

Lecture: “Rising States, Institutions, and Global Governance”

How A “Place at the Table” Becomes
a Tool of Power

The “Cooptation for Cooperation” Narrative

- Integrating rising states into leading institutions to make them become “responsible stakeholders”
- A “place at the table” brings satisfaction, induces conformity, and promotes cooperation
- Thus, newcomers acquire a stake in maintaining the status-quo order

Counterarguments

- All states want to increase their power and redraw the rules in their favor
- Cooperation coexists with conflict of interests, as newcomers demand greater power
- Renegotiation of institutional rules: gradual, incremental
- No “status-quo order” lasts forever

The Big Question:

How does a “place at the table”
become a tool of advancing self-
interest?

The Need for Prudence

- Not yet ready for all-out confrontation with the US/West
- Seeking legitimacy and collective sanction for “selfish” interest
- Invest resources strategically to supplement existing mechanisms of global governance

Pursuing Power Prudently: Three Ways

- Ensure that others have to respect its vital interests when seeking its cooperation
- Build coalitions to shift the normative basis of global governance
- Foster new mechanisms that strengthen its stature as an indispensable provider of public goods

Three Stories about Chinese Diplomacy





Ambassador Qin Huasun

**China's Representative in the UN Security
Council , 1995-2000**

Story 1: China in the UN Security Council

- “Veto power is a forceful diplomatic tool of China in the UN arena. To safeguard China’s sovereignty and vital interests, the employment of this tool is necessary and appropriate.”
- No country should “expect and request China’s cooperation on the one hand, while taking actions injurious to China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity on the other.”

1997: Veto against Guatemala

- China felt annoyed by Guatemala's support of Taiwan
- Other Security Council members persuaded Guatemala to meet China's demands
- Guatemala gave way
- The Central African Republic severed ties with Taiwan

1999: Veto against Macedonia

- China felt betrayed by Macedonia's recognition of Taiwan
- France and Russia supported China
- Other countries told Macedonia to accommodate China's position
- Macedonia gave way in 2001



Ambassador Wu Jianmin

**China's Representative in the UN Human Rights
Commission, 1996-1998**

Story 2: China in the UNHRC

- 1995: China's worries
- 1996: Ambassador Wu founded the LMG and regained initiative

Forming a Common Front with Developing States

- HR consist not only in political freedoms but in socioeconomic development
- Promotion of HR should take account of national or cultural particularities
- Western conceptions of HR are not inherently superior
- The West has no right to sit in judgment over the developing world



Ambassador Sha Zukang

**China's Representative in the UNHRC and later
Human Rights Council , 2004-2007**



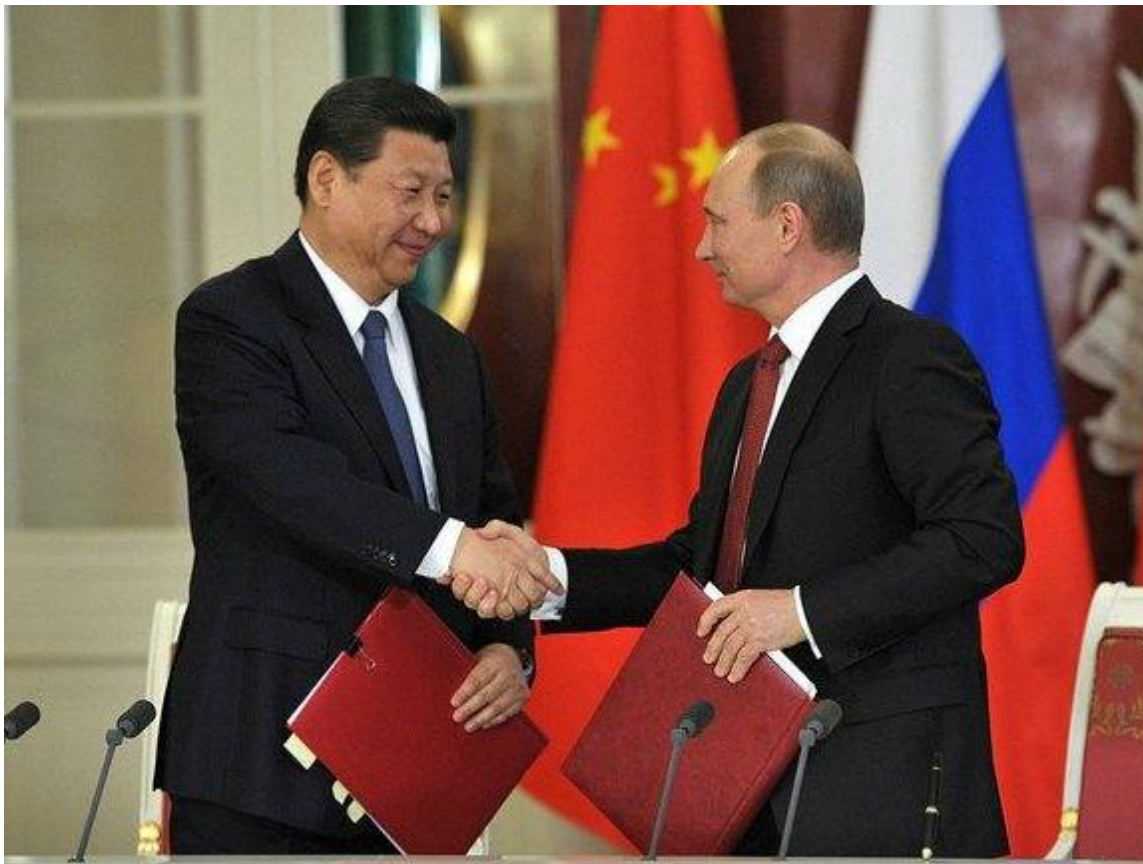
Ambassador Zhou Wenzhong
China's Ambassador to the United States, 2005-
2010

Story 3: China as New Provider of Public Goods

- The G-20: participate actively, but establish alternative mechanisms
- Two early attempts: the SCO and CACF
- The BRICS: mutual assistance in development
- The OBOR initiative: China's Marshall Plan?

Conclusion

The West vs. the Rising Rest



Sino-Russian Joint Declaration, June 2016

Deepening Cooperation Through Institutions:

UN, WTO, SCO, G-20, BRICS, MFM-CRI, EAS, AEM, ACD,
CICA, ARF, ADMM-Plus, APEC