

CHINA'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS: THE CASE OF PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS

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ABSTRACT: *The year 2018 marked the 40th anniversary of China's reform and opening up policies, and the 28th anniversary of China's participation to the United Nations peacekeeping operations. In the past 28 years, China has firmly supported and actively participated in United Nations peacekeeping operations, becoming the permanent member country of the United Nations Security Council, with the most significant number of peacekeepers. Beyond the active participation, Beijing has also been one of the leading advocates of peaceful ways to conduct the peacekeeping missions and the respect of national sovereignty. This paper aims to capture the contribution of China to the United Nations' peacekeeping operations, primarily its actions destined to strengthen the collective security mechanisms of the United Nations, to enhance the decision-making and operational capacity of peacekeeping operations to reinforce the basic principles and purposes of the United Nations.*

KEYWORDS: China; peacekeeping; United Nations; contribution

INTRODUCTION

The date of 29th May 2018 is the one marking the 70th anniversary of United Nations peacekeeping operations. For 70 years, the United Nations organization has contributed significantly to global peace and security and its peacekeeping force was even awarded a Nobel peace prize in 1988. Being the most significant international organization in the world, the United Nations, with the objective of safeguarding global stability and promoting human development, has elaborated the principle of unanimity that reflected the reality of post World War II as well as political wisdom condensed by humankind avoiding from the scourge of war. However, the outbreak of the Cold war had prevented collective security mechanisms from functioning effectively, and the resurgence of new conflicts around the world urgently required the United Nations to intervene. It was in that particular context that United Nations peacekeeping operations started. Since the establishment of United Nations Peacekeeping Operation in 1948, although its development has gone through various of crises, dilemma, and challenges, its contribution to peace and security of humankind is incomparable with any other

International Organizations in the world till now. In the 1990s, when China joined the United Nations peacekeeping operations, its contribution has sparked the attention of the world for its efforts not only in promoting the steady development of peacekeeping operations but also in actively safeguarding the authority of the United Nations Organization.

China's contribution to the United Nations collective security mechanisms

The United Nations peacekeeping operations were deemed by Dag Hammarskjöld, former Secretary-General of the United Nations, as filling the "chapter six and a half"'s gap existing between the United Nations Charter's chapter 7's provisions on mandatory and chapter 6's requirements on reconciliation chapter. Peacekeeping operations were the emergency measures resulting from the weakening of collective security mechanisms led by the superpowers against each other during the Cold war. On the one hand, they effectively alleviated regional conflicts and played an active role in maintaining world peace and regional security. On the other hand, they showed the importance of collective security mechanisms.

With the approach of defensive deterrence, United Nations peacekeeping operations are to enable parties involved in conflicts to settle disputes through cooperation instead war. Impartiality and the use of peaceful means while conducting missions are highly advantageous in stopping escalating tensions. That purpose makes them an essential means of the United Nations collective security mechanism to fulfill its function of maintaining international peace and security in the post-cold war era. China's active participation in United Nations peacekeeping operations has strongly enhanced the collective security mechanism of peacekeeping operations, reflected as follow :

Firstly, China has strengthened the human resources of peacekeeping operations. Being the country with the most significant number of peacekeeping military personnel among the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. According to the United Nations peacekeeping website, as on 31st December 2018, China has 2,515 soldiers involved in peacekeeping operations, ranking it tenth among the members of the United Nations¹. On 18th December 2018, President Xi Jinping, in his speech celebrating the 40th anniversary of the reform and opening up, stated that "China's development ... is a powerful force for world peace and development".² So far, the Chinese army has participated to 24 United Nations peacekeeping operations, and the total figures on Chinese peacekeepers sent on missions, were more than 38,000 soldiers committed to fulfilling the solemn objective to maintain world peace and stability³. In the 90s, China dispatched mainly auxiliary peacekeeping forces, such as

¹ "Summary of Troop Contributing Countries By Ranking",
https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/2_country_ranking_8.pdf

² 习近平：“在庆祝改革开放 40 周年大会上的讲话”[OL]，2018 年 12 月 18 日，新华网：
http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/leaders/2018-12/18/c_1123872025.htm; In English : XI JINPING: "Speech at the 40 anniversary Conference for the reform and opening up policy celebration" [OL],2018 December 18, Xinhua: http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/leaders/2018-12/18/c_1123872025.htm

³ “24 项行动 3.8 万余人次，中国蓝盔用行动兑现承诺”[OL]，2018 年 12 月 24 日，中华人民共和国国防部网站：http://www.mod.gov.cn/action/2018-12/24/content_4832728.htm; In English : "24 actions : more than

engineering units, transport units, medical units, and logistics units. After the 2000s, China began to deploy additional peacekeeping police, peacekeeping standby troops, helicopter units, and independent garrison units. China's large scale of staff contributions and the diverse types of personnel provided strong human resources for peacekeeping operations.

Secondly, China has strengthened the equipment ability of peacekeeping operations, by providing abundant material assistance to peacekeeping operations. To better implement peacekeeping tasks, China provides peacekeeping supplies accordingly. For example, to carry out mandates efficiently, China provided four mi-171 medium multipurpose helicopters in 2016. In response to mine clearance, China offered a large number of mine clearing equipment and other supplies. In 25th October 2018, China's Ministry of Defense spokesman, Wu Qian, said at a press conference that China had granted 1.35 million tons of various materials and equipment to the cause of peacekeeping⁴. The equipment has not only passed the stringent "equipment material verification" standard test and "peacekeeping capacity assessment", but also proved useful.

