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THE SEMIOTICS OF NATION
BRANDING: ANALYSIS OF THE
OFFICIAL DISCOURSE OF CHINA IN
THE PAST DECADE (2008-2018)

Master's Thesis

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I have written the Master Thesis myself, independently. All the other authors' texts, main viewpoints and data from other resources have been referred to.

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INTRODUCTION

The shift of global competition from hard power to soft power has raised the awareness of nation branding. A good nation brand brings not only direct economic benefits but also a higher position in the global discursive hierarchy. Nordic furniture, German vehicles, Swiss watches and many more, similar associations established in our mind between country and the specific product is the direct reflection of the strong nation brand. Furthermore, a strong nation brand is also reflected in its culture, its economics and politics.

After decades of research, many schools have contributed to theories of commodifying nation and space. Successful practices can be seen in many cases such as Australia (Brown, G. et al. 2001), Spain (Gilmore, F. 2002), New Zealand (Nepia, A. M. P. 2013) and Estonia (Tammppuu, P., & Masso, A. 2018). However, China, considered the second-biggest economy in the world, has a shorter branding history as compared to its global competitors. Reviewing the case of China, we often find slightly negative attitudes towards its nation branding strategy, within and out.

Individually, in Chinese academia, abundant literature has researched the construction of Chinese image and identity through the analysis or criticism within one single communication medium such as architectures (Lu 2011), movies (Jia 2007), outfits (Dong 2017) or significant events (Li 2017, Chen 2017, Yao 2018) etc. However, thin literature has looked through a semiotic lens, which either focuses on the employment of visual symbols in promotional videos by the Chinese government or the metaphors used in news coverage, documentaries (Yang 2017, Ma 2017) by foreign media. Such analysis concentrated on isolated examination of one single semiotic system, which neglected the interacting and complementary relationship between different semiotic modes, thus

providing incomplete and inconsistent understanding of the meaning-making process in nation branding.

Research on national image or nation brand has a distinctive discipline-oriented feature. The marketing researcher may see it as a process that happens during commercial activities, or the international politics researchers perhaps think it is the result of diplomatic practices, or the Chinese journalism researcher would probably describe as the outcome of strategic communications.

This research attempts to look at nation branding as a semiotics issue, under the scope of Lotman's cultural semiotic theory, with assistance of Fairclough's critical discourse analysis. From the cultural semiotic perspective, the process has involved both nation building and nation branding, as through two sets of dynamics: leadership and the nation, nation and nation brand. The semiotics of culture provides a fresh perspective on the issue, by explaining how the leadership exerts influence on the meta-structure through self-observation, and how the nation constructs its brand through self-description. In the end, this paper intends to answer following questions:

- Question 1: What is China's nation brand?
- Question 2: What's the key message of the brand?
- Question 3: How does the brand been constructed?
- Question 4: What is the power relationship behind the construction of the brand?
- Question 5: How does the brand change over time?

In chapter one, I find that when it comes to the general nation branding theories, it is common to consider the nation brand as a separate object that can be strategically created. The influence of the nation to the nation brand is widely addressed, however, the questions of how the influence is generated and conveyed through nation branding practice are underestimated in the literature. Furthermore, the questions of what is the impact, why the influence exists, where does it come from and how does it work are still missing from explanations.

I will explore the possibility of integrating nation branding with semiotics in chapter two, and in chapter three, attempt to propose a research model that consists of four research objects: the self-observed identity, declared identity, self-perceived image and self-presented image. To the fact that nation branding is commonly initiated by government or official institutions (though there are multiple stakeholders such as companies, nationals etc.), especially in the case of China, where the government exert considerable influence on the society, the paper delimits the research scale to the official discourse of Chinese government, which delineates the primary research materials to the official documents generated by the government. I specifically choose the Five-Years Plan and the Chinese delegators' speeches at the United Nations General Assembly for respective extensive analysis in chapter four and chapter five, to examine the meaning-generation process in the domestic and international scenarios. In chapter six, I will summarize the findings from the research and explain how and why the semiotics of culture provides a different perspective to nation branding research, which will be clarified in the later chapters.

1. LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. Nation Branding Study in English Literature

Generally speaking, nation branding research started from the economic field where scholars notice that products from certain countries are more welcomed thus priced higher than the same products from other countries. This later developed into Country-of-Origin theory that gradually extended to national image research and nation branding research.

Research on national image or nation brand has a distinctive discipline-oriented feature, mainly from the perspectives of Communication and Journalism, International Politics and Business Studies, depending on the national context.

Looking from the economic perspective, the earliest conception is initiated by Ernest Dichter (1962) in his article where he pointed out that attitude toward the country of origin is already making an impact on advertising strategy. He clarified that German Ford advertised as cooperation between American spirits and German spirits are more welcomed because of the preference of Germans to their own products. Looking from an adverse perspective, Schooler (1965) find that country of origin does not always add extra value to products, sometimes, it may sabotage them with negative stereotypes. This is verified by his research which unfolded the fact that consumers might hold bias against products from specific countries. The results of the research show that Guatemalan market participants rated Mexican products superior to the products of Costa Rica and El Salvador, due to the nationalism attitude such as regional jealousy, suspicions and fears (Schooler, 1965: 397-398). Bannister & Saunders (1978) also investigated the factor of national image stereotypes in UK consumers' decision-making process. Standing on the shoulder of the predecessors, Han specifically agrees that country image is "consumer's general perception of quality for

product made in a given country” (Bilkey and Nes 1982) (1989: 222). Jaffe et al. followed the route, researching on CIE (Country Image Effect), known as “the impact that generalizations and perceptions about a country have on a person's evaluations of the country's products and/or brands” (Nebenzahl, Jaffe & Lampert 1997: 28).

Built on aforesaid definitions, resulting strategy on building a positive national image, consequently, encompass strong product-oriented characteristics. As quoted from *National Image & Competitive Advantage*, nation branding:

is using marketing strategies to promote a country's image, products and attractiveness for tourism and foreign direct investment [...] consist of developing an image based on a country's positive core values and communicating it both internally and externally [...] at least three conditions must be met: 1. The brand would have to be used consistently over many products or services. 2. Companies using the brand must have corporate values consonant with those determined by the organizers of the brand campaign, such as a chamber of commerce or government agency. 3. Participating companies will have to agree to the brand agenda. To these we may add a fourth requirement: 4. The leading companies of the country should participate in the program (Jaffe & Nebenzahl 2006: 138-139).

Suchlike strategies, as mentioned earlier, are focusing on the products and targeting to consumers, which assume that a national image is formed on the basis of product quality and consumer experience. Even by adding service or intangible commodities into the scope of discussion, it remains a static approach to the course of national image formation. A simple flaw is that the Country-of-Origin Effect theory presumes that national image is a generalization of understanding perceived through business activities or products, which, undeniably, neglected the possible intention behind national image construction, namely, the subjectivity of nation branding. Though considerable literature argues about the usage of “naming strategy”, in a way, acknowledged the initiative of enterprises deliberately using foreign brand names to guide interpretation of the country of origin. Nevertheless, the subjectivity of national image creation is delimited on an extreme scale. Thus, national image formation, under the umbrella of Country-of-Origin Effect, becomes a unilateral communication.

However, research from international politics on this topic appears to supplement the COO effect theory by reiterating the prospect of constructivism. The discussion in the international politics field focuses on the “soft power”, “public diplomacy” and “competitive advantages” of a country. However, the research of national image in the international relation field mainly concentrate on diplomatic practices. The accordant nation branding strategy, therefore, becomes a set of strategic diplomatic actions.

It is reasonable for some international politics researchers to emphasize the importance of constructive perspective in perusing the mechanism of national image, which argues that it is the interactive relationship between countries that forms the national image. Constructivism accredits that everything is socially constructed – all existence is interrelated and developed through meaningful interactions. Thus, diversity of nations is not fundamental but constructive. Therefore, the formation of national image is acknowledged by both the self and the other.

By putting national image in a structural relationship, there is no fundamental difference between the national images of various countries. The accuracy of such theory has a room for further discussion, since, every nation and culture is not only a product of structural relations but also a product of its own natural environment. However, the constructive perspective brings out a vital discussion on national identity that is absent from the business studies of the national image research. The calling for the subjectivity of national image formation can also be seen from the following studies based on the Journalism and Communication perspective, which will be elaborated in the next subchapter.

The inquiry of identity research is later responded by scholars such as Simon Anholt who brings with the concept of “nation brand” criticized that “the concept has been distorted into ‘nation branding’ which misunderstood that the images of countries can be directly manipulated using the techniques of commercial marketing communications (2011: 6).” He summarizes “nation branding” into three components: *strategy*, *substance* and *symbolic actions*. What he meant by *strategy* in his article is explained as who the nation is and where the nation going, the strategy is executed through *substance* in various forms including economic, politics etc. and *symbolic actions* is a very specific type of substance (2011: 7-8). There we see a very strong emphasis on identity research by asking how the identity is expressed through strategic implementations. This is in accordance with Lotman’s framework of meta-structure and self-description, which will be discussed later.

Fan Yin in his article also argues that “nation branding concerns applying branding and marketing communications techniques to promote a nation’s image (2006: 6)”. However, prior to nation branding practice, it is crucial to find out what is being branded. He lists eleven elements that can possibly consist of a nation brand and points out that “depending on the context in which it is placed, the nation brand may evoke a shifting and intricate combination of the above factors.” (2006: 7) Though the issue seems over-

complicated, alike research contributes greatly to a more complete structure of nation brand: not just the image, but also the identity. This turn can also be seen from the following studies based on the perspective of Journalism and Communication.

1.2. Nation Branding Study in Chinese Literature

Based on the data drawn from CNKI¹, Chinese academia started the research of “national image” in the field of Journalism and Communication since 1990s, lags behind Western academia (see figure 1&2). Based on the data draw form CSSCI² database, the diagram following shows the turning point of “National Image” research is at 2006, since then, the academic publishing has been increased drastically until 2008 and has been stabled ever since. The first two academic research papers on the topic were published in July and September in 2007, both focusing on the economic benefit of nation brand. The diagram suggests that the relevant research in Chinese academia is still on the level of “national image” research. One crucial reason is that the idea of treating the nation as a brand is not widely accepted within the academic circle. Though the Chinese scholars tend to mix the concepts of “national image” and “nation brand” in their articles. In fact, similar terms such as public diplomacy are more likely to be welcomed as the topic in Chinese context is highly politicized.

¹ CNKI (China National Knowledge Infrastructure) is one of the biggest government supported digital platform that provides access to various databases across journals, doctoral dissertations, masters' theses, eBooks and so on.

² CSCCI (Chinese Social Science Citation Index)

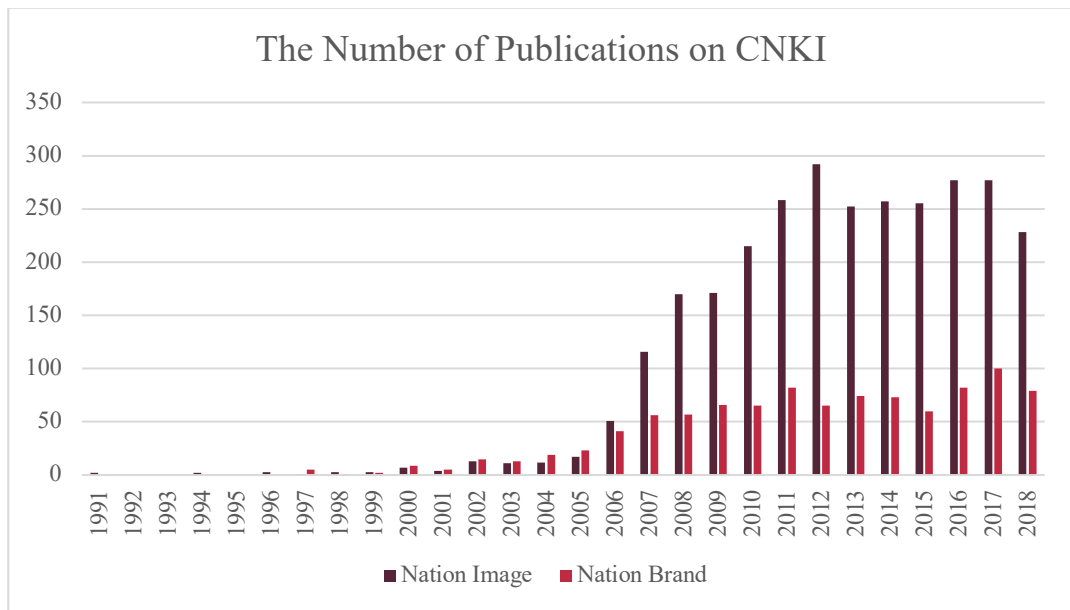


Figure 1

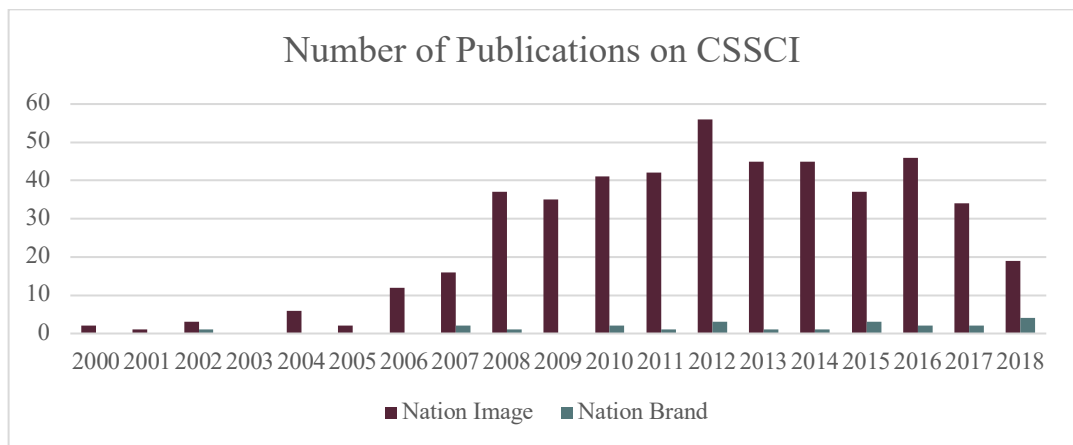


Figure 2

Research on the national image in the Chinese context derived from Journalism and Communication Studies (Wang 2013), which, largely following the communication model, roughly categorized in three sections: sender, medium and receiver.

The method of texturizing messages from senders is extensively applied in sender studies, as it provides analyze objects of encoding process. Through text analysis of the *New York Times*'s coverage of China in the period of 1994 to 2006, Si Guo'an and Su Jinyuan (2006) identify the ideological bias toward China, especially when reporting the issues concerning American interests. Guo Xiaoping (2010) specified the analysis on the *New York Times*' s coverage of global climate change related to China in the period of 2000 to 2009,

found that the news agency deliberately applying narrative techniques to construct negative environmental images of China. However, *The Times* illustrated a more complex image of China through prettification of its economic growth, demonization of its political party, vilification of its society and mystification of its culture (Xiang 2006). Jia Wenjian (2008) securitized the reporting of China on the *Dir Spiegel* from January 2006 to December 2007, discovered that China is portrayed as a threat to the Western economies and a violator of human rights. Interestingly, analysis of Chinese media's portraits of foreign countries is incompatible to its counter research. For instance, Luo Yicheng et al. (2007) believe that America's image presents a double-sided feature on the news coverage of the *People's Daily* from 1997 to 2006. America is illustrated as an active participator in international affairs, meanwhile, an autocratic military power to developing countries. Ke Huixin et al. (2007) also found that Russia is demonstrated as a political giant with abundant natural resources and rich cultural heritage in the period of 2005 and 2006 on the *China Youth News*. The innovation of this article is that "Russian Year" as a variant is introduced in the qualitative research, therefore, it shows the increase of positive reporting about Russian politics while other reporting on economics, society and culture remains almost the same.

The asymmetry of images portrayed on various media outlines the differences in framing models employed by senders due to respective standing points. Similar articles (Ma 2017, Xie 2018), detected that China is frequently manifested with homogeneous negative images by the operation of false narrative or metaphorical implication on Western media, while on the contrary, the image tends to be more heterogeneous and multidimensional on Asian media (see Zhang & Xie 2011, Wu 2011, You Sijia 2015 etc.). However, majority of the research results are merely criticism of foreign media or other entities holding bias against China. Though it reveals the inequality of national image formation in a global context, it fails to explain the essence of such phenomenon in a meta-level. Further explanations of power structure functionality and meaning-generation mechanism in image formation are, thereupon, ought to be attempted.

Medium studies on the topic show an application-oriented propensity, predominately concentrate on strategic medium implementation and diplomatic communication practices. Relevant research is reflected on big events (Li 2015, Feng & Hu 2008, Guo & Wu 2010 etc.), crucial policies (Li 2008, Yang 2017, Sun & Chen 2016 etc.), promotional materials (Han & Wang 2005, Tang 2011, Tan 2012 etc.), cultural heritages and creative products (Li

2012, Luo 2019, Wu 2017 etc.), leaders (Fang & Cheng 2014, Xu & Zhu 2014, Luan & Lu 2018 etc.), new media (Zhao & Song 2012, Cheng 2011, Chen 2011 etc.), literature and translation study (Lu 2013, Chen 2018, Zuo 2019 etc.).

However, a greater number of papers are focusing on the single medium analysis, which bears the same insufficiency of treating nation brand as an isolated object, lacking systematic and wholistic perspective on nation branding practices.

The last categories of the aforementioned research are the audience (receiver) research. Xu Jian (2011) charged a sampling survey to American audience and drew the conclusion that media exposure and personal experience make strong impact on American's perception of China. Based on 1952 valid samples, Wang Yihong (2012) finds that Germans do accept China as a country with diverse culture, however, lack of further understanding, and possess negative attitude towards Chinese source of information. Looking from the domestic space, Yang Liu (2009) argues that, suggested by the consumer investigation conducted in Beijing, young generation in the age between 25 to 35 with higher education and lower financial stress constitutes the largest part of movie consumers. Since this group of people often lingering between collectivism and individualism, it is crucial to balance the individual-nation relation in the film, avoiding propaganda or lecturing, and can possibly draw on the successful experience of Hollywood.

This, again, brings back the scaling of the audience, whether the domestic audience is included. Though the agreement on the inclusion of domestic audience is proceeding, many scholars, as well as the ones who initially believe that domestic audience is also part of the decisive audience, demonstrate incompatible preference towards external audience research. This unbalanced inclination is the major issue in nation branding research as it neglected the recognition of identity which is prior to communicative process. Consequently, greater efforts have been put into implementing communication channels and techniques instead of figuring out what is the content and message.

Notwithstanding, the popularity of applied research masked the uneven academic interest, Wang Haizhou (2013) points out that two tendencies are spotted on the Chinese academia about the research on national image: First, majority of scholars inevitably present externally-oriented research preference, due to the fact that "national image research" in China was originated in the context of global competition. Despite a portion of literature

does mention the participation of domestic stakeholders in national image formation, the definitions accustomed nonetheless focus on the perception of international audience. Hence, accordant nation branding strategies demonstrate significant inclination towards foreign public. Second, afore-mentioned investigation highlights global communication techniques instead of the meaning-generation mechanism and functionality of the national image. He reckons two consequences of present tendency on applied research: the lack of solid theoretical foundation may add to arbitrariness of research results, on the one hand, frustrates academic innovation on the other hand.

Furthermore, the common criticism of ongoing Chinese nation branding strategies is that it is rather monologic or propaganda-style communication, which fails to convey core messages to a broader audience. Additionally, the neglect of audience segmentation achieves less accurate communication effects. As the author argued above, applied research that focuses on the communication techniques often starting from the point of foreign audience, therefore, mere criticism of “poor communication strategy” China adopted is insufficient to uncover the authentic reasons why this phenomenon is still happening despite all the criticism.

If we take a look at the component of a brand, we will find that a brand is consists of at least two parts: brand identity and brand image. The image is what the consumer perceived and left in their impression about the brand, which is inevitably emphasis on the audience. While the identity is designed and constructed by the brand owner. Here, we can see that when scholars underline the importance of the subjectivity of national image, they are, in fact calling for the research attention on identity construction, and the relationship between the brand owner and the brand, in the case of nation branding, this relationship is interpreted as between the nation and the nation brand.

Answering that, the following subchapter will focus on the semiotic perspective of the subjectivity of nation branding and explore the dynamic relationship that happens in nation branding process.

1.3. Semiotics and the Semiotics of Nation Branding

The application of semiotic theory in the field of Branding studies has relatively the same length of history with the discipline itself. Such research often included in the study of the semiotics of marketing.

Nation branding as a newly-emerged subject, its inter-disciplinary research has not attracted much attention from semioticians. Existing literature mostly concentrated on the micro-level of studies, such as symbols of particular space (Mueller & Schade 2012), logos (Warnaby & Medway 2010) etc. This phenomenon reveals the possibility of applying semiotic theory in the nation branding research at one hand, and the lack of semiotic thinking in a macro-level on the other hand. Micro-level of studies treats nation brand as an object which separated from the bigger context, therefore, insufficient to draw a complete picture of meaning-making mechanism in nation branding.

In Chinese academia, as mentioned before, abundant literature has researched the construction of Chinese image and identity through the analysis or criticism within one single communication medium. However, thin literature has looked through a semiotic lens, which either focuses on the visual symbols in promotional videos by government or the metaphors used in news coverage, documentaries (Yang 2017, Ma 2017) by foreign media. Such analysis concentrated on isolated analysis of one single semiotic system, which neglected the interacting and complementary relationship between different semiotic systems, on one hand, the relationship between identity and image on another hand, thus, providing incomplete and inconsistent understanding of the meaning-making process in nation branding. Besides, studying on utilization of symbols solely, limited the research scope with one type of text in the *semiosphere*, therefore, hardly reflects the interaction between different texts and how the texts subjected to the organization of meta-structure.

Lotman's theory in this sense provides a framework to analyze the meaning formation process on a macro-level, especially with the conception of *semiosphere* that illustrates the dynamic interactions of culture. Very few works have applied Lotman's semiotic theory in nation branding so far, one is the *Nation Branding in Romania After 1989: A Cultural Semiotic Perspective* by Bianca Cheregi. In the article, she explores the possibility of using *semiosphere* as an analytical tool for Romania's nation branding

campaign research. Cheregi argues that “Romania’s nation brand represents a cultural space and the campaigns mobilize cultural symbols as a systems of signs necessary for the existence and functioning of advertising discourse (Cheregi 2017: 27)” By conceptualising nation brand as a semiotic space where national symbols and myths as signs mobilizing in the sphere, a promotional commercial, therefore, constitutes a specific *semiosphere*, where “the most developed commercial discourse” lays at the core and “semiotic world of the audience” at the periphery (Cheregi 2017: 40). Hence, investigation of systematic mobilization of signs and interactive dynamics of core-periphery are placed at the centre of cultural semiotic analysis of the nation brand.

The research has expanded semiotic application on nation brand to a broader extends. Treating the employment of symbols as a meaning-making system has broadened the vision of relations between symbols, therefore, proposed a holistic view on the meaning generation in nation branding commercials. Though the article mentioned that nation branding commercials of Romania contain the discourse of a contemplating new identity, the research put more effort into the decoding of visual symbols used in the commercials. Besides, the author is still leaning to the point of view that nation brand is an instrument of marketing the country to the (external) audience.

It is undeniable that nation branding theory largely borrows definitions and methodologies from marketing and other business-related studies. But as the global competition already goes beyond economic contest, liberating from the original “product-country” framework is urgently needed to find out the authentic driving force and mechanism behind nation brand. Therefore, an investigation on a meta-level is necessary to proceed out of generic textual analysis.

Lotman’s cultural semiotics, in this case, provides theoretical framework for more than mere deconstruction of cultural symbols but a revelation of the dynamics of inner structure and outer space. The innovation of applying cultural semiotics in nation branding research is not only that it emphasizes the existence of the core-periphery framework, but also underlines the various relationships that happen when the meta-description proceeds. This takes us further to the formation of nation brand and the mechanism of nation branding. In the next chapter, follows a further elaboration on the semiotics of culture with some critical notions of Lotman’s theory.

2. CULTURAL SEMIOTIC PERSPECTIVE OF NATION BRANDING

In the legacy of the Lotmanian semiotic theory, “*semiosphere*” is one of the core concepts, as a way of utilizing “spatial metaphors” (Nöth 2006: 1) to describe the scope of culture. To understand the function of *semiosphere* and meta-description, it is necessary to introduce the notion of “self-description”, understood as the mechanism “brings about a centralization and hierarchization of the semiotic space (Monticelli 2012: 66), which “takes place on different levels of the *semiosphere*” (Madisson 2016: 204). If we regard a nation as a complex *semiosphere*, nation branding as a way of self-description can also be discussed under the umbrella of Lotmanian semiotic theory. Therefore, this chapter concentrates on three significant aspects: 1. The introduction of critical notions of cultural semiotics; 2. The process and models of self-description; 3. The relationship between self-description and nation branding.

2.1. Text – Modelling System – *Semiosphere*

The definition of culture has been debated among many generations of scholars and is certainly not the discussion of this thesis. In this chapter, it is agreed with Lotman’s definition of culture, known as “the aggregate of all non-inherited information and the means for organizing and preserving it” (1976: 215). The difficulty of finding a metalanguage to describe culture is equivalent to its complexity, even Lotman’s utilization of spatial language

has gone through fundamental changes as he gets deeper into the field. However, the conception of text is one of the milestones that reify culture as a research object.

Text is one of the essential terms in the research of Tartu-Moscow Semiotic School. Text as the smallest unit of analysis, which has an integral meaning and integral function (1973: 57). Texturizing the research objects, thus, developed into one of the principal methodologies valued by TMS, since “the semiotic universe may be regarded as the totality of individual texts and isolated languages as they relate to each other” (Lotman 2005: 208). For TMS scholars, text is beyond its literal meaning, which possesses the functions of preserve, communicate and generate meaning. These three functions are firmly tight to the substance behind text – culture and acknowledge the forms of culture in the past, present and future.

Lotman claims that isomorphism exists between text and culture, culture as a human understanding of the world therefore, can be understood as the textualization of the world. Though text was initially a philological term, and many cultural semiotic works are influenced by linguistic method, Lotman made difference between natural language and cultural language by naming the former primary modelling system, the latter secondary modelling system.

The modelling system theory is largely based on the extension of the linguistic structure of the natural language, thus placing natural language at the meta-level of the cultural studies. As the advancement of natural science reveals the functioning mechanism of human brain, and in potential circumstances that dialogue might proceed language, Lotman realized that metalanguage which use to describe culture is far more complicate and dynamic. By associating ideas from cybernetics, information system, dissipative theory and typology, Lotman initiated the concept of “*semiosphere*” as “the metaphor of the semiotic space that constitutes the *semiosphere* refers to culture and its semiotic environment” (Nöth 2006). The sphere which he named as *semiosphere*, constitutes the necessary environment for the existence and development of culture as Lotman emphasizes that “only within such a space is it possible for communicative processes and the creation of new information to be realized.” (Lotman 2005: 207)

Lotman observes in a dualistic perspective by using spatial structure, illustrating the *semiosphere* with core-periphery relationship. The dynamic interactions between the two

parts become the driving force of the development of a *semiosphere*. Addition to that, Lotman points out that the semiotic space is filled with cultural texts and cultural memories, through the exploration of the evolution of cultural texts and reinvention of cultural memory, a layer of temporality is, therefore, included in the scope of *semiosphere*. Thus, combining the spatial and temporal structure, *semiosphere* evolves into a possible modelling system for culture.

An essential notion of *semiosphere* study is the concept of “boundary”, which differentiates self and others, lays the foundation of identity. Boundary draws the formless line between *semiospheres*, functioning in the way that “is not only to protect the system from undesired external influences but also to define the *semiosphere* itself” (Nöth 2006). As it is also discussed by Zheng Xiaoyun in her book, “different culture has different identifications, thus, cultural identification constitutes a sense of belonging to a specific culture, meanwhile, frames a border between diverse cultures”. (Zheng 1992:4)

The identity is not merely constructed by the “boundary”, but also influenced by the meta-structure. This is explained by the cultural texts and the cultural memory contained. During the interaction of two *semiospheres*, the cultural memory first makes an impact on the perception and identification of self-culture, then generates some sort of expectation or stereotypes towards outer cultural texts, therefore, influences the way of outputting internal cultural texts and the way of inputting outer cultural texts. Fan Ying (2009) proposed the six-factor model of national image formation: self-perception, preference point, construed image, actual image external perception, projected image and desired future image. He argues that cultural identity is formed by the former three factors (2009: 13). Considering the three factors in the scope of *semiosphere*, they are all the products of the core structure. Interestingly, he excluded the future desired image from the cultural identity formation, but from Lotman’s point of view, it is one of the three main self-model that employs in the self-description process, which contributes to the self-consciousness of a *semiosphere*. Anyhow, the core lays in the central place of the discussion of the subjectivity of nation branding.

Another important perspective which Lotman’s theory brings is that *semiosphere* is not just a mechanic sum of all individual texts but also with the close relationship they have with each other, in other words, similar to biosphere, *semiosphere* is a functional whole. This is agreed by Nöth as he writes:

Lotman's concept of *semiosphere* is not merely a synonym of culture. The metaphor of the semiotic space that constitutes the *semiosphere* refers to culture and its semiotic environment. On the one hand, the languages or codes of a culture are 'a cluster of semiotic spaces and their boundaries,' on the other hand, the *semiosphere* is the space in which these languages are 'immersed,' and 'it can only function by interaction with that space' (Lotman 1990: 123–125) (Nöth 2006: 260).

In this sense, the study of *semiosphere* reveals the mechanism of how the texts function in the semiotic space and how it is organized by the core structure.

2.2. Self-description

Lotman claims that the core-periphery relationship sets the dynamic development of the *semiosphere*, which is achieved through the tension between *the organized* and *the disorganized*. The organisation, in this case, is outcome by the meta-structure which sits at the core of a *semiosphere*.

The metalanguage Lotman described is that: when a structure is dominating the *semiosphere*, the self-description, understood as the mechanism “brings about a centralization and hierarchization of the semiotic space (Monticelli 2012: 66)”, which “takes place on different levels of the *semiosphere*” (Madisson 2016: 204), may begin. The process expands the dominant structure throughout the *semiosphere*, organizing the texts and structuring the perception of the texts. As Lotman emphasis that *semiosphere* is a self-referential system, self-description is both a product of subtraction of texts and a process of creating likewise grammar to coordinate texts. In other word, self-description is created by the *semiosphere* and creating the *semiosphere* at the same time.

As a crucial mechanism of inter-semiospheric communication – boundary - is “articulated and fixed by the functionality of self-description” (Madisson 2016: 206). Self-description is a universal semiotic operation by which a *semiosphere* acknowledges its own specificity and opposes itself to other, so-called outer spheres (Lotman, 2005 [1984], pp. 211-212). But the meta-structure organizes not only the description of self but also that of the other, as Lotman claims “culture not only creates its internal organization but also its own type of external disorganization” (1984: 212).

It is critical to point out that “self-description” is an “autocommunication”³ but it does not mean it is a “monologue”, in fact, Lotman has “emphasized the *communicativity* as one of the key aspects of the process of self-description” (Madisson 2016: 205) as he outlined that the meta-level of self-description always presuppose belonging in wider cultural unities. “Only by taking part in much greater whole, does it recognize the external point of view as specific to itself” (Lotman 2005 [1984], p.225). This explains why on the boundary goes the most progressive semiotic activity.

