

**A STUDY OF THE ROLE OF CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY IN
THE POST-MAO ERA IN ITS RISE AS A GREAT POWER**

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List of Abbreviations

AFC	Asian Financial Crisis
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
CASS	Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CFALG	Central Foreign Affairs Leading Group
CIIS	China Institute of International Studies
CNOOC	China National Offshore Oil Corporation
CNPC	China National Petroleum Corporation
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
FAO	Foreign Affairs Office
FOCAC	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NOC	National Oil Companies
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	People's Republic of China
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SIIS	Shanghai Institute of International Studies
Sinopec	China Petrochemical Corporation
SOE	State Owned Enterprise
TPP	Trans-Pacific Partnership
TVE	Township and Village Enterprises

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND, RATIONALE AND THE METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

1 Introduction: Background, Rationale and the Methodology of the Research

1.1 Background: State and Power in International Relations

International Relations discipline deals with the study of relationships between actors in the international system that consists of various states and lots of non-state actors such as international organizations, inter-governmental organizations, transnational corporations, non-governmental organizations, multinational companies. The international system is like a power-grid having centre points as states and they are connected with each other through various non-state actors. All these non-state actors are the transformers of power in a power-grid of international system from one state to another. Thus the study of state and power is central to the discipline of international relations.

1.1.1 Study of State in Contemporary times in IR

Amongst all actors, states are central to the study of the discipline as the international system is anarchic in nature consisting of the sovereign states and other international and transnational actors. The anarchic character of the system gives all state an equal status but the power of the states distinguishes them from each other. Consequently, the centrality of state as an institution and its power are leading the scholars to study the discipline of international relations. It might seem more a realist approach to understand the international system traditionally, but its significance in the contemporary times has not yet faded.

The emergence of Sovereign State System occurred with the Treaty of Westphalia. It was a gradual process as the states were prevelant as units of international system initially only in Europe from 1648 to 1814. Holsti has described it as “[t]he boundaries of the states

system for the period from 1648 to 1814 were essentially religious. Europe was defined in terms of Christianity, and the predominant relationships were between the “princes of Christendom””(Holsti K. J., 1995, p. 43). Later on it was adopted in the other parts of the world and with the end of World War II, the colonial states were freed and they emerged as newly independent states in the contemporary international system.

The state system has emerged with many purposes and interests. The purpose of a state is to provide security and order, enhance economy and development and also to provide a just life and better standard of living. Holsti describes it as “They range from providing security for the community to building economic infrastructures and providing for public education”(Holsti K. , 2004, p. 30).

During the Second World War, nuclear weapons were invented (Perkins, 1985, p. 720) and the horror of using it had been witnessed by the whole world in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.¹ Thus the sense of insecurity increased after the invention of nuclear weapons. The newly independent peoples after the end of World War II found ‘state’ as the most dependable entity in the international system to be adopted by them in order to give their citizens protection and well being. Even after the disintegration of Soviet Union there are nineteen new states that have emerged (Holsti K. J., 1995, p. 74). The globalized economy has influenced the world with economic impact on each aspect. Here again, it is the state which can play a pivotal role in building stronger economy through its foreign and domestic policies.

¹ In 1942, group of scientist in the midst of Second World War witnessed the first atomic fire on Earth at Chicago. Canadian and British scientists were also there to aid America in making weapon of mass destruction. (see Perkins, 1985)

But in contemporary times, new challenges to the states have emerged. There are various states which are considered as failed states or weak states. The role of the state as discussed above has not been performed up to the mark and has not been successful in sustaining its political stability. Holsti has discussed about arguments challenging the relevance of state by two prominent scholars Susan Strange and James Rosenau in his work. Susan Strange finds that globalization “clearly raises some new questions about the nature of sovereignty and the dispersion of power and political control” (Holsti K. , 2004, p. 60) . While James Rosenau views as explained by Holsti that “When states fail to perform according to the expectations, people resist, withdraw, or shift their loyalties in other ways” (Holsti K. , 2004, p. 61). Both the arguments are indicating the relevance of international organizations or the transnational corporations.

But there has yet not been any other alternative institution that has emerged to replace the state in contemporary times. “The goal of these international organizations or associations is not to replace states, but ultimately to strengthen them” (Holsti K. , 2004, p. 67). As discussed in the first paragraph that these institutions are the connector or the transformers of power and not the possessors of power. So they transform power which is delivered to the state. Consequently, the study of the power of state is of great significance in IR.