Thirdly, China has also strengthened the financial resources of peacekeeping operations. China's share of peacekeeping financial contributions has continued to grow since the 90s, by as much as 394%⁵ in the first decade of the 21st century and for the first time since 2016, China's share of funds has surpassed Japan, the second-largest peacekeeping contributor, after the United States. In May 2018, the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations published a report entitled "China is the second largest contributor to United Nations peacekeeping operations"⁶, and positively affirmed that China's financial contribution to the cause of United Nations peacekeeping operations.

China's contribution to the United Nations peacekeeping operations' decision-making power and operational capacities

38,000, *China blue helmets in action to fulfill their commitments*" [OL], 2018 December 24, Ministry of Defence website of the People's Republic of China: http://www.mod.gov.cn/action/2018-12/24/content_4832728.htm

⁴ “中国维和部队的贡献有口皆碑”[OL], 2018年10月28日, 中华人民共和国国防部网站: http://www.mod.gov.cn/action/2018-10/28/content_4828072.htm; In English: "The contribution of the Chinese peacekeeping force is acclaimed" [OL], 2018 October 28, Ministry of Defence website of the People's Republic of China: http://www.mod.gov.cn/action/2018-10/28/content_4828072.htm

⁵ 杨凯: “中国对联合国维和行动的态度与政策转变”, 《战略与外交》(第二辑) [M], 宋德星主编, 时事出版社, 第398页; In English: Yang Kai: "China's attitude and policy shift towards the United Nations peacekeeping operations", Strategy and Diplomacy (Series II) [M], editor-in-chief: Song De, current affairs Press, p. 398

⁶ 联合国维和行动网站: <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/service-and-sacrifice>; In English: UN peacekeeping missions: <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/service-and-sacrifice>

In a context where peacekeeping situations are becoming more complex and at the same time, peacekeeping mandates are now more common. It is then essential to develop a sound and viable peacekeeping decision-making system to guarantee the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations. As a permanent member of the United Nations, China is increasingly playing an essential role in shaping the decision-making dimension of peacekeeping operations. Chinese leaders attach great importance to United Nations peacekeeping operations. Both them and Chinese representatives, at the United Nations, have always expressed Beijing's stand on the international situation and the peacekeeping situation during United Nations' peacekeeping conferences, thus contributing to the elaboration of relevant United Nations' policies.

Furthermore, China has set out its fundamental principles of peacekeeping in response to increasingly complex peacekeeping operations such as :

- Peacekeeping mandates should be clear and achievable;
- Priority areas should be identified while planning of ow mandates⁷;
- Objectives of peacekeeping operations should be determined ⁸;
- Synergy issues between long-term and short-term objectives should be addressed; etc.⁹

At the same time, China also attaches a particular interest in upholding the purposes and principles of the United Nations' Charter as well as the basic principles of peacekeeping operations as prerequisites and guarantees to win the trust and cooperation of Member States.¹⁰ Besides, China's views on peacekeeping operations as complement are as follow:

⁷ “常驻联合国副代表刘振民大使在第 64 届联大四委关于维和行动问题的发言”[OL], 2009 年 10 月 27 日, 中华人民共和国联合国代表团网站: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t623004.htm>; In English : "Ambassador Liu Zhenmin, Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations' speech on peacekeeping operations of the 64th session of the General Assembly" [OL],2009 October 27, United Nations delegation of the People's Republic of China: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t623004.htm>

⁸ “常驻联合国副代表刘振民大使在第 64 届联大四委关于维和行动问题的发言”[OL], 2009 年 10 月 27 日, 中华人民共和国联合国代表团网站: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t623004.htm>; In English : "Speech of Ambassador Liu Zhenmin, Deputy Permanent Representative at the United Nations' 64th session of the General Assembly on peacekeeping operations" [OL],2009 October 27, United Nations delegation of the People's Republic of China:<https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t623004.htm>

⁹ “李保东大使在安理会审议联合国维和行动时的发言”[OL], 2012 年 6 月 20 日, 中华人民共和国联合国代表团网站: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t943737.htm>; In English : "Speech of Ambassador Li Baodong during the Council's consideration of United Nations peacekeeping operations" [OL],2012 June 20, website of the United Nations delegation of the People's Republic of China: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t943737.htm>

¹⁰ “吴海涛大使在联合国我维和行动问题安理会公开会上的发言”[OL], 2018 年 9 月 13 日, 中华人民共和国联合国代表团网站: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t1595415.htm>; In English : "Speech of Ambassador Wu Haitao at the United Nations Opening meeting of the Security Council on Peacekeeping Operations" [OL],2018 September 13, website of the United Nations delegation of the People's Republic of China: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t1595415.htm>

1. The Security Council, the United Nations Secretariat, member States, troop-contributing countries, etc., should strengthen communication and coordination to advance the rapid delivery and deployment capacity of peacekeeping operations.¹¹
2. The United Nations should strengthen coordination and cooperation with regional organizations on the issue of peacekeeping operations and forge synergies.¹²
3. Attention should be paid to the links and the interface between peace-building and peacekeeping operations.¹³

At present, China has had four senior officials serving in the peacekeeping mission areas :

- In 2007, Major General Zhao Jingmin served as commander of the Western Sahara mission;
- In 2011, Major General Liu Chao served as commander of the United Nations Interim Force in Cyprus;
- In 2016, Major General Wang Xiaojun served as Force Commander of the United Nations Mission in Western Sahara;
- Currently, Major General Yang Chaoying is serving as deputy commander of UNMISS¹⁴. The presence of Chinese soldiers in crucial positions in peacekeeping-related departments has allowed China to participate directly in the decision-making of the United Nations on peacekeeping operations. China's active participation has not only enhanced the decision-making power of the United Nations peacekeeping operations but also improved the implementation of peacekeeping operations.

