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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the concept of Peaceful Coexistence and its current use of the PRC as a foreign policy.

PRC is a rising power in the international society and as such is under much scrutiny from governments that considers it to be a potential threat. As a way of conducting its international relations PRC uses the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. There seems, however, to be a lack of understanding of the principles in the international debate as well as in the available literature. This year, 2014, marks the 60th anniversary of the creation of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence which were celebrated in PRC by the CCP, indicating the importance of the principles to PRC. In line with this the Chinese President Xi Jinping has during the celebrations stated the importance of the principles to PRC foreign policy and that PRC still is true to these principles. Recent events in the South China Sea have, however, created some doubts as to whether PRC in effect is true to the principles as the PRC are engaged in disputes with several other states over maritime territory.

This thesis starts be exploring the origin of Peaceful Coexistence and finds that it was used by Lenin and the Soviet Russia, and later USSR, as a tool to maintain relations with capitalist states without compromising the communist ideology. Without the concept of Peaceful Coexistence Lenin might not have gotten the needed stability to create the foundation for the future USSR. The Soviet Russia, and later USSR, did not have the needed military power to support the World Revolution and engage directly in armed conflict with the capitalist states in the Western Bloc. As such Peaceful Coexistence became a way for the CPSU to maintain its legitimacy as a regime, as it allowed for peaceful coexistence with a more powerful Western Bloc and at the same time remain true to the ideology that was the foundation of the regime and from which it gained its support.

Mao used Peaceful Coexistence as a policy to secure PRC in the international society and when dealing with the super powers of the Cold War, the US and USSR. Later it was used when PRC needed internal stability to modernize its economy and the CCP to regain its legitimacy as the modernization of the PRC meant that the CCP had to abandon some of its ideological beliefs. Like in USSR the concept of peaceful coexistence was used as a political response to maintain the legitimacy of the current regime, CCP, which is secured by creating economic growth and social progress in PRC.

Today, PRC still claims that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is the cornerstone of PRC foreign policy. Despite not engaging in fully armed conflicts PRC have still shown indications of coercive means in consolidating its claimed territory in the South China Sea, and this brings into question if the PRC action are in line with the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The PRC actions in the area can be defended as following the principles depending on the interpretation Peaceful Coexistence still serves as a pragmatic tool for maintaining the legitimacy of the CCP in a less communist society. It does also allow for gaining the needed international relations and the needed internal stability. However, there are indications of some true adherence to the principles.

ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CPSU	Communist Party Soviet Union
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zones
IR	International Relations
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PLAN	People's Liberation Army Navy
PRC	People's Republic of China
UN	United Nations
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on Law of Sea
US	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

1   INTRODUCTION

> *"It is on the basis of the Five Principles that China has established and developed diplomatic relations with 165 countries and carried out trade, economic, scientific, technological and cultural exchanges and cooperation with over 200 countries and regions. It is on the basis of the Five Principles that China has, through peace negotiations, resolved the boundary issues with most neighbors and maintained peace and stability in its surrounding areas. And it is on the basis of the Five Principles that China has provided economic and technical aid with no political strings attached to other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, strengthening the friendship between China and these countries."*
>
> Premier Wen Jiabao, in his speech entitled, "Carrying Forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in the Promotion of Peace and Development." 2014
>
> (RPC, 2014)

In June this year PRC hosted the President of Myanmar, Thein Sein, and the Vice president of India, Mohammed Hamid Ansari, for a celebration of the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" (Panda, 2014). The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were originally conceived and signed on April 29th in 1954 by then President of India Jawaharlal Nehru and Premier of PRC Zhou Enlai. The principles were a reaction to the international order which were highly influence by realism thinking as well as being intended as means to reach the non-communist states. The concept was originally introduced by the communist leaders of Soviet Russia as a tool to keep relations with capitalist states. However, during the Cold War PRC adapted the concept of Peaceful Coexistence as its primary foreign policy and today it has become a symbol of the transition from the communist era of five year plans and Cultural Revolution to a modern state and a potential super power.

Today, PRC maintains that its decisions regarding matters of foreign affairs are still derived from the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence: Respect for the sovereignty of states, non-aggression, non-interference, equality and peaceful coexistence. PRC claims not to seek hegemony and that its fast-growing economic development and increasing military power will not be used when engaging in politics with neighboring as well as other states. The official policy of PRC on international and national disagreements and conflicts is that they are to be solved peacefully. This can be seen in regards to Iran and nuclear weapons, the conflict between North Korea and South Korea, the conflict between Israel and Palestine, the conflicts in the former

Yugoslavia and so on. When dealing with matters in the U.N. Security Council PRC often choose not to vote in matters that include sanctions or actions that will violate the sovereignty of a state.

At the same time Peaceful Coexistence does also offer an alternative to the Western, or American, world order which is dominated by Western values. The states, that feel limited by these values, embrace PRC's alternative world order that stresses equality and respect for the sovereignty of all states and refraining from dictating or intervening in the internal matters of other states. Despite its apparent peaceful actions and peaceful rhetoric speaking of Peaceful Rise, Peace and Development, Harmonious society, many still wonder whether PRC ascent to power increase the probability of a great war, and if an area of US-PRC tensions will bring about a second Cold War. Others argue that PRC can or will not continue to follow the Peaceful Coexistence when it has gained sufficient military power to engage in larger international conflicts and will thus pursue a higher position of power in the global system.

While PRC emphasizes principles of Peaceful Coexistence in their foreign affairs it does not conceal that there seems to be an ambiguity in its actions. Over the past two decades PRC's military expenditure has increased each year averaging 13 percent, including acquiring an aircraft carrier. Also, the current situation in the South China Sea with multiple accounts of Chinese vessels engaging in skirmishes, threating behavior or acts of sabotage adds fuel to the fire. Despite the accusations of escalating the conflict in the region Chinese President Xi Jinping celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence declared that PRC *"…firmly stick to the path of peaceful development."* (Tiezzi, 2014). He continued declaring adherence to the principles by claiming that "*There's no gene for invasion in Chinese people's blood, and Chinese people won't follow the logic that 'might is right' …*" (Tiezzi, 2014). In order to better understand the Chinese arguments one needs to understand what Peaceful Coexistence is, how it is used in foreign politics, and what it means when PRC issues claims of a peaceful rise. By doing so one will better understand PRC, its actions and its current rise to power, which is essential due to PRC's potential as a super power. This possible future makes the rise of PRC as one of the most important events in international relations in the 21st century as it might alter the current world order and change norms of international relations.

1.1   Problem Identification

The difference in opinion between PRC and the international society as to whether PRC actually follows the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is an important question that needs answering. In order to explore PRC's use and adherence to the principles one first have to understand them; What are they, what are their origin and how have they been used previously. It is often mentioned by Chinese politicians as being a crucial

part of the Chinese foreign policy. Despite this, there is not a clear understanding of the Peaceful Coexistence and what it truly is in the international debate. Without knowing the actual concept it is difficult to make accurate interpretations of the actions of the PRC which can result in escalating an already tense conflict.

1.2   Problem Formulation

The aim of this thesis is to explore the principle of Peaceful Coexistence. What is Peaceful Coexistence and is PRC correct in its claims of using Peaceful Coexistence as a foreign policy?

In order to reach a final conclusion the thesis will try to answer the following sub questions:

- What is the origin of Peaceful Coexistence?
- What are the characteristics of the Peaceful Coexistence?
- How do the actual actions of PRC correspond to the concept of Peaceful Coexistence?

1.3   Structure of the Thesis

Chapter one is the introduction of the thesis and will give the settings of this thesis. It will contain an introduction to the issue which is handled in this thesis. There will be a problem identification will identify the problem on the basis of the presented issue and then result in a problem formulation that will be the center of the research in this thesis.

Chapter two is the methodology of the thesis. It will describe how the research in this thesis will be conducted with Process-tracing and a deductive method used on historical chronological events. It does also discuss the cases that will be used in this thesis.

Chapter three is the theoretical approach which in this thesis is neoclassical realism. It gives an introduction to the characteristics of the theory and why it is used in this thesis.

Chapter four is the largest chapter and contains the analysis. The analysis is divided into two major parts; the first is the analysis of the evolution of Peaceful Coexistence which look at the concept from its historical beginning and in a historical context in order to determine its characteristics and use. This section is divided further into a Soviet Russia/USSR perspective and a PRC perspective. The second part of the analysis is the current case of the South China Sea which is used to determine whether PRC is using the Peaceful Coexistence as a foreign policy.

Chapter five is the conclusion of the thesis and will be a summary of the partial conclusion from the analysis as well as connect the main points from these partial conclusion in a larger perspective.

Chapter six is the suggestions for further research and contains ideas for how to expand on this thesis. Due to time and the scope of this thesis the idea of doing research on the relationship between the US and PRC were not used. But the topic seems as a natural next step in the study of PRC and how it acts in the international society.

