

economic growth, but it also came with a new strategic understanding of what it was that China needed to protect in the new era. The strategic issue was not so much a matter of deterring a hostile power by drawing on the resources of the Chinese people on Chinese soil, but to change China's force structure and, if need be, to project a modern military force outside Chinese territory so as to defend new coastal centers of economic growth.<sup>9</sup>

At the international level of arms control, the "new security concept", as it was enunciated in the 1998 white paper endorsed the following notion of security community as against the proven failure of allegedly hierarchical Cold War military alliances that challenged the principle of equal state sovereignty:

"History has proved that the concepts and systems of security with military alliances as the basis and increasing military might as the means could not be conducive to peace during the Cold War. Under the new situation, especially, enlarging military blocs and strengthening military alliances run counter to the tide of the times. Security cannot be guaranteed by an increase in arms, nor by military alliances. Security should be based on mutual trust and common interests. We should promote trust through dialogue, seek security through cooperation respect each other's sovereignty, solve disputes through peaceful means and strive for common development. To obtain lasting peace it is imperative to abandon the Cold War mentality, *cultivate a new concept of security* and seek a new way to safeguard peace."<sup>10</sup>

If this "new" concept was self-professedly revisionist, it was, nonetheless, a mix of old and new elements. The emphasis on transparent multilateralism and common economic development was somewhat new. The strengthening of regional and international economic cooperation, however, was to be achieved on the political basis of Cold-War state-to-state principles, namely, the "Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence" (namely, mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-

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<sup>9</sup> Alexander Chieh-cheng Huang provides an excellent summary of these doctrinal issues in his "Transformation and Refinement of Chinese Military Doctrine: Reflection and Critique on the PLA's View", in James C. Mulvenon, Andrew Yang, eds., *Seeking the Truth from the Facts: A Retrospective on Chinese Military Studies in the Post-Mao Era*, National Security Research Division, RAND, 2001, pp. 131-140.

<sup>10</sup> "White Paper on China's National Defence", 27 July 1998, in FBIS-CHI -98-209, p. 4, author's italics.