe as Beijing essentially formed a coalition with the main players in that region to oppose the U.S. decision to invade Iraq. Yet, Beijing did not allow this coalition to sour its relations with Washington. In 2005, as seen in Chapter 1 of this study, Beijing answered the Bush administration's call to be a "responsible stakeholder," and moved immediately to host the six-party talks aimed at preventing North Korea from acquiring nuclear weapons. Indeed, the years 2000 – 2008 were great years for China's relations with both its Asian neighbors and Western powers, especially the United States.

China experienced significant change on the home front also, characterized by looser regulations for journalists, freer access to information via the Internet, and the lowering of trade and business restrictions required by China's membership in the WTO. Those living in China during this time experienced perhaps the most open society that country has ever had, as education and clean-up campaigns throughout its major cities aimed to prepare the nation to host visitors from all over the world during the 2008 Olympics and 2010 World Expo. At no time before or after this period was Beijing such a welcome place for foreigners and Westerners in particular. During these years, the country's state-controlled news media seemed fixated on ideas such as becoming a "globalized country"¹⁴⁸ and "coming into compliance with international standards."¹⁴⁹ Indeed, the Beijing of this period, like no other period before, seemed poised to become responsible, great, and powerful in every sense of these words—a modern nation, fully integrated with the international community and dedicated to preserving the status-quo of this

¹⁴⁸ Original language: *quanqiuhua de guojia*

¹⁴⁹ Original language: *yu guoji jiegui*

community. It is little wonder that these were the years when academia began producing wholesale studies on China's identity as a status-quo power.¹⁵⁰

From this background, it is also little wonder that Chinese officials spoke so much about international responsibility during this period. A lot can be said about the patterns present in official discourse regarding state responsibility during these years, much of which would make for interesting studies. For the purposes of this paper, however, three trends are particularly prominent and pertinent to the research question. These are the ways officials defined their country's responsibility and international responsibility in general, the image that they portrayed when emphasizing their country's responsible identity to foreign audiences, and the rationale they gave for their country's compliance with responsibilities when addressing domestic audiences. An analysis of these three trends provides the strongest support yet for my hypothesis, which is that China embraces international responsibility to construct a positive, responsible image in the eyes of the people and governments of the world that, in turn, will allow Beijing to accomplish other goals, both material and ideational, with the ultimate goal of maximizing its influence in the international system. The analysis will also paint a clearer picture than that of the previous period of the precise image China tried to promote during these years and the role that particular image had in its overall diplomatic strategy. An overview of the main findings pertaining to these three trends follows.

Responsibility with Chinese Characteristics

The first trend that stands out in the 2000s is the readiness with which Chinese officials began to speak about international responsibility in concrete terms. Similar to the previous period studied, the majority of references to international responsibility during this period still used the

¹⁵⁰ See, as just one example, Alastair Iain Johnston, "Is China a Status-Quo Power?," *International Security* 27, no. 4 (Spring 2003), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4137603> (accessed October 17, 2012).

abstract, descriptive form of the word, and tended to resemble the unsubstantiated promises generally made by politicians during election years. Nevertheless, Chinese officials became bold and increasingly confident in the 2000s, ascribing more specific obligations to their country to back up their claims of being “responsible,” and even beginning to go so far as to take upon themselves the authority to assign responsibilities to other countries on a limited basis. Whereas “responsibility” seemed like little more than a diplomatic buzz word in the 1990s, it became a governing philosophy starting in the early 2000s.

Admittedly, research failed to identify an all-encompassing definition of responsibility as the term was used by the Chinese in the 2000s, but this is to be expected. After all, one will be hard-pressed to find a clear-cut definition of such a broad concept in any country, including the United States. What research did uncover were three basic rules, or guiding principles, which officials appeared to follow in speaking about specific obligations, as well as lists of specific policies or actions Chinese officials either explicitly or implicitly assigned to China or some other country during this era. These are discussed in detail below.

Rule #1—China Defines its Own Responsibilities

The first and most important guideline Chinese officials followed when identifying responsibilities between 2000 and 2008 was that the Chinese define their own responsibilities. This rule can be observed in practice throughout the period, but nowhere is it stated more clearly than in Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi’s statement at an international press conference in 2008 that “the international responsibilities we take upon us are not for the purpose of serving any particular country or group of countries, and are not determined based on their standards.”¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ “Yang Jiechi: Zhongguo Chengdan Guoji Zeren Wei Zhongguo Renmin He Shijie Fuze Bu Wei Teding Guojia Fuwu” [“Yang Jiechi: China’s Adoption of International Responsibilities is Out of Responsibility to the Chinese People and the World and Not to Serve Any Specific Country”], Archives of the Chinese Government, March 12, 2008, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=27&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1>

This rule goes back to the “responsible to whom” and “whose standards” questions raised by Shambaugh in the discussion of the Chinese domestic development school in Chapter 3. The Chinese have long been sensitive to the need to become masters of their own fate as they were prior to the Western incursions of the 19th and 20th centuries, and the government, relying on little more than economic growth and nationalistic sentiment for its legitimacy, is understandably not keen on being seen as following the commands of countries its people believe are attempting to hold China down.

Of course, China’s leaders were in favor of considering the effects of their policy decisions on other countries and trying to make choices that would benefit their neighbors and partners, and officials emphasized this fact in talks with both foreign and domestic audiences.¹⁵² Nevertheless, the main criterion for policy behavior of any kind was in China’s individual situation, needs, and interests as a large developing country, not the needs or interests of any other country.¹⁵³ Indeed, few words appear more often than “autonomous” in the statements used to promote Beijing’s responsible foreign policy during this era.

Rule #2—Developed Countries Have More Responsibilities than Developing Countries

The second guideline that Chinese officials followed in the early 2000s was that developed countries, by definition, should fulfill more responsibilities on the international stage than developing countries. Put another way, the more developed a country is, the greater share of

%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE (accessed October 6, 2012), (original language: *women suo yao chengdan de guoji zeren, bu shi wei teding de guojia huozhe guojia jituan fuwu de, ye bu shi yi tamen de biao zhun lai hengliang de*).

¹⁵² See, for example, People’s Bank of China President Zhou Xiaochuan’s discussion on currency reform: “Renmin Yinhang Hangzhang Zhou Xiaochuan Shi Da Jizhe Wen” [“People’s Bank of China President Zhou Xiaochuan Responds to Questions from Journalists”], Archives of the Chinese Government, March 29, 2005, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=88&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

¹⁵³ Ibid.

the world's responsibility it should hold, and a developing country's responsibilities should increase at the same rate as its development. This rule appeared several times in the government speeches and press conferences examined from this era, and was especially prevalent when the topic of conversation related to Western efforts to get Beijing to do more in the areas of climate change and other transnational challenges that require coordinated sacrifice from all countries. In the words of Yang Jiechi, "As a developing country, frankly speaking, China cannot take on international responsibilities that exceed its capabilities."¹⁵⁴

Far from being merely an excuse to reject opportunities to contribute to the global welfare, however, the Chinese saw this as a guideline for choosing when and how much to contribute to global causes. For example, President Hu Jintao often spoke about "actively taking on international responsibilities consistent with our country's level of development and capability."¹⁵⁵ Other officials promised on several occasions that, as China continues to develop, it will continue to accept increasing numbers of responsibilities in the world community.¹⁵⁶

The basic narrative relative to this rule is that every country has responsibilities, but the specific responsibilities and the degree to which a country is held accountable for complying

¹⁵⁴ "Yang Jiechi: Zhongguo Chengdan Guoji Zeren Wei Zhongguo Renmin he Shijie Fuze Bu Wei Teding Huojia Fuwu" ["Yang Jiechi: China's Adoption of International Responsibilities is Out of Responsibility to the Chinese People and the World and Not to Serve Any Specific Country"], Archives of the Chinese Government, March 12, 2008, (original language: *Zuowei yi ge fazhan zhong guojia, tanshuai de shuo, Zhongguo bu nenggou chengdan chaochu ta zishen nengli suo neng chengshou de guoji zeren.*).

¹⁵⁵ "Hu Jintao Zai Zhonggong Zhongyang Zhengzhi Ju Di Sishisi Ci Jiti Xuexi Shi Qiangdiao Jianding Buyi De Shixing Dui Wai Kaifang De Jiben Guoce Xingcheng Canyu Guoji Jingji Hezuo He Jingzheng Xin Youshi" ["At the Forty-fourth Collective Study Session of the CCP Central Committee Politburo, Hu Jintao Emphasizes that Unwaveringly Executing the Basic State Policy of Opening to the Outside Constitutes a New Advantage in Participating in International Economic Cooperation and Competition"], Archives of the Communist Party of China, September 29, 2007, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=46&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed October 6, 2012), (original language: *zhudong chengdan yu woguo fazhan shuiping he nengli xiangshiyong de guoji zeren.*).

¹⁵⁶ See, for example, "Jingwai Meiti Weizhui Zhongguo Gaoguan Zhongguo Huati Tixian 'Quanjie Jiazhi'" ["Foreign Media Encircle Top Chinese Officials: The China Topic Displays 'Global Value'"], Database of the National People's Congress, March 11, 2007, <http://58.68.145.22/directLogin.do?target=109> (accessed October 6, 2012).

with these responsibilities differ according to the capabilities and development levels of each individual country. To the casual observer, this may appear as simply a clever strategy for allowing China to enjoy a responsible identity while displacing much of the sacrifice required for winning this identity onto the shoulders of more developed nations. When one considers the massive numbers of international obligations China signed onto during this period, however, it seems clear that this concept involves more than just laziness. Indeed, China was very active in the world community between 2000 and 2008, and by no means did it reject taking on responsibilities. It just wanted to ensure that it did not do more than its fair share of the work, which share it believed should be determined by its development relative to other countries, not by its size or population.

Rule #3—China Has the Right to Assign Responsibilities to Other Countries

While rule #1 states that China defines its own responsibilities and rule #2 maintains that a country's responsibility is predicated on its level of development, rule #3 begins to establish the PRC as an authority in the area of international responsibility by maintaining that China can, at times, assign responsibilities to other countries, especially developed countries. This third one is an unwritten rule—no Chinese official was brazen enough in the early 2000s to explicitly claim the authority to tell foreign governments what to do, and indeed it is unlikely that any official actually believed he had such authority. Nevertheless, the practice of assigning responsibilities to developed countries became increasingly prevalent in practice as the decade wore on.

China's self-bestowed authority to assign duties to foreign governments appears passively in the statements examined above about responsibility increasing along with development. In addition to minimizing China's responsibility as a developing country, these

statements maximize the responsibility more developed countries have to bear. High level CCP officials manifested this guideline more directly on other occasions, however, when they took the role traditionally held by the U.S. and explicitly assigned duties to developed states. One such example occurred in 2004 when Premier Wen Jiabao told the World Bank that developed states have a responsibility and obligation to assist developing states.¹⁵⁷ This statement and the many like it generally provide a clear message that few people in the world would disagree with, because they are based on norms to which all countries, developed and developing alike, agree. It is surprising, nevertheless, that a country so set on having an autonomous foreign policy and defining its own responsibilities in the international community would find itself in a position to assign responsibilities to other countries in the system.

What is substantially more shocking than this, and frankly ingenious from a public relations standpoint, is that in addition to assigning broadly-defined responsibilities to developed countries, some in China's core leadership learned during this period to use the concept of responsibility to wage diplomatic attacks on countries acting in ways not in harmony with Beijing's interests. For example, Beijing attacked Japan on numerous occasions, labeling as irresponsible its national school curriculum and failure to sufficiently recognize its wartime history,¹⁵⁸ as well as one of Japan's key leaders, Taro Aso, for allegedly spreading the "China

¹⁵⁷ "Wen Jiabao Zai Shijie Yinhang Quanguo Fupin Dahui Shang De Jianghua" ["Wen Jiabao's Speech at the World Bank Global Poverty Alleviation Conference"], Archives of the Communist Party of China, May 26, 2004, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=202&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA%D6%D0%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

¹⁵⁸ See "Zai Jiu Jie Quanguo Renda Si Ci Huiyi Jizhe Zhaodaihui Shang Waijiao Buzhang Tang Jiaxuan Da Jizhe Wen" ["Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan Answers Reporters' Questions at the Fourth Session of the Ninth National People's Congress Press Conference"], Archives of the Chinese Government, March 7, 2001, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=430&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA%D6%D0%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

threat argument” through some of his statements.¹⁵⁹ Another country criticized by Chinese officials during this era was the United States, which an official from the Ministry of Foreign Trade early on in these years alleged practiced irresponsible policies related to iron trade.¹⁶⁰ Such direct statements were used sparingly against the U.S. during this period, with most accusations of irresponsibility implied through China’s actions or via round-about statements, some of which will be explored in the coming sections.

More broadly, Chinese officials had a tendency to weigh in on written or stated opinions that affected the way others viewed the PRC, labeling as responsible those statements and publications that improved China’s image and labeling as irresponsible those that had the potential to damage China’s global identity. This is true, for example, in Hu Jintao’s statement that what he called the “large developing country responsibility theory,” a prevalent global opinion held by developed countries that developing states with large populations are largely responsible for many of the transnational challenges such as global warming and food and energy scarcity, “irresponsible.”¹⁶¹ It is equally true of Chinese officials’ numerous charges that

¹⁵⁹ “2005 Nian 12 Yue 22 Ri Waijiaobu Fayanren Qin Gang Zai Lixing Jizhehui Shang Da Jizhe Wen” [“December 12, 2005, MOFA Spokesperson Qin Gang Responds to Media Inquiries at a Routine Press Meeting”], Archives of the Chinese Government, December 22, 2005, http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=308&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE*B4%F3%B9%FA*D6%D0%B9%FA (accessed December 1, 2012), (original language: *Zhongguo weixie lundiao*).

¹⁶⁰ See “Waijingmaobu Nianzhong Xinwenhui Jieda 2002 Si Da Redian Wenti” [“Ministry of Foreign Trade Year-end Press Conference Explains the Four Main Problems of 2002”], Archives of the Chinese Government, December 20, 2002, http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=405&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE*B4%F3%B9%FA*D6%D0%B9%FA (accessed December 1, 2012).

¹⁶¹ “Hu Jintao Tong Yindu Baxi Nanfei Moxige Lingdaoren Juxing Jiti Huiwu” [Hu Jintao Collectively Meets with the Leaders of India, Brazil, South Africa, and Mexico], Archives of the Communist Party of China, July 9, 2008, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=5&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B4%F3%B9%FA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed October 6, 2012), (original language: *fazhanzhong daguo zeren lun*).

individual reports negative toward the PRC are irresponsible¹⁶² and one case when an official was recorded calling a positive report about the PRC “responsible.”¹⁶³ In essence, rule #3 could be alternatively written thus—*any statement or action that pleases China is responsible, while any statement or action that angers or irritates the PRC is irresponsible*. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that Chinese officials presented each of their statements related to another country’s responsibility or lack thereof in terms of liberal norms such as cooperation, fairness, and free trade.

The three principles described here are not hard and fast rules, but they do characterize the opinion of Chinese officials regarding international responsibility. While these regulations do not enable one to guess which responsibilities China will choose to accept, they do assist in revealing the general attitude the Chinese have toward international obligations in general.

China’s Claimed Responsibilities in the 2000s

While the above guidelines provide little detail regarding the precise nature of the behaviors that Chinese officials accepted as international obligations, words such as “responsibility,” “duty,” and “obligation” appeared in quantities greatly exceeding those of the 1990s, in instances when the country’s leadership spoke of their responsible great power identity. Some of these obligations were simply implied, based on their having appeared in the same vicinity as one of the key words mentioned above in Chinese official speech. Others, on the other hand, were explicitly embraced by PRC spokespersons as duties or obligations belonging to the

¹⁶² See, for example, “2003 Nian 12 Yue 16 Ri Waijiaobu Fayaren Zai Jizhe Zhaodaihui Shang Da Jizhe Wen” [“December 16, 2003, MOFA Spokesperson Answers Media Inquiries During a Press Conference”], Archives of the Chinese Government, December 16, 2003, http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=390&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE*B4%F3%B9%FA%D6%D0%B9%FA (accessed December 1, 2012).

¹⁶³ “Zhengxie Xinwen Chubun Jie Taolun ‘Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao’” [“CPPCC News Publishing Sector Discuss ‘Government Work Report’”], Database of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, March 5, 2005, <http://data.people.com.cn/directLogin.do?target=110> (accessed October 6, 2012).

people or government of the PRC. These included participation in international disaster relief efforts and United Nations peacekeeping missions.

One of the responsibilities that Chinese officials appeared most passionate about during this era was that of providing disaster relief to countries in need. While many of the references made to domestic audiences mentioned the strategic value of disaster relief, which will be explained in the third section of this chapter, talk of strategic value often came as an afterthought and was not as omnipresent in domestic discourse as many of Beijing's other so-called responsibilities. In fact, in an exclusive interview with one of China's most nationalistic newspapers, the *Global Times*, in 2005, Commerce Minister Chen Jian defended China's giving assistance to other countries when it can ill afford food and shelter for its own 1.3 billion people by recalling the times other countries came to China's rescue after disaster struck.¹⁶⁴ Chen also spoke of the natural benevolence of the Chinese people's, the friendship the PRC shares with the countries that were receiving Beijing's emergency aid at the time, and the fact that natural disasters are a common enemy of all humanity and that China, as a responsible great power, had an obligation to work with the international community to defeat this common foe.¹⁶⁵ That an official would use such normative rationale, as opposed to strategic rationale as is common practice, especially when speaking to a newspaper as nationalistic as the *Global Times*, shows that at least this Chinese official, and the others who made similar statements not cited here, truly believed in the norms of disaster relief and humanitarian assistance, and saw these norms as a responsibility, not merely a tactic.

¹⁶⁴ “Zhongguo Jinji Yuanzhu Jizhi Jingshou Zhu Kaoyan” [“China's Emergency Aid Mechanism Withstood the Test”], Archives of the Chinese Government, January 12, 2005, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=93&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

Another obligation about which Chinese officials felt strongly was that of contributing to world peace through participating in UN peacekeeping missions. In the same year as the *Global Times* interview mentioned above, the head of the Foreign Affairs Office of China's Ministry of National Defense, rationalized the PRC's hefty commitment to UN peacekeeping missions by telling a Chinese military journal that participation in this area helped Beijing keep its promise to the world and fulfill its responsibility to promote peace.¹⁶⁶ Once again, this official could have rationalized China's commitment in strategic terms, as was common practice when discussing great power responsibility to domestic audiences, and the reason for speaking tactically might have been more pronounced, as the audience was a military publication. The official's decision to speak of UN peacekeeping in terms of keeping a promise and promoting peace shows that the official really believed in this responsibility, as did the other officials who made similar statements.

While foreign disaster relief and participation in UN peacekeeping are the two most explicit duties PRC leadership accepted in the early- to mid-2000s, as judged by the nationalistic domestic audiences to which spokespersons rationalized them in normative rather than strategic terms, a number of other activities were strongly suggested to be responsibilities in other speeches examined. In March 2007, outgoing Chinese Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing answered a *China Daily* reporter's question about other countries' hopes that China will fulfill more international responsibilities by recounting a list of international behaviors that had already become part of Beijing's regular diplomatic posture. While Li did not explicitly identify these as responsibilities, there is a strong implication that he saw them as such. This list included

¹⁶⁶ "Zhongguo Guofangbu: Zhongguo Jundui Shi Weihu Shijie Heping De Zhongyao Liliang" ["China's Ministry of National Defense: The Chinese Military is an Important Force for Preserving World Peace"], Archives of the Chinese Government, September 26, 2005, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=9&channelid=11&searchword=%D5%FD%CE%C4%3D%B4%F3%B9%FA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed October 6, 2012).

complying with the UN Charter, keeping Beijing's international obligations, having an autonomous and peaceful foreign policy, respecting other countries' interests the same way China respects its own, resolving differences with other states through negotiation, cooperating with other nations to confront common challenges, maintaining a defensive military policy, participating in military exchanges abroad, increasing military transparency, and actively participating in counterterrorism, counterproliferation, UN peacekeeping, and other multinational efforts.¹⁶⁷

Finally, a number of policies or issue areas not specifically labeled responsibilities were mentioned by PRC officials as support for China's responsible identity. While merely mentioning a good deed China has done does not necessarily mean that the official believes his country is obligated to continue that action in the future (as seen in the way Chinese officials talked about their country's decision not to devalue its currency during the Asian Financial Crisis), a brief list of the behavior Beijing's political elite associate, however loosely, with responsibility helps identify some of the types of norms China feels obligated to comply with in its foreign policy. The list of such topics is lengthy, and includes essentially all obligations China entered into when joining the WTO, as well as environmental protection, climate change, maritime security, nuclear nonproliferation, tax policy, cracking down on drug trafficking and IPR infraction, joining international conventions like the CITES convention against trade in endangered species, dealing with a number of domestic issues such as trying to reform the PRC's broken healthcare system, entering into bilateral agreements with individual countries, and starting in late 2008, working with other countries to address the global financial crisis. This is just part of the list, and does not even scratch the surface of the broad range of norms and

¹⁶⁷ "Li Zhaoxing: Xianghu Zunzhong Goujian Hexie Shijie Rang Donghai Cheng Heping Zhi" ["Li Zhaoxing: Mutual Respect Constructs a Harmonious World and Makes the East China Sea Peaceful"], Database of the National People's Congress, March 6, 2007, <http://58.68.145.22/directLogin.do?target=109> (accessed October 6, 2012).

agreements identified by officials promoting China's international responsibility during this period. Nevertheless, it suffices to show that Chinese officials saw responsibility in more concrete terms during this period than in the 1990s. It also shows that almost all the examples Beijing gave to promote its responsible image during the 2000s reflected global norms, particularly the liberal norms promoted by the U.S. While Beijing did not embrace all Western norms—it still held disdain for political norms related to democracy and human rights, for example—PRC officials chose to emphasize areas in which they agreed with the world, as opposed to those areas where they disagreed. In so doing, they actively promoted themselves as willing followers of the liberal international order.

Crafting an Identity: China as an Active Participant in the Existing Global Order

The second great trend observed in the period from 2000 to 2008 is the refined identity Chinese officials successfully promoted during these years, as found in their statements to foreign audiences. The importance of this section cannot be overemphasized, as the analyses of the statements reviewed in the following paragraphs confirm my hypothesis that China would present itself to the global community as a liberal power. In addition, the exact nature of the intended image construction found in the materials examined helps provide a basis, or a narrative, through which to determine whether a coherent public relations strategy was being followed, according to my hypothesis. Finally, the analysis in this section will show just how far China's responsible great power identity construction came in the few years between the late 1990s and the early 2000s.

In a nutshell, the national image Beijing's leadership attempted to drive to the world in the 2000s was that of a young, up-and-coming participant of the U.S.-led international order that both benefits from this order and is dedicated to benefitting other countries within the order. As

briefly stated in the introduction to this chapter, this stage of Chinese history was characterized by the PRC's accession into the WTO and its active participation in U.S.-led initiatives such as the War on Terror and negotiations over the North Korean nuclear crisis.