Chapter seven is the bibliography with the sources used for the research in this thesis and chapter eight lists the graphs and illustrations used in this thesis.

2 METHODOLOGY

This chapter will go through the cases that have been chosen for this thesis and the explanation for their selection. In doing so this will include a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of using case studies as the primary means of method. In addition the methodology chapter will contain an account of the data that will be used in thesis and as to why.

2.1 Process-Tracing

This thesis will examine different times in history as well as different states and regions in an effort to explore the concept of Peaceful Coexistence. Cases will be used as part of comparative research in order to determine the characteristics of Peaceful Coexistence through historical events.

Since Peaceful Coexistence is a concept that have evolved through a changing time and space one has to start from the beginning and follow in the footsteps of the concept and the ones who have declared to have been using it. This is why this thesis will start by going through the actions of the USSR as this was the state that gave birth to the concept. It will examine the use from its beginnings with Lenin in 1919 and through WWII with Stalin and continue with Khrushchev and the Cold War. During this period of time the concept of Peaceful Coexistence will have traveled to Asia and the PRC which will adapt the concept and mold it into a creation of its own. Today PRC is the primary user and advocate for the concept and it is thus relevant to examine how the PRC uses Peaceful Coexistence if one wants to acquire a full understanding the concept.

The aim of this thesis is to study the concept of Peaceful Coexistence and examine if it is a genuine foreign policy. In order to do so this thesis will use the process-tracing method in order to identify the political

phenomenon and systematically describe it. Peaceful Coexistence is thus the dependent variable in this thesis which will be evaluated against the different sequences of events and thus describe its use and change over time.

> *"They recommend the use of process-tracing when exploring macrohistorical phenomena. To identify the process, one must perform the difficult cognitive feat of figuring out which aspects of the initial conditions observed, in conjunction with which simple principles of the many that may be at work, would have combined to generate the observed sequence of events."*
>
> (George & Bennett, 2005)

When using process-tracing it can be difficult to choose a starting point as the process-tracing is conducted due to the unknown or limited source materiel done in a deductive manner. Therefore, the analysis will start with a timeline covering the events from the beginning of the use of Peaceful Coexistence to present time. In this timeline the analysis will explore the narratives and consider evidence that may conform or disconfirm the genuinely of the concept of Peaceful Coexistence as is the objective of the thesis.

2.1.1   Description

Process-tracing focuses on the exploration of events or situations over time. In order to fully comprehend the events themselves as, well as the chain of events, it is important to correctly and adequately describe the events in the process. Therefore one must start with identifying and presenting the events of importance which will then allow for observing the changes or sequences in process. In a good process one must be able to point out the key points in the process. This will create the foundation for a comprehensive and correct analysis. In this thesis these "snapshots" are the different periods of time that played a part in the development or use of Peaceful Coexistence.

2.2   Selection of Cases

In order to determine how PRC uses Peaceful Coexistence it is important that there is a fundamental understanding of the concept as well as its former use. In order to get this understanding this thesis will - as mentioned above - use case studies. Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett have defined the case study approach as *"…the detailed examination of an aspect of historical episode to develop or test historical explanations that may be generalizable to other events."* (George & Bennett, 2005). The advantage of case studies is that it allows for the analysis to focus on the comparative aspects. By doing so one uses their ability

to contribute to explain different forms of complex causality and interdependence (George & Bennett, 2005). Using the method of inductively identifying variables by the means of using historical context and settings one can by the use of qualitative research identify numerous variables. One is not limited by restricted variables that can be readily quantified or a need of limiting ones analysis to research with an already well-defined data set. (George & Bennett, 2005).

The analysis will look at the case of the USSR in the period starting with the end of WWI and continue until Khrushchev's reign, during which time there is a "switch" as PRC takes up the concept of Peaceful Coexistence and brings it into the present.

2.2.1   USSR

Due to the use of the process-tracing method events from the USSR period will be examined starting from Lenin and the Bolsheviks ascendance to power and move into the reign of Khrushchev. The reason for choosing this period of time is that the concept of Peaceful Coexistence was introduced in 1918 during Lenin's reign and it evolved with the different leaders of the USSR until Khrushchev. Since USSR was the beacon of the communist world its actions and interpretations of the communistic ideology were followed by many and of great importance. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the way it handled the concept of Peaceful Coexistence will have had an effect of the development and use of the concept.

2.2.2   PRC from 1949 until present

This case is used to assess whether PRC has a history of following the concept of Peaceful Coexistence. As Peaceful Coexistence is a tool often connected to Communism the case starts when the PRC was founded. It is relevant as many of the actions and much of the politics of that time is still in use today and the actions throughout the Cold War still play a part in today's politics.

2.2.3   The Border Disputes in the South China Sea

This case is used to assess whether PRC truly follows the concept of Peaceful Coexistence. It is a border dispute over maritime territory and involves multiples actors, ranging from regional small and medium sized states to global super power (the US). Most of these states were not engaged in conflict with PRC during the Cold War which provides the advantage that the current situation is a result of the post-Cold War PRC politics.

2.2.4   Collection of Data

The data used in this thesis is mostly collected from secondary sources. As the reliability and validity of secondary sources are open to question due to the unknown intentions of the author, all data used in this thesis have been collected and evaluated in accordance with John Peter Scott's four criteria (Scott, 1990) :

- Authenticity: Is the evidence genuine and of unquestionable origin?
- Credibility: Is the evidence free from error and distortion?
- Representativeness: Is the evidence typical of its kind, and if not, is the extent of its untypicality known?
- Meaning: Is the evidence clear and comprehensive?

Through the thesis all data have been chosen in regards to the mentioned criteria. Especially when dealing with public documents from the USSR or PRC as these are known for censorship and strict control of their press as well as in regards to public disclosure. The sources in these descriptions are mainly official documents, reports and articles that help shed light on the political actions and historical settings.

2.3   Scope of Thesis

This thesis works with the USSR era beginning from the end of WWI until the period of Khrushchev reign. Furthermore, it studies the PRC from its creating until present time including the actions regarding PRC policy and actions in the South China Sea. All of these periods of time and the following events have been chosen due to relation to the concept of Peaceful Coexistence. There are arguably more/other events in relation to the USSR that have had an influence on Peaceful Coexistence which are not mentioned in this thesis. While these are not of insignificance it is the primary events that have been included in this thesis.

Since the actions of PRC in the international system have changed dramatically in the past three decades a change can be seen between PRC's actions during the reign of Mao and Deng Xiaoping and the PRC afterwards until present. This is also the cause for choosing the case of the South China Sea as this is mostly influenced by the present PRC and thereby shows the present intentions of the PRC in regards to Peaceful Coexistence.

India and Burma/Myanmar is only briefly mentioned in this thesis despite having used the "Five Principles of the Peaceful Coexistence" in their foreign policy. In an attempt to limit the extent of the thesis - and since expectations of added significant value is scarce - these will not be further studied.

3   THEORITICAL APPROACH

The theoretical approach of this thesis will be neoclassical realism as the aim of the thesis is to explore states' use of Peaceful Coexistence; the way they use it and their reasons for doing so. By using the neoclassical realism one can explain the behavior of states in regards to not only international constrictions but also domestic forces. Neoclassical realism focuses on the interplay between domestic and external factors and is thereby able to connect these two levels. By doing so it will provide an analytical and theoretical framework that will form the basis for a comprehensive analysis which – in an effort to better explain complexities - still accepts the anarchy nature of interstate relations but at the same time takes into account more variables. It is in the explanation of the complex and entangled cases like e.g. the peaceful end of the Cold War, the absence of war amongst great powers, increase in institutionalized cooperation among advanced industrial states that many IR theories seems to come up short.

3.1   Neoclassical realism

Neoclassical realism was first mentioned by Gideon Rose in an article in 1998 in the World Politics journal. In this article he describes neoclassical realism as follows:

> *"Neoclassical realism explicitly incorporates both external and internal variables, updating and systematizing certain insights drawn from classical realist thought. Its adherents argue that the scope and ambition of a country's foreign policy is driven first and foremost by its place in the international system and specifically by its relative material power capabilities. This is why they are realist. They argue further, however, that the impact of such power capabilities on foreign policy is indirect and complex, because systemic pressures must be translated through intervening variables at the unit level. This is why they are neoclassical".*
> (Rose, 1998)

The theory was created as a reaction to the structural neorealism advocated by John Mearsheimer and Kenneth Waltz. Despite that neorealism provided for a better understanding of IR through the study of polarity on state behavior it tended to undermine the importance of unit attributes and non-state interactions. But even though there are some important differences between the two theories, the neoclassical realism and neorealism both share the similar assumptions that characterizes realism; they

accept that anarchy are the norm in the international system, that the international system is a main variable affecting state behavior, that international politics are competitive, that states are autonomous and egoistic and thus pursue self-help, and that there is a need for a state-centric approach (Kitchen, 2010).

