

# The Characteristics of China's National Security

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## Abstract

China is the unique state whose civilization has seldom been interrupted by other civilizations. China has her particular characteristics on national security. China's national security has been affected by domestic factors such as geography, culture, science and technology, ideology, and other factors. At the same time, international factors have deeply impacted China's national security. In terms of national security, the year 1840 and the year 1949 are two watersheds in China's long history. Before 1840, China had owned absolute advantage on national security in East Asia. After 1840, China rapidly lost her supreme position in East Asia. Her national security fell into predicament. In 1949, Chinese Communist Party founded the People's Republic of China. China's national security took place great changes. Checking China's history, continuous Chinese civilization benefited by the common characteristics on her national security.

**Keywords:** National Security, Security Culture, Security Studies, Geopolitics, China's Politics

## 1. Introduction

China has a long history with 5,000 years and a splendid civilization. In her long history, national security has been vital tasks on the agenda of China's dominators. Every flourishing dynasty in China must carry out successful policy on national security. Certainly, every dynasty's subrogation in China also gives us many lessons on national security. The year 1840 is a turning point of not only ancient China's history but also ancient China's national security. In the same way, the year 1949 is another turning point of China's national security. In this year, the People's Republic of China was founded in Beijing. Since then on, China had great changes on her national security. In every stage, China's national security showed different characteristics.

## 2. China's national security before 1840

Before British Industrial Revolution, international system based on the global scope had been uncreated and the whole world had been divided into some small international systems based on regional scope. The bad traffic and the block of geography baffled the interaction among these separated small international systems such as East Asia system, Europe system, America system, and so on. In East Asia System, it is beyond all doubt that China had been lying in the dominating status before the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In other words, in the close international system of East Asia, China had owned absolute advantage on external security in the most time of this very long period. At the same time, in the past thousands years, the changes of dynasty had happened many times inside China. In the long period before 1840, there are the following characteristics on China's national security.

Firstly, the advantaged geographic environment gave a particular form to China's national security. The Yellow River Basin and the Yangtse River Basin are the birthplaces of the Chinese Nation. From of old, the two basins have been Chinese major territory. Let's check the ambience of ancient Chinese territory. To the east of China, it is the vast Pacific Ocean. A few island states such as Japan and Ryukyu lie in this ocean. To the south of China, it is South China Sea. In ancient, no country can threaten China from the ocean. The Pacific Ocean became a natural barrier protecting China in ancient. Actually, no genuine threats from the east and the south had existed until the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the west of China, it is the Tibet Plateau and the Yungui Plateau. Especially on the Tibet Plateau, thin oxygen and bad living condition made there unfrequented in ancient. On the foot of the Tibet Plateau, another great power India lies there. In ancient, India was also a strong great power. With the national development, many wars would have taken place between China and India but for the Tibet Plateau. It is high possible that the Sino-Indian warlike history would have lasted more than thousands years. Actually, if it were not for the Tibet Plateau, it would be at least three times for foreigner forces invading China via India. The first time was in 1500 BC in which Aryan race invaded India. The second time was in the 8<sup>th</sup> century in which Arab invaded India. The third time was in the 11<sup>th</sup> century in which the Turks invaded India. In the northwest of China, it is the Taklimakan Desert and the Tianshan Mountain. In addition, to the north of China, it is the Mongolia Gobi. Dire Siberian climate also

prevented European troops or Arabic troops away China. Certainly, some north nomad had sometimes invaded this central empery in the past thousands years. But the north areas provided atrocious weather and worst survival environment. This environment didn't bear much population who settled there. Consequently, the adequately strong enemies did not exist to the north of China in ancient. The Great Wall was a good way to prevent those nomad cavalry away China. Historically, unless internal factors caused the change of China's dynasty, north nomad couldn't depend themselves to conquer China. Overall speaking, this kind of geographic environment was very helpful to China's national security.

Secondly, before 1840, an introverted policy on national security had been impacting China's foreign relation in the most period of her long history. In ancient, the advantaged geographic environment shaped a closed international system centered on China in East Asia. Though north nomad had sometimes invaded China, China was still the unique super power in East Asia. Consequently, in the most time, only a small part of national strength was employed to protect her north border by China. In other word, before 1840, to prevent external threats wasn't China's principal object on national security. On the contrary, China put more effort on her civil security in the past thousands years. Furthermore, the close geographic environment also made China's territorial expansion difficult, but China had own wide territory, rich natural resources and enough population to support her development. Thus China needn't depend on colonialism to maintain her survival and development. In other word, ancient China had enough strategic survival space. In addition, in ancient China, it was very complicated to govern much population in so wide territory. Consequently, to ancient Chinese, the most important object on national security was to keep internal stability and effective domestic dominion. Certainly, this kind of advantage existed negative factor to China's future national security. China put more attention to land security and almost ignored sea security in ancient China. It left hidden unsafety for future China. When the Western navy attacked China from the sea, China was confound of those maritime threats.