1.1.2 Generic View of the Concept of Power in IR

Power is described in oxford dictionary as ability, strength, force, creative energy, control, influence, capability and authority. In order to understand the relationship between states, one has to understand the meaning of power. Generally, power is an abstract as well as a complex concept. There are various perspectives adopted by scholars to understand the concept of power in IR. Usually, the relation between the states and other non-state actors

is determined on the basis of power they possess. So power is a motivating factor for states to act in the international system. Though there are many scholars who question the pre-dominance of power in IR.

All politics is about power. Power is something which every state possesses but in different forms and in varied quantity. Everything depends on how effectively and efficiently it has been used by the states to achieve its goals or national objectives. Some thinkers say power is a means to an end while others are of view that power is a process. It is also a relationship for some other thinkers. Despite the challenges to notion of power with the rise of globalization, power is a driving force or motivator of the states. The transformation of power has taken place but that does not mean that the state is declining or the power of the state has become extinct. In fact the role of state has become more crucial and vital in increasing its capabilities to facilitate its citizens with better standard of living. Holsti argues that in fact individuals in modern states habitually turn to their governments to solve an extraordinarily wide range of problems, from personal to the commercial. Most do not turn to the agents or programs outside the state. Throughout the world, the proportion of national income comprising government spending has gone up steadily since the beginning of the twentieth century, and even during the recent era of Globalization the figures continue to increase. This indicates an extraordinarily high range of state function and acceptance of state authority and acceptance of the power of state (K.J.Holsti, 2004: 66). Thus power remains a key instrument in the functioning of international system. There are certain states possessing more power to manoeuvre the behaviour of other less powerful states in international system, are considered as great powers.

1.2 Generic View of Concept of Great Power in IR

Different terms used to describe the power of the state and its influence in the international system are Super Power or Hyper-Power, Great Powers, Regional Powers or Middle Powers. The state which is most influential on the rest of the world is considered as a super power. The states which have the potential to become super power and have got military, economic, technological, diplomatic or cultural strengths are considered as great powers. There are regional powers which are dominant in their own regions. But there has not been any fixed criteria to define the 'great power' as concept. Samuel Kim has agreed that "there is no agreement on defining and differentiating characteristics of a great power- what the great power label denotes, where power lies, for what purpose it is wielded, how it can be measured, and what domestic and external forces are changing the sources of power and the international hierarchy"(Kim S. S., China's Path to Great Power status in the Globalization Era, 2003, p. 38).

International system is a dynamic system where power shifts are seen frequently thus all the states always try to remain alert and accurate in preserving the capabilities they possess. For preservation they play power games in international system. Some powerful states win these games and some may lose thus the power gets shifted. History has a record of such rising states since the Treaty of Westphalia.

1.2.1 Succession of Great Powers since the Treaty of Westphalia

The power games played in International Relations makes great powers rise and fall. Great wars are accountable for the changes in the international system. Eighty Years war and Thirty Years war ended with the Treaties signed in Munster and Osnabruck (Holsti, 2004: 42). Then the French Power rise with Louis XIV and Napoleon Bonaparte's wars, at the

same time the great powers of the preceding phase lost their control. '*The Rise and Fall of The Great Powers*' by Paul Kennedy has given the details of how the great powers rose since 16th century till 20th century. He has analyzed the changes which took place in the power transition during 16th century to 20th century.

As discussed above, Europe started rising and two powerful states became each other's rival - they were Britain and France (Kennedy, 1988: 44). The result of their rivalry disturbed the European balance from 1660 to 1815. In 1815 the Concert of Europe was formed as a mechanism to maintain balance in Europe. The Dutch became independent after Peace of Westphalia but Germany took almost 200 years to rise back after the Thirty Years War. Britain, Netherlands, France, Portugal and other European countries engaged in increasing trade with Latin American, African and Asian countries. During the 18th and 19th centuries colonialism got clutch on their trading partners. The loss of life and property in the 20th century during the First World War and Second World War surpassed the loss endured by the Thirty Years War along with the wars during Louis XIV and Napoleonic wars. Hence different techniques of wars, economic expansion as well as diplomacy and geopolitics are the factors which contributed in the rise and fall of great powers.