However, neoclassical realism differs from neorealism and its emphasis on structure, and from classical realism and its emphasis on the national basis of foreign policy. Also, both classical as well as neorealism believe that sates primarily will use military force or the threat of using military power when trying to secure objectives of the states and neorealism and classical realism therefor have a focus solely on the balance of military power (Waltz, 1959). While neoclassical realism do not disagree with this point of view, it argues that military power is just one of many strategies that can be chosen, and therefore is not always the primary option that states will chose to reach an objective (Rose, 1998).

In regards to neorealism the limitations of the theory became noticeable after the Cold War. The unexplainable end of the bipolar system was something that could not be thoroughly explained by the principles of the theory and still today is not able to precisely account for the rules that govern the international system. The critics of neorealism points out that the lack of explanatory power is caused by the belief to base rules solely on materiality information and thereby chose to totally discount the importance of social systems and norms (Rose, 1998). Meanwhile, neoclassical realism's concept of hegemony accounts for the possibility of national and international institutions to imbed norms that can constrain the state and therefor affect the actions of the state.

The distribution of power within a system, regional or global, is a matter of the material capabilities of states and their respective position within the system. This is important in regards to the way a state chooses to pursue its objectives, and the means it uses in this pursuit. But there are other variables than the system which affects the actions of states (Kitchen, 2010). E.g. are the decisions that are influenced by the government system or the politicians at various levels within in the government system. A leader's perception of the state's internal issues - as well as of the international system, ideological beliefs and interests - can thus affect the actions of state in the international system.

4   ANALYSIS

In this chapter the historical evolution of Peaceful Coexistence will be analyzed. The development of Peaceful Coexistence occurs in two geographic places, the Soviet Russia/USSR and PRC.

4.1 The USSR Era

This also marks the beginning of the concept. The historic period can be divided into three which is when there is a change in leadership; Lenin, Staling and Khrushchev. Each period does also have an importance for the use and development of Peaceful Coexistence.

4.1.1 Lenin and the Beginning of Peaceful Coexistence

Peaceful Coexistence was a concept adapted by the communist government in Soviet Russia, and later USSR, as a means to accommodate the need for the establishment of political relations with capitalist states. This version used by Soviet Russia and USSR can be described as "*… the policy which acknowledges the existence of societies antagonistic to the Soviet regime without regarding the destruction of these societies as the immediate goal of the Soviet state. "* (Lerner, 1964). The policy did no arise from ideological causes but rather of pragmatic reasons as a way of dealing with the antagonistic contradiction principle that communism and capitalism can never coexist in peace (Lerner, 1964).

In the early years of the USSR, or the Soviet Russia as it was called before 1922, the communist world and its political leaders believed, in line with the communist ideology, that there would be a World Revolution, destroying the capitalistic world order and replacing it with proletarian regimes. The communists believed that a communist society could not be secure in "a capitalist encirclement" and therefore the destruction of the capitalist states and their governments were to be the primary security objective of communist governments (Lerner, 1964).

While waiting for the revolution to emerge, the governments of the socialist states understood the need for relations with the Western states and thus created the policy of Peaceful Coexistence, promoting peaceful cooperation with capitalist states. This was of course very much a contradiction to the concepts of the World Revolution, and the leaders of the communist governments continued trying to balance the scale between Peaceful Coexistence and World Revolution, tipping it in either direction when needed for political reasons.

Vladimir Lenin was the first to use this principle despite believing strongly in the ideology and principle of World Revolution (Lerner, 1964). The first manifestation of Peaceful Coexistences was when Lenin and the Bolsheviks issued a "Decree on Peace" at the culmination of World War I, inviting all nations to enter peace talks. This resulted in Lenin accepting unfavorable terms when he signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and ended the hostilities with Germany (Lerner, 1964). Leon Trotsky, then the People's Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, followed the Decree by proclaiming a doctrine of Peaceful Coexistence with all states (Lerner, 1964).

The treaty was accepted by Lenin. It was, however not due to ideological reasons, but rather out of necessity as both Trotsky and Lenin believed that the survival of the Soviet Russia depended on the treaty (Beissinger, 2011). While Lenin and the Soviet government openly supported and initiated the establishment of trade and diplomatic relations with capitalist states, the Bolshevik government showed its contradictory foreign policy when it still continued to pursue the World Revolution agenda by supporting revolutions in Germany, Bulgaria, and China. The Bolshevik's open support for World Revolution - despite preaching Peaceful Coexistence - reached a high point in 1919 when Lenin insisted on the foundation of the "Communist International" that was an international organization with a self-proclaimed purpose of promoting World Revolution (U. S. Library of Congress, 1996).

In 1920 Polish soldiers invaded the Ukraine and by doing so started the Russo-Polish War. It became the official position of the Bolshevik government that it was not merely enough to defeat the polish armed forces; it was also necessary to support the World Revolution by overthrowing the polish government and replace it with a communist government. However, an extraordinary defense of Warsaw mounted by the Polish Army - which was led by the Polish General Josef Pilsudski - stopped the Red Army from reaching the city and soon after the Polish Army was able to force the Red Army to retreat. A peace treaty was signed in 1921 and the failure of the Red Army in its invasion in the creation of a Soviet Poland cooled the Bolshevik appetite and support for World Revolution. The failure of the polish campaign had put a stop to the military expansion of the World Revolution and emphasized the policy of Peaceful Coexistence (Lerner, 1964)

This dual behaviour in regards to the Soviet foreign policy and the openly pursuit of World Revolution, makes the devotion of the USSR and their true attention to the principles of Peaceful Coexistence questionable. The pursuit of World Revolution highly contradicts the Peaceful Coexistence as the claimed cornerstone of Soviet foreign affairs. It rather implies, that Peaceful Coexistence was merely a card played when the security of the USSR was potentially in jeopardy or when pragmatic issues, such as the need to for trade or diplomatic relations with Western Bloc states, made it necessary.

4.1.2 Stalin and the end of World Revolution

Over time, the Soviet concept of Peaceful Coexistence shifted in accordance with the changes of government. When Stalin took over the leadership of the USSR after the death of Lenin in 1924 he started a campaign to incorporate the idea of Peaceful Coexistence as a cornerstone in Soviet foreign policy. Unlike Lenin, Stalin did not believe in the concept of World Revolution, and focused the resources of the USSR on its internal needs. The total commitment of Soviet resources in the national arena as dictated by the policy of "Socialism in One

Country" made Peaceful Coexistence not only feasible but also a requirement for the security of the USSR. Stalin introduced it in 1924 and shortly hereafter, the Soviet Communist Party adopted it (Beissinger, 2011).

Using the threat posed by the emergence of the Nazi regime in Germany, Stalin attempted to improve relations with the Western states and emphasized that the Soviet had no international ambitions. As a sign of good intentions and to emphasize the promise of Peaceful Coexistence the Soviet decided to join the "League of Nations" and sign defense treaties and trade agreements with Western states. The only indiscrimination in the new behavior of the Soviet was when it interfered in the Spanish Civil War in 1933 when supporting the uprising. There were clear signs from Moscow that World Revolution was no longer on the agenda of the USSR government and that the Peaceful Coexistence policy was a priority. This sudden change made believers in the communist ideology criticize Soviet for being unfaithful to its communist identity and angered many otherwise loyal supports of the communist and Soviet cause. Besides not only angering many communists around the world it also created some confusing amongst governments and scholars as to the new intentions of the Soviet. In an attempt to create clarity and to defend the Soviet's actions Stalin's Chief publicists Karl Radek, wrote an article in the American journal "Foreign Affairs" in which he presented the causes for the decisions (Radek, 1934). He argued for the "Socialism in one country" policy as a possibility for the USSR to maintain peaceful relations with foreign states and at the same time encourage the expansion of communism as an ideology via leading by example. The belief was that when foreign workers saw the triumphs of the USSR they would try to bring the Soviet political system to their own countries (Radek, 1934).

The start of World War II brought a hold to the Peaceful Coexistence as the cornerstone in Soviet foreign policy. Officially neutral from 1939-1941, the USSR took aggressive actions against Romania, Finland and Poland as well as the Baltic States. Further, the German invasion of the USSR started the military campaign of the Red Army, as it first defeated the German invaders and then counterattacked and succeeded in occupying most of Eastern Europe. The war the Red Army fought against Nazi Germany - and the eventual victory and occupation of former Nazi German territories - was more than defeating an enemy. It had become a military support of the World Revolution as in the footsteps of the Red Army Soviet-friendly governments followed and soon the former governments of the occupied states were replaced with puppet communist regimes (Lerner, 1964). After the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945 and the occupation of Eastern Europe the USSR prioritized Peaceful Coexistence once again which was demonstrated by the establishment of the Word Peace Counsel, founded by the USSR in 1950 and was meant to spread the policy of Peaceful Coexistence. (Lerner, 1964).