2.3. Nation Branding as a Way of Self-description

When it comes to nation branding, it always brings to the discussion that: what kind of an existence a nation is? Various scholars have different emphasis on characteristics of nation (see Fan 2008, Handayani & Rashid 2013 etc.), but when we look from the perspective of cultural semiotics, we tend to textualize all the elements mentioned by them. In another word, we can see nation as a sum of texts and a sum of the relationship between the texts. In the light of such agreement, we then are able to conceptualize a nation into a *semiosphere*, consistently, nation branding as a way of self-description of the national *semiosphere*. Because as mentioned above, nation branding is a process of selecting cultural texts aiming at constructing desired image of the country. Considering the topic with the Lotmanian idea, when conceptualizing a nation as a *semiosphere*, this process thus becomes a process of self-description, which systematically organizing cultural texts inside the *semiosphere* to create a discursive unification. A description of the culture is an imagination exist among mediums. A positive national image leads to a good nation brand, the competition among nations in the branding field, thus, became a battle of descriptions, which I will elaborate in the next chapter.

³ Autocommunication, a circular form of communication with oneself through which a message is enhanced by recoding, thus helping to redefine the identity and to raise the status of its sender. Autocommunication captures the ways in which we tell stories to ourselves, using established metanarratives, which become filled with our own data, to develop a pregnant and distinct sense of who we are (Schonle 2007: 10).

Dating back to 2008 when Ying Fan proposed a six-dimensional model of nation branding, he suggests that the following six perspectives help to clarify the nation branding processes: 1) How does Nation A see itself? 2) How does nation A see Nation B? 3) What do we believe our image in the world? 4) How is Nation A actually being perceived by Nation B? 5) How is Nation A promoting itself to Nation B? 6) How does Nation A want to be perceived by Nation B? These six questions bring attention to a more specific image-identity framework: Nation's self-perception (identity), Perception of other nation(s), Construed image, Actual Image, Currently projected image and Desired future image. (Fan 2008: 6-8)

When we look deeper into the questions and find what is behind is actually the dynamic relationships between self-perception and other's perception, identity and image. They are also the topics that covered by self-description: first, the self-description cultivates the boundary which sets the identity; second, the meta-structure determines how a semiosphere describe texts inside and outside the boundary, these formed the self-perception and the perception of other; third, the self-model has great impact on self-organization and self-presentation.

The two sets of relationships are also discussed by Handayani & Rashid (2013), in which they conceptualized the interaction of each object in figure 3 below.

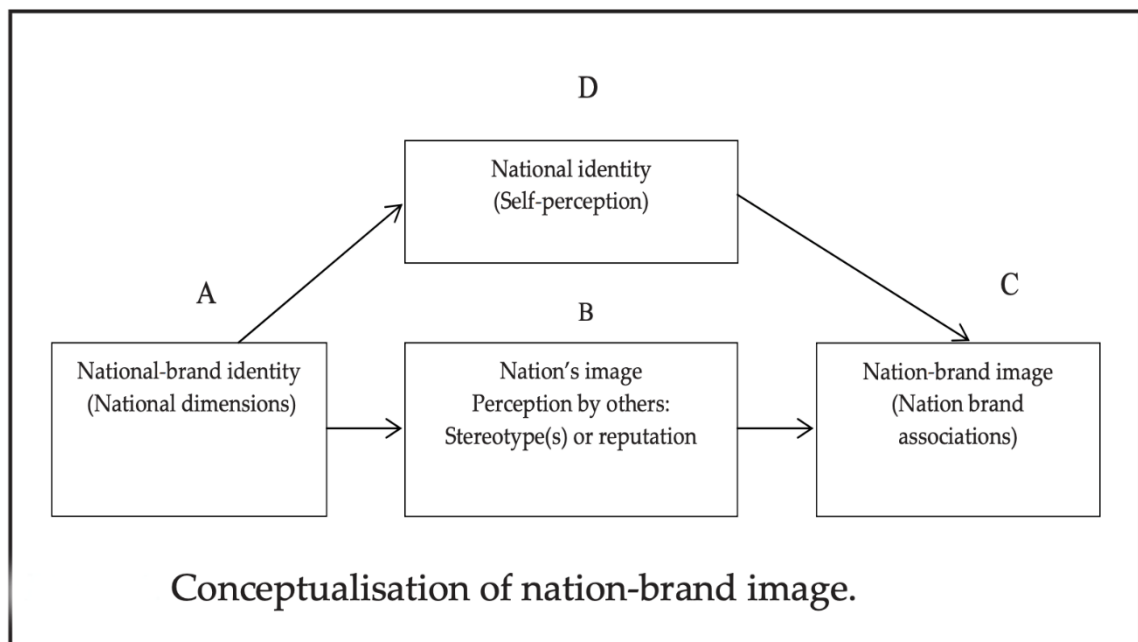


Figure 3 (Handayani & Rashid 2013: 178)

The figure discussed the four objects under two concepts: nation and nation brand, combined with two dimensions: identity and image, the model explain the interrelation of the four objects. However, if we consider national semiosphere as a whole, we then put all four objects into one umbrella, the four objects clarified by Handayani & Rashid are exactly corresponding to the four objects proposed in the previous chapter: self-observed identity, self-declared identity, self-perceived image, self-presented image. Self-observed identity and self-perceived image constitute the nation, and the self-declared identity and self-declared-image form the nation brand. The four objects are derived from the process of self-description, therefore, we can say that nation branding is a way of self-description.

The globalization driven by Western economic force has empowered the discursive influence of Western media. If we consider the world as an ultra *semiosphere*, in the center lies the discursive power structure established by the Western world. The Western meta-structure therefore, instinctively tries to organize the global *semiosphere* by “canonizing or eliminating specific texts”. By nation branding itself, even Western countries do not intentionally sabotage the image of another part of the world, it automatically creates some kind of dualistic comparison: good/bad, developed/developing. To the fact that Western world has the strongest discursive power in hand, creating the disorganization around its boundary seems intuitively according to Lotman’s theory.

Therefore, being located at the periphery of the global *semiosphere* and outside of the boundary of the Western *semiosphere*, nation branding of China in this sense, functions not only by creating its own self-description but also by confronting the forced description by meta-structures of the Western *semiosphere*. During the process of inter-semiospheric communication, nation branding goes beyond mere dialogue between different meta-structures, but also the interaction between the sets of “the organized” and “the disorganized”. Due to the demonization of Chinese image by the Western self-description, when two *semiospheres* encounter, it automatically activates a stronger self-description of Chinese *semiosphere*. This is also emphasized by Lotman as he described that after entering a specific relationship with other unities of culture, a cultural unity begins to cultivate its own originality (Madisson 2016: 207). Accordingly, the dynamics between two meta-structures do not dissolve at the encountering but add to tension in between by amplifying the need for self-identification.

As argued above, the ongoing propaganda style of Chinese nation branding is not entirely a historical issue, but also a product of contemporary cultural dynamics. The fact that nation branding strategy is led by the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the CPC may constitute one of the reasons that the ongoing dilemma of Chinese nation branding. But based on that, nation branding in China goes beyond a marketing issue to a political course, since it functions as not only nation branding, but also nation building, which are two integral parts of self-description. The seemingly “monologue” is exactly the result of “dialogue” because self-description is more than a “monologue” kind of autocommunication but it also needs to be considered in a greater context. This feature of structural “openness” is also reflected in the “boundary” that is settled by the self-description.

Due to the gap of development between China and the West, nation branding has different functionality in respective conditions. The West has already passed the stage of nation building, therefore, the self-model employed in the Western *semiosphere* is “the ideal cultural self-consciousness”; however, in the case of China, as a developing country and an emerging power, the self-description in this stage are more complex. China’s nation branding is incorporated into the nation building process.

Thus, nation branding in this paper is understood as a way of self-description. If we understand the meta-mechanism behind current Chinese nation branding situation, we then are able to conduct analysis on the various texts generated by the government and find how the patterns are influenced by the meta-structure. With the string of the meta-structure, we are able to grasp the mobility of texts and symbols within the *semiosphere*.

3. RESEARCH MATERIALS AND METHODOLOGY

To research the aforementioned questions, it requires a close look at the texts involved in the construction of national identity and image. The institution that holds the responsibility has entitled as The State Council Information Office (SCIO) of the People's Republic of China and The International Communication Office of the CPC Central Committee, depending on the occasion it presents. Thus, the nation branding strategy is inevitably associated with official discourse from the beginning, and analysis on official documents, accordingly, gives research point of the nation branding strategy of China.

Analysis on major policies is one of the common starting point of research on official documents, however, numerous policies and accordant documents have been issued in the past decade. Going deeper, it is necessary to find out the core which extended into various policies. The Five-Year Plan, in this dissertation, is considered as the one.

The five-year-plans give guidance to the social and economic development which largely subtracted as the organizing and selecting rules within the nation, which ideally, would have significant impact on its identity and image formation. The Chinese delegates' speeches at the UN General Assembly are the direct conveyors of the self-representation of Chinese authority. All materials are limited within the period of 2008 to 2018, since Chinese government raised the awareness of national image from the 2008 Olympic Game held in Beijing.

Hence, this chapter will focus on the introduction of why the materials are selected and how they will be analyzed.

3.1. Introduction of the Five-Year Plan

Language usage is largely associated with social context. The use of language is influenced by the social development and imposed impact on it at the same time. Language, therefore, representing the social development status, especially the political texts directly linked with social development.

The Five-Year Plan is initially used by Soviet Union as a conformation of economy to ideology with the emphasis on “socialist characteristics”. China has adopted it since 1953, and kept designing *the Plans* every five years in accordance to its economic growth and social development. Named as *The Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development of the People’s Republic of China* (refer as “*the Plan*” or “*the Plans*”), *the Plans* play a significant role in China’s strategic vision and development philosophy. *The Plan* constitutes the most important government document of China (Shiu and Lam, 2004), and the key indicators of the directions and changes in developing philosophy (Fan 2006).

Despite the belief that *the Plans* are demonstrations of the government’s “powerful control” over the economy, Fan (2006) admits that two features suggest that *the plan* is in transition to a “more open and consultative process”. First feature is the change of name from *jihua* to *guihua* which the latter “more often used to describe the function of planning agencies that that of the government”; second feature is the extensive consultation prior to the ratification.

Hu Angang (2015) directly refers “the national plan” as “the people’s plan” to underlines that people lays at the core of the strategic act, as he writes “the national Five-Year Plan is a plan for human capital investment for all people, and a plan for improving the development, entrepreneurship, and innovation capabilities of all people.”

However, regardless of *the Plans* as implementation of the state’s vision or the reflection of people’s wish, *the Plans* will exert great leadership toward China’s development; the key question is how the leadership is achieved. This is related to the change of the name from *jihua* to *guihua* which implies a less centralized planning mode, as Kwan (2005) claims that “achieving the goals set forth under the new five-year plan will take more than just the will of the government.”

Kwan (2005) and Fan (2006) explained the main changes in the functions of *the Plans* tied to its shift. This includes the change from detailed planning to much broader development directions and macro guidance; drastic decreasing of quantitative goals and increasing on major principles and priorities; and the well-rounded scope of citizen's total wellbeing as compare to economic preference of the past *Plans*.

Furthermore, *the Plans* as a serious, highly regulated and authorized political texts, are not only mere product of its social context, but also the important reflection of the political agenda that guides the path of the nation. From central government to local government and institutions are committed in reproductions of localized and specified *Plans* in respondent to the national *Plan*. (Yan 2019) Their accordant work is also guided by the *plan*. A simple metaphor of mainstay and beacon can explain the functions of *the Plans*.

The *Plans*, therefore, become an aggregate of few key aspects and accordant rules which largely represents the identity and construed image of the period. With the new guideline function of *the Plans* that accentuated by the government, the aforementioned macro guidance, principles and priorities that covered all around the society, consequently, serve as the meta-structures which organises the Chinese *semiosphere* by “canonizing or elimination specific texts”.

Hence, chapter 4 will focus on the exploration and interpretation of the official discourse framed in *the Plans* by answering following questions: 1) What are the key aspects and accordant rules in *the Plans*? 2) How do they function as meta-structure? 3) How does the chronical change on national identity revealed in *the Plans*?

3.2. Introduction of the Speeches

This subchapter make the selection of statements of Chinese leaders and delegators at the UN General Assembly for three reasons. First, natural language is considered one of the fundamental meaning-making system by Lotman, thus, the written texts, as the direct production of language, deserve prior attention. Second, the public speeches of the national

leaders reflect the self-perception of the country the top leadership and influence the recognition of country to the bottom. Third, UN General Assembly is one of the most important international scenario where world leaders gather to discuss the ongoing global issue, and one of the biggest stage to represent a country. Speeches in such scenario are carefully articulated to deliver the core messages of a country, both its self-perception and self-representation. Hence, the author is convinced that the statements in the UN General Assembly are the valuable materials for the topic of this paper.

The selection of speeches covers the last eleven batches of UN General Assembly (63th – 73th) from 2008 to 2018, consisting of 11 speeches in total. The speakers include the former Chairman Hu Jintao, former Prime Minister Wen Jiabao, former Minister of Foreign Affairs Yang Jiechi, present Chairman Xi Jinping, present Prime Minister Li Keqiang, present Minister of Foreign Affairs Wang Yi. Details are listed below:

Number / Time	Scenario	Speech Title / Speaker
Speech 1 24.09.2008	The 63 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	坚持改革开放，坚持和平发展 (温家宝，中华人民共和国国务院总理) <i>A China Committed to Reform and Opening-up And Peaceful Development</i> H.E. Wen Jiabao Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China
Speech 2 23.09.2009	The 64 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	同舟共济，共创未来 (胡锦涛，中华人民共和国主席) <i>United as One and Work for a Bright Future</i> H.E. Hu Jintao President of the People's Republic of China
Speech 3 23.09.2010	The 65 th General Debate of the	认识一个真实的中国 (温家宝，中华人民共和国国务院总理) <i>Getting to Know the Real China</i>

Number / Time	Scenario	Speech Title / Speaker
	United Nations General Assembly	H.E. Wen Jiabao Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China
Speech 4 23.09.2011	The 66 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	共迎挑战，共同发展 (杨洁篪，中华人民共和国外交部长) <i>Work Together to Meet Challenges and Pursue Common Development</i> H.E Yang Jiechi Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China
Speech 5 27.09.2012	The 67 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	携手推动各国普遍安全与共同发展 (杨洁篪，中华人民共和国外交部长) <i>Work Together to Achieve Common Security and Development</i> H.E. Yang Jiechi Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China
Speech 6 27.09.2013	The 68 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	站在新起点上的中国 (王毅，中华人民共和国外交部长) <i>China at a New Starting Point</i> H.E. Wang Yi Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China
Speech 7 27.09.2014	The 69 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	共谋和平发展，共守法制正义 (王毅，中华人民共和国外交部长) <i>Jointly Pursue Peace and Development and Uphold Rule of Law and Justice</i> H.E. Mr. Wang Yi Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China

Number / Time	Scenario	Speech Title / Speaker
Speech 8 28.09.2015	The 70 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	携手构建合作共赢新伙伴，同心打造人类命运共同体 (习近平，中华人民共和国主席) <i>Working Together to Forge a New Partnership of Win-win Cooperation and Create a Community of Shared Future for Mankind</i> H.E. Xi Jinping President of the People's Republic of China
Speech 9 21.09.2016	The 71 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	携手建设和平稳定可持续发展的世界 (李克强，中华人民共和国国务院总理) <i>Work for a World of Peace, Stability and Sustainable Development</i> H.E. Li Keqiang Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China
Speech 10 21.09.2017	The 72 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	人人得享和平与发展 (王毅，中华人民共和国外交部长) <i>Peace and Development for All</i> H.E. Mr. Wang Yi Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China
Speech 11 28.09.2018	The 73 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	坚持多边主义，共谋和平发展 (王毅，中华人民共和国国务委员兼外交部长) <i>Multilateralism, Shared Peace and Development</i> H.E. Wang Yi State Councillor and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China

3.3. Methodology

3.3.1. *Research Framework*

Emphasising the subjectivity of nation branding will bring in the inclusiveness of self-observation that pointed out by Luhmann (1995), namely, a pre-condition before self-description that defines the information which is been communicated. The self-observation, aligned with self-description are the key terms that enable the integration of nation and nation brand under one umbrella, because self-observation defines what is been communicated, and self-description organizes the communication (Madisson 2016: 205). In another word, self-observation defines the precondition of nation branding, while self-description executes them.

This paper draws a line in between, to specify the four objects. Therefore, the author defines four research objects: self-observed identity, self-perceived image, self-declared identity and self-presented image. (see figure 4)

The four research objects consist of two sets of concepts: nation and nation brand. The fundamental difference is the target audience. Self-observed identity and self-perceived image are internal, suggesting what a nation think it should do and what it will become. Meanwhile, the self-declared and self-presented image fell into the dynamics between the nation and its external audience. The self-declared identity is what the nation claims it will do, and the self-presented image is what the nation wants the external audience think it is. For example, the economic system of China is known as the socialist market economic system with Chinese characteristics, in the nation building process, the emphasis is drew on “market economic system” because the Chinese communist party knew it is necessary to introduce the free market, while at the nation branding process it underlines “socialist”, “Chinese characteristics”, because it wants to remain the socialist identity; the difference between self-perceived image and self-presented image is that self-perceived image includes broader scope of information than self-presented image, due to the fact that self-presented image inevitably contains intention and design. In another word, self-perceived image is what does Chinese government sees China, and self-presented image is what does Chinese

government want others to see China. The difference is not just that self-presented image often omits the negative part of the information, but also involve the anticipation gap. For instance, mobile payment technology and many other tech-innovations in China are now leading the world. This is well-illustrated in the official documents, while absent from promotional materials. In the globalization context, “Made in China” is still widely associated with cheap price and low quality. Though the government put efforts to show a better image of Chinese production in the first ever national promotional video, but the outcome was not satisfying. In general, the promotional materials demonstrate great preference to cultural elements which are known, sometimes even unknown, to the audience, one reason of this obsession is that the longevity of civilization is largely associated with the legitimacy and soft power in Chinese mindset. Therefore, distinguishing the four objects helps to draw a clearer perspective on researching nation branding with specific context.

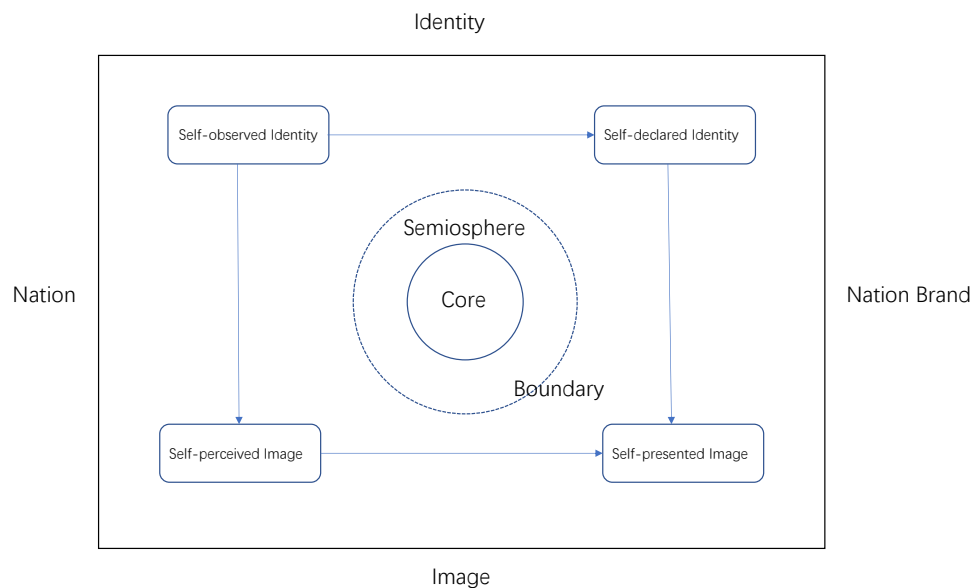


Figure 4 Cultural semiotic model of nation branding

When we discuss the four research objects, it is commonly to ignore the attributes of the concepts themselves. A great portion of literature tends to focus only on the relationship between nation and nation brand to explain the nation branding process, which neglected the internal process of self-observation, a process which a nation constructs the understanding of itself. What should be underlined here is that, the relationship between how a nation understands itself and what a nation wants to be understood. As we mentioned earlier, how

a nation understand itself is largely missed from nation branding studies, which neglected the fundamental part of the entire discussion.

The fact is, a nation's identity and image is frequently associated with the leadership of the country, especially in the case of China where the leadership exerts great influence on the country. It is common that we often neglect the subtle transition from the leadership's identity to the national identity, since the leadership takes the role of the spokesman of the nation almost all the time.

Hence, a new dynamic of leadership and Nation should be taken into consideration, because the transition from self-perceived image to self-presented image entails the self-observation and self-description process, which directly affect how the leadership position itself and what message it wants to deliver to the domestic and international audiences. That is to say, self-observation and self-description is a process between both identity vs. image and leadership vs. nation. This further explains how the leadership of a nation has great impact on the formation of meta-structure within a semiosphere. Thus, in this model, I invite all of us to take a look at the dynamics between the leadership and the nation first, to discuss how the understanding of the China towards itself is constructed, then to discuss how China conduct its nation branding practices.

3.3.2. *The Corpus-assisted Critical Discourse Analysis*

Critical Discourse Analysis originated in the Western linguistic circle in late 1970s. The book *Language and Control* written by Fowler, Kress and Trew (1979) first introduced the methodology as critical linguistics. Two books published in 1989, *Language and Power* by Fairclough and *Language, Power and Ideology* by Wodak, brought the CDA into academic discussion. However, it is until 1991, when the CDA scholars gathered in Amsterdam to facilitate the discussion on the relevant questions regarding formulating CDA as a research theory and methodology, which marked the official birth of CDA.

Despite the accumulating numbers of research that applied CDA on various discourse analysis, the methodology itself is facing some criticism, too. Michael Stubbs (1997) pointed

out that one of the fundamental presumption of CDA is the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, which remains unsolved. However, CDA does not provide enough evidence to prove that “language might affect habitual thought”, thus, stuck in the circularity. Due to the disadvantage of technological development, early CDA usage in research often involves subjective selection on analysed material, which considered as one of the setbacks of the methodology. Henderson contended that there is other criticism on the CDA about the heavy dependence of microanalysis of linguistic materials and social theories. Nonetheless, he admits the “integrating analysis at the macro level of social structure with analysis at the micro level of social action” consists one of the advantages of CDA (2005: 11).

Hardt-Mautner (1995) first combined the CDA with quantitative research method such as corpus analysis to respond the criticism towards CDA for its subjective judgment based on small scale of analysed materials. By building a linguistic corpus, large amount of authentic language materials can be objectively scrutinized by algorithms with pre-set rules. Combination with qualitative analysis makes it possible to find the objective patterns of language use, therefore, enabled a deeper interpretation on ideology and discourse rooted in the language applies in different contexts. The methodology mainly focuses on the examination of word frequency, key wordlist, concordance, collocations and context to investigate the inner meaning.

3.3.3. *The Analysis Process*

3.3.3.1. *For the Five-Year Plans*

Observed corpora:

The target corpora are built with three Five-Year Plans respectively: *Observed corpus 115* is based on the 11th Five-Year Plan (2006-2010), *Observed corpus 125* is based on the 12th Five-Year Plan (2010-2015), and *Observed corpus 135* is based on the 13th Five-Year Plan (2016-2021).

All the three Five-Year Plans are drawing form the official website of the Chinese government. The original *pdf*. file is converted into *txt*. format.

Period	Source	Tokens	Types
2006-2010	<i>The Eleventh Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development of the People' s Republic of China</i>	21113	3946
2010-2015	<i>The Twelfth Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development of the People' s Republic of China</i>	23648	3848
2016-2021	<i>The Thirteenth Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development of the People' s Republic of China</i>	37500	5547
Sum:		82261	13338

Table 1

Software:

This paper use NLPIR- ICTCLAS Chinese Lexical Analysis System as the analysing tool. Also known as the Natural Language Processing & Information Retrieval Sharing Platform, the system is developed by Doctor Huaping Zhang, the leading scientists of Chinese Academy of Science.

The paper chose this platform because of the complexity and ambiguity of Chinese vocabulary is well-dealt with this system. The system is one of the leading platforms that

provide Chinese word segmentation, which is required for Chinese texts to be processed in computational analysis.

Process:

The paper imports the three corpora into NLPiR to conduct respective calculation, including word frequency, new term extraction and keywords list. Based on the algorithm of the system, we receive three result files for each analysed corpus, named Wordlist, New Term List, Keyword List. The author compiles all the results into Excel and creates three sheets by the categorization of Frequent words, New Terms and Keywords.

In the sheets, the author uses *115*, *125*, *135* to refer the 11th, 12th and 13th Five-Year Plan. Following analysis is based on the data collected in the sheets. The keywords will be outlined and searched in the NLPiR to research its concordance of the original texts.

3.3.3.2. For the Chinese delegators' Speeches at the UN General Assembly

Unlike the Five-Year Plans serve more informative functions, the Chinese delegator's speeches at the UN General Assembly entails persuasive actions, which not only actively construct its identity and image but also interact with its social changes. Therefore, instead of qualitative-assisted CDA, the analysis of the speeches will, therefore, turn back to focus on qualitative, text-centred analysis which applies the Fairclough's three-dimensional framework: text - discourse practice – sociocultural practice.

Starting from textual analysis, there will be examination on key words, voice, metaphors. Then to the analysis of discursive practice focusing on inspection of the intertextuality of the texts. Finally, to the analysis of sociocultural practice which target the its impact on the identity and image formation.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLANS OF CHINA

In Lotman's point of view, the cultural texts of a semiosphere cultivated the meta-structure which in return, shaping the cultural texts. Thus, the interpretation of cultural texts can go deep into the isomorphism of the text and the meta-structure, furthermore, restore the self-model. Language as the most common and fundamental modelling system in Lotman's emphasis, the analysis of language texts, therefore, is of primary importance.

This chapter follows the logic of "text-structure-core", with the framework of "description-analysis-interpretation", to proceed the discussion of the metalanguage and self-model of the Chinese semiosphere. The author will introduce the presentation and variation of the frequent words, keywords and new terms, combined with social background and textual context.

4.1. Word Frequency

Frequency can refer to the number of time that words or structures occur in a text or in a corpus. Word frequency is one of the important index of the word using in discourse construction, which suggests the general focal points of the governmental concerns.

By putting all three corpora into one analysis, the NLPPIR system generated a list of most frequent words used in the Five-Year plans. Due to the scale limitation, this paper sorted the top 50 words respectively to analyse. The 50 words topped the list of three Plans, though in different order, concentrate mainly on "*social development*" and "*economic growth*", which are achieved through the construction of society and institution;

development of service, management, technology. It is clear that “construction” is placed at the primary task for China in the past decade.

The word frequency of each corpus are not directly comparable due to the variation of its corpus size. However, the following list provides a straight outline of the word usage within respective corpus, therefore, still inform basic understanding. To extract more accurate keyword, we need to put the weightiness of words into consideration, which will be included in the following analysis.

Word / Part of Speech / Frequency			Word / Frequency		
115	125	135	115	125	135
建设 vn 250	建设 vn 263	建设 vn 436	construction 250	construction 263	construction 436
加强 v 212	加强 v 246	推进 vi 319	strengthen 212	strengthen 246	advance 319
发展 v 211	发展 vn 240	发展 vn 301	develop 211	development 240	development 301
发展 vn 197	发展 v 237	加强 v 298	development 197	develop 237	strengthen 298
社会 n 146	服务 vn 225	服务 vn 293	society 146	service 225	service 293
提高 v 134	推进 vi 212	发展 v 250	promote 134	advance 212	develop 250
完善 v 133	完善 v 212	完善 v 243	improve 133	improve 212	improve 243
推进 vi 132	社会 n 195	实施 v 236	advance 132	society 195	implement 236
资源 n 130	提高 v 177	制度 n 235	resource 130	promote 177	institution 235
经济 n 126	管理 vn 164	体系 n 223	economics 126	management 164	system 223
技术 n 123	加快 v 161	加快 v 211	technology 123	fasten 161	fasten 211
农村 n 121	制度 n 161	社会 n 208	countryside 121	institution 161	society 208
制度 n 113	经济 n 160	机制 n 189	institution 113	economics 160	mechanism 189
产业 n 112	体系 n 150	建立 v 176	industry 112	system 150	build 176
服务 vn 109	机制 n 137	提高 v 174	service 109	mechanism 137	promote 174
管理 vn 104	产业 n 128	健全 v 165	management 104	industry 128	regulate 165
能力 n 97	健全 v 127	工程 n 165	ability 97	regulate 127	engineering 165
区域 n 95	能力 n 117	安全 an 163	region 95	ability 117	security 163
企业 n 95	建立 v 114	新 a 161	enterprise 95	build 114	new 161
体系 n 92	资源 n 107	经济 n 160	system 92	resource 107	economics 160
建立 v 90	文化 n 107	产业 n 160	build 90	culture 107	industry 160
地区 n 89	公共 b 104	国家 n 152	area 89	public 104	nation 152
促进 v 84	改革 vn 103	城市 n 150	boost 84	reform 103	city 150
机制 n 83	企业 n 100	推动 v 146	mechanism 83	enterprise 100	boost 146
重点 n 82	促进 v 95	设施 n 145	emphasis 82	boost 95	installation 145
改革 vn 82	农村 n 94	生态 n 137	reform 82	countryside 94	ecology 137
工程 n 81	环境 n 94	技术 n 137	engineering 81	environment 94	technology 137
基础 n 79	市场 n 93	管理 vn 136	infrastructure 79	market 93	management 136
政府 n 79	新 a 89	地区 n 135	government 79	new 89	area 135
开发 vn 79	实施 v 88	能力 n 135	empolder 79	imoplement 88	ability 135
设施 n 78	政策 n 88	资源 n 133	installation 78	policy 88	resource 133
环境 n 76	技术 n 86	企业 n 133	environment 76	technology 86	enterprise 133
市场 n 76	水平 n 84	创新 vn 132	market 76	level 84	innovation 132
城市 n 76	积极 ad 83	文化 n 128	city 76	positive 83	culture 128
健全 v 74	推动 v 81	支持 v 127	regulate 74	stimulate 81	support 127
安全 an 74	重点 n 78	环境 n 125	security 74	emphasis 78	environment 125
体制 n 73	体制 n 76	基础 n 125	system 73	system 76	foundation 125
文化 n 72	地区 n 76	重点 n 125	culture 72	area 76	emphasis 125
加快 v 72	政府 n 75	公共 b 121	fasten 72	government 75	public 121
实施 v 69	创新 vn 74	全面 ad 119	implement 69	innvation 74	rounded 119
生态 n 66	农业 n 73	开展 v 117	ecology 66	agriculture 73	launch 117
保护 vn 64	坚持 v 72	农业 n 116	protection 64	persist 72	agriculture 116
政策 n 64	安全 an 71	网络 n 112	policy 64	security 71	internet 112
公共 b 64	基本 a 71	教育 vn 109	public 64	fundamental 71	education 109
建设 v 63	规划 n 69	政策 n 105	construct 63	plan 69	policy 105
教育 vn 63	保障 vn 69	保障 vn 102	education 63	garentee 69	garentee 102
结构 n 61	国家 n 69	金融 n 101	structure 61	nation 69	finance 101
积极 ad 61	基础 n 68	国际 n 100	positive 61	foundation 68	internation 100
国家 n 61	教育 vn 67	市场 n 98	nation 61	education 67	market 98
水平 n 60	科技 n 67	水平 n 96	level 60	scientific technology 67	level 96

Table 2

4.2. Keyword List

Keyword analysis is one of the common steps of text analysis. In corpus analysis, keywords are not counted based on subjective selection but computational statistics achieved through comparison with reference corpus.