The factors for the rise of states changed with the end of World War II. Security and economic expansion were always the priority but along with that diplomacy, technological advancement, being a permanent member of UN Security Council, attainment of nuclear weapons and a state's soft cultural influence became the criteria for the rise of a state in the 20th century. United States, United Kingdom, Russia, China and France are the states in contemporary times fulfilling above criteria. United States fullfills all the criteria upto the mark and thus is also considered as the most powerful amongst states. United Kingdom

and France have strong diplomatic relations but need to enhance technological advancement as well as economic expansion. While Russia and China are economically and culturally sound but comparatively less influential and lack technological sophistication in military power to other great powers.

But in 21st century, the world is moving towards multipolarization. There are various strategic groups discussed. According to John Mearsheimer, the concentration of power is in three regions i.e. North America, European Union and North-East Asia. A Chinese scholar considers that “One Superpower and four great powers are European Union, Japan, Russia and China”(Zhao, 2004, p. 13).

The traditional way of rising as a great power has changed. In the era of globalization, economy has surpassed military might as a main reason and means to gain power. China is one of the biggest illustration to be considered as a great power rising on the basis of its economic development strategies resulting into “Peaceful Development”.

1.3 China as a Great Power

Peoples’ Republic of China (PRC) has now been considered as great power by all states and commentators. China has fulfilled the above mentioned criteria to be considered as great power. China merits to be called as a great power due to the following reasons.

“A great power’s identity focuses on the country’s past, present and future in the international relations, concentrating on its capacity to project power in comparison to other countries with their own ambitions”(Rozman, 2004, p. 120). The projection of Chinese power demographically, geographically, politically, economically as well as strategically has been discussed that makes China a great power.

China has the largest population in the world about 1.35 billion spread in approximately 9.6 million square kilometres. This makes China a state having larger human and natural resources. Demographically, PRC is considered as an upper middle-income country. China's rapid growth has pulled millions of people living below poverty line (BPL) of US\$ 1 per day. In 1978, 64 percent of population was living BPL but today only 10 percent of them are living BPL.

Geographically, China is the second largest country in the world by land area. China has the longest combined land border in the world having 14 neighbouring countries. China is a permanent member of United Nations Security Council. China is also a member of WTO. Also a founding member of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), economic partner in ASEAN +3 as well as a member of ASEAN Regional Forum, APEC, BRICS, and many more strategic and economic forums throughout the world.

Politically, People's Republic of China is an authoritarian state with a single party-Chinese Communist Party (CCP) since its establishment in 1949. The Kuomintang Party people settled in Taiwan (Republic of China, ROC) since 1949. PRC is the mainland China and hence is referred as China while ROC is referred as Taiwan. Its diplomatic relations have been extended globally with superpower, other great powers, middle and small powers of Africa as well as Latin America.

Economically, China is the largest recipient of FDI inflows in 2012. In Fortune's Global 500 list of the world's largest corporations included 95 Chinese companies. The same year, Forbes reported that five of the world's ten largest public companies were Chinese, including the world's largest bank by total assets, the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China.

Strategically, China has great military potential possessing nuclear weapons. But its strategic behaviour since post-Mao era has been defensive in nature with all the disputes within the region. Though China has been firm on its all claims including Taiwan, Tibet, South China Sea islands etc and may demonstrate its capability in order to hold those territories. Commentators predict that Chinese naval activity in South China Sea is a move towards establishing deeper sea shore for its submarines to strengthen its power in Pacific region. China's largest population having second largest economy in terms of PPP (Purchasing Power Parity), with largest number of military personnel in People's Liberation Army, permanent membership of Security Council, possession of nuclear weapons, regional influence and membership in almost all large multilateral and transnational organizations make China a great power. Above all, the Chinese leadership has contributed in the rise of China as a great power.

During Mao era, leaders had to delineate foreign as well as domestic policies in such a manner so as to reach great power position in a resolute period. Deng Xiaoping came with plans to execute reforms in terms of ideology, economy, and infrastructure as well as military and diplomacy. To attain the status of a great power, China was very determined. There are many factors which play an important role in maintaining that status but economic factor has played a pivotal role. China is today considered as one of the great powers globally looking at its fast development and its capacity to achieve its 'Three Step Development Strategy'-

“Step one was to double the 1980 GNP and ensure that people have enough food and clothing which was attained by the end of 1980s; Step two was to quadruple the 1980 GNP by the end of 20th century which was achieved in 1995 in advance of the schedule; Step three to

increase per-capita GNP to the level of the medium-developed countries by the mid-21st century -- at which point, the China's people will be fairly well-off and modernization will be basically realized”(Chinese Embassy to Istanbul, 2006, p. 1).