4.1.3 Khrushchev and the Time of Peaceful Coexistence

After the death of Stalin, the policy of Peaceful Coexistence was continued under First Secretary of the Communist Party Nikita Sergejevitj Khrushchev. Unlike earlier with Lenin and Stalin, Khrushchev, took on a more simplistic understanding of the principles of Peaceful Coexistence. In 1959 Khrushchev wrote an article in the journal "Foreign Affairs", continuing Radek's tradition, where he tried to explain his new interpretation of the Peaceful Coexistence to the world. His explanation for doing so was;

> *"…the question of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is uppermost today in the minds of many Americans - and not only Americans. The question of coexistence, particularly in our day, interests literally every man and woman on the globe."*
> *(Khrushchev, 1959).*

In the article he stated the need for Peaceful Coexistence since the only alternative , according to Khrushchev, was war – and the possibility of the worst case scenario; nuclear war: *"There may be two ways out: either war - and war in the rocket and H-bomb age is fought with the most dire consequences for all nations- or peaceful coexistence."* (Khrushchev, 1959). He argued that since states would prefer to avoid an all-out mutual destructive war, the only option was to accept the presence of capitalist states as well as communist states and a system that would allow for relations between these ideological adversaries; *"Whether you like your neighbor or not, nothing can be done about it, you have to find some way of getting on with him, for you both live on one and the same planet. "* (Khrushchev, 1959). This rejection of the thesis of inevitable war between communism and capitalism and the World Revolution was emphasized when Khrushchev, in a speech given during an official visit to Britain on April 18, 1956 where he said the famous words: "*You do not like communism. We do not like capitalism. There is only one way out – peaceful coexistence. "*

Khrushchev's interpretation of Peaceful Coexistence meant that war was not to be used to solve disputes and all states were not to violate the territorial integrity and sovereignty of other states. The respect for the internal affairs of other states extended to the obligation of not interfering in the political systems of other states including the type of governments. Instead it was a commitment to economic and political relations that were to be beneficial for all involved parties and on equal terms.

> *"Peaceful coexistence, he [Khrushchev] says, signifies in essence the repudiation of war as a means of solving controversial issues. It presupposes an obligation to refrain from every form of violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of another state. It implies renunciation of interference in the internal affairs of other countries. It means that political and economic relations must be put on a basis of complete equality and mutual benefit. It involves, he [Khrushchev] says, the elimination of the very threat of war. It is something which "should develop into peaceful competition for the purpose of satisfying man's needs in the best possible way."*
>
> (Kennan, 1960)

Further, Khrushchev claimed that Peaceful Coexistence had been the chosen foreign policy of the USSR since its creation in 1917. In the article from 1959 in "Foreign Affairs" he wrote:

> "*From its very inception the Soviet state proclaimed peaceful coexistence as the basic principle of its foreign policy. It was no accident that the very first state act of the Soviet power was the decree on peace, the decree on the cessation of the bloody war* [World War I]"
>
> *(Khrushchev, 1959)*

Khrushchev used the policy of Peaceful Coexistence as a way to handle the ideological conflict in which the USSR found itself. Internally it had to be true to its ideological foundations and externally it had to navigate in a cold war era with the possibility of nuclear war and the pressure from the more powerful USA.

4.1.4   Partial Conclusion

The concept of Peaceful Coexistence appears to be born out of a pragmatic necessity as a way to internationally secure the communist society and the objectives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) while at the same time being a concept which were in contrast to the ideological believes of communism. It seems that necessity rather than ideologically reasons was cause for the Decree on Peace from 1918, and throughout the Soviet era Peaceful Coexistence was often used when the principles of communism World Revolution were not followed. In many ways it became a needed tool for the CPSU in supporting the legitimacy of their regime as a means of explaining when not adhering to the ideological beliefs. Since the first defeat against the polish in 1920 the USSR had to realize that it did not have the military

power to support its very aggressive ideology and concept of a World Revolution. As not to betray the ideology of the CPSU, and thus its foundation and legitimization, the governing system used Peaceful Coexistence as a pragmatic measure to avoid direct conflict when being the weaker party in an international battle of ideologies.

4.2 The Start of the Chinese Peaceful Coexistence

The start of the Chinese Peaceful Coexistence followed the development of the new PRC from when it was formed and until present. Mao Zedong had an effect on the development of Peaceful Coexistence and he successfully used it to navigate PRC through the Cold War. Later, Deng Xiaoping did also use Peaceful Coexistence as an instrument in his economic reforms in the 1980's.

4.2.1 Mao Zedong, a New China and the Asian World Revolution

The long era of turmoil in China, with civil war and a foreign occupation, ended when Mao Zedong established the People's Republic of China (PRC) in Beijing on October 1st, 1949. The communists had won the latest civil war against the Kuomintang, a fierce rival party but also once their former ally against the Japanese invaders during WWII. Mao's PRC was founded on Marxism-Leninism and had been supported by the USSR during the civil revolution as Kuomintang had been supported by the US (Buzan, 2010).

Mao accepted the policy of Peaceful Coexistence and used it to help the new state of PRC to find its place in the international society. The policy of Peaceful Coexistence was in many ways affected by the four theses regarding the international system that came to influence the foreign policy of the new PRC under Mao's rule. His first thesis was that there would never be a full-scale nuclear war between the capitalists Western Bloc and the socialists Eastern Bloc. His second thesis was that this war would instead be fought as a proxy war between the US and the USSR in arenas that included colonial and semi-colonial states throughout Europe, Asia and Africa. His third thesis was that the power of nuclear weapons was not real as wars were fought and won by people and not weapons. His fourth and final thesis was that despite seeming powerful the US as well as other imperialist states were only what Mao would call "paper tigers" – superficially powerful but will eventually fall. He described the concept of "paper tiger" as follows:

> *"In appearance it is very powerful but in reality it is nothing to be afraid of; it is a paper tiger. Outwardly a tiger, it is made of paper, unable to withstand the wind and the rain. I believe that it is nothing but a paper tiger".*
> (Zedong, 1946)

These theses came to form for Mao's international perspective and guided his actions in foreign matters. A fear of getting caught in the proxy wars of the hegemonic super powers, the US and the USSR, lead Mao to use the Peaceful Coexistence policy as a way of trying to stabilize the internal struggles in PRC (Buzan, 2010). Despite that the civil revolution had ended with a communist victory the US would still support the subversive operations in PRC aiming to overthrow the PRC and to stop the spread of communism. These operations were often planned and operated out of PRC's neighboring states, and therefore, in an attempt to stabilize the internal situation and to counter the activities and fear from neighboring states PRC decided to try to establish friendly relations with neutral neighboring states.

As a result of this outreach PRC and India held a conference in 1953 where it discussed the issues concerning disputed territories in Aksai Chin and South Tibet. During the British colonial rule of India the British government gained several special rights in Tibet by forcing the Qing government to accept unequal terms (China, 2014). When an independent India and the communist PRC restored diplomatic relations in 1950 the Delhi Government expected to maintain the special rights regarding South Tibet as well as claiming the right to Aksai Chin and thus to maintain its status and influence in the area. The PRC denied such claims and insisted that all former special rights attained by the British colonial rule should be annulled as well as disagreeing to claim on Aksai Chin as a part of the Kashmir Province. As a result of the negations India decided to waive its claims regarding special rights in South Tibet and to compromise regarding Aksai Chin and instead there were trade routes and regulations as well as regulations for pilgrim travels established between the two states. Because of this negotiation process between the two states, on April 29th, 1954 the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" were written down in an agreement between India and PRC called "Agreement Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India on Trade and Intercourse Between Tibet Region of China and India" (China, 2014). In the agreement it was confirmed that the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" were to be the guiding principles of any further relations between the two states.

4.2.1.1   The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

On 28th June 1954, two months after the signing of the "Agreement Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India on Trade and Intercourse Between Tibet Region of China and India", then Chinese Premier Zhou visited India and PRC and India signed a joint statement that the "Five Principles of Peace" were to be the guiding principles of their future bilateral relations. The day after, on the 29th June 1953, Premier Zhou visited Burma and signed a similar joint statement between Burma and PRC, ending a territorial conflict

between those two states (China, 2014). The joint statement put forth by the prime ministers of PRC and India and PRC and Burma also officially proposed the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" to be the norms governing international relations (China, 2014).

Since then the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" has been the main policy in PRC's foreign affairs. It continued the tradition of being a pragmatic way for the PRC to act as the best manifestation of the strong aspirations of the newly independent state and to safeguard its independence and sovereignty. The "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence", as stated in the Preamble of the "Agreement between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India on Trade and Intercourse between Tibet Region of China and India" were:

- Mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.
- Mutual non-aggression.
- Non-interference.
- Equality and mutual benefit.
- Peaceful Coexistence.