Thirdly, ancient China had her particular security culture. Advantaged geography provided enough time and space to shape particular Chinese civilization. Chinese civilization had dominated in East Asia for thousands years in the case of no other comparative civilizations could threat her before the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Chinese civilization deeply influenced China's security culture. As to international system, ancient Chinese considered that China was the centre of the "world" and China's culture had absolute advantage in the "world"; other undeveloped regions around China were still in cultural backwardness. The gap between China and undeveloped regions was found expression in not only geography but also civilization and wildness. (Chu & Jin, 2008, p.7) Consequently, ancient Chinese had her superiority complex and had posed as the imperial state. It is remarkable that ancient Chinese superiority complex roots in her superiority complex on civilization in place of the superiority complex on ethnic group or military power. In other words, the superiority complex based on civilization attaches more importance to ideas. Identity from others is the same important than self identity. Just as that, in the interactions between ancient China and foreign countries, China just liked a missionary who civilized undeveloped countries. It is very differ from that of European colonists. European colonists made use of establishing many colonies for material wealth. But ancient China never established any colony in the past thousands years, even though she had enough power to do it. In fact, in East Asia, ancient China created a particular international system – tributary system. Tributary system has her principal contents: (1) admit China as her suzerain; (2) accept canonized; (3) regular tribute; (4) use Chinese way of counting years. (Li, 2006) Under this kind of tributary system, China didn't intervene in her tributary's domestic affairs. To most extends, China's tributary system focused on the export of civilization or culture. Essentially, the export of civilization or culture is the export of ideas. The Tributary System was the foremost mode of international relations in East Asia and "even it was a historical system in Asia or only Asia" (Hamashita, 1999).

Taking one with another, to ancient China, her advantaged geography deeply impacted her national security. To defense land threats from north nomad had been ancient China's essential national defensive policy. At the same time, China's superiority complex on her civilization and China's absolute superiority in East Asia made the reality of the establishment of the tributary system which aiming to spread Chinese civilization not to expand China's territory. That's to say, ancient China established a set of international norms based on cultural identity. The tributary system in East Asia had been the dominating international system for thousands years.

### **3. China's national security after 1840**

In the 1760s, the United Kingdom took the lead in starting industrial revolution. Later, other European and North American countries early or later had entered into the period of steam power. Industrial revolution helped the Occident entering modern civilization. In Europe, the quickly changes of science and technology strongly pushed advance of the productive capability. The increasing productive capability also pushed new production relations which were pushing the innovation of social system in Europe and North America. In order to obtain more natural resources and market share, those advanced countries pursued establishing lots of colonies in the world. The rich

and popular of East Asia was attracting the Occident. The advent of the Western merchant ship and later the Western gunboats not only destroyed the existed economic system in East Asia, but also destroyed the existed international order dominated by China in East Asia. Maybe the year 1840 is a normal year to other countries, but must be a turning point to China, to most extends to East Asia, because in this year the United Kingdom declared the Opium War I towards China and after them forced China to sign China's first unequal treaty - the Treaty of Nanjing. From then on, more great powers invaded China and gradually translated China into the semi-colony and semi-feudal country. It is essential of this upheaval to impact China's national security. After 1840, there were new characteristics on China's national security.

Firstly, the reconstruction of international order in East Asian made China lose her absolute advantage on national security in East Asia. During the Industrial Revolution, the Western great powers were striving to establish colonies in the world. Those previous separate small international systems were unifying into an integrated international system step by step. In East Asia, China made use of the Tributary System to keep political order in this small international system. The Tributary System dominated by China had played effective role in East Asia for thousands years. But don't forget, this system depended upon the absolute advantage of Chinese civilization. In other word, the other countries in East Asia felt tremendous awe from the splendid Chinese civilization, thus they accepted this international order dominated by China. But "the 100 years after 1840, China was forced to sign more than 1,100 unequal treaties and statutes with those great powers". (Liu, 2009) Under these unequal treaties, much China's territories were ceded to other great powers. To those East Asian countries, these events brought them not only psychological shock but also deep reflection. Under the Occident gunboat, a kind of more splendid civilization based on a bran-new political system and economic system was presenting to them. Comparing with the Occident civilization, their suzerain's civilization was laggard. In the late of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, China's tributaries discharged their vassal relations with China one by one. Some of them initiatively discharged their tributary relations with China, such as Japan. And most of them such as Korea, Ryukyu passively did it because they had controlled by the West countries. Up to the initiate of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, all of China's tributaries discharged their tributary relations. In East Asia, the Tributary System existed in name only. As a result, West advanced industrial civilization mentally overcame these East Asian countries as well as West power politics gradually replaced the Tributary System based on Chinese civilization. In the level of international structure (or the level of strategy), China had already lost her absolute advantage on national security in East Asia.