Along with economic up gradation, China introduces science and technology in its development plan. Militarily, China was detrimental towards its neighbours during Mao era. But after becoming a permanent member of the UN Security Council, China started acting as a responsible power in Asia. China possessed nuclear weapons but adopted defensive policy to spread its influence in the region, thus proving itself to be a responsible state in Asia.

China has risen peacefully with its active role in redefining the foreign policy since post-Mao era. Prof. A.P. Rana has mentioned in his book *Imperatives of Nonalignment* 1976, “A state if it participates in international politics, is involved in generating power for itself”(Rana, 1976, p. 11). All these reforms were possible with the support of the Chinese foreign policy. Thus foreign policy and its strategy towards other states may help any state to strengthen its power. Prof. Rana further says that “the foreign policy of no state can be explained without accounting power: its quest is perpetual, and possesses immediacy and compulsiveness”(Rana, 1976, p. 11).

1.4 Statement of Research Problem

Paul Kennedy has studied the rise and fall of states from 1500 to 2000. This work has been a record of the detailed historical data about the great powers since the 16th century onwards. International Relations discipline is distinct as the events or issues that occur are analyzed with the theoretical notions to understand the behaviour in a systematic way. The three major

theoretical notions of international political economy can also explain China's foreign policy. However, in order to understand the role of foreign policy in China's rise as a great power, there are several other questions, which have been addressed in this dissertation.

The research is aimed to investigate the great power characteristics based on the power attributes that help state enhance its power and rise as a great power. China's rise was determined and target-oriented which was set up by Mao Tse-Tung after the establishment of PRC in 1949. The analysis of the behaviour of the leaders of China gives clarity in their understanding of their decision-making and implementation of policies. China, in the post-Mao era as well as the post-Cold War era, has been continuously growing despite major downfalls such as Tiananmen Square incident, Asian Economic Crisis or Global Economic Crisis.

The major research problem in this dissertation is to investigate whether foreign policy of any state can become a path to rise of that state as a great power? There has been several ways mentioned in history through which states have risen as great powers but none of them adopted peaceful means to rise as a great power. So is there any path to rise peacefully as a great power? Can foreign policy with precise and strategic decisions help state to rise as a great power? To investigate how effectively and efficiently China's foreign policy has played a major role in China's rise as a great power can be considered as the major driver of this dissertation. The establishment of a relationship between the foreign policy of the state as one of the ways or path for any state to rise as a great power has been considered to conduct this research work.

1.5 Key Research Questions

1. What are the different perspectives on great power and its characteristics? What are the various means employed for the rise of great power in International Relations?
2. What are the principles, background and objectives of Chinese foreign policy during the period from the Chinese Revolution till the end of the Mao era?
3. What shifts have occurred during the post-Mao period in the Chinese foreign policy?
4. How effectively have the formulation and behaviour of foreign policy contributed to the rise of China as a great power since 1979?

1.6 Objectives of the Research

Research objectives are the backbone of the study. It gives the clarity to the author to conduct the research in a focused and systematic manner. The main objectives of this dissertation are as follows:

- **To investigate foreign policy as one of the means to rise as a great power:** In the international system, there are certain concepts that play a pivotal role in the relations between actors. Concept of great power is one of them but there is an ambiguity about the major characteristics of great power and the means to rise as a great power. This dissertation is aimed to find out the major characteristics of a great power by analyzing the three major theoretical notions of international

relations theories as well as to investigate foreign policy as one of the means to rise as a great power.

- **To understand the principles and objectives adopted by the Chinese foreign policy during Mao era:** Since the establishment of PRC, the leaders and foreign policy decision-makers of China have been following the principles and objectives adopted by Mao Tse-Tung. To analyze China's foreign policy, it is required to understand the principles adopted by Mao that has been continued by other generation leaders in the formulation of foreign policy objectives.
- **To analyze the peaceful implementation of reforms in the post-Mao era:** The turning point in China's foreign policy was during the post-Mao era. To understand China's peaceful rise, the reforms implemented in its foreign policy need to be analyzed to bring out the pattern of peaceful rise of a great power in the interdependent world.
- **To analyze the role of Chinese foreign policy in its rise as a great power:** To find out the role of China's foreign policy in implications on the contemporary international order and its universal impact on the markets of the world as one of the great powers. Based on the theoretical factors the main objective of this work is to analyze how effectively foreign policy adopted by China in the post-Mao era has contributed in the rise of China as a great power.