The principles were a response to the new world order that followed WWII and the decolonization of many states. This left the opportunity for new states to introduce a new approach to international relations, one that emphasizes the importance of territorial and sovereign integrity as well as non-interference from more powerful or former imperial states.

4.2.1.2   The Peaceful Coexistence between India and PRC

Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru shared the same enthusiasm that many new states in Asia and Africa felt towards the five principles: *"If these principles were recognized in the mutual relations of all countries, then indeed there would hardly be any conflict and certainly no war."* (Nehru, 1954)*.*

The "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" were used at the first large scale African-Asian conference held in 1955 in Bandung, Indonesia. The conference included 25 states, most of whom were newly independent, and its aim was to promote African-Asian economic and cultural development as well as to be a stand against colonialism (Warnapala, 2005). Present at the conference were state leaders such as President Tito of Yugoslavia, President Nasser of Egypt as well as Premier Zhou from PRC. Like PRC, India viewed the idea of

non-alignment as pragmatic way of staying out of the conflict between the Western Bloc and the Eastern Bloc; a conflict that was not of interest in regards to India's objectives (Warnapala, 2005).

The "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" was a policy that complemented the need of not getting involved. It also initiated the beginning of a period with Indian involvement in forums of peace such as the Afro-Asian movement and at the United Nations. India's concept of Peaceful Coexistence was not as much an ideological rooted concept as it was a concept for liberty and equality. It had a focus on the maintenance of national and international freedom as well as the dissolvent of disease and ignorance instead of the spread of communism. This non-partial or non-ideological stand in the cold war era made India a mediator between the West and East for a brief period.

Despite India's effort in the 1950's and 1960's to strengthen Asian unity and solidarity, Nehru's concept of Peaceful Coexistence did not consolidate as a strategic practice. The rivalry of the USA and the USSR spread to the neighbors of India and despite the efforts of India to stand up against the superpowers, India could not mount a powerful enough support to be of influence. Slowly, the activism in India's foreign policy decreased as it stopped showing support and leadership.

The Indian use of the "Five Principles of Peace" came to a halt when the Sino-Indian War broke out in 1962. Despite establishing the principles as guidelines in the relations between PRC and India the planned renegotiations of the agreement from 1954 collapsed in 1962. Part of the original agreement was that it was to last for eight years and then new negotiations between the two governments should commence. In 1962 the relationship between PRC and India were in bad shape as India had granted asylum to Dalai Lama after the 1959 Tibet Uprising, and therefore the agreement was not renewed (Zhan, 1998). From 1959 and onwards there had been a number of minor border incidents along the China-India border. Unable to reach an agreement, on October 20th 1962 PRC launched several offensives along the Himalayan border. The war ended a month later with a ceasefire and an agreement of both states adhering to the original borderlines (Zhan, 1998).

4.2.1.3   The Cold War

After Mao came into power and established the People's Republic of PRC (PRC) in 1949, PRC sought quickly to engage in a strategic alliance with the USSR. The two communist states made an agreement on how both states should support the communist cause. The USSR would remain the center of the World Revolution and PRC would be responsible for the advancement of the "eastern revolution". This resulted in PRC abandoning

its former policy of integration in the world system and instead chose to engage itself with the USSR and the "Eastern Bloc" (Buzan, 2010). By doing so PRC did not only separate itself from the US and the "Western Bloc" and all the western states, the CCP were not recognized as the legitimate government of PRC by many state governments and therefore did not get the seat at the United Nations as this was given to the government in Taiwan. Professor Yongjin Zhang depicts the Sino-global relationship since 1949 as *"… a saga of the isolation-alienating-socialization-integration…"* (Zhan, 1998). He explains PRC's international status and relationship in the international system:

> *"China's relative isolation was merely an expression of its alienation …. for more than two decades after the Korean War, the United States followed a multi-pronged strategy of diplomatic non-recognition, economic embargo and military containment against China. Such policies had a wide range of ramifications in alienating China from the American dominated international system".*
> (Zhan, 1998)

The relationship between the US and PRC deteriorated as PRC engaged itself in the Korean War in 1950 and fought against the United Nations troops, who were mostly American soldiers. PRC was in a strategic alliance with the USSR from the late 1940's and in the 1950's. This alliance affected the power struggle between the two super powers and the US saw a communist PRC as a factor that could not be ignored. In its efforts to stop the spread of the communist threat in Asia the US saw itself engaged in the Korean War and the Vietnam War.

During the 1960's the RPC and USSR started to drift apart mainly due to ideological reasons. Mao proclaimed that the Chinese road to World Revolution - revolution through the peasants workers and not the urban workers like in USSR - were the correct one. This was shown when Liu Shaoqi, an advocate, at the first Communist conclave in Beijing praised the Mao road as the correct one and warned others of following any other road. When Khrushchev became the head of state after the death of Stalin the relationship initially improved before deteriorating again. Mao disagreed with the politics of Khrushchev and his divergence from the communist principles and polices advocated by Stalin. Khrushchev's idea of Peaceful Coexistence was viewed as abandonment and treachery to the communist values as Mao believed strongly in the Marxist-Leninist thesis of a war between capitalism and communism was inevitable (Buzan, 2010).

In the late 1960s, as the relationship between PRC and the USSR had deteriorated to a point of hostile intentions from both sides – manifested in the Sino-Soviet Border Conflict in 1969 - Mao understood that he could not simultaneously confront the US and the USSR while also dealing with internal instability. As the USSR was a geographic neighbor Mao considered this to be the greatest threat and thus began to seek a pragmatic solution by restarting Sino-US relations as well as reopening relations with other western states. The result was an end to the alienating of PRC in the international system. The first symbolic event was when President Richard Nixon, as a symbol of the US beginning of its new relations with PRC, visited PRC in 1970, and the second followed shortly after when PRC was given a seat in the United Nations in 1971. These two events marked the beginning of a period of mutual agreement and engagement as well as an adjustment between the RPC and the US and the international system (Zhan, 1998).

4.2.1.4 Partial Conclusion

Even though PRC acquired the nuclear capability and engaged in armed disputes it can be defended as still being in accordance with the concept of Peaceful Coexistence. The Chinese intervention in the Korean War in 1950, the Sino-Indian War in 1962, the border conflict with the USSR in 1969 and other local Asian disputes can all – from an ideological point of view - be explained as defense of territorial sovereignty.

The RPC's policy in regards to its foreign affairs was more based on powers of ideas and example rather than allies and supporters. Starting from an ideological standpoint Mao's new PRC was opposed to the idea of Peaceful Coexistence as PRC believed in the inevitable World Revolution. However, Mao soon realized the need and pragmatic use of the policy of Peaceful Coexistence as a foreign policy as it provided Mao with the needed alternative to the "One side" policy. As the Cold War was a time of political maneuvers Mao and the RPC were able to use Peaceful Coexistence to gain regional stability by improving its relationships with India and Myanmar and then later on a global level as it allowed PRC to alter its alignment with USSR and US. Thus it seems as Mao based the decisions regarding the foreign policy on what would be most beneficial to national objectives.

4.2.2 Peace and Development, Reforms and Deng Xiaoping

From the 1970's there was a turnaround in PRC's relationship with the US, the West and in international society in general. This period also marks a time where PRC undergoes great changes in its national identity as well as changing its domestic and foreign objectives, all of which were driven by internal developments. From the 1970,'s PRC started to abandon the class-based discourse of the more radical years of Mao and instead started to use a more state-based discourse in international system (Buzan, 2010). Furthermore, it

started to implement policies that would diminish the economic self-sufficiency and five year economic plans. PRC's new engagement in the international system and in new relations with western states was highly motivated by a domestic reaction towards the strong and radical changes that had occurred during the Cultural Revolution in in the 1960's. Changes that had dramatically changed the Chinese society and left it in dire economic and social conditions (Buzan, 2010).

Despite that the Cultural Revolution, which started in 1966, were meant to promote the proletariat and remove liberal and bourgeois tendencies from the Chinese society, it also put a temporary halt to PRC's foreign efforts of promoting and practicing the principles of Peaceful Coexistence. However, on 1st January 1970 PRC declared that it was willing to establish international relations with all states disregarding of their government system, in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence (Zhan, 1998). As a result of these actions PRC established new diplomatic relations as well as received many new foreign delegations, improving their support in foreign aid and joining international organizations. In November 1970 the PRC was given its membership in the UN, and in 1971 it replaced Taiwan in the UN Security Council as a permanent member (Orakhelashvili, 2011).

The Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976 had put a stop to much of the political and diplomatic work of PRC. After the revolution the new de facto leader of PRC Deng Xiaoping began a change in the paradigm of the Chinese government and society – leaving the ideological paradigm of the Cultural Revolution and its "war and revolution" and acquiring a more modern and pragmatic paradigm of "peace and development" (Zhan, 1998). This new idea of "peace and development" was part of the many reforms and the modernization of PRC that was started in the late 1970's and that was to transform PRC. Deng Xiaoping and the PRC made Chinese economic growth a top priority and PRC needed internal stability to achieve this growth. Therefore, PRC sought stabile relations globally and regionally by promoting "peace and development". From Mao's idea of revolutionary rise and opposing the western-dominated international order to Deng's policy of a peaceful rise within the status quo was a shift that came fairly quickly at the end of the 1970's and beginning of the 1980's (Zhan, 1998, pp. 73-91).

To further confirm PRC's adherence to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence the PRC wrote the principles into the Chinese constitution in 1982, when the constitution was written and adopted by the 5th National People's Congress on 4th December 1982. By doing so PRC showed that the principles were an expression of how PRC viewed and evaluated the actions of foreign states in international relations, as well as showing its focus on the independence of not only PRC but of other states in the global system:

"The future of China is closely linked with that of the whole world. China adheres to an independent foreign policy as well as to the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence in developing diplomatic relations and economic and cultural exchanges with other countries; China consistently opposes imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism, works to strengthen unity with the people of other countries, supports the oppressed nations and the developing countries in their just struggle to win and preserve national independence and develop their national economies, and strives to safeguard world peace and promote the cause of human progress."

(The National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, 2004)

During the late years of the Cold War PRC promoted an alternative to those World Orders of the US and of the USSR, as seen in the text from the Chinese Constitution. It promoted itself as a 3rd world state that followed the principles of Peaceful Coexistence and wanted a new economic order and to break down alliances (Buzan, 2010). PRC knew that it did not have the powers of the 1st or 2nd world states and were thus not in a position to project its system model to other states. Instead the PRC started to provide foreign aid to developing states, which often were projects to improve the infrastructure of the receiving state and given as gifts. A habit that still continues to this day. One of the first of these infrastructure projects were the TAZARA Railway in East Africa, which is a railway that was built between 1970 and 1975 and spanned 1,860 km from Tanzania to Zambia. It still remains PRC's largest single foreign aid project and considered both a prestige project to show Chinese strength and capabilities as well as a power play against the Soviet Union and its presence in Africa (Bräutigam, 2011). But despite PRC's large foreign investment it did not impose on the sovereignty of either Zambia or Tanzania (Bräutigam, 2011). The same happened for the Portuguese colony of Macao. In 1961 India invaded and annexed the province of Goa, after the Portuguese government refused the request of the Indian Government to cede the territory to Indian control. Macao, which was also a Portuguese colony, was left alone by the PRC and it was not until 1999 that the island became Chinese territory after years of negotiations between Portugal and PRC.

In the aftermath of the Great Leap Forward – the forced modernization of PRC by Mao which resulted in a great famine, food shortages and starvation - the actions of the PRC were pragmatic and PRC was voicing of Peaceful Coexistence as an alternative to the current world system seemed merely rhetoric. PRC was not powerful enough to have an impact on the international system or other states in order to make an actual

change and Peaceful Coexistence became a way of showing the independence of PRC's foreign policy while not changing status quo. Deng Xiaoping claimed to pursue *"…independent foreign policy of peace…"* including *"…to preserve China's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity…"* and *"…to create a favorable international environment for China's reform and opening up and modernization."* (Zhan, 1998).

In the wake of Deng Xiaoping reforms in the 1980's a more open-minded concept of sovereignty began to spread within the CCP and the Chinese society. In 1981, in it was written in a law textbook that the prevention of genocide were one of the obligations of states, and that the *"…necessary measures to suppress these behaviors [including genocide] were consistent with generally recognized principles of international law and should not be considered as intervening in the internal affairs of a state."* (Davis, 2011). This loosening of the concept of sovereignty was, however, short lived, and did not have much effect on the foreign affairs of the RPC following the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989. The CCP were strongly criticized from the outside world and the former liberal stand on intervention suddenly narrowed (Davis, 2011). Following the incident, as a response to the international critique, the State Council of the CCP released an official white paper on human rights in 1991 in which it declared:

> *Hegemonism and power politics continue to exist and endanger world peace and*
> *development. Interference in other countries' internal affairs and the pushing of*
> *power politics on the pretext of human rights are obstructing the realization of*
> *human rights and fundamental freedoms.*
> (Information Office of the State Council, 1991)

The RPC guarded its sovereignty and by following the path of Peaceful Coexistence it expanded its strategic, economic and political ties in the international system and maintained a status quo which provided the domestic stability that was necessary to focus on internal policies and development as well as political issues.

4.3   PRC's Current Use of Peaceful Coexistence

This chapter will contain a study of the case of the South China Sea to explore whether PRC seems to follow the concept of Peaceful Coexistence.

4.4   PRC and its Border Disputes in the South China Sea

The PRC's current actions in regards to its borders can be seen as a result of its Peaceful Coexistence policy and by doing so PRC have managed to limit the possibility of violent conflict in its region. Since border issues

deal with the territorial sovereignty of states the PRC have found an effective way of showing its sincerity in its commitment to the principles of Peaceful Coexistence by using these principles in its border disputes

In the past years PRC have entered and finished negotiations regarding border disputes with a large number of neighboring states. The negotiations with Russia, Laos, Kazakhstan, Mongolia, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan have been concluded and permanent agreements have been made. The disputes concerning the South China sea as well as with Vietnam have been paused, and negotiations concerning India, South Korea, Japan and partly Vietnam are still negotiated (Zhan, 1998).

The PRC has been rather successful at reaching an agreement on most of its land disputes which is far from the case with the maritime disputes in the South China Sea. There seems to be a higher motivation for solving land border disputes compared to maritime border disputes. This can, however, also be explained by the different sets of the international laws that are used when dealing with either type of dispute.

While the laws regarding territorial and international waters in the UN Convention on the Law of Sea *(UNCLOS)* are somewhat clear in their wording the law regarding the so called Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) at sea is less applicable to international politics due to the lack of clear divisions of sovereignty. In addition the UNCLOS are also unclear in regards to how to determine sovereignty over islands, reefs and islets, and as a result the laws leave room for different interpretations of territorial maritime border disputes. In short – the complexity of the UNCLOS and the lack of clarity in its laws makes it difficult for states to come to a permanent agreement in maritime matters while the land border disputes are more easily solved due to a more precise laws.

4.4.1   The Tensions of the Sea

When the Japanese surrendered at the end of WWII the subsequent peace treaty failed in regard to how the territories in the South China Sea should be divided. This opened for the many states involved in the South China Sea to lay claims to the territories and as such the border disputes continue to this day. The conditions for a resolution to the conflicts were further degraded with the creation of the UNCLOS in 1984 introducing the EEZ which allowed for the expansion of the length of maritime territory to which a state can claim jurisdiction to 200 nautical miles from coastline. Within these zones states are granted the right to explore and exploit whatever resources that are found in the zone. Despite the EEZ were meant as a way of clarifying law and help resolve the dispute the new provision have instead opened for overlapping claims which have grown significantly. To add to the risk of conflict the UNCLOS states that in the event of overlapping EEZ it is up to the state to come to an agreement on where to draw the border (UN, 1994). Due to the complexity of

the law, the strategic importance, large amounts of natural resources as well as the involvement of multiple states with different claims the South China Sea has become one of the longest and most complex maritime border disputes in the world. As the Secretary of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) General Le Luong Minh has described the situation: *"The South China Sea issue is not just about competing claims; it's about peace and stability in the region."* (Council on Foreign Relations, 2014)

The South China Sea stretches all the way from Singapore and the Strait of Malacca in the southwest to the Strait of Taiwan in the northeast, and it is considered as one of the most important trading routes in the world, as 5.3 trillion USD worth of goods passes through the South China Sea each year (The White House, 2011) (U. S. Energy Information Administration, 2013). The Sea holds several hundred islands, rocks and reefs, of which most are located in the Spratly Islands and the Paracel Islands chains. Despite that many of the islands are submerged and small in size, several of the bordering states lay claim to these islands as well as the surrounding sea and sea beds that are full of natural resources (U. S. Energy Information Administration, 2013). It has therefore a tremendous importance to the prosperity, stability and peace of the region, as PRC, Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan, and other states all have claims in the sea. The coastlines themselves are not the issue, but it is the overlapping claims on territory of shore, especially in the areas of the Spartly and Paracel Islands are the major topics.

Beside the protection of sovereign territorial integrity the conflict also involves the many natural resources as well as the strategic importance. (International Crisis Group, 2012). The sea holds waste amounts of oil and natural gasses, and it is speculated that the disputed territories could hold large reserves; 11 billion barrels of oil (0.75 percent of world reserves) and 190 trillion cubic feet of gas (2.8 percent of world reserves) (U. S. Energy Information Administration, 2013). It is also of major importance to the fishing industry as the sea provides for ten percent of the annual global fish caught (International Crisis Group, 2012).