The paper presents below the top 20 keywords from each corpus. We can find the common concerns are concentrated on *development*, *construction* and *service*. This represents the fundamental tasks of Chinese government is to lead the development and the construction of the country. Few other keywords also speak for the strategic path that Chinese government has taken, mainly through resource mobilizing, technology advancing, industrial reform and urbanization to achieve the goals.

Service reflects the government-people relationship, as the government positioning itself “the server of people”. This also reflected on the concerns of Countryside and Agriculture. Along with farmers, these three have a term called “*Three Rural Issues*”, which constitutes a major task for government work. This is tackled by emphasis on the protection and education towards farmers. This we will also see from the new term analysis in the following part.

Despite the commonality of development and construction in three Plans, there is also variations of priority, and ways to achieve the goals. The dual structure of City-Rural area consists one of the fundamental dynamics that drives the development. In the 11th Five-Year Plan, countryside, prior to city, is one of the major concerns of governmental work, while in the latter two Plans, we can see the ranking of city, and its relevant public service and infrastructure are topping the list. This is due to the rapid demographic urbanization caused pressure for developing respondent service and infrastructure. The rising of the term *Basic Public Service*, *City* and *Infrastructure* on the keyword list of the 12th and 13th Five-Year Plans indicates the dramatic change in the rural and urban landscapes of China. The ascending urban population requests extra attention to the urban construction in both hardware and software, namely, the public facilities and public services.

Besides, the conception of construction has expanded along with the implementation of successive Five-Year Plans. As we can see from the list, 国际 *Internation*, is introduced

to the top 20 keywords in both 12th and 13th Five-Year Plans. This implies the focus is not limited in domestic development but also the internationalisation of the nation. This requires the attention to both hard power and soft power, which are represented by the innovation and culture that both topped the list (see figure 4).

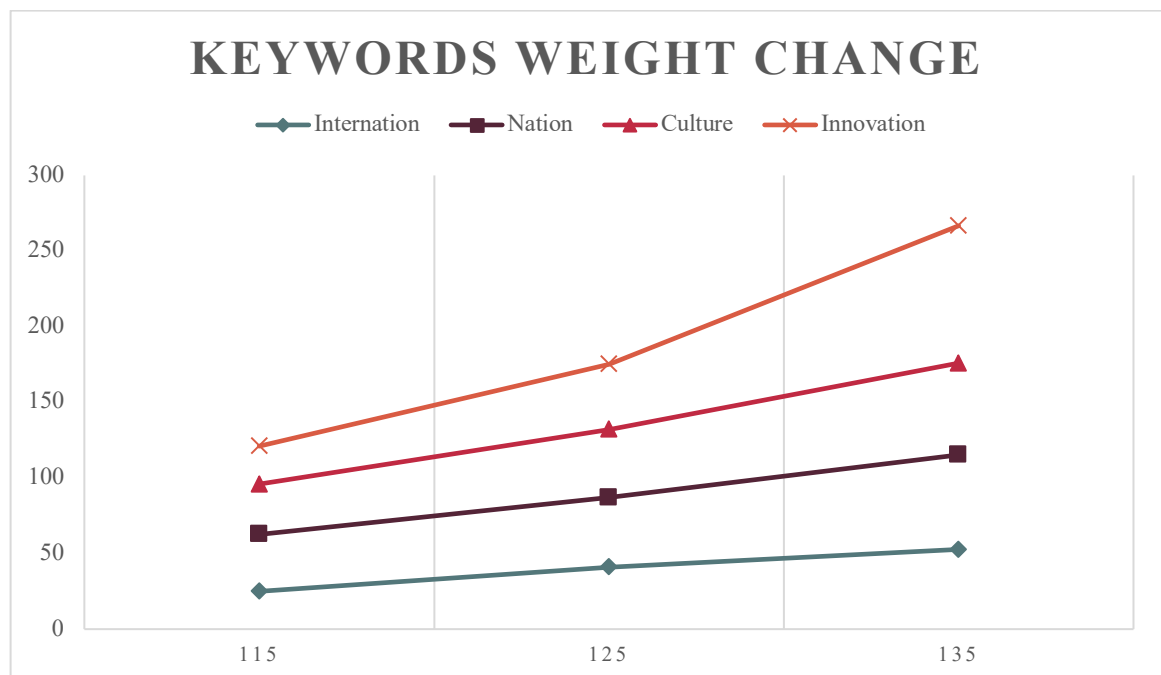


Figure 4

The change of ranking seemingly reflects the change of priority in the development process only, however, if we go deeper into the discussion, we see that it actually speaks out the different issues emerged in different developing stage and the ways of coping with it. Furthermore, it outlines the heterogeneity of development philosophy applied in respective period.

From table 3 we see that Urban-Rural development consists the central topic of two periods, another set of dynamic relationship is the resource exploitation and environment protection. What these two dynamic relationships signified is *the Scientific Outlook for Development*. The Outlook is the development philosophy brought up by the Communist Party led by Chairman Hu Jintao in 2003 and written into the Revised Constitution of the Communist Party of China in 2007. The outlook places development at the top of all missions, and pursue it with human-oriented, integrated and sustainable approaches. The outlook emphasises the development of human themselves and the coordination and harmony

of the development, which includes the human-nature relationship, urban-rural development and regional development balance.

The 12th Five-Year Plan serves as a connecting link between the preceding plan and the following plan. The first two plans constitute the two stages of development under the guidance of the Scientific Outlook for Development, the last two plans demonstrate a new mode of development. This is suggested by the drastic ascending of *Innovation* as a keyword in the 13th Five-Year Plan.

The new development philosophy is initiated by the Chairman Xi Jinping at the Fifth Plenary Session of the Eighteenth Central Committee of the CPC in 2015, summed as “the innovative, coordinated, green, open and shared development”. As compared to the preceding plans, “Innovation and International” as two newly added keywords, greatly reflect the new direction of where China is going.

115				125				135			
Word	English	Weight	Frequency	Word	English	Weight	Frequency	Word	English	Weight	Frequency
发展	develop	92.55	408	发展	development	118.25	477	发展	development	156.05	551
建设	construct	78.75	313	服务	service	68.49	234	建设	construction	135.16	527
开发	empolder	50.36	137	建设	construction	60.89	282	服务	service	96.23	329
资源	resource	47.71	130	社会	society	60.2	195	创新	innovation	90.81	226
企业	enterprise	46.74	95	经济	economics	53.06	160	城市	city	68.89	151
经济	economics	45.06	126	企业	enterprise	51.8	100	经济	economics	65.72	161
农村	countryside	44.42	121	产业	industry	48.93	128	企业	enterprise	63.33	134
服务	service	44.01	114	基本公共服务	basic public service	47.46	23	国家	nation	62.48	152
社会	society	43.18	146	资源	resource	46.78	107	产业	industry	62.15	162
技术	technology	43.11	123	国家	nation	46.09	69	社会	society	62.13	208
城市	city	40.86	76	市场	market	45.08	93	文化	culture	60.7	128
保护	protection	40.61	93	文化	culture	45.02	107	技术	technology	59.64	137
市场	market	39.37	76	管理	management	44.18	178	重点	emphasis	53.67	141
政府	government	39.17	79	创新	innovation	43.09	119	国际	international	52.73	100
产业	industry	38.43	112	国际	international	40.96	65	综合	complex	52.03	101
国家	nation	37.62	61	地区	area	40.1	76	资源	resource	51.75	133
重点	emphasis	36.39	98	环境	environment	39.83	94	农业	agriculture	51.63	116
管理	management	35.19	110	技术	technology	39.09	86	基础设施	infrastructure	51.08	67
综合	complex	33.44	50	保障	garentee	39.03	96	市场	market	50.86	98
文化	culture	33.3	72	提高	promote	38.51	177	保障	garentee	50.65	133

Table 3

4.3. New Terms

As we mentioned above, language production is largely associated with its social context. New terms, in this case, reflect the self-adaptation of the texts to the social change. By interpreting the new terms appeared in the Plans, we can find the direction of social change and the regulations that government enforced onto the organization of the society.

From the list of the 11th Five-Year Plan, we can see a clear pattern that the new terms are concentrating on environment protection (*restricted area for exploitation, prohibited area for exploitation, ecological function zone, and hazardous waste*), urbanization (*construction of infrastructure, urbanization, urban agglomeration*) and human development (*vocational education, rural labour, secondary vocational education and talent*). This three sectors are closely related to a term that is also on the list, which is introduced already in the last subchapter, that is *the Scientific Outlook for Development*.

From the list of 125, it goes to the second stage of the 115 planning. The rapid urbanization leads to the flourishing urban population that calls for urgent updating of urban *infrastructure* and *public service* that requires a better management of *construction land* and *functioning positioning*. The sustainability of development and economic growth also request an industrial transition to upgrade the current mode of production, which means the transition from labor-intensive industry to technology-intensive industry, which is achieved through the regulation of energy conservation and emission reduction.

As for the list of 135, we see the successive concerns regarding rural development and urban construction. Nevertheless, what is besides the urban-rural dynamics is the dramatic increasing attention on innovations such as *Internet Plus, Internet of Things, E-commerce*, as also related with *emerging industries* and *key technologies*.

115			
Word	English	Weight	Frequency
限制开发区域	restricted area for exploitation	32.66	11
基础设施建设	construction of infrastructure	30.81	16
自主创新能力	capacity of independent innovation	29.65	13
禁止开发区域	prohibited area for exploitation	24.65	9
城镇化	urbanization	23.53	21
职业教育	vocational education	22.27	12
生态功能区	ecological function zone	20.47	16
城市群	urban agglomeration	20.16	10
自主知识产权	independent intellectual property right	17.69	8
科学发展观	Scientific Outlook on Development	16.42	8
农村劳动力	rural labour	14.91	6
中等职业教育	secondary vocational education	13.8	2
人才队伍	talent	13.28	7
稳步推进	steady progress	13.14	6
危险废物	hazardous waste	12.88	5

125			
Word	English	Weight	Frequency
基本公共服务	basic public service	47.46	23
主体功能区	Major Function-Oriented Zones	35.77	16
战略性新兴产业	strategic emerging industry	27.27	9
基础设施建设	construction of infrastructure	27.27	13
城市群	urban agglomeration	22.44	14
事业单位	public institution	22.27	12
达到	achieve	20.7	11
建设用地	construction land	20.29	9
节能减排	energy conservation and emission reduction	20.28	9
加快转变	fasten transition	19.81	20
经济增长	economic growth	18.72	10
大力发展	vigorous development	18.07	25
主体功能定位	major function positioning	17.29	5
东部地区	eastern area	16.56	7
转移支付	transfer payment	16.55	7

135			
Word	English	Weight	Frequency
基础设施	infrastructure	51.08	67
公共服务	public service	39.73	50
贫困地区	poor area	37.52	30
建设用地	construction land	32.33	19
新兴产业	emerging industry	29.84	22
城市群	urban agglomeration	29	24
防控	precaution	27.48	20
融合发展	integrative development	27.14	18
战略性新兴产业	strategic emerging industry	24.91	20
节能环保	energy conservation and environment protection	24.25	8
互联网+	Internet plus	24.1	12
物联网	Internet of things	22.32	10
医保	medical insurance	21.96	11
关键技术	key technology	21.94	12
电子商务	E-commerce	21.88	11

Table 4

4.4. Meta-structure and the Power Relations

The Five-Year Plan is the production of certain social condition, at the same time, influencing the social changes. When navigating the direction of social development, *the Plans* not only functions to shaping the society but also constructing and strengthening the power relationship that centred around the governance of the Communist Party of PRC. The narrative of the Plans, hence, built upon the discourse of the party as “the leader of the development”.

At the beginning of each Plan, there already connotes the expression of identity and the deceleration of position. For instance:

115: The Guidelines of the Eleventh Five-Year (2006~2010) Plan of the People’s Republic of China for the National Economic and Social Development is compiled according to the “Suggestions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Formulation of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development” and its main purpose is to clarify the national strategic intention, define the key emphasis in the government work and guide the behavior of market subject. It is the magnificent blue print of China’s economic and social development, it is the common program of action of our people of all nationalities and it is the important basis for the government to fulfil the responsibility of economic adjustment, market control and surveillance, social management and public service.

The paragraph suggests the construction of authority and guidance of the interpretation of the text. The framing implies the unconditional governance of the plan maker to the society and the absolute exactitude of the plans. Under this narrative, readers and executors of the plans are situated in a lower position, where the power of questioning the legitimacy of governance and exactitude of the plans are delimited. In the contrast, by authorizing less interpreting power, the position of the text is being levitated, accordingly, the authority of the plan maker.

In the word frequency lists and the keyword lists, we see numerous appearances of verbs such as *construct, develop, improve, implement, fasten* etc. Tracing back to the context, we will find homogenic expression such as:

115: Accelerate the change of economic growth mode.

125: Strengthen and improve macro-control.

135: Achieve significant results in innovation-driven development.

In the narration, the subjects are constantly absent from the sentences, which contains two layers of meaning-making processes: first, the use of imperative sentence goes back to the

power relation construction. Imperative tone is a way of weakening the power of receiver and strengthening the power of the actor; second, the absence of subjects is a means of amplifying the ambiguity and abstraction of the actor. By generalizing the subject, it implies that the action is no longer an individual operation or an operation within a small group of people, but a national movement. Once again, this enhance the legitimacy and authoritarian position that already built in the first layer.

The construction of “the leader of the development” discourse also embodied in the framing of the necessity of development, which is implemented through two aspects: the first is the demonstration of the achievements of the preceding plan. For instance:

135: [...] significant economic and social achievements were made, and the main tasks and targets set out in the 12th Five-year Plan were fulfilled [...] China’s economy sustained rapid growth, enabling the country to comfortably maintain [...] Major progress was achieved in economic structural adjustment.

Among the statements, the achievement are modified by adjectives such as *obvious*, *significant*, *extortionary*, *sustainable*, *profound* and *historical* to amplify the positive cognition of the accomplishments. Another aspect is more subtle, that is the description of the internal challenges and external conditions. For example:

125: [...] the imbalanced, incompatible and non-sustainable elements within China’s development, which mainly turn out to be a tightened constraint [...] an imbalance between investment and consumption, a relatively large income disparity, uncompetitive technological innovation ability, unreasonable industrial structure, vulnerable agricultural basis, a gap between rural and urban development, a coexistence of total employment pressure and structural contradiction, a significant increase in social conflicts and a still considerable number of institutional obstacles that restrain scientific development.

The seemingly depiction of objective situation, from the essence, is the construction of power relationship in a different perspective. The parallel construction with words like *unbalanced*, *weak*, *pressing*, *decrease* augmented the negative perception of external environment in the reader’s mind, symbolically emasculated the reactive ability of people towards the outer situation. In adverse, this underlines the authority and leadership of the government in the social transformation.

The strategic construction of authority and leadership can also be seen in the shift of composed identity when coping with particular social aspects. On the “*Three Rural Issues*”, words like *protect*, *assure*, *guarantee* tends to be used to form an image of protector. On the

economic growth, words like *boost*, *implement*, *promote* are more likely to be used to build an image of propeller. On the institutional aspect, words such as *regulate*, *improve*, *maintain* are adopted to create an image of vigilant. The strategic construction has pieced up a complete image of a leader in a multi-dimensional approach. Also, the illustration of positive impacts from the leader on various social development has constituted the repeated conformation to the “leader of the development” discourse.

However, within the “leader of the development” discourse, we do see that there is certain changes of the meaning and function of the identity. As mentioned above, the 11th Five-Year Plan and 13th Five-Year Plan have successive development goals but also have different perspective and priorities. Unlike the 11th Five-Year Plan that mostly focus on the domestic development, the 13th Five-Year Plan also put emphasis on technological innovation and international relations, due to the change of leadership and development philosophy.

What should also be mentioned is how the discursive power is executed and how the meta-structure actually shaping the rationale’s understanding of the nation. The Five Years Plans are functioning on two dimensions, horizontal and vertical. Horizontally, different governmental institutions adapted the goal from the national plans, and combining its regulatory territory to draft it own specific Five-Year Plans. Vertically, the plans are executed through the institutional networks, the organizational form of the governmental structure. Provincial governments adapt the major core ideas and directions to its regional versions of the Five Years Plans. The horizontal and vertical influences are not functioning separately, but more like interwoven with each other, since there are also provincial education ministry or city-level information bureaus.

However, what is clear here, is that the process which the meta-structure functions, are achieved through various other structures, such as the institutional networks that forms the governmental power. Horizontally, the meta-structure has covered various aspects of the society, vertically, the meta-structure extends the horizontal network into different degrees of spatial scale, including province, city, county, forms a highly organized structural networks, which impacts the social reality construction and shapes the understanding of the whole society.

4.5. Discussion

The distribution of interests, prioritization of problems and the allocation of resource have suggested the organising function of the meta-structure. Accordingly, the construction and communication of the discourse will be centred around the core. Based on the analysis above, we can see that the official discourse of China in the past decade is launched around “development, construction”. Specify to five years as one stage, each period employed different ways of constructing the “development” discourse.

In the first period, the discourse is constructed mainly through the dynamics of three sets of relationships, urban-rural development, human-nature relationship and human development. This is due to the guidance of *the Scientific Outlook for Development* that emphasises the human-orientation, harmony, sustainability of the development.

The second period is a connecting link between the first and the third period, but we can still see a clear successive relationship between the first two periods from the major concerns of the two plans. Though the urban-rural tension is no longer the primary issue, the urgent problem in this stage - the upgrading of urban construction and public service – is the consequence of the urban-rural dynamics. Thus, the second period can be considered as the follow-up of the preceding period. Additionally, further sustainable economic growth calls for industrial transition which led the attention to the emerging industry and technological innovation. This, however, combined with the third period that takes innovation and international development, has demonstrated a new mode of development.

Hence, we can conclude that the self-observation of China has gone through three stages:

first, China sees the deficiency of its modernization;

second, China sees the challenges brought by rapid urbanization;

third, China sees the deficiency of innovation and the importance of global development. The self-observed identities, accordingly, though has always being “the leader of the development”, but the main tasks have varied in respective stages, from advancer of modernization through stabilizer of society to innovator and global influencer. Thus, the self-perceived image of China has always been the developing country, but has gone through three stages: from a country with great urbanization and modernization, through a country with balanced domestic development, to a globalized, innovative and influential country.

The ideal nation branding strategies are destined to best communicate the identity to both the internal and external audiences. And we can assert that one crucial perspective is to surround the “development, construction” discourse to conduct systematic construction of the image that China is a country that is constantly developing. Meanwhile, in different period, the aspect of illustrating such image should be adjusted to the meta-structure of that stage.

Chinese is a high-context language with high level of ambiguity of vocabulary. Due to the complexity of Chinese language, relevant technology only has the analysis capacity on the Chinese material up to 95% correct (reference). Due to the incompatibility of two different languages, the translated version may not fully reflect the meaning of the original texts. For instance, as argued above, *jihua* and *guihua*, both translated as “plan” or “planning” in English, but contain different meanings in Chinese. However, the translation of the words is translated based on the official English version of the Plans, which is conducted with the intention of representing the original meanings as close as possible; thus, the possible linguistic incompatibility does not affect the result of this analysis in a broader sense. Further comparative research based on Chinese-English translation materials is suggested to be introduced in order to have a more accurate picture of the discourse.

The following chapter will dedicate to look nation branding practices through analysing the self-declared identity and self-presented image in the leaders’ speeches at the UN General Assembly.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECHES OF CHIENSE DELEGATES AT THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

As discussed in the previous chapter, following the Fairclough's three-dimensional framework: text - discourse practice - sociocultural practice, this chapter will conduct analysis on three layers:

- First, the analysis focus on describing the linguistic features of the text.
- Second, the discourse practice means the discourse construction and its meaning generation process, which leads to attention on the intertextuality.
- Third, the social practice means the interaction between the discourse and social context, mainly focus on the functionality of the discourse upon the constriction or reconstruction of social reality, which vice versa, counter influence the discourse itself.

This model is essential to understand the later part of the self-describing process because, 1) the self-observation has already formed a self-identity and self-image, through these two objects the meta-structure commence its organizing function on the semiosphere, 2) self-description tends to create a rigid structure within the semiosphere, but the core-periphery dynamics drives to a process where the meta-structure is influenced by the periphery. Both processes can be examined on cultural texts but not just on cultural texts. It has to bring the social context into consideration in order to reveal the authentic interwoven relations, which are explored by the CDA model.

5.1. Textual Analysis on the Speeches

5.1.1. *Keywords and metaphors*

This subchapter research on the description of China framed in the speeches of Chinese delegators at the UN General Assembly. The subchapter focus on the direct description of China.

From the table 5 we can see a clear picture of the focal point of the eleven speeches delivered at the UN General Assembly, mainly concentrating on six most frequent words such as *China, development, internation, world, peace and economics* (table 5). This is related to the facts of China itself and its role playing on the global stage, and is built on the constructed “development” discourse. To the fact that China’s development in the past decade is economic-driven, despite the internal initiative, it also requires a stable environment, which means for China at the current stage, a peaceful world and international cooperation. Based on table 5, I will further the description of the relationships behind these words.

speech	word/frequency					
2008	中国 China 37	发展 development 17	世界 world 13	人民 people 12	和平 peace 9	国际 internation 9
2009	发展 develop 29	国际 internation 23	中国 China 23	发展 development 22	合作 cooperation 20	安全 security 19
2010	中国 China 52	发展 development 23	世界 world 19	经济 economics 14	国际 internation 12	和平 peace 9
2011	发展 development 40	发展 develop 38	中国 China 32	世界 world 27	国际 internation 23	经济 economics 22
2012	国际 internation 35	发展 development 32	国家 nation 18	发展 development 18	经济 economics 18	中国 China 17
2013	中国 China 52	国际 internation 23	发展 development 22	经济 economics 16	世界 world 16	和平 peace 14
2014	中国 China 21	国际 internation 20	联合国 UN 17	和平 peace 13	社会 society 12	国家 nation 12
2015	中国 China 21	世界 world 19	发展 development 19	联合国 UN 17	国际 internation 16	发展 develop 15
2016	发展 develop 45	中国 China 29	经济 economics 26	发展 development 25	世界 world 21	国际 internation 20
2017	联合国 UN 37	和平 peace 27	中国 China 24	国际 internation 19	发展 development 18	发展 develop 15
2018	中国 China 32	国际 internation 27	世界 world 23	发展 development 20	联合国 UN 19	问题 problem 18

Table 5 Word Frequency List

Despite the speeches were delivered at the UN General Assembly, the scripts constantly emphasize the authority of the UN through reference to the UN Charters and convention by using collocations such as *support*, *implement*, *obey*. For instance:

2010: China will continue to firmly support the leading role of the United Nations in international affairs. We will, as always, abide by the UN Charter and fulfill in good faith our obligations under international conventions.

2011: We should [...] uphold the purpose and principles of the *Charter of the United Nations* and the central role of the United Nations in the international affairs.

2012: China will firmly promote reform of the global governance system with the United Nations as its core. [...] It is our consistent position that the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations form the cornerstones of current international relations [...] and looks forward to a United Nations that plays a bigger role in international affairs.

While at the same time, as the Permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, also referred as the Permanent Five, a partial of authority, at least perceptually, will inevitably pass on to China. It is reasonable to mention the relationship between China and the UN in the speech since it is addressed at the UN General Assembly, but also, it provides a perfect timing for China to remind the audience about its relationship with the UN.

By frequently associate with a bigger authority, China is 1) clarifying China is sitting at the same position as the other four Permanent Security Council members, especially the United States, to neutralize the authority that US has built through the past decades, which give China extra space in the UN; 2) setting up the context, in which China will carefully built its own authority through the practice of discourse construction.

For the later purpose, it can be examined from the usage of metaphor:

2010: China is a member of the big family of the United Nations, and China's development and changes have attracted worldwide attention.

2011: [...] congratulations to the Republic of South Sudan on joining the family of the United Nations as its 193rd member.

2013: The United Nations is a big stage for all countries to conduct consultation and cooperation with one and other. It is also a big family where people of all countries are brought together.

2018: we must pursue win-win cooperation [...] stick together as one big family instead of forming closed circles.

The use of “Family” in above examples entails three meanings here and is deeply cultural rooted. When we use a specific metaphors to elaborate, we are constructing the reality through a guided structure. Metaphor is a universal and meta-functioning way, which our thinking and behavior heavily rely on. (Lakoff 2008) How understandings towards certain

things are metaphorized is a critical battlefield for discursive competition. The “Family” metaphor entails three layers of meaning in this context:

First of all, *Family* means harmony. This brings back to the discussion of how the “peaceful environment” is important to China and its discourse construction. Not only because the harmony itself benefits the national and international development of China, but also, maintaining the harmony within the “family” reflects the ability to promote and lead the common development for all the family members. This is closely interwoven with the second layer of the “Family” metaphor – order. In Chinese understanding, family is a highly structured sphere where everyone standing in the right shoes. A family always has a respected voice to lead the rest of the members internally in order to have a united voice externally. This is to construct the identity of leader, as China, is to lead the global family towards a prosperous future. But why would the family members put their trust on the leader? This is the part where people who are not familiar with Chinese history and culture often find confusing. The Chinese society is functioning upon morality and self-consciousness, which the traditional thought in *the Book of Rites* described as “first cultivate the self, the regulate the family, then govern the state, then lead the world to peace”. Having a morality ground higher than the rest of the people, and being responsible, to love and nourish the people, are considered as the qualities which a proper leader in Chinese society should have, this also applies to the family. In fact, Chinese people often think the family is isomorphic to a nation, explaining as the nation is an extended family and a family is a micro-sized nation. (Kipnis 2012, Tse 2014) To be a leader, in Chinese understanding, needs to be highly responsible for every member’s development, and to set up an example, to create an environment, to extend a hand when necessary, for the members of the family. In a global context, this means, to promote the common development.

World, Peace and Development

The first speech of this research collection, which delivered at 2008, was already titled as *A China Committed to Reform, Opening-up and Peaceful Development*. However, the concerns of peace are never out of mere needs for China’s own development, but also China’s development philosophy. While admitting that China is in need and benefitting from the peaceful situation, the stabilization of China is benefiting the global peace in return.

2008: In order to achieve its development goals, China longs for a peaceful global environment [...] China enhancing world peace and development through its own development.

2011: To advance common development, we must foster a sound international environment. Over the years, China has been dedicated to creating a peaceful international environment in which to develop itself. At the same time, it has contributed its share to enhancing world peace through its own development.

This “peaceful development” discourse is coupled with “common development” discourse, which China promises 1) through the self-stabilization to contribute to the global peace; 2) through the self-development to boost global development.

2009: We should aim for common progress, bearing in mind not only the interests of our own people but also those of the people of the whole world, and expand converging interests.

2010: In the course of development, China will continue to take it as its own duty to promote the common progress and prosperity of mankind.

2012: We should pursue common progress by enhancing diversity of civilization. According to ancient Chinese philosophy, the world will be a great place when “all things thrive without hurting one another, and various endeavors are pursued in parallel without collision among them.”

This “common development” is later developed through the stage of “a community of common destiny with other developing countries” in 2013 to “a community of shared future for mankind” since 2015.

2013: We will vigorously advocate the right vision on justice versus interests and endeavor to build a community of common destiny with other developing countries. In our exchanges and cooperation with other developing countries [...] to enable developing countries to realize independent and sustainable development.

2015: We should renew our commitment to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, build a new type of international relations featuring win-win cooperation, and create a community of shared future for mankind.

2018: The Belt and Road Initiative proposed by President Xi Jinping is a public good China offers the world [...] It aims to deliver benefits for all through consultation and cooperation [...] pursuing common prosperity through greater complementarity among participating countries.

Hence, extending the “family leader” identity, China has moved from the stage of needing a peaceful environment for development meanwhile enhancing the peaceful environment by peaceful development, to keeping and creating a peaceful environment by promoting common development. This is noted on the speech in 2013 delivered by Mr. Wang Yi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, where he stressed that

“This year has been an unusual one in China’s development [...] China has reached a new historical starting point today.” (2013: 1)

“We will be fully and more actively engaged in international affairs and work closely with other countries to meet complex global challenges and tackle difficult issues facing mankind. We will voice China's views, offer China's wisdom, propose China's solutions, play China's due role and provide more public goods to the international community.” (2013: 5)

“We will play a more proactive and constructive role in addressing international and regional hotspot issues to promote peace and dialogue, defuse conflicts and safeguard world peace and stability. We will continue with our escort missions and counter-piracy operations in the Gulf of Aden, and increase participation in the UN peacekeeping operations so as to contribute more to peace and security in Africa and other relevant regions.” (2013: 6)

Connecting with what argued in last chapter, we can see a transition of identity already, that China will start exert global influence on international affairs. It resonates the change within China's self-observed identity, from “domestic development leader” evolving to the “common (global) development leader”. Another thing to be noted is that this is the year when President Xi step up on the leadership of China, and we can see that is also reflected at the beginning of the speech:

China's new central collective leadership has put forward the concept Of the Chinese dream of the great renewal of the Chinese nation. And it is leading the 1.3 billion Chinese people in an endeavor to fulfill the two centenary goals, namely, to finish building a moderately prosperous society in all respects by 2020 and to turn China into a modern socialist country by the mid-21st century.

This again, resonates the previous mentioned China's self-perceived image.

“China is still a developing country”

The descriptive China in the speeches often emphasize on the identity of developing country. The straight claim that “*China is still a developing country*” has appeared in six out of eleven speeches. For instance:

2008: China is still a developing country [...]

2009: We are keenly aware that China remains a developing country.

2010: China is still in the primary stage of Socialism, and still a developing country.

2011: China is still a developing country [...] As a member of developing country [...]

2016: Although as the second largest economy, China is still a developing country.

2018: China is the largest developing country in the world.

Such declaration often present with positive statistics then humble confession. Usually starts from the large population and promising economic growth, implying despite the difficulty of leading such a large nation and yet keeping the economics growing. Then goes to the humble confession of insufficiency and the future plans. For instance:

2008: The international community has highly commended [...] its success has greatly inspired the Chinese people and given them even more confidence and strength to achieve modernization of the country [...] China is a country with 1.3 billion people. Though its total GDP is one of the highest in the world, it trails behind more than 100 countries in terms of per capita income. Development between urban and rural areas and among different regions in China is unbalanced. [...] China is still a developing country, where productivity remains low and further development is constrained by the shortage of resources and energy and environmental consequences. Our socialist market economic system, democracy and the rule of law need to be further improved [...].

Examined in various scripts, the confession supporting the discourse of “developing country” concentrates on setbacks in regional development balance, institutions and mode of production. Demonstration follows:

2010: China's GDP is the third largest in the world, but in per capita terms, it is only one-tenth of that of developed countries. [...] remains at the lower end of the global industrial chain. China is a big trading nation, but its exports are low in technology content and value added. [...] central and Western regions and the vast rural areas are still rather backward, and we have 150 million people living below the poverty line set by the United Nations [...] we do not yet have a full-fledged social security system [...] yet our democracy and legal system still have room for improvement and such social ills as inequity and corruption still exist.

From the illustration of achievement or statement of the complexity to the introduction of existing issues can neutralize the negative effect may possibly bring by the confession while remain the confirmation of the identity as a developing country. This in one hand, presents a sophisticated image of an optimistic nation thriving in challenges; in another hand, consolidates the declared identity of the Chinese Communist Party being the “leader of the development” has a proven model for the development.