The above stated research objectives have been achieved by conducting the research systematically to understand the great power behaviour in contemporary times.

1.7 Significance of the Research

The research is relevant for analyzing China's peaceful rise and for bringing out the major characteristics of a great power. China is the first great power that has set up a target to rise as a great power and has risen to fulfil the target. The dissertation has carefully analyzed the Chinese foreign policy to understand its peaceful rise in the contemporary times.

It has been widely discussed that China has been one of the great powers and has contributed significantly in the transformation of contemporary world order. By analyzing China's foreign policy behaviour, this dissertation brought out the significant output and pattern adopted by China in order to bring its effect in the international system. The scholars and students of international relations can further apply the pattern for the analysis of events in future.

Many scholars have predicted that twenty-first century is an Asian century. Joseph S. Nye in his article has quoted that "based on plausible assumptions, Asia could be back at around 57 percent of the world's GDP by 2025"(Nye J. S., 2009, p. 337). China is one of the most powerful Asian states and analyzing its foreign relations might clarify the rise of Asian power in the twenty-first century. China has been engaged in multilateral diplomacy, analysis of its behaviour with multilateral actors might be useful for the other Asian states to improve relations and enhance their capabilities with other actors in the international system. The outcome of the dissertation is significant to analyze and understand the oldest concept of power to the latest concept of multilateral relationship of the international relations discipline. The scholars and students of international relations might get an objective analysis of the China's foreign relations through this piece of research work.

1.8 Methodology

Any research is carried out with a purpose to search something new from the existing data in a systematic way. It means that a researcher needs to identify a problem which s/he wants to address. Then the relevant data needs to be collected. The collected data is analyzed which gives the result. Researches in social sciences have got distinct methods from other areas of studies. As in social sciences the data collected cannot always be calculated mathematically or scientifically. Social science data are based on qualitative and normative aspects.

Research design enhances the efficiency of researcher to carry out his/her work. Thus researcher needs to design the research by choosing appropriate methods, tools and ways of analyzing the data.

- Sources of Data collection:
 - Primary Data: The primary data used in this thesis would be the Joint statements or Agreements and Treaties signed by China with other states. The visit to Indian Parliament Library, Ministry of External Affairs library and library of Chinese Embassy at New Delhi were the places of primary data collection. White papers and other relevant data were collected from the official government websites.
 - Secondary Data: Library material, Online Journals, eBooks, Newspaper articles, periodicals, etc. UGC Inflibnet Consortium at Gandhinagar, Gujarat is an e-resource centre that was one of the major sources of secondary data collection. The major libraries in Gujarat beginning with Smt. Hansa Mehta Library, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Gujarat Vidyapith Library and Gujarat University Library were explored initially to begin the research work and review of literature. Later on, data for Chinese foreign

policy were collected from the Institute of Defense and Strategic Analysis library, Jawaharlal Nehru University library and Centre for China Studies, New Delhi.

- Data Analysis and Interpretation

- Mixed Methodology

For the research design, the methodology chosen should be precise. This dissertation is aimed to analyze Chinese foreign policy. As the Chinese leaders have adopted various perspectives in its foreign policy the method to understand those perspectives is also a mixed methodology.

- Another aspect of mixed method deals with the mixing of qualitative and quantitative data. As this research is aimed to measure the rise of Chinese capabilities there are obvious numerical that indicates the rise hence the quantitative analysis is used in the thesis as a method.

- Qualitative Content Analysis as method to interpret data.

The process of content analysis has been discussed by many scholars. Uwe Flick describes the systematic reduction of the data. The scholars should define the material for collection, and then classification of material should be done. After that separate the material which is not useful contextually to the research questions which gives first reduction. As the data collected has to be used should be reduced on the basis of characteristics of the material (second reduction). Then the researcher needs to do analysis of selected texts- finally analytic units are defined. Lastly, the final results are interpreted with respect to the research question and questions of validity are asked and answered (Flick, 2009: 323-326).