Secondly, the transformation of international security environment led to the change of China's defensive strategy. The geographic advantage had protected China for thousands years. The wide ocean prevented any enemy who wanted to attack China via sea in the past thousands years. It made China to keep most of her capability to develop her army and almost ignore her navy. To defense the north nomad had been China's core strategy on national security. But since 1840, not only the north enemy (Russia) was still exist furthermore stronger enemies invaded China from sea road. To the south, the United Kingdom, France and other West countries invaded China from the ocean. To the east, with the rapid development in the Meiji Restoration, Japan who had learned from China for thousands years was nibbling China's national interests and territory. To the west of China, the British had controlled India and were ready to enter into Tibet. It is very clear that new science and technology made China lose her geographic advantaged on national security. China had to adjust her strategy on national security from the land defense into the land and sea defense. It is reasonable to affirm that this is an unwonted but significant turning point to China's national security in China's history.

Thirdly, after 1840, China's security culture gradually changed from "self-affirmation" to "self-denial". Before 1840, supported by advanced and splendid Chinese civilization, China had had superiority complex in East Asia for thousands years. The absolute super status provided particular soil for "ethnocentrism" (William, 1964) (take notice that not "racialism"). This kind of ethnocentrism brought Chinese great pride and self-confidence. But when all of these run beyond their moderate scope, the thing goes to its opposite direction. China considered that her autarkic small-scale peasant economy can support all of China, thus her chronically carried out the strict policy to close the country to international intercourse. This policy made China increasing self-satisfaction and ignored the great progress of other civilizations. In particular, the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the 18<sup>th</sup> century in which European great powers successively entered into the Industrial Civilization is just the period in which China carried out the strictest closing-door policy. Under the immoderate self-affirmation, external changes didn't arouse China's watchfulness. For instance, in 1793, George McCartney led the first diplomatic corps of the Britain to China. The Qianlong Emperor still took the attitude of the king of the world to treat the British corps and rejected all requirements including to establish trade relations. Facing the British presents advanced guns and precision instrument, Qianglong's generals showed very arrogant and scorn. (Hevia, 1995) Just like this, China missed an important opportunity to learn the Occident. When time ran to the year of 1840, the Britain intruded into China via her

gunboats. Chinese suddenly felt the lag after her thousands resplendent. Further the more did China learn about the Occident civilization; the more pessimistic China felt. Yesterday's self-affirmation rapidly transformed into today's self-denial, to deny from self politic system to self economic system as well as to deny from self technology to self culture. This self-denial thought finally became an important part of China's security culture in this period.

Every-way, the year of 1840 is one of the vital turning points to China's national security. In East Asia, China didn't own absolute advantaged position. Not only mentally but also in practice, those former henchmen no longer followed China. At the same time, the Occident and Japan invaded China far and near. The sorehead Chinese civilization impacted China's security culture. A kind of self-denial atmosphere had masked China for more than one hundred years.

#### **4. The People's Republic of China's national security**

From 1840 to 1949, China had experienced a dark age in the history of national security. In 1949, the Chinese Communist Party's troops finally defeated the Chinese Kuomintang Party's troops via a three-year civil war. On 1 October 1949, the People's Republic of China (the PRC) was founded in Beijing. Just like her history, China's national security entered a new era. Since 1949, China has experienced Mao Zedong's age, Deng Xiaoping's age, Jiang Zemin's age and Hu Jintao's age. This section discusses the PRC's national security in these four ages.

##### *4.1 Mao Zedong's age*

Generally, Mao Zedong's age refers to the period from 1949 to 1976. In this period, China had experienced the civil war, the Korean War, the Sino-Soviet rupture, the Sino-Indian war, the Cultural Revolution, the visit of President Nixon, the re-entry of China to the UN and so on. Along with these important political events, a serial of important strategic transformations were projected on China's national security. China's national security showed the following characteristics.