Firstly, China adheres to the principles of peacekeeping, namely impartiality, respect for sovereignty, consent of the parties and non-use of force except in self-defense and defense of the mandate. For example, during the vote session of the resolution on Darfur (Sudan), Ambassador Wang Guangya stated that: "We have always recommended that the sponsors include in the text the" consent of the Government of Sudan", that

¹¹ “常驻联合国副代表王民大使在联大维和特委会 2015 年届会一般性辩论上的发言”[OL], 2015 年 2 月 17 日, 中华人民共和国联合国代表团网站:

<https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t1239252.htm>; In English : "Speech of Ambassador Wang Min, Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at the general debate of the 2015 session of the General Assembly on Peacekeeping" [OL],2015 February 17, United Nations delegation of the People's Republic of China : <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t1239252.htm>

¹² “常驻联合国代表刘结一大使在安理会审议联合国维和行动问题公开会的发言”[OL], 2015 年 11 月 20 日, 中华人民共和国联合国代表团网站:

<https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t1317006.htm>; In English : "Ambassador Liu Jieyi, Permanent Representative at the United Nations, during the Security Council's public meeting on United Nations peacekeeping operations" [OL],2015 November 20, United Nations Mission of the People's Republic of China website: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t1317006.htm>

¹³ “常驻联合国代表刘结一大使在安理会建设和平问题公开会上的发言”[OL], 2016 年 2 月 23 日, 中华人民共和国联合国代表团网站: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/jshp/t1342684.htm>; In English : "Speech of the Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Liu Jieyi, at the opening meeting of the Council on Peacebuilding" [OL],2016 February 23, United Nations delegation of the People's Republic of China: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/jshp/t1342684.htm>

¹⁴ United Nations Mission in South Sudan

reference".¹⁵ To obtain the consent of the Government of Sudan, resolution 1769 on the deployment of peacekeeping operations in the Darfur region was adopted by the Council on July 31, 2007.¹⁶ Chinese firm position on the respect of the consent principle is based on the belief that the consent of all concerned parties for United Nations peacekeeping operations favors the success of the operations.¹⁷

Secondly, Chinese peacekeepers complete their tasks with commitment, pushing to a high standard the fulfillment of duties entrusted to them. Strict discipline and enforcement are the assessment of Chinese peacekeepers by the forces of the other countries involved in peacekeeping operations.

Thirdly, Chinese peacekeepers' commitment on the field, has made them be one of the leading forces involved while conducting United Nations peacekeeping operations. Political instability has been a significant problem in Africa, thus sometimes requiring United Nations peacekeeping missions. In Mali, for example, many western countries participated in the peacekeeping mission by providing fund rather than deploying troops,¹⁸ However, China is one of the few member countries supporting MINUSMA¹⁹. In the eastern war zone of MINUSMA, Chinese peacekeeping detachment of security guard is the only security unit on independent garrison duty, playing a decisive role in stabilizing the security situation in Mali.²⁰

Fourthly, Chinese peacekeepers demonstrated a high level of collaboration, working with other peacekeeping forces from various countries to effectively implement the spirit of cooperation while in a mission, respecting their cultural backgrounds, so that

¹⁵ “王光亚大使关于中方就苏丹问题决议投票立场的解释性发言”[OL], 2006年8月31日, 中华人民共和国联合国代表团网站: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/fyywj/wn/2006/t269766.htm>; In English : "Ambassador Wang Guangya's explanatory speech about China's vote on the Sudan resolution" [OL], 2006 August 31, United Nations delegation of the People's Republic of China: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/fyywj/wn/2006/t269766.htm>

¹⁶ “王光亚大使在安理会关于苏丹达尔富尔问题辩论会上的发言”[OL], 2007年11月27日, 中华人民共和国联合国代表团网站: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/lhghywj/fyywj/wn/2007/t384942.htm>; In English : "Speech of Ambassador Wang Guangya at the council's debate on Darfur, Sudan" [OL], 2007 November 27, United Nations delegation of the People's Republic of China: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/lhghywj/fyywj/wn/2007/t384942.htm>

¹⁷ “中国维和部队的贡献有口皆碑”[OL], 2018年10月28日, 中华人民共和国国防部网站: http://www.mod.gov.cn/action/2018-10/28/content_4828072.htm; In English : "The contribution of the Chinese peacekeeping force is acclaimed" [OL], 2018 October 28, Ministry of Defence website of the People's Republic of China: http://www.mod.gov.cn/action/2018-10/28/content_4828072.htm