The data for this dissertation has been collected, classified, characterized, analyzed and then the result was obtained which answered the key research questions.

1.9 Scheme of Chapterization

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

The chapter is delineated by dividing into two sections to review literature, which was conducted to find the research gap based on research objectives and key research questions. The literature review was conducted based on: the literature on China's foreign policy since the beginning of 20th century to the 21st century. Scholars such as Levi, Harold Hinton, Lucian Pye, Michael Yahuda, Samuel S. Kim who have contributed a massive work on the Modern China's foreign policy in the pre-establishment period as well as Mao era after the establishment of PRC. During the Post-Mao era, few of the scholars continued and few were added to the list such as Nicholas Lardy, Gregory Chow, Marc Lanteigne, Philip Saunders, David Wall and R. Sutter have contributed works on the reforms in various sectors of China's foreign policy. Harry Harding, David Shambaugh, Ronald Keith, Guoli Liu have written and edited books on China's foreign policy in the 21st Century. The review of literature was successfully conducted to materialize the research work to establish the relationship between great power and foreign policy as well as the China's foreign policy behaviour in the contemporary world order.

The chapter consists of major works on China's rise and Chinese foreign policy books and articles.

Chapter 3: Conceptual Analysis of Notions of Power and Great Power

The third chapter is the core chapter based on the theoretical notions of power and great power. The focus is on understanding of great power in International Relations. It analyzes the various perspectives of great power, in particular Realist, Interdependence and Neoliberal views. Based on these theoretical notions of International Relations, the main characteristics of great power have been extracted out of the analysis. The chapter has been delineated with the first section consisting of key contending notions of the concept of foreign policy, the concept of power and the concept of great power analyzed.

The second section consists of characteristics of a great power with the help of various theoretical perspectives. The analysis of the rise and fall of great powers has been made to find out the different means to rise as a great power. There are certain patterns of rise and fall of states analyzed with world-system analysis, the long cycle as well as the power transition theory.

In the third section, the theoretical nations gave clarity in the perspective to understand the foreign policy approaches and its role in the rise of a state as a great power thus establishing relationship between foreign policy and great power.

Chapter 4: Outline of Chinese Foreign Policy during Mao Era

The chapter begins with the significance of studying Chinese foreign policy in order to understand its rise as a great power. The pre-Mao era foreign policy has its significance to understand the victimization mindset of Chinese people which has led them to move determinedly on a path to rise as a great power.

Mao Tse-Tung is the founder of the People's Republic of China. In order to understand the foreign policy adopted by Mao since 1949, one needs to analyze the *a priori* foreign relations and situations. However, the second section depicts the Mao era foreign policy. Certain policies were framed as per the classical realist notion of power: the national capabilities and national interests were focused in the foreign as well as domestic policies. There have been three major power attributes namely the nature of the foreign policy, foreign economic policy and foreign military policy. These policies mainly relied on Mao's decisions. Several other leaders played a prominent role in influencing Mao's decision-making. Mao and his people had a 'China Dream' to see China as a great power within 100 years. Thus, the economic foreign policy and military foreign policy were keenly taken care of by Mao and his Communist leaders which have been analyzed in this chapter as well as the next two chapters. The economic, military and political-diplomatic relations are the power attributes discussed in all the chapters. The chapter has been concluded with the end of Mao era foreign policy, which has already created a background for China's rise as a great power.

Chapter 5: Chinese Foreign Policy during the post-Mao Era

This chapter has been delineated by dividing into four sections. Each section has been analyzed with the changes and the continuities, which took place in the post-Mao era. The

first section depicts the leadership changes taken place with the end of Mao era. The nature of the foreign policy and the decision-making process are analyzed in detail. The second section consists of continuities and foreign policy objectives, foreign economic policy, foreign military policy and diplomatic relations with major great powers. The foreign policy objective of modernization to rise with reforms mainly into economic and political aspects is discussed in detail. This was a major reform introduced and implemented successfully during this era. As the economy of state is considered as one of the most important power attributes, the economic policy of the state was reformed by Open Door policy. Under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, Chinese leaders and its people accepted the reform in foreign economic policy and worked together to fulfil the China Dream. The major breakthrough of technological advancement in Naval and Air Force began during the post-Mao era. Its strategic thinking in the Chinese military policy developed a strategy of 'expert over red' in order to introduce the technological advancement like other great powers during post Mao era.