With some exceptions, China's identity creation appears excessively targeted toward the United States and other major global powers during this stage, with only limited attempts to present its burgeoning leadership or its successful development path to third world countries as an alternative to the traditional U.S. and Western leadership. While Chinese leaders were careful to assign their country's own international obligations based on stringent criteria not always in harmony with the criteria used by the West, its leaders' use of the "responsible great power" concept usually related to its participation in initiatives pursued by the U.S. and its Western allies. The Chinese government's focus during this era was always on showing that they were not just keeping commitments for the sake of keeping them, but they were actually making contributions to the U.S.-led global system. The Chinese government seemed during this phase to be almost begging the international community to believe that it was actively and of its own accord complying with commitments given by the West, even if it did not necessarily consider those to be hard-set commitments.

Research identified six basic elements in the PRC's preferred image during this period. These include its role as a constructive member of the international community, the benefits its growing economic and political leverage provide to partners, its determination to keep its promises and commitments, its willingness to sacrifice its interests for those of the global community, the idea that it was contributing more to global welfare than the leaders of the international order, and the somewhat contradictory idea that, as a newcomer in the world society, it needed time to come into full compliance with international norms. It is important to note that

these elements were adapted and drawn from a general survey of the countless references to China's international responsibility directed toward international audiences during this era. I categorized these elements myself, and may have missed some. As such, the six characteristics discussed here should be recognized as one scholar's attempt to present China's identity construction in a way that is easy for others to understand, and not as an exhaustive list.

The first element of the global image China's pursued in the 2000s is the PRC's role as a constructive, friendly, and open country. Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan made this case well in 2002, when he summed up China's international role as being to promote fairness and "righteousness" at all times and to play a "responsible great power role" in international affairs.¹⁶⁸ Wen Jiabao, at a summit with European representatives in 2006, characterized the PRC as "a trustworthy friend and reliable partner" to all nations and people.¹⁶⁹ Wu Bangguo took the "trustworthy friend" concept a step further at the 2005 World Conference of Speakers of Parliaments when he declared China to be "a responsible member of the great international family."¹⁷⁰

These are just two of the more explicit instances of high-level Chinese officials presenting their country as a friendly nation dedicated to the peace and prosperity of its partners

¹⁶⁸ "Tang Jiaxuan: Nuli Kaichuang Xin Shiji Zhongguo Waijiao Gongzuo Xin Jumian" ["Tang Jiaxuan: Diligently Open a New Phase of Chinese Diplomacy in the New Century"], Archives of the Chinese Government, December 16, 2002, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=106&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012), (original language: *zhengyi; fuzeren daguo de zuoyong*).

¹⁶⁹ "Wen Jiabao Zai Zhong Ou Luntan Di Er Ci Huiyi Kaimushi Shang De Yanjiang" ["Wen Jiabao's Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the Second China-Europe Summit"], Archives of the Communist Party of China, September 14, 2006, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=179&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA%D6%D0%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012), (original language: *ke xinlai de pengyou he kekao de huoban*).

¹⁷⁰ "Wu Bangguo Weiyuanzhang Zai Di Er Jie Shijie Yizhang Dahui Shang De Fayan" ["Chairman Wu Bangguo's Speech at the Second World Conference of Speakers of Parliaments"], Archives of the Communist Party of China, September 8, 2005, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=190&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA%D6%D0%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012), (original language: *guoji da jiating zhong fuzeren de yi yuan*).

throughout the world and that, as a member of the international family of states, has the best interests of all nations and peoples in mind. The implications of the words in these statements are enormous, for a responsible, dedicated member of any community or organization is, by definition, dedicated to the preservation and prosperity of that organization. This is one of the most comprehensive and universal images Beijing used in its identity construction, and it was implied in practically all other speeches observed from this era.

The second element of the identity Beijing promoted during the 2000s is the idea that even when China does not specifically intend to help a given country, its rapidly growing economic and political leverage produce public goods that benefit its many international partners and the world community as a whole. The introduction to this chapter showed some of the maneuvers China's leadership took to position the country as a key player in bringing about the interests of its more powerful partners. For examples, one need look no further than the crucial role Beijing was uniquely qualified to play in Washington's efforts to prevent North Korea from obtaining a nuclear bomb or the way it leveraged its position as a permanent member of the UN Security Council as it capitalized on shared opposition to the U.S. invasion of Iraq to improve ties with Europe.

While some official statements focused on how China benefited individual countries, even more promoted China as an engine for economic growth, world peace, and a number of other worthy causes on a global scale. One classic example of this occurred in Wen Jiabao's speech to an American audience in New York, when he highlighted the fact that China's economy contributes to ten percent of the world's economic growth and then re-emphasized

Beijing's commitment to use its natural endowments to work with the global community in combating the global financial crisis and other transnational threats to world prosperity.¹⁷¹

The third element is China's determination to keep the international commitments that the previous section of this chapter showed it was willing to make during this period. This element often related to the rules, regulations, and other promises to which the PRC committed when it was admitted into the WTO.¹⁷² It also appears in even more general terms, as was the case in a 2005 government whitepaper stating that, "as a responsible great power, the things we promised to do of course must be done according to the law."¹⁷³ Statements like this imply an acceptance by the Chinese government of the obvious nature of the concept that, when the country makes a promise, be it in the form of a bilateral treaty, a multilateral trade pact, or some other international agreement, the promise constitutes a legally-binding commitment on the part of Beijing. The quote shared here dealt with China's promises to ramp up intellectual property right (IPR) protection, but similar statements were made in regard to other treaties and agreements, and most of these statements used Beijing's commitment to promises as a given,

¹⁷¹ "Ji Wang Kai Lai, Gong Chuang Zhong Mei Guanxi Geng Jia Meihao De Mingtian—Wen Jiabao Zongli Zai Meiguo Youhao Tuanti Huanying Wuyan Shang De Yanjiang" ["Carry On, Working Together to Create a Better Tomorrow for U.S.-China Relations—Wen Jiabao's Speech at the U.S. Friendly Delegation Welcome Luncheon"], Archives of the Communist Party of China, September 24, 2008, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=32&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

¹⁷² See, for example, Wen Jiabao's words to Robert Zoellick in "Wen Jiabao Huijian Meiguo Maoyi Daibiao Zuolike" ["Wen Jiabao Meets with U.S. Trade Representative Zoellick"], Archives of the Communist Party of China, February 17, 2003, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=46&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

¹⁷³ "2005 Nian 4 Yue 21 Ri Fabiao 'Zhongguo Zhishi Chanquan Baohu De Xin Jinzhan' Baipishu" ["New Developments in Chinese Intellectual Property Rights Protection' Whitepaper, Published April 21, 2005"], Archives of the Chinese Government, April 21, 2005, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=81&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed October 6, 2012), (original language: *zuowei yige fuzeren de daguo, women chengnuo yao zuo dao de shiqing, dangran yao yifa zuo dao*).

saying that the PRC will do everything it promised, because it is dedicated to and capable of complying with all of its treaties.

The fourth element of China's 2000-2008 identity is that the Chinese government is so responsible that it regularly sacrifices its own interests and preferences in order to contribute to the global wellbeing. This part of the identity often comes up when officials talk about the PRC being a "responsible developing great power" while referencing Beijing's gifts of money, resources, and best practices to poverty- or disaster-stricken nations.¹⁷⁴ Statements to this effect regularly reference the fact that China continues to provide relief to other countries even though it cannot yet provide for the needs of many of its own people.¹⁷⁵ This compelling notion that the PRC sacrifices to contribute to the global interest even though it is barely able to provide for its own needs also frequently comes up in negotiations over transnational issues such as climate change, presumably as an attempt to place greater pressure on the U.S. and EU or to reduce the pressure these countries place on China. State Councilor Ma Kai was neither the first nor the last official to stress China's disproportionate share of the burden for environmental protection when he stated in 2007 that China had become the first developing country to create a national program to fight climate change.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ See, for example, "2007 Nian 'Shijie Liangshi Ri' Xuanchuan Huodong Zai Jing Chenggong Juxing" ["2007 'World Food Day' Propaganda Event Successfully Held in Beijing"], Archives of the Chinese Government, October 16, 2007, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=187&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA%D6%D0%B9%FA> (accessed October 6, 2012), (original language: *fuzeren de fazhan zhong daguo*).

¹⁷⁵ See "Zhongguo Jinji Yuanzhu Jizhi Jingshou Zhu Kaoyan" ["China's Emergency Aid Mechanism Withstood the Test"], Archives of the Chinese Government, January 12, 2005.

¹⁷⁶ "2007 Nian 6 Yue 4 Ri Guoxinban Jiu Zhongguo Zhengfu Yingdui Qihou Bianhua Qingkuang Juxing Fabuhui" ["June 4, 2007: State Council Information Office Holds a Launch Meeting Regarding the Chinese Government's Climate Change Situation"], Archives of the Chinese Government, June 4, 2007, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=51&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

Another way that officials drove China's image as a responsible country that places the global interest ahead of its national interest was by pointing to specific past policies that make this image come alive to their global audience. As might be expected, the past policy that they talked about the most was Beijing's decision during the Asian Financial Crisis not to devalue the *Renminbi*, which was highly heralded as having benefited the Southeast Asian recovery at a risk to China's own economic wellbeing. This was an especially prominent topic during an era that included the recession of the early 2000s, the ten-year anniversary of the AFC in 2007, and then the global financial crisis that started materializing in late 2007. Discussions of this topic often included pledges for the future, such as the PRC's frequent pledge to consider the impact any change to its exchange rate policy will have on other countries.¹⁷⁷

Yet other references to China's placing others' interests ahead of its own related to the PRC's high-minded ability to overlook simple annoyances and even historical grievances in order to protect mutual economic and other interests. For example, when asked by journalists and others about how popular anti-Japan sentiment would influence the countries' bilateral relationship, officials generally acknowledged their dislike of the Japanese government, while assuring their audience that Beijing will continue to preserve the overall economic relationship and maintain a secure investment environment.¹⁷⁸ Perhaps of less significance but equally indicative of the PRC officials' efforts to drive this image is the statement of a Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) spokesperson in 2006 that the Chinese government really does not like

¹⁷⁷ See "Renminbi Huilv Gaige: Youli Yu Zhongguo He Shijie Jingji" ["Renminbi Exchange Rate Reform: Beneficial to the Chinese and World Economies"], Archives of the Chinese Government, July 27, 2005, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=69&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

¹⁷⁸ "2005 Nian 4 Yue 20 Ri Jieshao Jinnian Yi Jiedu Guomin Jingji Yunxing Qingkuang" ["April 20, 2005, Introducing the National Economy During the First Quarter of this Year"], Archives of the Chinese Government, April 20, 2005, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=86&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

describing itself as a “stakeholder” as the U.S. so designated it, but that it will overlook that designation and continue keeping all of its commitments because it is intrinsically dedicated to the norms associated with them.¹⁷⁹ Statements like these send a message to the international community that China does not seek the global interest before its own because of the demands of Washington or any other foreign actor; it does so because that is just the kind of state that China is—a responsible one dedicated to preserving and strengthening the international community.

The fifth element of the Chinese responsible great power image between 2000 and 2008, and one that was more aggressive than the other elements, was that Beijing began on a limited basis to present itself as doing more to benefit the international community than developed countries such as the U.S. and the EU. This relates to the Chinese government’s tendency partway through the period to assign responsibilities to other, more powerful countries, and was used either as a matter of principle, an attempt to turn the table on the developed countries that were accustomed to being able to boss less developed countries around, or simply an excuse for Beijing not to accept any greater share of a given responsibility than it deemed appropriate given its domestic situation. In either case, this became a core element in China’s international identity drive during this period.

Throughout the years 2000 – 2008, officials in Beijing could be seen contrasting their actions with those of other countries, particularly the U.S. and Western European nations. This can be seen in the official statements regarding China’s disproportionate contributions to foreign aid and environmental protection mentioned above which, in addition to furthering China’s identity as a responsible great power, also appear to have been made partly as a jab at these more

¹⁷⁹ “2006 Nian 1 Yue 24 Ri Waijiaobu Fayaren Kong Quan Zai Lixing Jizhehui Shang Da Jizhe Wen” [“January 24, 2006, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Kong Quan Responds to Media Inquiries at a Routine Press Conference”], Archives of the Chinese Government, January 24, 2006, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=37&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed October 6, 2012).

developed states for not making as large of a sacrifice as China to resolve these transnational issues. The irony of the Chinese government's ability to complete these ever-important tasks more efficiently than many of the Western powers is stated implicitly in many of the Chinese government's self-promoting statements. For example, the vice-premier's talk to a U.S. audience in 2006 about the heavy responsibility China took in ratifying the Kyoto Protocol appears to have been delivered partially as a jab at Washington for failing to do the same even though the U.S. is also a heavy polluter of the environment and is much more developed socially and economically than the PRC.¹⁸⁰ Although Beijing's ratification of the agreement required minimal sacrifice on China's part, due to the country's having been exempted from the difficult emissions reductions required of more developed countries, the official's portrayal of this action is illustrative of the attempt to promote an image of a China that is doing more than the U.S. to address climate change. This is but one example of the ironic—perhaps even sarcastic—implicit references to Beijing's responsibility compared with the irresponsible nature of other countries.

This attempt to present China as being more responsible than the West appeared more explicitly in some of the statements PRC officials made to their counterparts in developing countries. While the beginning of this section states that Chinese efforts to drive the responsible image generally focused on convincing the developed Western states of this image, there were some instances when Beijing broke from this trend and did in fact present itself to third world states as a more responsible alternative to U.S. leadership. For example, in a 2003 visit to Mauritius, Cameroon, Libya, and Tunisia, one Chinese official made the comment that “as a

¹⁸⁰ “Zhongguo De Fazhan Daolu—Zai Shouci Zhong Mei Zhanlue Jingji Duihua Shang De Zhuzhi Fayan: Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Guowuyuan Fuzongli Wu Yi (2006 Nian 12 Yue 14 Ri Beijing)” [“China's Development Path—Keynote Speech at the First Sino-U.S. Strategic Economic Partnership: People's Republic of China State Council Vice Premier Wu Yi (December 14, 2006, Beijing)"], Archives of the Communist Party of China, December 14, 2006, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=49&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed October 6, 2012).

developing country, China will always stand on the side of the vast majority of the world's countries, protecting the rights and interests of developing countries.”¹⁸¹ In July 2008, Chinese President Hu Jintao met with the leaders of large developing nations Brazil, India, Mexico, and South Africa, where he expressed China's commitment to working with these countries to acquire greater freedom of discourse for developing countries within the international system.¹⁸² Statements like these presented the PRC as more responsible by the standards of the developing world than the U.S. and its allies, which they presented as being dedicated only to preserving their own self-serving interest without regard for the interests of developing countries.

The sixth and final element of the Chinese image identified through official statements in this period contrasts much of what is identified in the other five elements above. With this element, PRC officials sought to present their country as a newcomer to the international system that is still learning and is bound to make mistakes along the way. While the other five elements were designed to show how much China contributed to the international system and to the interests of individual states, this element appears to have been created to rationalize incidents of noncompliance and to engender greater patience in the hearts of other states in the system.

This element is perhaps best exemplified in a statement a Chinese official made in reference to the country's entering into the WTO in 2001. While up until this point, Chinese rhetoric regarding its desire to join this organization had generally focused on convincing the world that Beijing was both capable and willing to keep all the rules and regulations required by

¹⁸¹ “Quan Guo Renda Daibiaotuan Fangwen Maoliqiusi, Kamailong, Libiya, Tunisi Si Guo Qingkuang De Shumian Baogao” [“A Written Report of the National People's Congress Delegation Visit to Mauritius, Cameroon, Libya, and Tunisia”], Archives of the Chinese Government, December 12, 2003, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=38&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed October 6, 2012), (original language: *zuowei fazhanzhong guojia Zhongguo jiang yongyuan Zhan Zai Shijie Shang Jueda Duoshu Guojia Yibian, Weihu Fazhanzhong Guojia De Quanyi*).

¹⁸² Hu Jintao Tong Yindu Baxi Nanfei Moxige Lingdaoren Juxing Jiti Huiwu” [Hu Jintao Collectively Meets with the Leaders of India, Brazil, South Africa, and Mexico”], Archives of the Communist Party of China, July 9, 2008.

membership, this official changed the tone by explaining that “as a member that just recently joined the WTO, there is also a gradual process for learning and becoming familiar with the regulations. Of course, we will speed up and shorten this process as much as possible. . .”¹⁸³ Talk of learning curves and of needing time to come into full compliance with certain regulations sought to lower the expectations other countries had while promoting the idea that Beijing is making significant sacrifices and is determined to come into full compliance with its commitments eventually. When others accept this perspective as being sincere, China can continue adopting responsibilities gradually, or alternatively, it can selectively choose the responsibilities that it finds least threatening to its interests, without drawing the wrath of its international partners or damaging its image as a responsible country in the world. This humble admission of China’s failures to comply with some of its international commitments allows its leadership to emphasize their commitment to gradually coming into compliance as opposed to practicing 100% compliance before they feel ready to do so. Speeches invoking this general attitude are prevalent in the hot areas where China generally lags, such as anti-corruption and IPR protection, and they existed in abundant supply throughout this period.

These six elements—China’s role as a friendly member of the world community, the benefits it naturally provides through its economic and political development, its determination to keep international commitments, its ability to place global interests ahead of its own, its ability to provide more to the global wellbeing than the developed countries, and along with all this, its imperfection and learning curve—compose the identity that Chinese officials sought to promote

¹⁸³ “2001 Nian 12 Yue 13 Ri Guojia Jingmaowei Fu Zhuren Zhang Zhigang Jieshao ‘Zhongguo Ru Shi Yu Gongshang Lingyu De Fazhan’” [“Deputy Director of State Economic and Trade Commission Zhang Zhigang Introduces ‘China’s Entry into the WTO and the Development of the Industrial and Commercial Sectors’”], Archives of the Chinese Government, December 13, 2001, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=123&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012), (original language: *zuowei ganggang ru Shi de chengyuan, ye you yige xuexi he shuxi guize, zhubu shiying de guocheng. Dangran, women hui jinkuai, jinli suoduan zhe yige guocheng*).

for the PRC between the years 2000 and 2008. The statements examined in this section came from speeches to international or mixed audiences and confirm my hypothesis that Chinese officials sought to portray their country as a liberal, status-quo country whose rise would benefit the international system. The next section will focus on the statements many of these same officials made to audiences within the PRC, thus outlining the strategy for which they created this image and supporting my hypothesis that the identity detailed in this section served a deliberate purpose to improve the country's likeability and create an international environment in which the PRC could continue to rise as a great power, and ultimately maximize its influence in the international system.

Opposition, Development, and Influence—The Strategy Behind the Identity

The third of the three trends observed in Chinese officials' use of the responsible great power concept between the years 2000 and 2008 is the clarity with which officials discussed their strategic motivation for accepting, fulfilling, and publicly promoting their country's responsibilities in the international system. To someone who hears only what officials said to foreign audiences, it seems as if there was no strategy involved. After all, the China presented to international audiences is hands-down a liberal, status-quo power satisfied to play any role it can in the U.S.-led international system. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that my hypothesis expected discourse presented to international audiences to portray the PRC as such. The materials highlighted in this section will show that, rather than revealing deep-rooted commitment, China's statements to its international partners are part of a greater strategy to present the PRC as a status-quo country in order to gain benefits within the international society.

This section will show that official speech intended for purely Chinese audiences reveals that this depiction to the outside world of China as a status-quo power was part of a deliberate

strategy to influence global public opinion in ways that officials hoped would allow China to maximize its national interests. In essence, having not just a positive image, but a responsible great power image, on the international stage is an interest in itself, and it is through this interest that other, more tangible interests are obtained, particularly the ultimate interest of maximizing Beijing's influence in the international system.

The research presented in this section will outline a five-step process by which Chinese officials hope to achieve their ultimate goal of maximizing its influence—identified as “freedom of discourse” by the global image scholars introduced in Chapter 3—within the global and regional system. The process involves 1) using a mixture of international engagement and propaganda to the extent that 2) the world comes to see China as a responsible great power, thus leading to 3) decreased opposition to China's rise from the international community as a whole. This decreased opposition, in turn, creates 4) a global environment that is friendly to China's continued development and rise as a great power, eventually giving the PRC 5) increased international influence and greater say in the future development of the global system. This is exactly what the global image philosophers introduced in Chapter 3 proposed. This section will expound on this strategy.

The one fact that rings out clearer than any other in official speeches to domestic audiences in this and other periods is that the Chinese government sees its international image as a responsible global power as an essential national interest on par with the more traditional political and economic interests. One example of the importance of identity to the Chinese government is found in the rationale behind Beijing's generous participation in disaster relief. The first section of this chapter showed that at least some high level Chinese officials actually accept providing disaster relief to foreign nations as an explicit international duty of the Chinese

government. Whether all officials share this view or not, accepting a certain behavior as a true responsibility does not of necessity mean that one must cease to recognize the benefits that behavior brings. In 2007, one Chinese government official made the case for foreign disaster relief by discussing a number of benefits that these activities bring the PRC. These benefits included providing China with advanced technology and best practices from more advanced countries and improving China's ability to enact effective disaster relief within its own borders—all of which are tangible rational interests.¹⁸⁴ No one should be surprised that a government official would speak of national interests of this nature when promoting a policy to people within its country. What is noteworthy are the other interests the official talks about in the same sentence. These interests include the behavior allowing China to increase international cooperation, keep its commitments to the world community, and most importantly, present the world with a responsible great power image.¹⁸⁵ The fact that this national image was presented as if it were on par with the more concrete benefits tells a lot about China's priorities.

A similar exchange of ideas occurred when a representative of the CPPCC was discussing the PRC's newly-launched overseas volunteer youth program in 2006. While mentioning to his Chinese audience about how this program will help train up a generation of outstanding young citizens prepared to excel in the Chinese workforce, one of the key points this official made related instead to the benefit this program had in promoting China's responsible

¹⁸⁴ “2007 Nian 1 Yue 11 Ri Guoxinban Jiu Zhongguo Ziran Zaihai He Jiuzai Gongzuo Deng Juxing Fabuhui” [“January 11, 2007 State Council Information Office Holds a News Conference Regarding China's Natural Disaster and Disaster Relief Work”], Archives of the Chinese Government, January 11, 2007, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=83&channelid=11&searchword=%D5%FD%CE%C4%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed October 6, 2012).

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

image abroad.¹⁸⁶ Once again, this ideational interest of being seen as responsible by the international community appears right alongside concrete economic interests. This shows just how important of a national interest identity is for the Chinese government. In the words of Deng Yong, “status is about the state’s concerns over its material wellbeing and international treatment with the goal to engineer mutually reinforcing growth in both.”¹⁸⁷ Indeed, in the mind of the Chinese government, an abstract identity is not abstract—it is a necessary element of a country’s concrete national interest.