5.1.2. *Thematic Structure*

Previous chapter mentioned the language features of direct description of China in the speeches, which is putting the direct description at the former part of the speech. The

description also contains details of issues China faces. However, since 2011, the composition of the speech seems had changed where the descriptive China is placed at the later part of the speech, which gradually replaced by metaphoric expression. The shift reveals the dynamics of China's strategic construction of identity and image within the linguistic texts.

2011: China has become the second largest economy, largest exporter, second largest importer and largest emerging market in the world. The basic living needs of the 1.3 billion Chinese people are adequately met, and the number of people in absolute poverty is drastically reduced. [...] China remains a developing country with a large population, weak economic foundation and serious imbalance and lack of coordination in its development. [...] Guided by the recently adopted 12th Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, China will pursue scientific development, accelerate the shift of the growth model, advance scientific and technological innovation and deepen reform and opening-up to promote long-term, steady and fast economic development and social harmony and progress.

In 2011, China launched its first national image campaign video that marks China's initiative of forming an image through strategic communication. This is also reflected on the textual expression of the speech where the elaboration of difficulties takes no longer the primary concern, instead, showing how China deals with the challenges hugs the limelight. Additionally, since 2011, extensive paragraphs are dedicated to comment on global issues which takes the place of domestic setbacks in the narration of China's developmental challenges.

The shift of attention, in another hand, speaks for the change of identity that China wish to have on the global stage, which is framed through the metaphoric articulation. For instance:

2015: China will continue to be the builder of world peace [...] contributor of global development [...] keeper of international order.

2017: China is an anchor of world peace [...] engine of developmental prosperity [...] booster of multilateralism.

2018: [...] we are the upholder of the international order and multilateralism.

Such metaphorical expressions are more active ways of telling what role China plays, and what China wants to do. Instead of talking passively about China to create a self-presented image, the metaphorical articulation and extensive paragraphs commenting on global issues construct an initiative self-declared identity, which eventually participate in the construction of self-presented image. This means that despite the "developing country" image China built in the statements, the CCP is coping well with challenges and willing to share its

methodology with the rest of the world. This narration goes beyond China at the current stage, but illustrated a picture of China thriving to a brighter future while keep in harmony with the world. Proposition of the self-declared identity therefore, works jointly with factual description of China to create the self-presented image beyond its timeline.

5.2. Discourse Practice of the Speeches

5.2.1. *Intertextuality*

Intertextuality as one critical text theory, was born in the tide of structuralism. From Bakhtin's perspective: texts and utterance are shaped by prior texts that they are "responding to", and by sequent texts they "anticipate". (Fairclough 2006: 101) Influenced by Bakhtin, Kristeva believes that there is no any text can be discussed out of its relationship with other texts, but inevitably involved in an interaction with a web of texts.

Kristeva use "Intertextuality" to describe the complexity of discourse generation where different linguistic materials interwoven with each other. What she emphasizes is the internal process of discourse construction when pieces coming from different texts are structuralized then forming a new discourse. Intertextuality underlines the creative features of the texts, while introducing a historical perspective to discourse practice.

According to Fairclough, discourse practice consists of three parts: production, dissemination and consumption of texts. The intertextuality of production links is embodied in the historicity of the text; the intertextuality of communication links involves the transformation of different discourse norms, which can reflect the implicit power relationship. The intertextuality of consumption links emphasizes that other texts that consumers bring into the process of interpretation also play an important role in the construction of interpretation. At the same time, Fairclough also points out that there is a very important relationship between intertextuality and hegemony. He believes that "the concept of intertextuality points to the productivity of the text, how the text can change the

previous text, and how to reconstruct the existing customs (genre, discourse) in order to create new customs". "The process of intertextuality and the competition of discourse and the process of rebuilding order are the process of hegemonic struggle within the scope of discourse."

5.2.2. Intertextuality and Identity

A vital perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis is to look at the identity construction function of the discourse, whereas intertextuality becomes the main channel. Introducing "intertextuality" to the discourse practice has level up the static analysis of texts at lexical levels to dynamic analysis of texts, which, in this sense, regarded as a social practice. As a social practice, discourse can not only reflect, reconstruct, and even consolidate the existing social order, but also trigger the change of boundaries within and between the discourse order through the intertextuality of different genres, thus becoming the driving force of social and cultural changes. The constructive function of discourse on identity is no longer confined to the static construction of interpersonal meta-function, but also includes the dynamic construction of intertextuality. The dynamic construction of identity by intertextuality is no longer confined to discourse, but also placed in the context of social and cultural changes. In this way, intertextuality connects discourse practice with social practice and achieves the ultimate goal of studying society through language.

5.2.3. Analysis on the Speeches

Restricted by length, here will choose the most essential Chinese political utterances for analysis.

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

The Five Principles refers to mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. In the speeches, many have applied

2009: We will develop friendly relations and cooperation with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China has always been and will continue to be a positive force for world peace and common development.

2012: China will enhance friendly relations and cooperation with all other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and strive to build a new type of relations between major countries based on mutual respect and win-win cooperation.

2016: China firmly pursue peaceful development, insist on equality of all countries regardless of its size, and develop friendly cooperative relations with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence (refers as the Five Principles) is proposed by the Premier Zhou Enlai in December, 1953 when negotiating with Indian delegation on China-Tibet relations at Beijing. At the very last day of that year, Premier Zhou Enlai proposed the complete version of the Five Principles which advocated by India, Myanmar, in accordance to the historical trend of anti-colonialism.

Forward to 1957, President Mao Zedong declared to the world that China firmly persists the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which Deng Xiaoping underlined again at the Special Session of the UN General Assembly in 1974. The Five Principles has been recognized and echoed in both *The Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations* passed on the 25th UNGA (UN General Assembly) in 1970 and *The Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order* passed on the 6th Special Session of UNGA in 1974.

The initiation of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is in response to the Post-Cold War situation, which Zhang describes as “China remained confrontational toward the United States and other Western powers but at the same time seemed conciliatory toward Asian nations.”(Zhang 2007: 509). Under this circumstances, Beijing believes the emphasis on the world peace is a breach to the Western isolation of China. In his article, Zhang asserts that “through actively participating in multilateral diplomacy, the Chinese leaders expected to construct an image of a ‘normal state’ and play a leading role in normalizing international politics in Asia.”(2007:509)

The Five Principles used in the UNGA speeches are not just referring to the concept but signifying a historical whole including theories and practices related to the concept. First of all, the reason why The Five Principles are not elaborated in these speeches is that it is built on the historical context and the speech environment, where The Five Principles are extensively used in various international occasions. The Five Principles are also included in various international official documents as mentioned above. In this sense, the first layer of interpretation of the Five Principles is the literal meaning of what Premier Zhou Enlai initiated; while the second layer of interpretation, is the symbolic meaning it signifies, a complex of systematic theorized idea, and its intertextuality with various international political texts. The interpretation of The Five Principles, in such scenario, is built on historical texts, thus, symbolized and shared among audience.

Besides, since the end of the Cold War until present time we have experienced a quite peaceful period where the global economy has a relatively stable environment to grow. And the growth itself is speaking for the connection between “peace” and “development”. It is not necessary to construct an imagination through language to reiterate the importance of peaceful coexistence, it is already felt and experienced by people during the past few decades. The Five Principles here, can be metaphorized as a switch, or a touch point, which turns on the experience, memories and emotions regarding the significance of peaceful coexistence.

Seeking common ground while reserving differences

The idea of “seeking common ground while reserving difference” (later refers as *the idea*) was brought up by the Premier Zhou Enlai at the Asia-Africa Conference in April, 1955, in order to promote mutual understanding and corporation between Asian-African countries. Over decades of practicing, the idea, similar to The Five Principles, is a safe guard to the peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, development status, ideologies, history and culture.

The idea is extensively used in the speeches, as follows:

2009: Fourth, we should be more tolerant to one another and live together in harmony. [...] achieve common development by seeking common ground while reserving differences.

2011: We should lay the political foundation for cooperative development. [...] and in a spirit of seeking common ground while reserving difference.

2012: We should pursue common progress by embracing diversity of civilization. [...] make joint progress by seeking common ground while reserving differences.

2016: China will promote development by upholding peace. [...] China's approach is to expand common ground and shelve differences, and China has never relented its efforts for regional peace and stability.

2017: The five permanent members of the UN Security Council must play an exemplary role in upholding no-conflict, no confrontation, mutual respect and win-win cooperation⁴. [...] and efforts must be made to find common ground, manage differences, and seek peaceful and reasonable settlement to dispute.

"Reserving differences" is to "seek common ground," and the idea is an important guiding ideology and policy for handling international relations and has played a pivotal role in the development of diplomatic relations in the new China. (Guo Junling 2008: 18)

First of all, "Seeking common ground while reserving differences" is an important principle guiding China's diplomatic practice. In the early days of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the leaders actively sought to develop a good-neighborly relationship with the development of the country, solved the border problems left over from history, and the dual nationality of Huaqiao, such as Indonesia, and broke the US isolation policy. Since the 1970s, as the relationship with the Western powers has been thawed, and China has established diplomatic relations with 75 countries including France, Japan, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the United Kingdom.。

Second, it is an essential principle in building a harmonious world. On April 22, 2005, President Hu Jintao attended the Asian-African Summit in Jakarta. In his speech, he proposed that Asian and African countries should "promote the friendly relations of different civilizations, dialogue, development and prosperity, and jointly build a harmonious world."

"Seeking common ground while reserving differences" constitutes an integral part of Chinese diplomatic theory. Zhou Enlai integrated the ancient Chinese culture into his diplomatic thoughts. The idea of "seeking common ground while reserving differences" is a supplement and development of the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" and a practical and effective way to realize the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence." "The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, as the cornerstone of China's foreign policy, play a significant role in China's foreign relations, providing an ideological basis for China to formulate its diplomatic strategy. It is an essential contribution of Chinese to the international political theory. (Guo 2008: 18, Xu 2005)

⁴ Win-win corporation means both parties are benefited from the corporation, just like mutual nourishing, derived from Chinese traditional philosophy.

The "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" and "seeking common ground while reserving differences" are all built-in China's "peaceful development" discourse. The construction of the "peaceful development" is fundamental in the present because it is a confrontation to the Western "China threat theory" and the land that China has fenced for itself in academia and international political relations. Moreover, this discourse construction is continuously being strengthened in practices. The discourse of "peaceful development" is inherited by the previous generations of leadership in China, and Xi Jinping put forward the idea of "a community of common destiny" in the new era, reflecting that the new leadership began to consciously and strategically construct a new discourse. Some Western scholars see the change as a departure from the past (Ha Anh Tuan 2014, Graeme Dobell 2014, Benjamin Schreer 2013, John Lee 2013), but it actually ignored the interrelationship between the discourses. Thinking from a Lotmanian perspective, this transformation and association are extraordinarily natural. The new discourse of "a community of common destiny" is an inevitable move after completing self-identification construction, the natural organizing function of the meta-structure.

A Community of Common Destiny

In 2012, at the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, the leadership clearly stated that "we must advocate the common sense of human destiny and take into account the legitimate concerns of other countries when pursuing their interests." On March 23, 2013, Xi Jinping said in a speech at the Moscow International College that "human beings live in the same global village and become more and more like a community of common destiny for you and me" which is the first time that Xi Jinping proposed the concept of "a Community of common destiny". The concept is a high-level summary of the status quo of the various actors in the world that are widely connected and interdependent. Later, at the Bo'ao Forum for Asia held in April 2013, Xi Jinping reiterated that it should firmly establish the consciousness of the Community of Shared Future for Mankind, be brave in reform and innovation, maintain peace with one heart, promote cooperation, and insist on tolerance and openness.

Furthermore, Xi delivered a speech entitled "Towards a Community of Common Destiny, Creating a New Future for Asia" at the Bo'ao Forum for Asia held in March 2015,

emphasizing the need to work together to create a favorable regional order promotes the building of a Community of Shared Future for Mankind by moving forward from a Community of Shared Future for Asia. In a speech in the Asian-African Leaders' Summit in April 2015, Xi Jinping proposed "promoting the construction of a new type of international relations centered on cooperation and mutual benefit and promoting the building of a Community of Shared Future for Mankind", indicating that Xi Jinping's developing philosophy has developed from the regional level into a global influence.

Since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Xi Jinping has mentioned the Community of Shared Future for Mankind hundreds of times on different occasions. In September 2015, Xi Jinping attended the general debate of the UN General Assembly and delivered a speech entitled "Working Together to Forge a New Partnership of Win-win Cooperation and Create a Community of Shared Future for Mankind", where he elaborated that to achieve the goal:

We should build partnerships in which countries treat each other as equals, engage in mutual consultation and show mutual understanding.

We should create a security architecture featuring fairness, justice, joint contribution and shared benefits.

We should promote open, innovative and inclusive development that benefits all.

We should, increase inter-civilization exchanges to promote harmony, inclusiveness and respect for differences.

We should build an ecosystem that puts mother nature and green development first.

Above covers the essence of the new development philosophy that has been written into the Chinese Communist Party Constitution in 2017, and the Constitution of the People's Republic of China in 2018, demonstrating its extreme importance.

Li Jun (2017) believes that the thought of "A Community of Shared Future for Mankind" responded to the rapid development of economic globalization, frequent international cultural exchange, and the imbalanced international political-economic order. Xi's proposal drew from the Chinese ancient philosophy-harmonious world- representing the ultimate stage of human society, is of great value to bring new dynamics into pushing forward the advancement of humankind.

Zhang Liming (2017) pointed out: "from the fantasy of Orientalism to the imagination of pan-Asian community, the practice of considering the history and cultural diversity of

Asia as a holistic concept has been around for a long time, " This diversity and complexity in all aspects is the basis for building a community of common destiny. Compared with the simple abstraction of the West and the East, the community of common destiny is a complex abstraction and a direct reflection of the idea of "seeking common ground while reserving differences."

The discourse of "a Community of Shared Future for Mankind" is the inheritance of the previous political discourse system. It further developed the guiding principles and leadership thoughts that are more characteristic of the times and more suitable for China's current development per the present national conditions embodied the transformation of Chinese international discourse. This kind of reflection is especially important in the discussion of China's overall national image building because it is a top-level design for the nation, which affects all aspects of Chinese society and its relation and interaction with the rest of the world. In the next section, we will specifically talk about the appropriate guidance, which the discourse has exerted on social practice.

5.3. Social Practice of the Speeches

By constructing a discourse of "peaceful development", it delivers impacts on social reality through social practice. In Fairclough's model, the last step of CDA, we will examine the social practice of the "a community of common destiny" discourse to reveal the dynamics of power relations behind.

Zhang Jian pointed out that "the top priority of Chinese foreign policy since the early 1990s has been to pacify external concerns of the perceived threat from a rising China so to maintain a peaceful and stable external environment conducive to China's economic development". However, the new leadership under Xi Jinping is decidedly moving away from China's long-standing policy and becoming more confident and proactive in utilizing China's growing power and influence to protect and advance its national interests and to shape a favorable external environment. (2015: 7-8) Xi Jinping underlines that to exercise

the proactiveness, it is essential to have a top-level design, defined as the strategic vision and planning at a national level, in policy making.

From the perspective of Lotman's theory, this top-level design has similar function as the meta-structure, which demonstrate the structural and strategic impact on the generation and organization of the texts within the society and its border. Particular attention can pay to two national projects Xi proposed to fulfill the "community of common destiny" discourse, which are the "Chinese Dream of Great National Renewal" and the "Belt and Road Initiative", referred as the Chinese Dream and the BRI in this paper.

The Chinese Dream of Great National Renewal

The concept was first brought up in November 2012 when Chairman Xi Jinping was on a visit to "The Road to Revival" exhibition held by Chinese national museum, where he pointed out that "to achieved the great national renewal is the greatest Chinese dream since modern time".(reference) In the 12th National People's Congress held in march, 2103, Xi Jinping expressed that "to realize the Chinese dream of great national renewal, is to realize the National prosperity, national rejuvenation and people's happiness".(reference) This marked the official presence of "Chinese Dream" as a political utterance.

Camilla (201: 57) pointed out that "Chinese dream" as a concept is "rarely mentioned before Xi's take-up in 2012", however this neglected the inherency of the concept in the CCP's official discourse. The fact is, not only the core idea is deeply rooted, but also the concept itself was mentioned rather notably in the CCP's official narratives. By understanding the deep root of the concept in the CCP's discourse, we then can explore the context where the concept is born.

Camilla (2015) argues that there are several reasons behind the birth of the "Chinese Dream", first is that Xi, as the new leader of the party, wants to leave his own mark, and the second is that the "Chinese Dream" serves as a way for the current leadership to maintain the domestic stability and its legitimacy. For the former, we do see a tendency of Chinese leaders bringing up various thoughts on both ruling the country and dealing with international relations. For example, Hu Jintao initiated his philosophy of "Scientific Development". For the later, Camilla argues, despite Xi's effort on "anti-corruption and reification campaign", the idea of Chinese Dream is to shift people's focus on "immediate

challenges” to “China’s future modernization” (2015: 56). One clear view is that the concept and resulting activities are gathering effort to unite the people, based on what we can see from the literature and media coverage.

Drawing data from CNKI, the Figure 5 demonstrates the academic papers titled with Chinese Dream has surged after 2012 when the concept was officially launched. Comparing with Figure 7 which shows the data of all publications collected by CNKI, including media coverage, the line has relatively compatible curves. To examine the production of the publications, Figure 6 pointed out that majority of the academic papers related to Chinese Dream are funded by the National Social Science Fund of China. Similar situation also applies to the online publications, where suggested in Figure 8, the top two sources of publications related to Chinese Dream come from Guangming Daily and People’s Daily, the two major official organs of the Chinese Communist Party.

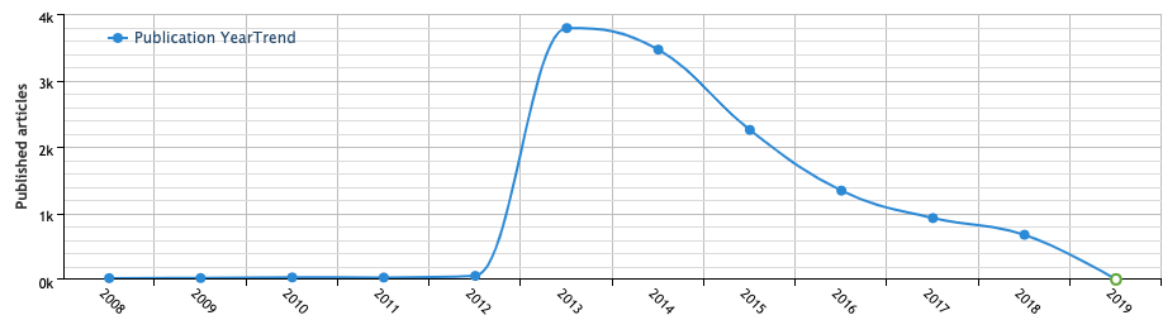


Figure 5 The number and trend of academic papers entitled “Chinese Dream”

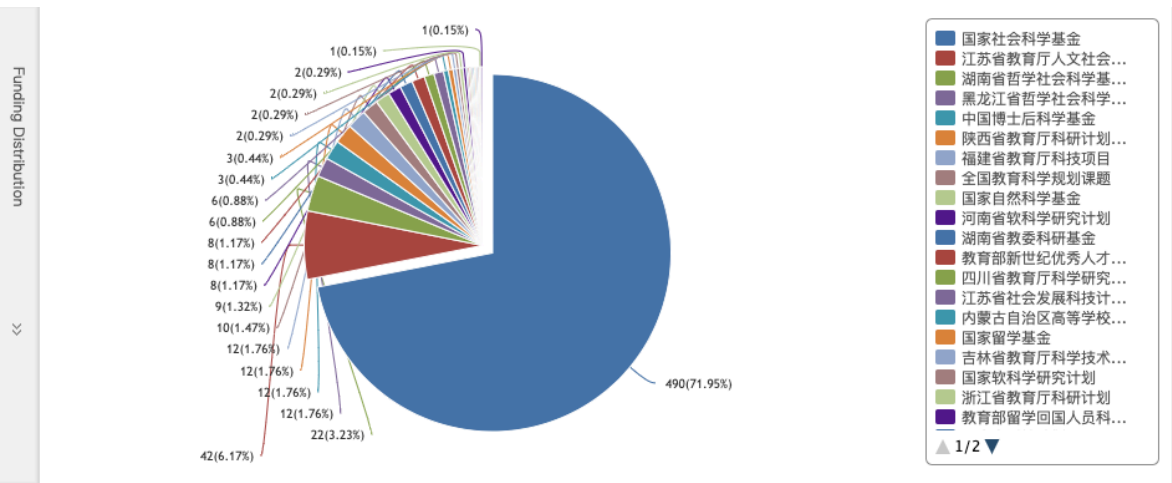


Figure 6 The sources of academic papers entitled “Chinese Dream”

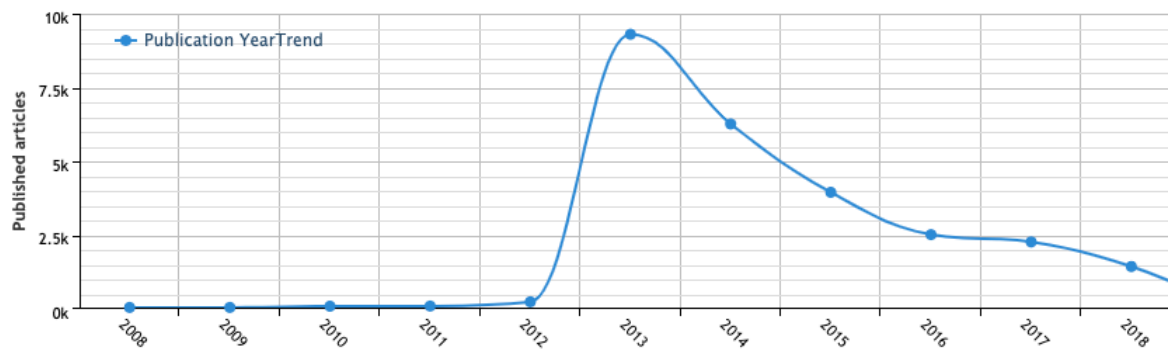


Figure 7 The number and trend of online publications entitled "Chinese Dream"

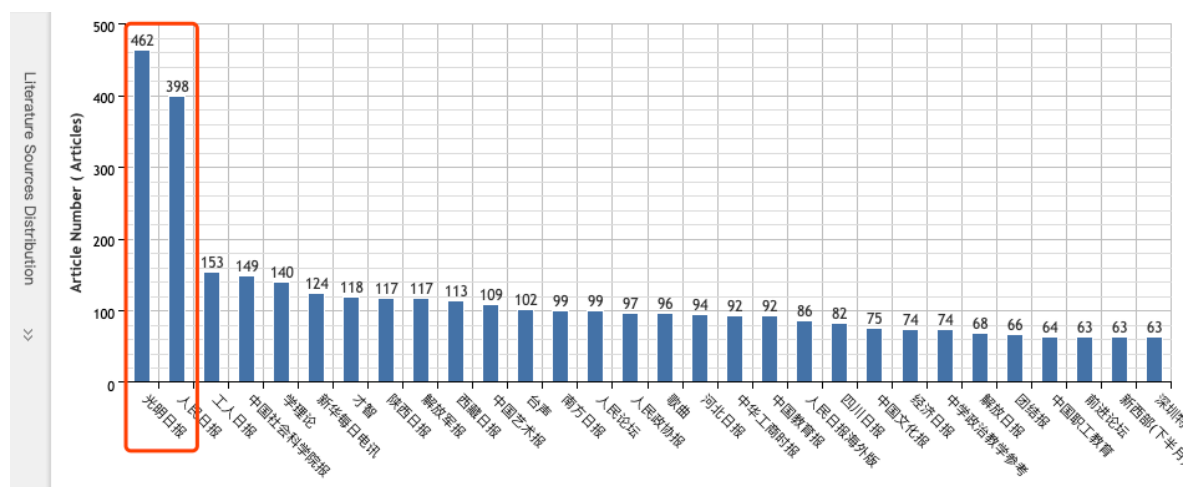


Figure 8 The sources of the online publications entitled "Chinese Dream"

The four figures underline the texts generated around Chinese Dream are mainly coming from the official authority of the state, implying the control or strategic guidance over the production of knowledge. A closer look to the content behind the figures will provide with more clear vision and insights on the activity. Wu Shuming (2015) conducted an analysis based on the 541 articles relevant to "Chinese Dream" published on Guangming Daily from 29th November 2012 to 29th November 2014. In his research, he found that the newspaper tends to publish articles explaining the concept of Chinese Dreams and its practices, consisting of 34% and 32% respectively. (2015: 11) As the state-owned news outlet targeting educated population, including professionals and scholars, it heavily influenced the production of knowledge and opinion on the Chinese Dream, as those target audiences are often considered as opinion leaders by the general public.

Wang Zhun (2016) conducted similar research in which he selected 120 samples out of over 5000 articles published on Guangming Daily between 30th November 2012 to 29th November 2015. He pointed out that the primary strategy of the news outlet is to focus on reporting the positive side of the society, more specifically, to guide the public opinion by patriating positive figures. Additionally, the articles tends to implement three techniques: reference history to emphasis the continuance of Chinese Dream, use simple language for political narrative, and quote words from experts to consolidate the authenticity. Through strategic communication, Guangming Daily has constructed a series of positive figures, which I summarized as follows: (2016: 36-39)

<i>Government officials</i>	<i>High-level officials</i>	<i>Visionary</i>
	<i>Basic-level officials</i>	<i>Assiduous</i>
<i>Intellectuals</i>	<i>Scientists</i>	<i>Dedicate</i>
	<i>Artists</i>	<i>Ingenious</i>
<i>Civilians</i>	<i>Workers</i>	<i>Persistent</i>
	<i>Students</i>	<i>Motivative</i>

Table 6

The constructed figures covered various aspects of the society, which are set to represent their social classes and industries, constructed an imagination of a thriving society where people from all different business are united for the Chinese Dream. The respective figure here entails symbolic meanings which individual story became a narrative of all the people who shares the same profession or quality, thus, enlarged the positiveness of a single person's experience to a much broader audience.

Jiang Xiaoli and Jia Ruiqi (2014) also argued that People's Daily has followed similar strategies. They criticize that such practice may restrict the interpretation of Chinese Dream within a fixed frame, resulting less creativity and more neglect to the subjectivity of the people who in fact, are the ones to achieve the Chinese Dream.

From what is presented, the top-to-down implementations centered around the Chinese Dream are extensively strategic, covering various aspects and channels where people build their own perception on China and its domestic environment. Over the massive discursive construction, people's perception are immersed in certain intangible field, where a social reality is created, of which people are closed united, thriving to the brighter future. In behind, we see the state apparatus is running behind the production of knowledge which hardly can say it is naturally-grew.

State power that involved in creating collective memories that are later shared by the members of the society, is actively participate in the construction of reality. As shown above, the state power actively exert influence on the knowledge production and public opinion through funding research and framing coverage. State-owned research funds and party organs as the arms of the state power play dominant role in the field where the discourse functions. Especially, this is the case under Chinese context where scholars are culturally and historically highly respected, the general public often in a recipient position where reflection or criticism are less likely to happen. As party-owned media are inevitably entangled with state power, their news coverage is consequently filtered.

The power relations are also reflected on the language usage. Yao Zhaohua (2014) single out that the People's Daily often employ words such as "should, must, need", showing its attitude regarding the facts, and also entails the demand upon the audience. This relationship is further developed through repetition of practices. The mix of angles, frames, logic and values is delivered in a factual way to the audience, creating a pseudo-environment that disrupt the cognition of the general public to the reality.

Media generating news coverage of the social facts are, in a way, creating collective memories mirror to social development. It not only documents the dynamics of social change but also becomes a part of social development. Therefore, from a broader perspective of cultural studies, the core discourses of media coverage are the vivid cultural texts of the social development, carrying information and values which affect people's perceptions hence, their actions.

The media strategy of the party-owned media influences the identity categories in various ways and shapes the different roles in society. Its "grand historical narrative" is essentially a process of aggregating consensus, creating a mainstream public opinion space

to promote its values. Such a space of public opinion invisibly encourages people to accept new ideas and new things that are completely different from their previous experiences, pay attention to things outside the scope of personal experience, and dare to try new roles that society gives to them. Not only can role shaping be done according to social needs, but also the use of news reports, such as feature reports, to create exemplary social roles for guiding the general public.

The core discourses of the party-owned media are closely tied to politics and power. Any country and any medium when facing a vast amount of information will have to actively choose and filter it, according to their values and reporting strategies. On the one hand, choose the parts that are in favor and cover and omit certain other things, on the other hand, to highlight and enlarge certain things, and to give a particular logical structure and value connotation, and then package it as "fact" and deliver to the audience. As a result, to a certain extent, the public may regard the "mimetic environment" revealed by the media as the objective environment itself, thus providing the possibility that the media influences people's cognition and actions.

The Belt and Road Initiative

Ming (2014) iterated that the BRI is the path to promote the community of common destiny, by united countries along the Belt and Road to achieve balanced common development, peaceful coexistence, and mutual nourishment. From a cultural semiotics point of view, the BRI itself is a typical example of reviving the historical text, which successfully incorporated with modern context. Since Qian Zhang (BC164-114BC), a diplomat in Han Dynasty, outreached to the west, forged a road which connects three continents including Asia, Europe and Africa, the road had become a channel for trading goods from respective places. German geologist Ferdinand Richthofen wrote in his book *China* in 1877, calling the path - from China all the way to Greece and Rome - the "Silk Road". The ancient Silk Road promoted cultural exchange through trading activity, therefore, considered as the bridge between the east and the west, China and the word, therefore, has symbolic meaning on common development and cultural exchange.

In September, 2013, in a speech at Nazarbayev University at Kazakhstan, Xi initiated the concept of the "Silk Road Economic Belt", in October when Xi visited Indonesia he

brought up the concept of the “Marine Silk Road in the 21th Century”. The very two concepts constitute the “Belt and Road Initiative” crossing Asian, European and African continents, entered a new stage of China’s opening to the world.

Zhang Wei (2019) summarized six aspects of the “BRI” in which she described as follows: economic corridor, infrastructure, cultural identification, regional security, responsibility and mutual trust, green sustainability. The BRI in its essence is to construct the economic corridors to form a development system consisting of six international economic corridors including the New Eurasian Land Bridge, the China-Central Asia-West Asia Corridor, the China-Pakistan Corridor, the Bangladesh-China- Myanmar Corridor, the China-Mongolia-Russia Corridor and the China-Indochina Peninsula Corridor.

The developing of BRI marks the transition from Chinese national community to the Human community with a shared future. However, the transition itself still entails the “peaceful development” discourse, seeking peaceful development, furthermore, a common development demonstrating China’s global leadership. China coupled the discourse construction with bringing the actual economic benefits, attempting to show a contrasting side of China, apart from the Western-portraited image through the “China threat” discourse.