¹⁸ [新西兰] 马克.兰泰尼. 试析中国维和观念的演变[J], 《国际政治研究》2017年第4期, 第66页; In English : Mark Langley. *An analysis of the Chinese peacekeeping concepts' evolution* [J], New Zealand : International Political Studies, 4th of 2017, p. 66

¹⁹ United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali

²⁰ 罗铮、杨大为、潘明春等: 《中国蓝盔, 精英中的精英》, 2017年2月20日, 中华人民共和国国防部网站: http://www.mod.gov.cn/action/2017-02/20/content_4773005.htm, 2018年12月26日; In English : Rough, Yang Dawei, Pan Mingchun, etc.: "China's blue Helmets, an elite among the elites", February 20, 2017, Ministry of Defence of the People's Republic of China: http://www.mod.gov.cn/action/2017-02/20/content_4773005.htm, December 26, 2018

effective responses could be found against security challenges. Moreover, before carrying out tasks, China actively participates in training exercises with many countries, in which experiences are shared so that all parties can learn from each other.

China's advocacy and the basic principles of the United Nations peacekeeping operations

Although there are three principles of peacekeeping operations as guidelines for deploying peacekeeping operations in war-stricken countries or regions, there are still questions about whether the principle of sovereignty should be respected and how to implement peacekeeping operations accordingly. Since the 90s, some Western countries, under cover of the United Nations, have promoted "new interventionism" with emphasis on "human rights above sovereignty" as a justification for peacekeeping operations. Meanwhile China, through its participation in United Nations peacekeeping operations, has actively played a decisive role, adhering to the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and highlighting the unshakable nature of the basic principles of the United Nations. In the Post-Cold War era, the international arena has changed dramatically, and the essence and functions of peacekeeping operations have changed along with it. Some scholars want to modify the principles of peacekeeping's essence in two aspects :

1 - In the theoretical aspect, some scholars have coined a term for the Post-Cold War era: the "post-Westphalia phase". On the one hand, "In such circumstances, Westphalian sovereignty must become subordinate to global values.... That is to say; pluralist cosmopolitanism should give way to 'communitarian solidarism'.²¹ On the other hand, "Post-Westphalians argue that intervention into the domestic actions of a state is warranted because the domestic actions of a state can have repercussion beyond their borders"²², the principle of sovereignty cannot be used as a shield by tyrannical countries; therefore, its essence needs to be rethought.

2 - In the operational aspect, on the one hand, in internal conflicts, "it may be argued that consent from all factions should be attained, although that is not always possible and consent is only attained from the government."²³ On the other hand, as Lauren Durand put it, "...consent was not an ideal situation as it hindered the rapid and smooth development of the local political process that would lead to sustainable peace."²⁴ This assumption has a direct impact on the foreign policy choices of some Western countries, leading to the new interventionism and the debate on whether the United Nations peacekeeping operations should respect the right to sovereignty over human rights or whether human rights are to be considered as priorities before the right to sovereignty.

²¹ MacQueen.N, *Peacekeeping and the International System* [M], Routledge, 2006, p8

²² Carroll.J.L, "Explaining China's evolving policy on UN peacekeeping"[D], Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, 2017.6, p34

²³ Hilmarisdottir.I, "United Nations Peacekeeping: Evolution, Principles and the applicable norms"[D], Department of Social Sciences, University of Iceland, 2012.6, p47

²⁴ Durand.L, "How did the Brahimi Report improve the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping operations?"[OL], 2012.10, <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/09/05/how-did-the-brahimi-report-improve-the-effectiveness-of-un-peacekeeping-operations/>

China adheres firmly to the principle of sovereignty and has expressed its position in related United Nations documents. The United Nations Secretary-General's report of 1992, "*An Agenda for Peace*", put forward that "The time of absolute and exclusive sovereignty, however, has passed; its theory was never matched by reality."²⁵ In 1993, at the Security Council's session for deliberations on issues related to "*An Agenda for Peace*", the representative of China stated that at any time and under any circumstances, during United Nations peacekeeping operations, member countries must strictly abide by the principle of respecting national sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs. They must also obtain the consent and cooperation of all parties concerned." The same year, during the United Nations General Assembly debate, Qian Qichen, Vice Premier and Foreign Minister of China, also pointed out that the "... respect for national sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States, as the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations, have great practical significance."²⁶ In November 2000, the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1327 adopted the *Brahimi Report* submitted by the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations. The report stated that "Experience shows, however, that in the context of intra-State/transnational conflicts, consent may be manipulated in many ways. Impartiality for United Nations operations must, therefore, mean adherence to the principles of the Charter".²⁷ In discussing Secretary-General Kofi Annan's annual report at the 55th session of the General Assembly, Wang Yingfan stressed that "the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as well as the traditional principles of peacekeeping, such as the consent of the host nation(s), impartiality between the conflict factions and the non-use of force by UN troops, should be respected."²⁸ In 2008, the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations promulgated the *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines*. It is the first document to explain the principles of the United Nations peacekeeping missions. It stated that "A peacekeeping operation must have the political and analytical skills, the operational resources, and the will to manage situations where there is an absence or breakdown of local consent.