People’s Bank of China President Zhou Xiaochuan likewise emphasized the important role of identity when pressing Chinese financial institutions to strengthen anti-money laundering efforts in 2004. Most of the reasons Zhou gave for these institutions to improve their efforts to curb money laundering related to economic, business, and other important national interests.¹⁸⁸ In addition to these material interests, however, Zhou added that China must be seen keeping its anti-money laundering commitments to the world community so that other countries perceive it as a responsible great power.¹⁸⁹ Another high-level official told his Chinese audience in 2006 that there are two reasons why Beijing must comply with international treaties—to prevent

¹⁸⁶ “Quan Guo Zhengxie Shi Jie Si Ci Huiyi Juxing Di Si Ci Quanti Huiyi: Jia Qinglin Chuxi 12 Wei Weiyuan Weirao Fazhan Minzhu Zhengzhi, Goujian Hexie Shehui, Cujin Zuguo Tongyi Deng Wenti Zuo Dahui Fayan” [“Fourth Plenary Session of the Tenth CPPCC Meeting: Jia Qinglin in Attendance – 12 Committee Members Speak in the Meeting about Questions Such as Developing Democratic Governance, Constructing a Harmonious Society, and Promoting Integration of the Motherland”], Database of the National People’s Congress, March 3, 2006, <http://data.people.com.cn/directLogin.do?target=110> (accessed October 6, 2012).

¹⁸⁷ Deng, *China’s Struggle for Status*, 2.

¹⁸⁸ “Zhongguo Fan Xiqian Xianzhuang Yu Weilai” [“The Status-Quo and Future of Chinese Anti-Money Laundering Efforts”], Archives of the Chinese Government, August 29, 2004, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=98&channelid=11&searchword=%D5%FD%CE%C4%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed October 6, 2012).

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

having to cover any international liability due to failed compliance and to promote China's image.¹⁹⁰

The weight Chinese officials gave to national identity during this period is seen most clearly in the way they spoke about their country's upcoming hosting of the Olympic Games. The Olympics did not provide China with much in the way of material interests. While Beijing did benefit economically from the influx of tourism in the summer of 2008, it could have obtained these benefits through other means and foregone the social expense it paid by alienating many of its people in the months leading up to the event. Where Beijing gained immeasurable benefit, however, lies in the boost those successful Olympics gave to China's national self-esteem and the admiration it gained from the international community. As one official stated, the decision to give China the opportunity to host the Olympics was a reflection of Beijing's increasingly important role in the world and the increasing trust the international community has in Beijing.¹⁹¹ As such, the country planned to use the global event to "prove to the world that China is a responsible great power that continually develops economically, is progressing toward social harmony, sincerely cooperates with the outside world, and is dedicated to world peace and development."¹⁹² This statement makes it clear that, no matter what other benefits China received from hosting the Olympic Games, its officials viewed the main prize as being a boost to

¹⁹⁰ "Shi Jie Quanguo Renda Changweihui Juxing Di Ershisi Ci Zhuanti Jiangzuo: Wu Bangguo Zhuchi" ["The Tenth Session of the National People's Congress Standing Committee Holds the 24th Special Topic Seminar: Conducted by Wu Bangguo"], Archives of the Communist Party of China, December 30, 2006, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=48&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed October 12, 2012).

¹⁹¹ "Liu Qi: Zhunbei Bawo Zhuban Aoyun Da Fangxiang Gongzuo Qude Ba Da Chengguo: Liu Qi Zai Beijing 2008 Nian Aoyunhui Zhuban Gongzuo Baogaohui Shang De Jianghua" ["Liu Qi: Eight Great Achievements of the Preparatory Work for Hosting the Olympic Games: Liu Qi's Speech at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Hosting Work Report Conference"], Archives of the Chinese Government, August 9, 2007, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=43&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

¹⁹² Ibid., (original language: *xiang shijie zhengming Zhongguo shi yige jingji chixu fazhan, shehui hexie jinbu, duiwai zhencheng hezuo, zhiliyu shijie heping yu fazhan de fuzeren de daguo*).

the country's image, not to its national treasure chests. Indeed, this is what the PRC did when it hypnotized the international community during the Olympic opening ceremony and then went on to win more gold medals than any other country during those games.

Of course, in crafting an identity, it does not suffice for a country to simply act in certain ways, and the Chinese government, like any successful public relations agency, discovered early that even if the PRC acted more responsibly than any other country in the international system, it would bring little in the way of interest if the world did not know what the country had done. Thus, the period from 2000 to 2008 saw a substantial drive by the Chinese government to improve international propaganda.

The rationale behind this propaganda drive was explained well by Li Yubin, a Chinese official in charge of counter-corruption, in 2003. Li told the story of the chairman of Transparency International who, after visiting China and learning of the country's anticorruption work, expressed shock that Beijing had so many effective tactics and had made so many achievements in this area.¹⁹³ While Li was happy to hear the positive feedback, he also felt worried that an organization like Transparency International that publishes internationally recognized rankings for countries had such limited understanding of the PRC's anticorruption efforts, resulting in the country's consistently ranking low in the organization's reports.¹⁹⁴ From this, Li learned that "just doing without publishing does not work."¹⁹⁵ China must strengthen its propaganda efforts in addition to acting in compliance with international norms.

¹⁹³ "Xinwen Zhoukan' Zhuanfang Li Yubin: Zhongguo Fanfu Fangshi Yao Chuangxin" ['NewsWeek' Exclusive Interview with Li Yubin: China's Anti-Corruption Requires Innovation']. Archives of the Chinese Government, January 27, 2003, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=100&channelid=11&searchword=%D5%FD%CE%C4%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed October 6, 2012).

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., (original language: *guang gan bu xuanchuan bu xing*).

Similar realizations were made in other ministries and departments throughout the PRC government. Research uncovered a statement from another official who, asked by a domestic journalist about the Chinese government's efforts to place some information on websites for the world to see instead of guarding this information as state secrets, gave basically the same answer as the anti-corruption official mentioned above. The official stated that if China does not explain what it is doing in the world, somebody else will take the initiative to describe China in a way that has historically proven not to be accurate; the best way for the world to develop an accurate image of China is for China to present that image to the world.¹⁹⁶ Of course, an “accurate” image, in the mind of any organization is the image that particular organization wants others to see.

Evident in the conversations surrounding each of these statements is the fact that the actions the government sought to promote through stronger propaganda already brought substantial benefit to the national interest, but this was not enough. The crowning benefit the government hoped to achieve through all of its successful policies—both domestic and foreign—was to create for their country a responsible great power identity for the whole world to see. The Chinese government, furthermore, knew that there would be costs and risks involved in a public relations campaign of this magnitude, but it saw the costs and risks as not only worth taking, but necessary in order to succeed in transmitting China's positive, responsible image across the globe. To attempt this was a gamble, but it was a gamble Chinese officials were willing and eager to take.

¹⁹⁶ “Guofang Kegongwei Fumishuzhang Hu Yafeng Jiu Guofang Kegongwei Zhengfu Wangzhan 2007 Niandu Gaiban Da Jizhe Wen” [“Deputy Secretary for National Defense Working Commission Hu Yafeng Answers Media Inquiries Regarding the 2007 Revision of the National Defense Working Commission Government Web Site”], Archives of the Chinese Government, October 18, 2007, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=71&channelid=11&searchword=%D5%FD%CE%C4%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

The Strategic Purpose for China's Identity Construction

So far this section has shown that Chinese officials in the 2000s saw national identity—or global image, as it is also called in this paper—to be as important as, if not more important than, some of the concrete material interests more traditionally associated with rational decisionmaking. One might wonder why this was the case, and Chinese official speech from this period provides several reasons. Indeed, in pursuing this strategy, Beijing sought more than mere national pride or international respect. As readily observed in other dimensions of PRC policymaking, China's leaders are extremely rational, and they would not engage in such a massive public relations campaign to rewrite the country's image if there were not crucial interests involved.

The most immediate benefit officials saw in their drive to create a globally recognized responsible great power identity was that such an identity would weaken foreign opposition to China's continued rise. This is evident in the words of Anhui Province's CPPCC Chairman Yang Duoliang in 2007, who called a responsible great power image “the best answer to the foreign ‘China threat theory’ hidden agenda.”¹⁹⁷ The same idea also appears in General Administration of Press and Publication Director Shi Zongyuan's 2002 discussion of the PRC's obligations as a new member of the WTO. The previous section revealed that expressions of dedication to complying with WTO obligations were a key component of Beijing's responsibility talk during this period. While talking to a domestic audience about the importance of compliance, however, Shi provided an insight that the speeches delivered to international audiences failed to mention.

¹⁹⁷ “Shiqi Da Daibiao Tichu: Jianchi Zou Kexue Fazhan Hexie Fazhan Heping Fazhan Daolu” [“17th Party Congress Proclaims: Continue in the Path of Scientific Development, Harmonious Development, Peaceful Development”], Archives of the Communist Party of China, October 17, 2007, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=35&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012), (original language: *dui guowai bieyouyongxin de 'Zhongguo weixie lun' de zui hao huiying*).

Contrary to the international speeches, Shi's rationale for complying with WTO commitments was simply that doing so would help promote a responsible image, which he hoped would help China defend against the spread of Western opposition.¹⁹⁸ Implied in these statements is the causal logic that, if China manages to act like a responsible country and, through effective propaganda, label itself as a responsible great power, then fewer will believe those countries that are bent on opposing China through labeling it as a dangerous, threatening, or revisionist power, and more and more will come to believe that China is a responsible, friendly member of the international family of states.

This strategy of weakening international opposition to China's rise by disseminating a responsible identity, in turn, would help the country to continue developing on its way to great power status. As stated by a commentator for the CCP mouthpiece the *People's Daily* in 2005, "To unceasingly pursue a path of peaceful development, we must continue actively participating in international affairs and cultivating a responsible great power image."¹⁹⁹ The logic behind this statement and others like it was explained well two years previous, when an official said in reference to China's constructive diplomatic efforts related to the U.S.-Iraq War and the North Korean nuclear crisis, that China's appropriate actions have "continued to cultivate a responsible great power image in the international community and continued creating an international

¹⁹⁸ "Zhongxuanbu Deng Wu Buwei Lianhe Juban Zhongguo Jiaru WTO Xilie Baogaohui" ["Five Ministries and Commissions Including Central Propaganda Department Jointly Host a Report Lecture on China's Accession to the WTO"], Archives of the Chinese Government, January 23, 2002, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=117&channelid=11&searchword=%D5%FD%CE%C4%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed October 6, 2012).

¹⁹⁹ "Renmin Ribao Teyue Pinglunyan: Jiandingbuyi De Zou Heping Fazhan De Daolu" ["People's Daily Special Commentator: Unceasingly Pursue the Path of Peaceful Development"], Archives of the Chinese Government, September 2, 2005, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=98&channelid=11&searchword=%D5%FD%CE%C4%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012), (original language: *Jiandingbuyi de zou heping fazhan daolu, bixu jixu jiji canyu guoji shiwu, shuli fuzeren daguo xingxiang*).

environment beneficial to our country's development.”²⁰⁰ These statements reveal a more subtle—and at the same time more believable—motivation for China's engagement with Western countries than that the liberal logic officials tend to present to international audiences. By acting in ways that benefit other world powers, Beijing creates a responsible, status-quo identity, which decreases opposition to China's rise, thus making the international environment riper for the country's continued development.

Continued development is not the final goal, however. The ultimate goal that Chinese officials hoped to achieve by constructing and promoting a responsible identity was to maximize their country's influence or, as the global image scholars introduced in Chapter 3 call it, “freedom of discourse,” in the international system. This was a more long-term goal than the others; officials did not appear to expect to achieve this state during their time in office, although they could be seen attempting to leverage some degree of influence during this period, as will be shown hereafter.

This idea that increased global interaction and the construction of a new identity could increase a country's freedom of discourse was present in President Hu's words to the Brazilian, Indian, Mexican, and South African leadership that was presented in the previous section.²⁰¹ This concept appears even more clearly in a report published by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in 2006. This report, which was produced by a think tank with close ties to the central government, clarifies Beijing's grand strategy for participating in international institutions and contributing to the global public good in ways that would never have been revealed to

²⁰⁰ “Zhongyang Tongzhanbu Fubuzhang Lou Zhihao Tongzhi Zai Minjian Ba Jie Er Zhong Quan Hui Shang De Jianghua” [“Central United Front Work Department Deputy Minister Comrade Lou Zhihao's Speech at the Eighth Session of the Second Plenum of the DAB”], Archives of the Chinese Government, December 18, 2003, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=94&channelid=11&searchword=%D5%FD%CE%C4%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed October 6, 2012), (original language: *zai guoji shang jixu shuli le fuzeren de daguo xingxiang, bing jixu chuangzao le youli yu woguo fazhan de guoji huanjing*).

²⁰¹ See page 83.

international audiences during this period. This publication stated that China does not like the existing international order, but it lacks the power to change the order by force.²⁰² Therefore, Beijing's best choice is to join this order and its institutions so that it can reap the benefits thereof and protect itself from being hurt by them, all the while strengthening its image and increasing its influence within this system so that it can bring about change in those areas that are not beneficial to the PRC.²⁰³ The idea here is that, as China becomes more visible in the international community and as its image continues to improve, it will have greater capacity to influence the ideas and preferences of other countries and individuals. In other words, it will have achieved the leadership qualities of soft power.²⁰⁴

Interestingly, while Chinese officials knew they would not achieve this sort of maximized influence for many years—perhaps several generations—some of them attempted to influence international discourse to a limited extent during these years. Possibly they thought they could succeed in the areas where they attempted this, and in some areas they might have been right. It is also possible that the occasions seen in my research for this section resulted from the officials' stubbornness or that these officials were simply testing the waters to see how far they had come in this area. Either way, these attempts provide an interesting preview of some of the ways Beijing would seek to influence global discourse in later years.

The first way officials sought to exert international influence was by attempting to justify what much of the world saw as irresponsible actions by changing how others viewed responsibility and irresponsibility in international affairs. For example, when an Associated Press

²⁰² “Woguo Weilai De Guoji Zhanlue Xuanze” [“Our Country's Future International Strategy Choice”], Archives of the Chinese Government, November 1, 2006, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=89&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ See the discussion of Nye, *Soft Power*, presented in Chapter 2.

reporter expressed concern at Beijing's "irresponsible" test-launch of an anti-satellite missile, the usually soft-spoken Premier Wen shot back that China's test was not directed at any country, did not threaten any country, and did not violate any treaties, and therefore, did not violate China's pledge to be responsible.²⁰⁵ In several other instances, senior Chinese officials actively promoted policies, particularly Beijing's unpopular one-child policy, which is seen as immoral and irresponsible by most in the international community and opposed by many within their own country, as responsible by calling upon the amount of food and scarce resource consumption and environmental degradation that the policy prevented by preventing more than 300 million births over thirty years.²⁰⁶ Chinese officials also began to expand their state-run media outlets overseas during this period to make their justifications of Chinese politics and international affairs more accessible to foreign audiences. Most of this media expansion campaign has occurred over the past few years, however, and will not be presented in-depth in this study.

Perhaps the boldest attempt a Chinese official made to exercise global influence to dictate what is appropriate in the international community during this period occurred during a meeting of international China specialists held in Shanghai in September 2008. During a speech that highlighted China's constructive, peaceful role in world affairs, the official gave these China specialists the charge of serving as ambassadors for Chinese culture throughout the world.²⁰⁷ The

²⁰⁵ "Wen Jiabao: Jiejue Minsheng Wenti Jianli Fugai Chengxiang Shebao Tixi" ["Wen Jiabao: Resolve the Problems of the People's Lives, Build a Social Security System that Covers the City and the Country"], Database of the National People's Congress, March 16, 2007, <http://58.68.145.22/directLogin.do?target=109> (accessed October 6, 2012).

²⁰⁶ See "Guojia Renkou Jishengwei Fu Zhuren Wang Guoqiang Zai Renkou Ji Xiangguan Lingyu Xinxu Jishu Yingyong Yu Fazhan Zhuanti Yantaohui Kaimushi Shang De Jianghua" ["National Population and Family Planning Commission Vice Chairman Wang Guoqiang's Speech at the Opening Ceremony of a Symposium on the Use and Development of Population and Related Information Technology"], Archives of the Chinese Government, July 7, 2006, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=91&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

²⁰⁷ "Wang Chen Chuxi Di San Jie Shijie Zhongguoxue Luntan Bing Fabiao Yanjiang" ["Wang Chen Attends the Third World Sinology Forum and Presents a Speech"], Archives of the Chinese Government, September 10, 2008,

rationale this official presented to the foreign experts was that, if these experts can improve the relationship between the Chinese people and the peoples of the rest of the world, China will be better able to serve as a force for global peace.²⁰⁸ Of course, while explicit talk of image or identity did not occur in this statement, and it should not be expected in a statement to an international audience, the idea implied through this speech was that if China could get insiders to present their responsible great power image to the world, opposition to Beijing would decrease, Chinese development would be permitted to continue, and ultimately, China would have greater influence in the world. This speech only differed from those given to domestic audiences by presenting increased Chinese influence as a net positive for the world community as a whole, as opposed to benefitting China at the expense of other countries, as the speeches to domestic audiences seem to imply.

Summary

This chapter has shown that Chinese officials were much more open to talking about specific duties and obligations related to their international responsibility during the period from 2000 to 2008 than in previous years. While Beijing insisted on defining its own responsibilities on a case-by-case basis and opposed being held equally accountable for fulfilling these responsibilities as the more developed countries in the system, it made a concerted effort to present itself as beneficial to and dedicated to preserving the international system led by the West. In essence, Chinese officials presented their country to international audiences as a young, up-and-coming, active, and fiercely status-quo member of the international family.

Official discourse to domestic audiences, however, showed that this identity construction revealed Beijing's strategy more than its natural identity. Through taking on responsibilities and

<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=28&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

presenting itself as a responsible member of the world community, Beijing sought to weaken international opposition to its rise, create an environment conducive to China's continued development, and finally maximize the PRC's influence and freedom of discourse within the international system, allowing it to change the system in ways that will further benefit its national interests.

While China certainly did not succeed at presenting its responsible great power image to the world community in every case, on balance, there is little question that China succeeded in its efforts to convince the world that it had become an active, contributing member of the world community. After successfully hosting one of the most magical Olympics the world had ever witnessed, the country seemed poised to continue its speedy rise in the international system. In addition, the U.S. and most other states had plenty of reason to believe that Beijing's embrace of Western liberal norms related to multilateralism and economic openness was sincere. Indeed, the years 2000 – 2008 pulled the PRC into the liberal world order more fully than any period previous, and this normative shift appears to have held into the present day, at least on the economic front.

Some changes began to occur, however, toward the end of 2008 and the beginning of 2009 that would change Beijing's interaction with the international community in ways that are not yet fully understood. As the world fell deeper into economic recession and tensions once again began to flare up between China, the U.S., and other regional powers, the world started observing sharp differences in the PRC's interaction with the outside world. While Beijing continued adhering to most of the normative commitments it made throughout the previous 15 years, it also became more openly critical of those international norms it had not internalized and altered, to a shocking extent, the way it used the responsible great power concept in its

interactions with the international community. Chapter 6 will explore official discourse in the years between 2009 and the year of this writing, 2012. As with this and the previous chapter, Chapter 6 will seek to identify how Chinese officials define international responsibility in the current period, what image they currently seek to promote to the international community, and whether this role plays a part in a grander strategy as it did in the previous two periods. It is to these questions that we now turn.

CHAPTER 6

PUTTING THE “GREAT POWER” INTO RESPONSIBLE GREAT POWER

If any time period rivals 2000-2008 in sheer volume of references to the responsible great power idea in Chinese official discourse, it is the current period at the time of this writing—2009 – 2012. After experiencing overwhelming success in their use of the concept over the previous nine years, China’s leadership has continued to employ the term at 2008 levels throughout the present period. Despite similarities in the frequency with which PRC officials refer to international responsibility, however, the content of this usage in the current period could not differ more from that of the previous years.

While CCP officials previously invoked the idea of international responsibility to present their country as an eager participant in the U.S.-led liberal order, in 2009 – 2012, they have presented their country not as a participant, but as a leader, in that order. While the PRC has continued, for the most part, to keep the norms and commitments it entered into during the previous period and to contribute to the existing international system in ways that perhaps no other country could, the way PRC officials talk about international responsibility at the present appears to emphasize an identity that is bolder, more independent, and significantly less status-quo than the ones presented in the 1990s and the earlier 2000s. This discourse, coupled with a spike in Beijing’s aggressive foreign policy behavior, has produced tensions that are felt throughout the globe to this day.

Responding to a Changing World

Much of the difference in China’s international posture in the current period can be reasonably attributed to the drastic changes the world underwent toward the end of the last decade and the impact these changes had on China’s relative power and influence within the community of states. While Beijing had scored some diplomatic victories in the late 1990s, the

world at the turn of the century was still a dangerous place for China. While the PRC became increasingly strong militarily and economically, and sophisticated politically, it still found itself decades behind a strong U.S. whose president proved willing on more than one occasion to showcase America's military supremacy by forcibly removing governments it labeled "rogue," which tendency had the potential to negatively impact China's national security.²⁰⁹ In addition, China during the early 2000s needed U.S. support so that it could join international organizations, such as the World Trade Organization, and enjoy international legitimacy that would allow the country to continue its fast-paced economic development.

Successes during these years, which culminated in Beijing's hosting the Olympic Games in 2008 and then Shanghai's successfully hosting the World Expo in 2010 as highlighted in the previous chapter, put an end to Beijing's over-reliance on Washington and other centers of global political influence, signifying, as explained in the previous chapter, that China was now a world power in its own right. The PRC's position in the world changed even more following the outbreak of the global financial crisis and the resulting recession and economic slowdown that continues in most of the world at the time of this writing. Unlike the U.S., Japan, Western Europe, and most of the other traditional leaders of the world order, China handled the crisis remarkably well, managing 8.7% GDP growth in 2009²¹⁰ and then surpassing Japan as the world's second-largest economy in 2010.²¹¹ As China continued to ride its wave of high-paced growth and the U.S. and European economies suffered prolonged stagnation, Beijing began to

²⁰⁹ Potential ramifications included a collapse or removal of the North Korean state or increased U.S. presence in West Asia, one of the few parts of China's periphery that does not generally house large numbers of U.S. troops

²¹⁰ See "China GDP Grows By 8.7 Percent in 2009," *CNN*, January 20, 2010, <http://www.cnn.com/2010/BUSINESS/01/20/china.GDP.annual/index.html> (accessed November 15, 2012).

²¹¹ See "China Overtakes Japan as World's Second-Biggest Economy," *Bloomberg News*, August 16, 2010, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2010-08-16/china-economy-passes-japan-s-in-second-quarter-capping-three-decade-rise.html> (accessed November 15, 2012).

experience a reversal of fortune, with foreign capitals such as Washington and Brussels now begging it to buy more of their sovereign debt.

While Beijing no doubt sincerely hopes, for its own wellbeing, that the international economy will eventually get back on track, the global economic slowdown, which started with a debt crisis in the U.S., is perhaps the greatest opportunity the PRC leadership could have hoped for to juxtapose their responsibility and fiscal frugality next to the irresponsible freewheeling of the U.S. and its European friends. Not only did the PRC's continued growth during this period make it into a world economic power; the financial crisis provided it an opportunity to exercise this power and influence, taking a more active role in global and regional organizations and promoting itself as a leader, no longer a follower, in the international community.

The changing opportunities and challenges of this new post-global financial crisis era produced drastic transformations in Beijing's international posture. No longer did China act as a kind, longsuffering friend of the West that was delighted to fill any place the U.S. gave it in the international order. Now China had become an aggressive rising power getting in the way of U.S.- and European-led efforts vis-à-vis North Korea, Iran, and Syria, conflicting with many Southeast Asian countries due to its overaggressive claims to the Spratly Islands, and clashing—at times for prolonged periods—with Japan over their common claims to the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. While these disputes and disagreements are not new in this period, Beijing's increased confidence and power have made it more forceful and fearless in pursuing these agendas than ever before. The tone carried by Chinese diplomats abroad also began to reflect the PRC's newfound power. While government officials still tend to speak in liberal terms such as *equality*, *peace*, and *development*, it also has become commonplace to hear them flaunt their country's power, as was the case when Foreign Minister Qian Qichen impatiently told his Southeast Asian

counterparts in 2010 that “China is a big country and other countries are small countries, and that’s just a fact.”²¹²

This is not to say that China’s commitment to the liberal norms it began embracing in the 1990s and earlier 2000s disappeared during this period. To be certain, China’s commitment to most of the responsibilities and norms it adopted during the previous two periods continued in practice, making the PRC, as a whole, a preserver of the international status-quo. However, this thesis is a study not of Beijing’s embrace of international norms, but rather of how it presents its commitment to the world through its responsible great power narrative. This aspect of Chinese foreign policy has changed substantially in recent years, even if, on a whole, China continues to fulfill its obligation to the WTO and other international organizations, provide humanitarian aid to countries in need, and contribute generously to United Nations peacekeeping missions.

What sets the current period apart from previous years is not Beijing’s commitment to these norms it embraced over those years, but rather the posture it has taken in presenting its professed responsibility to these and other norms to the international community. The way Chinese officials speak about international responsibility today shows that they are no longer content in their role as mere participants in the international society, and seek instead to present their country as a leader of this society and an authority on what it means to be responsible. Thus, while China continued to follow most of the international norms it had adopted through 2008, and its commitments to some of these norms have continued to surface in official responsible great power discourse, officials began in 2009 to emphasize the differences China had with the Western countries in regards to the connotation of responsibility, as opposed to the similarities that had dominated official discourse during previous decades. They have done this

²¹² See “The Dragon’s New Teeth: A Rare Look Inside the World’s Biggest Military Expansion,” *The Economist*, April 7, 2012, <http://www.economist.com/node/21552193> (accessed November 15, 2012).

both by presenting their country as an authority on the concept of responsibility as it relates to existing norms and by seeking to discard those international norms they do not like and replace them with norms of their own.

The way Chinese officials employ the idea of responsibility in addressing international audiences—the image they present to the world—is so different from what they presented in the previous two periods that it is not immediately clear that these statements support my hypothesis that China employs international responsibility to present an image to the international community. After all, officials in recent years appear uninterested in presenting their country as cooperative and in favor of the status-quo. Nevertheless, discourse to domestic audiences will show that PRC officials continue to be just as dedicated to the identity strategy as in the previous periods.

The difference between this and the earlier periods studied is that Beijing came into the year 2009 further along in this identity strategy than in any of the previous years examined. China had already left the world with the impression that it was a responsible international actor, and so officials sought to transition into the later steps of their identity strategy. Thus, in 2009-2012, Beijing no longer saw its immediate objective as being to disprove the China threat theories or to create an environment conducive to its rise. Both of these tasks had been accomplished to a great degree in the previous 15 years. China had already become a great power on the economic realm, and it sought to exercise influence in the political real as well. As for the overall objective of exercising influence in the international system, Beijing saw this no longer as only a long-term goal, but rather as a privilege it could begin to enjoy in the short-term if it could manage to position itself properly. Therefore, in the current period, Chinese officials have tended to present their country in ways intended to strengthen their international influence,

as opposed to presenting it simply as non-threatening or status-quo actor. In order to do this, Beijing would need to prove itself as more than a mere participant in the initiatives of other countries—it must show itself to be a proactive innovator and agenda-setter within the international order.

Due to the complicated nature of the international discourse in this period, it cannot be understood properly without first understanding the domestic discourse. Thus, in breaking from the pattern set in the previous two chapters, I will first present my research taken from official speeches and statements to domestic audiences before showing how they applied their strategy in presenting their responsible identity to international audiences.

Advancing China's Influence in the Immediate-Term

Overall, China's official discourse to domestic audiences between the years 2009 and 2012 has followed the trend set in the period between 2000 and 2008—it has focused almost exclusively on the strategy to increase the PRC's global influence by creating a responsible identity. Nevertheless, two differences exist between the two periods that are worth noting. First, far fewer references to international responsibility were found in speeches to domestic audiences as a fraction of the total references to the concept during this period as compared to the previous two periods. Perhaps this shows that the Chinese government and public had already internalized the concept and understood the benefits a responsible image can bring their country by 2009 and, thus, officials have not needed to rationalize their actions so much domestically. It also could be due to the fact that, as will be seen in the following section, much of Beijing's "responsible" international behavior during this period has directly promoted China's immediate national interests, and government officials of any country rarely need to rationalize behavior that benefits their country in the immediate term.

The other difference in references made to domestic audiences during this period is that, as mentioned above, officials no longer see the national interests garnished from this strategy as being entirely long-term in nature. Rather, starting in 2009, China had already begun to experience the increased influence that previous chapters showed were at the core of the government's decision to adopt international responsibilities in the first place. Both of these differences are minor and have very little meaning to what is presented in this section; however, this second observation will play a central role in official discourse to international audiences, which will be presented in the next section. Most importantly, despite these minor differences, this section will show that official discourse to domestic audiences in the current period has continued to support my hypothesis that the PRC's embrace of international responsibility follows an explicit strategy to create a responsible global image with the aim of increasing Beijing's freedom of discourse in the international community.

Like in the previous periods examined, official statements to domestic audiences have tended to focus on the international identity that responsible behavior brings to China and the value that this identity brings to China's national interest. This has been evident in practically all of the statements made to domestic audiences during this period. Even when concrete material interests are present that most would likely consider more important than identity, China's leaders have tended to highlight the identity interest, and in many cases they emphasize this interest more than the traditional material benefits. For example, in June 2012, the director of China's State Forestry Administration, Zhao Shucong, addressed a domestic audience about the contributions China has been making to the global effort to combat desertification.²¹³ As one-

²¹³ "Zhao Shucong: Ezhi Tudi Tuihua Cujin Lvse Zengzhang" ["Zhao Shucong: Contain Land Degradation and Push Forward Greening"], Archives of the Chinese Government, June 14, 2012, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=13&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

fifth of China's land mass is desert, one can easily appreciate the country's material motivations for containing desertification, and seeing as how desertification is a transnational threat that the global community has been trying to eradicate for decades, there would probably be no grumblings from the international community if Beijing expended resources on this effort purely in pursuit of material interests. Nevertheless, rather than focusing exclusively on the meaning their actions have for the wellbeing of Chinese citizens living in places like Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia, Zhao highlighted the positive response Beijing's efforts have elicited from the international community, saying the efforts "highlighted our country's responsible great power image, won broad praise from the international community, and effectively elevated our country's international influence."²¹⁴

Even more noteworthy, yet just as reminiscent of previous periods, is the continued willingness of Chinese officials to rationalize true sacrifices to the PRC's immediate material interests on the grounds of promoting a responsible image. This is best observed in a 2010 speech by State Forestry Administration Director Jia Zhibang, who highlighted Beijing's dedication to climate change and reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, even while acknowledging that the PRC is still a developing country and that "for developing countries, the right to emit greenhouse gases, to a large degree, means the right to develop."²¹⁵ As seen in the previous two chapters, this was not the first time a PRC official used responsibility—and the responsible great power image in particular—to rationalize a policy that seemed to run contrary

²¹⁴ Ibid., (original language: *zhangxian le woguo fuzeren daguo xingxiang, yingde le guoji shehui de guangfan zanyu, youli de tisheng le woguo guoji yingxiangli*).

²¹⁵ "Fazhan LinYE Yingdui Qihou Bianhua De Zhanlue Xuanze" ["The Strategic Decision to Develop the Forestry Industry's Actions Against Climate Change"], Archives of the Chinese Government, April 1, 2010, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=40&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012), (original language: *Duiyu fazhan zhong guojia er yan, wenshi qiti paifang quan zai hen da chengdu shang yiweizhe fazhan quan*.).

to Beijing's short-term material interests; indeed several such statements appeared in the decades leading up to this speech, the most memorable of which related to Beijing's decision not to choose the safe option of devaluing its currency during the Asian Financial Crisis. This speech is unique, however, in the degree of clarity with which Jia outlined the negative repercussions of the policy to a domestic, rather than international, audience. This likely is evidence that a positive global image had already come to be seen by the Chinese people in general either as on par with, or a necessary prerequisite for, material interests. It also possibly reflects the idea during this period that China could now enjoy the benefits of a positive national interest in the short-term as well as the long-term.

Also, as in the last period presented, officials between 2009 and 2012 have focused as much, or possibly even more, on promoting their responsible actions as they have on acting responsibly. In other words, officials have continued to stress propaganda just like they did in 2000-2008. Unlike in the previous period, however, much of the propaganda during this time period has been directed at convincing the world that China's self-serving economic and political endeavors are responsible and in line with norms embraced by the international community, as opposed to simply highlighting behavior that most countries already see as responsible.²¹⁶ This propaganda work will be readily observable in the next section of this chapter, which will focus on official discourse to international audiences. There, the reader will see that, while some of Beijing's actions appear to have run counter to the image it sought to create, the country has been very effective at presenting much of its self-serving behavior as international responsibilities.

²¹⁶ See, for example, a publication by the Ministry of Commerce highlighting the need to increase propaganda related to the "going-out" (original language—*zou chuqu*) strategy for Chinese businesses to invest overseas: "Shangwu Bu Guanyu 2010 Nian Quanguo Duiwai Touzi Hezuo Gongzuo De Zhidao Yijian" ["The Ministry of Commerce's Guiding Ideas Regarding the 2010 National Investment Partnership Work"], Database of the Chinese Government, March 8, 2010, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=43&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

The other similarity official speeches and statements to domestic audiences in this period have had with those of earlier periods is that officials have clearly revealed the reasons this responsible great power image is such a high priority, or in other words, the precise benefits having a responsible identity brings to China. As in the previous two periods, officials have presented a very explicit causal logic for the necessity to present the PRC as a responsible international actor. Chapter 4 showed that, during the 1990s, officials reasoned that China's continued rise depended on convincing the international community that the PRC was not a threat, but rather a status-quo power that could contribute to the international system if given the opportunity. Chapter 5 revealed that officials became more explicit in the relationship between a positive image and China's rise between 2000 and 2008, maintaining that a responsible image was necessary in order to decrease international opposition to Beijing's rise, create a global environment that is friendly to China's continued development, and eventually lead to increased international influence and greater freedom of discourse in the global system. In the period starting in 2009, officials have continued to expound on this logic presented from 2000 to 2008, except that, due to their previous successes and the changing international order, their focus has shifted away from decreasing opposition and creating a positive environment, and concentrated more on preserving the friendly environment they feel is already in place and advancing to the final step of increasing the country's freedom of discourse.

Of course, Beijing has continued to face significant opposition in this period, likely heightened by its aggressive posture in many of the world's most divisive conflicts, and officials have acknowledged that this opposition exists. Nevertheless, officials no longer see the reduction of opposition as the main goal of their pursuit of international responsibility, as was often the case in the late 1990s. One case in point occurred in 2010 when a spokesperson from the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) told a Chinese journalist that the PRC must keep track of its responsible actions and present its achievements to the world as a way of combating national security challenges and “factors disadvantageous to us,” which he listed as the “China threat theory,” “China collapse theory,” “China responsibility theory,” and other such ideas.²¹⁷ Unlike the government officials in previous years, however, this spokesperson did not focus on combating these unfriendly theories in hopes of creating an international environment friendly to China’s rise. Indeed, the previous decade had shown that China was already fully capable of sustaining its rise and that the countries wielding the power were generally partnering with China as it rose. The reasons this spokesperson gave for improving the PRC’s propaganda efforts overseas were to “correctly expound and broadcast China’s development path and development model, strive for freedom of discourse in the international academic community, and win initiative.”²¹⁸ In other words, this official saw the negative view of China that still prevailed in some circles not as having the potential to disrupt Beijing’s development path, but as being capable of halting the full potential of the country’s growing influence throughout the world. Further research confirmed that this was not the only official to express this view.

The importance Chinese officials have given freedom of discourse during this period is evident in almost all responsibility-themed statements to domestic audiences, from speeches regarding the country’s greater diplomatic achievements to those highlighting domestic actions undertaken by lesser-known departments and ministries. In the earliest statement found in this

²¹⁷ “2010 Nian 2 Yue 9 Ri Waijiaobu Fayanren Ma Zhaoxu Juxing Lixing Jizhehui” [“February 9, 2010: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Ma Zhaoxu Holds Routine Media Conference”], Archives of the Chinese Government, February 9, 2010, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=20&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed November 12, 2012), (original language: *yu wo buli de yinsu; Zhongguo weixie lun; Zhongguo benkui lun; Zhongguo zeren lun*).

²¹⁸ Ibid., (original language: *zhengque chanyi he xuanchuan Zhongguo fazhan daolu he fazhan moshi, zai guoji xueshu jie zhengqu huayuquan, yingde zhudongquan*).

period, dated January 8, 2009, Jia Zhibang highlighted how the international praise received by the State Forestry Administration has elevated China's identity as a responsible great power and, along with it, its international influence, freedom of discourse, and right to leadership.²¹⁹

Perhaps the greatest difference between this period and previous decades is that, as mentioned above, China's leaders starting in 2009 no longer limited themselves to selecting responsibilities prescribed by the U.S. and other world powers, but began establishing themselves instead as authorities in their own right. In a world where Washington's position as leader of the international system helped lead to an economic meltdown that devastated most of the countries that followed it, China has found the time right to start setting itself up as an alternative to the U.S. in some areas of international relations. One of these areas is economic development, and officials have been increasingly vocal in presenting their country as a greater authority than the U.S. in economic matters. This will be covered in greater detail later in the chapter. What is important to this section is that this idea that Beijing can take Washington's place in some areas formed a significant part of Chinese officials' responsibility discourse. As far back as 2009, for example, Shanxi Province's Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Committee Secretary Zhang Baoshun highlighted how China's promotion of international harmony and its image as a confident responsible great power brought greater influence and international attraction to the PRC's development model.²²⁰

²¹⁹ "Jia Zhibang: Jiji Yingdui Guoji Linye Redian Wenti Zengqiang Huayuquan Zhudaoquan" ["Jia Zhibang: Actively Dealing with the Main Problems in Forestry Strengthens Freedom of Discourse and Rights to Leadership"], Archives of the Chinese Government, January 8, 2009, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=63&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

²²⁰ "Qiang Xinxin Bao Zengzhang Cu Zhuanxing Hui Minsheng: Zhang Baoshun" ["Strengthen Confidence, Maintain Growth, Promote Change, Bless People's Lives: Zhang Baoshun"], Archives of the Chinese Government, March 7, 2009, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=59&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

Perhaps the greatest indication that PRC officials have transitioned from a defensive strategy of pushing back against opposition and trying to create an environment friendly to its rise to an offensive strategy of strengthening its voice on the international stage is found in Yang Jiechi's response to a Chinese reporter's question about China's diplomatic successes in October 2012. In this speech, Yang mentioned the various aspects of China's responsible image, including peace, development, and cooperation, and then stated that this image was strengthening other countries' affinity to China and China's ability to inspire.²²¹ This affinity and ability to inspire may not appear at first to be stronger words than the other ones seen in this section, but their significance cannot be ignored. In speaking of his country's ability to inspire, Yang was talking about far more than just freedom of discourse, which can be won from the barrel of a gun more easily than through patient persuasion. The kind of influence Yang talks about—the ability to attract and inspire others, to get them to see the world as another does and want the same things as another wants—can only be earned with soft power. Only by attaining a similar amount of soft power as the United States can China ever hope to yield the kind of global influence the U.S. yields, and based on the statement presented above, Yang Jiechi not only sees this as one of Beijing's greatest priorities; he sees it as a successful policy already underway.

Thus official discourse to domestic audiences during this period exhibits strong support for my hypothesis that China adopts international responsibility for the purpose of creating an identity that will increase its influence in the international system. This period differs from previous periods, however, in that the domestic official discourse is far stronger and more active than at any time in the past. Officials during this period appear to feel that they already enjoy

²²¹ “Yang Jiechi: Waijiao Gongzuo De Kexue Fazhan Zhi Lu” [“Yang Jiechi: The Scientific Development Path of Diplomatic Work”], Archives of the Chinese Government, October 10, 2012, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=4&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

strengthened influence and are already capable of changing the international system in ways that benefit their national interests. The following section will show that international discourse has also followed this trend. It is not nearly as liberal as in prior years and focuses less on appearing to be a status-quo power and more on setting Beijing up as a leader of the international community. Its purpose is the same as in previous periods, however, which purpose is to present an image that will help the PRC complete its rise as a great power in the world system.

Emboldening the Dragon: Creating a Stronger Image for China Abroad

My review of official speeches and statements to foreign audiences during the years 2009 – 2012 shows that Chinese officials have presented international responsibility in vastly different ways during this time than in previous decades. While they still invoke their country's responsibility to promote an identity on the global stage, the identity they seek to exhibit has become significantly stronger than in any of the other periods captured in this study. While officials from the mid-1990s until 2008 sought, for the most part, to present their country as a status-quo participant in the international system, starting in 2009 they began promoting their role no longer as a mere participant, but as a leader of the changing world order.

Research on this period found that this emboldened image consists of two main characteristics. The first is the tendency of officials to exhibit their country's strength, confidence, and initiative in proactively taking and fulfilling international responsibilities as opposed to the almost passive obedience (which they had labeled as active participation) that they presented in previous years. The second of these characteristics is their tendency to present Beijing as an international authority on what it means to be responsible, as opposed to merely a blind follower of the initiatives of the U.S. and other world powers. As such, it can be said that the China of 2009 – 2012 has ceased striving to reassure the U.S. and other global powers, and

has now shifted its attention toward gaining influence among emerging markets, developing countries, and the potentially malleable states hit hardest by the financial crisis and other domestic or international catastrophes. These two trends are discussed in detail below.

Exhibiting China as a Strong World Leader

Chinese official discourse presented to international audiences between the years 2009 and 2012, in keeping with the overall progress in the country's national image strategy discussed in the previous section, has focused on changing the PRC's image from that of a passive, obedient participant in the U.S.-led international order to that of a world leader in its own right. Chapters 4 and 5 showed that officials during the previous two periods focused most of their efforts on convincing other nations that Beijing supported the status-quo, which is that the U.S. and its Western allies set the rules and norms in the international system, and other countries, like China, obediently follow these rules in their domestic and foreign policies. When norms are not followed, according to the status-quo, governments must rationalize their failure to abide by those norms, as Beijing did in blaming inexperience for its failure to live up to some of the promises it made when joining the WTO.

This chapter in no way intends to convince the reader that Chinese officials no longer see the currently existing norms as important or binding, nor that they have stopped trying to gain favor with the West. This section will show that Beijing continues to do all of these things, and much of the international discourse continues to follow the liberal tone that dominated such speeches and statements from the mid-1990s through much of the 2000s. What has changed in the current period is that, in addition to rhetoric highlighting compliance with norms upheld by Western powers, official discourse began on a large scale to highlight concrete, innovative policy behaviors that showcase the PRC's capability and achievements in confronting real challenges

facing the world through proactively developing indigenous policies, as opposed to simply taking orders from more powerful states. Many of these proactive behaviors relate to the liberal norms upon which the international system was created, but rather than waiting for the U.S. or some international organization to tell it how to uphold these norms, Beijing sought to place itself a step or two ahead of the international community, thus positioning itself as a leader in ways not previously seen.

This active leadership characteristic of Beijing's image can be summed up in four components, which include China's maintaining a truly autonomous foreign policy not just in word but in deed, its innovative way of developing new solutions to existing problems, its increased sense of authority within the international system, and its existence as a coveted partner whose proactive—rather than passive—qualities provide previously unimagined benefits to both developing and developed states throughout the world. While this is not a complete list of the qualities of China's identity formation over the past few years, it does highlight some of the most prominent changes of this identity compared to that of the previous years studied. Each of these characteristics is introduced briefly below.

The first, most fundamental, aspect of China's identity as a strong world leader that PRC officials started promoting in 2009 is that of having a fully autonomous foreign policy. The concept of maintaining an autonomous foreign policy is not new. The reader will recall from Chapter 5 that PRC officials tended to emphasize their country's autonomous foreign policy throughout the 2000s, and this has been the case all the way back to the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. When officials emphasized their autonomous policy prior to 2009, however, they generally did so while explaining their country's involvement in international efforts spearheaded by more powerful countries, making the "autonomous" rhetoric appear more as a

rationalization to reassure domestic skeptics than an actual characteristic of their policy. The previous use of the term “autonomous foreign policy” contrasts nicely with a MOFA spokesperson’s response to a media question about China’s policy toward North Korea during 2011. The spokesperson, Hong Lei, expressed support for the engagement policy which went counter to both U.S. and South Korean policies at the time, and confidently stated that “China always uses its own method for doing this work, and has played a responsible and constructive role . . . We will continue doing this, and we hope all relevant parties will stand together with China . . .”²²²

This is only one example of the new meaning China’s autonomous foreign policy took on and the role it began playing in Beijing’s responsible great power image in recent years. Chinese officials have become confident in their international legitimacy and ability to pursue their own policies without having to rationalize these policies to the U.S., Seoul, or any other foreign government. Instead of supporting the U.S. stance or creating excuses for failure to comply with that stance, this official refused to even present the U.S. demands as legitimate, stating instead that *because* Beijing is responsible, it will continue to follow its own policy, which is also responsible, and it hopes that other parties—like the U.S.—will fall into line. This is what is meant by China’s autonomous foreign policy during this period, and indeed, that autonomous foreign policy has become the most fundamental characteristic of China’s international responsibility, as presented to international audiences by PRC officials.

²²² “2011 Nian 1 Yue 4 Ri Waijiaobu Fayaren Hong Lei Juxing Lixing Jizhehui” [“January 4, 2011 Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Hong Lei Holds a Routine Media Conference”], Archives of the Chinese Government, January 4, 2011, http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=71&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE*B4%F3%B9%FA*D6%D0%B9%FA (accessed November 12, 2012), (original language: *Zhongfang yizhi yi ziji de fangshi wei ci shi gongzuo, fahui le fuzeren he jianshexing zuoyong . . . Women jiang jixu zheyang zuo, bing xiwang youguan gefang he Zhongfang yidao . . .*).

Another key characteristic of the strong world leader image promoted by Chinese authorities during the current period is the ability of the PRC to develop innovative ways of dealing with transnational issues that go above and beyond the practices of other countries. This is a natural corollary of Beijing's newfound confidence in following its own foreign policy instead of giving-in to U.S. and Western demands. One example of official discourse presenting China as an innovative problem solver is found in CPPCC chairman Jia Qinglin's account of China's successful mission to rescue its people from Libya, along with 2,100 nationals of 12 other countries.²²³ While China is one of several countries that carried out successful evacuation missions in Libya, and the CCP was subject to intense public outcry for not doing more sooner,²²⁴ what matters for this study is not whether Beijing was really as innovative as Jia said it was, but rather the way in which Jia presented what occurred. In this instance, Jia presented his government as having not only planned and carried out a successful military mission to evacuate its own citizens, but also having gone beyond the call of duty by evacuating nationals of other countries as well.

This same tone is perhaps even more prominent in official statements regarding the PRC's reaction to the global financial crisis. For example, Wen Jiabao told a group of domestic and foreign reporters in 2009 that it would be difficult for China to achieve 8% economic growth in 2009, but it would do everything possible to reach this goal, because as one of the greatest

²²³ "Fengyu Ting Zhou Youyi Chang Qing: ji Quanguo Zhengxie Zhuxi Jia Qinglin Wei Jingji Kelite Cheli Zhongfang Zai Li Renyuan Xingdong Youxiu Renyuan Song Jiang" ["Sticking Together in Hard Times with Longlasting Friendship: Jia Qinglin, Chairman of the National Committee of the CPPCC, Gives Award to Outstanding Staff Who Evacuated Chinese Personnel in Libya through Crete"], Archives of the Communist Party of China, October 26, 2011, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=15&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

²²⁴ See Josh Chin, "China Vows to Protect Chinese in Libya," *The Wall Street Journal*, February 25, 2011, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748703905404576164321645905718.html> (accessed November 17, 2012).

single contributors of economic growth on the planet, maintaining its domestic economic growth is one of China's key international responsibilities.²²⁵ Deputy governor of the People's Bank of China, Hu Xiaolian, in the same month as Wen's speech, provided greater details about how the government would fulfill this responsibility through specific active government policies, making this policies appear easy for China, even though more affluent states like the U.S. and the European countries had not managed to stimulate their growth.²²⁶

While neither of the examples shown here is as bold as the statement used to exemplify China's autonomous foreign policy above, each of these statements exhibits an attempt by a Chinese official to present the PRC government as standing at the cutting edge of effective policy. Of course, they have experienced the most success in the economic realm, as their actions have produced results that the traditional leaders of the world order have failed to accomplish through their policies.

Third, Chinese officials have begun to show off their country's newfound authority as a leader in the international system. Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in the aftermath of the global financial crisis, when for a while one could see a constant picture of fiscally irresponsible governments in the U.S. and Europe begging the fiscally responsible CCP to lend them money and Beijing supporting these more affluent countries' economies by investing in large quantities of their national debt.

²²⁵ "Xin Nuan Jingji Nuan Chunse Beihuan Ren—Wen Jiabao Zongli Huijian Zhongwai Jizhe Ceji" ["A Warm Heart and a Warm Economy, the Colors of Spring Multiply People—Premier Wen Jiabao Meets with Chinese and Foreign Journalists"], Database of the National People's Congress, March 14, 2009, <http://58.68.145.22/directLogin.do?target=109> (accessed November 12, 2012).

²²⁶ "Hu Xiaolian Fu Hangzhang Chuxi Waijiaobu Jieshao Hu Jintao Zhuxi Chuxi Ershi Guo Jituan Lingdaoren Di Er Ci Jinrong Fenghui Xinwen Chuiheng Hui Shilu" ["Deputy Bank Governor Hu Xiaolian Attends a Press Briefing by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Introducing Chairman Hu Jintao's Attendance at the Second G-20 Financial Summit"], Archives of the Chinese Government, March 24, 2009, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=17&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

This image was highlighted in November 2011 when Zhang Xiaoqiang, vice-director of China's National Development and Reform Commission, answered a reporter's question about the message Chinese officials were trying to present to the international community during the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. Zhang replied that senior officials were sending a signal of confidence, cooperation, and responsibility.²²⁷ Zhang went on to state that, as the world's largest developing country, China is a responsible great power, because it strengthened cooperation in the world community at the same time it effectively took care of its own economic development.²²⁸ Zhang also called upon other countries to work together, saying that the global financial system needed to be reformed, and this was only possible through international cooperation.²²⁹ Zhang's response to this media inquiry highlights a China that is no longer seeking to convince others that it will go along with their ideas but, on the contrary, has become the hope of the world, bringing ideas to the table and only needing other countries to roll up their sleeves and work alongside it in order to make these ideas a reality.

China's identity as a qualified leader in the international community is not only seen in the economic sector; it exists in practically every area officials showcase as one of China's responsibilities during this era. One example is seen in Vice President Xi Jinping's 2011 speech about China's diligently "pushing forward" regional cooperation in Asia because it is a

²²⁷ "Guojia Fazhan Gaige Wei Fu Zhuren Zhang Xiaoqiang Zai 2011 Nian Xiaji Dawosi Luntan Kaimushi Hou Jieshou Jizhe Caifang" ["National Development and Reform Commission Vice-Director Zhang Xiaoqiang Accepts Media Interviews Following the Opening Ceremony of the 2011 Summer Davos Forum"], Archives of the Chinese Government, September 14, 2011, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=8&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid.

responsible great power.²³⁰ While this statement may appear subtle if not insignificant at first, it cannot be overlooked that speeches regarding regional cooperation in the preceding periods focused on China's *participation* in ongoing cooperative efforts, and in this period, they focus on *pushing forward* cooperation that appears not to have been happening at a satisfactory level. Passive followers participate; active leaders push forward.

The final element of the new Chinese strong leader identity is Beijing's role as a coveted partner of the international community. This coveted partner role is different from the role officials presented in previous periods, which also sought to present the PRC as an effective international partner. In previous decades, officials presented China as a *willing* partner that would help bring about the objectives of other countries. In this period, on the other hand, they have presented the PRC as a *powerful* partner with vast stockpiles of international influence to offer any country it so desires. This partner identity has been used to target both developing and developed countries.

In 2011, for example, Wen Jiabao told a Malaysian and an Indonesian journalist that "China's development itself is an enormous contribution to human prosperity and advancement. At the same time, China's development is also a development opportunity for neighbors, especially ASEAN countries. China is a responsible great power. We are a preserver of world peace, security, and stability."²³¹ The idea presented to the Malaysian and Indonesian publics,

²³⁰ "'Zhong Tai Yi Jia Qin' – Xi Jinping Fu Zhuxi Fangwen Taiguo Zongshu" ["'China and Thailand as Close as Family' – A Roundup of Xi Jinping's Visit to Thailand"], Archives of the Communist Party of China, December 22, 2011, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=10&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012), (original language: *tuidong*).

²³¹ "Wen Jiabao Jieshou Malaixiya He Yindunixiya Jizhe Lianhe Caifang" ["Wen Jiabao Accepts a Joint Interview with Malaysian and Indonesian Journalists"], Archives of the Communist Party of China, April 25, 2011, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=16&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012), (original language: *Zhongguo fazhan benshen jiu shi dui renlei fanrong yu jinbu de juda gongxian. Tongshi*,

was that China's rapid development would help its neighbors develop. This is not much different from the idea presented in the period 2000 – 2008 that Beijing's growing economic and political influence would provide benefits to other countries. Beijing's "responsible" courtship of developing countries began to break new ground, however, when officials started ascribing international responsibility to their country's outreach to Africa,²³² as well as its more recent push to develop relations with Afghanistan.²³³ What is especially noteworthy about these examples is that, while officials can confidently make the case to their African and Afghan counterparts that their outreach is a fulfillment of responsibility—and one in harmony with any number of international norms—the West neither requested nor wants for China to take upon it these responsibilities. The global outcry over Beijing's no-strings-attached policy and resource extraction in Africa appears to strengthen each year in the U.S. and Western Europe. With regards to Afghanistan, one cannot imagine officials in Washington hearing the PRC's promise to help Afghanistan preserve its sovereignty and development two years prior to the planned U.S. troop withdraw without feeling uncomfortable.²³⁴

While Beijing had occasionally presented itself as a savior of developing states in previous years, the partnership it projected to developed countries during the current time has

Zhongguo de fazhan ye shi linguo tebie shi Dongmeng guojia fazhan de jiyu. Zhongguo shi yige fuzeren de daguo, women shi shijie heping, anquan yu wending de weihuzhe.

²³² See "Yang Jiechi Waizhang Tan Hu Jintao Zhuxi Chuxi Si Da Fenghui Chengguo" ["Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi Discusses the Achievements of Chairman Hu Jintao's Attendance at the G-4 Summit"], Archives of the Chinese Government, September 27, 2009, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=14&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

²³³ See "2012 Nian 6 Yue 8 Ri Waijiaobu Fayaren Liu Weimin Juxing Lixing Jizhe Hui" ["June 8, 2012: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Liu Weimin Holds Routine Press Conference"], Archives of the Chinese Government, June 8, 2012, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=15&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

²³⁴ Ibid.

differed from the other periods studied in that officials present China the same way to developed countries as they do to developing countries. This is seen on a handful of occasions, but perhaps most clearly in Xi Jinping's statement to his Irish hosts in early 2012. In this statement, Xi pledged support to the European Union (EU), stating that China would help the EU as it continued to struggle with its debt crisis.²³⁵ Xi also told his Irish hosts that China appreciates Ireland's responsible actions in dealing with the debt crisis and will offer support to Ireland within the EU.²³⁶ What Xi meant by this statement is not clear. What is clear is that Xi took a confident stance in this statement, essentially taking on the role usually filled by the U.S. in offering to use China's strength to support the weakening EU and the even weaker Ireland within the EU. Li Keqiang made a similar statement to a Spanish audience in 2011, essentially presenting China as a beacon of hope amid the European debt crisis.²³⁷

Thus, Chinese official speeches and statements about its own identity as a responsible country between 2009 and 2012 have presented a stronger, more confident image than in times past. This image, as discussed here, has consisted of a foreign policy that is truly autonomous in both word and action, an ability to find creative solutions to problems the world's leading powers have been unable to tackle, an ability to serve as an effective leader of the international community, and a willingness to use its resources and newfound influence to support and protect

²³⁵ "Gonggu Youhao Zengjin Huxin Shenhua Hezuo Gongmou Fazhan—Waijiaobu Buzhang Yang Jiechi Tan Xi Jinping Fu Zhuxi Fangwen Aierlan He Tuerqi" ["Consolidate Friendship, Advance Mutual Trust, Deepen Cooperation, Mutually Pursue Development—Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi Discusses Vice Chairman Xi Jinping's Visit to Ireland and Turkey"], Archives of the Chinese Government, February 23, 2012, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=20&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ "'Women Wei Chuandi Xinxin Er Lai' – Ji Guowuyuan Fu Zongli Li Keqiang Chuxi Zhong Xi Qiyejia Zaocan Hui" ["'We Come to Bring Confidence' – A Record of State Council Vice Premier Li Keqiang's Attendance at the China-Spain Entrepreneurs' Breakfast Meeting"], Archives of the Communist Party of China, January 5, 2011, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=22&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

its partners, both developed and underdeveloped, in the international community. This active leadership role is the first characteristic of the revamped global image presented to international audiences in the period starting in 2009. This image is status-quo in that most of the behavior and attributes labeled “responsible” comply with international norms. On the other hand, the image also has revisionist attributes, as it seeks to take influence away from the U.S. and other established powers in its quest to be seen as an alternative leader of the international order.

Setting China up as the Authority on International Responsibility

The second characteristic of the global identity Chinese officials have presented to international audiences in the current period is that of Beijing having become the authority on the definition and meaning of international responsibility. While China’s responsible identity for decades depended on its willing acceptance of other states’ definitions of responsibility, ironically, in 2009, officials started highlighting China’s rejection of responsibility as it is defined by the U.S. and other Western powers, and the presentation of its own definitions of the concept as an alternative international standard. In so doing, they presented Beijing no longer as a student eager to learn to act appropriately, but rather as the teacher—the authority on what is and is not responsible in the international system. This fits right into the PRC government’s strategy presented in this chapter, which is to increase China’s freedom of discourse in the international system.

Research found five main tactics Chinese officials use when driving the country’s identity as an authority on what it means to act responsibly. First, they have, at times, altered the definition of international responsibility to make it easier for China to rationalize, on the basis of international norms, some of its self-serving endeavors that other states often perceive as inconsistent with Beijing’s responsible role. Second, they began openly assigning responsibilities

to other states to a greater degree than they did between 2000 and 2008. In assigning responsibilities, Chinese officials gave themselves the privilege of deciding who is responsible for what, based on globally accepted norms and its own extensions to these norms, and how much stake the various parties have in the tasks assigned to them. Third, officials began using the concept of responsibility to criticize—and on occasion to praise—other actors and their policies. Fourth, they started to use the concept of responsibility to publicly discredit existing norms not in line with their national objectives and to present their own norms as universal responsibilities. Finally, they began on a limited scale to invoke international responsibility in an attempt to promote changes to certain aspects of the existing international order. While they do not call for the entire overthrow of the existing order, they have sought to bring about some significant changes to make the global system fairer for developing countries. I now review these five factors one at a time.

The first and most basic way PRC officials have sought to set their country up as the authority of international responsibility is by altering the definition of responsibility in ways that allow them to continue upholding policies that run counter to the existing definitions of the concept. The altered definition of responsibility usually reflects principles that are widely accepted as legitimate responsibilities of governments, meaning that they are in line with global norms, but are not usually included in conversations of state responsibility on the international level. This tactic was perhaps most clearly exhibited by Yang Jiechi in 2011, who said, “A country’s international responsibility, first and foremost, is to take care of its own business. Not to create trouble for other countries is one’s greatest responsibility to the world.”²³⁸ This

²³⁸ “Jianchi Heping Fazhan, Tuijin Waijiao Gongzuo—Waijiaobu Buzhang Yang Jiechi Zai ‘Zhongguo De Heping Fazhan’ Zuotanhui Shang De Jianghua (2011 Nian 9 Yue 15 Ri, Diaoyutai Guo Binguan)” [“Persist in Peaceful Development, Push Forward Diplomacy—Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi’s Speech at the ‘Chinese Peaceful Development’ Conference (September 15, 2011, Diaoyutai State Guesthouse)”], Archives of the Chinese

statement is reminiscent of the philosophy of the domestic development school introduced in Chapter 3, but it differs from that school in that Yang does not disagree that international responsibilities exist outside of China's domestic affairs; he simply adds a domestic component to the international obligations the world has already accepted, thus adding to the definition of responsibility a general statement it can use anytime Beijing receives criticism for self-serving actions that appear to violate international norms. It is a brilliant attempt to preserve the PRC's responsible identity, even while carrying out a policy of widespread political suppression at home and over-aggressive diplomacy abroad.

Not all of these definitional changes were as general as Yang's quip about putting one's own house in order. More specific statements also emerged in reaction to specific areas of disagreement between the PRC and other world powers. One example is found in a 2010 statement by Rear Admiral Yin Zhuo of the PLA Navy, who said that, since the U.S. and other powerful countries want China to act as a responsible great power, China will have to increase its defense spending.²³⁹ This statement follows from the logic of Yang's assertion above that countries have a responsibility to the international community to manage their own affairs properly. Since national defense is an internationally-recognized responsibility belonging to each sovereign government, part of being a responsible great power is ensuring that one's country has addressed its national defense needs. Thus, according to this logic, China's rapid military development that has produced fear throughout the world is nothing less than a solemn

Government, September 15, 2011, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=9&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed November 12, 2012), (original language: *Yi guo de guoji zeren shouxian zaiyu ban hao benguo de shiqing, bu gei bieguo zhizao mafan shi dui shijie zui da de zeren.*).

²³⁹ "Haijun Shaojiang Yin Zhuo: Wo Zancheng Liang An Jianli Junshi Huxin Jizhi" ["Navy Rear-Admiral Yin Zhuo: I Support Building a Cross-Strait Military Mutual Confidence Mechanism"], Database of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, March 4, 2010, <http://data.people.com.cn/directLogin.do?target=110> (accessed November 12, 2012).

responsibility the Chinese government has to the international community. Both of these examples show a well-thought-out fusion of domestic responsibility with international responsibility to promote China's right and obligation to strengthen its material power even when doing so seems to run counter to the ideals or objectives of the global community.

The second way Chinese officials have sought to set their country up as the authority on international responsibility is by publicly assigning tasks to other states, especially the world's most developed countries. Importantly, this tactic is not new; Beijing made assignments to developed countries during the period covered in Chapter 5. The period starting in 2009, however, has been unprecedented in the degree to which this tactic is used. Indeed, the entire balance sheet of responsibility has changed, with officials, wary of being seen as caving-in to foreign powers, rarely accepting any task recommended by Western countries, but regularly assigning duties to other states. Most of these assignments have related to globally accepted liberal norms that the world is used to seeing Washington or London try to enforce.

The greatest number of China's assignments to other countries have related to attempts to bring recovery to the world economy in the wake of the global financial crisis. These statements have resembled pep talks from a coach seeking to instill courage, confidence, and responsibility in the minds of team members. Perhaps the first manifestation of this trend in this period occurred in Wen Jiabao's speech at the 2009 World Economic Forum, where he called upon all the world leaders in attendance to take responsibility for "[spreading] confidence, courage, and hope to the world."²⁴⁰ Wen proceeded to share a number of figures showing how China has been

²⁴⁰ "Jianding Xinxin Jiaqiang Hezuo Tuidong Shijie Jingji Xin Yi Lun Zengzhang—Zai Shijie Jingji Luntan 2009 Nian Nianhui Shang De Tebie Zhici" ["Firm-up Confidence, Strengthen Cooperation, Push Forward a New Period of World Economic Growth—Special Speech at the 2009 World Economic Forum Annual Conference"], Archives of the Communist Party of China, January 29, 2009, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=28&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012), (original language: *xiang shijie chuandi xinxin, yongqi he xiwang*).

a responsible great power during the crisis, and called upon the more developed countries to take responsibility for finding a solution to the crisis.²⁴¹ Wen's words in this speech resonated with listeners both because he established his authority by presenting the accomplishments his government had achieved through active intervention in its economy and because his calls for all countries to work together and for developed countries to do more to fight the crisis both fit with the liberal norms upon which international society was built and made sense—without such measures, a resolution of the crisis seemed impossible.

President Hu Jintao's speech during the 2011 Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meeting in Hawaii shows an even bolder side of this tendency to assign responsibilities to other countries. During this speech, Hu called for a change in the world economic development model and made specific assignments for both emerging markets such as itself as well as for developed nations.²⁴² Assignments for emerging markets included enlarging domestic demand and changing to a more growth-friendly development model, while responsibilities to developed countries included implementing "responsible" macroeconomic policies and appropriately addressing their sovereign debt crises.²⁴³ Like Wen's speech above, Hu's statement resonated with its audience due to the authority Beijing had to speak about economic development and fiscal responsibility. After all, China was still the world's fastest-growing economy, and while the developing countries were overwhelming sellers of debt, the PRC was, by far, a net buyer of debt.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² "Zhuanbian Fazhan Fangshi Shixian Jingji Zengzhang—Zai Yatai Jing He Zuzhi Di Shijiu Ci Lingdaoren Fei Zhengshi Huiyi Shang De Jianghua" ["Transform the Development Method and Realize Economic Growth—Speech at the 19th APEC Informal Leadership Meeting"], Archives of the Communist Party of China, November 13, 2011, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=6&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed November 12, 2012).

²⁴³ Ibid.

Officials employing this tactic generally make most of their assignments to developed countries, and they assign these tasks in specific terms, although they do not usually prescribe the exact ways states should go about fulfilling these assignments. Hu did not tell the U.S. and Western Europe exactly how they should deal with their debt crises, just as he did not tell the emerging markets how to increase domestic demand and consumption. Although China can legitimately present itself as an authority figure in each of these areas, its officials realize that each country is different, and there is no one-size-fits-all solution to political and economic challenges. Similarly, no specific plan of action has been presented yet when Chinese officials make one of their most common assignments, which is for developed countries to take responsibility for the development of less-affluent states.²⁴⁴

As mentioned above, this tactic is not an attempt to replace any existing norms, although such a tactic is being used in this period, as will be explained later. When officials use this tactic, they set themselves up as promoters of, and authorities on, the existing norms, generally making the case that China, as a developing country, is already doing more than its fair share, and developed countries should pick up the slack. This tendency to promote existing norms but assign the greatest responsibility to other states is often expressed in terms of the “mutual yet different responsibilities” argument, which they use to rationalize China’s refusal to do as much to combat environmental protection as Western states had hoped. The idea of “mutual yet

²⁴⁴ See, for example, Wen Jiabao’s speech in Jianding Xinxin Jiaqiang Hezuo Tuidong Shijie Jingji Xin Yi Lun Zengzhang—Zai Shijie Jingji Luntan 2009 Nian Nianhui Shang De Tebie Zhici” [“Firm-up Confidence, Strengthen Cooperation, Push Forward a New Period of World Economic Growth—Special Speech at the 2009 World Economic Forum Annual Conference”], Archives of the Communist Party of China, January 29, 2009;

“Tong Zhou Gong Ji Gong cu Fazhan—Hu Jintao Zhuxi Chuixi Ershi Guo Jituan Lingdaoren Di Wu Ci Fenghui he Yatai Jing He Zuzhi Di Shiba Ci Lingdaoren Fei Zhengshi huiyi Qude Yuanman Chenggong” [“Crossing a River in the Same Boat, Mutually Pushing Development—Hu Jintao Achieves Satisfactory Accomplishments in Attending the Fifth G-20 Leadership Summit and the 18th APEC Unofficial Leadership Meeting”], Archives of the Communist Party of China, November 14, 2010, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=24&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012) .

different responsibilities” refers to the assertion that all countries hold responsibility in addressing global challenges, but the extent of the responsibility differs according to each country’s situation. Areas where this concept is used include essentially all of the liberal ideals to which China and other great powers tend to agree in principle but are unwilling or hesitant to enact in practice, for obvious reasons related to national security. One such ideal is that of nuclear disarmament, which Chinese officials recognize as a responsible policy but maintain that the greatest responsibility belongs to those countries with the most nuclear weapons, by which they appear to mean the U.S. and Russia.²⁴⁵

The most shocking incidence of a Chinese official assigning liberal responsibilities to a developed state occurred in May 2012 when Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi essentially used the same tone Zoellick had utilized seven years earlier in calling on the U.S. to be more cooperative and responsible in the international community. After using the familiar rhetoric that “a prosperous U.S. is beneficial for China,”²⁴⁶ Yang proceeded to tell the U.S. it must respect China’s sovereignty and national interests by not interfering in the PRC’s domestic politics. This example sits on the borderline of this tactic and the next, which is the criticism of other countries, based on the concept of international responsibility.

