

**Non-traditional security and global governance: China's participation in the climate adaptation in the Oceania (working paper )**

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**Abstract**

The intensified non-traditional security issues present profound challenge to the world, and encourage global governance. The climate change phenomena and its disastrous consequence, among others, urge the world's attention and cooperation. The Oceania countries, especially the small island states, are facing that tough job- try to prevent and try to adapt to the projected result. The Oceania countries are not alone when fighting against that catastrophe. Some countries outside this area, USA, EU, Japan, and China, etc., are standing by them on that issue. As the world largest carbon emitter, China takes its responsibility on climate mitigation based upon the "CBDR" principle, pledging to cut the carbon intensity by 40 percent to 45 percent by 2020 from the 2005 level, and encourages climate adaptation at the same time.

China pledges further assistance to the Oceania small island states in coping with the incoming disaster challenges facing the South Pacific. With the visit of President Xi Jinxing, China is expected to build up its financial commitment, pledging overall support to foster the local ability to cope with disasters including human resources development, polar power initiative, and especially the infrastructure which China shows more interest in. Chinese foreign aid seems to differ greatly from that of traditional donors. China points that its aid has no political strings attached, and that it focuses on equality and the mutual benefits between China and the recipient country. China does not have any ambitious targets (territory claims, for example) in this area. Abiding by the principle of non-interference in others' internal affairs, China tries to keep out of the domestic issues. Decades ago, China wanted to win the support from

the Oceania countries on the issue of legitimacy. The world is quite different with the great development of China. Right now, and in the near future, investment, natural resources, fishery, and good reputation will be in the heart of China's policy on multilateral cooperation and foreign aid.

**Key words:**

Climate change, global governance, non-traditional security, South Pacific,

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## **□ Introduction: The Prominence of the Non-traditional security**

Contemporary, the intensified non-traditional security (climate change, terrorism, energy, etc. )issues present profound challenge to the world, and call for global governance. The climate change phenomena and its disastrous consequence, among others, urge the world's attention and cooperation. The world can not meaningfully solve this problem without substantial international cooperation. Which is to say, in fighting against Climate change, countries with high capacity should provide the assistance known as *global public goods* to those who are not only sensitive, but also vulnerable to the disasters accelerated by human beings.

The Oceania countries, especially the small island states here, are facing that tough job- try to prevent the disastrous result, and to adapt to the projected future. Fortunately, The Oceania countries are not alone when dealing with that catastrophe. Some countries like USA, EU, Japan, China, AU, and New Zealand, inside or outside this area, are standing by them.

*Background: Major Donor States Ranking in the South Pacific Area:*

- *No.1 Australia*
- *No.2 New Zealand ,*
- *No.3 Japan,*
- *No.4 China,*
- *(Philippa Brant , 2013 )*

## □ **Development Assisted and climate adaptation**

*Background: One Goal, Two Approaches:*

- *Climate Mitigation: (GHG emission cut)*
- *Climate Adaptation: (Vulnerability reduction, Capacity building)*

Development is a form of adaptation, as it leads to increased adaptive capacity, and to improve the resilience to climatic stressors. (Anita Milman, Yacob Arsano, 2014) In promoting development, reducing poverty and improving livelihood, China has proactively promoted international development and cooperation and played a constructive role in this aspect.

As the world largest carbon emitter, China takes its responsibility on climate mitigation based upon the “CBDR” principle, pledging to peak the carbon emission by 2030, and to encourage climate adaptation at the same time.

## □ **China’s assistance to the Oceania states**

Generally, China has endeavored to integrate its interests with other countries’, providing assistance to other developing countries within the framework of South-South cooperation.

Statistics shows that China has provided more than US \$ 0.85 billion foreign assistance to 8 island states in the South Pacific area from 2006-2011. For example, China has provided about US \$ 0.33 billion to Fiji since 2006. From 2010 to 2012, China provided assistance to 121 countries, nine in Oceania. China pledges further assistance to the small island states in coping with the incoming challenges facing the South Pacific. In 2000, China set up Pacific Islands Forum Cooperation Fund, and in 2010, China’s deputy minister declared that China will increase US \$ 5

million from 2011 to 2015.

#### 1. Environmental Protection

China provided equipment and supplies for environmental protection to 13 developing countries including the Federated States of Micronesia, and the supplies included wind and solar power generators and lighting equipment, portable solar power supply, biogas equipment, garbage collection trucks, and draining and irrigation equipment. (China Foreign Assistance White paper, 2014)

#### 2. Energy-efficiency

China signed the MOU on Complimentary Supplies for Addressing Climate Change with nine countries including Somoa. Under this framework, China donated more than 500,000 energy-efficient lamps and 10,000 energy-efficient air conditioners to these countries. (China Foreign Assistance White paper, 2014)

#### 3. To encourage the utilization of renewable energy

From 2010-2012, China undertook 64 projects in 58 developing countries on the utilization of renewable energy resources, such as solar streetlamps and solar power generators. (China Foreign Assistance White paper, 2014). For example, China helps to use the clean energy in Tonga: Mash gas (methane) utilization.

#### 4. Training and Education

China also organized 150 training sessions on environmental protection and addressing climate change for over 120 developing countries, providing training to over 4,000 officials and technical personnel in such areas as low-carbon industry development and energy policies, ecological protection, water resources management and water and soil conservation, renewable energy exploitation and utilization, forestry management and desertification prevention and control, and early warning of meteorological disasters. (China Foreign Assistance White paper, 2014)

## 5. Promoting Agricultural Development

China emphasized that agricultural development is crucial to poverty reduction in developing countries. Establishing agricultural technology demonstration centers, dispatching agricultural experts to provide consultations and conduct technical cooperation, and training technical and managerial personnel.

## 6. Resilience Improvement

China also actively cooperates with other developing countries in the areas of flood control and draught relief, water resources management, sustainable development of forestry, water and soil conservation.

## 7. The Belt and Road Initiative

Since Chinese President Xi announced the Belt and Road initiative, China has strengthened the cooperation with its world partners, and will beef up foreign aid/development assistance to partners who really need help. After President Xi visits to the South Pacific, China is expected to build up its financial commitment, pledging overall support to foster the local ability to cope with disasters including human resources development, solar power initiative, and especially the infrastructure.

*Background: Major types of Chinese foreign assistance*

*First, Grant (aid gratis): Grant is mainly offered to help recipient countries build small or medium-sized social welfare projects, and to fund human resources development cooperation, technical cooperation, material assistance and emergency humanitarian aid.*

*Second, Interest-free loan: Interest-free loan is mainly used to help recipient countries construct public facilities and launch projects to improve people's livelihood.*

*Third, Concessional loan: Concessional loan is mainly used to help recipient countries undertake manufacturing projects and large and medium-sized infrastructure projects with economic and social benefits, or for the supply of complete plants, machinery and electronic products.*

## □ **The “myths” surrounding Chinese foreign aids**

In recent years, China's foreign assistance in the south Pacific region has kept growing with its significant impact. There are diversified Versions to explain and interpret China’s motivation behind its intensified foreign assistance at the South pacific area:

- 1. “Resource diplomacy”,
- 2. Political influence against Japan,
- 3. Political legitimacy over Taiwan,
- 4. Strategic expansion over the second islands chain against USA dominance,

Firstly, China comes in here not only for energy and resource, although China really need more energy & resource to fuel its ever-growing economic development. (Philippa Brant, 2013)

Secondly, China still seeks more friends across the world. The point that China tries to win the support over Japan only overestimates the Japanese influence while underestimates China’s relevance at UN system.

Thirdly, From 1950-2000, China competed with Taiwan to win the support from the Oceania countries on the issue of legitimacy. The world is totally different now, and Taiwan cannot parallel to mainland China anymore.

Forthly, some thinks China’s assistance at this area seeks to push American dominance out, and expand its military project capability across the so called “the second islands chain”. I would argue that it’s still to early to count the eggs before the chicken grows up. Right now, China is not powerful enough to compete against USA in this area. (Yu Changsen, 2012)

But the question still goes on : why does China assist?

China has accentuated time again, that the will of action, fund, and technology are three major factors in dealing with climate change. China has been reluctant to cut carbon emission for developed countries' pressure, but happy to provides oversea aids to other developing countries within its capacity and its share of international obligation. At the UN conferences on climate change since Copenhagen, China shared its experience in energy conservation and emission reduction, and also pledged to increase assistance in the environment sector to the least developed countries, small island countries and African countries, in a move to help them develop clean energy and improve their capacity in addressing climate change.

Global inequality makes it more difficult for China and the rich countries to identify socially shared understandings of “fair” solutions. China has showed its reluctance to cut the GHG emission because the developed countries refuse to take more responsibility during the international negotiations.

*Background: UNFCCC: “CBDR” Principle*

*The principle of the **Common But Differentiated Responsibility** recognizes historical differences in the contributions of developed and developing States to global environmental problems, and differences in their respective economic and technical capacity to tackle these problems.*

### □ **Why is China’s foreign assistance so contrevosial ?**

China’s intensified foreign assistance outside the dominant aid system has irritated the interest within academic, publicand policymaking circles. (Philippa Brant, 2013)

USA attitude towards China’s intensified participation into this area is complicated. The former secretary of state, Hilary Clinton once made it clear, “*On the perspective of power politics, China is following US footstep. ....China tries to win the support*



*from the south Pacific, to crowd USA out this region*".(Ron Crocombe, Joanne Wallis) Australian Department of Defense issued its *Defense White Paper in 2013* which said that Australia welcomes China's contribution to this area, but is cautious of China's intention.

Why others criticize China's assistance?

Chinese foreign aid seems to differ greatly from that of traditional donors. When providing foreign assistance, China adheres to the principles of not imposing any political conditions, not interfering in the internal affairs of the recipient countries and fully respecting their right to independently choosing their own paths and models of development. China points that its aid has no political strings attached, and that it focuses on equality and the mutual benefits between China and the recipient country. China does not have any ambitious targets (territory claims, for example) in this area. Abiding by the principle of non-interference in others' internal affairs, China tries to keep out of the domestic issues. The focal point is that, with the non-intervention with others domestic affairs, Some think that China poses the most serious challenge to the idea that liberal democracy constitutes a universal model.

Francis Fukuyama, the author of *the End of History*, presents a open question: *Is liberal democracy a developmental universal?* in his brand-new book *Political Order and Political Decay*(2014). The history of American and Chinese foreign aids speaks louder than theory predicts. All good things do not necessarily go together. Human beings can not play God, we must learn from our mistakes and take actions to correct them in an iterative process.

The world is different now, and the Pacific ocean is big enough to hold all of us, not only including USA and China, but also Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Samoa and its island friends. The Pacific Ocean should be the shared stage of all the peoples instead of someone's private backyard.

## □ **Conclusion**

South Pacific Island states are expected to be impacted mostly by Climate change. The lack of response capacity in this region requires assistance for both adaptation and development.

The motivation pushes China's participation into the South Pacific area would be the Market-driven plus political responsibility. The basic principles China upholds in providing foreign assistance are mutual respect, equality, keeping promise, mutual benefits and win-win. with the great development of China. Right now, and in the near future, investment, natural resources, fishery, and good reputation will be in the heart of China's policy on multilateral cooperation and foreign aid. China enhances its participation into the South Pacific area has demonstrated that our future -- security (traditional and non-traditional )and prosperity -- is inextricably intertwined with the Pacific Ocean.

The controversy caused by China's participation into the South Pacific area is a kind of *Growing Pains*. Comparing the nation to "a big guy in the crowd" will attract others attention, President Xi addressed the Australian Federal Parliament in explaining China's peaceful rise.

## □ **Implication for China's Foreign Aid in the Future**

Firstly , China will have **more input** in this area. Last November, President Xi met leaders from Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, Micronesia, Samoa, Tonga, the Cook Islands and Niue and signed documents on a range of issues including climate change, a major concern of some low-lying island nations. Xi accentuated that China will shoulder more responsibilities based on its international status, now contributes more to the world's economic recovery and global governance, including proposals to

promote connectivity and free trade.

Secondly, more transparency.

Thirdly, from minilateral to multilateral.

*Background: piloting trilateral cooperation.*

*At the request of the government of the Cook Islands, in August 2012 China, New Zealand and Cook Islands reached an agreement on a water supply project in Cook Islands. Once completed, it will provide safe and clean drinking water to local people.*

Last not least, sharing the stage with NGO