

Exploration of Xi Jinping's Vision of Global Governance

Wu Zhicheng & Wu Yu

In his report delivered at the Communist Party of China's (CPC) 19th National Congress, Xi Jinping pointed out that China follows the principle of achieving shared growth through discussion and collaboration in engaging in global governance, and will continue to play its part as a major and responsible country, take an active part in reforming and developing the global governance system, and keep contributing Chinese wisdom and strength to global governance.¹ Promoting a fairer and more reasonable global governance system constitutes an important part of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era. This is also an important task for major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics. Xi Jinping's vision of global governance features a lofty global perspective, deep-rooted ideological origins, distinctive historical characteristics and profound theoretical connotations. It systematically explains global governance as a basic concept, while highlighting the underlying values and basic principles central to its strengthening. It is not only practically significant for promoting world peace, development, and good global governance, but also contributes to the enrichment of the theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Wu Zhicheng is Professor at Zhou Enlai School of Government, Nankai University; **Wu Yu** is a lecturer at the School of Politics and Public Administration, Southwest University of Political Science and Law.

¹ Xi Jinping, *Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era — Report Delivered at the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, People's Publishing House, 2017, p.60.

Ideological Origins of Xi Jinping's Vision of Global Governance

Xi Jinping's vision of global governance is the creative synthesis of China's excellent traditional culture, proletarian internationalism, diplomatic strategies and ideas, and the contemporary global governance theory. While drawing from the aforementioned theoretical wellspring, its practice is dialectically derived from excellent ideological notions present in both ancient and modern China, as well as from many other countries around the globe. This contemporary theoretical achievement innovatively integrates the conceptual notion that "we should cherish our cultural roots, draw on other cultures, and be forward-thinking" with the essence of Marxism, Chinese institution and Western practices.²

Excellent traditional culture of the Chinese nation

Xi Jinping emphasized that the prerequisite for opening up a new era and being good at innovation requires bearing China's history in mind while being good at carrying on the Chinese cultural heritage. The only way to deliver positive results on the tasks to which we are presently devoted is to insist on opening up the new era with history in mind and breaking new paths while carrying on the national culture. China's excellent traditional culture is extensive and profound. The essence of the concept of *tianxia* (all under Heaven), the culture of harmony, the principle of benevolence and righteousness, and cosmopolitanism has provided a rich ideological source for Xi Jinping's vision of global governance.

The concept of *tianxia* may be the traditional world outlook of the Chinese people, reflecting what kind of future world China pursued. Its core propositions include "observing the world as a world" and "all people belong to one family," i.e., to regard the world as a public political space and common resource of human beings, and to consider global political issues by taking the

2 Fang Keli, "The Essence of Marxism, Chinese Institution and Western Practices are the Banner of Our Culture," *Chinese Social Sciences*, May 5, 2014, http://www.cssn.cn/mkszy/dhxz/201405/t20140505_1147188.shtml.

world as a reference.³ The spirit of cooperation and co-governance is the most valuable part of the *tianxia* concept, which is rooted in Chinese traditional culture and is in line with the current requirements for the development of global governance.⁴ Xi Jinping's vision of global governance takes into account China's past. Nourished by sound values present within the *tianxia* concept, this vision creatively applies these values to contemporary global governance practices, demonstrating the inclusive spirit of the new globalist paradigm. It is thus different from the exclusive international political culture of the West, highlighting instead its contemporary and national style.

Harmony is an ideal that is unswervingly pursued by the Chinese people, and is highly prevalent in traditional Chinese ideology and culture. Comprising important aspects of the harmony culture are "in practicing the rules of propriety, it is harmony that is prized" and "peace and harmony should prevail." These notions are aimed at achieving inter-state amity, and thus achieving universal peace. It can be said that working in unison and in harmony have been written into the DNA of the Chinese people, and signify the essence of the Chinese civilization. Xi Jinping's vision of global governance, which is based on the culture of harmony, is in line with China's major-country diplomatic strategy and manifests the traditional cultural qualities of harmony. It clearly expresses China's adherence to the path of peaceful development, while building a harmonious and symbiotic world order with the rest of the world. It emphasizes unity, mutual assistance, coexistence and win-win outcomes, thus achieving an organic integration of an independent and self-reliant approach, a worldview of peaceful development, the value of upholding justice while enhancing shared interests, and the pursuit of a harmonious order where all countries coexist.⁵ It also respects different civilizations and cultures, thus becoming the fundamental guiding principle for China to develop its foreign relations and safeguard world peace in the new era.

3 Jiang Xiyuan, "From Tian- Xia Doctrine to Harmonious World: Diplomatic-Philosophic Choice of China and Its Practical Implications," *Foreign Affairs Review*, No.4, 2007, p.48.

4 Li Mingming, "The Political Way and Governed Way in Tian Xia Thoughts," *World Economics and Politics*, No.12, 2011, p.109.

5 Su Changhe, "'Four Concepts' in Xi Jinping's Diplomatic Thought," *People's Tribune*, No.2, 2014, pp.28-30.

Benevolence and righteousness was regarded by the Confucian school as the utmost standard of traditional morality. Embodied by the scholarly spirit of upholding integrity and justice, it runs through the whole process of “cultivating one’s moral character, putting one’s family in order, governing the country and pacifying the world,” and exudes a strong spiritual energy and lofty personality charm. This awe-inspiring concept can not only achieve a personality paradigm full of positive energy but also create a national cultural soft power that is exemplary. China has always advocated and defended international fairness and justice, and through its concrete actions and tangible contributions, has consistently demonstrated its role as a major country. By innovatively developing the concept of benevolence and righteousness, Xi Jinping’s vision of global governance is committed to jointly exploring a development model of equality, mutual benefits and win-win cooperation. Transcending Western centrism, it enhances China’s image as a globally responsible socialist country and will also greatly enhance the cultural front of China’s soft power.

Within Chinese society, the time-honored tradition of cosmopolitanism originated from the concept of *li* (ritual, propriety) in the Western Zhou Dynasty (1046 B.C. — 771 B.C.). It originally pursued benevolence and propriety and considered a harmonious society as the ideal social model which resonated with the overall value of human beings. The distinctly humanistic cosmopolitanism present throughout the Chinese civilization is distinct from the theocentric cosmopolitanism of other civilizations, making it especially qualified for guiding today’s global governance practices. Detached from the traditional realist perspective, Xi Jinping’s concept of building a community with a shared future for mankind is a particularly salient perspective of cosmopolitanism which can provide a better understanding of the era of globalization. It is also a creative development of the cosmopolitanism in the Chinese civilization. It helps explore new pathways to reform the global governance system, while enabling the international community to recognize and deal rationally with the relationship between national and human communities. This will thus enhance China’s discourse power, enabling it to make the global order fairer and more rational.