Firstly, most of geographic advantages essentially ceased to be effective towards China's national security in Mao Zedong's age. Strict speaking, not all duty is ascribed to personal factors. Because of the advancement of human productive capability and vehicle, people can reach those places in which previous people couldn't reach as well as can live the place in which people didn't survival. Consequently, desert, Gobi and sea don't prevent enemy away China, though these landforms had once played vital active important role on China's national security in the past thousands years. In fact, in Mao's age except the first ten years, the Soviet Union had always threatened China's north border, especially in the northeast border and northwest border. In the east and south to China, the wide sea didn't prevented foreign troops away China. On the contrary, it counterchecked China to reoccupy Taiwan in which the Kuomintang troops were holding. In particularly, the United States' Seventh Fleet was cruising on the Taiwan Strait. The crisis on the Korean Peninsula had always been impacting China's national security. In addition, the Tibetan Altiplano has still protecting China's southeast territory because it provides extreme geographic and survival condition. But there was still a war between China and India taking place in the south of the Tibet Altiplano. Taking one with another, in Mao's period, geographic environment was playing lesser role on China's national security.

Secondly, the international situation of the Bipolar World impacted China's external security during Mao Zedong's period. In the international structure of the bipolar world, China was a vital balancer in East Asia though essentially China was a week and poor country at that time. To the Soviet Union and the United States, China held the balance in geographic politics. In the initiate of Mao Zedong's age, the Occident headed by the United States had been hostile to this neonatal Communist China. In particularly, in 1951, the United States Secretary of States John Foster Dulles firstly put forward the conception of "the blockade of the island chain" aiming to the Communist countries. Later, in East Asia, the United States actively established the blockade of the island chain, from the Aleutian Archipelago to the Japanese archipelago, to the Ryukyu Islands, to Taiwan Island, to the Philippines, then to the Greater Sunda Islands, against the Soviet Union and China. More importantly, the United States armed intervened China's action to reoccupy Taiwan. In order to obtain essential international support as soon as possible, new China took the One-sided foreign policy based ideology. On October 2, 1949, it was the Soviet Union to take the lead in making diplomatic recognition. In terms of the official data on the website of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, there are 18 countries which making diplomatic relation with China before the first anniversary of new China, and among of these 18 countries, 11 counties are socialist countries. At that time, it is without question that these diplomatic recognitions ensured the validity of this new regime internationally. At the same time, the Sino-Soviet alignment ensured China's northern security in the initiate stage of the People's Republic of China. In addition, it made the United States feel nervous deep. Consequently, the Occident headed by the United States tightened their economic blockade and even made military actions to China. Even in the period of from 1951 to 1953, the Korean War involved China and the United States. But from the end of the 1950s, especially after Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev came into the Soviet power, the Sino-Soviet relation began to cool in a short time.

In the 1960s, the relations between two countries roundly became enemies. Even in 1969, a few battles were fought over the border between them, such as the Zhenbao Island Battle. At the same time, the relation between China and the United States went on comprehensively antagonizing. The United States strengthened the control on her Island Chain. Even in Vietnam to South of China, a hot war in Cold war was in the process. In this period, China opposed the Yankee imperialism as well as the Soviet Revisionism. China looked like a brave fighter. But actually, China had to face the huge threats from her north and south at the same time. In addition, the disputed territory issue spawned a border war between the two most populous countries in 1962. It is truth that China was at a serious disadvantage on her national security in this period. It impelled China's leadership to review China's security environment and China's strategic role under the bipolar system. Up to the initiate of the 1970s, "the Sino-Soviet contradiction is more than the Sino-US contradiction; the US-Soviet contradiction is more than the US-Sino contradiction". (Xiong, 1992) Basing on this judgment, China thought that it was possible to thaw the Sino-US relation because these two countries were facing common stronger Moscow. Consequently, China began to actively adjust her foreign strategy and policy in the initiate of the 1970s. The Ping Pong Diplomacy was employed by Beijing and Washington to rapidly improve their relation. In 1972, Nixon's visit to China was described as "the week that changed the world". (Macmillan & Margaret, 2007) The big triangle of the Soviet Union, the United States and China changed sooner. This transformation mitigated the threats from the Occident as well as was very helpful to improve China's national security. Just in 1972, thirteen countries including Japan, West Germany made the diplomatic relation with China. (This data comes from the Website of China's Foreign Affairs Department) In the same year, China eventually returned the United Nations. Under the bipolar system, this status on China's national security had lasted until the end of Mao Zedong's age.

Thirdly, China's security culture during Mao Zedong's age was deeply affected by ideology. Since 1949, China became a communist country in which Marxism became her national theory. Compared with other political theories, Marxism insists to employ the view of "class" to analyze international affairs and domestic affairs. Consequently, as the preset position to analyze national security, the division between class enemies and class friends replaced pure national interests. In other word, under this academic logic, the United States as a capitalist state must be China's class enemy because essentially socialist countries must eliminate the exploiting classes including those capitalist countries. This viewpoint was the ideological roots of the conflict between China and the United States. In fact, the Sino-Soviet rupture also dated from the ideological factor. China considered the Soviet Union had lapsed from Marxism and the Soviet Union also considered China had lapsed from Marxism. The two countries reciprocally titled revisionist. Marxist "class" has impacted Chinese viewpoint on national security deeply. No matter how to improve the Sino-US relation, this viewpoint has always played important role in Chinese mind.

Mao Zedong's age was the initiate stage of the People's Republic of China. Under the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, China showed her independent and courage. Facing the threats from two super powers, China dared to struggle to protect sovereignty and independent. For instance, for national security, China paid the vast fiddler in the Korean War. But this war made the world to accept the fact that China is a great power. On the other hand, national security policy under ideology cast China into the insecurity status. With the end of Mao Zedong's age, new transformation on national security would take place in the new age.

#### *4.2 Deng Xiaopin's age*

After a serial of power struggles, Deng Xiaoping finally went into the center of China's political system in the end of the 1970s. Though Deng was never appointed to the President of China or the Secretary-general of the Chinese Communist Party, it didn't affect him as the supreme leader in China. In fact, the leadership headed by Deng Xiaoping is called by a name of "the second generation leadership". During Deng Xiaoping's age, China ended the Cultural Revolution and began the Reform and Opening. Under new strategy and policy, new characteristics on China's national security are showed as follows.

Firstly, international structure was experiencing the wane of the bipolar system. The Soviet decline and the US' raise was the distinct symbol in this period. The transformation of international situation drove China's leadership to rethink the issue of war and peace. In 1985, in an interview with a Japanese business delegacy, Deng Xiaoping put forward his judgment "nowadays peace and development are the principle themes in this world". (Deng, 1993a) China judged that it is low possible of global war in a long future period. In fact, the new international situation made the Russia-US-China big triangle into a big isosceles triangle. Certainly, in this big isosceles triangle China was not leading actor but a vital balancer. The decline of the Soviet Union objectively reduced stress to China as well as provided a chance to improve the Sino-Russian relation. In 1978, China declared her policy of "Reform and opening" on the Third Plenary Session of the 11<sup>th</sup> Central Commission of the Chinese Communist Party. To support the new policy, China needed vast fund and advanced technology from the Occident. China thus adjusted her foreign policy towards the Occident. On January 1, 1979, the United States transformed diplomatic recognition from Taiwan

to Chinese Mainland. From then on, the Sino-US relation increasingly closed and their deep-level contradiction was lay over by these two countries. In order to lasso Beijing, Washington even provided quasi-ally treatment to Beijing in the initiate stage of the 1980s, such as economic aid, sale on weapon, etc. The warm status between China and the United States had lasted until the year of 1989 in which the June Fourth Incident took place.

Secondly, let's talk about domestic political security. As a socialist country, China didn't integrate into international society within the thirty years before Deng Xiaoping's age. The long-term closure and the education of anti-capitalism caused Chinese rigid thinking. From Chinese citizens to high level leaders in Chinese leadership, they had much suspicion and misgivings to the Reform and Opening policy. The dispute between the aspirations towards the Occident technology/fund and the psychological resistance towards the Occident politics had aroused a series of political struggles during Deng Xiaoping's age. Deng Xiaoping and his leadership separated politics from economy. Economically, China actively imported West technology and fund as well as learned their advanced managerial system. But politically, China firmly carried out socialist system and repulsed West political system. It is independent of human will. With opening to the world, all kinds of West thoughts directly or indirectly entered into China. Chinese began to pay attention to not only economic freedom but also political freedom. In the civil, this trend of thought pursuing West political system pervaded in China quickly. China's official called it "bourgeois liberalization" and considered this kind thought essentially wanted to push China into the capitalism. (Deng, 1993b) In the 1980s, some small-time but significant demonstrations organized by university students took place in some cities. At that time, it was very serious political incidents in China. Later, these incidents became an important direct factor to make Hu Yaobang, who was the Secretary-general of the Chinese Communist Party, to step down. In 1989, more violent demonstrations began with university students swept the whole China and shocked the world. It also led Zhao Ziyang who was the Secretary-general of the Chinese Communist Party to step down. This incident was a very big blow to China and then the Occident applied a series of strict sanctions against China.

Generally speaking, during Deng Xiaoping's age, China gradually gave up her previous ideological national strategy and policy. China improved her relations with the two super powers. It reduced military threats towards China. With the reform and opening, China took "politics apart from economy" to resolve the contradiction between Socialist political system and market economic system. But, at the end of Deng Xiaoping's age, the June Fourth Incident brought China into a disadvantageous situation on national security. In 1989, Deng Xiaoping retired then Jiang Zemin and the new leadership came into China's power. China entered into Jiang Zemin's age. But it is believed that Deng Xiaoping had still kept his vital influence until 1997 in which he shut his light.