The next tactic, and one of the most common methods Chinese officials have used to establish their country as the authority on international responsibility has centered on criticizing—and occasionally praising—the foreign policies, actions, or statements of other international actors by labeling them as irresponsible—or as responsible, in the case of praise. As

²⁴⁵ See “2010 Nian Zhongguo De Guofang: Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Guowuyuan Xinwen Banshi” [“China’s National Security in 2010: Media Office of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China”], Archives of the Chinese Government, March 31, 2011, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=32&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

²⁴⁶ Original language: *yi ge fanrong de Meiguo dui Zhongguo you li*; Robert Zoellick used almost the exact same phrase in 2005 when stating that a prosperous China is beneficial for the U.S.

with the assignment-making discussed above, this tactic was used to a limited extent before 2009, but only in recent years has it become truly widespread.

The use of the concept of responsibility to praise other international actors was still rare during this period, and it generally occurred in response to statements or actions by non-state actors that were seen as friendly toward China.²⁴⁷ This sort of praise to journalists that write favorably of China was seen in the period between 2000 and 2008 as well, and its frequency does not appear to have increased in the current period. One new and interesting development in recent years, however, is the tendency to, on a very limited basis, refer to other countries as “responsible great powers.” Li Keqiang used this term to describe Russia during a speech at a university in Moscow in April 2012.²⁴⁸ Li’s statement made this assertion based on what Li described as Russia’s serving alongside China as a designer of the new world order and a preserver of global peace.²⁴⁹ The lack of other similar speeches implies that this may be an anomaly. The appearance of this speech toward the end of the period covered by this chapter could also signify the formation of a new trend; only time will tell. Nevertheless, for such a high-level PRC official to use the “responsible great power” identity to describe a country other than China shows that Beijing has reached a new level of self-proclaimed authority over what is responsible.

²⁴⁷ For one example, see a statement labeling international news reports regarding China’s reaction to the global financial crisis as “accurate” – “Wang Chen Zhuren Chuxi Di Shiyi Jie Zhongguo Guoji Xinwen Luntan Nianhui” [“Director Wang Chen Attends the 11th Annual China International News Forum”], Archives of the Chinese Government, December 26, 2009, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=51&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

²⁴⁸ “Shunying Shijie Fazhan Dashi Shenhua Zhong E Zhanlue Hezuo—Zai Mosike Daxue De Yanjiang” [“Adapting to the Greater Trend of World Development, Deepening the Sino-Russian Strategic Partnership—Speech at the University of Moscow”], Archives of the Communist Party of China, April 28, 2012, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=7&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

Far more commonplace than these scant instances of Chinese officials praising international actors as responsible is Beijing's rampant negative campaign of labeling "irresponsible" many of the countries and actors that are generally held to be authorities on the topic of international responsibility. Statements such as these appear to be the most common out of any official discourse about international responsibility during this period. At times these statements have been made in opposition to significant actions by more powerful countries that are not in line with China's national interest, such as the "irresponsible" and "biased" Western-led UNSC resolution that officials said would only add to the violence in Syria,²⁵⁰ as well as what Beijing termed the "irresponsible" purchase of the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands in spring 2012.²⁵¹

Official discourse labeling other countries as irresponsible also commonly came in response to media questions regarding the breakdown of China's relations with other countries. cursory research found statements of this sort directed at the U.S., Japan, and France. Most of these statements echoed the tune of Yang Jiechi's 2009 assertion that "the responsibility for the problems that have occurred in Sino-French relations does not belong to China."²⁵² The most common recipients of China's accusations of irresponsibility have been the U.S. and Japan, and

²⁵⁰ See "2012 Nian 2 Yue 6 Ri Waijiaobu Fayaren Liu Weimin Juxing Lixing Jizhe Hui" ["February 6, 2012: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Liu Weimin Holds Routine Media Conference"], Archives of the Chinese Government, February 6, 2012, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=21&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

²⁵¹ See "2012 Nian 5 Yue 31 Ri Waijiaobu Fayaren Liu Weimin Juxing Lixing Jizhe Hui" ["May 31, 2012: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Liu Weimin Holds Routine Media Conference"], Archives of the Chinese Government, May 31, 2012, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=26&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA%D6%D0%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

²⁵² "Yang Jiechi Zai Shiyi Jie Quanguo Renda Er Ci Huiyi Juxing De Jizhe Zhaodaihui Shang Jiu Zhongguo Waijiao Zhengce He Dui Wai Guanxi Da Zhong Wai Jizhe Wen" ["Yang Jiechi Answers Chinese and International Media Inquiries at the Press Conference Held at the Second Session of the 11th National People's Congress"], Database of the National People's Congress, March 8, 2009, <http://58.68.145.22/directLogin.do?target=109> (accessed November 12, 2012), (original language: *Zhong Fa guanxi fasheng de wenti, zeren bu zai Zhongfang*).

verbal attacks against these countries usually come in response to statements made by these countries or actors within these countries accusing China of illegal or irresponsible behavior either domestically or abroad. Harsh reactions to U.S. allegations that the Chinese government was involved in hacking and economic espionage against the U.S.²⁵³ and that China was protecting North Korea against efforts to prevent it from developing nuclear weapons²⁵⁴ are just two examples of this trend.

In addition to labeling countries as irresponsible, Chinese officials also began to more commonly use this criticism against sub-state actors whose accusations they found threatening. Usually these actors were located in the U.S., which appears to be China's number one destination for this attack line between 2009 and 2012. Two recent examples of this include labeling as irresponsible calls by the U.S. iron workers' union for the U.S. government to inspect what it interpreted as protectionist trade practices by China²⁵⁵ and the U.S. Republican Party, whose national convention in 2012 included references to the PRC's alleged currency manipulation and other unfair economic practices.²⁵⁶

²⁵³ See, for example, "2012 Nian 2 Yue 6 Ri Waijiaobu Fayaren Liu Weimin Juxing Lixing Jizhe Hui" ["February 6, 2012: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Liu Weimin Holds Routine Media Conference"], Archives of the Chinese Government, February 6, 2012.

²⁵⁴ See "2010 Nian 12 Yue 7 Ri Waijiaobu Fayaren Jiang Yu Juxing Lixing Jizhe Hui" ["December 7, 2010: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Jiang Yu Holds a Routine Media Conference"], Archives of the Chinese Government, December 7, 2010, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=74&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA%D6%D0%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

²⁵⁵ "Shangwubu Zhaokai Lixing Xinwen Fabuhui" ["Ministry of Commerce Opens Routine Press Conference"], Archives of the Chinese Government, September 9, 2010, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=34&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

²⁵⁶ "Waijiaobu Fayaren Hong Lei Jiu Meiguo Gonghedang Quanguo Daibiao Dahui Qijian Youguan She Hua Yanlun Da Jizhe Wen" ["Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Hong Lei Answers Media Inquiries Regarding the Statements About China During the National Convention of the U.S. Republican Party"], Archives of the Chinese Government, September 1, 2012, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=13&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA%D6%D0%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

As mentioned above, these are just a few of the highlights of a rampant trend of PRC officials to label actions or statements by the U.S., Japan, and other world powers as irresponsible. Labeling other actors as such plays two roles in Beijing's strategic identity creation—it allows Beijing to remain on the offensive rather than constantly defend the actions others label as irresponsible or immoral, and at the same time, it also provides China the opportunity to present itself as a greater authority on what it means to be responsible than these traditional world leaders.

The fourth way Chinese officials have promoted themselves as leading authorities on the subject of responsibility following 2009 is by using the concepts of responsibility and irresponsibility to discredit some existing norms upheld by the West and promote some of China's preferred alternative norms in their place. Here, it is important to once again emphasize that China has not sought to discredit or replace all of the norms embraced by the international community. Indeed, more of these norms than not continue to play a central role in both Beijing's global image and in its economic and strategic interests. In general, as discussed earlier in this chapter, China remains committed to the international norms it adopted in Chapters 4 and 5. Most of these are economic in nature, and those that are not economic relate to issues such as economic protection, counterterrorism, and anticorruption, for which China believes the material and ideational benefits derived from taking on the norm as one of its international responsibilities exceed the drawbacks of doing so. Norms with which Beijing is more hesitant, and often downright unwilling, to accept include democratic governance, human rights, and norms permitting the use of force to intervene in the affairs of sovereign states under certain extenuating circumstances. It is these norms, mostly of a political nature, that Beijing seeks to replace with alternative norms that include economic and social rights, as opposed to human

rights, national development through authoritarian governance as opposed to democracy, and nonintervention in the domestic affairs of states except when specifically invited by the government of the given state.²⁵⁷ The discrediting and promotion of norms usually occur simultaneously, and most statements were made to defend specific policy positions that the PRC fearlessly took in opposition to the U.S. and other traditional norm creators and enforcers.

For example, in 2011, a MOFA spokesperson responded to U.S. frustration that China was not cooperating with Western attempts to prevent Iran and North Korea from developing nuclear weapons by insisting that, as a responsible great power and permanent member of the UNSC, China has the responsibility to develop friendly relations with all countries, including Iran and North Korea, and to ensure that only peaceful, diplomatic means are used to resolve such crises.²⁵⁸ This assertion indirectly makes the claim that China's policy is responsible, and the policy of the U.S. and its Western allies is irresponsible. More importantly, however, it sets up as responsible these Chinese norms of maintaining friendly relations with all countries independent of their foreign or domestic behavior, and of delegitimizing use of force for purposes of humanitarian relief or counter-proliferation.

A similar statement earlier that year by Yang Jiechi with regard to the conflict in Libya echoed China's effort to delegitimize the use of military force and any action carried out outside

²⁵⁷ For a discussion of the U.S.-China normative competition, see Harry Harding, "American Visions of the Future of U.S.-China Relations," in *Tangled Titans: The United States and China*, ed. David Shambaugh (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2013), 395-397.

²⁵⁸ "2011 Nian 11 Yue 17 Ri Waijiaobu Fayaren Liu Weimin Juxing Lixing Jizhe Hui" ["November 17, 2011: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Liu Weimin Holds Routine Media Conference"], Archives of the Chinese Government, November 17, 2011, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=26&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

the bounds of the UNSC, which he said was the proper channel for resolving such issues.²⁵⁹ With regard to its vetoing of the UNSC resolution on Syria, as mentioned above, a MOFA spokesperson said that the resolution was biased and intended to lead to non-peaceful resolution of the crisis.²⁶⁰ China insists on resolutions that are peaceful, diplomatic, and objective—that do not chose one side over the other.²⁶¹

Chinese actions and statements like these frustrate Western officials. After all, how can China expect countries to only act within the bounds of the UNSC if Beijing vetoes every resolution capable of resolving a given crisis? Nevertheless, whether or not it is possible to comply with these norms put forth by China and still resolve the crises, China is developing an image of a norm creator, or at the very least a norm enforcer, and these norms China is putting forth—diplomatic resolution of humanitarian crises, not taking sides in conflicts involving other countries, and working only within the parameters of the UNSC, to name a few, stand in direct opposition to the generally accepted norms such as the Responsibility to Protect and the acceptability of acting multilaterally when a proposed action does not receive full UNSC support but is still deemed necessary. Even the universally accepted norm of nuclear nonproliferation, while endorsed by China, has been shoved into the back seat by the PRC’s pet norm of developing friendly relations with all countries regardless of that country’s behavior. Other Chinese norms not cited here but which official discourse clearly presents as being superior to

²⁵⁹ “Yang Jiechi Jiu Zhong A Guanxi Ji Xiya Beifei Jushi Deng Jieshou Jizhe Zhuanfang” [“Yang Jiechi Accepts Exclusive Media Interview Regarding China-Arab Relations and the Changing Situation in West Asia and North Africa”], Archives of the Chinese Government, May 4, 2011, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=9&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

“2012 Nian 2 Yue 6 Ri Waijiaobu Fayaren Liu Weimin Juxing Lixing Jizhe Hui” [“February 6, 2012: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Liu Weimin Holds Routine Media Conference”], Archives of the Chinese Government, February 6, 2012.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

time-tested Western norms include unconditional aid to developing countries, as opposed to the U.S. policy of tying assistance to good governance, and especially not criticizing other states based on their human rights records or political conditions.

In most cases, Chinese officials present the U.S. or Western action that formed the basis of the statement as irresponsible based not on universal, time-tested norms, but rather on the norms that China hopes to transport throughout the international system. This is a very significant development, as it marks a clear end to Beijing's previous strategy of focusing its responsible identity construction on its attributes as a status-quo power that complies with international norms. This period, which began in 2009, marks the start of a new era in which China's leaders do not even pretend to agree with norms they do not like. Instead, they label those norms as "irresponsible" and present to the world a new version of what is responsible, in the form of norms that are friendlier to China's real or perceived interests. The result is what Yan Xuetong told a group of students at George Washington University in 2011, which was that, although the U.S. and other major powers constantly call on China to act more responsibly in the UNSC and other international organizations, when Beijing starts acting more responsibly, the West will decide they do not want China's version of responsibility.²⁶²

The fifth and final way Chinese officials presented the PRC as the international authority on responsibility is by calling for a revision of certain aspects of the current global system to make it fairer to developing countries and better aligned with the Chinese norms addressed above. This type of discourse has been admittedly scarcer than the other types presented in this section, but the fact that such bold statements were made to international audiences is perhaps the greatest indication that China no longer wants to be seen as a complacent follower, but rather as a confident leader of the evolving international system.

²⁶² Yan, "Chinese Views of China's Role in Global Governance."

The most common way officials sought to alter the existing order was implicitly, through statements urging the abolition of military alliances—of which Washington has several right in China’s back yard and Beijing only has one—and develop a more responsible method of governing the world.²⁶³ While clearly revisionist and indicative of China’s desire to alter the Asian power structure, this type of statement is not new to Chinese officials. What is new is the far bolder statement that more clearly calls for the establishment of a “new international order” based on principles such as noninterference and democracy in international relations.²⁶⁴ What is most alarming about the statement cited here is not that the official called for a new international order, but that he told an international audience that China will be a designer of this new order.²⁶⁵ Of course, other official statements in this period make it clear that Beijing is not seeking the complete overthrow of the international system, but rather a change in those norms that it sees as hampering the interests of developing states. The other norms that govern the economy of the liberal order would be unlikely to change in this new international order procured by the PRC. While a couple speeches by high-level officials do not determine long-term policy, these statements do appear to follow the general logic of the PRC’s mission to increase its international freedom of discourse with the final goal of, according to the global image scholars cited in Chapter 3, having a greater say in the development of the changing international system.

²⁶³ See “2010 Nian 11 Yue 4 Ri Waijiaobu Fayanren Hong Lei Juxing Lixing Jizhe Hui” [“November 4, 2010: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Hong Lei Holds Routine Media Conference”], Archives of the Chinese Government, November 4, 2010, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=10&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

²⁶⁴ “Gonggu Youhao Zengjin Huxin Shenhua Hezuo Gongmou Fazhan—Waijiaobu Buzhang Yang Jiechi Tan Xi Jinping Fu Zhuxi Fangwen Aierlan He Tuerqi” [“Consolidate Friendship, Advance Mutual Trust, Deepen Cooperation, Mutually Pursue Development—Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi Discusses Vice Chairman Xi Jinping’s Visit to Ireland and Turkey”], Archives of the Chinese Government, February 23, 2012.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has shown that use of the responsible great power concept by Chinese officials in the present period has continued to follow the strategy presented in previous chapters, which is to create an international image that breaks down barriers to the PRC's rise, cultivates an international environment friendly to China's international ambitions, and ultimately increases Beijing's freedom of discourse—or influence—in the international system. Contrary to the previous two periods covered in this study, however, the image officials have sought to present has not been one of a harmless international participant or a rising status-quo power, but rather one of a great power that is willing and able to lead the international community and understands responsibility better than the U.S. and European powers that have traditionally led the rapidly globalizing world.

This chapter has shown, however, that even though the identity officials have sought to promote has differed from that of previous periods, they have nevertheless sought international responsibilities for the purpose of promoting an identity through which to accomplish the above objectives, particularly the final objective of increasing and exercising influence in the international community. As such, the research presented in this chapter supports my hypothesis.

What is yet to be seen is whether Chinese officials will continue promoting this emboldened image, or if they will take a few steps back and seek once again to cultivate their relationships with their neighbors and the U.S. and other great powers. After all, the current period, while certainly presenting a China that is capable of leading a bloc of influence, has also undone much of the goodwill Beijing developed between 2000 and 2008, with aggressive policies leading many in the world to wonder not whether Beijing is capable of leading, but whether Beijing's leadership could be a positive influence on the world. It appears at the present

that Beijing has failed in its attempt to increase its soft power, even while the hard power ingredients of its international influence have increased. Developments over the next couple years will be pivotal in determining whether the PRC will fall back into its role as a purely status-quo power or continue pursuing this new trend of seeking to exert influence and leadership in the international community.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This study explored the increasingly popular concept of international responsibility within the People's Republic of China (PRC). It analyzed the domestic academic debate within China and showed that, in general three schools of thought dominate academic discourse. These are the domestic development school, which maintains that China is responsible only for its own development and should not be tied down by external commitments; the public goods school, which believes China has an inherent responsibility to make contributions throughout the world for the good of humanity; and the global image school, which sees responsibility as a way of creating an international identity that will allow the PRC to garner greater influence—which they call “freedom of discourse”—in the changing international order.

This third school of thought matches my hypothesis, which is based on Finnemore and Sikkink's theory of strategic social construction that states actors often adopt norms for rational, self-serving, reasons. According to my hypothesis, China's decision to pursue greater responsibility on the international stage and, in the process, adopt liberal norms, is not an end in itself, but rather a tactic by which to present itself as a “responsible great power.” This responsible great power identity, in turn, is a tactic through which officials hope to increase the PRC's soft power and use that soft power to complete their rise in a world where material forms of power no longer suffice.

The main body of this study consisted of examinations into Chinese official discourse, presented to both international and domestic audiences, during three periods—the mid- to late-1990s, 2000 – 2008, and 2009 – 2012. Research found that official discourse in each of these periods supported my hypothesis. Official discourse presented to domestic audiences in all three periods found numerous revelations of a well-thought-out strategy to embrace international

responsibility for the purpose of reconstructing the PRC's identity as a responsible great power. According to these statements, officials hoped this image would invalidate the so-called "China threat theories," thus decreasing international opposition to China's rise. As this opposition dissipated, the officials hoped the further consolidation of this responsible image would help produce an international environment conducive to its rise as a world power. Finally, as China continued rising as a responsible member of the existing international system, officials hoped Beijing would be able to leverage its great power status to exercise freedom of discourse, or influence over the evolving nature of the international system, thus allowing it to remake the global order to an extent, aligning it more closely with the PRC's long-term national interest.

While my hypothesis found support in each of these periods, official speeches and statements to international audiences confirmed that the precise nature of the identity officials sought to promote was not constant, but rather evolved along with the PRC's growing national power. When Chinese leaders first adopted the concept of international responsibility in the mid-1990s, they used the term generically, as a way of weakening the so-called "China threat theories" by presenting themselves as nonthreatening benefactors of the international order. This image became more enticing in the early 2000s, when Beijing sought to fulfill as many international responsibilities as possible and present itself as an active contributor to the U.S.-led international order that was intent on not only preserving, but adding value to, that order. Following 2009, however, China's "responsible great power" image has undergone significant changes, with Beijing beginning to use its growing influence to construct its own definitions of responsibility, and then using these definitions both to rationalize what Western countries see as its shortcomings and to criticize other governments that do not comply with these Chinese definitions of responsibility. While the first two periods captured in this study sought to break

down international opposition and create an environment friendly to China's rise, the main strategic goal during the latest period has been to increase the PRC's international freedom of discourse. Despite this changing identity, however, Beijing's strategic objective has remained the same—to transform China's identity in ways that will make it better able to accomplish its strategic goals in the international community.

Implications

Chapter 1 explained how the “responsible great power” dialogue may assist scholars and public servants in this country and throughout the world in their increasingly urgent task of determining whether China is rising as a status-quo or a revisionist power by showing how Chinese academics and, more importantly, officials see their country's role in the world. The findings this study presented make a strong case for both alternatives. Indeed, today's China has become, as observed in several places in this thesis, seemingly irreversibly socialized in to the cooperative economic norms that make up what Ikenberry terms the global liberal order. On the other hand, Beijing has not adopted all the norms that make up this order, and there are a number of these norms that it shows no desire to accept. Furthermore, China's motivation for embracing these norms and responsibilities in the first place—and especially the way it has become increasingly strong and combative as it progresses through this strategy—make a strong case for revisionism.

Just as Harry Hardy recently observed that the future of U.S.-China relations is likely to be characterized by “a complex amalgam of competition, conflict, and cooperation,”²⁶⁶ it seems most probable that the China of next year, as well as that of the next decade, will not fit the profile of a completely status-quo or a completely revisionist state, but will continue exhibiting characteristics of both in the long-run. As observed throughout this study, Beijing gains

²⁶⁶ Hardy, “American Visions.”

substantial material and ideational benefit from the liberal economic norms it has embraced, and it can be expected to embrace these norms even more tightly as its piece of the global economic pie continues to enlarge. On the other hand, barring any unforeseen political event in the PRC, one can expect Beijing to continue opposing most of the political norms it opposes today and to seek to replace these norms with alternatives that are more in line with its own national interest and development model. Examples of the norms China is likely to continue opposing can be found in Chapter 6, and include human rights, the Responsibility to Protect, and democratic governance.

If the current trends continue, the greatest challenge for global, and especially U.S., policymakers will likely relate to the need to respond to the revisionist aspects of China's global identity while continuing to engage the country and draw it further into the liberal international order. This will be a difficult task, especially as Beijing seeks to gain increasingly greater influence in the international system and present the U.S. as noncompliant, and perhaps even revisionist, with regards to both the international norms the PRC follows and the Chinese norms it seeks to export to the world stage. American soft power will be essential in this effort, for this is one area where Washington still holds a massive edge over Beijing, and it is only through maintaining this edge that the U.S. can guarantee its continued leadership of the international community and that its interpretations of what is responsible and proper will continue to set the standard to which the world adheres.