Zhang Susu compared news coverage from The Washington Post, The New York Times, and USA Today, pointed out that the US media hold a skeptical attitude toward the BRI by describing it as “ambitious strategy designed to serve the goals of Chinese leaders and expand Chinese global influence”. (2019: 21) The BRI also often defined by the American media as the Chinese version of the Marshall Plan that means to exert control over economies of the BRI countries in disguise of win-win corporation. (An Ruifan 2019: 60) It is largely associated with the “China threat” discourse accumulated in the Western media as Liu pointed out in her study on the coverage of the BRI from The Washington Post, that the BRI will inevitably exert some influence on the hegemony of the United States, thus the American government is using media to question even oppose the BRI. (Liu Zhenzhen 2019: 63)

However, the Chinese media took a very different standing, People’s Daily in its English version targeting overseas audience, constantly delivers positive coverage on the BRI to construct China as a nation pursuing mutual political trust, common development, cultural inclusiveness, mutual learning, win-win corporation and people’s well-being. (Chen

Qiuxiang 2018: 60) Chinese media is more concerned about the purpose of the BRI and the benefits it may bring to both China and other countries, emphasizing the economic development and equal corporation, while the American media tend to exaggerate China's leading position in the project, viewing the initiative as a way for China to "shift pollution, seeking hegemony in Asia and controlling other countries". (Wang Tongbin 2017: 52)

As news coverage are generated by media which are highly trusted by the general public, it has important impact on the public opinion. But the media or the journalists themselves find it is hard to exclude existing frames of understanding certain things, or even, out of political purpose, actively employ specific frames to build discourses that are in accordance to the national interests. Above comparative research have suggested that behind the collision on narratives of the BRI, is the ideology which guides the mind on understanding the world. In another word, the two very different national images built from respective media representing two countries, reflect the collision of two meta-structures in organizing texts. They inevitably contain the structures from the core of belonged semiosphere and the structure is also counter affected by the reality it created, just like the China threat discourse creates an image of ambitious China, that in return, enhances the China threat discourse, self-referential as Lotman would describe it. However, we still can see that China is extending its Chinese Dream to a global scale through the BRI. China's declared identity in the global context, is the "leader of common development" in which it tries to construct an self-presented image of "peaceful-rising China" .

5.4. Discussion

Through the comparative analysis of the above two parts, we can see China's efforts in identity construction and image building. From the domestic perspective, creating the "Chinese dream" discourse is to emphasize the CCP's (Chinese Communist Party) self-observed identity as the "leader of the development" in leading the Chinese people to realize the great rejuvenation. At the same time, it revokes the glorious past – an imagination of the great China based on collective memories, and creates a challenging external environment,

which constructs an self-perceived image of China that is not perfect at present but is thriving and striving for a better future. For a global context, China is trying to create its declared-identity as the "leader of the common development" for other countries in the world. Through the Belt and Road Initiative, it promotes the economic development and cultural exchange of the countries along the Belt and Road, and intends to deliver a self-presented image of a "peaceful rise" China. And this "peaceful rise" is not only beneficial to global stability but also set for a successful model that is replicable for all the other countries in the world.

The interpretation of these policies is usually referred in the articles as "upgrading the national soft power". Previously mentioned that the Chinese academia's research on "nation branding" focuses on the background of Journalism and International Politics, we can see that "soft power" has been mentioned more than "nation brand". Including the chairman Xi Jinping, who frequently use the expression of "enhancing the soft power of the country". To some extent, the "soft power" and "national brand" we discussed are the same in the context of the new era. Unlike in the war era, a country's armed forces may enhance a country's brand, perhaps in a sense, for a relatively weak country at present, the theory is still established. But in the context of the modern age, especially during the peaceful period, soft power has become an important way of nation branding. Thus, it is not surprising that the "soft power" is emphasized in China's "peaceful development" discourse.

Such soft power is the ability to organize the texts and thoughts, the ability to construct the reality. The power is thus represented by the power of description, which has two parts, describe itself and describe the other. Self-description in this context, except for completing internal self-identity construction, but also describe the external world, which means spreading its structure onto the periphery even outside of the border, to reorganize the texts. Thus, nation branding became a practice to gain soft power, whose internal mechanism is self-describing.

CONCLUSION

Back to the beginning where we raised the questions of what is China's nation brand and how does it been constructed, we see a far more complicated function mechanism behind the brand construction. The marketing researcher may see it as a process that happens during commercial activities, or the international politics researchers perhaps think it is the result of diplomatic practices, or the Chinese journalism researcher would probably describe as the outcome of strategic communications. From the cultural semiotic perspective, the process has involved both nation building and nation branding, as through two sets of dynamics: leadership and the nation, nation and nation brand.

The semiotics of culture provides a fresh perspective on the issue, by explaining how the leadership exerts influence on the meta-structure through self-observation, and how the nation constructs its brand through self-description. Thanks to Lotman's profound thinking on the spatial model of culture and its function mechanism, as well as Fairclough's systematic theory on language and power, we can see that nation branding is far beyond a marketing issue, it is derived from a rather sophisticated soil and consists of multiple layers, with complex functionality on both building the country and representing the nation.

Existing thinking on applying semiotic theories on nation branding research has been focusing on a micro-level study. However, when closely examine the cultural texts generated under the meta-structure, we ought to realize that any texts are generated and can be functioned within a specific scope of time and space, its interaction and reaction to external forces are also different from each other. Thus, less likely to reveal the broader direction or guiding force of the social change. But when we stand on a high ground and look purely form a macro-level perspective, we tend to neglect how the meta-structure influence the generation and organization of texts within a specific scope of time and space. In a nut shell,

the challenge is to how to balance the attention on both the bigger direction that leads the social changes and the smaller details of the generation and organization of cultural texts.

Starting from Lotman's cultural semiotics, the research provides thinking of the missing link-behind the nation branding strategy, what is the top-level design? Where does it come from? How does it work? This give us a ground and guidance into researching the generation of specific texts. Combining with critical discourse analysis, by tracing the construction of discourse from the texts produced under the influence of meta-structure, and combing the influence of language on the real world, we then are able to explore the overall development trend from a specific thing, while avoiding the malpractice of blindly talking about the general situation and ignoring the reality.

In this thesis, we first introduce the concept of self-observation, a pre-condition of self-description. By using corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis to scrutinize the Five-year Plan that generated by the official authority, the paper finds that the self-observation of China has gone through three stages: first, China sees the lack modernization; second, China sees the challenges brought by rapid urbanization and that caused unbalanced domestic development; third, China sees the deficiency of innovation and global influence. Accordingly, the self-observed identities, though has always being "the leader of the development", but the main tasks have varied in respective stages, from advancer of modernization through stabilizer of society to innovator and global influencer. Thus, the self-perceived image of China has always been the developing country, but has gone through three resonate stages: from a country with great urbanization and modernization, through a country with balanced domestic development, to a globalized, innovative and influential country. To realize the self-observed identity and self-perceived image, the Five-year Plan serves as a meta-structure that organizes the texts within the China semiosphere.

Following analysis on the Chinese delegators' speech at the UN General Assembly, with a closer look at several vital national projects such as "Chinese Dream" and "The Belt and Road Initiative" and the knowledge generated around the projects, the thesis takes a deeper dive in the official discourse construction. From the domestic perspective, creating the "Chinese dream" discourse is to emphasize the CCP's (Chinese Communist Party) self-observed identity as the "leader of the development" in leading the Chinese people to realize the great rejuvenation. At the same time, it revokes the glorious past – an imagination of the

great China based on collective memories, and creates a challenging external environment, which constructs a self-perceived image of China that is not perfect at present but is thriving and striving for a better future. For a global context, China is trying to create its declared-identity as the "leader of the common development" for other countries in the world. Through the Belt and Road Initiative, it promotes the economic development and cultural exchange of the countries along the Belt and Road, and intends to deliver a self-presented image of a "peaceful rising" China. And this "peaceful rise" is not only beneficial to global stability but also set for a successful model that is replicable for all the other countries in the world.

What this research model helps is to take a holistic and integrative perspective on nation branding, which deconstructs the meaning-making process and reconstructs the image building mechanism. The model has explored the dynamics between the top-level design and accordant policies and national projects, which are explained as the dynamics between the meta-structure and cultural texts. Especially with the concept of self-description, which contributed to a deeper understanding on the relationship between nation building and nation branding, furthermore, the discursive battles among big powers. The CDA method has complemented the study with examination on the generation and function of texts and discourses, and their relationship with execution of powers, as well as power's functionality on social reality construction. At some extent, the semiotics of culture coupled with critical discourse analysis has fit to solve the dilemma. The model provides a macro-level perspective to explore the sphere where texts are generated and functioning, meanwhile, traces back to the meta-structure through close examination of specific texts. Starting from macro perspective though details then back to higher abstraction, the mutual corroboration is exactly the value which this model provides. It attempts to help us further understand the interaction and operation among structure, text and discourse, as well as culture, power and nation.

Due the limitation on length, analyses on other forms of texts are beyond the reach of this thesis. A further research based on multimodal analyses on various semiotic systems, for instance, video texts, audio texts etc. would help further consolidate the argument. Also, this thesis has introduced how the discursive power executed through the political structure and institutional network, a deeper dive in the topic is necessary to discover the complex relationship between culture, power and nation.

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Rahvusbrändimise semiootika: Hiina riikliku rahvusbrändimise diskursuse analüüs 2008-2018

Zhou Yu

Juhendaja: Andreas Ventsel

Globaalne kaubanduskonkurentsi tingimustes on üha enam esile tõusmas pehme võimu erinevad mehhanismid, millega soovitakse saavutada edu konkurentide ees. Üks niisugustest mehhanismidest on rahvus-brändimine, mis peaks aitama turustada kaubatooteid, kuid on suunatud ka riigi rahvusvahelise maine tõstmisele tervikuna. Põhjamaade mööbel, Saksa autod, Šveitsi käekellad ja palju muud sarnased ühendused riigi ja konkreetse toote vahel on tugeva rahvusliku kaubamärgi otsene peegeldus. Lisaks kajastub tugev rahvuslik kaubamärk ka selle kultuuris, majanduses ja poliitikas.

Käesolevas uurimistöös käsitletakse rahvus-brändingut Juri Lotmani kultuurisemiootilise teooria ja Norman Faircloughi kriitilise diskursuse analüüsi raames. Kultuurisemiootilisest vaatenurgast saame rahvus-brändingut käsitleda nii rahvuse ülesehitamise kui ka rahvuse kui kaubamärgi kujundamise funktsioonis ja seda kahe suhte kaudu: juhtimine (leadership) ja rahvas, rahvas ja rahvuse kaubamärk. Kultuurisemiootikast pärit enesekirjelduse kontseptsioon aitab meil selgitada, kuidas võimudiskursus mõjutab kultuuri meta-struktuuri ja kuidas rahvas konstrueerib oma kaubamärgi enesekirjelduse kaudu.

Autor töötas välja nelja-dimensioonilise uurimismudeli määratledes neli uurimisobjekti: enese-vaadeldav identiteet, enese-tajutud pilt, enese-deklareeritud identiteet ja enese-esitatud pilt. Kasutades Lotmani kultuurisemiootika raamistikku vaadeldakse uurimuses, kuidas kujunevad domineerivad rahvus-brändimise ideed, kas ja kuivõrd mõjutab varasem Hiina kultuuritraditsioon rahvusvahelisel auditooriumile suunatud kujutlust Hiinast ja kuidas see võib mõjutada Hiina rahvuslikku riiklikku ideoloogiat. Käesolev uuringumudel käsitleb rahvuse-brändimist terviklikuna ja hõlmab nii rahvus-brändimise kuvandi dekonstrueerivat kui rekonstrueerivat perspektiivi.

Käesolevas magistritöö pakutud uurimisraamistik võimaldab metodoloogiliselt tekstide genereerimise ja toimimise sfääri uurimist makro-tasandi ja mikro-tasandi nõ koostoimeperspektiivist. Alustades makro-tasandist saavad konkreetset tekstid analüüsitud

diskursuseanalüüsis. Viimane aga kujundab omakorda meie ettekujutust kultuuri meta-struktuuride iseloomust. Seega on meil siin tegemist abduktiivse loogika rakendamisega tekstianalüüsis. Niisugune lähenemine aitab meil paremini mõista struktuuri, teksti ja diskursuse, aga ka kultuuri, võimu ja rahva vastastikust mõju ja toimimist.

ANNEXES

Number / Time	Scenario	Speech Title / Speaker
Speech 1 24.09.2008	The 63 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	坚持改革开放，坚持和平发展 (温家宝，中华人民共和国国务院总理) <i>A China Committed to Reform and Opening-up And Peaceful Development</i> H.E. Wen Jiabao Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China
Speech 2 23.09.2009	The 64 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	同舟共济，共创未来 (胡锦涛，中华人民共和国主席) <i>United as One and Work for a Bright Future</i> H.E. Hu Jintao President of the People's Republic of China
Speech 3 23.09.2010	The 65 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	认识一个真实的中国 (温家宝，中华人民共和国国务院总理) <i>Getting to Know the Real China</i> H.E. Wen Jiabao Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China
Speech 4	The 66 th General Debate of the	共迎挑战，共同发展 (杨洁篪，中华人民共和国外交部长)

Number / Time	Scenario	Speech Title / Speaker
23.09.2011	United Nations General Assembly	<i>Work Together to Meet Challenges and Pursue Common Development</i> H.E Yang Jiechi Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China
Speech 5 27.09.2012	The 67 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	携手推动各国普遍安全与共同发展 (杨洁篪, 中华人民共和国外交部长) <i>Work Together to Achieve Common Security and Development</i> H.E. Yang Jiechi Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China
Speech 6 27.09.2013	The 68 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	站在新起点上的中国 (王毅, 中华人民共和国外交部长) <i>China at a New Starting Point</i> H.E. Wang Yi Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China
Speech 7 27.09.2014	The 69 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	共谋和平发展, 共守法制正义 (王毅, 中华人民共和国外交部长) <i>Jointly Pursue Peace and Development and Uphold Rule of Law and Justice</i> H.E. Mr. Wang Yi Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China
Speech 8 28.09.2015	The 70 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	携手构建合作共赢新伙伴, 同心打造人类命运共同体 (习近平, 中华人民共和国主席) <i>Working Together to Forge a New Partnership of Win-win Cooperation and Create a Community of Shared Future for Mankind</i> H.E. Xi Jinping President of the People's Republic of China

Number / Time	Scenario	Speech Title / Speaker
Speech 9 21.09.2016	The 71 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	携手建设和平稳定可持续发展的世界 (李克强, 中华人民共和国国务院总理) <i>Work for a World of Peace, Stability and Sustainable Development</i> H.E. Li Keqiang Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China
Speech 10 21.09.2017	The 72 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	人人得享和平与发展 (王毅, 中华人民共和国外交部长) <i>Peace and Development for All</i> H.E. Mr. Wang Yi Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China
Speech 11 28.09.2018	The 73 th General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly	坚持多边主义, 共谋和平发展 (王毅, 中华人民共和国国务委员兼外交部长) <i>Multilateralism, Shared Peace and Development</i> H.E. Wang Yi State Councillor and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China

*Speech scripts from the official website of the Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the UN.

(Statements & Documents: <http://www.china-un.org/eng/lhghyywj/smhwj/>)

2008



PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
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(Translation)

**A China Committed to Reform and Opening-up
And Peaceful Development**

Statement by H.E. Wen Jiabao
Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China
At the General Debate of the 63rd Session of the UN General Assembly

24 September 2008

Mr. President,

For China, this has been a special year. We experienced two major events. One was the devastating earthquake in Wenchuan, which caused grave losses of life and property. In the face of the disaster, the Chinese people showed great strength, courage, solidarity and resilience. By now, the people affected by the earthquake have been properly relocated and recovery and reconstruction work is well underway. The other was the successful hosting of the Beijing Olympic Games. This grand sporting event provided a good opportunity for athletes from around the world to show true sportsmanship. It also enabled the world to learn more about China and China more about the world. In our fight against the earthquake disaster and our efforts to host the Games, we received understanding, support and assistance from the international community. I wish to take this opportunity to express sincere gratitude on behalf of the Chinese Government and people.

Now the whole world wants to know in what direction China is heading, both politically and economically, after the Beijing Olympic Games. Let me tell you in unequivocal terms that China will remain committed to the path of peaceful development, unswervingly pursue reform and opening-up, and continue to adhere to an independent foreign policy of peace. This is in the fundamental interests of the Chinese people and the people of all other countries. It is also in keeping with the trend of the world.

The just concluded Olympic Games was held in China, the largest developing country in the world. The international community has highly commended the efforts made by the Chinese Government and people for the Games. And its success has greatly inspired the Chinese people and given them even more confidence and strength to achieve modernization of the country. At the same time, however, we are soberly aware that China is a country with 1.3 billion people. Though its total GDP is one of the highest in the world, it trails behind more than 100 countries in terms of per capita income. Development between urban and rural areas and among different regions in China is unbalanced. The rural areas, particularly those in western China, are underdeveloped. Tens of millions of Chinese lack adequate food and clothing. China is still a developing country, where productivity remains low and further development is constrained by the shortage of resources and energy and environmental consequences. Our socialist market economic system, democracy and the rule of law need to be further improved, and certain outstanding social issues are yet to be resolved. To achieve China's modernization is a daunting task and we still have a long way to go. Both the opportunities and challenges that we face are unprecedented. We will seize the opportunities, rise up to challenges, dedicate ourselves to nation-building and focus on development. This is what the Chinese Government and people have been thinking and doing.

People may ask: How does China achieve its development? The answer is through reform and opening-up. This year marks the 30th anniversary of China's reform and opening-up policy, a policy that fundamentally changed the closed, backward and ossified situation which had existed in China for years. It is a policy that freed people's mind and aroused their initiative, liberated the productive forces, generated great economic and social progress, and instilled vigor and vitality into the country. Without this policy, there would not have been such changes in China in the last 30 years. To achieve the goal of modernization and build a strong, prosperous, democratic, culturally advanced and harmonious country, we will stick to the reform and opening-up policy. It is a choice of vital importance to the development of China today. It is also a strategy that will shape China's future. We are firm in carrying this policy forward. The Chinese nation has all along cherished the fine tradition and benefited from the wisdom of being open to new ideas and drawing on the strengths of others. The Chinese people have learned from 30 years of reform and opening-up that only continued economic and political restructuring and reform in other fields can lead to sustained economic growth and social progress, and only continued opening-up in an

all-round way can lead the country to greater national strength and prosperity. This is the conclusion we have drawn both from our practice and exploration and from historical experiences.

Mr. President,

The world needs peace, for only with peace can there be development. China earnestly hopes to have a peaceful international environment in order to achieve its development goals. The Chinese Government is committed to an independent foreign policy of peace and stands ready to work with other countries to advance the noble cause of peace and progress of mankind.

Respect for sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries is the prerequisite for sound state-to-state relations. The Chinese people have learned from their modern history of humiliation that when a country loses sovereignty, its people lose dignity and status. China is firm in upholding its hard-won sovereignty and territorial integrity and will never tolerate any external interference. Following the principle of treating each other as equals, China also respects the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other countries as well as the independent choice of their people for social systems and development paths.

China is ready to develop friendly relations with all countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit rather than on ideology or political system. In handling international affairs, we make our own judgment on the merit of each case and take our position in light of our national interests and the wellbeing of the world's people. We will neither blindly follow the position of others nor give way to the pressure of any forces. In international relations, China does not seek to build alliance or become a leader and will never do so in the future.

Peaceful settlement of international disputes is a founding purpose of the United Nations and a basic principle of international law. China is committed to addressing issues left over from history and current differences with other countries through dialogue and negotiation. As a permanent member of the UN Security Council, China will continue to play an active and constructive role in promoting peaceful settlement of international hotspot issues and regional conflicts.

China's development is peaceful in nature. It will not harm anyone or

pose a threat to anyone. China does not seek hegemony now, nor will it do so in the future. China keeps and develops an appropriate level of military capability solely for the purpose of safeguarding China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The confidence and pride of the Chinese nation today are based on China's economic development, social justice, civility of the people and moral strength. China will, through its own development, contribute to peace and development of the world.

Mr. President,

In the long history of mankind, the destinies of countries have never been so closely linked as they are today. Given the global nature of issues threatening the survival and development of mankind such as climate warming, environmental degradation, resources constraints, frequent outbreaks of diseases and natural disasters and the spread of terrorism, and in the face of the intertwining challenges of finance, energy and food, no country can expect to stay away from the difficulties or handle the problems all by itself. The ongoing financial volatility, in particular, has affected many countries and its impact is likely to become more serious. To tackle the challenge, we must all make concerted efforts. So long as people of all countries, especially their leaders, can do away with hostility, estrangement and prejudice, treat each other with sincerity and an open mind, and forge ahead hand in hand, mankind will overcome all difficulties and embrace a brighter and better future. China, as a responsible major developing country, is ready to work with other members of the international community to strengthen cooperation, share opportunities, meet challenges and contribute to the harmonious and sustainable development of the world.

Thank you.



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Unite as One and Work for a Bright Future

Statement by H.E. Hu Jintao
President of the People's Republic of China
At the General Debate of the 64th Session of the UN General Assembly

New York, 23 September 2009

Mr. President,
Dear Colleagues,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

The world today is undergoing major development, major changes and major adjustments. The trend towards peace, development and cooperation, which represent the call of our times, has grown stronger than ever. As the world moves further toward multi-polarity and economic globalization, multilateralism and democracy in international relations have won greater popular support, while opening up and cooperation for mutual benefit and win-win progress have become the shared aspirations of the international community. Countries have become more interdependent.

At the same time, the world remains under the impact of the financial crisis and the prospects for an economic recovery are still not clear. Unemployment and poverty worldwide are worsening and development imbalances are more acute. Global issues such as climate change, food security, energy and resource security and public health security have been thrown into sharp relief. Non-traditional security threats, including terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, transnational organized crime and major communicable diseases, are menacing our world. Some long-standing hotspot issues remain unresolved, and regional or local conflicts keep flaring up. The instability and uncertainties in the international landscape pose severe challenges to world peace and development.

In the face of unprecedented opportunities and challenges, we, members of the international community, should commit ourselves to peace, development, cooperation, common progress and tolerance and continue our joint endeavor to build a harmonious world of enduring peace and common prosperity and contribute to the noble cause of peace and development of mankind.

First, we should view security in a broader perspective and safeguard world peace

and stability. The security of all countries has never been as closely interconnected as it is today, and security now covers more areas than ever before. Traditional and non-traditional security threats are intertwined, involving political, military, economic, cultural and other fields. They are our common challenges that require a joint and comprehensive response. Security is not a zero-sum game, and there is no isolated or absolute security. No country can be safe and stable in the absence of world and regional peace and stability.

We should embrace a new security thinking of mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination. While maintaining one's own national security, we should also respect the security concerns of other countries and advance the common security of mankind. We should adhere to the purposes and principles of the *Charter of the United Nations* and seek peaceful solutions to regional hotspot issues and international disputes. There should be no willful use or threat of force. We should support the United Nations in continuing to play an important role in the field of international security. We should follow the spirit of equality, mutual benefit and cooperation to preserve global economic and financial stability. And we should oppose terrorism, separatism and extremism in all manifestations and deepen international security cooperation.

China has consistently stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and a world without nuclear weapons. We call on the international community to take credible steps to push forward the nuclear disarmament process, eradicate the risks of nuclear weapons proliferation and promote peaceful use of nuclear energy and related international cooperation.

Second, we should take a more holistic approach to development and promote common prosperity. The deepening economic globalization has linked the development of all countries closely together. Without the development and equal participation of developing countries, there cannot be common prosperity in the world, nor a more just and equitable international economic order. The developing countries now face a deteriorating external environment, brought about by the international financial crisis. Their economies are slowing down and their development endeavors are beset by serious difficulties.

We believe that common development is an important way to redressing global development imbalances and achieving sustainable development. The United Nations should increase its input in development, advance economic globalization in the direction of balanced development, shared benefits and win-win progress, and foster an international environment conducive to the development of developing countries. The international financial institutions should use their newly increased resources, first and foremost, to help developing countries move out of poverty and provide loans to them in a more flexible, diverse, convenient and efficient manner. Great effort should be made to increase the representation and voice of developing countries in reforming the international financial system.

We should take responsible measures to counter the international financial crisis, firmly oppose protectionism and actively work for an early, comprehensive and balanced outcome of

the Doha Round negotiations. Developed countries should open their markets to developing countries and reduce or exempt tariffs for those countries. They should honor their ODA and debt relief commitments, and in particular, increase assistance for the least developed countries with a focus on tackling issues like hunger, health care and education.

For developing countries, self-reliance is essential. They should explore development models conducive to their development and poverty eradication efforts. It is also in their interest to increase trade and investment cooperation and open markets to each other and upgrade South-South cooperation.

Third, we should pursue cooperation with a more open mind and work for mutual benefit and common progress. Climate change, food security, energy and resource security and public health security are all global challenges and no country is immune from them. The only way for us to meet these challenges and ensure harmony and peace is to engage in closer international cooperation. We should aim for common progress, bearing in mind not only the interests of our own people but also those of the people of the whole world, and expand converging interests.

Climate change is one of the serious challenges to human survival and development and international cooperation is the key to tackling this challenge. We should keep to the *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change* and its *Kyoto Protocol* as the primary channel in addressing climate change, abide by the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities", adhere to the mandate of the Bali Roadmap, and work for the success of the Copenhagen conference with a view to achieving mutual benefit and common progress.

Food and energy are vital to the livelihood, development and stability of all nations. We should increase input in agriculture, develop advanced technologies, curb market speculation, increase food assistance and intensify cooperation in agriculture and food. We should strengthen mutually beneficial cooperation in energy, step up research and development of new and renewable energies, put in place a system for the research, development and dissemination of advanced energy technologies and diversify energy supply.

The continued spread of Influenza A (H1N1) has presented a global health challenge confronting the entire international community. China is ready to provide help as its ability permits to other developing countries in the prevention and control of Influenza A (H1N1).

Fourth, we should be more tolerant to one another and live together in harmony. Mutual learning and tolerance among different civilizations is an inexhaustible source of strength for social progress, and all countries, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, are equal. We should acknowledge differences in cultural tradition, social system and values and respect the right of all countries to independently choose their development paths. We should vigorously promote and protect human rights, increase dialogue and remove misunderstanding. We should advocate a spirit of openness and tolerance and let different civilizations and models of development draw on each other's strength through competition and comparison and achieve common development by seeking common ground while

reserving differences.

Mr. President,
Dear Colleagues,

The Chinese people will soon celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. Sixty years ago, the Chinese people won independence and liberation after a prolonged hard struggle and became masters of the New China. Thirty years ago, the Chinese people started the historic journey of reform, opening up and socialist modernization. Since then, the Chinese society has shown unprecedented vigor and creativity. China's national strength has grown remarkably and the people are better off. China's development has contributed greatly to peace and development of the world.

History serves as the basis for further advance and provides inspiration for the future. We are keenly aware that China remains a developing country. The difficulties and problems we encounter are rarely seen in both scale and complexity. We have a long way to go before we can meet the target of building a well-off society in all respects that benefits over a billion people, and then achieving modernization and common prosperity for all. Bearing in mind our national conditions, we will continue to be committed to the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics, focus on economic development, unswervingly pursue reform and opening up, and promote all-round progress in the economic, political, cultural, social and environmental fields. Our development is for the people and by the people and its benefits are shared among the people. It is a scientific development that is people-oriented, comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable.

China's future is more closely interconnected with that of the world. A more developed China will make greater contribution to the world and bring more opportunities to the world. We are committed to the path of peaceful development and the win-win strategy of opening up. We will develop friendly relations and cooperation with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China has always been and will continue to be a positive force for world peace and common development.

As a responsible and major developing country, China has always made common development an important aspect of its foreign policy. We have made great effort to provide support and assistance to other developing countries, and fulfilled our commitment under the *UN Millennium Declaration*. So far, we have given assistance to more than 120 countries, cancelled debts for 49 heavily-indebted poor countries and least developed countries, and extended zero-tariff treatment to commodities from over 40 least developed countries.

Since the outbreak of the global financial crisis, despite great difficulties, we have kept the RMB exchange rate basically stable, which is important to maintaining healthy international trade. We have taken an active part in the trade finance program of the International Finance Corporation and provided financing support to the IMF, which will be mainly used to help developing countries. We have signed bilateral currency swap agreements with some developing countries. We have established the China-ASEAN

Investment Fund, provided credit support to the member states of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and actively contributed to the building of an East Asian foreign currency reserve pool.

To further assist developing countries:

China will increase support for other developing countries hit hard by the financial crisis, earnestly implement relevant capital increase and financing plans, intensify trade and investment cooperation and help raise the capacity of relevant countries for risk-resistance and sustainable development.

China will continue to implement the measures announced at the UN High-level Event on Millennium Development Goals to assist other developing countries in speeding up development and facilitate the attainment of the MDGs.

China will follow through on the measures to help African countries announced at the Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, increase assistance to Africa, reduce or cancel debts for heavily-indebted poor countries and least developed countries in Africa, expand trade and investment, provide human resources and technological support for African countries in such areas as agriculture, health, education and disaster preparedness and reduction, and intensify personnel training tailored to African needs.

China will continue to participate in and promote regional monetary and financial cooperation, maintain financial and economic stability and push forward financial cooperation and trade in the region.

Mr. President,
Dear Colleagues,

We are called upon by our times to unite as one and work together for mutual benefit and win-win progress like passengers in the same boat. This is the only way leading to common prosperity. Let's join hands, share development opportunities, rise above challenges and make unremitting effort to build a harmonious world of enduring peace and common prosperity!

Thank you.

2010



PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

360 EAST 35TH STREET, NEW YORK, NY 10016

PRESS RELEASE

(Translation)

Getting to Know the Real China

Statement by H.E. Wen Jiabao
Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China
At the General Debate of the 65th Session of the UN General Assembly

New York, 23 September 2010

Mr. President,
Dear Colleagues,

China is a member of the big family of the United Nations, and China's development and changes have attracted worldwide attention. I wish to take this opportunity to share with you my observations on how one should get to know the real China.

Since the founding of the People's Republic, and especially since the start of reform and opening up more than 30 years ago, profound changes have taken place in China, a big, ancient country in the East. Its economic and overall national strength has substantially increased. The livelihood of its people has markedly improved. Its social and cultural programs have made considerable progress. And its exchanges and cooperation with the outside world have kept expanding. In sum, my country has made a historic leap from mere subsistence to moderate prosperity.

We in China are proud of our achievements accomplished through strenuous efforts. At the same time, we are clear-headed about our place and role in today's world.

China's GDP is the third largest in the world, but in per capita terms, it is only one-tenth of that of developed countries. China has enjoyed over 30 years of fast growth, but its further development faces energy, resources and environmental constraints. China is a leading producer of many important products, but it remains at the lower end of the global industrial chain. China is a big trading nation, but its exports are low in technology content and value added. In many cases, we have to rely on imports to meet the demand for core technologies. China's coastal areas and some of the big and medium-sized cities thrive in modernization, but many places in the central and western regions and the vast rural areas are still rather backward, and we have 150 million people living below the poverty line set by the United Nations. The Chinese people's livelihood has made significant improvement, but we do not yet have a full-fledged social security system, and we are confronted with high employment pressure. Our people are more and more actively engaged in the country's social and political development, and citizens' basic rights and interests are better protected, yet our democracy and legal system still have room for improvement and such social ills as inequity and corruption still exist.

China, which has come a long way in modernization, is fairly advanced in some areas of development but remains backward in others. And it faces unprecedented challenges brought by problems both old and new. Taken as a whole, China is still in the primary stage of socialism and remains a developing country. These are our basic national conditions. This is the real China.

Mr. President,
Dear Colleagues,

China has set the strategic goal of basically achieving modernization by the middle of this century. Looking into the coming decades, the Chinese people will continue to move forward along the path of reform and opening up and peaceful development. This path has changed China's destiny and has benefited people throughout the country. We must stay on this path and make further improvement. There is no reason whatsoever for us to deviate from it.