In addition to the natural resources the South China Sea is also important in regards to geopolitics as it is one of the most important trade routes in the world. The majority of common goods that are transported by sea are sailed through the Malacca Strait and to states such as the PRC and Japan. Also, a large part of the energy and raw materials that are imported to PRC and the other states in the region are transported through the South China Sea. Besides being of interest to the South East Asian states, the US have also declared its interest in the area and the protection of the trade routes, as it has stated that it *"…will not permit conditions under which our maritime forces will be impeded from freedom of manoeuvre and freedom of access… nor permit*

an adversary to disrupt the global supply chain by attempting to block vital sea-lines of communication and commerce" (US Navy, 2007).

The PRC, Vietnam and the Philippines are the ones that have made the most comprehensive claims of sovereignty in the South China Sea. PRC's claim to the Spratlys will have dramatic consequences as an EEZ around these islands will overlap with the territorial claims by Malaysia, Vietnam, the Philippines and Brunei. The PRC are laying claims by using the UNCLOS as a legal basis for the sovereignty on Spratlys, and is also pursuing the "historical rights" to other parts of the South China Sea in accordance with the Nine-Dotted Line. But the use of differentiating legal basis as well as it's the historical territory claims will intrude into other states 200-mile limit under the UNCLOS have put the PRC at odds to the other claimants. Presently the PRC controls the Paracels as well as fifteen reefs and islands within the Spratlys, and the other disputed territories are controlled by other states (U. S. Energy Information Administration, 2013) (International Crisis Group, 2012).

4.4.2   PRC's Historical Claims and the Nine-Dotted Line

As mentioned above, the PRC have made claims on territory in the South China Sea and one of the legal basis are the so called "Nine-Dotted Line" which is the demarcation of the South China Sea that are used by PRC and Taiwan. It is a tongue-shaped dotted line that covers around 80 percent of the South China Sea. The exact course - as well as how the dots are to be connected - has never been defined. The line was original used on a map printed in the Republic of China in 1947 and were used by the Kuomintang government (International Crisis Group, 2012). The line of the nine dots encircles most parts of the South China Sea, including the Paracel Islands and the Spratlys. Since 1914 the dots have been included in official Chinese maps of the sea and China has also some historic proof of expeditions to the many islands, fishing activities and navy presence sine the 15th century. There are archeological findings that put the presence of the Chinese on some of the islands as early as 770 BC (International Crisis Group, 2012). It is due to these historical interpretations that their legal status as part of the RPC sovereign territory remains unaffected even though some of the challenged territories are presently occupied by other states. According to RPC, even if another claimant occupies the territory, it would need the consent from the former sovereignty to gain legitimacy in its claims.

The PRC chose to ratify the UNCLOS in 1996 and by doing so PRC gave up on all former historical claims to maritime territory, as claims are now to fall under the UNCLOS as either territorial water or Exclusive

Economic Zones. However, claims to islands are legitimate and must not be abandoned by the treaty (International Crisis Group, 2012).
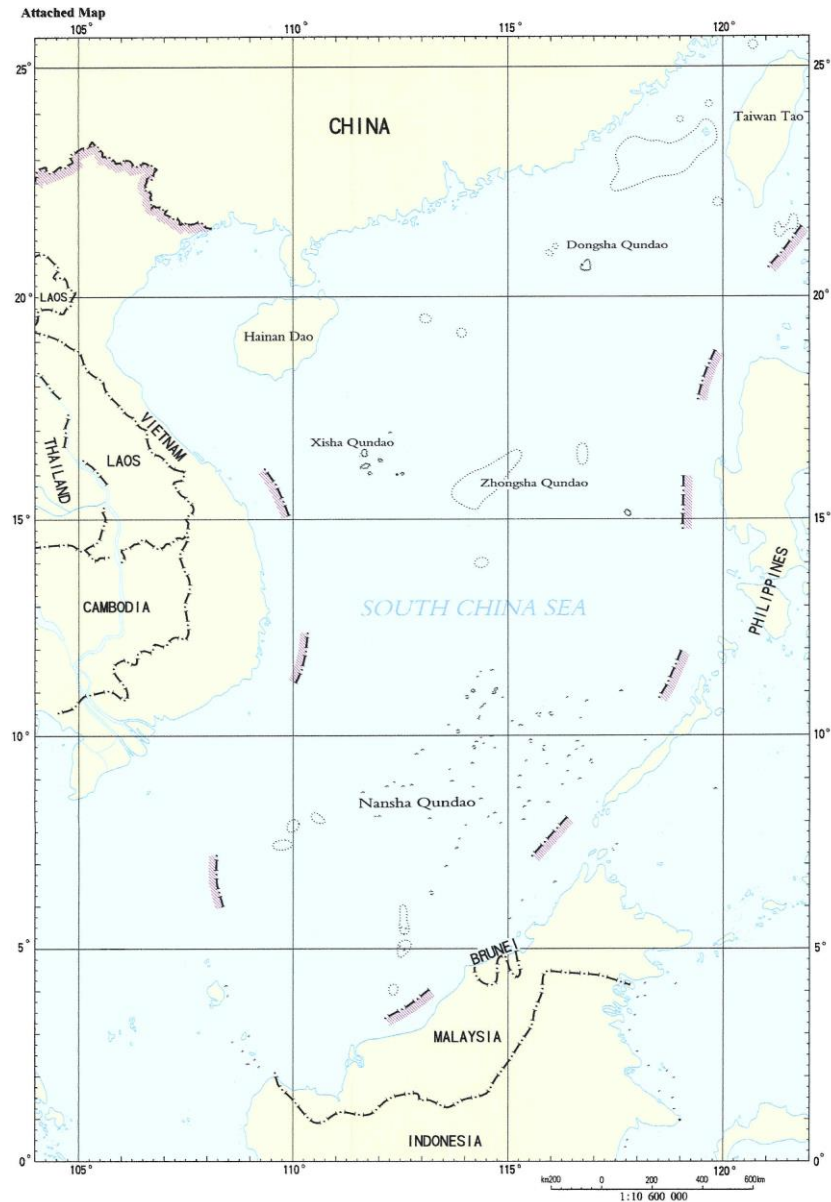
1 - Map from the Chinese Note Verbale from 2009 showing the Nine-Dotted Line (UN, 2009)

In 2009, Vietnam and Malaysia joined together and on the basis of the UNCLOS made submissions to the UN seeking to expand their territory in the South China Sea. These actions angered PRC who proclaimed its historical rights to the territory and in a Note Verbale to the UN made aware that the submissions from Vietnam and Malaysia violated these rights. The Note Verbale stated: "*The above submission by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has seriously infringed China's sovereignty, sovereignty rights and jurisdiction in the*

South China Sea." (UN, 2009). In the Note Verbale the PRC also states its claim to the South China Sea as well as includes a map showing the Nine-Dotted Line:

> *"China has indisputable sovereignty over the islands in the South China Sea, and the adjacent waters, and enjoys sovereign rights and jurisdiction over the relevant waters as well as the seabed and subsoil thereof... The above position is consistently held by the Chinese Government, and is widely known by the international community."*

PRC's use of the map as legal basis for its claims has made the other claimants unease as to what the goal of the PRC in the South China Sea is. By using the term "relevant waters" the PRC have indicated that it might seek to use its historical rights as a way of wavering the ratification of the UNCLOS and thus pursue to gain access to the resources within the Nine-Dotted Line.

2 - Map showing PRC claimed territorial waters compared to the UNCLOS 200 nautical mile EEZ

PRC have reacted with surprise to the opposition to the use of the Nine-Dotted Line, and have argued that none of the other claimants challenged the map when it was introduced in 1947.

4.4.3 Chinese skirmishes in the South China Sea

The military presence has also allowed for skirmishes between PRC and other states in the South China Sea area. The first event in the Chinese dispute in South China Sea was in 1974 when it engaged Vietnam in the "Battle of the Paracel Islands". Later, in 1988 this dispute with Vietnam continued as the PRC and Vietnam fought in a naval battle over the Spratlys, a battle that ended with PRC sinking three Vietnamese ships and killing 70 Vietnamese sailors. Since then PRC have slowly expanded its presence in the South China Sea, and have occupied islands and reefs in the Spratlys, with some as close as 100 nautical miles to the Philippines. During the Cold War PRC's presence and polices in the region changed and the true intentions of the PRC is somewhat still clouded and feared by many of the states with interests in the South China Sea, and it could be argued to have led to a security dilemma in the region - especially with Vietnam and the Philippines. Japan, the Philippines as well as Vietnam have all increased their military budgets in recent years and the Indonesian military have changed its focus from counter insurgency to navy warfare (International Crisis Group, 2012).