In addition, it is important to consider the possibility that the current trends will not continue and that the PRC could move back into the more cooperative stance it had prior to 2009 or, on the other hand, become frustrated with its lack of progress and move into a strategy of full-

blown revisionism. This second possibility would most likely result from a great catastrophe of some sort that eliminates China's motivation for seeking to rise within the existing world order.

It should also be remembered that China is a land of diverse political thought, regardless of what its state-controlled media and censored public discourse lead one to believe. Given that a significant number of academics in the country subscribe to the semi-isolationist domestic development and the exceedingly liberal public goods schools, it is likely that some of China's senior officials also harbor similar sentiments. It is possible that, someday, enough of these individuals may find places in China's highest decisionmaking bodies to significantly alter the current course of PRC foreign policy. This does not appear likely in the short term, however. While the U.S., and most of the world for that matter, certainly would prefer for the rising China to follow the ideals of the public goods school, recent decisions by the Beijing government, including the composition of the new Standing Committee of the Politburo named in November 2012, indicate that the current strategy will likely continue, and depending on the relative strength and influence of China versus other global powers, the tactics and identity presented starting in 2009 may continue well into the future.

As for the findings of this study, the author recommends that academics and policymakers continue to monitor the development of China's official discourse and general national sentiment regarding international responsibility, as well as other key components of Beijing's national psyche. A follow-up of this study focusing on the post-2012 era will be appropriate in a few years' time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acharya, Amitav. "How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism." *International Organization* 58, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 239-275. <http://www.rochelleterman.com/ir/sites/default/files/acharya%202004.pdf> (accessed November 5, 2012).
- Acharya, Amitav. "Norm Subsidiarity and Regional Orders: Sovereignty, Regionalism, and Rule-Making in the Third World." *International Studies Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (March 2011): 96-97. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2010.00637.x/pdf> (accessed December 1, 2012).
- Acharya, Amitav. *Whose Ideas Matter? Agency and Power in Asian Regionalism*. Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Ashley, Richard K. "The Poverty of Neorealism." *International Organization* 38, no. 2 (Spring 1984): 225-286. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2706440.pdf?acceptTC=true> (accessed March 3, 2012).
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew and John J. Mearsheimer. "Clash of the Titans." *Foreign Policy* 146 (January/February 2005), http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2005/01/05/clash_of_the_titans (accessed October 23, 2012).
- Cao, Yang. "Guoji Zhixu Zhong 'Daguo Zeren' De Kunjing Yu Chonggou" ["The Dilemma and Reconstruction of 'Great Power Responsibility' in the International Order"]. *Dangdai Shijie (Contemporary World)* 2011 (11): 48-50. <http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/detail.aspx?QueryID=339&CurRec=1> (accessed December 1, 2012).
- Chin, Josh. "China Vows to Protect Chinese in Libya." *The Wall Street Journal*, February 25, 2011. <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748703905404576164321645905718.html> (accessed November 17, 2012).
- "China Academic Journals Full-Text Database," China National Knowledge Infrastructure, <http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/Brief.aspx?curpage=4&RecordsPerPage=20&QueryID=181&ID=CJFD&turnpage=1&systemno=&NaviDatabaseName=ZJCLS&NaviField=%E4%B8%93%E9%A2%98%E5%AD%90%E6%A0%8F%E7%9B%AE%E4%BB%A3%E7%A0%81&navigatorValue=> (accessed December 1, 2012).
- "China Doctoral Dissertations Full-Text Database." China National Knowledge Infrastructure. <http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/Navigator.aspx?ID=CDFD> (accessed October 8, 2012).
- "China GDP Grows By 8.7 Percent in 2009." *CNN*, January 20, 2010. <http://www.cnn.com/2010/BUSINESS/01/20/china.GDP.annual/index.html> (accessed November 15, 2012).

- “China Master’s Theses Full-Text Database.” China National Knowledge Infrastructure.
<http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/Navigator.aspx?ID=CMFD> (accessed October 8, 2012).
- “China Overtakes Japan as World’s Second-Biggest Economy.” *Bloomberg News*, August 16, 2010. <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2010-08-16/china-economy-passes-japan-s-in-second-quarter-capping-three-decade-rise.html> (accessed November 15, 2012).
- Deng, Yong. *China’s Struggle for Status: The Realignment of International Relations*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Dong, Qingling and Li Aihua. “Heping, Fazhan, Hezuo: Guanyu Zhongguo Guojia Xingxiang Jianshe De Ji Dian Sixiang” [“Peace, Development, Cooperation—A Few Thoughts about China National Image Construction”]. *Lilun Xuekan (Theory Journal)* 2006 (4): 70-72. <http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/detail.aspx?QueryID=864&CurRec=7> (accessed December 1, 2012).
- “Fazhan Linye Yingdui Qihou Bianhua De Zhanlue Xuanze” [“The Strategic Decision to Develop the Forestry Industry’s Actions Against Climate Change”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, April 1, 2010. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=40&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).
- “Fengyu Ting Zhou Youyi Chang Qing: ji Quanguo Zhengxie Zhuxi Jia Qinglin Wei Jingji Kelite Cheli Zhongfang Zai Li Renyuan Xingdong Youxiu Renyuan Song Jiang” [“Sticking Together in Hard Times with Longlasting Friendship: Jia Qinglin, Chairman of the National Committee of the CPPCC, Gives Award to Outstanding Staff Who Evacuated Chinese Personnel in Libya through Crete”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, October 26, 2011. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=15&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).
- Finnemore, Martha and Kathryn Sikkink. “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change.” *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (Autumn 1998): 887-917. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2601361.pdf?acceptTC=true> (accessed November 27, 2012).
- Florini, Ann. “The Evolution of International Norms.” *International Studies Quarterly* 40, no. 3 (September 1996): 363-389. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2600716.pdf?acceptTC=true> (accessed November 3, 2012).
- “Gonggu Youhao Zengjin Huxin Shenhua Hezuo Gongmou Fazhan—Waijiaobu Buzhang Yang Jiechi Tan Xi Jinping Fu Zhuxi Fangwen Aierlan He Tuerqi” [“Consolidate Friendship, Advance Mutual Trust, Deepen Cooperation, Mutually Pursue Development—Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi Discusses Vice Chairman Xi Jinping’s Visit to Ireland and Turkey”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, February 23, 2012. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=20&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%>

C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA (accessed November 12, 2012).

“Guanyu Guomin Jingji Yu Shehui Fazhan Shi Nian Guihua He Di Ba Ge Wu Nian Jihua Gangyao De Baogao (1991)” [“An Outline Report Regarding the National Economic and Social Development Ten Year Plan and the Eighth Five Year Plan (1991)”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, March 25, 1991. http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=440&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE*B4%F3%B9%FA*D6%D0%B9%FA (accessed December 1, 2012).

“Guofang Kegongwei Fumishuzhang Hu Yafeng Jiu Guofang Kegongwei Zhengfu Wangzhan 2007 Niandu Gaiban Da Jizhe Wen” [“Deputy Secretary for National Defense Working Commission Hu Yafeng Answers Media Inquiries Regarding the 2007 Revision of the National Defense Working Commission Government Web Site”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, October 18, 2007. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=71&channelid=11&searchword=%D5%FD%CE%C4%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

“Guojia Fazhan Gaige Wei Fu Zhuren Zhang Xiaoqiang Zai 2011 Nian Xiaji Dawosi Luntan Kaimushi Hou Jieshou Jizhe Caifang” [“National Development and Reform Commission Vice-Director Zhang Xiaoqiang Accepts Media Interviews Following the Opening Ceremony of the 2011 Summer Davos Forum”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, September 14, 2011. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=8&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

“Guojia Renkou Jishengwei Fu Zhuren Wang Guoqiang Zai Renkou Ji Xiangguan Lingyu Xinxi Jishu Yingyong Yu Fazhan Zhuanti Yantaohui Kaimushi Shang De Jianghua” [“National Population and Family Planning Commission Vice Chairman Wang Guoqiang’s Speech at the Opening Ceremony of a Symposium on the Use and Development of Population and Related Information Technology”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, July 7, 2006. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=91&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

“Haijun Shaojiang Yin Zhuo: Wo Zancheng Liang An Jianli Junshi Huxin Jizhi” [“Navy Rear-Admiral Yin Zhuo: I Support Building a Cross-Strait Military Mutual Confidence Mechanism”]. Database of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, March 4, 2010. <http://data.people.com.cn/directLogin.do?target=110> (accessed November 12, 2012).

Harding, Harry. “American Visions of the Future of U.S.-China Relations.” In *Tangled Titans: The United States and China*, edited by David Shambaugh, 389-409. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2013.

“Hu Jintao Tong Yindu Baxi Nanfei Moxige Lingdaoren Juxing Jiti Huiwu” [Hu Jintao Collectively Meets with the Leaders of India, Brazil, South Africa, and Mexico”. Archives of the Communist Party of China, July 9, 2008. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=5&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B4%F3%B9%FA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed October 6, 2012).

“Hu Jintao Zai Zhonggong Zhongyang Zhengzhi Ju Di Sishisi Ci Jiti Xuexi Shi Qiangdiao Jianding Buyi De Shixing Dui Wai Kaifang De Jiben Guoce Xingcheng Canyu Guoji Jingji Hezuo He Jingzheng Xin Youshi” [“At the Forty-fourth Collective Study Session of the CCP Central Committee Politburo, Hu Jintao Emphasizes that Unwaveringly Executing the Basic State Policy of Opening to the Outside Constitutes a New Advantage in Participating in International Economic Cooperation and Competition”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, September 29, 2007. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=46&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed October 6, 2012).

“Hu Xiaolian Fu Hangzhang Chuxi Waijiaobu Jieshao Hu Jintao Zhuxi Chuxi Ershi Guo Jituan Lingdaoren Di Er Ci Jinrong Fenghui Xinwen Chuifeng Hui Shilu” [“Deputy Bank Governor Hu Xiaolian Attends a Press Briefing by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Introducing Chairman Hu Jintao’s Attendance at the Second G-20 Financial Summit”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, March 24, 2009. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=17&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

Ikenberry, G. John. “The Future of the Liberal World Order.” *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 3 (May/June 2011). <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail?sid=71eeb835-b0e4-4bdb-ad45-ce0be8ff4e71%40sessionmgr104&vid=1&hid=126&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWZwZ3QtY2ZlZGZ3d%3d#db=aph&AN=60123024> (accessed December 5, 2012).

“Ji Wang Kai Lai, Gong Chuang Zhong Mei Guanxi Geng Jia Meihao De Mingtian—Wen Jiabao Zongli Zai Meiguo Youhao Tuantu Huanying Wuyan Shang De Yanjiang” [“Carry On, Working Together to Create a Better Tomorrow for U.S.-China Relations—Wen Jiabao’s Speech at the U.S. Friendly Delegation Welcome Luncheon”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, September 24, 2008. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=32&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

“Jia Zhibang: Jiji Yingdui Guoji Linye Redian Wenti Zengqiang Huayuquan Zhudaoquan” [“Jia Zhibang: Actively Dealing with the Main Problems in Forestry Strengthens Freedom of Discourse and Rights to Leadership”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, January 8, 2009. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=63&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%>

FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA (accessed November 12, 2012).

“Jianchi Heping Fazhan, Tuijin Waijiao Gongzuo—Waijiaobu Buzhang Yang Jiechi Zai ‘Zhongguo De Heping Fazhan’ Zuotanhui Shang De Jianghua (2011 Nian 9 Yue 15 Ri, Diaoyutai Guo Binguan)” [“Persist in Peaceful Development, Push Forward Diplomacy—Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi’s Speech at the ‘Chinese Peaceful Development’ Conference (September 15, 2011, Diaoyutai State Guesthouse)”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, September 15, 2011.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=9&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed November 12, 2012).

“Jianding Xinxin Jiaqiang Hezuo Tuidong Shijie Jingji Xin Yi Lun Zengzhang—Zai Shijie Jingji Luntan 2009 Nian Nianhui Shang De Tebie Zhici” [“Firm-up Confidence, Strengthen Cooperation, Push Forward a New Period of World Economic Growth—Special Speech at the 2009 World Economic Forum Annual Conference”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, January 29, 2009.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=28&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

“Jiang Zemin Li Peng Fenbie Huijian Meiguo Guowuqing Qian Qichen Tong Aoerbulaite Huitan” [“Jiang Zemin and Li Peng Meet Separately with U.S. Secretary of State; Qian Qichen and Albright Hold Discussions”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, February 25, 1997.
http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=237&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE*%B4%F3%B9%FA*%D6%D0%B9%FA (accessed December 1, 2012).

“Jingwai Meiti Weizhui Zhongguo Gaoguan Zhongguo Huati Tixian ‘Quanqiu Jiazhi’” [“Foreign Media Encircle Top Chinese Officials: The China Topic Displays ‘Global Value’”]. Database of the National People’s Congress, March 11, 2007.
<http://58.68.145.22/directLogin.do?target=109> (accessed October 6, 2012).

“Jiu Jie Renda Yi Ci Huiyi Juxing Jizhe Zhaodaihui Jieshao Wo Guo Duiwai Jingmao Qingkuang” [“Introducing Our Country’s International Economics and Trade Situation in the Press Conference for the First Session of the Ninth National People’s Congress”]. Database of the National People’s Congress, March 10, 1998.
<http://58.68.145.22/directLogin.do?target=109> (accessed July 30, 2012).

“Jiu Zhong Ai Guanxi Zhongdong He Guoji Xingshi Deng Jiang Zemin Jieshou Zhong Ai Jizhe Caifang” [“Jiang Zemin Accepts Chinese and Egyptian Media Interviews Regarding Sino-Egyptian Relations, the Middle East, and the International Situation”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, May 16, 1996.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=62&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%>

C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE
(accessed December 1, 2012).

Johnston, Alastair Iain. "Is China a Status-Quo Power?" *International Security* 27, no. 4 (Spring 2003): 5-56. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4137603> (accessed October 17, 2012).

Kang, David C. *East Asia Before the West: Five Centuries of Trade and Tribute*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

Lanteigne, Marc. *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Legro, Jeffrey W. "What China Will Want: The Future Intentions of a Rising Power." *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 3 (September 2007): 515-534. <http://pages.shanti.virginia.edu/legro/files/2011/03/Legro2007.pdf> (accessed October 23, 2012).

Li, Huiming. "Leng Zhan Hou Zhongguo Goujian Fuzeren Daguo Shenfen De Beijing Fenxi" ["A Background Analysis of China's Post-Cold War Responsible Great Power Identity Construction"]. *Nei Menggu Nongye Daxue Xuebao—Shehui Kexue Ban (Journal of Inner Mongolia Agricultural University—Social Science Edition)* 10, no. 39 (2008): 64-67. <http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/detail.aspx?QueryID=744&CurRec=1> (accessed December 1, 2012).

"Li Ruihuan Yu Xibanya Shouxiang Huijian" ["Li Ruihuan Meets with the Prime Minister of Spain"]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, May 23, 1998. http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=234&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE*%B4%F3%B9%FA*%D6%D0%B9%FA (accessed December 1, 2012).

"Li Zhaoxing: Xianghu Zunzhong Goujian Hexie Shijie Rang Donghai Cheng Heping Zhi" ["Li Zhaoxing: Mutual Respect Constructs a Harmonious World and Makes the East China Sea Peaceful"]. Database of the National People's Congress, March 6, 2007. <http://58.68.145.22/directLogin.do?target=109> (accessed October 6, 2012).

Lin, Fengchun. "Jiedu Zhongguo De Guoji Nuoyan—'Fuzeren Daguo' De Neihan" ["Deciphering China's International Promise—the Meaning of 'Responsible Great Power'"]. Master's thesis, Jinan University, 2006.

Liu, Jianfei "Heping Jueqi Shi Zhongguo De Zhanlue Xuanze" ["A Peaceful Rise is China's Strategic Choice"]. *Shijie Jingji Yu Zhengzhi (World Economics and Politics)* 2006 (2): 36-40. <http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/detail.aspx?QueryID=445&CurRec=2> (accessed December 1, 2012).

Liu Qi: Zhunbei Bawo Zhuban Aoyun Da Fangxiang Gongzuo Qude Ba Da Chengguo: Liu Qi Zai Beijing 2008 Nian Aoyunhui Zhuban Gongzuo Baogaohui Shang De Jianghua" ["Liu Qi: Eight Great Achievements of the Preparatory Work for Hosting the Olympic Games: Liu Qi's Speech at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Hosting Work Report Conference"].

- Archives of the Chinese Government, August 9, 2007.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=43&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).
- Mearsheimer, John J. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001.
- Medeiros, Evan S. and M. Taylor Fravel. "China's New Diplomacy." *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 6 (December 2003): 22-35. http://taylorfravel.com/documents/research/fravel_medeiros.2003.FA_new.diplo.pdf (accessed November 5, 2012).
- Mufson, Steven. "China Not Going to Devalue Currency, U.S. Official Says." *Washington Post*, February 16, 1998. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpsrv/inatl/longterm/china/stories/devalue.htm> (accessed October 31, 2012).
- Mufson, Steven. "Deng's Successor to Lead Memorial Rites Tuesday." *The Washington Post*, February 21, 1997. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/asia/feb/20/deng.htm> (accessed October 24, 2012).
- Nye, Joseph S. "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): 94-95. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/25097996.pdf?acceptTC=true> (accessed December 1, 2012).
- Nye, Joseph S. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: PublicAffairs, 2004.
- Pang, Zhongying. "China's Self-defined Role in the International System." *Contemporary International Relations* (English) 16, no. 4 (April 2006): 28-40.
- "Qiang Xinxin Bao Zengzhang Cu Zhuanxing Hui Minsheng: Zhang Baoshun" ["Strengthen Confidence, Maintain Growth, Promote Change, Bless People's Lives: Zhang Baoshun"]. Archives of the Chinese Government, March 7, 2009.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=59&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).
- "Quan Guo Renda Daibiaotuan Fangwen Maoliquisi, Kamailong, Libiya, Tunisi Si Guo Qingkuang De Shumian Baogao" ["A Written Report of the National People's Congress Delegation Visit to Mauritius, Cameroon, Libya, and Tunisia"]. Archives of the Chinese Government, December 12, 2003. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=38&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed October 6, 2012).
- "Quan Guo Zhengxie Shi Jie Si Ci Huiyi Juxing Di Si Ci Quanti Huiyi: Jia Qinglin Chuxi 12 Wei Weiyuan Weirao Fazhan Minzhu Zhengzhi, Goujian Hexie Shehui, Cujin Zuguo

- Tongyi Deng Wenti Zuo Dahui Fayan” [“Fourth Plenary Session of the Tenth CPPCC Meeting: Jia Qinglin in Attendance – 12 Committee Members Speak in the Meeting about Questions Such as Developing Democratic Governance, Constructing a Harmonious Society, and Promoting Integration of the Motherland”]. Database of the National People’s Congress, March 3, 2006.
<http://data.people.com.cn/directLogin.do?target=110> (accessed October 6, 2012).
- “Rang Women Gongtong Dizao Yi Ge Geng Meihao De Shijie” [“Let Us Jointly Create a Better World”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, October 24, 1995.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=64&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE>
 (accessed December 1, 2012).
- “Renmin Ribao Teyue Pinglun yuan: Jiandingbuyi De Zou Heping Fazhan De Daolu” [“People’s Daily Special Commentator: Unceasingly Pursue the Path of Peaceful Development”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, September 2, 2005.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=98&channelid=11&searchword=%D5%FD%CE%C4%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).
- “Renmin Yinhang Hangzhang Zhou Xiaochuan Shi Da Jizhe Wen” [“People’s Bank of China President Zhou Xiaochuan Responds to Questions from Journalists”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, March 29, 2005.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=88&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).
- “Renminbi Huilv Gaige: Youli Yu Zhongguo He Shijie Jingji” [“Renminbi Exchange Rate Reform: Beneficial to the Chinese and World Economies”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, July 27, 2005.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=69&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).
- Shambaugh, David. “China Engages Asia: Reshaping the Regional Order.” *International Security* 29, no. 3 (Winter 2004/05): 64-99. <http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/0162288043467496> (accessed December 6, 2011).
- Shambaugh, David. “Coping with a Conflicted China.” *The Washington Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 7-27. <http://csis.org/files/publication/twq11wintershambaugh.pdf> (accessed November 28, 2012).
- “Shangwu Bu Guanyu 2010 Nian Quanguo Duiwai Touzi Hezuo Gongzuo De Zhidao Yijian” [“The Ministry of Commerce’s Guiding Ideas Regarding the 2010 National Investment Partnership Work”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, March 8, 2010.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=43&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%>

C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA (accessed November 12, 2012).

“Shangwubu Zhaokai Lixing Xinwen Fabuhui” [“Ministry of Commerce Opens Routine Press Conference”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, September 9, 2010. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=34&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

“Shi Jie Quanguo Renda Changweihui Juxing Di Ershisi Ci Zhuanti Jiangzuo: Wu Bangguo Zhuchi” [“The Tenth Session of the National People’s Congress Standing Committee Holds the 24th Special Topic Seminar: Conducted by Wu Bangguo”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, December 30, 2006. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=48&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed October 12, 2012).

“Shiqi Da Daibiao Tichu: Jianchi Zou Kexue Fazhan Hexie Fazhan Heping Fazhan Daolu” [“17th Party Congress Proclaims: Continue in the Path of Scientific Development, Harmonious Development, Peaceful Development”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, October 17, 2007. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=35&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

Shirk, Susan L. “Chinese Views on Asia-Pacific Regional Security Cooperation.” *NBR Analysis* 5, no. 5 (1994): 1-13. <http://www.nbr.org/publications/analysis/pdf/vol5no5.pdf> (accessed November 27, 2012).

Su, Laiman and Ya, Sen. “Heping Fazhan Zuo Fuzeren De Daguo” [“Peaceful Development: Be a Responsible Great Power”]. *Xinjiang Shifan Daxue Xuebao—Zhaxue Shehui Kexue Ban (Xinjiang Normal University Journal—Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)* 29, no. 2 (2008): 67-68. <http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/detail.aspx?QueryID=517&CurRec=1> (accessed December 1, 2012).

“Shunying Shijie Fazhan Dashi Shenhua Zhong E Zhanlue Hezuo—Zai Mosike Daxue De Yanjiang” [“Adapting to the Greater Trend of World Development, Deepening the Sino-Russian Strategic Partnership—Speech at the University of Moscow”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, April 28, 2012. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=7&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

Tan, See Seng. “The Perils and Prospects of Dragon Riding: Reassurance and ‘Costly Signals’ in China-ASEAN Relations.” In *Rising China: Power and Reassurance*, edited by Ron

Huiskens, 165-184. Canberra: ANU E Press, 2009). http://epress.anu.edu.au/sdsc/rc/pdf/whole_book.pdf#page=177 (accessed October 24, 2012).