China will continue to focus on developing the economy. Development is our top priority, as it constitutes the basis for addressing all issues. We will mainly rely on our own efforts in pursuing development.

With the progress in China's industrialization and urbanization, hundreds of millions of farmers will move to towns and cities. This will create more domestic demand than ever, open up broad market and development space, and serve as a powerful engine sustaining the growth of the Chinese economy and the world economy at large. We will work hard to transform the economic development pattern, restructure the economy and set out on a path of balanced and sustainable development.

China will continue to deepen institutional reform. We will make consistent effort to improve the socialist market economy. We will unswervingly strengthen and develop the public sector of the economy, and also unswervingly encourage, support and guide the development of the non-public sector. We will pay greater attention to ensuring and improving people's well-being. We will further reform the income distribution system and improve the social security system, including old-age support, medical care and unemployment benefit programs. We will endeavor to narrow the gap between urban and rural areas, between different regions and between the rich and the poor. We want to make sure that each and every citizen shares the benefit of China's reform, opening up and development. While deepening economic restructuring, we will also push forward political restructuring. Otherwise, we cannot achieve the ultimate goal of economic reform and we will lose what we have gained from our modernization drive. We respect and protect human rights, uphold social equity and justice, and strive to achieve the free and all-round development for our people. This is the important hallmark of a democratic country under the rule of law. It is also a basic guarantee for a country's lasting peace and stability.

China will be even more open to the world. Mutually-beneficial cooperation for win-win progress is a long-term strategy that we will stick to in opening up to the world. We will follow established international rules in expanding business ties with other countries. We will continue to improve the environment for foreign investors, optimize the structure of foreign capital utilization and explore new ways for overseas investment and cooperation. We are committed to promoting the establishment of a fair, equitable, inclusive and well-managed new international financial order and an open and free international trading regime. We are against protectionism in all its manifestations. In the course of modernization, we will not only continue to bring in and utilize advanced achievements from the rest of the world in the economic, scientific and technological fields, but also boldly draw upon the achievements of human civilization in the fields of social

management and cultural development.

China will continue to develop education, science and technology.

How can China narrow the development gap with the advanced countries and enhance the sustainability of its strong growth? I believe two things are of fundamental importance: first, education and second, science and technology. China has formulated medium- and long-term development programs on education and on science and technology respectively. Going forward, we will focus our efforts on implementing these two programs and build China into a country strong in human resources and innovation by 2020.

China will continue to carry forward its fine culture.

The development of a country and rejuvenation of a nation require not only great economic strength, but more importantly great cultural strength. The moral values and wisdom drawn from the 5,000-year Chinese civilization belong not only to China but also to the world. We will vigorously develop cultural programs and accelerate the development of a moral and ethical code that is commensurate with our socialist modernization drive and consistent with the traditional virtues of our nation. We respect the diversity of civilizations and will increase dialogue and exchanges with other civilizations to forge a common cultural bond for humanity. The Chinese nation, who has created an economic miracle, will create a new cultural splendor as well.

Mr. President,
Dear Colleagues,

The world of the 21st century is far from tranquil, but gone are the days when problems were ultimately settled by war. Peace and development remain the defining features of our time.

China will stay firmly committed to peaceful development. You may ask what is the essence of peaceful development. It is to foster a peaceful international environment for our development and at the same time contribute to world peace through our development. This is something inherent in the concept of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

In the course of development, China will continue to take it as its own duty to promote the common progress and prosperity of mankind. We will seek and expand converging interests with other countries. China's

development will not harm anyone or pose a threat to anyone. There were powers who sought hegemony once they grew strong. China will never follow in their footsteps.

China values friendship and also sticks to principles. It firmly upholds its national core interests. When it comes to sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity, China will not yield or compromise.

China will continue to firmly support the leading role of the United Nations in international affairs. We will, as always, abide by the UN Charter and fulfill in good faith our obligations under international conventions. We will intensify cooperation with fellow developing countries, and support their greater say in international affairs. We will remain forever a good partner and brother of developing countries.

China's stability and development is conducive to a more peaceful international environment, a more democratic international order, a more prosperous global economy and a more harmonious and civilized world. China's development is an opportunity to the world. And the world stands to gain from a China that is better off. History will continue to prove this.

Mr. President,
Dear Colleagues,

A China that develops peacefully, a China that is full of vigor and vitality and a China that is willing and ready to fulfill its responsibilities will always move forward together with the world. Let us join hands to work for a world of enduring peace and prosperity.

Thank you.



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(Translation)

**WORK TOGETHER TO MEET CHALLENGES AND
PURSUE COMMON DEVELOPMENT**

Statement by H.E. Yang Jiechi
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China
At the General Debate of the 66th Session of the UN General Assembly

New York, 26 September 2011

Mr. President,

I wish to begin by congratulating you on your election as president of the 66th Session of the General Assembly. I am confident that, with your outstanding ability and rich experience, you will fulfill this lofty mission. I wish to thank Mr. Deiss for his contribution as president of the last session. I also wish to take this opportunity to extend warm congratulations to the Republic of South Sudan on joining the family of the United Nations as its 193rd member.

Mr. President,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

The first decade of the 21st century is now behind us. During this decade, the trend towards a multipolar world and economic globalization gained momentum. Countries became increasingly interdependent. Revolution in science and technology brought about profound transformation of the human society. On the other hand, various traditional and non-traditional security threats and global challenges were intertwined, and the world was far from a peaceful place. As the second decade of the new century begins, the world has entered an extraordinary historical stage in its pursuit of peace and

development, and it continues to undergo profound and complex changes. Factors of uncertainty and instability are increasing despite the generally peaceful international environment. Development is becoming an increasingly serious issue, and promoting common development has become a more important and pressing task than ever before.

Global development is now at a new critical juncture. Global recovery remains fragile, international financial markets are volatile and the pursuit of sustainable development faces daunting challenges. The world economy therefore has to meet the crucial test of maintaining growth. Some countries in west Asia and north Africa are in continual political turmoil. Terrorist threats are spreading, and global challenges are growing. The international community faces a critical test of maintaining stability. The gap in development between the South and the North is as wide as ever. The population living in absolute poverty has increased by 64 million due to the international financial crisis, and nearly one billion people suffer from starvation. Meeting the UN Millennium Development Goals calls for urgent actions. It is imperative to step up international cooperation to help the least developed countries (LDCs) meet the test of ensuring basic living needs of their people.

In the face of these challenges, we share an important mission to achieve common development, and we also have rare new opportunities. Economic globalization has made the interests of countries more closely interconnected. Ensuring security through cooperation and promoting development through stability has become our shared desire. Countries are addressing development challenges in innovative ways. To overcome crisis, developed countries have taken steps to improve their fiscal conditions, adopted stimulus measures and accelerated economic structural adjustment. Developing countries as a whole have maintained good momentum of growth. In particular, the rapid growth in some emerging economies has driven the growth of the world economy. Progress has been made in the reform of the global economic governance structure, and various regional cooperation mechanisms are growing. Efforts to accelerate the development of green economy and explore new modes of sustainable growth have created new momentum and space for common development.

Faced with both new opportunities and challenges, we should work as a team to overcome difficulties and pursue mutual benefit and common development. This is the responsibility and mission that history bestows

upon all of us. And to fulfill our mission, we need to take the following steps:

We should foster sound momentum for global economic recovery. The underlying impact of the international financial crisis has yet to dissipate, and economic recovery is still fragile and uneven. We should intensify consultation and coordination and send a strong message of solidarity and win-win cooperation so as to strengthen international confidence in global recovery and growth. We should work for a fair, just, inclusive and orderly international monetary and financial system and increase the voice and representation of emerging markets and developing countries. China supports the transition of the G20 from a short-term crisis response mechanism to a long-term mechanism of economic governance. The G20 should play a bigger role in global economic governance and in promoting the full recovery and growth of the world economy. We support the efforts of emerging markets to explore new modes of international economic cooperation. We strongly oppose protectionism in all its forms and call for strengthening the multilateral trading regime. The concerns of the least developed countries should be addressed, and efforts should be made to make the Doha Round achieve its development objectives.

We should lay the political foundation for cooperative development. All countries, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, are equal members of the international community, and their equal right to development should be protected. Mutual respect and equality are the basic norms governing international relations and constitute the important guarantee for common development. In the current context, it is of particular and practical importance to adhere to the purposes and principles of the *Charter of the United Nations*, to uphold the authority and role of the United Nations, to observe in good faith the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and to promote democracy in international relations. We should respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, and the internal affairs of a country should be decided by its own people. We oppose interference in other countries' internal affairs by whatever means and under whatever pretext. Diversity of the world is a valuable asset for the development of human society. It should be seen as a positive factor for countries to learn from each other, and it should not be used as an excuse for the big to bully the small or the rich to ride roughshod over the poor in international relations. We should respect the right of each country to pursue the development path of its choice and respect diversity of civilizations. And

we should seek common progress by drawing on each other's strength with an open and inclusive mind and in a spirit of seeking common ground while reserving differences.

We should foster a security environment conducive to stability and development. History has repeatedly shown that stability and development go hand in hand. Without stability, there can be no development; and without development, there can be no stability. In keeping with the requirement of the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, we should always use peaceful means to settle international disputes and hotspot issues, oppose willful use or threat of force, oppose terrorism, separatism and extremism in all their forms, and uphold the common security of mankind.

China respects the independent choice of the people of Sudan and South Sudan and hopes that the new-born country of South Sudan will enjoy stability and development. The international community should continue to give support to and encourage Sudan and South Sudan to properly resolve their outstanding issues through dialogue and consultation, pursue amicable relations and common development, and uphold regional peace and stability. China has encouraged Sudan and South Sudan to resolve their dispute through peaceful negotiation and has worked hard to advance the peace process between them, and we support the proper settlement of the Darfur issue. We will continue to work with the international community and play a constructive role in pushing forward regional peace, stability and development.

China consistently supports the just cause of establishing an independent Palestinian state and supports Palestine's membership in the United Nations. We support efforts to achieve the "two-state solution" through political negotiation so as to establish, on the basis of the 1967 borders, an independent Palestinian state that enjoys full sovereignty with East Jerusalem as its capital. We believe that progress should be made in parallel in the peace talks between Syria and Israel and between Lebanon and Israel with a view to eventually achieving comprehensive, just and durable peace in the Middle East and peaceful coexistence between the Arab countries and Israel. We hope that the international community and parties concerned will make unremitting efforts toward this end and sustain the Middle East peace process.

China is greatly concerned about the turbulence in west Asia and north

Africa. We stand for the principle of non-interference, respect and support countries in the region in independently handling their internal affairs, and respect the aspirations of the people in the region. We hope that the parties concerned in the countries of the region will resolve their differences through political dialogue and speedily restore stability and order in their respective countries. Libya has now entered into a critical transitional stage from war and turmoil to national reconstruction. China respects the choice of the Libyan people and recognizes the National Transitional Council (NTC) as the governing authorities of Libya and the representative of its people. We hope that under NTC's leadership, the parties in Libya will set in motion an inclusive process of political transition, maintain ethnic harmony and national unity, restore stability as soon as possible and begin economic reconstruction. China supports the United Nations in playing a leading role in Libya's post-conflict reconstruction and supports the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) in starting its mission as quickly as possible. China is also greatly concerned about the developments in Syria. We hope that parties in Syria will exercise restraint, avoid any form of violence or more bloodshed and conflict, and act quickly to ease tension. We believe that a Syria-led, inclusive political process aimed at promoting reform and advanced through dialogue and consultation is the right way to resolve the current crisis in Syria. The international community should respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Syria, and handle the Syrian issue in a prudent way so as to prevent further turbulence in Syria and its repercussions on regional peace.

China welcomes the positive developments on the Korean Peninsula. We believe that dialogue and consultation are the only effective way to address the issues of the Korean Peninsula and the Six Party Talks are an effective mechanism to advance the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and uphold peace and stability both on the Peninsula and in Northeast Asia. China has been working hard to promote peace through dialogue and has played a unique role in easing tension and maintaining peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula. China welcomes the recent resumption of dialogue between the DPRK and the ROK and between the DPRK and the US. We hope that the parties concerned will seize the opportunity, remain engaged in dialogue and work for an early resumption of the Six Party Talks.

We should promote balanced development between the South and the North. The uneven development between the South and the North is the biggest imbalance in the global economy. Without balanced development,

there can hardly be sustainable development. Unless underdeveloped countries shake off poverty and grow their economy, there can be no common prosperity of the world. To attain the Millennium Development Goals on a global scale on schedule is an urgent and arduous task. Developed countries should honor their commitment on official development assistance, open markets, reduce and cancel debts and step up financial and technological support to developing countries. International financial institutions should use their resources to help developing countries, and particularly the LDCs, on a priority basis. Developing countries, on their part, should explore growth models conducive to development and poverty alleviation in order to achieve development at a higher level. Food security has emerged as a major challenge. The Horn of Africa is suffering from massive famine triggered by the most severe drought in 60 years. The international community should scale up assistance, stabilize the prices of food and other commodities and help developing countries enhance capacity for self-development so that all countries and regions can enjoy the benefits of common development.

Mr. President,

The world witnessed major development, major transformation and major adjustment in the first decade of the 21st century. During this decade, China enjoyed sustained and fast development and its relations with the outside world underwent profound changes. China's development achievements and its future course have become a focus of international attention.

During the past decade, China's economy grew further and people's living standards rose markedly thanks to the hard work of the Chinese people. Today, China has become the second largest economy, largest exporter, second largest importer and largest emerging market in the world. The basic living needs of the 1.3 billion Chinese people are adequately met, and the number of people in absolute poverty is drastically reduced. On the other hand, the difficulties China faces in development should not be ignored. China remains a developing country with a large population, weak economic foundation and serious imbalance and lack of coordination in its development. China needs to make persistent and strenuous efforts to achieve its development goals. Guided by the recently adopted 12th Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, China will pursue scientific development, accelerate the shift of the growth model, advance

scientific and technological innovation and deepen reform and opening-up to promote long-term, steady and fast economic development and social harmony and progress. The world will see a more open China with more sustainable development and greater social harmony.

China's development has both brought real benefits to the Chinese people and contributed to global development and prosperity. During the past ten years, China imported close to US\$750 billion of goods on average annually, creating over 14 million jobs for relevant countries and regions. At the end of the 12th five-year period in 2015, China's total economic output will be around US\$8.6 trillion. It is expected that China will import about US\$10 trillion of goods in the next five years, and this will further boost world economic growth. China needs the world to continue to develop itself, and China's development will in turn contribute more to the common development of the world.

As a developing country, China is committed to enhancing mutually beneficial cooperation based on equality with other developing countries, and it endeavors to provide assistance and support to them. China has canceled 380 debts incurred by 50 heavily indebted poor countries and LDCs and will phase in zero-tariff treatment to 95% of the exports from the LDCs in Africa that have diplomatic relations with China. We have completed over 2,100 projects, including schools and hospitals, in other developing countries, and trained 120,000 professionals in various fields for them. Sharing the pain of the countries and people in the Horn of Africa hit by famine, China has decided to provide RMB443.2 million in emergency food assistance and cash for purchasing food to these countries to help them overcome the famine. China has made notable efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. As it continues to develop, China will create more opportunities for world peace, development and cooperation.

To advance common development, we must foster a sound international environment. Over the years, China has been dedicated to creating a peaceful international environment in which to develop itself. At the same time, it has contributed its share to enhancing world peace through its own development. China has actively undertaken international responsibility as its ability permits and worked to promote peaceful settlement of hotspot issues. China takes an active part in international peacekeeping operations. Having sent over 19,000 personnel to 28 UN peacekeeping missions, China is the largest contributor of UN peacekeeping personnel among the

permanent members of the Security Council. China has provided assistance in cash and kind to countries hit by earthquakes and tsunamis and sent rescue teams to carry out humanitarian relief operations in the affected areas. China is actively involved in the fight against piracy and in other areas of international cooperation. All these efforts have contributed to maintaining world peace and stability.

Mr. President,

The tide of history is surging forward. In the next decade, peace, development and cooperation will remain the trend of the times and China will not stop in its pursuit of development and progress. Peaceful development is a strategic choice China has made to build a modern, strong and prosperous country and contribute more to the progress of human civilization. China will stay on the path of peaceful development and pursue an independent foreign policy of peace and the win-win strategy of opening-up. We are committed to bring about a better life for the Chinese people and greater development and prosperity for all mankind. And we will achieve these objectives through hard work, reform and innovation, and by conducting long-term friendly exchanges and equality-based win-win cooperation with other countries. A prosperous, harmonious and stable China which lives up to its responsibilities will make greater contribution to the prosperity and stability of the world and the common development of mankind. Let us work together to deepen cooperation and achieve development by sharing opportunities and jointly meeting challenges and build a harmonious world of durable peace and common prosperity.

Thank you.

2012



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Work Together to Achieve Common Security and Development

Statement by H.E. Yang Jiechi
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China
At the General Debate of the 67th Session of the UN General Assembly

New York, 27 September 2012

Mr. President,

I wish to congratulate you on your election as president of the 67th Session of the General Assembly. I am confident that with your ability and experience, you will successfully fulfill this lofty mission. I also wish to thank Mr. Al-Nasser for his positive contribution as president of the last session.

Mr. President,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

The world is undergoing major and profound changes. The trend towards multi-polarity, economic globalization and the application of information technology are gaining momentum. Countries have never been so interconnected and interdependent as they are today; emerging markets and developing countries have never had such strong influence, and cross-civilization dialogue and exchanges are flourishing as never before. To promote peace, development and cooperation has become the shared aspiration of people across the world and the common pursuit of the international community.

On the other hand, the world is still far from being peaceful. The underlying impact of the international financial crisis and the European debt

crisis remains strong. Destabilizing factors and uncertainties affecting global growth have increased. Regional turbulence persists, hotspot issues keep emerging and traditional and non-traditional security issues are entwined. The international security environment is highly complex.

Facing both unprecedented opportunities and challenges, we must not allow the outdated Cold War mentality and zero-sum game theory to stand in our way. We should act like passengers who stick together in a boat when crossing a torrential river and seek win-win progress through cooperation. This is the only option for countries around the world. To ensure one's own security, a country should respect and accommodate the security of other countries. To realize one's own development, a country should actively promote common development; and in pursuing one's own interests, a country should take into account the interests of other countries. Only by promoting common security and development for all of its members can the international community effectively address complex and multiple security threats and global challenges, resolve increasingly serious difficulties facing development and ensure durable peace and sustainable development of the world. With this in mind, China believes that it is important that we do the following:

We should promote equality and democracy in international relations. Mutual respect and equality are basic norms governing international relations. All countries, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, are equal members of the international community. Respect for each other's sovereignty, core interests and choice of social system and development path is a fundamental principle guiding state-to-state relations. We should vigorously promote greater democracy in international relations. The internal affairs of a country should be handled by itself, and issues involving the interests of various countries should be handled by them through consultation.

We should remain true to multilateralism and uphold the purposes and principles of the *Charter of the United Nations* and the central role of the United Nations in international affairs. China endeavors to strengthen political mutual trust and address problems and differences with other countries through dialogue and exchanges. China does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries or impose its will on others, and China does not allow outside forces to interfere in its internal affairs.

We should seek win-win progress through cooperation in the course of development. As economic globalization deepens, all countries have a

high stake in each other's success. We should therefore enhance cooperation and expand common interests to achieve win-win and all-win progress. We should tap the potential for cooperation in all countries, expand and enrich cooperation, improve cooperation mechanisms and work together to make economic globalization balanced, inclusive and beneficial to all. We should accelerate the development of developing countries and narrow the North-South gap. We should enhance global cooperation on development to ensure that the benefits of development reach every one. Since the outbreak of the international financial crisis, China has, while maintaining its own robust growth, significantly increased contributions to international financial institutions, extended a helping hand to other developing countries and increased purchase of bonds of some developed countries. All this has helped stabilize the international economic and financial situation and maintain economic and social development of relevant countries.

We should ensure fairness and effectiveness in conducting global governance. Facing growing global challenges, the international community should strengthen coordination and cooperation, establish a fair, equitable, flexible and effective system of global governance, properly address various global issues and promote the common well-being of mankind. China supports the United Nations in enhancing its authority and efficiency and the ability to address new threats and challenges through proper reform as called for. It is important to advance the building of a global system of economic governance with a focus on reforming the international financial system, speedily implement the quota and governance reform plans of the IMF and other financial institutions and increase the representation and voice of emerging markets and developing countries. We should fully implement the outcome and consensus of the UN Conference on Sustainable Development, make new progress in international cooperation on sustainable development and discuss the formulation of a post-2015 international development agenda on the basis of actively implementing the UN MDGs. We should launch a process of open, transparent and democratic intergovernmental consultation with development and poverty reduction as the core objectives. We should also fully leverage the role of the civil society and private sector in this endeavor. Together with all other parties, China is ready to take an active part in the reform of the international system and in global governance and jointly meet various global challenges.

We should pursue common progress by embracing diversity of civilization. According to ancient Chinese philosophy, the world will be a

great place when “all things thrive without hurting one another, and various endeavors are pursued in parallel without collision among them.” We should encourage exchanges and mutual learning between different civilizations and social systems, draw on each other’s strength through competition and comparison and make joint progress by seeking common ground while reserving differences. We should respect the diversity of the world and the right of all countries to independently choose their development paths. China encourages cross-civilization dialogue and exchanges. We should replace confrontation with dialogue and bridge differences with inclusiveness so as to make the world a more harmonious place and ensure common progress for mankind.

We should seek common security amid growing interdependence. No country is immune to the complex and multiple security threats and challenges in the world. We should foster a new thinking on security featuring mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination, take a holistic approach to address both the symptoms and root causes of diverse security challenges and build a peaceful and stable international and regional security environment. The United Nations should fully play its role in safeguarding world peace and security and establishing a fair and effective mechanism for common security. We must resolve disputes through dialogue and negotiation and oppose willful use or threat of force. We must oppose terrorism, separatism and extremism in all forms.

West Asia and North Africa is undergoing profound changes. China respects and supports efforts by countries in this region to independently handle their internal affairs and respects the aspirations and calls of people in this region for change and development. The unique features of this region in terms of religion, civilization, history and ethnicity should be respected. We hope that the relevant parties will settle differences through inclusive and constructive political dialogue and resolve problems peacefully. Safeguarding peace and stability in the region, upholding the fundamental and long-term interests of Arab countries and ensuring the growth of friendly China-Arab relations will remain a central goal of China’s policy towards this region. We will continue to make unremitting efforts with countries in the region to promote peace and development in keeping with the purposes and principles of the *Charter of the United Nations*.

China is deeply concerned about the stalled Palestinian-Israeli peace talks and the economic and humanitarian difficulties facing the Palestinian people.

The turbulence in the region should not divert international attention from the Palestinian issue. China supports the Palestinian people in establishing, on the basis of the 1967 borders, an independent Palestinian state that enjoys full sovereignty with East Jerusalem as its capital. China supports Palestine's membership in the United Nations and other international organizations. China urges both Palestine and Israel to take concrete measures to remove obstacles and work for the early resumption and substantive progress of the peace talks.

China is deeply concerned about the persistent tension and worsening humanitarian situation in Syria. We call on all relevant parties in Syria to put an immediate end to fighting and violence, implement the relevant Security Council resolutions, Mr. Kofi Annan's six-point plan and the communiqué of the foreign ministers' meeting of the Action Group for Syria, and launch an inclusive political dialogue and a Syrian-led political transition as soon as possible. China is open towards any political plan that is acceptable to all parties in Syria. The relevant parties of the international community should play a positive and constructive role in this regard, support with credible steps Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, the UN-Arab League Joint Special Representative, in conducting impartial mediation, and endeavor to set in motion and advance the process of political transition in Syria.

The Iranian nuclear issue has reached a new crucial stage. The relevant parties should remain committed to a diplomatic solution and begin a new round of dialogue as soon as possible. We should, acting in the spirit of respecting each other's concerns, showing flexibility and pragmatism, expanding common ground and overcoming differences, seek early progress in dialogue and negotiation and, over time, achieve a comprehensive, long-term and proper solution to the issue. China has always supported efforts to uphold the international nuclear nonproliferation regime and will continue to work with parties concerned and play a constructive role in seeking a peaceful solution to the Iranian nuclear issue through dialogue and negotiation.

The Asia-Pacific region has maintained general stability and rapid growth for many years, thus making important contribution to global stability and prosperity. Given the growing downward risks in the global economy and increasing volatilities in the international situation, to maintain peace, stability and sound growth in the Asia-Pacific is crucial to ensuring the well-being of people in the region. This also meets the broader interests of the

international community. We should fully respect the reality of a diverse and interdependent Asia-Pacific and continue to follow an approach for regional cooperation that has proved effective over the years, namely, building consensus, making incremental progress and accommodating each other's comfort level. We should promote regional development with greater determination, advance regional cooperation with increased resources and handle differences with longer-term interests in mind so as to uphold peace, stability and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region.

Mr. President,

As an important participant which has contributed to building the international system, China is committed to sharing development opportunities with other countries and working with them to overcome various challenges and realize security and development for all.

China will stay on the track of peaceful development. We seek a peaceful international environment in which China can develop itself. By developing itself, China will contribute to global peace and common development. China is firm in upholding its core interests. At the same time, it respects the legitimate right of other countries to protect their interests. We seek to expand common interests with other parties for the sake of common good. China has contributed a total of about 21,000 personnel to UN peacekeeping missions and taken an active part in international cooperation on counter-terrorism, anti-piracy and nonproliferation. In our efforts to resolve major international and regional hotspot issues, we have urged parties concerned to seek peaceful solutions through negotiation and thus played an important and constructive role in easing tensions and achieving political resolution of these issues. China has made remarkable progress in pursuing peaceful development and will continue to follow this path in the years to come.

China will enhance friendly relations and cooperation with all other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and strive to build a new type of relations between major countries based on mutual respect and win-win cooperation.

Following a policy of building good-neighborly relationships and partnerships with neighboring countries, China has actively expanded exchanges with countries in its neighborhood. China has contributed to over 50 percent of Asia's growth for many consecutive years. We have endeavored

to build political mutual trust and cooperation mechanisms with other Asian countries and properly handle differences and frictions with relevant countries. On the basis of firmly upholding China's sovereignty, security and territorial integrity, we have worked with our neighbors to maintain sound relations and overall stability in the region.

China treats other developing countries as good friends and good partners, and we support each other and seek common development on the basis of equality. By the end of 2011, the Chinese government had built over 2,200 projects in relevant countries which are important to local economy and people's lives. We have cancelled debts owed to China by 50 heavily indebted poor countries and least developed countries. We have trained over 60,000 personnel in various sectors for 173 developing countries and 13 regional and international organizations. All of this has contributed to economic and social development of other developing countries.

China has taken an active part in reforming the international system and in global governance, and assumed its due share of international responsibilities and obligations as its capability permits. We are working to build a fair, equitable and non-discriminatory global trading system and a more equal and balanced new global partnership for development. We support the G20 in playing a greater role as the premier forum for international economic cooperation and the efforts of emerging markets represented by BRICS countries to explore a new model of global cooperation.

The global economy is in a crucial stage and achieving full recovery and sustained growth remains a long and difficult task. Last year, despite a challenging economic environment both at home and abroad, China registered a GDP growth rate of 9.3 percent and made good progress in adjusting the economic structure and improving people's lives. Since the beginning of this year, to address some new problems in economic performance, the Chinese government has stepped up anticipatory fine-tuning of the economy and introduced a series of targeted policy measures. This has boosted market confidence and ensured steady growth. China's GDP grew by 7.8 percent in the first half of the year and the country has enjoyed sound economic and social development. China is still in an important period of strategic opportunities for development. Industrialization, urbanization, application of information technology and the agricultural modernization will continue to unlock great potential of development. We have the

confidence, means and ability to maintain steady and robust growth and achieve long-term, sound and sustainable development. During the 12th Five-Year Plan period (2011-2015), China's domestic market will be one of the largest in the world, its total imports are expected to exceed US\$10 trillion and direct outbound investment is expected to exceed US\$500 billion. This will create enormous business and job opportunities for the world and provide good opportunities for other countries' development.

Diaoyu Dao and its affiliated islands have been an integral part of China's territory since ancient times. China has indisputable historical and legal evidence in this regard. Japan seized these islands in 1895 at the end of the Sino-Japanese War and forced the then Chinese government to sign an unequal treaty to cede these islands and other Chinese territories to Japan. After the Second World War, the Diaoyu Dao islands and other Chinese territories occupied by Japan were returned to China in accordance with the *Cairo Declaration*, the *Potsdam Proclamation* and other international documents. By taking such unilateral actions as the so-called "island purchase", the Japanese government has grossly violated China's sovereignty. This is an outright denial of the outcomes of the victory of the world anti-fascist war and poses a grave challenge to the post-war international order and the purposes and principles of the *Charter of the United Nations*. The moves taken by Japan are totally illegal and invalid. They can in no way change the historical fact that Japan stole Diaoyu Dao and its affiliated islands from China and the fact that China has territorial sovereignty over them. The Chinese government is firm in upholding China's territorial sovereignty. China strongly urges Japan to immediately stop all activities that violate China's territorial sovereignty, take concrete actions to correct its mistakes, and return to the track of resolving the dispute through negotiation.

Mr. President,

The Communist Party of China will soon hold its 18th National Congress. We are confident that this important meeting will lead China's reform, opening-up and modernization drive to a new stage. Facts have shown and will continue to prove that China's development is peaceful, open, cooperative and win-win in nature. We will work with the international community to follow the trend of history and the call of the times and build a harmonious world of enduring peace and shared prosperity.

Thank you.

2013



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PRESS RELEASE

(Translation)

China at a New Starting Point

Statement by H.E. Mr. Wang Yi
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China
At the General Debate of the 68th Session of
The United Nations General Assembly

New York, 27 September 2013

Mr. President,

This year has been an unusual one in China's development. China's new central collective leadership has put forward the concept of the Chinese dream of the great renewal of the Chinese nation. And it is leading the 1.3 billion Chinese people in an endeavor to fulfill the two centenary goals, namely, to finish building a moderately prosperous society in all respects by 2020 and to turn China into a modern socialist country by the mid-21st century. Having experienced profound changes in the past five thousand years and especially the past century, China has reached a new historical starting point today.

What development path will China take in the future? What domestic and foreign policies will it pursue? And what kind of international role will it play? I understand that these questions are of great interest to the international community. As the foreign

minister of the new Chinese government, I wish to give an emphatic answer to them.

China will stay firmly on the path of peaceful development. China's rapid development over the years has given rise to worries that China might follow the old pattern of wealth breeding arrogance and strength leading to hegemony; and various versions of the China threat theory have surfaced. However, what happened in the past should not be applied to today's China. The outdated Cold-War mentality has no place in the new era of globalization. The Chinese nation loves peace and the Chinese culture values harmony. In history, the Chinese people have always embraced international exchanges and trade, not foreign aggression and expansion, and adhered to the patriotic resolve to defend the homeland rather than the colonialist doctrine to seize new territories.

The culture of a country determines its values, and its history points the way to its future.

Close to 40 years ago, it was on this podium that the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping solemnly declared on behalf of the Chinese government that China would never seek hegemony in the world. Today, his statement remains our unchanging commitment and conviction. China has honored and will continue to honor its promise and remain a staunch force for upholding world peace.