Since PRC considers itself as the rightful claim to the sovereignty of large parts of the territory in the South China Sea it also uses navy vessels to patrol, control and intercept other vessels that it feels do not respect its territorial boundaries. Recent actions of law enforcement vessels as well as People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) vessels have indicated a pattern of PRC enforcing jurisdiction within the Nine-Dotted Line. This entitlement have played a part in the strategy and new duties of the PLAN as they are more focused on protecting the interests of the PRC beyond its accepted maritime borders. Presently the PLAN is not capable of exercising the needed control or having the needed presence in the area, as the South China Sea covers more than two million square kilometers. As a result the PRC has started the construction of a submarine base on Hainan Islands, the largest in the PLAN, and have acquired a navy carrier as well, which had its first mission in the South China Sea in 2013 (Reuters, 2013). In addition, the PRC has acquired a new helicopter equipped vessel for the Chinese coast guard, and plans for introducing more vessels in the coming years.

In more recent time there have been an increasing number of skirmishes. There were claims from the Vietnamese government that PLAN deliberately sabotaged oil and gas cables from Vietnamese survey vessels working for the Vietnamese state-owned PetroVietnam in 2011. In 2012 the Philippines accused PRC of expanding its military presence in the Spratlays, and in April 2012 the two states engaged in a two month stand-off over the Scarborough Shoal which includes a PRC ban quarantine of fruits resulting in 34 million USD of losses, warning against Chinese citizens to travel to the Philippines and talks of military intervention (Council on Foreign Relations, 2014). PRC and Japan engage in a conflict over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands

when Japan purchased the three of the five islands from a private owner bringing the relationship between PRC and Japan to its worse since WWII (U. S. Energy Information Administration, 2013).

4.4.4 Partial Conclusion

The policy applied by PRC in the South China Sea is difficult to explain solely by the means of Peaceful Coexistence. PRC have sought to reach agreements with other states and solve the dispute through negations but these states have not accepted the proposed Nine-Dotted Line from PRC. When the Philippines and Vietnam submitted claims to the UN PRC chose to respond by means of negotiations and diplomacy, not direct conflict. The increasing size of the PLAN makes PRC the most powerful naval presence in the South China Sea and could as such take the territories by means of force without the other states being able to resist. PRC have not done so, and have shown self-restraint. According to the Chinese claims the Nine-Dotted Line shows the true borders in the South China Sea and if following this map many of the surrounding states are currently intervening on Chinese territory. Therefore, from the perspective of the Chinese PRC are showing a great deal of non-aggression and non-interference, and is to a certain extent following the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as PRC have not yet engaged in an armed conflict even though it is (of the perception of) having its territorial integrity violated.

The number of recent engagements between PRC and Vietnam, the Philippines as well as Japan has indicated that PRC is most likely also using coercive means to enforce its alleged sovereignty and rights to resources and sea lines within the Nine-Dotted Line. The actions of the PRC in the South China Sea shows of a moderate adherence to the Peaceful Coexistence and signs of the principles as being interpreted to fit the objectives of the PRC.

5 CONCLUSION

This thesis has explored the concept of Peaceful Coexistence in the aspects of historical events beginning from the foundation of the Soviet Russia through the rise of the PRC and until present time.

When the concept was first introduced by Lenin and Trotsky it was the result of pragmatic necessity. Despite being a concept that contradicted with the ideology of the current government system it was needed in order to maintain relations with capitalist states. Without the concept of Peaceful Coexistence Lenin might not have gotten the needed stability to create the foundation for the future USSR. The Soviet Russia, and later USSR, did not have the needed military power to support the World Revolution and engage directly in armed

conflict with the capitalist states in the Western Bloc. As such Peaceful Coexistence became a way for the CPSU to maintain its legitimacy as a regime, as it allowed for peaceful coexistence with a more powerful Western Bloc and at the same time remain true to the ideology that was the foundation of the regime and from which it gained its support. As the USSR became more established, Stalin and later Khrushchev downplayed the ideological aspect of the regime and instead promoted Peaceful Coexistence allowing USSR to be more involved in the international society. Both realized that there was a need for the possibility to maneuver and engaging in different international relationships as the battle of ideologies became global. Peaceful Coexistence gave them the flexibility and allowed a greater number of potential allies.

When Premier Zhou proclaimed that PRC was now following the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in 1954 PRC had adapted the concept from USSR and made it its own. Like Lenin and the Soviet Russia, Mao used Peaceful Coexistence as policy to secure PRC in the international society. At first it did provide Mao with the needed regional stability as it allowed for PRC and India to come to an agreement. Adding the five principles to the concept PRC managed to expand in the USSR concept and by incorporating it in actual official agreements making it more "real". The genuinely of Mao's use of the principles seems, however, doubtful. Even though China acquired the nuclear capability and engaged in armed disputes it can be defended as still being in accordance with the concept of Peaceful Coexistence. The Chinese intervention in the Korean War in 1950, the Sino-Indian War in 1962, the border conflict with the USSR in 1969 and other local Asian disputes can all – from an ideological point of view - be explained as defense of territorial sovereignty. But the actions of PRC under Mao's reign indicate that Peaceful Coexistence was used as tool to maneuverer between the two super powers of the Cold War, the US and USSR, and thus secure PRC in the international system.

In the late 1970's and the 1980's PRC changed the way it acted on the international stage. Due to the failures of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution PRC was internally very unstable. Peaceful Coexistence became once again a way of securing the needed stability in its foreign relations while building the needed foundation within. It became thus a way for the Deng Xiaoping and the CCP to regain its legitimacy as the modernization of the PRC have meant that the policies of CCP had to change. Instead of focusing on the ideology, the CCP had instead allowed for a reform that contradicted the communist beliefs. Due to the declined focus on the communist ideology within the CCP it is in need of a new way to constitute its legitimacy. The solution was the enormous economic growth and social development in China but this growth have been slowed down by the financial crisis. Like in USSR the concept of peaceful coexistence was used as a political response to maintain the legitimacy of the current regime. As the ideology changed and developed in accordance with the geopolitical situation, so did the concept of peaceful coexistence so that it would be

able to fill the needed gaps between ideology and reality. Peaceful Coexistence was not as much a foreign policy or creed for a more peaceful foreign policy as it was a tool used by the ones in power to protect the legitimacy of the current regime. This was the case with Soviet Union, World Revolution and the communist party and is so as well today with the communist party in China whose sole legitimacy is no longer based on the ideological foundations of the communist movement but on the PRC ability to create economic and social progress in China.

Today, PRC still claims that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is the cornerstone of PRC foreign policy. The celebration of the 60th year anniversary of the introduction of the Five Principles of Peace and the recent public announcements from present Chinese President Xi Jinping is a sign of this devotion. However, the recent events in the South China Sea have made the international community question the true intentions of PRC, and whether it truly follows the principles. Despite not engaging in fully armed conflicts PRC have still shown indications of coercive means in consolidating its claimed territory in the South China Sea, and this brings into question if the PRC actions are in line with the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The PRC actions in the area can be defended as following the principles depending on the interpretation but so far the international society have mainly not chosen to fully believe PRC true adherence to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and believes the rhetoric of Xi Jinping to be merely a facade. The truth is, as always, most likely more complicated. To take the idea of Peaceful Coexistence at face value is perhaps the wrong approach and a more broaden view is needed. While still serving as a pragmatic tool for maintaining the legitimacy of the CCP in a less communist society and at the same time allow for gaining the needed international relations and the needed internal stability there are also indications of some true adherence to the principles. But the most important question is not whether PRC is currently true to the principles – the question should be what happens when PRC have gained the military and political power to be able directly engage in conflict with the regional powers and the only super power, the US? Will PRC then still follow the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence or use its power to force its will?

6   SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

An interesting topic for further research would be to do a study of relationship between the US and PRC. One can examine whether PRC and its alternative to the current world order will be a threat to the US. Some argue that currently the reason for the American concern over the rise of PRC is its potential challenge to the hegemonic status that US currently has as well as the ideological incompatibility between PRC and the western-dominated world order. Due to the extreme economic growth in PRC many Western governments are certain that it would only be a matter of time before PRC becomes a super power. But due to its

ideological beliefs PRC's rise is also revolutionary as it will be a threat to the international status of the US as well as to current norms and structure in the international society. There seem to be three different explanations for the fear of a Chinese rise:

1. The cultural as well as the ideological differences creates fear in many as this will be a threat to the current world order. Communism being the official ideology makes many states see PRC as something to be feared.

2. Geopolitical factors make PRC a possible threat. Alone its size when considering territory, population and economy makes for a huge potential. If the US does not want to share leadership and the PRC does not feel it gets adequate respect nationalist forces might promote a confrontation with the US.

3. A collapse of PRC and its current economy will make for a new financial world crisis. Some fear that there is the possibility of PRC degrading into a failed state with civil war, crime etc. If so, it would be on a scale never seen before.

With these three expectations one would have the foundation for a significant topic that will make for an interesting study.

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8   GRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS