

The dissemination of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

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Abstract The study of international norms is an important topic in the international politics. Western theories tend to emphasize the top-down instruction at the international level and learning at the state level, and empirical studies focus on the dissemination of Western norms to the rest of the world. Consequently, the role of non-Western countries is neglected in the process of norm dissemination. The dissemination of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence offers an excellent opportunity to examine the behaviors of non-Western countries. The Five Principles proposed by China was neither imposed forcibly upon other countries nor intended to educate others in a condescending manner with a so-called “civilized” standard. Instead, the Five Principles started to disseminate in the process of equal interactions with the neighboring countries with similar experiences in history. Gradually, it embedded itself into more international meetings and treaties through establishing diplomatic relations, convening international meetings, participating in international organizations and offering foreign aid and expanded from ideologically similar countries into ideologically divergent ones.

Keywords Chinese politics and diplomacy, Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, international law, international norm, dissemination

1 Initiation of the question

In 1954, China, India and Myanmar first proposed the Five Principles of

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Peaceful Coexistence. As the fundamental principle of China in developing its foreign relations, entering the international system and participating in the construction of international legal system, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have long been an important focus by the academic community. Seen from the perspective of the relationship between the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and Chinese diplomacy, domestic scholars have fully recognized the value and significance of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. First, the fact that China first proposed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as the fundamental principle guiding inter-state relations reveals the political will of China to safeguard its national independence and security and to get along in an equal basis with other states of the world. Even though the five principles were initially raised as a policy towards the newly independent states in Asia, Africa and Latin America, China soon realized the universal significance of these principles and actively expanded them into the relationship with all the other states in subsequent diplomatic practice, finally making it a fundamental principle of China in developing its foreign relations. Second, the initiation of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is an important mark of China's transition from revolutionary diplomacy to state diplomacy. Despite the limitations on the practice of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in the era of the Cold War featured by harsh contestation, particularly during the Cultural Revolution, they did not affect the continuity of the Five Principles as the fundamental principle of China in developing its foreign relations. Third, since the reform and opening-up of China, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have exhibited strong vitality in constructing a comprehensively open diplomatic pattern and promoting the establishment of new international political and economic order. As the most important diplomatic name card of China in the contemporary world stage, the five principles play a significant role in promoting the peaceful development of China and shaping its image as a responsible power.^① Moreover, international law

^① Ni, L. *International Studies* (国际问题研究), (3) (1994); Pei, M. *International Studies* (国际问题研究), (3) (1994); Lu, B. *Changbai Journal* (长白学刊), (1) (2004); Lin, M. *General Review of the Communist Party of China* (党史博览), (12) (2012); Xi, J. *People's Daily* (人民日报), June 29, 2014.

scholars have also recognized the contribution of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence to the development of international law. First, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence transcended the gap of ideology and social system and stands in line with the spirit and purpose of international law as well as the purpose and principle of the Charter of the United Nations. Second, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence exhibit both the tradition of “treating others the way you would like to be treated” and “peace and harmony should prevail” within the Chinese culture and the basic characteristics of independence and equality of contemporary international relations, which follow the wishes of the people and the trend of the world. It gained the welcome and support from a great number of states once promulgated. Third, as the foundation of the theory of contemporary international law and international relations, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are important to the construction of a new international political and economic order, constituting a major contribution of the Chinese diplomacy to the theories of contemporary international law and international relations.^① A comprehensive review of the research outputs on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in China in recent years reveals that much research has been conducted on the initiation and development of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and their impacts on Chinese diplomacy and international relations, with rather mature points of view. However, one question is still worthy of attention, that is, through what routes the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which started as the guide on Sino-India and Sino-Myanmar relations, disseminated to the world and finally became the fundamental principle of international relations.

The study of norms is an important topic in international politics that involves the birth, expansion, internalization, deterioration and demise of

^① Liu, H. *Journal of Northwest University of Political Science and Law* (西北政法学院学报), (2) (1984); Shi, Z. *CPC History Studies* (中共党史研究), (4) (1994); Liu, W. *International Studies* (国际问题研究), (3) (1994); Xu, J. *International Studies* (国际问题研究), (1) (2005); Su, C. *World Economics and Politics* (世界经济与政治), (6) (2014); He, Z. & Sun, L. *The ZUEL Law Journal* (法商研究), (4) (2014); Zhao, J. *Contemporary Law Review* (当代法学), (6) (2014); Zhao, J. *On the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence* (论和平共处五项原则), Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, (1996).

the life cycle of norms. In addition to theoretical explorations, the academic community also conducted numerous empirical studies, among which fruitful products have addressed the dissemination of norms. A norm is the proper standard for an actor with certain identity. The dissemination of norms is a process whereby a norm is gradually being accepted and expanded. Research on the dissemination of norms has generally undergone two phases, both of which produced literature on the content of norm dissemination, basically forming two perspectives on researching norm dissemination. The first perspective is moral cosmopolitanism, which comprises three aspects: first, norms are viewed as universal, such as anti-landmine movement, prohibition of chemical weapons, protection of whales and anti-racism; second, the disseminator of the norms will mainly be transnational actors; third, even though the role of persuasion is taken notice of, moral suasion is more emphasized. This group of research implies the legitimacy of universal norms. Two problems exist with such a perspective. First is that moral cosmopolitanism prefers to approach norm dissemination from the hierarchy of the international system while ignores the appeal to disseminate norms and the self-initiative of the actors. It also exhibits a strong tendency of dichotomy: universal norms are good while regional norms are deleterious. Second is that it emphasizes the norm-teaching function of transnational actors while ignores the reflection of regional actors. The second perspective examines the congruity and degree of overlaps between international norms and domestic ones, for example, the compatibility of the internal culture of an organization with international norms or the matching of existing norms and international norms. If an international norm resonates with domestic norms, it will disseminate quickly. Even though such a perspective has remedied the deficiency of ignoring the self-initiative of actors in the first perspective, such a view based on cultural matching remains a static one, ignoring the process whereby actors disseminate the norms.^①

^① See Amitav Acharya, *Rethinking Power, Institutions and Ideas in World Politics*, New York: Routledge, 2014, pp. 185–186.

However, in view of the authors, a more important problem with the existing research on norm dissemination, in addition to the problem on theoretical framework, is that case or empirical study has ignored the role of non-Western states. Currently a large amount of research addresses how Western states propose and disseminate norms and how non-Western states accept or better internalize them. The West is playing the role of teachers while the non-West students. Therefore, this is a linear process of reception and transmission, with no arguments or competitions on norms. The role of non-Western states in the initiation and development of norms are covered, either intentionally or unintentionally. The West-centered aspect of the research is now changing. This paper intends to approach the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence from the perspective of norm dissemination and clarify the route and characteristics of the dissemination of conceptions and norms of non-Western states in order to further enrich the research on the dissemination of international norms.

2 Initiation of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence first appeared as a whole in an international agreement, that is, the Agreement between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of China on Trade and Intercourse between Tibet Region of China and India, concluded between China and India in Beijing in April, 1954. But the initiation of the Five Principles followed a process of gradual formation and perfection. Before the founding of the People's Republic of China, leaders of the Communist Party of China referred in several occasions to the detailed content of the Five Principles in talking about the future foreign policy. On March 5, 1949, in the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the foreign relations of the incoming People's Republic of China, Mao Zedong stated, "we are willing to establish diplomatic relationship with any state on the principle of

equality.”^① On April 30, in a statement issued in the name of the spokesman of the People’s Liberation Army, Mao Zedong stressed, “the foreign relations of the People’s Republic of China must be established on the basis of equality, mutual benefit, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.”^② On June 15, Mao Zedong stated in the preparatory meeting of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, “we are willing to negotiate and establish diplomatic relationship with any foreign government so long as it is willing to cut off its relationship with the Chinese reactionaries, refrain from engaging or aiding the Chinese reactionaries and presents a genuinely, rather than hypocritically, friendly attitude towards the Chinese people.”^③ On June 30, in the article On People’s Democratic Dictatorship, Mao Zedong stated, “only when we unite with all the forces, international or domestic, to destroy internal and external reactionaries is it possible to establish diplomatic relationship with any state on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial sovereignty.”^④ Right before the founding of the People’s Republic of China, the Common Program adopted at the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference explicitly stipulated, “the central people’s government of the People’s Republic of China may negotiate and establish diplomatic relationship on the basis of equality, mutual benefit, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity with whichever foreign government that cut off its relationship with the Kuomintang reactionaries and adopt a friendly attitude towards the People’s Republic of China.”^⑤ As can be seen, equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, which constitute the major content of the Five Principles, have been the fundamental principle of constructing the diplomacy of the People’s Republic of China ever from the start.

^① *Mao Zedong on Diplomacy* (毛泽东外交文选), Beijing: Central Party Literature Press & World Affairs Press, 80 (1994).

^② *Ibid*, 85.

^③ *Ibid*, 91.

^④ *Ibid*, 94.

^⑤ Common Program of The Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, September 29, 1949, in *A Selection of Important Documents after the Establishment of the People’s Republic of China* (建国以来重要文献选编), Volume 1, Beijing: Central Party Literature Press, 13 (1992).

The Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, signed on February 14, 1950, first stated in the form of a bilateral treaty the basic principles of the People's Republic of China in developing its foreign relations. The treaty explicitly stipulated, "the parties ensure to develop and consolidate the economic and cultural cooperation between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, in the spirit of friendly cooperation, and in accordance with the principle of equality, mutual benefit, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-intervention in each other's internal affairs and shall provide each other with all the possible economic assistance and engage in necessary economic cooperation."^① This marks a very important start for the diplomacy of the People's Republic of China. While it may be said that the previous statements of Chinese leaders on the specific content of the Five Principles focused on expressing the principles for establishing diplomatic relations of the People's Republic of China, the stipulations in the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, especially those on mutual non-interference in internal affairs and mutual non-aggression, extended the Five Principles to the level of the development of inter-state relations, with an important modeling role of the diplomacy of the People's Republic of China.

It is Premier Zhou Enlai who connected the idea of "peaceful coexistence" with the Chinese diplomacy. On November 19, 1951, in a statement in support of the recommendation for peace submitted to the United Nations General Assembly by Soviet Union, he pointed out, "during the past two years, the central people's government of the People's Republic of China have established normal diplomatic relationship with a lot of states, which enjoy different basic social systems on the basis of peaceful coexistence of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial sovereignty."^② This statement by Premier Zhou summarized the principles of equality, mutual benefit, mutual respect for territorial

^① Niu, J. (ed.), *Introduction to History of Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China (1949-2000)* (中华人民共和国对外关系史概论(1949-2000)), Beijing: Beijing University Press, 86 (2010).