In some cases this may require, as a last resort, the use of force", " United Nations peacekeepers should be impartial in their dealings with the parties to the conflict, but not neutral in the execution of their mandate... Just as a good referee is impartial, but will penalize infractions, so a peacekeeping operation should not condone actions by the parties that violate the undertakings of the peace process or the international norms and principles that a United Nations peacekeeping operation upholds"²⁹ This document

²⁵ United Nations(1992). Secretary-General. *An Agenda For Peace*. A/47/277, pp.5

²⁶ 中华人民共和国外交部外交史研究室编. 中国外交概览[M], 世界知识出版社, 1994年12月版, 第512页; In English : Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China diplomatic history. *China diplomatic survey* [M], World Knowledge Press, December 1994 edition, p. 512

²⁷ United Nations(2000).Brahimi Report. A/55/305, pp. ix

²⁸ “中国代表强调安理会的作用不可替代”[OL], 2000年9月28日, 人民网网站: <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/channel1/10/20000928/254086.html>; In English : "The representative of China stressed that the role of the Council is indispensable" [OL],2000 September 28, People Daily: <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/channel1/10/20000928/254086.html>

²⁹ United Nations(2008). *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines*[R], pp.33

provided peacekeeping operations with jurisdiction and executive power to the parties involved in conflicts and further extends the power of peacekeeping operations. However, if the power is misused, it will evolve into interference or even aggression in the internal affairs of the parties concerned, and this will cause great damage to national sovereignty. The following year, Minister-Counsellor, La Yifan, in his speech at the Security Council Meeting on UN Peacekeeping Operations, pointed out that the three principles of "Hammarskjöld" on peacekeeping missions are still effective today and called for in-depth discussions on new theories and approaches of peacekeeping based on the three principles mentioned above.³⁰

China adheres to the principle of sovereignty and works for its effective implementation in the United Nations peacekeeping operations. China has always insisted that the peacekeeping forces obtain the consent of countries deemed as in need of peacekeeping missions before deployment. The "principle of consent" and "principle of impartiality", out of the three traditional guiding principles of peacekeeping, are the manifestation of the respect of sovereignty. Before the deployment of UNAMID³¹, China dispatched special envoys to mediate with all parties on many occasions, insisting on obtaining the consent of the parties before peacekeeping troops deployment, and finally succeeded in reaching a consensus.

For China, the three principles of peacekeeping should be the core basis for peacekeeping operations conducted by the United Nations. Before the deployment of the UNAMID, China sent a special envoy to mediate with the parties on many occasions, always insisting on obtaining their consent before troops deployment. It shows the importance for China that peacekeeping operations should strengthen communication with the local governments and respect their will. For example, in response to the current protection of civilians as a focus of peacekeeping efforts, China adheres to the proper implementation of this task within the fundamental principles of peacekeeping. "The sovereign States have the primary responsibility for the protection of civilians, United Nations peacekeeping operations...do their best to reduce civilian casualties, while respecting the sovereignty of the States and respecting the will and choice of the peoples"³²

China's advocacy for the notion of peaceful consultation

³⁰ “中国常驻联合国代表团腊翊凡公参在安理会维和问题公开辩论会上的发言”[OL], 2009年1月23日, 中华人民共和国常驻联合国代表团网站:

<https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t533812.htm>; In English: "Speech of La Yifan, representative of the Permanent Mission of China at the United Nations, during the open debate of the Council on peacekeeping issues" [OL], 2009 January 23, Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t533812.htm>

³¹ United Nations - African Union Mission in Darfur

³² “常驻联合国副代表王民大使在联大维和特委会 2013 年届会一般性辩论上的发言”[OL], 2013 年 2 月 20 日, 中华人民共和国常驻联合国代表团网站:

<https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t1015300.htm>; In English: "Speech of Ambassador Wang Min, Deputy Permanent Representative at the United Nations, during the general debate of the 2013 session of UN General Assembly on Peacekeeping" [OL], 2013 February 20, Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of the United Nations: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t1015300.htm>

After the cold war, as more conflicts erupted and the tasks of peacekeeping operations became more and more difficult, reforms were to be made. There were different opinions on whether and when peacekeeping operations need to use force during missions. The reasons for supporting armed peacekeeping mainly focus on two points:

1- In a document entitled, from *An Agenda for Peace to United Nations peacekeeping operations: Principles and Guidelines*, they pointed out that in the Post-Cold War era, United Nations peacekeeping operations encountered more difficulties from guaranteeing the implementation of agreements by parties involved in conflicts. To prevent the peacekeeping process from being undermined, peacekeeping operations should be authorized to take "all necessary measures" to execute the order. In the *Brahimi Report*, it was suggested a "robust doctrine" approach to peacekeeping.

2- In the current asymmetric security environment, civilians and peacekeepers have repeatedly become targets of attacks. Protecting the lives of both local civilians and peacekeepers has become another essential task of peacekeeping operations. In June 2015, the High-level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (HIPPO), established by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon, published a report entitled *Uniting Our Strengths For Peace-Politics, Partnership, and People*. In the report, it was mentioned that "the Panel stresses its concern that the principles of peacekeeping should never be used as an excuse for failing to protect civilians or defend the mission proactively...the concept of defense of the mandate requires clarity as to which tasks within the mandate may require the use of force: this should always include the responsibility to protect civilians and be proactive in doing so."³³ Therefore, the Panel recommended that "

When required, Member States should ensure that peace operations have available contingents with the necessary equipment, training and enabling capacities to respond to threats, and to sustain them in using force proactively in self-defense and protecting civilians and dissuade spoilers in line with their mandates."³⁴

China acknowledges that the international arena is unstable and conflicts are part of the problem. Beijing agrees that peacekeeping operations' capacities should be enhanced, but it has always been reserved on the violation of the non-use of force principle in peacekeeping operations and believes that peacekeeping operations cannot change the nature of peace and that the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes should be thoroughly implemented. China has called several times on United Nations peacekeeping operations to abide by the principle of the "non-use of force". China vigorously pursues UN diplomacy and sees the UN as an important platform to express its views. On 26th September 1995, Qian Qichen, Vice Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, at the Foreign Ministerial Meeting, at the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the United Nations, stressed that "the Security Council must strictly abide by the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international relations, whether it is to preventive deployment, dispatch peacekeeping forces or commits itself to post-conflict

³³ United Nations(2015).*Uniting Our Strengths For Peace—Politics, Partnership And People*, A/70/95, pp.32, 33

³⁴ United Nations(2015).*Uniting Our Strengths For Peace—Politics, Partnership And People*, A/70/95, pp.33

peace-building. The Special Envoy should strictly follow the principles of Peaceful settlement of disputes..."³⁵ In September 2005, President Hu Jintao, in an important speech delivered at the Security Council Summit on the 60th anniversary of the United Nations, said that "we cannot solve issues by coercive means. It is better to achieve goals through dialogue and negotiation."³⁶ On 22nd September 2015, during the 70th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations session, Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a document entitled "China's Position Paper on the 70th Anniversary of the United Nations", that presented China's position and views on various international affairs. On the issue of United Nations peacekeeping operations, it was stated that Beijing "...supports the initiative of the United Nations' Secretary-General to evaluate and improve peacekeeping operations ... upholding the three principles of peacekeeping operations"³⁷. On 28th September 2015, President Xi Jinping also stressed in his speech, at the UN Peacekeeping Summit, that "China advocates for the respect of the basic principles of peacekeeping, the UN Charter and Hammarskjold Principles."³⁸

The year 2018 marked the 70th anniversary of the deployment of United Nations peacekeeping operations. Given a speech at the meeting on the "Action for Peacekeeping" initiative, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi suggested five measures to improve peacekeeping operations. The first two measures emphasized China's adherence to the principle of non-use of force, i.e. adherence to the principle of non-use of force and other principles stipulated in the UN Charter, such as the peaceful settlement of disputes, and the fundamental goal of "political settlement". In effect, resolving disputes through political means is the core of UN peacekeeping. Political priorities should be implemented in all aspects of peacekeeping operations.³⁹ China also expressed its position through public diplomacy. In fact, China attaches great

³⁵ 中华人民共和国外交部政策研究室：《中国外交概览》（M），世界知识出版社，1996年版，第587页；In English：Policy Research Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, *Chinese Diplomatic Survey* (M), World Knowledge Press, 1996 edition, p. 587

³⁶ 胡锦涛.《维护安理会权威 加强集体安全机制》[OL], 2005年9月15日, 中华人民共和国外交部网站: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/gjhdq_676201/gjhdqzz_681964/lhg_681966/zyjh_681976/t212087.shtml; In English: Hu Jintao. *Upholding the authority of the Security Council and strengthening the mechanism of collective security* [OL], 2005 September 15, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/gjhdq_676201/gjhdqzz_681964/lhg_681966/zyjh_681976/t212087.shtml

³⁷ 《中国关于联合国成立70周年的立场文件》[OL], 2015年9月22日, 中华人民共和国国防部网站: http://www.mod.gov.cn/policy/2015-09/22/content_4621713.htm; In English: 《Document on China's opinion about the United Nations》 during the 70th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations [OL], 2015 September 22, Ministry of Defence of the People's Republic of China: http://www.mod.gov.cn/policy/2015-09/22/content_4621713.htm

³⁸ “习近平出席联合国维和峰会并发表讲话”[OL], 2015年9月28日, 中华人民共和国外交部网站: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/zyxw/t1301683.shtml>; In English: "Speech of Xi Jinping at the UN peacekeeping summit" [OL], 2015 September 28, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/zyxw/t1301683.shtml>

³⁹ “王毅出席联合国‘为维和而行动’倡议高级别会议”[OL], 2018年9月25日, 中华人民共和国外交部网站: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/gjhdq_676201/gjhdqzz_681964/lhg_681966/xgxw_681972/t1598845.shtml; In English: "Wang Yi attends the United Nations High-level Meeting on 'Action for Peacekeeping' initiative" [OL], 2018 September 25, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/gjhdq_676201/gjhdqzz_681964/lhg_681966/xgxw_681972/t1598845.shtml

importance to the mass media and use them as channels to raise awareness of governments and public opinion of other countries on China's policies and positions. China's stand can be summed up as follows: "to abide by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international relations, especially the principle of non-use of force, is the fundamental guarantee for facilitating peacekeeping operations and ensuring their success. These principles remain the basic principles that should be strictly followed in future United Nations peacekeeping operations."⁴⁰

China has also used international multilateral high-level platforms, including United Nations conferences, to clarify its views on the "principle of non-use of force" in peacekeeping operations, and to urge the international community to be prudent while dealing with the issue of the use of force. In March 2005, Chen Weixiong, Counsellor at the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs' International Department, in his speech at the Sino-British Peacekeeping Seminar highlighted that the three principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the consent of the parties, neutrality and the non-use of force except for self-defense are not outdated and still effective, and are the basis for ensuring the success of peacekeeping operations.⁴¹ At the China-ASEAN Peacekeeping Seminar held in November 2007, Ma Xiaotian, Vice-Chief of Staff of the People's Liberation Army, put forward six propositions aimed at the new challenges faced by peacekeeping operations. The third and fourth points pointed out that "disputes should be settled by peaceful means" and "basic principles of peacekeeping that have proved effective in practice"⁴². At the UN General Assembly Conference on Peacekeeping Operations, China "agreed to innovate and improve the practice of some peacekeeping operations", meanwhile, always insisting on abiding by "Hammarskjöld's basic principles of peacekeeping"⁴³. At the UN Security Council

⁴⁰ “发言人就中国在联合国维和问题上的立场答记者问”[OL], 2001年1月11日, 中华人民共和国外交部网站:

https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/wjb_673085/zzjg_673183/gjs_673893/gjzz_673897/lhg_684120/fyrth_684128/t4431.shtml; In English: "The spokesman explained China's position on United Nations peacekeeping during a press conference" [OL], 2001 January 11, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/wjb_673085/zzjg_673183/gjs_673893/gjzz_673897/lhg_684120/fyrth_684128/t4431.shtml

⁴¹ “中华人民共和国外交部国际司参赞陈伟雄在中英维和研讨会开幕式上的讲话”[OL], 2005年3月21日, 中华人民共和国外交部网站: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/123/wjb/zzjg/gjs/gjzzyhy/1115/1122/t188263.htm>; In English: "Speech of Chen Weixiong, Counsellor at the International Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China during the opening ceremony of the Sino-British peacekeeping seminar" [OL], 2005 March 21, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/123/wjb/zzjg/gjs/gjzzyhy/1115/1122/t188263.htm>

⁴² “中国—东盟维和研讨会在京举行 100余名代表参加”[OL], 2007年11月19日, 中华人民共和国中央人民政府网站: http://www.gov.cn/jrzq/2007-11/19/content_809700.htm; In English: "More than 100 delegates attended China-ASEAN Peacekeeping seminar held in Beijing" [OL], 2007 November 19, Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China: http://www.gov.cn/jrzq/2007-11/19/content_809700.htm

⁴³ “常驻联合国副代表王民大使在第69届联大四委审议联合国维和行动问题的发言”[OL], 2014年10月30日, 中华人民共和国常驻联合国代表团网站: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t1205966.htm>; In English: "Speech of Ambassador Wang Min, Deputy Permanent Representative at the United Nations, during the 69th session of UN

Peacekeeping Operations Conference, China has played an active role as a permanent member of the Security Council, constantly stressing and reminding the permanent members that peacekeeping reform should be carried out on the premise of the basic principles of peacekeeping. In 2017, Chinese Foreign Minister, Wang Yi, at the high-level meeting of the Security Council on Peacekeeping Operations, stated that "China supports reasonable and necessary reform of peacekeeping operations on the basis of abiding by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations in order to better and fully implement their mandates."⁴⁴ Before the Security Council meeting on the formation of a peacekeeping force in 2017, the Chinese representative, Ambassador Wu Haitao, stated that "the basic principles of peacekeeping operations should always be upheld...The three principles of peacekeeping, such as sit and the fulfillment of mandates and the non-use of force, are the cornerstones of action and continue to have a unique guiding role in the new situation."⁴⁵ In 2018, Ambassador Ma Zhaoxu, made three suggestions on the dialogue between the Security Council and the peacekeeping police⁴⁶.

As a permanent member of the United Nations' Security Council, China supports peaceful consultation and opposes the abuse of force, not only in diplomatic appeals but also in actions. Beijing abstained from voting on many United Nations' resolutions involving armed intervention in countries experiencing conflicts. For example, on 30 January 1995, China abstained from voting for the Security Council's Resolution 975 on the deployment of the United Nations Mission in Haiti. In his explanatory statement, the representative of China, Li Zhaoxing, pointed out that "we have always advocated the settlement of disputes by peaceful means and disapproved of the use or threat of use of force in international relations. Therefore, we have reservations about Security Council resolution 949."⁴⁷ On 16 June of the same year, China abstained from voting

General Assembly" [OL],2014 October 30, Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t1205966.htm>

⁴⁴ 王毅。“维和行动改革必须遵循《联合国宪章》的宗旨和原则”[OL]，2017年9月21日，中华人民共和国外交部网站：<https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/wjbzhd/t1495271.shtml>；In English : Wang Yi. " *Reform of peacekeeping operations must be guided by the purposes and principles of the UN Charter*"[OL],2017 September 21, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/wjbzhd/t1495271.shtml>

⁴⁵ “常驻联合国代表团临时代办吴海涛大使在联合国维和行动部队组建问题安理会公开会上的发言”[OL]，2017年10月5日，中华人民共和国常驻联合国代表团网站：<https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t1499664.htm>；In English : " *Speech of Ambassador Wu Haitao of the Permanent Mission to the United Nations during the open meeting of the Security Council on Force generation in United Nations peacekeeping operations*" [OL],2017 October 5, Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations : <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t1499664.htm>

⁴⁶ “马朝旭大使在安理会同联合国维和警察对话会上的发言”[OL]，2018年11月6日，中华人民共和国常驻联合国代表团网站：<https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t1611238.htm>；In English : " *Speech of Ambassador Ma Zhaoxu before the Security Council's meeting with the United Nations peacekeeping force*" [OL],2018 November 6, Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China at the United Nations: <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/ceun/chn/zgylhg/jialh/alhzh/whxd/t1611238.htm>

⁴⁷ “联合国安理会第3496次会议临时逐字记录”[R]，1995年1月30日，联合国文件：S/PV.3496，第15页；In English : " *Provisional verbatim records for the No. 3496 meeting of the United Nations Security Council*" [R],1995 January 30, United Nations documents: S/PV.3496, p. 15

for the Security Council resolution 998, which was meant to send a United Nations' peacekeeping force to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Chinese Ambassador Qin Hua-sun, declared in particular that "UN peacekeeping operations...mission should be peacekeeping, not fighting. The draft resolution before us calls for the establishment of a rapid reaction force in Bosnia and Herzegovina in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. It is essentially a necessary operation that changes the nature of UNPROFOR⁴⁸'s peacekeeping operations. Once validated, they will inevitably become a party to the conflict, thus depriving UNPROFOR of its existence as a peacekeeping operation.⁴⁹ On March 17, 2011, China abstained from voting on the UN Security Council resolution to establish a no-fly zone in Libya.⁵⁰ On the Syrian issue, China has used six vetoes.⁵¹ The reason why China has used the veto is that it opposes the use of force in international relations and United Nations peacekeeping operations. China has also actively mediated and worked in various fields. Through China's efforts, the UN Security Council has adopted more than a dozen draft resolutions on Syria. Most noteworthy is that Chinese peacekeepers have put the principle of non-use of force into practices. In Mali, China's peacekeepers carry out their tasks advantageously and economically. According to Yang Huawen, a Chinese peacekeeper reported that in November 2014, Chinese peacekeeping commanders discovered strangers and quickly gathered officers and soldiers to beset them and when they escaped, the commander immediately ordered not to chase them. He said further that "The order was given on time, and we violate the principle of peacekeeping if we pursue them."⁵² In South Sudan, Yang Yongqiang, commander of the 4th batch of three Chinese peacekeeping infantry battalions, actively negotiated with local armed personnel so that all parties dropped their weapons and left the weapon restricted zone.⁵³ There are numerous such cases, which fully demonstrates that Chinese peacekeepers will keep the principle of non-use of force in mind and put it into practice at all times.

With more than 73 years of existence of United Nations, even if dramatic changes in the international context which led to UN function ineffectively from time to time, the UN has survived with the concerted effort of all the member states, and the flexibility

⁴⁸ United Nations Protection Forces in Croatia and in Yugoslavia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina

⁴⁹ “联合国安理会第 3542 次会议临时逐字记录”[R], 1995 年 6 月 16 日, 联合国文件: S/PV.3543, 第 21 页; In English: "Provisional verbatim records for the No. 3542 Meeting of the United Nations Security Council" [R],1995 June 16, United Nations documents: S/PV.3543, p. 21

⁵⁰ “联合国安理会第 6498 次会议临时逐字纪录”[R], 2011 年 3 月 17 日, 联合国文件: S/PV.6498, 第 3 页; In English: "Provisional verbatim record for the No. 6498 meeting of the United Nations Security Council" [R],2011 March 17, United Nations document: S/PV.6498, p. 3

⁵¹ Security Council - Veto List, <http://research.un.org/en/docs/sc/quick/>

⁵² 杨华文. 弹在膛上——一个维和士兵的战地纪实[M], 三联书店出版社, 2018 年 1 月版, 第 104 页; In English: Yang Huawen, *Diary of a peacekeeping soldier* [M], Publishing House, January 2018 edition, 104 p.

⁵³ “中国蓝盔部队: 捍卫和平 一诺千金”[OL], 2018 年 12 月 22 日, 中华人民共和国国防部网站: http://www.mod.gov.cn/action/2018-12/21/content_4832649.htm; In English: "China Blue Helmets: Committed in Safeguarding peace" [OL],2018 December 22, Ministry of Defence of the People's Republic of China: http://www.mod.gov.cn/action/2018-12/21/content_4832649.htm

of the collective security mechanism has enhanced the ability of the United Nations to address the challenges and needs across times, making the UN the most significant and most authoritative international organization playing indispensable role in maintaining international peace and security. UN peacekeeping operations have been a proof of adjustment to the new environment of collective security mechanism, significantly contributing to global peace and security during the periods of Cold War and Post-Cold War. With the constant changes in the international security situation, UN peacekeeping operations still face the needs of reform. China's participation in United Nations peacekeeping operations, on the one hand, helped peacekeeping operations to respond more efficiently in addressing situations on the fields and on the other hand, ensured that the operations abide by those same principles that served as their moral and legal framework. By bringing vitality into the United Nations, China enables the time-honored organization to keep revitalizing, continually making an irreplaceable contribution to international peace and security.

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