“Tang Jiaxuan Waizhang Zai Jiu Jie Quanguo Renda Er Ci Huiyi Juxing De Jizhe Zhaodaihui Shang Jiu Guoji Xingshi He Zhongguo Waijiao Zhengce Deng Da Jizhe Wen” [“During Press Conference Held at the Second Session of the Ninth National People’s Congress, Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan Answers Media Inquiries about the International System and China’s Foreign Policy”]. Database of the National People’s Congress, March 8, 1999. <http://58.68.145.22/directLogin.do?target=109> (accessed July 3, 2012).

“Tang Jiaxuan: Nuli Kaichuang Xin Shiji Zhongguo Waijiao Gongzuo Xin Juman” [“Tang Jiaxuan: Diligently Open a New Phase of Chinese Diplomacy in the New Century”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, December 16, 2002. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=106&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

“The Dragon’s New Teeth: A Rare Look Inside the World’s Biggest Military Expansion.” *The Economist*, April 7, 2012. <http://www.economist.com/node/21552193> (accessed November 15, 2012).

“Tong Zhou Gong Ji Gong cu Fazhan—Hu Jintao Zhuxi Chuixi Ershi Guo Jituan Lingdaoren Di Wu Ci Fenghui he Yatai Jing He Zuzhi Di Shiba Ci Lingdaoren Fei Zhengshi huiyi Qude Yuanman Chenggong” [“Crossing a River in the Same Boat, Mutually Pushing Development—Hu Jintao Achieves Satisfactory Accomplishments in Attending the Fifth G-20 Leadership Summit and the 18th APEC Unofficial Leadership Meeting”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, November 14, 2010. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=24&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

“Waijiaobu Fayaren Hong Lei Jiu Meiguo Gonghedang Quanguo Daibiao Dahui Qijian Youguan She Hua Yanlun Da Jizhe Wen” [“Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Hong Lei Answers Media Inquiries Regarding the Statements About China During the National Convention of the U.S. Republican Party”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, September 1, 2012, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=13&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA%D6%D0%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

“Waijingmaobu Nianzhong Xinwenhui Jieda 2002 Si Da Redian Wenti” [“Ministry of Foreign Trade Year-end Press Conference Explains the Four Main Problems of 2002”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, December 20, 2002. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=405&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA%D6%D0%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

- “Wang Chen Chuxi Di San Jie Shijie Zhongguoxue Luntan Bing Fabiao Yanjiang” [“Wang Chen Attends the Third World Sinology Forum and Presents a Speech”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, September 10, 2008.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=28&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).
- “Wang Chen Zhuren Chuxi Di Shiyi Jie Zhongguo Guoji Xinwen Luntan Nianhui” [“Director Wang Chen Attends the 11th Annual China International News Forum”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, December 26, 2009.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=51&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).
- Wang, Xiao. “Guoji Huayu Quan Yu Zhongguo Guoji Xingxiang De Suzao” [“International Freedom of Discourse and the Shaping of China’s International Image”]. *Guoji Guanxi Xueyuan Xuebao (Journal of University of international Relations)* 2010 (6): 58-65.
<http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/detail.aspx?QueryID=824&CurRec=1> (accessed December 1, 2012).
- Wang, Zaibang. “China and Global Governance.” *Contemporary International Relations* (English) 17, no. 2 (March/April 2007): 1-14.
- “Wen Jiabao Huijian Meiguo Maoyi Daibiao Zuolike” [“Wen Jiabao Meets with U.S. Trade Representative Zoellick”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, February 17, 2003.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=46&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).
- “Wen Jiabao Jieshou Malaixiya He Yindunixiya Jizhe Lianhe Caifang” [“Wen Jiabao Accepts a Joint Interview with Malaysian and Indonesian Journalists”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, April 25, 2011.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=16&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).
- “Wen Jiabao Zai Shijie Yinhang Quanqiu Fupin Dahui Shang De Jianghua” [“Wen Jiabao’s Speech at the World Bank Global Poverty Alleviation Conference”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, May 26, 2004.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=202&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA%D6%D0%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).
- “Wen Jiabao Zai Zhong Ou Luntan Di Er Ci Huiyi Kaimushi Shang De Yanjiang” [“Wen Jiabao’s Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the Second China-Europe Summit”].

- Archives of the Communist Party of China, September 14, 2006.
http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=179&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE*B4%F3%B9%FA*D6%D0%B9%FA (accessed December 1, 2012).
- “Wen Jiabao: Jiejue Minsheng Wenti Jianli Fugai Chengxiang Shebao Tixi” [“Wen Jiabao: Resolve the Problems of the People’s Lives, Build a Social Security System that Covers the City and the Country”]. Database of the National People’s Congress, March 16, 2007.
<http://58.68.145.22/directLogin.do?target=109> (accessed October 6, 2012).
- Wendt, Alexander. “Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics.” *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 391-425.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2706858.pdf?acceptTC=true> (accessed November 3, 2012).
- Wendt, Alexander. “Constructing International Politics.” *International Security* 20, no. 1 (Summer 1995): 71-81. <http://faculty.maxwell.syr.edu/hpschmitz/PSC124/PSC124Readings/WendtConstructivism.pdf> (accessed November 3, 2012).
- Weston, Jonathan, Caitlin Campbell, and Katherine Koleski. “China’s Foreign Assistance in Review: Implications for the United States.” U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission Staff Research Backgrounder (September 1, 2011): 1.
http://www.uscc.gov/researchpapers/2011/9_1_%202011_ChinasForeignAssistanceinReview.pdf (accessed October 24, 2012).
- “Woguo Weilai De Guoji Zhanlue Xuanze” [“Our Country’s Future International Strategy Choice”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, November 1, 2006.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=89&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).
- “‘Women Wei Chuandi Xinxin Er Lai’ – Ji Guowuyuan Fu Zongli Li Keqiang Chuxi Zhong Xi Qiyejia Zaocan Hui” [“‘We Come to Bring Confidence’ – A Record of State Council Vice Premier Li Keqiang’s Attendance at the China-Spain Entrepreneurs’ Breakfast Meeting”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, January 5, 2011.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=22&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).
- “Wu Bangguo Weiyuanzhang Zai Di Er Jie Shijie Yizhang Dahui Shang De Fayan” [“Chairman Wu Bangguo’s Speech at the Second World Conference of Speakers of Parliaments”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, September 8, 2005.
http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=190&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE*B4%F3%B9%FA*D6%D0%B9%FA (accessed December 1, 2012).

- Wu, Xinbo. "Chinese Visions of the Future of U.S.-China Relations." In *Tangled Titans: The United States and China*, edited by David Shambaugh, 371-388. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2013.
- Xiao, Huanrong. "Zhongguo De Daguo Zeren Yu Diqu Zhuyi Zhanlue" ["China's Duty as a Big Power and the Strategy of Regionalism"]. *Shijie Jingji Yu Zhengzhi (World Economics and Politics)*, 2003 (1): 46-51. <http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/detail.aspx?QueryID=784&CurRec=1> (accessed December 1, 2012).
- Xie, Wenqing. "The Security Situation in the Asia-Pacific Region and the Role China Plays in Safeguarding the Regional Security." *International Security Studies* (English) 2, no. 80 (April 2000): 28-36.
- "Xin Nuan Jingji Nuan Chunse Beihuan Ren—Wen Jiabao Zongli Huijian Zhongwai Jizhe Ceji" ["A Warm Heart and a Warm Economy, the Colors of Spring Multiply People—Premier Wen Jiabao Meets with Chinese and Foreign Journalists"]. Database of the National People's Congress, March 14, 2009. <http://58.68.145.22/directLogin.do?target=109> (accessed November 12, 2012).
- Xing, Yue and Zhan, Yijia. "Xin Shenfen; Xin Liyi; Xin Waijiao: Dui Zhongguo Xin Waijiao De Jianshezhuji Fenxi" ["New Identity, New Interests, and New Diplomacy: A Constructivist Analysis of China's New Diplomacy"]. *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi (Contemporary International Relations)* 16, no. 11 (2006): 18-23.
- "Xinwen Zhoukan' Zhuanfang Li Yubin: Zhongguo Fanfu Fangshi Yao Chuangxin" ["NewsWeek' Exclusive Interview with Li Yubin: China's Anti-Corruption Requires Innovation"]. Archives of the Chinese Government, January 27, 2003. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=100&channelid=11&searchword=%D5%FD%CE%C4%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed October 6, 2012).
- Xiong, Guangkai. "China's Peaceful Development and International Security." *International Strategic Studies* (English) 4, no. 86 (2007): 1-7.
- Yan, Xuetong. "Chinese Views of China's Role in Global Governance." Speech given at The George Washington University, November 8, 2011. <http://www.gwu.edu/~sigur/assets/audio/2011%20Audio/11.8.11%20Yan%20Xuetong.mp3> (accessed December 5, 2011).
- Yan, Xuetong. "How China Can Defeat America." *The New York Times*, November 20, 2011. <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/21/opinion/how-china-can-defeat-america.html?pagewanted=all> (accessed November 26, 2011).
- "Yang Jiechi Jiu Zhong A Guanxi Ji Xiya Beifei Jushi Deng Jieshou Jizhe Zhuanfang" ["Yang Jiechi Accepts Exclusive Media Interview Regarding China-Arab Relations and the Changing Situation in West Asia and North Africa"]. Archives of the Chinese Government, May 4, 2011. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=9&channelid=11&>

searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA (accessed November 12, 2012).

“Yang Jiechi Waizhang Tan Hu Jintao Zhuxi Chuxi Si Da Fenghui Chengguo” [“Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi Discusses the Achievements of Chairman Hu Jintao’s Attendance at the G-4 Summit”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, September 27, 2009. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=14&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

“Yang Jiechi Zai Shiyi Jie Quanguo Renda Er Ci Huiyi Juxing De Jizhe Zhaodaihui Shang Jiu Zhongguo Waijiao Zhengce He Dui Wai Guanxi Da Zhong Wai Jizhe Wen” [“Yang Jiechi Answers Chinese and International Media Inquiries at the Press Conference Held at the Second Session of the 11th National People’s Congress”]. Database of the National People’s Congress, March 8, 2009. <http://58.68.145.22/directLogin.do?target=109> (accessed November 12, 2012).

“Yang Jiechi: Waijiao Gongzuo De Kexue Fazhan Zhi Lu” [“Yang Jiechi: The Scientific Development Path of Diplomatic Work”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, October 10, 2012. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=4&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

“Yang Jiechi: Zhongguo Chengdan Guoji Zeren Wei Zhongguo Renmin He Shijie Fuze Bu Wei Teding Guojia Fuwu” [“Yang Jiechi: China’s Adoption of International Responsibilities is Out of Responsibility to the Chinese People and the World and Not to Serve Any Specific Country”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, March 12, 2008. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=27&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed October 6, 2012).

“Yangfan Polang Zicong Rong—Daibiao, Weiyuan Tan Yi Nian Lai Wo Guo Waijiao (Liang Hui Tegao 7)” [“Setting Sail Calmly—Representatives, Committee Discuss Our Country’s Diplomacy Over the Past Year (NPC-CPPCC Special Draft 7)”]. Database of the National People’s Congress, March 4, 1999. <http://58.68.145.22/directLogin.do?target=109> (accessed July 3, 2012).

“Zai Jiu Jie Quanguo Renda Si Ci Huiyi Jizhe Zhaodaihui Shang Waijiao Buzhang Tang Jiaxuan Da Jizhe Wen” [“Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan Answers Reporters’ Questions at the Fourth Session of the Ninth National People’s Congress Press Conference”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, March 7, 2001. http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=430&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE*%B4%F3%B9%FA*%D6%D0%B9%FA (accessed December 1, 2012).

“Zai Jiu Jie Renda Yi Ci Huiyi Jizhe Zhaodaihui Shang Qian Qichen Tan Guoji Xingshi He Zhongguo Duiwai Zhengce” [“During the Press Conference of the First Session of the Ninth National People’s Congress, Qian Qichen Discusses the International System and Chinese Foreign Policy”]. Database of the National People’s Congress, March 13, 1998. <http://58.68.145.22/directLogin.do?target=109> (accessed July 30, 2012).

Zhang Yunling and Tang Shiping. “China’s Regional Strategy.” In *Power Shift: China and Asia’s New Dynamics*, edited by David Shambaugh, 48-68. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005.

“Zhao Shucong: Ezhi Tudi Tuihua Cujin Lvse Zengzhang” [“Zhao Shucong: Contain Land Degradation and Push Forward Greening”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, June 14, 2012. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=13&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

“‘Zhong Tai Yi Jia Qin’ – Xi Jinping Fu Zhuxi Fangwen Taiguo Zongshu” [“‘China and Thailand as Close as Family’ – A Roundup of Xi Jinping’s Visit to Thailand”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, December 22, 2011. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=10&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

“Zhengxie Xinwen Chubun Jie Taolun ‘Zhengfu Gongzuo Baogao’” [“CPPCC News Publishing Sector Discuss ‘Government Work Report’”]. Database of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, March 5, 2005. <http://data.people.com.cn/directLogin.do?target=110> (accessed October 6, 2012).

“Zhonggong Zhongyang Juxing Guojifa Zhishi Jiangzuo” [“CCP Central Committee Holds International Law Lecture”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, December 10, 1996. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=61&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed July 3, 2012).

“Zhongguo De Fazhan Daolu—Zai Shouci Zhong Mei Zhanlue Jingji Duihua Shang De Zhuzhi Fayan: Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Guowuyuan Fuzongli Wu Yi (2006 Nian 12 Yue 14 Ri Beijing)” [“China’s Development Path—Keynote Speech at the First Sino-U.S. Strategic Economic Partnership: People’s Republic of China State Council Vice Premier Wu Yi (December 14, 2006, Beijing)”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, December 14, 2006. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=49&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed October 6, 2012).

“Zhongguo Fan Xiqian Xianzhuang Yu Weilai” [“The Status-Quo and Future of Chinese Anti-Money Laundering Efforts”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, August 29, 2004.

<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=98&channelid=11&searchword=%D5%FD%CE%C4%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed October 6, 2012).

“Zhongguo Guofangbu: Zhongguo Jundui Shi Weihu Shijie Heping De Zhongyao Liliang” [“China’s Ministry of National Defense: The Chinese Military is an Important Force for Preserving World Peace”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, September 26, 2005. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=9&channelid=11&searchword=%D5%FD%CE%C4%3D%B4%F3%B9%FA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed October 6, 2012).

“Zhongguo Jinji Yuanzhu Jizhi Jingshou Zhu Kaoyan” [“China’s Emergency Aid Mechanism Withstood the Test”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, January 12, 2005. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=93&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

“Zhongguo Renmin Zhengzhi Xieshang Huiyi Di Jiu Jie Quanguo Weiyuanhui Changwu Weiyuanhui Gongzuo Baogao (1999 Nian 3 Yue 3 Ri Zai Zhengxie Di Jiu Jie Quanguo Weiyuanhui Di Er Ci Huiyi Shang)” [“Work Report of the Standing Committee of the Ninth National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (March 3, 1999 During the Second Session of the Ninth National Committee of the CPPCC)”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, March 3, 1999. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=125&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed July 3, 2012).

“Zhongxuanbu Deng Wu Buwei Lianhe Juban Zhongguo Jiaru WTO Xilie Baogaohui” [“Five Ministries and Commissions Including Central Propaganda Department Jointly Host a Report Lecture on China’s Accession to the WTO”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, January 23, 2002. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=117&channelid=11&searchword=%D5%FD%CE%C4%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed October 6, 2012).

“Zhongyang Tongzhanbu Fubuzhang Lou Zhihao Tongzhi Zai Minjian Ba Jie Er Zhong Quan Hui Shang De Jianghua” [“Central United Front Work Department Deputy Minister Comrade Lou Zhihao’s Speech at the Eighth Session of the Second Plenum of the DAB”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, December 18, 2003. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=94&channelid=11&searchword=%D5%FD%CE%C4%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed October 6, 2012).

“Zhu Rongji Huijian Ao’erbulaite” [“Zhu Rongji Meets with Albright”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China (CPC), May 1, 1998. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=55&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

“Zhuanbian Fazhan Fangshi Shixian Jingji Zengzhang—Zai Yatai Jing He Zuzhi Di Shijiu Ci Lingdaoren Fei Zhengshi Huiyi Shang De Jianghua” [“Transform the Development Method and Realize Economic Growth—Speech at the 19th APEC Informal Leadership Meeting”]. Archives of the Communist Party of China, November 13, 2011. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=6&channelid=10&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed November 12, 2012).

Zoellick, Robert B. “Whither China: From Membership to Responsibility?” *The DISAM Journal* 28, no. 2 (Winter 2006): 94-98. http://www.disam.dsca.mil/pubs/Vol%2028_2/Zoellick.pdf, (accessed November 21, 2012).

“2001 Nian 12 Yue 13 Ri Guojia Jingmaowei Fu Zhuren Zhang Zhigang Jieshao ‘Zhongguo Ru Shi Yu Gongshang Lingyu De Fazhan’” [“Deputy Director of State Economic and Trade Commission Zhang Zhigang Introduces ‘China's Entry into the WTO and the Development of the Industrial and Commercial Sectors’”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, December 13, 2001, <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=123&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

“2003 Nian 12 Yue 16 Ri Waijiaobu Fayaren Zai Jizhe Zhaodaihui Shang Da Jizhe Wen” [“December 16, 2003, MOFA Spokesperson Answers Media Inquiries During a Press Conference”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, December 16, 2003 http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=390&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE*B4%F3%B9%FA*D6%D0%B9%FA (accessed December 1, 2012).

“2005 Nian 12 Yue 22 Ri Waijiaobu Fayaren Qin Gang Zai Lixing Jizhehui Shang Da Jizhe Wen” [“December 12, 2005, MOFA Spokesperson Qin Gang Responds to Media Inquiries at a Routine Press Meeting”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, December 22, 2005. http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=308&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE*B4%F3%B9%FA*D6%D0%B9%FA (accessed December 1, 2012).

“2005 Nian 4 Yue 20 Ri Jieshao Jinnian Yi Jiedu Guomin Jingji Yunxing Qingkuang” [“April 20, 2005, Introducing the National Economy During the First Quarter of this Year”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, April 20, 2005. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=86&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

“2005 Nian 4 Yue 21 Ri Fabiao ‘Zhongguo Zhishi Chanquan Baohu De Xin Jinzhan’ Baipishu” [“New Developments in Chinese Intellectual Property Rights Protection’ Whitepaper, Published April 21, 2005”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, April 21, 2005.

<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=81&channelid=11&searchword=%D5%FD%CE%C4%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed October 6, 2012).

“2006 Nian 1 Yue 24 Ri Waijiaobu Fayanren Kong Quan Zai Lixing Jizhehui Shang Da Jizhe Wen” [“January 24, 2006, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Kong Quan Responds to Media Inquiries at a Routine Press Conference”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, January 24, 2006.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=37&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE> (accessed October 6, 2012).

“2007 Nian ‘Shijie Liangshi Ri’ Xuanchuan Huodong Zai Jing Chenggong Juxing” [“2007 ‘World Food Day’ Propaganda Event Successfully Held in Beijing”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, October 16, 2007.
http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=187&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE*B4%F3%B9%FA*D6%D0%B9%FA (accessed October 6, 2012).

“2007 Nian 1 Yue 11 Ri Guoxinban Jiu Zhongguo Ziran Zaihai He Jiuzai Gongzuo Deng Juxing Fabuhui” [“January 11, 2007 State Council Information Office Holds a News Conference Regarding China’s Natural Disaster and Disaster Relief Work”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, January 11, 2007.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=83&channelid=11&searchword=%D5%FD%CE%C4%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed October 6, 2012).

“2007 Nian 6 Yue 4 Ri Guoxinban Jiu Zhongguo Zhengfu Yingdui Qihou Bianhua Qingkuang Juxing Fabuhui” [“June 4, 2007: State Council Information Office Holds a Launch Meeting Regarding the Chinese Government’s Climate Change Situation”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, June 4, 2007. <http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=51&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed December 1, 2012).

“2010 Nian 11 Yue 4 Ri Waijiaobu Fayanren Hong Lei Juxing Lixing Jizhe Hui” [“November 4, 2010: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Hong Lei Holds Routine Media Conference”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, November 4, 2010.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=10&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B5%C4%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).

“2010 Nian 12 Yue 7 Ri Waijiaobu Fayanren Jiang Yu Juxing Lixing Jizhe Hui” [“December 7, 2010: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Jiang Yu Holds a Routine Media Conference”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, December 7, 2010.
http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=74&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE*B4%F3%B9%FA*D6%D0%B9%FA (accessed November 12, 2012).

- “2010 Nian 2 Yue 9 Ri Waijiaobu Fayanren Ma Zhaoxu Juxing Lixing Jizhehui” [“February 9, 2010: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Ma Zhaoxu Holds Routine Media Conference”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, February 9, 2010.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=20&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B9%FA%BC%CA%D4%F0%C8%CE>
 (accessed November 12, 2012).
- “2010 Nian Zhongguo De Guofang: Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Guowuyuan Xinwen Banshi” [“China’s National Security in 2010: Media Office of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, March 31, 2011.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=32&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).
- “2011 Nian 1 Yue 4 Ri Waijiaobu Fayanren Hong Lei Juxing Lixing Jizhehui” [“January 4, 2011 Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Hong Lei Holds a Routine Media Conference”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, January 4, 2011.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=71&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA%D6%D0%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).
- “2011 Nian 11 Yue 17 Ri Waijiaobu Fayanren Liu Weimin Juxing Lixing Jizhe Hui” [“November 17, 2011: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Liu Weimin Holds Routine Media Conference”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, November 17, 2011.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=26&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).
- “2012 Nian 2 Yue 6 Ri Waijiaobu Fayanren Liu Weimin Juxing Lixing Jizhe Hui” [“February 6, 2012: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Liu Weimin Holds Routine Media Conference”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, February 6, 2012.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=21&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).
- “2012 Nian 5 Yue 31 Ri Waijiaobu Fayanren Liu Weimin Juxing Lixing Jizhe Hui” [“May 31, 2012: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Liu Weimin Holds Routine Media Conference”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, May 31, 2012.
<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=26&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA%D6%D0%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).
- “2012 Nian 6 Yue 8 Ri Waijiaobu Fayanren Liu Weimin Juxing Lixing Jizhe Hui” [“June 8, 2012: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Liu Weimin Holds Routine Press Conference”]. Archives of the Chinese Government, June 8, 2012.

<http://58.68.145.22/detail?record=15&channelid=11&searchword=%5B%D5%FD%CE%C4%2C%B1%EA%CC%E2%5D%2B%3D%B8%BA%D4%F0%C8%CE%B4%F3%B9%FA> (accessed November 12, 2012).