^② *Ibid.*, 87.

sovereignty, which have always been advocated by the Chinese government, into the diplomatic conception of peaceful coexistence, thereby gradually enriching the tenets of peaceful coexistence and making it the guiding principle for China to develop its foreign relations. In September, 1953, during a meeting with the trade delegation of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Zhou Enlai stated, “the policy embraced by our government since its establishment covers not only peaceful coexistence with all states but also mutual exchange with other states on the basis of mutual benefit and the establishment of a balanced trade relationship in order to seek development for all.”^①

On December 31, 1953, Chinese and Indian delegations of governments initiated negotiations in Beijing on bilateral relations in the Tibet region of China. Premier Zhou Enlai stated in the conversation that day with the delegation of India that “the People’s Republic of China, ever since its founding, has established the principle of handling the relation with India, namely that, the principle of mutual respect for territorial sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-intervention in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence,”^② which is the earliest expression by the Chinese government on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. On April 29, 1954, India agreed to conclude an agreement based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence proposed by China. Afterwards the Five Principles were incorporated into the preamble of the Agreement between the Republic of India and the People’s Republic of China on Trade and Intercourse between Tibet Region of China and India, jointly signed by both parties. Indian Prime Minister Nehru said, “Zhou Enlai is the father of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.”^③ It is on the basis of the five principles that the two countries successfully solved the problem of trade and traffic between

^① *Chronicle of Zhou Enlai’s Diplomatic Events* (周恩来外交活动大事记), Beijing: World Affairs Press, 49 (1993).

^② *Zhou Enlai on Diplomacy* (周恩来外交文选), Beijing: Central Party Literature Press, 63 (1990).

^③ Russel H. Fifield, “The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence,” *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 52, No. 3, 1958, p. 505.

China's Tibet and India, and eventually abolished the privileges of India in Tibet as was inherited from Britain. The Five Principles not only resolved the historical issues between China and India, but also laid the foundation for the normal development of the Sino-Indian bilateral relations.

In April, 1954, China sent a delegation to attend the Geneva Conference. This is the first international meeting that the People's Republic of China participated as a big power, and also an opportunity for China to present the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence to the international community. On May 12, Zhou Enlai, head of the Chinese delegation, stated in the debate at the meeting on the issue of peace in Indochina that "Asian countries should respect each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, without interference in each other's internal affairs; they should settle their disputes by peaceful negotiation rather than use or threat of force; they should establish and develop normal economic and cultural relations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, and refrain from discrimination and restrictions. Only in this way can Asian countries avoid the fact that neo-colonists exploit the unprecedented disaster caused by Asians fighting Asians and achieve peace and security."^① This statement, though not using the language of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, contains the entire content of the Five Principles. On May 14, Zhou Enlai stressed at the meeting with the British Foreign Secretary Eden that "China and its Asian neighbors are willing to coexist peacefully; the recently concluded agreement by China and India on the trade in China's Tibet region sufficiently testify to this; in its preamble, China and India affirm mutual respect for territorial sovereignty, non-aggression, mutual non-intervention in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence." Eden expressed his recognition.^②

On June 24, 1964, Zhou Enlai left Geneva for a visit to India and

^① *Zhou Enlai on Diplomacy* (周恩来外交文选), 70.

^② The Archive Department of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ed.), *A Selection of Diplomatic Archives of the People's Republic of China (Volume 1): The Geneva Conference of 1954* (中华人民共和国外交档案选编第一集:1954年日内瓦会议), Beijing: World Affairs Press, 236–237 (2006).

Myanmar. On June 22, in an answer to the question of a reporter from *The Hindu* on his view of the Sino-Indian relation, Zhou Enlai stressed, “China and India recently signed the agreement on trade and traffic between China’s Tibet region and India on the basis of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-intervention in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence after full consultation. This agreement not only strengthens the relationship between the two great nations but also provides a good example of cooperation between Asian states.”^①

In a meeting with Indian Prime Minister Nehru, Zhou Enlai said, “on the basis of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-intervention in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit^② and peaceful coexistence China and India can not only build their own confidence, but also mutual confidence. It will have a great impact on Asian states, convincing them that peaceful coexistence is possible and can be gradually achieved.” “We should set a model for the world with our common principles to the world, proving that different states are able to coexist peacefully.” Zhou Enlai proposed to mention the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in a Sino-Indian joint statement to be published, “so as to illustrate that these principles are applicable not only to Asia but also to the world.” The proposal was endorsed by Prime Minister Nehru.^③ The Joint Statement between the People’s Republic of China and the Republic of India, issued on June 28, 1954, stressed that China and India shall take mutual respect for sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as the fundamental principles guiding the bilateral relationship and both parties believed that these principles “are applicable not only between states, but also to international relations in general, and will form a solid basis for peace and security.” On the same day, Premier Zhou Enlai flew to Yangon,

^① Ibid, 374.

^② It was previously stated as “mutual favor.”

^③ *Chronicle of Zhou Enlai 1949–1976 (Volume 1)* (周恩来年谱 1949-1976 上卷), Beijing: Central Party Literature Press, 391 (1998).

Myanmar from New Delhi, India to begin a two-day visit to Myanmar. The Sino-Myanmar Joint Statement, issued on June 29, 1954, reemphasized that both parties would take the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as the basic guiding principle for Sino-Myanmar relationship. The Statement also pointed out, “if these principles can be observed by all states, the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems can be guaranteed, and the threat and the fear of aggression and intervention in internal affairs will be replaced by the sense of security and mutual trust.”^① The Sino-Indian and Sino-Myanmar joint declarations not only confirmed the practical significance of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as the guiding principle for dealing with Sino-Indian and Sino-Myanmar relationship, but also confirmed its universal significance as a basic principle of international relations, which for the first time elevated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence to the political level of the construction of inter-state relations and marked the beginning of China to promote the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence to the international community.

It is worth noting that in the Sino-Indian and Sino-Myanmar joint declarations, “平等互惠” (mutual favor), as was used in the Five Principles, was changed into “平等互利” (mutual benefit). The Chinese character “惠” (favor) originally carried a meaning of bestowment and giving, and “互惠” (mutual favor) contains a sense of offering benefits to the other party, which leaves an impression of inequality. The Chinese character “利” (benefit) refers to benefits, in contrast to “害” (harm). “互利” (Mutual benefit) emphasizes the common interest of the parties in the process of cooperation, which is more beneficial to inter-state cooperation. On October 12, 1954, The Joint Declaration Between the Government of the People’s Republic of China and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated that the two governments shall strictly adhere to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in their relationship with

^① Niu, J. (ed.), *Introduction to History of Foreign Relations of the People’s Republic of China (1949–2000)* (中华人民共和国对外关系史概论(1949-2000)), 100–101.

Asia-Pacific states as well as other states, and changed the originally proposed first principle—"mutual respect for territorial sovereignty"—into "mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity."^① This modification exhibited the principle of sovereign equality of states and emphasized the importance of territorial sovereignty, which strongly manifested the great emphasis on territorial integrity on the basis of the principle of sovereignty. Since then, the language of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence was finally fixed and has never been changed until now.^②

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, as is proposed by the Chinese government, is a supplement to and development of the basic principles of contemporary international relations as is represented by the Charter of the United Nations. (1) The five principles single out "peaceful coexistence" as the basic principle guiding inter-state relations, breaking the old theoretical framework which viewed it merely as a value conception or goal. Rather it is now elevated to the level of basic rights and obligations of states, making it a concrete and operational act, which contributes to the peace and stability of the international community. (2) The five principles emphasize "mutual" relationship, stressing the high degree of unity of rights and obligations of states, which is very rare in international relations in the past. Even though the Charter of the United Nations emphasizes the sovereign equality of states regardless of their strengths, it does not stress the reciprocity of international relations. Due to power politics and unreasonable elements, in international practice the rights and obligations of states often come apart. The "mutual" relationship, as is proposed by the Five Principles, not only helps to prevent certain states from gaining privileges in international relations, but also protects the basic rights of middle and small states from infringement. "It not only symbolizes the new expectation of Asian states

^① The Institute of Contemporary China Studies (ed.), *A Chronicle of the People's Republic of China (Volume of 1954)* (中华人民共和国史编年(1954年卷)), Beijing: Contemporary China Publishing House, 443, 760-761 (2009).

^② Lin, Y. et al, *China from 1949 to 1976: An Era of the Song of Triumph* (1949-1976年的中国: 凯歌行进时期), Beijing: People's Press, 359-361 (2009),.

on international relations, but also embodies the spirit of international rule of law whereby the rights, obligations and responsibility of states are united.”^① (3) It is an important theoretical innovation to combine “equality” and “mutual benefit,” making “mutual benefit” an inter-state right and obligation. Even though the Charter of the United Nations calls for international cooperation, it does not emphasize the principle of “mutual benefit.” Given the passive role of post-WWII newly independent states in the international economic order, the Five Principles emphasize “equality and mutual benefit,” which not only represents the common voice of newly independent states in developing their national economy, but also contributes to pushing the international economic order to develop towards a fairer and more reasonable direction. It marks a great contribution of Chinese diplomacy to contemporary international relations theory. The People’s Republic of China not only inherited some basic principles on international relations from the past, but also, out of the new reality that China and other colonial and semi-colonial states have gained independence, creatively proposed a more inclusive principle for dealing with inter-state relations—Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

3 Dissemination of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

Despite the fact that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence was raised by China in the context of bilateral relations, since it transcends the difference in social systems, ideology, levels of development and history and culture embraced by different states, China has always been promoting the Five Principles as a universal guiding principle of international relations. On October 19, 1954, Mao Zedong stated in a meeting with the Indian Prime Minister Nehru that “the Five Principles should be expanded into the relations among all states.”^② On December 21, Mao Zedong stressed in a meeting with the Prime Minister of Myanmar U Nu that “the Five Principles make a long-term policy rather than a

^① Xi, J. *People’s Daily* (人民日报), June 29, 2014.

^② *Mao Zedong on Diplomacy* (毛泽东外交文选), 165.

temporary puff.”^① Then, initially as a basic principle guiding bilateral relations, in what route does the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence disseminate and finally become a universally recognized basic principle of international relations?

3.1 Establishing diplomatic relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

On the second day after the founding of the People’s Republic of China, Premier Zhou Enlai (also the Foreign Minister) transmitted to governments of all the states in the form of official correspondence a notice of the central people’s government of the People’s Republic of China, which states that the People’s Republic of China shall establish diplomatic relations with all states of the world on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial sovereignty. This is the first diplomatic document of the People’s Republic of China. The socialist states, led by the Soviet Union, were the first states to establish diplomatic relations with China. On the evening of October 2, 1949, the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Gromýko, telegraphed Zhou Enlai conveying the decision of the Soviet government to establish diplomatic relations with the People’s Republic of China. On October 3, Zhou Enlai replied to Gromýko welcoming the decision of the Soviet government to establish diplomatic relationship with the People’s Republic of China. Diplomatic relations were officially established between China and the Soviet Union. Until January 18, 1950, all socialist states, except Yugoslavia, had all established diplomatic relations with China. Thereafter, India, Indonesia and Myanmar of Asia and Sweden, Denmark and Finland of Europe established diplomatic relations with China before the war to resist the US aggression and aid the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK). They constitute the first batch of non-socialist states to establish diplomatic relations with the People’s Republic of China. Even though China had not yet officially proposed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence back then, equality, mutual benefit and

^① *Mao Zedong on Diplomacy* (毛泽东外交文选), 186.

mutual respect for territorial sovereignty have become basic principles guiding China's relations with other states.

During the war to resist the US aggression and aid the DPRK, the Western states, led by the United States, practiced the policy of isolating and blocking China. China only managed to establish diplomatic relations with Pakistan in May, 1951. After the end of the war, the Chinese government proposed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as the basic principle guiding international relations, and by participating in the Geneva Conference and the Asian-African Conference, raised the awareness of the international community on the sincerity of China to coexist peacefully with all states of the world, which manifestly increased the international influence of China. By the end of 1971, when the Sino-US relations thawed, a total of 54 states had established diplomatic relations with China on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, including 27 African states, 15 Asian states and three American states. Most of these states belong to developing countries in the Asian, African and Latin American regions. It is worth mentioning that in 1964, France became the first Western power to establish diplomatic relations with China on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which obviously pushed the six Western states, including Canada and Italy, to establish diplomatic relations with China. The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and these Western states signifies that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is not only a basic principle guiding the relations between China and Asian, African and Latin American states, but also has become a basic guiding principle on the relations between China and capitalist states. The geographical and political spaces of the Five Principles in the international community have both been manifestly expanded.

In 1972, the Joint Communiqué of the United States of America and the People's Republic of China (Shanghai Communiqué), issued after the visit of Nixon to China, explicitly stated "countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states,

equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.”^① Thereafter, Japan and other Western powers gradually established diplomatic relations with China on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. On January 1, 1979, China and the United States official established diplomatic relations, with the communiqué re-emphasizing that the need to develop Sino-US relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. From the thaw of the Sino-US relations in 1972 to China’s decision to implement comprehensive opening-up in 1982, another 51 states established diplomatic relationship with China, among which there were 16 African states, eight Asian states, 12 American states, eight European states and six Oceanian states. The promotion of the Five Principles extended from Asia and Africa to Latin America and Oceania.

Ever since the reform and opening-up, China has become more mature and rational in establishing normal inter-state relations. As Deng Xiaoping stated, “the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence constitute the best way to deal with inter-state relations. Other means such as ‘big family,’ ‘group politics’ or ‘sphere of influence’ will always bring about conflicts and intensify the international situation. In summary of the practice of international relations, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence possesses the strongest vitality.”^② In the new era China adopted a policy of comprehensive opening-up in foreign relations, widely participated in international affairs and expanded international communication and cooperation, endowing the diplomatic frontline with huge vigor. From the implementation of comprehensive opening-up to the end to the Cold War, 16 states established diplomatic relationship with China, including four African states, seven Asian states, four American states and one Oceanian state. Foreign scholars also held the view that the post-opening-up China “no longer declines communication with foreign countries and is longer critical of the constantly changing and imperfect aspects of foreign

^① *A Selection of Important Documents on Sino-US Relation 1971–1981* (中美关系资料选编), Beijing: Current Affairs Press, 6 (1982).

^② *The Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (邓小平文选), Volume 3, Beijing: People’s Press, 96 (1993).

countries.”^① From the end of the Cold War until now, 36 states established diplomatic relations with China, including four African states, 15 Asian states, three American states, 15 European states and three Oceanian states.^② As the diplomatic space of China continued to expand, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence was gradually confirmed in the communiques of establishing diplomatic relations between China and more than 100 countries and made its way to a universally recognized basic principle guiding inter-state relations.

3.2 International conference becomes an important channel for China to disseminate the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

In April, 1954, the Chinese government participated in the Geneva Conference on political settlement of the DPRK problem and the restoration of peace in Indochina. On April 28, Zhou Enlai, speaking at the first meeting on the DPRK problem, pointed out, “the government of the People’s Republic of China and its people have always loved peace and opposed war. We have not committed and will not commit any aggression on any country, but we will also not tolerate any aggression on China. We respect the right of people of different countries to choose and maintain their own way of living and national systems without external interference; meanwhile, we also request that other countries adhere to these principles with the same attitude, and carry the expectation of mutual cooperation. We believe that all states, with different social systems, can peacefully coexist.”^③ On June 18, in a conversation with Australian Foreign Minister Casey, Zhou Enlai also said, “China is willing to coexist peacefully with all countries in Southeast Asia and the Western Pacific region, which of course also include Australia and New Zealand. This is China’s policy

^① [Hungary] Balaqi Daineishi (巴拉奇 代内什), *Deng Xiaoping* (邓小平), Kan, J. et al. (trans.), Beijing: People’s Liberation Army Press, 269 (1988).

^② The states having diplomatic relations with China are those newly independent states following the collapse of the former Soviet Union and tremendous change to East Europe.

^③ The Archive Department of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ed.), *A Selection of Diplomatic Archives of the People’s Republic of China (Volume 1): The Geneva Conference of 1954* (中华人民共和国外交档案选编第一集:1954年日内瓦会议), 34.

towards India but China also applies it to all other countries. It is not just talking, but constitutes our policy of the past five years. “^① On July 21, in the final plenary session of the Geneva Conference, the representative of Vietnam, Pham Van Dong stressed that in order to establish stable peace in the Indochina region, “we request that the people in Southeast Asia and Asia in general engage in cooperation on the basis of mutual respect for territorial integrity, mutual non-intervention in internal affairs, non-aggression, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.” Zhou Enlai also stated, “in order to maintain the collective peace in Asia Asian countries should engage in consultation and cooperation on the basis of mutual respect for territorial sovereignty, non-aggression, mutual non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.”^② The declaration finally adopted at the conference requests that the participating states “in dealing with the relationship between Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, ensure respect for the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of the aforementioned countries, and not interfere in their internal affairs,”^③ which reflects the spirit of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

The Asian-African Conference in April, 1955, “possesses an important historical status in the process of the dissemination of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.”^④ China determined before the conference that the highest program is to try to conclude a peace treaty or peace declaration with Asian and African countries, which mainly includes the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and demands for anti-colonialism, peace and anti-war.^⑤ The intelligence assessment produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research of the US Department of State also opined that one of the guidelines of China in participating in the Asian and African Conference will be “to seek a resolution which contains the Five

^① Ibid, 107.

^② Ibid, 205–206, 207.

^③ Ibid, 506.

^④ Russel H. Fifield. “The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence,” p. 506.

^⑤ Pei, J. (eds.), *A History of Diplomacy of the People's Republic of China (1949–1956)* (中华人民共和国外交史 1949-1956), Beijing: World Affairs Press, 239 (1994).

Principles of Peaceful Coexistence proposed by Zhou Enlai and Nehru.”^① On April 19, Zhou Enlai pointed out in the written submission to the Asian-African Conference that “states with different social systems may coexist peacefully on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-intervention of internal affairs and mutual benefit. When the implementation of these principles is ensured, there is no reason why inter-state disputes cannot be resolved through negotiation.”^② When the conference went into argument over the so-called “threat from communism,” in response to the different views posed by some delegates on the wording and number of the five principles, “the language of the Five Principles can be modified as well as its numbers, since what we are seeking is to ascertain our common aspirations in order to guarantee collective peace.”^③ The political patience and sincerity exhibited by the Chinese delegation for the purpose of enhancing the peaceful coexistence of Asian and African states received universal recognition and praise from the participating states. The ten principles of peaceful coexistence, as is proposed by the Final Communique of the Asian-African Conference, not only contains the tenets of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, but also “constitutes an extension and development of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence,”^④ which serves as the foundation for the unity and cooperation between Asian and African states. During the conference, the Chinese delegation, through active diplomatic activities, also concluded the Agreement on the Issue of Dual Nationality between the Republic of Indonesia and the People’s Republic of China, which built the bridge for the communication with various Asian and African states. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the political claim of seeking the common ground while reserving the differences began to disseminate

^① Shen, Z. & Yang, K. (eds.), *Declassified US Archives on China 1948–1976 (Volume 6)* (美国对华情报解密档案), Beijing: Orient Publishing Center, 265 (2008).

^② *Zhou Enlai on Diplomacy* (周恩来外交文选), 119.

^③ *Zhou Enlai on Diplomacy* (周恩来外交文选), 129.

^④ *A Collection of Documents on the Foreign Relations of the People’s Republic of China (Volume 3)* (中华人民共和国对外关系文件集第3集), Beijing: World Affairs Press, 269 (1958).

among Asian and African states.”

On October 25, 1971, the United Nations General Assembly passed the resolution which restored the legal seat of the People’s Republic of China. In middle November, Qiao Guanhua led the Chinese delegation to officially participate the on-going 26th Session of the General Assembly in New York. Qiao Guanhua stated in his address to the General Assembly, “we always stick to the claim that all states should be equal regardless of their power and that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence should be the guiding principle on inter-state relations. The people of all states have the right to choose their social systems in accordance with their own preferences, to maintain the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state. No state shall enjoy the right to aggress, subvert, control, interfere or bully another state.”^① This is the first time that a Chinese delegate ever promoted the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in the stage of the United Nations, which won the response and support from a majority of states. In April, 1974, the Chinese delegation, led by Deng Xiaoping, attended the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly. Deng Xiaoping stressed in his address to the General Assembly, “inter-state political and economic relations should all build on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.” During the session, Deng Xiaoping also met with the leaders of some important states and expressed, “it is beneficial and necessary for all the states to engage in economic and technological exchanges and learn from each other to develop the national economy on the basis of respect for sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit and mutual exchanges.”^② The political claim of the Chinese delegation was strongly echoed by delegates from a number of states, in particular those from the developing states. Given the objective fact that the United Nations already had over 130 member states and that the international influence of China continued to increase, it is indisputable that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence had been disseminated to all over the world. Since the reform and

^① *People’s Daily* (人民日报), November 17, 1971.

^② *People’s Daily* (人民日报), April 11, 1974.

opening-up, China has been supportive of the various tasks conducted by the United Nations in accordance with the spirit of the Charter, actively participated in the activities organized by the United Nations and its specialized agencies that contributes to world peace and development and endeavored to enhance its cooperation with other states in various fields, which further increased the depth and width of promoting the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

3.3 Offering foreign aid also constitutes an important path for China to disseminate the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

Foreign aid is a clear manifestation of a state's diplomatic idea in the international community as well as an important component of China's policy of peaceful diplomacy, which plays a significant role in the promotion of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The People's Republic of China was founded in the climax of the US-Soviet Cold War. In order to break the isolation of China imposed by imperialist states, the still weak China supported the anti-imperialism and anti-hegemony campaigns by Asian, African and Latin American states and maintained a substantial amount of foreign aid. The major recipients of the aid included socialist states such as the DPRK, Vietnam and Mongolia, and newly independent states in Asia and Africa, among which the DPRK and Vietnam received the most aid. In the early period of its founding, the People's Republic of China viewed foreign aid as "a serious political task" and "an international obligation owed to brother states and nationalist states"^① while in the 1960s, with the disturbance of leftist thinking, China took "the spirit of proletarian internationalism" as the starting point of foreign aid.^② Either way, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence always remained as the fundamental premise of China's foreign aid, despite the fact that China also bore its own political claims. During this period, the Chinese

^① Chen, M. (eds.), *Economic Cooperation in Contemporary China* (当代中国的对外经济合作), Beijing: Contemporary China Publishing House, 69 (1991).

^② Report on the Work of the Government by Premier Zhou Enlai in the First Plenary of the Third National People's Congress (在第三届全国人民代表大会第一次全体会议上周恩来总理作政府工作报告), *People's Daily* (人民日报), December 31, 1964.

government proposed the eight principles of foreign aid on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which significantly promoted the dissemination of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

From the end of 1963 to the beginning of 1964, in order to end the passive state of the Chinese diplomacy caused by the contestation with the United States and the Soviet Union, the two major powers, simultaneously, Premier Zhou Enlai led the delegation to visit 10 African states. This was the first time that a leader from the People's Republic of China ever set foot on the African continent, marking the "ice-breaking journey" between the People's Republic of China and Africa. On January 14, 1964, in a meeting with the Ghanaian Premier Nkrumah, Zhou Enlai mentioned the eight principles of China for providing foreign aid. On January 16, the Joint Communiqué issued by the two states declared to the world the Eight Principles for Economic Aid and Technical Assistance to other Countries as the following. The Chinese government always bases itself on the principle of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid to other countries. It never regards such aid as a kind of unilateral alms but as something mutual; in providing aid to other countries, the Chinese government strictly respects the sovereignty of recipient countries, and never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges; China provides economic aid in the form of interest-free or low-interest loans, and extends the time limit for the repayment when necessary so as to lighten the burden on recipient countries as far as possible; in providing aid to other countries, the purpose of the Chinese government is not to make recipient countries be dependent on China but to help them embark step by step on the road of self-reliance and independent economic development; the Chinese government does its best to help recipient countries complete projects which require less investment but yield quicker results, so that the latter may increase their income and accumulate capital; the Chinese government provides the best-quality equipment and materials manufactured by China at international market prices. If the equipment and materials provided by the Chinese government are not up to the agreed specifications and quality, the Chinese government undertakes to replace them or refund the payment;

In giving any particular technical assistance, the Chinese government will see to it that the personnel of the recipient country fully master the technology; The experts dispatched by China to help in construction in recipient countries will have the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient country. The Chinese experts are not allowed to make any special demands or enjoy any special amenities.^① On January 21, Zhou Enlai stressed in one address in a visit to Kenya that newly independent Asian and African states, in the process of respectively developing their independent national economy, “shall enhance mutual exchanges, learn from and provide assistance to each other. All aid shall be mutually supportive and shall comply with the principle of equality and mutual benefit and mutual non-intervention in internal affairs. It is absolutely not permissible to conduct control, exploitation, interference or even subversion by way of aid,”^② which further clarified China’s principle and position on providing foreign aid.

China’s foreign economic and technical aid stands unique in the field of international economic cooperation, in particular it claims “never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges,” which is clearly different from the usual practice of providing foreign aid with conditions by Western states. It sufficiently manifests the deep tenets of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and contributes to the better knowledge and understanding of China by Asian and African states, thereby instilling new vigor into the development of inter-state relationship between China and Africa or other regions. Tanzanian President Nyerere once stated, “whether in the huge economic and technical aid provided to us by China or in our communications in international conferences, China has never had the slightest intention of controlling our policy or damaging our sovereignty and dignity.”^③ Before 1976, China provided aid to as many as 110 states and regions, and the dissemination of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence moved forward in great depth with the expansion of

^① For details see *Zhou Enlai on Diplomacy* (周恩来外交文选), 388–389.

^② *Zhou Enlai on Diplomacy* (周恩来外交文选), 394.

^③ Address by President Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania in the Banquet Hosted by President Li Xiannian, *People’s Daily* (人民日报), August 20, 1985.

the scope of China's foreign aid. Since the reform and opening-up, there have been great changes in the means and subjects of China's foreign aid, with the foreign aid gradually developing in the direction of mutual benefits and healthy sustainability. However, the core idea of foreign aid with no conditions attached, non-intervention in the internal affairs of the receiving state, sufficient respect for the right of the receiving state to choose its road and model of development, as is always stuck to by China, has never changed. The basic principle of foreign aid made by China in the new era, that is, mutual respect, equal treatment, good faith and mutual benefits, constitutes an important manifestation of China's continuing adherence to and promotion of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

3.4 Other states and international organizations also provide important platforms for the dissemination of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

As the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence has transcended the difference in ideology, social systems and levels of development and reflects the essential characteristics of international relations, ever since its initiation, "the number of states in favor of the Five Principles increase day by day."^① On October 18, 1954, in a joint statement with Nehru, the Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh explicitly expressed his faith and endorsement on the Five Principles, and hopes to develop its relations with Cambodia, Laos and other states on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. On December 23, Tito and Nehru declared in a joint statement between Yugoslavia and India to develop bilateral relationship on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. On January 17, 1955, Yugoslavia and Myanmar also issued a similar statement. On March 18, a India-Cambodia joint communiqué, signed by Nehru and Crown Prince Sihanouk, pointed out that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is in fact "the best guarantee" for peace. Thereafter, Cambodia has emphasized the importance of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in a number of statements.

^① Zhou Enlai on Diplomacy (周恩来外交文选), 129.

The Asian-African Conference strengthened the recognition of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence by the international community. On June 22, after a visit to the Soviet Union, Nehru issued a statement with the Soviet Premier Bulganin, which, while supported the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, also made some minor changes to mutual non-intervention with each other's domestic affairs, that is, "mutual non-intervention with each other's domestic affairs on grounds of economy, politics and ideology."^① On June 26, Nehru made a statement in support of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence with the Polish prime minister. On November 3, after a visit to the Soviet Union, the the Prime Minister of Myanmar U Nu also made a similar statement with Bulganin. Khrushchev and Bulganin paid a visit to India, Myanmar and Afghanistan from November to December, 1955. Their statements and speeches therein all applauded and supported the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. On May 20, 1957, in the joint statement issued after Nehru's visit to Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Prime Minister Ban-Daranaike of Ceylon expressed his confidence on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, stressing that "the Fives Principles are part of the ten principles of peaceful coexistence as was expanded by the Asian-African Conference."^② In the summer of the same year, the Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh also emphasized his loyalty to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence during his visit to Eastern European states.

In the 12th Session of the United Nations General Assembly held in September, 1957, the issue of peaceful coexistence of the states was listed in the agenda without any dispute, in accordance with the proposal of the delegate of the Soviet Union. This marked "the first significant step since the promulgation of the Five Principles in 1954."^③ India, Sweden and Yugoslavia also submitted to the General Assembly a draft resolution entitled "Peaceful and Neighborly Relations among States," which covered the content of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Some delegates believed that "to join the United Nations General Assembly and appeal to

^① Russel H. Fifield, "The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence," p. 507.

^② Russel H. Fifield, "The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence," p. 507.

^③ *Ibid.*, 504.

the member states to take these principles as their guidance in their mutual relations will necessarily contribute to the improvement and ease of the international situation.”^① On December 14, the General Assembly unanimously passed the draft resolution by India, Sweden and Yugoslavia, that is, Resolution 1236(XII). Even though the resolution did not adopt the language “peaceful coexistence,” it covered the basic ideas and tenets of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, stressing the necessity to “develop peaceful and tolerant relations among states, based on mutual respect and benefit, mutual non-aggression, mutual respect for sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and non-intervention in one another’s internal affairs,” so as to maintain international peace and security and promote friendly cooperation among states.^② This is the first time that the Five Principles were recognized on a worldwide scale in the form of a General Assembly resolution. Influenced by the fact that the Five Principles were incorporated into the “ten principles” in the Asian-African Conference, the first summit of the Non-aligned Movement also regarded the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as the guiding principle of the movement.

Ever since the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence was systematically raised in the Sino-Indian and Sino-Myanmar joint statements, it “became an indispensable source for future discussions on the principles of international law by UN Member States.”^③ In 1961, the United Nations General Assembly Sixth Committee proposed a topic,^④ namely, “Review of the International Principle of Peaceful Coexistence in All States.” Many delegates believed that “the codification of the principles on peaceful coexistence is the trend of development of contemporary international law.” Due to the objection of Western states such as the United States, the topic was changed to “Review of the International Law

^① Quoted from Liu, W. *International Studies* (国际问题研究), (3): 14 (1994).

^② <http://www.un.org/chinese/aboutun/prinorgs/ga/12/12all2.htm>, 2015-05-10

^③ [Portugal] Miguel de Serpa Soares, The Influence of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is ubiquitous (opinion) (原则影响无时不在(观点)), *People’s Daily* (人民日报), C 23, June 10, 2014.

^④ The forum in the General Assembly is in charge of legal issues.

Principles for Establishing Friendly Cooperative Relationship in Accordance with the United Nations Charter by All States.”^① With ten years’ effort, in 1970, the 24th Session of the General Assembly passed Resolution 2625 entitled Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, which included the details of the five principles. As a universally recognized important international law document, “the fact that the resolution was passed by unanimity by the United Nations General Assembly indicates that the international community has universally recognized the principles prescribed in the declaration.” Therefore, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence naturally received wide international recognition.^② On May 1, 1974, the sixth special meeting of the General Assembly passed the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, which stipulated the 20 principles for establishing a new international economic order. The content of the Five Principles were mentioned in the very beginning. In December of the same year, the 29th Session of the General Assembly passed the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, which included territorial sovereignty, sovereign equality, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-intervention in internal affairs, mutual and equitable benefit and peaceful coexistence. The content was the same with those embraced by the Five Principles and to a large extent exhibits the spirit of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The final document of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe in 1976 also included sovereign equality, territorial integrity, non-intervention in internal affairs and inviolability of borders, which are consistent with the spirit of the five principles. Objectively speaking, to the mid-1970s, 20 years after the initiation of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, it had been well received by most states in the world as a basic principle of international law.

^① [Portugal] Miguel de Serpa Soares, *The Influence of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is ubiquitous (opinion)* (原则影响无时不在(观点)).

^② *Ibid.*

Conclusion

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, how to maintain its own independence and security, to reestablish its relationship with the outside world within the complex international system and to propose a way of coexistence between different states remain a major issue facing the founders of the People's Republic of China. As the world power undergoes tremendous changes, it also provides for a great opportunity for different ideas to collide and debate. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence bears a distinct characteristic, represents the voice of the former colonial and semi-colonial states after obtaining independence as well as the significant changes of the international community. The five principles proposed by China was neither imposed forcibly upon other countries nor intended to educate others in a condescending manner with a so-called "civilized" standard. Instead, the Five Principles started to disseminate in the process of equal interactions with the neighboring countries with similar experiences in history and step by step, the idea is disseminated and gradually becomes involved in more international conferences and international treaties, spreading from states with the same ideologies to those with divergent ones. The process through which China participates in the international community is also one whereby it interacts with the international community. Currently, the international relations circle pays more attention to how Western norms spread to the world while and ignores the contribution of non-Western world to the development of international social norms. It is high time to reflect on this issue, with the need of scholars to uncover and extract experiences in this respect. The initiation and dissemination of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence provides an excellent point of reference.

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