China pursues peaceful development and calls on all other countries to follow the same path. Since the beginning of reform and opening up, China has become increasingly interdependent with the global economy and integrated into the international system. We are committed to working with others to establish a new type of international relations based on win-win cooperation and seek peaceful resolution of international and regional disputes. With regard to China's disputes with some countries over territorial

sovereignty and maritime rights and interests, we sincerely hope to properly resolve them through negotiation and consultation with countries directly involved. Those disputes that cannot be resolved now can be shelved for future resolution. This is our consistent position and practice. On the other hand, we will, under whatever circumstances, firmly safeguard China's sovereignty and territorial integrity and resolutely uphold China's legitimate and lawful rights and interests.

China will remain committed to reform, opening up and sustainable development. It has been five years since the outbreak of the international financial crisis. Global economy is back on the right track to recovery, but the foundation of the recovery is not solid and the speed is not fast enough. The root causes of the financial crisis are yet to be removed, and the structural problems of developed countries remain unresolved. The adjustment of unconventional monetary policies from the outside, coupled with other factors, have posed new challenges and the risk of financial market volatility to emerging market countries. Where the Chinese economy is heading engages domestic as well as international attention. Here, I wish to tell everyone that both the fundamentals and the overall performance of China's economy are sound, and China's development prospects are bright. The leading indicators of the Chinese economy are generally good, and China leads the major economies in growth rate.

In pursuit of progress while maintaining stability, the Chinese government has taken a macro-economic policy that addresses both immediate and long-term needs and adopted a series of innovative policy measures with a view to ensuring steady growth, adjusting economic structure and promoting reform. We are vigorously advancing reform and opening up, deepening economic structural adjustment, and accelerating the shift in our growth model. We are implementing the basic state policy of resource conservation and environment protection and promoting green,

circular and low-carbon development to build a sound ecology and a beautiful China.

As China grows in economic output and changes its growth model, its economy has entered a phase of high-to-medium growth rate. This is dictated by the law of economics, and it will ensure sustained and healthy growth of the Chinese economy. The Chinese economy is being upgraded, and its future growth will deliver four major dividends, namely, dividends released by industrialization, IT application, a new type of urbanization and agricultural modernization, by reform and innovation, by structural readjustment, and by further opening-up. It is projected that in the coming five years, China's imports of commodities will exceed US\$10 trillion, its overseas investment will reach US\$500 billion, and Chinese tourists will make over 400 million outbound visits. This will give stronger impetus to the world economy and bring more tangible benefits to other countries.

China will firmly promote reform of the global governance system with the United Nations at its core. The United Nations is a big stage for all countries to conduct consultation and cooperation with one other. It is also a big family where people of all countries are brought together. It is our consistent position that the purposes and principles of the *Charter of the United Nations* form the cornerstone of current international relations and provide safeguards for world peace and stability. Respecting national sovereignty and opposing interference in internal affairs, safeguarding peace and opposing aggression, and promoting equality and opposing power politics — these important principles must be observed. China firmly upholds the role and authority of the United Nations, supports the United Nations in renewing and improving itself in keeping with a changing world, and looks forward to a United Nations that plays a bigger role in international affairs. China is ready to deepen cooperation with the United Nations and get more actively involved in UN activities in various

fields.

China is committed to promoting democracy in international relations and the trend toward a multi-polar world. China calls for greater representation and voice of developing countries in the global governance system, and supports the G20, the BRICS and other emerging mechanisms in playing a big role so as to make the international order fairer and more equitable. China calls for reforming the international monetary and financial systems and upholding the role of the World Trade Organization as the main channel. We are opposed to trade protectionism and are working to make economic globalization more balanced, inclusive and beneficial to all. We call on countries to enhance macro-economic policy coordination and be mindful of the spill-over effects of their respective adjustment of economic policies. We call for strengthening North-South dialogue and South-South cooperation to make development benefits more accessible to people of all countries.

China will firmly fulfill its due international responsibilities and obligations. The Chinese nation is responsible and ready to play its part. Although it remains a developing country facing a daunting task of development, China, as the second biggest economy and a permanent member of the UN Security Council, is fully aware of its responsibilities and expectations placed on it by the international community.

We will be fully and more actively engaged in international affairs and work closely with other countries to meet complex global challenges and tackle difficult issues facing mankind. We will voice China's views, offer China's wisdom, propose China's solutions, play China's due role and provide more public goods to the international community.

We will vigorously advocate the right vision on justice versus

interests and endeavor to build a community of common destiny with other developing countries. In our exchanges and cooperation with other developing countries, we will uphold justice and place it above interests, and give sincere assistance to other developing countries to the best of our ability so as to enable developing countries to realize independent and sustainable development.

We will play a more proactive and constructive role in addressing international and regional hotspot issues to promote peace and dialogue, defuse conflicts and safeguard world peace and stability. We will continue with our escort missions and counter-piracy operations in the Gulf of Aden, and increase participation in the UN peacekeeping operations so as to contribute more to peace and security in Africa and other relevant regions.

Mr. President,

Turmoil in Syria has lasted for nearly three years, causing great suffering and trauma to both the Syrian people and Syria's neighbors. The recent use of chemical weapons has met universal condemnation. China firmly opposes the use of chemical weapons. We hope to see an early adoption of a UN Security Council resolution to support the OPCW in launching the verification and destruction of chemical weapons and we stand ready to make financial contribution to the OPCW for the destruction of chemical weapons in Syria. China calls for an immediate end to hostilities and violence in Syria so as to create necessary conditions for the verification and destruction of chemical weapons. We call for the early convening of the Geneva II conference and faster progress in a political resolution of the Syrian issue. China seeks no self gains in Syria and does not take side on the Syrian issue. We respect the aspirations and choice of the Syrian people. China follows the humanitarian situation in Syria with great concern. We have provided and will continue to provide assistance within our means to the Syrian people, including Syrian refugees outside the country.

Recently, China has been implementing emergency humanitarian material aid to Jordan worth RMB15 million, and has provided emergency humanitarian aid in cash worth RMB24 million to the World Food Program and the World Health Organization for the displaced people within Syria and Syrian refugees in Lebanon respectively.

On the Iranian nuclear issue, China has been working to promote a peaceful settlement through dialogue. We have played a constructive role in seeking a comprehensive, lasting and appropriate solution to the Iranian nuclear issue so as to uphold the international non-proliferation regime and peace and stability in the Middle East. The dialogue between the P5+1 and Iran has created new opportunities. All the relevant parties should scale up diplomatic efforts and work for substantive progress in the dialogue at an early date.

The Palestinian issue is at the core of the Middle East conflict. Guided by President Xi Jinping's four-point proposal on resolving the Palestinian issue, China will continue to work for a comprehensive, just and durable solution to the issue.

Thanks to the concerted efforts of all the relevant parties, that tension on the Korean Peninsula is easing. To achieve denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and maintain long-term peace and stability on the Peninsula meets the common interests of all parties concerned. It is China's consistent position that a negotiated solution through dialogue is the right way to solve the nuclear issue on the Peninsula, and the Six-Party Talks are an effective platform to promote denuclearization on the Korean Peninsula. This year marks the 10th anniversary of the launch of the Six-Party Talks. We hope that parties will create conditions, build consensus, work toward the same goal, and resume the Talks at an early date.

Mr. President,

International development cooperation is at a crucial stage where we must build on past achievements to make new progress. China supports the continued and full implementation of the Millennium Development Goals and the early launch of inter-governmental negotiations on the post-2015 development agenda. The post-2015 development agenda should continue to focus on development and poverty elimination, give due consideration to national conditions and stages of development in different countries, and respect their independent choices of development paths. The agenda should give priority to strengthening global development partnerships, adhere to the principles of common but differentiated responsibilities, equity and respective capabilities, improve follow-up mechanisms, step up development financing, promote trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, and increase official development aid and technical support to developing countries.

China welcomes the positive outcomes of the Doha Climate Change Conference held at the end of 2012. China hopes that developed countries will demonstrate political will and honor their commitments by scaling up emissions reduction efforts and providing capital, technology and capacity-building support to developing countries. The Chinese government takes climate change seriously, and the host of forceful policy measures it has taken have resulted in notable progress. China will continue to play its due role in addressing global climate change.

Mr. President,

Time flies! We will soon be celebrating the 70th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. Born out of the ashes of the Second World War, the United Nations embodies the yearning of peoples of all countries for world peace and global development.

The Chinese dream is a dream about China's prosperity and Chinese people's happiness, which has much in common with the dream of people across the world. As a responsible member of the United Nations, China is ready to work with all other member states to faithfully adhere to the purposes of the UN Charter, fully carry out its historic mission, and continue to make relentless efforts to advance the noble cause of peace and development for mankind.

2014



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(Translation)

**Jointly Pursue Peace and Development and
Uphold Rule of Law and Justice**

Statement by H.E. Wang Yi
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China
At the General Debate of the 69th Session of
The United Nations General Assembly

New York, 27 September 2014

Mr. President,
Dear Colleagues,

This year marks the centenary of the outbreak of World War I. Yan Fu, a distinguished thinker in modern China, wrote the following line to describe the devastation caused by the war: "Alas, even grass is blown away all over the place."

Next year will be the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II. Over two billion people across the world fell victim to this calamity. In China alone, the aggression committed by Japanese militarists left more than 35 million Chinese soldiers and civilians dead or injured.

The United Nations was established to keep the scourge of the two world wars from occurring again and it embodies the fervent hope of all countries for peace and stability. To achieve this goal, the *Charter of the United Nations* created the vision of joint efforts to build a better world.

In this world:

We should treat each other as equals. The principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity must be upheld. The pursuit by different countries

of economic and social development must be respected. Their right to independently choose their social systems and development paths must be safeguarded.

We should be open and inclusive. Only by being open and inclusive can we open the door of dialogue and exchange and achieve harmony between countries with different social systems, religions and cultural traditions.

We should pursue mutually beneficial cooperation. A country should align its own interests with those of others and work to expand areas where their interests converge. Only by helping each other can countries prosper. We should jointly initiate a new thinking for win-win and all-win progress and reject the old notion of zero-sum game or “the winner takes all”.

We should uphold justice. It is imperative to promote greater democracy and rule of law in international relations, use fair and just rules to tell right from wrong and settle disputes, and pursue peace and development within the framework of international law. All parties should jointly uphold the authority and effectiveness of the United Nations and reform and improve the global governance structure.

Mr. President,

As we have seen in Gaza, Iraq, the Central African Republic and South Sudan, our world is far from peaceful.

In the face of all those who are killed in war, we must ask ourselves, “How can we keep the tragedies from repeating themselves?”

In the face of women and children displaced by fighting, we must ask ourselves, “When can they return home?”

In the face of incessant conflicts, we must ask ourselves, “How can we open the door to lasting peace?”

To address these problems, China believes that we should do the following:

First, we should seek political solutions. To beat swords into ploughshares may take time and effort; but history and reality have

repeatedly demonstrated that to meet violence with violence will not lead to enduring peace, and the use of force will create more problems than solutions.

Coercive action should have the authorization of the Security Council. If a country places its domestic law above international law and interferes in other countries' internal affairs at will or even seeks regime change, the legitimacy of its action cannot but be questioned by the international community.

Second, we should accommodate the interests of all parties. Parties to a conflict should reject the zero-sum approach, address each other's concerns in negotiations and endeavor to meet each other half way. They should seek to meet their legitimate concerns through consultation in a mutually accommodating way.

When conducting mediation, the international community should uphold justice and take an objective and balanced position. Countries should not be partial to any party in the conflict. Still less should they pursue their own agenda through their involvement.

Third, we should promote national reconciliation. The ongoing armed conflicts are largely caused by ethnic and sectarian tensions. The process of national reconciliation and the process of political settlement should be advanced in tandem with each other.

All parties should uphold the UN Charter, develop and practice a culture of inclusion and tolerance, and uproot the seed of hatred and retaliation, so that the fruit of inclusion and amity will grow on the post-conflict land.

Fourth, we should uphold multilateralism. We should give full play to the role of the United Nations and observe international law and the basic norms governing international relations. Chapter Seven of the UN Charter is not the only means for the Security Council to maintain international peace and security. We should make better and full use of the means of prevention, mediation and conciliation stipulated in Chapter Six.

Given their familiarity with local developments, we should leverage the strengths of regional organizations and countries and support them in addressing regional issues in ways suited to their region.

Mr. President,

– The conflicts in Ukraine remain a cause of concern. We welcome and support the Minsk ceasefire agreement and urge all parties in Ukraine to strictly implement it and seek a comprehensive, sustained and balanced political solution through political dialogue and negotiation.

China hopes that various ethnic groups in Ukraine will live in harmony and that Ukraine will live in peace with other countries. This is the fundamental way for Ukraine to achieve long-term stability and security.

China hopes that the United Nations will play its due role in finding a proper solution to the Ukrainian crisis, and supports the constructive efforts made by the international community to ease the humanitarian situation in East Ukraine.

– China supports Iraq in upholding its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. The formation of the new Iraqi government has provided an important opportunity. We hope that the Iraqi government will lead its people in a joint endeavor to develop their country in the spirit of inclusion and reconciliation.

China calls for providing more humanitarian assistance to support Iraq. To help the Iraqi people overcome difficulties, and achieve peace and stability in their country is the shared responsibility of the international community.

– China firmly opposes all terrorist actions and supports the international community in responding to the threat posed by terrorist forces in a coordinated and concerted way in accordance with relevant Security Council resolutions.

China believes that in conducting international counter-terrorism cooperation, we should take a multi-pronged approach and address both the symptoms and root causes of terrorism and that the United Nations and the Security Council should fully play their leading role. There should be no double standard when it comes to fighting terrorism, still less should terrorism be identified with any particular ethnic group or religion.

As new developments emerge in the global fight against terrorism, the

international community should take new measures to address them. In particular, it should focus on combating religious extremism and cyber terrorism, resolutely eliminate the roots and block channels of spreading terrorism and extremism, and crack down hard and effectively on the use of the Internet and other new means of communication by terrorists to instigate, recruit, finance or plot terrorist attacks.

– The Syrian crisis has continued for nearly four years. It is negotiation, not fighting, that offers solution.

China urges all parties in Syria to immediately stop fighting and violence, cooperate fully with the humanitarian assistance operations of the United Nations, and promptly put an end to the sufferings of the innocent civilians.

We urge all parties in Syria to act in the overall interests of the future and destiny of their country and of their people, demonstrate political will, actively support the mediation efforts of the Secretary-General and his special envoy, and follow a middle way that draws on workable practices of other countries and regions, suits Syria's national conditions and accommodates the interests of various parties, so as to give peace an opportunity.

– The Palestinian issue is a wound on human conscience. China calls on Israel and Palestine to sustain durable ceasefire, and urges Israel to lift its blockade on the Gaza Strip and stop building settlements. At the same time, the legitimate security concerns of Israel should be respected.

We hope that Israel and Palestine will stick to the strategic choice of peace talks and promptly resume and advance peace talks.

The aspirations and legitimate demand of the Palestinian people for establishing an independent nation should not remain unmet indefinitely.

Advancing peace in the Middle East calls for concerted efforts, not efforts of just one or a few countries. The Security Council should play its due role. We support the Security Council in taking actions in response to the demand of Palestine and the Arab League.

– The negotiations on the Iranian nuclear issue have entered a crucial stage. All parties should show sincerity, make further efforts in the spirit of mutual respect, equality, coordination and mutual accommodation, and

work hard to tackle the most difficult issue, so as to reach an early and win-win agreement that is comprehensive, fair and balanced.

– The two sides of the conflict in South Sudan should immediately effect a ceasefire, actively conduct political dialogue in the overall interests of the people in South Sudan, and, through the mediation of IGAD, work with all ethnic groups and parties in the country to speedily reach a fair and balanced solution and achieve national reconciliation and ethnic unity.

South Sudan is the youngest member of the United Nations. The South Sudanese people deserve to live a life of hope and vitality instead of being haunted by conflicts and wars.

– China welcomes Mr. Ashraf Ghani becoming Afghanistan's new president and Mr. Abdullah Abdullah becoming its chief executive, and will continue to support the Afghan people in pursuing smooth political, security and economic transition and in jointly building an Afghanistan that enjoys unity, stability, development and amity.

China supports an Afghan-led and Afghan-owned peace process. The international community should fulfill its commitment and responsibility to Afghanistan and its people.

China will host the Fourth Ministerial Conference of the Istanbul Process on Afghanistan to give fresh support to Afghanistan that has reached a new starting point.

– Regarding the Korean Peninsula, China calls on all parties to act in an objective and impartial way, remain committed to the goal of denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, firmly uphold peace and stability on the peninsula, and endeavor to resolve the issues through dialogue and consultation.

The Six Party Talks remain the only viable and effective way to resolve the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula. The pressing task now is to restart the talks as soon as possible. The Korean nuclear issue should be dealt with by a sustainable, irreversible and effective dialogue process which addresses the concerns of all parties in a comprehensive and balanced way.

There are still many uncertainties on the Korean Peninsula today. The

parties concerned should all exercise restraint, refrain from making provocations, do more things that will help ease tension, and jointly uphold peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula.

Mr. President,

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set by the United Nations in 2000 has contributed greatly to human survival and development, yet global development remains a protracted task. The international community faces not only formidable challenges in poverty reduction, hunger elimination, health of women and children, and education, but also new challenges in the environment, climate change, and energy and resources security.

Next year is the deadline set for meeting the MDGs, and the post-2015 development agenda will take over the historical mission. The international community should, building on past progress and breaking new ground, adopt more effective plans and take more robust actions to advance the common development of mankind.

As China sees it, the development agenda should have three goals: First, it should advance people's wellbeing, with focus on poverty eradication and development promotion. Second, it should promote inclusiveness so as to uphold social equity and justice. Third, it should ensure implementation. The agenda, guided by the principles of diversity in development models and common but differentiated responsibilities, should aim to enhance global partnerships on development and improve implementation tools and mechanisms.

Climate change is a common challenge facing mankind. Mr. Zhang Gaoli, Vice Premier of the State Council, led the Chinese delegation to the UN Climate Summit 2014 as a special envoy of the Chinese president. We congratulate the UN on the success of the summit and hope that the political momentum it generated will be translated into effective actions to step up international cooperation on climate change.

All the parties should work for the conclusion of negotiations by the end of 2015 as scheduled for a new climate change regime post 2020 in accordance with the principles of common but differentiated responsibilities, equity and respective capabilities so as to create a fairer and more equitable and effective arrangement for international cooperation on climate change.

Mr. President,

The Ebola epidemic, which is raging in some African countries, has once again sounded the alarm bell for global health security.

As a good brother and good partner of Africa sharing weal and woe with it, China will continue to stand firmly with the African people, and support and assist them to the best of its ability. We will also take an active part in the relevant international assistance efforts.

China calls on the World Health Organization, the United Nations and other international agencies to work closely with the international community, put forward new initiatives to strengthen global health security and provide more assistance to developing countries, particularly African countries.

Mr. President,

Next year will be a year of special historic significance as it marks the 70th anniversary of the victory of the world anti-Fascist war, the founding of the United Nations, and the victory of the Chinese People's War Against Japanese Aggression.

Remembering the past makes people cherish peace, and recalling history will guide us in embracing the future.

China welcomes the inclusion of "the 70th anniversary of the end of the Second World War" on the agenda of the current session of the UN General Assembly. This presents an important opportunity for us.

Looking back on what happened 70 years ago, the historical facts are perfectly clear, and a final verdict has already been pronounced on what was right and what was wrong. History is not to be falsified, and truth is not to be distorted. Today, 70 years later, let us jointly uphold human justice and conscience so that those who attempt to deny aggression and distort history will have nowhere to hide and achieve nothing. Let us jointly defend the UN Charter and the outcomes of the Second World War so that the vision for a world free of war and with lasting peace will strike deep roots in our hearts and pass from one generation to another.

Thank you!

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(Translation)

**Working Together to
Forge a New Partnership of Win-win Cooperation and
Create a Community of Shared Future for Mankind**

Statement by H.E. Xi Jinping
President of the People's Republic of China
At the General Debate of the 70th Session of the UN General Assembly

New York, 28 September 2015

Mr. President,
Dear Colleagues,

Seventy years ago, the earlier generation of mankind fought heroically and secured the victory of the World Anti-Fascist War, closing a dark page in the annals of human history. That victory was hard won.

Seventy years ago, the earlier generation of mankind, with vision and foresight, established the United Nations. This universal and most representative and authoritative international organization has carried mankind's hope for a new future and ushered in a new era of cooperation. It was a pioneering initiative never undertaken before.

Seventy years ago, the earlier generation of mankind pooled together their wisdom and adopted the *Charter of the United Nations*, laying the cornerstone of the contemporary international order, and establishing the fundamental principles of contemporary international relations. This was an achievement of profound impact.

Mr. President,
Dear Colleagues,

On the third of September, the Chinese people, together with the world's people, solemnly commemorated the 70th anniversary of the victory of the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression and the World Anti-Fascist War. As the main theater in the East, China made a national sacrifice of over 35 million casualties in its fight against the majority troops of Japanese militarism. It not only saved itself and its people from subjugation, but also gave strong support to the forces against aggression in the European and Pacific theaters, thus

making a historic contribution to the victory of the World Anti-Fascist War.

History is a mirror. Only by drawing lessons from history can the world avoid repeating past calamity. We should view history with awe and human conscience. The past cannot be changed, but the future can be shaped. Bearing history in mind is not to perpetuate hatred. Rather, it is for mankind not to forget its lesson. Remembering history does not mean being obsessed with the past. Rather, in doing so, we aim to create a better future and pass the torch of peace from generation to generation.

Mr. President,
Dear Colleagues,

The United Nations has gone through the test of time over the past seven decades. It has witnessed efforts made by all countries to uphold peace, build homeland and pursue cooperation. Having reached a new historical starting point, the United Nations needs to address the central issue of how to better promote world peace and development in the 21st century.

The world is going through a historical process of accelerated evolution. The sunshine of peace, development and progress will be powerful enough to penetrate the clouds of war, poverty and backwardness. The movement toward a multi-polar world, and the rise of emerging markets and developing countries have become an irresistible trend of history. Economic globalization and the advent of an information age have vastly unleashed and boosted social productive forces. They have both created unprecedented development opportunities and given rise to new threats and challenges which we must face squarely.

As an ancient Chinese adage goes, "The greatest ideal is to create a world truly shared by all." Peace, development, equity, justice, democracy and freedom are common values of all mankind and the lofty goals of the United Nations. Yet these goals are far from being achieved, and we must continue our endeavor to meet them. In today's world, all countries are interdependent and share a common future. We should renew our commitment to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, build a new type of international relations featuring win-win cooperation, and create a community of shared future for mankind. To achieve this goal, we need to make the following efforts:

— We should build partnerships in which countries treat each

other as equals, engage in mutual consultation and show mutual understanding. The principle of sovereign equality underpins the UN Charter. The future of the world must be shaped by all countries. All countries are equals. The big, strong and rich should not bully the small, weak and poor. The principle of sovereignty not only means that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries are inviolable and their internal affairs are not subjected to interference. It also means that all countries' right to independently choose social systems and development paths should be upheld, and that all countries' endeavors to promote economic and social development and improve their people's lives should be respected.

We should be committed to multilateralism and reject unilateralism. We should adopt a new vision of seeking win-win outcomes for all, and reject the outdated mindset that one's gain means the other's loss or that the winner shall take all. Consultation is an important form of democracy, and it should also become an important means of exercising contemporary international governance. We should resolve disputes and differences through dialogue and consultation. We should forge a global partnership at both international and regional levels, and embrace a new approach to state-to-state relations, one that features dialogue rather than confrontation, and seeks partnership rather than alliance. Major countries should follow the principles of no conflict, no confrontation, mutual respect and win-win cooperation in handling their relations. Big countries should treat small countries as equals, and take a right approach to justice and interests by putting justice before interests.

— We should create a security architecture featuring fairness, justice, joint contribution and shared benefits. In the age of economic globalization, the security of all countries is interlinked and has impact on one another. No country can maintain absolute security with its own effort, and no country can achieve stability out of other countries' instability. The law of the jungle leaves the weak at the mercy of the strong; it is not the way for countries to conduct their relations. Those who adopt the high-handed approach of using force will find that they are only lifting a rock to drop on their own feet.

We should abandon Cold War mentality in all its manifestation, and foster a new vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security. We should give full play to the central role of the United Nations and its Security Council in ending conflict and keeping peace, and adopt the dual approach of seeking peaceful solution to disputes and taking mandatory actions, so as to turn hostility into amity.

We should advance international cooperation in both economic and social fields and take a holistic approach to addressing traditional and non-traditional security threats, so as to prevent conflicts from breaking out in the first place.

— **We should promote open, innovative and inclusive development that benefits all.** The 2008 international financial crisis has taught us that allowing capital to blindly pursue profit can only create a crisis and that global prosperity cannot be built on the shaky foundation of a market without moral constraints. The growing gap between rich and poor is both unsustainable and unfair. It is important for us to use both the invisible hand and the visible hand to form synergy between market forces and government function and strive to achieve both efficiency and fairness.

Development is meaningful only when it is inclusive and sustainable. To achieve such development requires openness, mutual assistance and win-win cooperation. In the world today, close to 800 million people still live in extreme poverty, nearly six million kids die before the age of five each year and nearly 60 million children are unable to go to school. The just concluded UN Sustainable Development Summit adopted the Post-2015 Development Agenda. We must translate our commitments into actions and work together to ensure that everyone is free from want, has access to development and lives with dignity.

— **We should increase inter-civilization exchanges to promote harmony, inclusiveness and respect for differences.** The world is simply more colorful as a result of its cultural diversity. Diversity breeds exchanges, exchanges create integration, and integration makes progress possible.

In their interactions, civilizations must accept their differences. Only through mutual respect, mutual learning and harmonious coexistence can the world maintain its diversity and thrive. Each civilization represents the unique vision and contribution of its people, and no civilization is superior to others. Different civilizations should have dialogue and exchanges instead of trying to exclude or replace each other. The history of mankind is a process of active exchanges, interactions and integration among different civilizations. We should respect all civilizations and treat each other as equals. We should draw inspirations from each other to boost the creative development of human civilization.

— We should build an ecosystem that puts mother nature and green development first. Mankind may utilize nature and even try to transform it. But we are after all a part of nature. We should care for nature and not place ourselves above it. We should reconcile industrial development with nature and pursue harmony between man and nature to achieve sustainable development of the world and the all-round development of man.

To build a sound ecology is vital for mankind's future. All members of the international community should work together to build a sound global eco-environment. We should respect nature, follow nature's ways and protect nature. We should firmly pursue green, low-carbon, circular and sustainable development. China will shoulder its share of responsibility and continue to play its part in this common endeavor. We also urge developed countries to fulfill their historical responsibility, honor their emission reduction commitments and help developing countries mitigate and adapt to climate change.

Mr. President,
Dear Colleagues,

The over 1.3 billion and more Chinese people are endeavoring to realize the Chinese dream of great national renewal. The dream of the Chinese people is closely connected with the dreams of other peoples of the world. We cannot realize the Chinese dream without a peaceful international environment, a stable international order and the understanding, support and help from the rest of the world. The realization of the Chinese dream will bring more opportunities to other countries and contribute to global peace and development.

China will continue to participate in building world peace. We are committed to peaceful development. No matter how the international landscape may evolve and how strong it may become, China will never pursue hegemony, expansion or sphere of influence.

China will continue to contribute to global development. We will continue to pursue common development and the win-win strategy of opening-up. We are ready to share our development experience and opportunities with other countries and welcome them to board China's express train of development so that all of us will achieve common development.

China will continue to uphold the international order. We will stay

committed to the path of development through cooperation. China was the first country to put its signature on the UN Charter. We will continue to uphold the international order and system underpinned by the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. China will continue to stand together with other developing countries. We firmly support greater representation and say of developing countries, especially African countries, in the international governance system. China's vote in the United Nations will always belong to the developing countries.

I wish to take this opportunity to announce China's decision to establish a 10-year, US\$1 billion China-UN peace and development fund to support the UN's work, advance multilateral cooperation and contribute more to world peace and development. I wish to announce that China will join the new UN Peacekeeping Capability Readiness System and has thus decided to take the lead in setting up a permanent peacekeeping police squad and build a peacekeeping standby force of 8,000 troops. I also wish to announce that China will provide a total of US\$100 million of free military assistance to the African Union in the next five years to support the establishment of the African Standby Force and the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crisis.

Mr. President,

Dear Colleagues,

As the United Nations enters a new decade, let us unite ever more closely to forge a new partnership of win-win cooperation and a community of shared future for mankind. Let the vision of a world free of war and with lasting peace take root in our hearts. Let the aspiration of development, prosperity, fairness and justice spread across the world!

Thank you.

2016

**Full Text: Chinese Premier Li Keqiang's statement at
General Debate of 71st session of UN General
Assembly**

2016/09/21

On September 21 2016, Chinese Premier Li Keqiang made a statement at the General Debate of the 71st Session of the United Nations General Assembly here. The following is the full text of Li's statement:

Work for a World of Peace, Stability and Sustainable Development

Mr. President,

I congratulate you on your election as President of the 71st Session of the UN General Assembly. I believe that under your presidency, this session of the General Assembly will move forward and make good progress according to its agenda. I also appreciate the effective work of Mr. Lykketoft as President of the last session of the UNGA.

I also wish to pay tribute to Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon who, with modesty and a drive for harmony and accommodation, has worked tirelessly and in a down-to-earth manner over the past decade, and whose work has contributed significantly to world peace, sustainable development and the advancement and protection of human rights in the world.

Mr. President,

Dear Colleagues,

The UN Sustainable Development Summit held last year adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, opening a new vision for global development. At the summit, Chinese President Xi Jinping gave a speech entitled "Towards Win-win Partnership for Sustainable Development" to expound on China's principles and position as well as its readiness to advance the agenda for sustainable development.

This year is the first in the Agenda's implementation. The G20 Summit held not long ago in Hangzhou of China reached the Hangzhou consensus on world economic growth. A blueprint was drawn for building an innovative, invigorated, interconnected and inclusive world economy. Participants at the Summit pledged to actively implement the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and formulated an action plan toward that end, which injected new vigor to global sustainable development. The Chinese government was also among the first to adopt and release the country's National Plan

on Implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. As for the General Assembly, it has decided that for this year's session, the general debate will focus on the theme "The Sustainable Development Goals: a universal push to transform our world". These, in my view, are all highly relevant.

Sustainable development is first and foremost about development. Development underpins every human achievement. Without development, nothing can be sustainable. The lack of development is often at the root of many problems facing the world. Be it poverty or the refugee crisis, war, conflicts or terrorism, they all could be attributed to insufficient development and none can be addressed properly without development. Only development can guarantee people's fundamental rights. Only development can root out the cause for global challenges. And only development can advance human civilization and progress.

Development must be sustainable. It must be sustainable in all dimensions, otherwise development will be stalled and strained. Development won't be sustainable if it is unbalanced, unequal and widens the gap between the North and the South and the rich and the poor. Development won't be sustainable if it is achieved in an extensive manner, driven by high consumption, high pollution and high emissions and depletes resources and strains the environment. Development won't be sustainable if economic growth and social progress are not well coordinated. Only when we keep a profound understanding of the implication of sustainability, make all-round progress in poverty reduction, North-South and South-South cooperation, climate change and other fields, and work to promote equal sharing and green development can we ensure that development is truly solid and sustainable.

Sustainable development must be inclusive and interconnected. Currently, the sustainable development endeavor is faced with grave challenges: regional conflicts and hotspots are incessant, traditional and non-traditional security threats intertwine, and the environment for sustainable development gives no reason for optimism. World economic recovery remains lukewarm, economic globalization faces strong headwind, and the momentum for sustainable development is weak. Frequent occurrence of major infectious diseases and natural disasters is increasingly prominent, the issues of energy and resource security, food security and financial security are interwoven, and sustainable development remains an uphill journey. Difficult moments call for stronger confidence. I believe mankind has the wisdom and capability to find a way out of difficulty. For that to happen, there must be cooperation and a spirit of working together to tide over difficulties. It is time that the international community take on a new perspective. It should see itself as a community of shared future in which all are stakeholders, and should make concerted efforts to jointly tackle global challenges.