Proletarian internationalism

Proletarian internationalism is an important part of Marxism and an important value orientation of contemporary Chinese diplomacy.⁶ By closely following historical developments, Xi Jinping has inherited and developed proletarian internationalism, a source of ideological wisdom which he has drawn on in his efforts to solve global problems and strengthen global governance.

Found within the Communist Manifesto, proletarian internationalism stems from the Marxist call of “workers of the world, unite!” a rallying cry for proletarian internationalism which has been further proposed and developed by Communist International. As historical characteristics change, the connotation of internationalism has continued to evolve. In the era of war and revolution, its connotation was “world revolution,” meaning that workers and the oppressed peoples of the world should unite and overthrow their imperialist rulers.⁷ In the 20th century, it was this form of internationalism that guided both China’s pursuit of independence and the development of the newly-born People’s Republic of China (PRC). However, in the current era of peace and development, internationalism means putting aside ideological disputes and confrontations borne out from different social systems, signaling countries around the world to follow the historical trend which emphasize dialogue and cooperation between countries, active participation in international affairs, and joint assumption of international responsibilities.⁸

The concept of major-country responsibility is China’s expression of proletarian internationalism in the new era, which explains China’s moral and ethical responsibility as a major country. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, Xi Jinping has reiterated China’s earnest pledge to shoulder the

6 Deng Shuhua and Yin Zhanwen, “Internationalism in Contemporary Chinese Diplomacy,” *Social Science Research*, No.5, 2006, p.17.

7 Qin Yaqing and Zhu Liqun, “Neo-Internationalism and China’s Diplomacy,” *Foreign Affairs Review*, No.5, 2005, p.21.

8 Tang Zhijun, “The Concept of Neo-Internationalism and the Choice of China’s Foreign Policy,” *Academic Monthly*, No.11, 2006, p.49.

responsibilities of a major country and adhere to and implement the concept of major-country responsibility in global governance. On various occasions, from the first session of the 12th National People's Congress in 2013 and the 19th CPC National Congress, to the United Nations Sustainable Development Summit in 2015 and the 2016 G20 Hangzhou summit, Xi Jinping has continuously reiterated China's initiative to assume international responsibility in the global governance process. China's responsibility as a major country has manifested itself through the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), the Silk Road Fund, the South-South Cooperation Assistance Fund, the Center for International Knowledge on Development, the proposal for establishing the Global Energy Internet, as well as through the exemption and reduction of debts owned by certain developing countries, efforts to reform global governance mechanisms such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the Belt and Road Initiative.

Diplomatic strategic concepts since the PRC's founding

Xi Jinping's vision of global governance is closely related to strategic concepts present in China's diplomatic mission since the PRC's founding. Formed and developed based on international strategic thinking put forward by CPC leaders of past generations, it is an achievement in contemporary major-country diplomacy with distinct Chinese characteristics, emblematic of how Xi Jinping continues to inherit and develops the PRC's diplomatic strategy.

The establishment and development of the PRC's diplomatic strategic concepts not only reflects China's awareness of its changing identity and development trends, but also follows the evolution of the global climate. The atmosphere of change, felt both at home and abroad, is accompanied by China's constant adjustment to its value orientation and diplomatic strategic planning. In the early days of the PRC's founding, the core concepts of its diplomatic strategy, independence and peaceful coexistence, were determined and advocated due to the preceding era of war and revolution. After the start of reform and opening-up, China positioned itself as a participant and builder

of the international system. It began to propose lofty concepts based on the historical theme of peace and development, and advocated a new international political and economic order. Following the conclusion of the Cold War, with the continued rise of globalization and the accelerated pace of reform and opening-up, China upheld the banner of peace, development and cooperation and emphasized the concepts of “recognizing and respecting global diversity” and “resolving differences in a peaceful way.” In the 21st century, in the face of an increasingly complex international climate, China has successively proposed new concepts such as “peaceful development,” “a harmonious world,” and “a community with a shared future for mankind” to facilitate its own development.

The concepts of independence, peaceful coexistence, peaceful development, harmonious world, and a community with a shared future for mankind can be traced to the same origin, and are an important ideological basis for Xi Jinping’s vision of global governance. Based on historical and strategic opportunities for China’s development, and faced with new historical conditions, Xi Jinping has kept in mind both China’s internal and international imperatives and is coordinating its positioning as both a developing country and an emerging power. Concerning the major issues which confront the future of humanity, by inheriting and developing the PRC’s diplomatic strategic concepts, he summarizes global strategic issues, thereby fostering the development of new global governance concepts.

Theories and practices of global governance

Since the 1990s, globalization has promoted the rise of global governance theories, as well as the development of its practices. On the basis of a profound reflection of existing theories and practices, Xi Jinping’s vision of global governance critically develops the current global governance theories.

The world is undergoing major developments, transformation, and adjustment. “Global economic growth lacks energy; the gap between rich and poor continues to widen; hotspot issues arise often in some regions; and unconventional security threats like terrorism, cyber-insecurity, major

infectious diseases, and climate change continue to spread. As human beings we have many common challenges to face.”⁹ At this time of mounting global challenges, the role of global governance has become increasingly prominent. In light of the reality, however, the currently prevalent and dominant Western global governance theories and practices have exhibited glaringly obvious deficiencies. On one hand, traditional Western theories of global governance, as a whole, are based on limited government, insignificant national sovereignty, and vague borders between nation-states. It emphasizes that governance weakens the role of sovereign governments through its transnationality and globality, providing a theoretical basis for interventionism and hegemonic policies.¹⁰ On the other hand, due to the fact that the current system of global governance and its subjects, mainly dominated by Western developed countries, reflects the intentions and values of these stakeholders, global governance is enfeathered to a conundrum highlighted by insufficient legitimacy, effectiveness, and democracy.

As a reaction to the defining trend of the reform of the global governance system, Xi Jinping actively advocates a new concept of global governance that fosters new development in its practices. For example, China pursues the vision of innovative, coordinated, green, and open development that is for everyone, which is different from its Western counterparts who emphasize so-called “democracy” and “freedom.”¹¹ As for regional cooperation, economy and security, Xi Jinping emphasizes that China, when advancing the Belt and Road Initiative, should adhere to the principle of wide consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits. These concepts and practices of global governance, which are distinctively Chinese and empathic in nature, have transcended the Western global governance theories and practices.

9 Xi Jinping, *Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era — Report Delivered at the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, p.58.

10 Yu Keping, *Globalization: Global Governance*, Social Sciences Academic Press, 2003, pp.30-31.

11 Wu Zhicheng and Chi Yong, “Belt and Road Initiative and the Revolution of Global Governance,” *Tianjin Social Sciences*, No.6, 2017, pp.82-83.

Historical Background of Xi Jinping's Vision of Global Governance

The formation of Xi Jinping's vision of global governance is the result of a thorough understanding of various ideological achievements made both at home and abroad, in ancient and modern times, as well as a sensible grasp of the historical trend of development, major changes in global geopolitical landscape, and the new positioning of Chinese development. It has sufficient practical basis and distinctive historical characteristics.

Profound changes in international balance of power

Since the end of the Cold War, and especially since the outbreak of the global financial crisis, the reform of the global governance system has faced a historical turning point, which is set against the background of an accelerated transformation of the international system, the rise of emerging major powers, the overall decline of Western countries, and the rise in strategic importance of non-state actors. As Xi Jinping pointed out, the international comparison of national strengths has undergone profound changes, and the rapid development and growing international influence of emerging markets and a large number of developing countries is the most revolutionary change in the international balance of power since the start of modern era.¹² This change represents the fundamental directional shift of current and future development, and has become an irreversible force that fosters a gradual change toward a new international order where countries coordinate their relations and interests through internationally accepted norms and rules. International relations are gradually shifting from armed conflicts to institutional competition, making it increasingly necessary for all countries to discuss and negotiate global issues. Establishing international mechanisms, observing international rules, and pursuing international justice have become the consensus of most countries.¹³

12 "Xi Jinping: Promoting a Fairer and More Reasonable Global Governance System and Creating Favorable Conditions for China's Development and World Peace," *People's Daily*, October 14, 2015, p.1.

13 *Ibid.*

The profound changes in comparative national strength witnessed around the globe have shown that the main focus of global governance is tilting towards emerging markets and developing countries. The emerging countries, represented by China, are becoming an increasingly robust force in global governance. This change heralds a call for countries around the world to reach a consensus on what kind of international mechanisms, international rules and value orientation should be pursued in the reform of the global governance system. The global governance system must face up to and adapt to this new outlook of comparative national strength, which is an inevitable requirement of the new era. However, changes in the international balance of power will not immediately bring about changes to the current system of global governance. Various obstacles and even the risks of conflict may yet lurk underneath such changes. Therefore, through a resolved strength of unity, emerging countries such as China must have sufficient strategic determination, confidence, and patience to actively promote the reform of the global governance system.

Complicated adjustments of international order

The international situation continues to experience profound and complex changes, with significant development in multi-polarization and economic globalization. Cultural diversity and IT application are making constant progress while readjustment is accelerating in international landscape and order.¹⁴ With the increasing integration of national interests, the world is more and more like a community with a shared future in which all parties are interwoven and interdependent. Aside from presenting rare historical opportunities for economic and social development of all countries, economic globalization has also brought about many major challenges. With the increase of these global challenges, many issues are no longer confined to a single country. As individual countries are no longer able to deal with the various global challenges, increased cooperation between countries is required. No country can address alone the many challenges facing mankind; no country

14 “Full Text of Chinese President’s Speech at Boao Forum for Asia,” March 28, 2015, <http://english.cri.cn/12394/2015/03/29/3241s872018.htm>.

can afford to retreat into self-isolation.¹⁵

Since the end of the Cold War, and especially since the outbreak of the global financial crisis, the development of international relations has borne out the fact that the traditional international order has failed to effectively reflect the desires and interests of most countries. Such a reality makes it difficult to resolve the deficits of peace, development, and governance facing all mankind,¹⁶ adding to the current sense of global uncertainty. The Western-led international order is in demise, as shown by the increasingly active participation of non-Western countries in world affairs, represented by emerging powers such as China. This is an unprecedented change in the 400 years' evolution of the international order. Despite the inevitability, the transformation of the international order is often challenged by instability and uncertainty. In the face of increasing global challenges and the inevitable need for the reform of the international order, it is a test of strategic intelligence for all countries, especially major countries, to shoulder their share of the responsibilities and foster a peaceful transformation of the international order.

Global governance system not yet fair and reasonable

The recent sluggishness of the global economy, the increasingly severe security climate, and the many disputes and conflicts throughout the world have shown a crisis of effectiveness and legitimacy caused by the lack of representation within existing global governance mechanisms. When countries attempt to take action, the fragmented nature of these mechanisms has led to intractable dilemmas, and differences in ideas have led to a normative disorder. Among them, unfairness and irrationality are both major reasons why the current global governance system remains in trouble.

Since the outbreak of the global financial crisis in 2008, instead of conscientiously fulfilling the objectives and principles of the UN Charter in

15 Xi Jinping, *Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era — Report Delivered at the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, p.58.

16 Xi Jinping, "Work Together to Build the Silk Road Economic Belt and The 21st Century Maritime Silk Road," May 14, 2017, http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-05/14/c_136282982.htm.

international affairs, Western countries have adopted unilateralist and even hegemonic policies, which encouraged various confrontations and injustices. Important international economic institutions such as the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO are still dominated by the West and mainly reflect the will and interests of Western countries, thus resulting in slow reforms. Particularly in recent years, emerging markets and developing countries have made important contributions to improving global economic governance, but they lack sufficient representation and voice, which remains a shortcoming of the current global economic governance system. It is a justifiable argument to claim that Western countries have an unshirkable responsibility for the current crisis of global economic governance, with the increasingly serious problems of global common development having served to highlight the injustice of the current international order. The global governance system is not yet fair and reasonable. This situation is not conducive to the long-term interests of all countries involved, and represents a test of their responsibility. Therefore, the strengthening of global governance and promotion of its reform is in line with the common interests of all countries, and will serve to increase a sense of shared responsibility. This constitutes a fundamental step towards the resolution of the current global governance crisis.

China's sustained and rapid development

Although China is still in a period of important strategic opportunity when great strides in development can be attained, world peace and development faces greater challenges, and the connotation of the period of important strategic opportunity is also undergoing profound changes. Strengthening global governance and promoting its reform will help maintain and prolong China's period of important strategic opportunity for development, while providing a strong guarantee for realizing the two centenary goals, namely to finish building a moderately prosperous society in all respects by the time the CPC marks its centenary and to build China into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious by the time the PRC celebrates its centenary. It also facilitates the realization of the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

In the era of globalization, maintaining good relations with the rest of the world is indispensable for any country to fulfill its development ambition. The question of how to foster a good external environment for domestic development, while adapting to and influencing the world, concerns both China's future and the well-being of all Chinese people. At present, the Chinese nation has stood up, grown rich, and is becoming strong. China has entered a crucial stage of realizing the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and is moving closer to center stage.¹⁷ On one hand, China, on the road to becoming an even more powerful country, has been transforming itself while profoundly changing the world. On the other hand, China remains in need of a long-term peaceful environment. It has been in strong pursuit of a peaceful international environment and a stable international order, and has put forward higher requirements for maintaining and extending its period of important strategic opportunity for development. However, with a succession of new opportunities and new challenges emerging in the world today, the international system and the international order are being deeply adjusted, and the international balance of power is changing in a direction that is conducive to peace and development. In order to further develop, China must follow the global trend of development, where strengthening global governance is an important strategic guarantee. As Xi Jinping emphasized, no matter how the global governance system changes, China must actively participate and play a constructive role in fostering a fairer and more rational development of the international order, one which provides institutional guarantees for world peace and stability.¹⁸

Theoretical Connotations of Xi Jinping's Vision of Global Governance

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, the CPC with Comrade Xi Jinping

17 Xi Jinping, *Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era — Report Delivered at the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, p.10.

18 *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China*, Foreign Languages Press, 2014, p.324.

at the core has been actively exploring new theories and practices for China's diplomacy. It has put forward the idea of global governance with Chinese characteristics, and has driven forward continuous progress on major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics.

Primary objectives

In order to better involve China in global governance and promote reform of the global governance system, Xi Jinping has made it clear that China will further advance the building of a community with a shared future for mankind, and that the country will continue its efforts to safeguard world peace, contribute to global development, and uphold international order.¹⁹ The positioning of China's role indicates the direction and objectives for China to participate in a new era of global governance.

First, effectively addressing global challenges. Global governance was born in response to global issues, thus the global governance system should evolve as global issues change. The unfair and unreasonable arrangements in the current global governance system are seriously hampering the governance of global issues. Therefore, the immediate purpose of promoting the reform of the global governance system is to effectively solve various global problems and meet the influx of ever-increasing global challenges.

Second, leading orderly changes in the international order. The current international order is undergoing profound adjustment and reform. International competition has gradually developed into a new type of institutional competition. The competition surrounding the reform of the global governance system is essentially a competition for international institutions. Xi Jinping stressed that strengthening global governance and promoting institutional reform of global governance are related to setting rules and directions for the international order and system.²⁰ The general trends of multi-polarization,

19 Xi Jinping, *Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era — Report Delivered at the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, p.25.

20 “Xi Jinping: Promoting a Fairer and More Reasonable Global Governance System and Creating Favorable Conditions for China's Development and World Peace.”

economic globalization, and greater democracy in international relations remain unchanged. China should guide the international community to jointly shape a new, fairer and more reasonable international order.²¹

Third, occupying the moral high ground for the world's future development. Under the major trend of reforming the global governance system, a responsible major country shoulders the mission to help shape a new international order and guide its future development. Global governance reflects the world's major rules and standards, its mainstream values and norms; it tests the international influence and voice of countries all over the world, while also constituting the main stage for future development. Therefore, he who grasps the opportunity to reform the global governance system can occupy a commanding height from which to oversee the world's future development. As China actively plays a role in promoting this reform, it should not only meet the practical needs of addressing global challenges, but also needs to be future-oriented and seize the moral high ground for the world's future.

Fourth, working for the two centenary goals. Xi Jinping stressed that the fundamental purpose of China's participation in global governance is to serve the two centenary goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.²² National development depends on both the country's own development path and a favorable external environment. A good external environment depends on the development of the international order, which in turn depends on the reformative direction of the international system. Particularly, in this new era of major transformation and adjustment to the international order, China needs to promote the reform of the global governance system more actively, so as to provide reliable guarantees for world peace and stability, as well as to create a favorable external environment for the realization of the two centenary goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

Fifth, advancing the building of a community with a shared future for

21 "Xi Jinping: Firmly Establishing and Earnestly Implementing the Holistic Approach to National Security, and Opening Up New Prospects for Work Relating to National Security under New Circumstances," *People's Daily*, February 18, 2017, p.1.

22 "Xi Jinping: Promoting a Fairer and More Reasonable Global Governance System and Creating Favorable Conditions for China's Development and World Peace."

mankind. Today, countries are interdependent and share weal and woe, and mankind has become a close-knit community of shared future.²³ In view of this, in his report to the 19th CPC National Congress, Xi Jinping put forward the important concept of building a community with a shared future for mankind, calling on all countries to build an open, inclusive, clean, and beautiful world that enjoys lasting peace, universal security, and common prosperity.²⁴ Building a community with a shared future for mankind is one basic strategy for upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics. It is also China's solution, put forward by Xi, for reforming the global governance system. This means that China is working with other countries to reform the global governance system, aiming to fundamentally build a better world, the image of which is portrayed in the blueprint for a community with a shared future for mankind. Put forth by a major emerging socialist country, this concept is a systematic elaboration on major issues which hold significance for the future and destiny of mankind.

Value basis

As an important part of the theory of major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics, Xi Jinping's thinking on global governance fully embodies Chinese characteristics, vision and style, while boasting a profound basis in values.

First, it is fair and reasonable. Establishing a new international political and economic order is an important goal of China's diplomacy. Fairness and rationality represent both the direction of the new international order and the direction of the global governance system. They also constitute a set of core values for China's development process. The criteria for fairness and rationality of the global governance system cannot be determined by a small number of

23 Xi Jinping, "Jointly Shoulder Responsibility of Our Times, Promote Global Growth — Keynote Speech At the Opening Session of the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting 2017," *People's Daily*, January 18, 2017, p.3.

24 Xi Jinping, *Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era — Report Delivered at the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, pp.58-59.

countries; rather, it should be widely recognized and measured. Whether the system can reflect, in a more balanced way, the will and interests of a majority of countries is one of the important standards. The fair and reasonable pursuit of value complies with the trend of the times and serves the interests of all countries. This also represents part of the rationale for China's increased efforts and participation in global governance, as well as its current promotion of reforming the existing system.

Second, it upholds win-win cooperation. For a long time, the international system, dominated by developed Western countries, has adhered to the value of absolute returns, and followed the outdated and archaic strategy of zero-sum game which emphasizes the notion of "winner-takes-all." As a result, alliance and confrontation have become the normal state of traditional international relations. However, in the world today, where all countries share a common future, the old values and traditional ways of thinking can no longer adapt to the onset of new historical conditions. It is win-win cooperation that becomes the widely recognized value that can effectively meet the challenges of today and achieve development in the future. To uphold the value of win-win cooperation, we need to adhere to multilateralism, and strive for win-win, multi-win, and all-win outcomes. Consultation, dialogue, and win-win cooperation should be important approaches in contemporary global governance. They should be integrated into the entire process of building global partnerships and a community with a shared future for mankind.

Third, it stresses both justice and interests. Economic globalization, previously dominated by developed Western countries, was based on a profit-oriented capitalist value, where zero-sum thinking prevailed. The negative consequence of such value logic is that a few people gain while the majority lose. The imbalance between justice and interests has become the main cause of unjust global economic and social development, and has triggered myriad malignant trends in international politics.²⁵ The improvement of global governance must be founded on a correct approach to justice and interests.

25 Su Changhe, "Four Concepts' in Xi Jinping's Diplomatic Thought," p.29.

Xi Jinping's stress of upholding justice while pursuing shared interests in international relations reflects China's principle of integrating justice into interests and putting justice first. It has also demonstrated China's willingness to strengthen international solidarity and cooperation.²⁶ It indicates in what capacity China will participate in international affairs, and with what ideas and actions China will carry out major-country diplomacy with its distinctive features.²⁷ Meanwhile, it also contributes to the deepening of political mutual trust and practical cooperation among countries, and has become an important guide for enhancing China's international image and soft power, while also further promoting the development of global governance.

Fourth, it aims for common development. Peace and development remain the two major themes of our time, but the increasing imbalance of global economic and social development pose a serious challenge to both these aims. To realize the shared goal of pursuing peace, development and cooperation, common development must be the value basis. In this regard, Xi Jinping stressed, "Development of all is the real development, and sustainable development is the good development."²⁸ Countries should work in concert to blaze a path of development that is fair, open, comprehensive and innovative, one that strives for tangible measures of common development. As a broad consensus-based global value, common development is of great significance to improving the international environment for development, global partnerships, and coordinated development mechanisms.

Fifth, it emphasizes harmonious coexistence. Through exchanges and integration featuring an emphasis on diversity, humanity has made continuous progress. Trying to exclude other civilizations and attempting to dominate the world order will only lead to the regression of civilization and disaster for humanity. Advocating for the clash of civilizations will lead humanity astray.

26 "Xi Jinping Delivers Important Speech at UN Sustainable Development Summit," September 27, 2015, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/topics_665678/xjpdmgjxgswbxcxlhgcl70znlfh/t1302359.shtml.

27 Qin Yaqing, "The Right Approach to Justice and Interests: Theoretical Innovation and Practical Principles of China's Diplomacy in the New Era," *Qiushi*, No. 12, 2014, pp.55-57.

28 "Xi Jinping Attends General Debate of 70th Session of the UN General Assembly and Delivers Important Speech," September 29, 2015, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/topics_665678/xjpdmgjxgswbxcxlhgcl70znlfh/t1304144.shtml.

The right path is to seek harmony without uniformity, and promote diverse and inclusive exchanges among civilizations. At a time when confrontation and conflicts still plague the international community, the concept of harmonious coexistence for global governance, advocated by Xi Jinping, is an expression of the modern value of a harmonious and cooperative culture, which is distinctly Chinese in characteristics. Reflecting the pursuit of human ideals, the concept also sets a value orientation which allows us to further promote the development of human civilization.

Underlying connotations

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, Xi Jinping has proposed a series of new ideas on global economic governance, new type of international relations, global security governance, global partnerships, and global ecological governance. These have all greatly enriched Xi's thinking on global governance.

First, the concept of global economic governance. Effective global economic governance is a guarantee for the healthy operation of the world economy. At present, the global economic landscape is undergoing profound changes, with the global economy shifting its focus towards emerging markets and developing countries. In the face of this new economic reality, global economic governance needs to keep up with the times, and make changes accordingly. As Xi Jinping pointed out, global economic governance should be based on equality, embrace openness, be driven by cooperation and be a mechanism of sharing. At this stage, global economic governance should focus on jointly ensuring equitable and efficient global financial governance, jointly fostering open and transparent global trade and investment governance, jointly establishing green and low-carbon global energy governance, and jointly facilitating an inclusive and interconnected global development governance to build an innovative, open, interconnected and inclusive world economy.²⁹ Xi's view of global economic governance features equality, openness, cooperation and shared benefits, reflecting a spirit of partnership that is more readily

29 "Xi Jinping Attends Opening Ceremony of the 2016 B20 Summit and Delivers Keynote Speech," September 3, 2016, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/wshd_665389/t1395086.shtml.

capable to overcome current global challenges. While clarifying the direction of the world economy, it has also demonstrated China's determination to seek common development. Moreover, it shows that China, as a responsible major country, is actively committed to contributing its ideas and wisdom to global economic governance, while participating in this endeavor at a broader, deeper and higher level. While systematically summarizing China's ideas and proposals for global economic governance, Xi's view has also enriched and developed China's foreign policy and philosophical outlook. It shows that China is no longer just a passive participant of globalization, but is growing into a shaper of globalization.

Second, a new type of international relations. With the multi-polarization of the world and economic globalization gaining increased momentum, and with greater IT application in human society, the influx of serious challenges facing the international community are also becoming more prominent. However, better than any other historical period, the peoples of the world today are equipped with the right conditions to work hand in hand for the goal of peace and development. Win-win cooperation is the practical pathway towards the achievement of this goal. As President Xi Jinping said, "In the face of profound changes in the international situation and the objective need of all countries to address the challenges as one, countries should jointly promote the establishment of a new type of international relations centered on win-win cooperation."³⁰ To this end, countries must go beyond the outdated and archaic Cold War mentality and zero-sum thinking that are still present within the international system, and abandon the old practice of fighting alone. In the handling of international affairs, we should regard win-win cooperation as the basic policy orientation of all countries, and make it a basic universally applicable principle in all fields. In fact, building a new type of international relations which features mutual respect, fairness and justice, and win-win cooperation is already an important part of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era. Not only has it become the main

30 *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China*, p.273.

line of China's foreign affairs, but it also promotes the new four-sphere pattern of peaceful diplomacy, which includes the guidelines of peaceful diplomacy, the foreign policy of peace, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and the path of peaceful development. The new type of international relations is a highlight of major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics.

Third, the view on global security governance. In the age of globalization, the security of all countries is interconnected and mutually influential. No country can maintain absolute security with its own effort, and no country can achieve stability out of other countries' instability.³¹ As Xi Jinping said, without peace, there will be no development; and without stability, there will be no prosperity.³² All countries are in need of a peaceful and stable environment for development, and every country should be a participant, contributor, and beneficiary of world peace and development. Countries should abandon all forms of Cold War mentality, and adopt a new concept of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security. "Common" means that the security of all countries must be respected and guaranteed. "Comprehensive" means that we should maintain coordinated security in both traditional and non-traditional areas. "Cooperative" means that we should promote national and regional security through dialogue and cooperation. "Sustainable" means that equal emphasis should be attached to development and security to achieve lasting security.³³ Xi has gradually brought traditional international security cooperation towards a new win-win path which features: adherence to the objectives and principles of the UN Charter, and giving full play to the core role of the UN in peacekeeping and war prevention; following the concept of rational, coordinated and balanced nuclear security; vigorously promoting the peaceful settlement of international disputes; and actively establishing an Asian security concept and advancing regional security

31 "Xi Jinping Attends General Debate of 70th Session of the UN General Assembly and Delivers Important Speech."

32 "Xi Jinping Chairs G20 Hangzhou Summit and Delivers an Opening Speech," September 4, 2016, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/topics_665678/XJPCXBZCESGJTLDRDSYCFHJCXYGHD/t1395097.shtml.

33 *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China*, pp.354-356.

cooperation. Xi's view on global security governance has been leading the sustainable and secure development of the world. Specifically, this includes: resolutely opposing terrorism in all its forms; actively responding to the refugee crisis, climate change, disease control and other non-traditional security threats; opposing hegemonism and power politics, while upholding rules that work for common governance; and a dedication to forging emerging areas such as the deep sea, polar areas and cyber world into new territories for cooperation. The ideas have injected momentum into the international community's joint efforts to build a security architecture characterized by fairness, justice, joint contribution and shared benefits.

Fourth, a network of global partnerships. In today's economic globalization, there is no island which stands isolated from the rest of the world. To carry forward the spirit of partnership is the only rational choice for countries that wish to cope with the increasing influx of global challenges. Only when we forge a network of global partnerships, which features win-win cooperation, can we adapt to the new normal of international relations. Therefore, countries should make friends under the broad principle of nonalignment, actively develop global partnerships and expand the convergence of interests with other countries. Especially, major countries should promote their coordination and cooperation, and forge a framework of their relations featuring overall stability and balanced development. China will deepen relations with its neighbors in accordance with the principle of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit, and inclusiveness and the policy of forging friendship and partnership with its neighbors. China will, guided by the principle of upholding justice while pursuing shared interests and the principle of sincerity, real results, affinity, and good faith, work to strengthen solidarity and cooperation with other developing countries.³⁴ Fundamentally, the concept of partnership is an innovative development of relation, or “*guanxi*-based thinking” within traditional Chinese culture. It will promote

34 Xi Jinping, *Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era — Report Delivered at the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, pp.59-60.

a governance of relationships based on trust and identity,³⁵ and also represent an effort to rebuild the order of global governance. Therefore, in accordance with the overall arrangements of diplomatic work, China should strengthen its relations with major countries, neighboring countries and other developing countries, and establish partnerships based on equal treatment, consultation and mutual understanding. It needs to vigorously promote and optimize global development partnerships, and build a global network of partnerships that focuses on various well-coordinated areas.³⁶

Fifth, the view on global ecological governance. Civilization flourishes when ecology prospers, and civilization declines when ecology deteriorates. An environment which is ecologically sound is the premise and foundation for the development of human society. As Xi Jinping stated, “as an important part of global governance, the global efforts on climate change can be taken as a mirror for us to reflect on what models to have for future global governance and how to build a community of shared future for mankind. Much valuable inspiration may thus be drawn.”³⁷ Xi believes that working for ecological progress is a long-term plan that has substantial bearing on both the well-being of the people and the future of the nation. He has actively pursued a sustainable development path and governance model for the betterment of mankind. Earning global recognition, Xi’s vision of ecological governance reflects China’s sense of great environmental responsibility. This vision is reflected through the fact that passages like “lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets” are written into documents of the central government and the United Nations, as well as that the plan to build an ecological civilization registers as an important facet of the 13th Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, which constitutes part of the overall plan of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Furthermore, green development has become an important element of the five-

35 Qin Yaqing: “Contributing Chinese Solution to the Reform of the International Order,” *cssn.cn*, December 17, 2014, http://www.cssn.cn/zzx/wztj_zzx/201412/t20141217_1445626.shtml.

36 Wang Yi, “Breaking New Ground in Major-Country Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics,” *Qiushi*, December 31, 2015, http://www.qstheory.cn/dukan/qs/2015-12/31/c_1117609412.htm.

37 “Full Text of President Xi’s Speech at Opening Ceremony of Paris Climate Summit” December 1, 2015, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/XiattendsParisclimateconference/2015-12/01/content_22592469.htm.

sphere new vision for development, and the notions of “beautiful China” and “clean and beautiful” have been written into the report of the CPC National Congress and the Party’s Constitution. From building a global ecological system that respects nature and upholds green development, to the joint global promotion of a development path that is green, low-carbon, circular and sustainable, and from working together to build a fair and equitable climate change governance mechanism featuring win-win cooperation, to jointly building a clean and beautiful world, Xi’s view on global ecological governance has served as a guide for global ecological cooperation, and fully demonstrates that China is a global leader in international climate change cooperation, and an important participant, contributor and leader in the global efforts for ecological progress. Through this vision, China will continue to make new and greater contributions to sustainable development around the world.

Fundamental principles

China’s view on global governance has drawn increasing attention from the world. However, to promote fairer and more reasonable reform of the global governance system, there is a stark need for concerted and sustained efforts by the international community. From the four objectives and seven principles of the UN Charter, promulgated more than 70 years ago, to the ten principles in handling international relations advocated by the Bandung Conference more than 60 years ago, the international community has accumulated a series of universally recognized principles in handling international relations. Based on this, Xi has clearly elaborated on China’s basic principles for participating in global governance, while providing innovative solutions for reform of the global governance system.

First, wide consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits. The principle of wide consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits demonstrates Xi’s global vision and political wisdom. It also shows that China truly views the reform of the global governance system as a matter to be addressed jointly by the international community. It is conducive to translating the proposal for reform of the global governance system into a

consensus-based and concerted call to action for all concerned parties. “Wide consultation” means that countries should give priority to openness, adhere to open ideas, policies and mechanisms, ensuring that those involved listen clearly to the suggestions and appeals emanating from all sectors of society, while encouraging active participation and integration of all parties, avoiding exclusive arrangements, and preventing the formation of any closed governance mechanism leading to fragmented rules. “Joint contribution” is driven by cooperation. In the adjustment and reform of the global governance system, countries should strengthen communication and coordination, and seek to accommodate each other’s interests and concerns. “Shared benefits” means that everyone should play a role and receive benefits from the system. Instead of seeking a monopolistic or winner-takes-all approach, shared interests and win-win results should be pursued.³⁸ The wisdom of all countries should be pooled together to promote the reform of the global governance system. The principle of wide consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits represents a significant contribution of Chinese wisdom to global governance. This principle will allow for enhanced cohesion, coordination, and cooperation. By adhering to this principle, not only may we avoid the risk of others unrealistically calling on China to shoulder excessive responsibilities, but it will also serve to dispel misgivings that China is seeking for hegemony. Besides this, this principle can also be utilized to forge new momentum and open up new space for the reform of the global governance system.

Second, common but differentiated responsibilities. No country can be immune from global challenges. However, developed and developing countries have different needs and capacities, which historically delimits the scope of their responsibilities relating to global issues. It is neither appropriate nor fair to measure all countries with the same scale. Instead, in the global governance system, countries should assume, on the basis of fair treatment, responsibilities which are consistent with their rights, and exert influence commensurate with their strengths. In particular, as their global

38 Xi Jinping Attends Opening Ceremony of the 2016 B20 Summit and Delivers Keynote Speech.”

contributions grow, emerging markets and developing countries deserve a greater say in the global governance system. The principle of common but differentiated responsibilities reflects the common aspiration of developing countries. It also sets an important example for the international community when meeting current and future challenges. Of course, this principle does not mean that developing countries should seek to refrain from contributing to the reform of the global governance system, remain silent in the process of addressing global problems, or shirk their due responsibilities. Rather, it is only that such contribution should be in line with their capabilities and needs.³⁹ This principle applies to a wide range of issues, such as environment, trade, and human rights development. Improvement of global governance entails upholding the international order and system with the objectives and principles of the UN Charter at the core. Only in this way can countries effectively realize the goals of global governance.

Third, a combination of China trying its best and doing according to its abilities. China actively advocates and seeks to have its voice heard within the global governance system. As it promotes innovative development of the global governance system, it will certainly assume further international responsibilities, and demonstrate its sense of responsibility as a major country in the world. This being said, the landscape of global governance depends on the international balance of power. In the end, the game-changer speaks with strength.⁴⁰ As both a developing country and a major emerging market economy, China needs to make rational assessments and prudent choices concerning what responsibilities it should assume and how to reasonably shoulder them in global governance. Despite China's transformation into a major country, its status as a developing country will continue for some time into the future. Therefore, China should not only actively participate

39 "Exclusive Q&A with Chinese President Xi Jinping," *Reuters*, October 18, 2015, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-britain-xi-q-a/exclusive-qa-with-chinese-president-xi-jinping-idUSKCN0SC03920151018>.

40 "Let Chinese Power Promote Reform of the Global Governance System: Studying General Secretary Xi Jinping's Remarks at the 35th Group Study Session of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee," *Xinhua*, September 28, 2016, http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2016-09/28/c_1119642701.htm.

in global governance and take the initiative to assume more international responsibilities, but also clarify when it will do its best and when it is acting according to its abilities.⁴¹ Based on good judgment relating to the use of its capabilities, China should focus on contributing solutions. Priority should be given to rules-making and innovation of governance mechanisms, and the continued expansion of China's institutional voice. Therefore, at present and for some time to come, China should primarily concern itself with economic development, concentrate on the efficient running of its own affairs, and continue to strengthen its voice and actions in the international arena. In this way, a greater institutional voice for China will be equipped with solid material guarantees.

Fourth, coordination of global governance and national governance. With the deepening of globalization, the coordination, interaction and mutual restraint between global governance and national governance have become a gratefully obvious matter of concern. The goals of global governance and national governance are not always in alignment.⁴² Therefore, in order to promote the reform of the global governance system, it is necessary to adopt a holistic approach to governance. National governance is deepened via global governance, while global governance is advanced by virtue of national governance. It is necessary to take both domestic and international markets, resources and rules into comprehensive consideration. We need to take into account the pervasive relational effects of domestic policies, and try to expand positive spillovers. We should advocate "joint governance" to prevent and address fragmented governance, while promoting the positive interaction between global and national governance. In particular, we should promote in-depth global governance by deepening national governance, and the other way around, to ensure and maintain favorable conditions for both China's development and world peace.

41 "Xi Jinping: Promoting a Fairer and More Reasonable Global Governance System and Creating Favorable Conditions for China's Development and World Peace."

42 Wu Zhicheng, "The Impact of Global Governance on National Governance," *Social Sciences in China*, No.6, 2016, p.22.

Important Contributions of Xi Jinping's Vision of Global Governance

Now that China has stood up, grown rich and is becoming strong, it finds itself at a brand new starting point for historic breakthrough. The question remains then, how will it guide the building of a fairer and more reasonable global governance system, and coordinate the realization of China's national rejuvenation and good global governance? Under the current trend of reforming the global governance system, Xi Jinping's thinking on global governance have methodically answered such a question. His thoughts have important and far-reaching influence on both the theories and practices of global governance, and the modernization of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

First, it helps enrich and develop the theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics. The theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics embodies the wisdom and painstaking efforts of the CPC in leading its people. It is a guide to upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics at a new historical turning point. It is of great significance to securing a decisive victory in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects and realizing the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. As an important part of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, Xi's thinking on global governance have both adhered to and further developed Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics. It is a major theoretical innovation for China's diplomatic application of Marxism. It can be best represented as the latest achievement of Marxism in our times. Under these new historical conditions, reform of the global governance system and modernization of national governance are essential to the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era. Xi Jinping's vision of global governance aims not only to realize good global governance, but also to create positive interactions between global and national governance. It has lifted the theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics to a new height.

Second, it creates a favorable external environment for the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics. As Xi stated, the more progress China makes in development and the closer its links with the region and the world, the more important it is for the country to have a stable regional environment and a peaceful international environment.⁴³ Since the reform and opening-up, China has become increasingly confident as it evolves from a doubtful participant to a leader of global governance. It shows that China has a growing understanding of the global governance system, an increasingly steadfast attitude, displays more responsible actions, and is expanding influence through its philosophy. A three-pronged architecture which integrates the governance of the Party, the country and the world has taken shape. Xi Jinping's thinking on global governance originates from and focuses on practices while providing guidance for practices. It fundamentally stipulates that, only by unswervingly following the path of peaceful development, can China achieve its goals and make greater contributions to the world. This not only demonstrates the confidence and self-consciousness of the Chinese people in their efforts to achieve their own development goals, but also shows the country's sense of responsibility as a major country in the world.⁴⁴ Through guiding and promoting the reform of the global governance system, Xi Jinping's thoughts on global governance have served as an example of how socialism with Chinese characteristics can contribute to the best practices of global governance, signaling another lofty contribution to the rest of the world.⁴⁵

Third, it promotes both theoretical and practical innovation of major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics. It has been the PRC's fine diplomatic tradition to adhere to the independent foreign policy of peace, resolutely uphold world peace and stability, while advocating for a fair and just international order. Based on China's current development trends as well

43 "Xi Jinping's Speech at 9th China-ASEAN Expo," September 21, 2012, <http://la.china-embassy.org/eng/news/t972614.htm>.

44 "Speech by H.E. Xi Jinping President of the People's Republic of China at the Körber Foundation," March 29, 2014, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/zyjh_665391/t1148640.shtml.

45 Ren Lixuan, "Global Contribution of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics," *People's Daily*, May 19, 2016, p.7.

as changes which have recently occurred in the world order, since the 18th CPC National Congress, Xi Jinping has inherited the PRC's fine diplomatic tradition, created the theory of major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics, and realized the innovative development of China's diplomatic and strategic thinking. In its theoretical and practical exploration of major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics, China has taken an active part in global governance. In the process of working hard to reform the global governance system, China has successfully strengthened its capacity building, formulating and implementing its global governance strategy. This solidifies the emphasis of major-country responsibility in Chinese major-country diplomacy.⁴⁶ In particular, how to build a fairer and more reasonable global governance system becomes an important question facing the theory of major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics. Xi Jinping's thinking on global governance not only provides clear guidance for practical innovation of major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics, but also deepens theoretical evolution of China's major-country diplomacy.

Fourth, it contributes Chinese wisdom and spurs further innovation of global governance theories and practices. Based on the reality of China's development and the continuous growth of its hard-power capabilities, Xi Jinping has closely followed the important changes in the geopolitical landscape and put forward a series of ideas, initiatives and solutions to promote and improve the mechanisms of global governance, while building consensus on the reform of global governance. As a result, notable achievements have been made, and China's institutional voice in global governance has increased. These have all served to demonstrate and enhance China's soft power. In order to promote practical innovation of global governance, and meet the international community's demand for a just, reasonable and effective form of consultative global governance, China has attached significant importance to a strategic combination of hard and soft powers, which can maximize efficiency and optimize the benefits of global governance. This highlights the important

46 Qin Yaqing, "Exploring the Road of Major-Country Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics," *Guangming Daily*, December 28, 2014, p.8.

contribution of Xi Jinping's thinking to global governance theories and practices, and demonstrates the unique charm of Chinese wisdom.

Fifth, it provides a uniquely Chinese solution for the transformation of the international order. The frequent failure of the Western-dominated international order has highlighted the urgent need for a reform of the international order. For some time, China has been committed to providing solutions to major international issues and rules-making, while also making its contribution to the political settlement of global hotspots. Under the new historical conditions, Xi Jinping has conformed to the expectations set forth by the peoples of the world, saying that “all countries should jointly shape the future of the world, write international rules, manage global affairs and ensure that development outcomes are shared by all.”⁴⁷ Shouldering the historic mission of passing on the torch of peace from generation to generation, sustaining the momentum of development, and making civilizations shine on, China has put forward the proposal of the community with shared future for mankind. It is a Chinese solution aimed at promoting the reform of the international order. In fact, leading the international community to jointly shape a new, fairer and more reasonable international order is an important strategic goal for China, who wishes to balance development and security at the new historical turning point.⁴⁸ The world is calling for a new order, and China has the ability and strength of will to be one of the leaders in that new order. As an answer to this call, China has specifically proposed building the community with a shared future for mankind, to help reshape the future outlook of this new international order. It shows that China will continue to hold high the banner of peaceful development and win-win cooperation, firmly safeguard world peace and promote common development. Moreover, it also reflects China's sincere desire to contribute to the reform of the international order, and work with other countries to create a better future for human society. 🇨🇳

47 “Work Together to Build a Community of Shared Future for Mankind—Speech by H.E. Xi Jinping at the United Nations Office at Geneva,” January 18, 2017, <http://iq.chineseembassy.org/eng/zygx/t1432869.htm>.

48 “Xi Jinping: Firmly Establishing and Earnestly Implementing the Holistic Approach to National Security, and Opening Up New Prospects for Work Relating to National Security under New Circumstances.”