#### *4.3 Jiang Zemin's age*

In 1989, Jiang Zemin was appointed the Secretary-general of the Chinese Communist Party and later the Chairman of the Central Military Commission of the Chinese Communist Party (in 1993 he was appointed the President of the People's Republic of China). Thus from then on, China entered into Jiang Zemin's age. Jiang Zemin's age was a particular period in which international system and domestic economic system were experiencing significant structural transformation. China's national security was facing multiple presses. The following discusses this issue with three aspects.

Firstly, in the initiate of Jiang Zemin's age, international system experienced a vital upheaval after the World War II. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and those East European Socialist countries, the Cold War went to the end and the bipolar system was disjointing in a very short time. In the world, the United States became the unique super power. It means international society entered into a unipolar world. During the Cold War, China played an important balancer between the Soviet Union and the United States. But in the unipolar world, China lost this kind of strategic advantage. With the lost of this strategic status, ideological factor played a fresh major role in the United States' foreign strategy towards China. Washington and her ally readopted the big stick policy to China. In addition, the June Fourth Incident became the best reason to transform their relation with Beijing. The Occident headed by the United States carried out very strict political and economic sanctions towards China. Politically, the Occident employed human rights to push China into the dock of international political moral. Typically, during Jiang Zemin's age (1989 - 2001), the Occident had submitted anti-China motions to United Nations Commission on Human Rights for eleven times. (Xinhua News Agent, 2004) Economically, the Occident took a series of strict sanctions towards China, including trade sanction, advanced technology embargoes (include arms embargoes), and so on. These sanctions lasted many years and some of them have been enforced until today. It impacted China's economic development. Especially in the initiate years, to most extends, it led to the serious decline on China's exports and further negatively impacted China's GDP. In 1988, China's GDP increased by 11.3% over that in 1987. But in 1989, China's GDP increased by only 4.1%. In 1990, her GDP increased by even only 3.8% (These Datum come from the website of China's State Statistical Bureau). In addition, the Occident especially the United States began to publicly support separatist forces against China. The Occident used religious freedom and national self-determination as a

pretext for supporting the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama and his government-in-exile. At the same time, the United States used the Taiwan Relations Act as a pretext for providing advanced weapons to Taiwan. These actions indeed threatened China's national security during Jiang Zemin's age.

Secondly, during Jiang Zemin's age, domestic security played more important role on China's national security. The June Fourth Incident was a large-scale disturbance which swept almost the whole China. More importantly, it was the first time that a nationwide disturbance aimed to publicly protest the communist authority after 1949. Under the background of the collapse of the Soviet and East European socialist countries, the June Fourth Incident almost made the Chinese Communist Party lost her authority. Since then on, China's leadership particularly attached important to national stabilization. With the advance of deep-seated economic reform, the Government did not any longer to mange public enterprises excepting a few important ones. Most public enterprises made their own management decisions and took full responsibility for their own profits and losses. Under the law of market economy, great numbers of them had to go into bankruptcy because of their misconduct. Thus millions workers and staffs lost their jobs. By the official data of the National Bureau of Statistics of China, the number of unemployment in town in 1990 was 3.832 million and that in 2000 was 5.95 million. Pay attention, in China, agricultural population has had the largest number of the total population. During Jiang Zemin's age, national social security system didn't cover them. In other word, they must depend on their own efforts to provide for the aged, medical treatment and so on. That's to say, actual number of unemployment in China was beyond more than the official data. Vast number of unemployment threatened China's social security and political stabilization. During Jiang Zemin's age, parades and demonstrations by unemployment workers continued to occur. In the later of Jiang Zemin's age, peaceful parades and demonstrations evolved into violent protests gradually. These insecurity factors facilitated the establishment and improvement of China's social security system.

Thirdly, facing the structural transformation on international system and domestic system, with the rising of national power and the speedup of the globalization, the third generation leadership headed by Jiang Zemin made a overall judgment "a new world war won't occur for the foreseeable future and hence it is possible to obtain a long time for peaceful international environment and better surrounding environment". (Jiang, 2002) Based on it, since 1991 to 2002, Jiang Zemin put forward China's new national security concept stage by stage. General speaking, China's new national security concept includes four points. First, the objective of security should be to construct universal significant security to all countries. (Ou, 2003) Second, national security depends on comprehensive national strength. Thus "the strategy of competition on comprehensive national strength" is the footstone of national security strategy. (Jiang, 2006) Third, international security should be constructed on "mutual trust, mutual benefit, equal and cooperation". Fourth, international society must cast away the Cold War thinking and cooperate to build new international political and economical order. Under the new national security concept, China actively established Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

General speaking, international turbulence and domestic political situation deeply influenced China's national security during Jiang Zemin's age. Jiang Zemin and his leadership successfully kept domestic political stabilization and economic development. Internationally, China gradually got through difficult foreign situations. In 2002, the third leadership headed by Jiang Zemin retired and the fourth leadership headed by Hu Jintao came into China's supreme power.

#### *4.4 Hu Jintao's age*

In 2002, the first peaceful transformation of political power since 1949 ensured China's political stabilization. The fourth generation of leadership headed by Hu Jintao came into China's power. Since then on, China entered into Hu Jintao's age. During Hu Jintao's age, new international and domestic situation is impacting China's national security. China has her new characteristics on national security.

Firstly, China's sea territorial security becomes another major topic on national security. Historically, land security has always been the topic of China's national security. Even after the found of the People's Republic of China, China fought four wars which were land wars (the Korean War, the Sino-Soviet War, the Sino-Indian War, and the Sino-Vietnamese War). Though the threats from sea has always been existing, land security has always been the core of national defensive policy. After the Cold War, facing the huge challenge from the Occident, China and Russia formed strategic alliance (though these two states denied it in public). It provided a proper chance for two states to deal with their disputed territory issue. After many rounds of hard negotiations, in 2004, the two states finally signed *the Supplementary Agreement of the Sino-Russian Eastern Border*. This treaty marks the clear Sino-Russian border with 4,300 km or so. China also resolved border issues with the Central Asian countries. In 2009, China and Vietnam accomplished the survey line of the Sino-Vietnamese land frontier. Except the Sino-Indian disputed territory, China has resolved all land frontier issues. The Tibet Altiplano is still preventing India troops far away

China hinterland. Consequently, up to Hu Jintao's age, almost no land war will take place in China's border. But in ocean, it is another case. With the calming of land security, China's sea security is increasing serious. The South China Sea issue is concerned in China, Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei, and Philippine. In the East Sea, the Diaoyutai Island is concerned in China and Japan. In addition, Taiwan issue is still unknown to China. Particularly, the United States still depend on three islands chains to blockade China. On the other hand, with the rapid economic development, China demands more and more natural resources and energy resources. By the data from China's General Administration of Customs, China imported crude oil 204 million ton only in 2009. Most of them were transmitted via the way of ocean shipping. The sea life line is more important for China's national economy. As a result, China's defense focuses on "blue security" during Hu Jintao's age. China took a series of measures to protect her sea security. First, China increased her defense budget. By China's Government Work Reports from 2002 to 2010, China's defense budget in 2010 (Chinese Yuan: 532.115 billion) increased by 211.58% over that in 2002 (Chinese Yuan: 170.778 billion). Huge fund was devoted into update of weapons and equipment, such as China's Global Positioning System (Big Dipper System), establishing Aircraft carrier, etc. Except increasing defense budget, the second is to make comprehensive strategy to deal with the challenge from sea. During Jiang Zemin's age and even the initiate stage of Hu Jintao's age, sea security made Beijing into dilemma. On the one hand, China must take action to protect her sea right. On the other hand, China had to consider her relation with those countries, especially the Sino-US relation. Thus except for diplomatic activities, China almost did nothing. Just like it, China's sea rights and interests has been nibbled by those concerned countries. But with the rapid military power and economic power, China began to adjust her strategy and policy on sea issue. General speaking, China began to strategically deter the United States and to tactical deter other concerning states. Beijing has always believed that her sea territory would be safety if without the US navy. As the second largest economic great power with strong military power, China owns more playing cards to impact the United States. Based on her political system and her history, the United State is a typical rational state and also a pragmatist. It is no doubt that the United States finally will accept the proper way to deal with her relation with the rapid rising China. That's to reciprocally confirm and respect each core interests on national security. Certainly, before then, China still needs to powerfully "mention" the United States when Washington ignores China's national interests.

Secondly, economic security is on the rise as the main problem on China's national security during Hu Jintao's age. With the development of globalization, open domestic market is compulsory to all countries. Under an open economic environment, it is a strict test to China's decision-maker. With the support of some governments, international financial magnates are intending to control not only China's market but also China's industry chain. "Industrial capital magnates established the magnate alliance to seize global markets, but now they make use of their strong capability of chain integration to control the whole industry chain and further the whole industry." (Lang, 2010, p.2) At the same time, domestic magnate groups are stealthily growing up and begin to impact China's national economy. For example, in China, the Central Government made many policies to demand a low price of houses. But the price of houses is still increasing hand over hand. The essential reason is China's realty industry abducted China's local governments. In China, the sale of lands is the most important source of local fiscal revenue. In addition, the mode of economic growth should be checked because it caused the economic situation of "rich state and poor people".

Thirdly, three separatist forces influence China's political situation and social stabilization. The first one is Taiwan separatist force. In 2000, the Democratic Progressive Party won Taiwan's "Presidential election". This party has always pursued the independent of Taiwan. They made use of public rights to push independent movement, such as to push the referendum for Taiwan Independence. These activities once changed regional situation tense. In 2008, the Kuomintang Party regained the authority of Taiwan via the "Presidential election". The new authority rapidly adjusted the policy towards Chinese Mainland. Chinese Mainland also adjusted her hard-line policy on Taiwan issue. Thus the relation across the Taiwan Strait was improved in a short time. The second separatist force is Tibet separatist force. Actually it is an old issue to China's national security. After left Tibet in 1959, the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama established his government-in-exile in India. Since then on, they have always pursued Tibet independence. Under this object, the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama and his government-in-exile made use of religion, human rights and right of people to self-determination to earn the pity and support of the Occident. At the same time, as the most important religious leader of Tibet Buddhist, the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama called on Tibetan against the Government. During Hu Jintao's age, the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama and his government-in-exile gave up warm means and turned to violent means for Tibet independence. The third one is Uigur separatist force. This force pursues to establish East Turkistan in the northwest of China. These three separatist forces threaten China's national security.

General speaking, during Hu Jintao's age, the rising China plays more important role in international affairs. The disputed sea territory influences China's national security and China's foreign policy. At the same time,

non-traditional security deeply impacts China's national security. Hu Jintao's age is an important period in which China's national identity is transforming from a regional great power into a global great power. With this transformation, China's national security strategy and policy will be adjusted in the future.

## 5. Conclusion

In different period, there are different characteristics on China's national security. Contemporary China is the continuance of historical China. Checking China's history on national security, the commonness is easy to be found. Firstly, China's national security is deeply affected by her traditional culture and her history. With the evolvement of thousands years, Chinese is accustomed to a set of philosophy and rules to watch the world. It impacts Chinese thinking, judgment and behavior, as well as influences Chinese security concept. For example, the idea of harmony has always Chinese. Chinese has always been keeping idealist cause – to establish a harmony and orderly international relation. And now China hope spread her successful "Beijing Mode". Secondly, in past thousands years, whether strong or weak, China has been keeping her actions in her own territory. In other word, in absolute most period of her long history, China has always taken the offensive security strategy and policy. Thirdly, on national security, Chinese prefers the spread of her civilization to the expanding of her territory. In ancient, China spread Chinese Civilization. Since 1949, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, China spread the ideas of revolution. Fourthly, in China, comparing democracy under the rule by law, national security more depends on political stabilization and social harmony.

The advance of history and the transformation of international structure push the development of the world. History is a mirror to imply what will happen in the future. Certainly, today's China after all differs from historical China. It must project onto China's national security. Thus, some differences should be mentioned as listed. Firstly, can China rise up with her peaceful way? Checking the history of the rising of all great powers, no great power was success to rise with a peaceful way. War and killing seem like the compulsory or even unique choice to those new great powers who were intending to replace those existing great powers. Today, as a rapid rising great power, China is facing a global system not past closing East Asian system. Many disputed territories are still disturbing China. The Island Chain organized by the United States is still encircling China. Consequently, under others' huge suspicion, it is a very strict test for China's peaceful rising. Secondly, in the past thousands years, China's national security had been firmly and powerfully supporting by her splendid civilization. The advanced cultural system, political system, and economic system derived from strong Chinese Civilization had been attacking and conquering other countries in East Asia. In other world, to most extends, not depending on her powerful military forces, it is ancient China's soft power to help China obtain absolute dominating poison in East Asia for thousands years. Since 1840, China had declined for more than one hundred years. Now, China is rapidly rising with a surprising speed. It is truth that China is rich and strong again. It provides more firm and powerful material condition for her national security. But is China really great country? Do many countries long for imitate contemporary China's cultural system, political system or economic system? Identification from others has always brought more steady security than that of money or military force. Certainly, national hard power is also important, but I firmly believe that true national security bases on national soft power. Thirdly, with the rapid of China, more and more Chinese will emigrate. How to protect oversea Chinese will gradually become another worrying issue concerning China's national security.

With the rapid development of national strength, China is playing more important role in international affairs. Not only China but also other states pay attention to China's national security. China's strategy and policy on national security influences not only China but also East Asia and even the world.

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