Mr. President,

Dear Colleagues,

To advance sustainable development, we must keep both short-term and long-term interests in mind, tackle challenges with concrete efforts and work actively to transform and change our world.

-- We must uphold the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. Without peace and stability, there will be no sustainable development; even the fruits of development already reaped risk being lost. The hard-won peace that has prevailed over the past 70 years or more testifies to the effectiveness of the existing international system with the UN at its core and of the norms of international relations established on the basis of the UN Charter. This international system and these norms governing international relations must be upheld resolutely, for they not only serve the common interests of people of all countries, but also provide the most essential guarantee for attainment of the sustainable development goals. Countries need to honor the purposes and principles of the UN Charter in letter and in spirit, and should support the leading role of the UN and its Security Council in global affairs. Countries need to be supportive of steady reform and improvement of global governance mechanisms, so as to adapt to the changing international political and economic landscape. A new concept of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security should be nurtured and a global partnership should be established that features "dialogue instead of confrontation, and partnership instead of alliance".

-- We must stay committed to the general direction of settling hotspot issues through political means. Political resolution is the fundamental way to address regional hotspot issues. History has shown once and again that to repress violence with force can only lead to more hatred and warfare, from which no winner will emerge. Parties involved in conflicts must reject the zero-sum mentality. They should settle disputes through dialogue, address differences through consultation and seek reconciliation with tolerance. The mediation efforts of the international community must be fair and impartial. It should only facilitate the settlement of issues, not invite new troubles. On the Syrian issue, it is important to seek a political settlement. The international community should step up efforts to encourage parties concerned in Syria to put an end to conflict at an early date and reach a deal for comprehensive political settlement. On the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula, it is imperative to achieve denuclearization and maintain peace and stability both on the Peninsula and in the region. It is important to address issues through dialogue and consultation, and effectively uphold the international nuclear non-proliferation regime. Terrorism is the common enemy of mankind and must be combated resolutely. At the same time, the practice of double standard should be avoided and there should be no linkage between terrorism and a certain country, ethnicity or religion.

-- We must work together for steady recovery of the global economy. The world economy cannot afford long-term sluggishness, otherwise sustainable development will be a fountain without source. The current world economy is faced with both insufficient aggregate demand as well as outstanding structural problems. It is necessary to employ effective policy tools in a holistic manner, and to combine demand

management with supply-side reform and short-term policies with long-term ones. At the G20 Hangzhou Summit, participants reached common ground and put forward a series of major initiatives and measures to strengthen macro policy coordination, find new ways of growth, advance structural reform, improve global economic and financial governance, reinvigorate international trade and investment, the twin engines of global growth, and achieve inclusive and interconnected development. We call on all countries to make concerted efforts to drive the global economy along a path of strong, sustainable, balanced and inclusive growth. Major economies, given their significant influence, need to act in a responsible manner in policy-making and policy coordination. While focusing on their own growth, they also need to strive to reduce negative spill-overs of their policies and refrain from adding to the difficulty of global economic recovery.

Economic globalization, represented by trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, has been a strong driving force behind fast global growth in past decades. Yet, this is not to say that there exists any panacea in the world. Frankly, economic globalization has taken its toll on some industries and communities in certain countries to certain extent. Active measures need to be taken to address the problem, but it is always important to keep in mind the bigger picture instead of keeping one's eyes on the narrow interests only. Economic globalization is a general trend that is in line with the long-term and fundamental interests of all countries. Countries need to stand firm to oppose protectionism of any form, and need to be resolute in upholding the free trade regime represented by the WTO. This is a way to enable sustained and sound economic growth for all countries through win-win and all-win development.

-- We must redouble efforts to address global challenges facing mankind. Greater attention and more support need to be given to Africa and the least developing countries (LDCs) to help them speed up industrialization, ensure food security, eliminate poverty and hunger, and provide everyone with a life of decency and dignity. More needs to be done to create an international environment that helps reduce inequality and imbalance in global development. International institutions should spend their newly-acquired resources on helping developing countries on a priority basis. Developed countries should make good on their official development assistance commitments, while developing countries need to rely on themselves for development and need to seek development paths that suit their national conditions. As we speak, the world is facing the largest-ever refugee crisis since World War II. It is imperative to ensure refugees access to basic living conditions to stave off a humanitarian crisis. Of fundamental importance is to root out the cause of war and restart development, so that source countries of refugees can embark on a path of long-term stability, development and prosperity. Countries need to stay committed to the principles of common but differentiated responsibilities, equity and respective capabilities, and need to jointly tackle climate change and work for the Paris Agreement to be universally accepted and take effect at an early date. Developed countries need to play a leading

role, deliver on their emissions reduction pledges and help developing countries improve the capacity to mitigate and adapt to climate change.

Mr. President,

Dear Colleagues,

Since China adopted the reform and opening-up policy, the Chinese economy has maintained rapid growth to become the world's second largest economy in 2010. In recent years, the Chinese economy has been growing on a large base figure amidst global complexities as well as long accumulated underlying domestic issues. China has relied on reform and innovation to maintain a medium-high growth rate and accelerated economic transformation and upgrading. In the first half of this year, the growth rate was 6.7%, which was among the fastest in major economies. People's livelihood kept improving, personal income growth was basically in sync with economic growth, and over 13 million new urban jobs were being created on an annual basis. China's economic aggregate has exceeded US\$10 trillion. Every one percentage point of growth now equals several percentage points of growth before, and the yearly economic increment is tantamount to the economic aggregate of a middle-income country. China's contribution to global economic growth has been around 25%.

The world's second largest economy as it is, China remains a developing country, and much awaits to be done in modernization. Looking ahead, the Chinese economy enjoys bright prospects given its big potential, ample advantages and vast space of development. China will continue to give priority to development, pursue innovative, coordinated, green, open and shared development, and strive to maintain medium-high speed of growth and move to medium-high level of development.

-- China will promote development through deepening reform. Reform has held the key to China's achievements in development, and the same remains true for the future. China will not waver in deepening reform across the board to boost market vitality and social creativity. While maintaining aggregate demand, we will accelerate supply-side structural reform, improve the quality of supply, ensure steady economic performance, and advance structural transformation and upgrading. We will streamline administration, delegate powers, strengthen regulation and improve services, and will make proactive efforts to advance reforms in key sectors such as fiscal policy, taxation, finance, investment and state owned enterprises. We will follow an innovation-driven development strategy and one of mass entrepreneurship and innovation, and foster new growth drivers while upgrading traditional ones. The purpose is to ensure faster economic transformation and upgrading and steady economic growth.

-- China will promote development through expanding opening-up. China's experience in past decades proves that a close-door policy only leads to stagnation and backwardness, and it is opening-up that brings development and prosperity. With a firm commitment to the win-win strategy of opening-up, China will open its door even wider

to the outside world. We will further improve the open economy, increase access to the service and manufacturing sectors, develop high-standard pilot free trade zones, accelerate the signing of FTAs and investment treaties with countries concerned, conduct negative list management for foreign-invested companies, and foster a more equitable, transparent and predictable business environment. We will adopt new approaches to investment overseas, and work with parties concerned to advance the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road as well as global production capacity cooperation. These are ways to achieve even greater mutual benefits and win-win development with more countries.

-- China will promote development by upholding peace. For the Chinese people that have in the past seen too many wars for too long, peace is to be doubly cherished. China is a dedicated follower of the path of peaceful development. China regards all countries as equals whatever their size, and China pursues friendship and cooperation with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China's neighborhood policy is one of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusiveness. China has worked through dialogue, negotiation and friendly consultation to address differences and questions with other countries, including disputes concerning territory and maritime rights and interests. China's approach is to expand common ground and shelve differences, and China has never relented its efforts for regional peace and stability. China has all along worked for the peaceful settlement of hotspot issues, and has taken an active part in international cooperation in counter-terrorism and non-proliferation. China supports international efforts to address the refugee issue, and will provide US\$300 million worth of humanitarian assistance to relevant countries and international organizations.

China is a major developing country with a 1.3 billion population. Managing its own affairs well is its biggest contribution to peace and development in the world. Meanwhile, China also works in real earnest to fulfill its international obligations. China knows just how much other developing countries desire to achieve development and root out poverty, and has rendered them support and assistance to the best of its ability. By the end of 2015, China had provided a total of over RMB400 billion to 166 countries and international and regional organizations and provided training to over 12 million professionals in various sectors from other developing countries. Going forward, China will strengthen cooperation with other developing countries, and will do whatever is possible to help African countries and LDCs for the purpose of achieving common development and common prosperity.

China has taken action to advance the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. It was among the first to release a national plan on agenda implementation. Meanwhile, China remains supportive of relevant international cooperation. China's total annual contributions to UN development agencies will be raised by US\$100 million by 2020 from the 2015 level. China was among the first countries to deposit with the UN an

instrument of ratification of the Paris Agreement, and China will earnestly honor its commitment made in this regard.

Mr. President,

Dear Colleagues,

To achieve the goals for sustainable development is our common task. China stands ready to work with other members of the international community and contribute its fair share to a world free from want, and a world of development and dignity for all.

Thank you.

2017

Toward Peace and Development for All

Speech by Wang Yi at the General Debate of the 72nd Session of
the United Nations General Assembly

2017/09/21

Mr. President,

Mr. Secretary-General,

Dear Colleagues,

The theme of this year's General Assembly session, "Focusing on people: striving for peace and decent life for all on a sustainable planet", is a most relevant one, especially for an organization that has made exceptional contribution to peace and development of mankind.

This organization has been upholding peace as its mission. By setting up a collective security mechanism, defusing regional hotspots and deploying peacekeepers, the United Nations has proved instrumental in preventing full-scale wars and securing over seven decades of relative peace for mankind.

This organization has been pursuing development as its goal. By setting a global development agenda and mobilizing resources worldwide, the United Nations has helped a great number of developing countries get on the fast track of development that will lead billions of people to modernization.

Mr. President,

Dear Colleagues,

The noble ideals of the UN are yet to be attained, and countries must make continued efforts toward those ideals:

We live in an era that is defined by a deepening trend toward a multi-polar world, the collective rise of emerging markets and developing countries, steady progress in globalization and IT application, and an exciting new round of revolution in science and technology. In mankind's pursuit of greater development and prosperity, there are great opportunities like never before.

We live in a world that is witnessing profound changes in the international landscape and balance of power, prominent traditional and non-traditional threats, insufficient driving force for global growth and a growing backlash against globalization. There are

unprecedented challenges for mankind's pursuit of lasting peace and sustainable development.

We are once again at a crossroads. It is time to make the right choice between peace and war, between openness and seclusion, and between unity and division.

Two years ago at this very podium, Chinese President Xi Jinping called on us to foster a new type of international relations featuring win-win cooperation and to build a community of shared future for mankind. That is a great vision proposed by President Xi based on his full grasp of the prevailing trend of our times. It is also China's answer to what kind of future mankind should build. This vision, consistent with the purposes of the UN and the aspiration of its member states, has received extensive understanding and support from the international community. As such, it has become a goal of our common endeavor.

Mr. President,

Dear Colleagues,

To ensure peace, development and dignity for all, the UN spirit must be renewed and its work must set out from a new starting point. To fulfill this task,

- The UN must remain the guardian of world peace. Upholding peace and security is one of the core purposes of the UN Charter and the primary mission of this organization. The UN must encourage all its members to "live together in peace with one another as good neighbors", and achieve common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security.

The five permanent members of the UN Security Council must play an exemplary role in upholding no-conflict, no-confrontation, mutual respect and win-win cooperation. All UN members should treat each other as equals and choose dialogue over confrontation and partnership over alliance. In state-to-state relations, credibility and justice must be upheld, and efforts must be made to find common ground, manage differences, and seek peaceful and reasonable settlement to disputes.

In fighting terrorism, we need a holistic approach that addresses both symptoms and root causes. We need to abide by law and avoid applying double standards. One must not associate terrorism with any particular ethnic group or religion. The UN needs to spearhead and coordinate efforts to build a global united front against terrorism.

Political solution is the fundamental answer to hotspot issues. While parties to any conflict must stay committed to the general direction of dialogue and negotiation, the international community should act in an objective and impartial way to facilitate dialogue and promote peace rather than stirring up trouble or making things more

difficult. The UN should serve as the main channel of conflict prevention, fully leverage Chapter VI of its Charter, and step up political mediation efforts.

The Syrian crisis has seen the early light of a political settlement. We should make good use of the Geneva and Astana channels and push for direct substantive talks between the Syrian government and the opposition. In parallel with the talks, efforts must be made on cessation of hostilities, humanitarian assistance and post-war reconstruction in order to give the various parties greater faith in peace talks.

The Palestine issue has been stuck on the UN agenda for 70 years. The international community owes the Palestinians a just solution that is long overdue. All settlement activities on the occupied territories and all violence against civilians must be stopped immediately. Efforts should be made to steadfastly advance political settlement based on the two-state solution and to restart peace talks as early as possible. We need to think out of the box to facilitate peace through development and help the people in the region to lay the groundwork for peace.

The situation on the Korean Peninsula is the focal point of international attention. It was September 19th the day before yesterday. On that date twelve years ago, the Six Party Talks issued "the September 19th Joint Statement". Back then, under the auspices of China and through the concerted efforts of the six parties of China, the US, Russia, the DPRK, the ROK and Japan, the US and the DPRK, as the main parties involved, made the political decision and we drafted a roadmap of denuclearization for the Peninsula. In that Joint Statement, the DPRK committed to abandoning all nuclear weapon development, the US and others undertook to normalize their relations with the DPRK, and the parties committed to the establishment of a permanent peace mechanism on the Peninsula. The Statement was a blessing to regional peace and stability and brought hope for a peaceful solution.

As twelve years have passed, some may think that the changed situation on the Korean Peninsula today has rendered the Joint Statement irrelevant. But we believe that things in keeping with the trend of the times will never become outdated and decisions on the right side of history will never become obsolete. If anything has changed, it is the greater need now for more comprehensive, more thorough and more irreversible denuclearization. Be it the North or South of the Korean Peninsula, be it northeast Asia or elsewhere, this planet shall see no more nuclear state.

We urge the DPRK not to go any further in the dangerous direction. We call on the US to truly honor its four nos commitment toward the DPRK, and we urge all relevant parties to play a constructive role in easing tensions. There is still hope for peace, and we must not give up. Negotiation is the only way out and deserves all-out efforts. Parties should meet each other half way by addressing each other's legitimate concerns. China believes that the day when the Peninsula is denuclearized should also be the day when its peace mechanism is established.

China has always been a force for peace. We have made unremitting efforts for peaceful resolution of the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula. No matter how the situation evolves, no matter how long it takes, and no matter what difficulties lie ahead, China will remain committed to the goal of denuclearization on the Korean Peninsula, stick to the direction of dialogue and negotiation and firmly uphold regional peace and stability.

- The UN must remain a champion of international development. The implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development should be the UN's top priority in the field of development. It is important to encourage member states to seek complementarity between the Agenda and their own development strategies, eliminate hunger and poverty and leave no one behind. We must ensure equitable and inclusive quality education and lifelong learning opportunities for all. We need to enhance the role of North-South cooperation as the main channel for international development cooperation while leveraging the important role of South-South cooperation.

Climate change bears on the sustainable development of mankind. It is crucial that the UN continues to work on the follow-ups to the Paris Agreement and urges all parties to uphold the principles of "common but differentiated responsibilities", equity and respective capabilities and to strengthen international climate cooperation.

The refugee issue has its origin in regional instability and uneven development. The UN must make quick response to the crisis by easing the humanitarian plight. But more importantly, it must make greater efforts to address the root causes by helping the countries and regions concerned to develop.

The recovery and growth of the global economy remains an arduous task. The UN should encourage all parties to promote trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, and build an open world economy. It is important that we seize the opportunities presented by the new round of scientific and technological revolution, stay committed to reform, pursue innovation-driven development, find new space for development and foster a new system for development.

- The UN must remain a pacesetter of global governance. As an organization lying at the core of the contemporary international system, the UN can well reflect the state of affairs in global governance. It should therefore follow the trend of the times and make international relations more democratic, rules-based and equitable.

The UN is an organization belonging to all its 193 member states who, regardless of their size and wealth, are all equals. The UN should promote such spirit of democracy and make sure that all countries enjoy equal rights and opportunities and follow the same rules in international affairs. This way, countries can set international rules together, run global affairs together, and share in development achievements together. At the same time, the UN also needs to constantly improve its institutions and

mechanisms to better reflect the interests of the majority of countries and the evolving international landscape.

The UN must promote equal and uniform application of international law and stress the need to fully and faithfully implement international law. More importantly, the UN should urge all parties to observe the purposes and principles of its Charter and keep the foundation of international law and order intact.

Globalization is an unstoppable trend. It is neither "Westernization" nor "Easternization". It should not follow the law of the jungle, still less the winner-takes-all approach. The UN should uphold the principle of extensive consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits and rebalance economic globalization so that it will be more open, inclusive, and beneficial to all.

- The UN must remain a facilitator of exchanges between civilizations. It is the diversity of civilizations that gives our global village its vitality. We should raise awareness about its importance and be more than willing to respect, protect and promote such diversity.

Civilizations can complement each other in the course of seeking common ground. They can also make progress together through exchanges and mutual learning. We should encourage different civilizations, cultures and countries to flourish together through interactions and healthy competition. In this regard, the UNESCO and the UN Alliance of Civilizations have a big role to play.

We should encourage and respect the efforts of countries to choose development paths that suit their national conditions. Countries with different systems and paths should respect and learn from each other to achieve common progress. The UN should serve as a platform for harmonious co-existence between countries with different systems and a bridge for dialogue and exchange.

Mr. President,

Dear Colleagues,

The past five years have witnessed a momentous journey for China. Under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping at its core, China has made remarkable achievements on all fronts and the socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a new development stage. Looking ahead, China's continuous progress will bring to the world greater benefits of peace, development and governance.

- China is an anchor of world peace. Sustained stability of a country with over 1.3 billion people is an enormous contribution to world peace. Aggression is never in the genes of the Chinese, and acts of colonializing or plundering others are nowhere to be found in China's track record. President Xi has solemnly pledged that no matter how

advanced it gets in development, China will never seek hegemony, expansion or sphere of influence. China will always vote for peace at the Security Council.

- China is an engine for development and prosperity. The Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation China successfully hosted last May has produced more than 270 cooperation deliverables. China wants to build the Belt and Road into a road of peace, prosperity, openness and innovation that connects different civilizations. This project of the century will offer a new paradigm for efforts to promote world peace and development. It will also inject fresh impetus to the pursuit of the Sustainable Development Goals by 2030. Starting from next year, China will host the China International Import Expo. We will make greater strides in opening-up and provide new driving forces for the global economy.

- China is a champion of multilateralism. It firmly upholds the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of countries, and the centrality of the UN in international affairs. No matter how the international landscape may change, China will stay firmly committed to multilateralism. It will shoulder its responsibilities assigned by the UN and fulfill its due obligations to the world.

Mr. President,

Dear Colleagues,

The Communist Party of China will soon convene its 19th National Congress in Beijing. It will be a very important meeting held at a time when China reaches a decisive stage of completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects and a key phase in the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics. It will open a new chapter in the pursuit of the Chinese dream of great national renewal. China will seek to realize its own dream in the context of the shared aspirations of all people around the world, and continue to contribute to the development of all other countries through its own progress. Let us work together for a brighter future of mankind.

Thank you.

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(Translation)

Multilateralism, Shared Peace and Development

Statement by H.E. Wang Yi

State Councilor and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China
At the General Debate of the 73rd Session of the UN General Assembly

New York, 28 September 2018

Madam President,

Every September, global attention focuses on the United Nations and on this stately Assembly Hall. People watch closely what is happening here, hoping that the United Nations will deliver to the world peace, development, harmony and prosperity. People look to the UN to help realize their dream for a better life, a UN that is committed to "Making the United Nations Relevant to All People", thus making our world a better place for everyone to live in.

The contemporary international order, which began with the founding of the United Nations, is based on the purposes and principles of the *UN Charter* and enhanced by the vision and practice of multilateralism. It has, over the past 70 years or more, brought about general peace and rapid development. A people-centered philosophy has gained wide acceptance, and broad consensus has formed on the need for inter-dependence and win-win cooperation. Yet, it is also true that the international order today

faces problems and challenges and needs steady reform and improvement.

The world is changing. As we celebrate mankind's proud achievements and progress in an ever-changing world, we must never lose sight of the challenges and difficulties we face, and must remain vigilant. What we see today is that international rules and multilateral mechanisms are under attack, and the international landscape is filled with uncertainties and destabilizing factors.

Should we stay committed to multilateralism or let unilateralism have its way? Should we seek to uphold the architecture of the world order or allow it to be eroded upon and collapse? These are questions of critical importance bearing on the future of all countries and the destiny of mankind, questions that all countries must carefully reflect on and seek answers to.

China's answer is clear-cut. All along, China has upheld the international order and pursued multilateralism. Though once kept out of the UN for 22 years, China has never wavered in its conviction to multilateralism and to the purposes and principles of the *UN Charter*. China stayed true to its commitment throughout the negotiation process on its return to the GATT and then accession to the WTO, negotiations that lasted 15 long years and were concluded at a certain price. China fulfilled its promise and integrated itself into the world economic system. After the international financial crisis broke out, China chose not to stand idly by but to work together with other countries to tide over rough times. For years running, China has contributed to over 30% of global growth. It has played its part in helping restore global recovery.

In the face of new developments and severe challenges, China will keep to its commitment and remain a champion of multilateralism. Standing at this podium back in 2015, Chinese President Xi Jinping, in his statement reflecting the keen understanding of mankind's common interests and the future of our planet, called for building a community with a shared future for mankind. This major initiative is in keeping with the trend of history, and it echoes the call of the times. It adds to our conviction and strength as we pursue the common endeavor to protect this global village. It points to the direction for us to work together to open up an even better future for mankind. To uphold multilateralism in the new era, we believe the following principles need to be adhered to:

First, we must pursue win-win cooperation. Our world is undergoing profound changes unseen in a century. Also unseen before are the problems and challenges we are faced with. No country can meet them alone or stay immune to their impact. What we need to do is to replace confrontation with cooperation and coercion with consultation. We must stick together as one big family instead of forming closed circles. We must promote common development through consultation instead of taking a winner-takes-all approach. This is a sure way for a bright future to be ushered in to the world.

Second, we must act upon rules and order. State-to-state relations should be based on credibility, not willful revocation of commitments. International cooperation should be guided by rules, not impulse. Practicing multilateralism is, first and foremost, about upholding the *UN Charter*, observing international law and the basic norms governing international relations and honoring international agreements reached

upon through negotiations.

Third, we must uphold fairness and justice. In international affairs, fairness and justice means equality between all countries, big or small. It means responsibility for big countries to help the small and the rich to assist the poor. Fairness and justice also means respect for other countries' sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, as well as their choice of development path and the right to a better life and to more development opportunities.

Fourth, we must act to deliver real results. Multilateralism is not about making empty rhetoric. It must be pursued to solve problems. Efforts must be targeted, results-oriented, and measured by visible progress. Whether a multilateral mechanism works depends on the will and engagement of countries in the world. It is imperative that we work together to uphold the international system with the United Nations at its core as well as the multilateral trading system centering on the World Trade Organization.

Multilateralism requires a strong United Nations. China supports Secretary-General Guterres in his endeavor to advance reform of the UN system in the three critical areas of peace and security, economic development and internal management. Such reform should be led by member states. It should be designed to prioritize concerns of developing countries, make the UN more efficient and enhance oversight and accountability. Crucial to the UN's proper functioning is stable and predictable funding. China will continue to fulfill its due financial obligations, and China calls upon other member states to pay their membership contributions and peacekeeping assessments on time and in

full.

Madam President,

The course of development and progress for humanity is unstoppable. Peace, reconciliation and harmony are the surging trend, while war, conflict and terror are opposed by all. Equality, mutual trust and win-win cooperation are the call of our times, whereas power politics and the law of the jungle find no support. As a major responsible country, China commits itself to the path of peaceful development, and China will work with other countries and contribute its share to global peace and security.

Since this year, the situation on the Korean Peninsula has seen a major turnaround thanks to the efforts of all parties concerned. China, on its part, has contributed to such development. China supports all-out improvement of relations between the North and the South of the Peninsula, as well as efforts to facilitate dialogues between the DPRK and the US. China encourages the DPRK to continue moving along the right direction of denuclearization. At the same time, we believe it is also right for the US to make timely and positive responses so as to truly meet the DPRK half way. China will continue to honor its due international responsibility and obligation, and will strictly implement Security Council resolutions related to the DPRK. Meanwhile, China calls upon the Security Council to take timely actions in light of the development and changes of the situation to create more favorable conditions for a peaceful settlement of the Peninsula issue through political and diplomatic means. Effective settlement of the issue requires complete denuclearization as well as establishment of a peace mechanism. Only when the two wheels move in tandem can the issue be truly resolved and

can peace start to dawn.

Regarding the Iranian nuclear issue, now is a crucial time for continued implementation of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA). The JCPOA is a consensus-based multilateral agreement endorsed by the UN Security Council. It serves the common interests of all parties concerned and the international community at large. If the agreement fails to be implemented, the international nuclear non-proliferation regime will be undermined, the authority and role of the Security Council challenged, and peace and stability in both this region and the wider world jeopardized. That is a scenario in which no one stands to gain. China urges parties concerned to continue observing and implementing the JCPOA. On this basis, possibility could be explored for a dialogue platform that is inclusive and transparent to facilitate proper settlement of each party's concerns through dialogue and consultation.

The question of Palestine must not be marginalized. For more than seven decades, peace and justice have remained elusive in that part of the world. On this issue, what the international community needs most is not proposal or initiative, but rather resolve and action. To implement the two-state solution, a new round of peace-promoting efforts need to be made to explore a new mediation mechanism. To that end, China will play its part and Chinese humanitarian assistance to the Palestinian people will continue.

The issue involving Rakhine State of Myanmar cannot be resolved overnight, and steady progress needs to be made through a three-phased process involving cessation of violence, return of displaced persons and economic development. Myanmar and Bangladesh are inseparable

neighbors, and could well be inseparable partners. Yesterday, at my meeting with colleagues from Myanmar and Bangladesh and also in the presence of Secretary-General Guterres, agreement was reached between Myanmar and Bangladesh on accelerating the return of the first batch of displaced persons. We believe Myanmar and Bangladesh are capable of resolving this issue properly through friendly negotiations.

China supports the UN's leading role in coordinating responses to non-traditional security challenges. In the new frontiers of global governance like cyber space and outer space, state sovereignty must be upheld, rules observed, and responsibilities honored. Terrorism, a menace to the entire human society, should by no means be justified. Security Council resolutions must be earnestly implemented to counter cyber terrorism, terrorist financing and the spread of radical narratives, so as to remove the breeding ground of terrorism.

Madam President,

Development is essential for our world today. We need to address both insufficient development and, more important, the imbalance in development. There is no one-size-fits-all model. Every country is entitled to explore a development path that suits itself to deliver happiness and security to its people, and bring a future of confidence and hope to its children. Countries face various questions in development. Questions themselves could be turned into drivers for reform, and solutions to problems could bring about development.

Economic globalization should not be a process for some to gain and others to lose, still less should it result in widening the gap between the

North and the South. It is important that we adapt ourselves to the trend of economic globalization, and see to it that such a process is open, inclusive, balanced and win-win to deliver benefits to all.

International trade is complementary and win-win by nature. It should not be a zero-sum game in which one gains at the expense of others, and no one should be allowed to place its own interest above the interest of others. Protectionism will only hurt oneself, and unilateral moves will bring damage to all. Regarding trade frictions, China stands for a proper settlement based on rules and consensus through dialogue and consultation on an equal footing. China will not be blackmailed or yield to pressure. China has taken steps not just to defend its own legitimate rights and interests. China is also acting to uphold the free trade system and international rules and order for the benefit of global recovery and the common interests of all countries.

Implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development should top the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly. We need to incorporate the implementation of this agenda into the development strategies of member states and pursue innovation-driven, coordinated, green and open development that benefits all. We need to forge closer partnerships for development and pursue international development cooperation with the UN at its center, North-South cooperation as the main channel, supplemented by South-South cooperation. To meet climate change is crucial to achieving sustainable development. China hopes to see negotiations on the implementation guidelines of the Paris Agreement be concluded, as scheduled, by the end of this year to boost joint efforts for global ecological conservation.

Madam President,

In pursuing our common cause for development and progress for humankind, China has worked in partnership with other countries of the international community. This year marks the 40th anniversary of China's reform and opening-up program. Over the past 40 years, we have worked hard and forged ahead successfully along a path of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

This path has brought fundamental changes to China. Over the past 40 years, more than 700 million of the Chinese population have been lifted out of absolute poverty, which accounts for over 70% of the global total in the same period. A basic medical insurance system has been set up to cover the 1.35 billion Chinese people, and a social pension network accessible to over 900 million people is now fully instituted. These are truly remarkable achievements in the history of human development. Starting from scratch, China has built some 25,000 kilometers of high-speed railway. This accounts for two thirds of the global total and helps elevate global infrastructure construction. According to polls conducted by authoritative international polling agencies, China tops global rankings in terms of public satisfaction with its development and of public confidence in the future of development.

The path of development China pursues has provided the world with opportunities for common development. Over the past 40 years, China's foreign trade has registered an average annual growth of 14.5%. This has sustained impetus for global growth and offered the world a huge Chinese market. We have every confidence to maintain the momentum and realize high-quality development. China will speed up efforts to build an

advanced economic system, and this will create greater trade opportunities and an even better investment environment for other countries. Going forward, China will not reverse course or shut the door close. China will open still wider to the world. China will not erect market barriers but will expand access to the Chinese market. Of all developing countries in the world, China has been the fastest in opening up to a level that is unparalleled by others. When it comes to overall tariff reduction, China has accomplished more than what it committed when joining the WTO. The breadth of China's openness in services is close to the average level of developed countries. This November, China will host the first International Import Expo in Shanghai. It will be yet another major step to open China's market. Countries are welcome to take an active part in the event.

The Belt and Road Initiative proposed by President Xi Jinping is a public good China offers the world. Indeed, it has grown into the largest platform for international cooperation. It aims to deliver benefits for all through consultation and cooperation. The Initiative is open, transparent and inclusive; it is based on international rules and laws, and it aims to achieve green, environment-friendly and sustainable development. It is about pursuing common prosperity through greater complementarity among participating countries. By September this year, over 130 countries and international organizations have signed agreements on Belt and Road cooperation with China. Next year, China will host the second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation, and we welcome all parties to go and attend this event.

China is the largest developing country in the world. To strengthen cooperation and solidarity with other developing countries has been and

will continue to be the staunch strategic priority for China's diplomacy. This is determined by what defines China as a country and by the system and values China upholds. No matter how much China has grown in strength, and however the international landscape may change, this strategic priority of China will remain unchanged.

Madam President,

The United Nations is the premium platform to advocate and practice multilateralism. We hope the current session of the General Assembly will go down in the record for its part in upholding multilateralism and world peace and development. We hope that all of us in the international community will support the UN in playing its central role in international affairs. And we call upon people of all countries to join hands and work together to build a community with a shared future for mankind.

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