China's major diplomatic relations were bilateral in nature and they all strengthened during this era of open door policy. China mainly opened up to extend economic relations with the major powers of the world, the neighbouring states and Third World states. China's role and entry into WTO was a major change and a beneficiary step in its rise as a great power.

The last section of the chapter depicts the reasons for the changes in the foreign policy which have been implemented, both internally as well as internationally. Certain changes took place in the equations between the great powers of the international system due to which China played a major role as an important actor in the international system.

Chapter 6: Chinese Foreign Policy during the post-Cold War Era

There were several changes which occurred with the end of Cold War. Consequently, China had to adjust its foreign policy with the changes that occurred in the international system. The chapter has been delineated by analyzing the changes that occurred in the International System during the post-Cold War era in the first section. The world now turned increasingly unipolar with the globalized economy and technology being controlled by a group of powerful capitalist economies.

The second section depicts the continuities in the nature of foreign policy and foreign policy decision-making process during post-Cold War era. The nature of the PRC remained the same but more in a diluted version of the Communist regime. With the end of Cold War, the ideological foundations had shaken its firmness over the states. China's foreign policy decision-makers always kept the external environment in their focus while taking any decision and adjusted its policies accordingly. The number of influencers in the decision-making process had increased during this era. Almost everybody from individual to top-level leadership is now influencing China's foreign policy decision-making process.

The third section depicts the changes in foreign policy objective, foreign economic policy, foreign military policy and multilateral diplomatic relations. The foreign policy objective of China is to go global in the 21st century as the world order has turned into globalizing economy. China was one of the most significant actors to introduce this change. China has been active in developing multilateral diplomacy in its political relations. China has been consciously engaged in resolving issues with its neighbouring states. China has been strengthening cross-continental as well as cross-regional relations. Beijing is playing a significant role in the UN peacekeeping missions.

The Chinese entrepreneurs established their relations with other states or businesspersons in many part of the world. On the other hand, China's government focused on the expansion of their relations with all the regions of the world either in search of raw materials or in search of oil for its larger industries in its economic relations. China's military and strategic thinking is moving more towards the technological advancement to reach the level of U.S. sophistication in its military strategy. Beijing also ranks fourth in its cultural power, which has strengthened its soft power in the Latin American and African states.

Chapter 7: Evaluation of the role of the Chinese Foreign Policy in its Rise as a Great Power

This chapter mainly depicts various strategies used by China in order to rise as a great power. With the help of the changes taking place into the world order and based on those theoretical notions, the precise reforms implemented by Chinese leaders in its foreign policy have helped China to rise as a great power. Consequently, after the end of World War II, the world order was based on classical realist notion. As neo-realism and interdependence approach gave way to the interdependence between the states, China's foreign policy also opened up during post-Mao era. The parallel changes or the changes, which occurred in systemic level have been keenly studied and policies synchronizing the changes in the international system were introduced with the help of several strategies such as enhancement of hard power, soft power, role in UN, active participation in the international organizations as well as multilateral diplomacy.

The second section of this chapter discusses the significance of role of Chinese leadership into the foreign policy. The statistical data of the rise of China through economic growth, technological advancement and military modernization has been depicted through figures and discussion on it.

The last section of the chapter is depicting the critical analysis of the role of China's foreign policy in its rise as a great power. The pre-conclusion of the dissertation is emphasizing on the effective role of China's foreign policy in its rise as a great power in terms of both the qualitative and quantitative analysis. The journey of a state to rise as a great power within 50 years of period has made a history. The scope of each state of the sovereign state system can become a great power the way China has risen.

Chapter 8: Concluding Observations

The last chapter of the dissertation has been divided into two sections. The first section depicts the limitations of the study that has been discussed in detail. Each work has both the vast as well as limited scope of it. The principal conclusions of the research have been discussed in detail. There are certain areas on which sufficient work has not yet been done by the scholars. Further recommendations suggest such areas of research.

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CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2 Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

The literature about the Chinese foreign policy topic is extensively available. The scholars all over the world with their own perspectives have studied the topic and published their works in the form of books or articles in renowned journals. Now many blog-post, podcast and videos are also widely available having expert views on Chinese foreign policy.

Mainly, aspects of foreign policy during pre-Mao era were studied on the basis of the determinants of it. However, in contemporary times the Chinese foreign policy aspects such as security studies, economic interdependence, multilateral diplomacy, soft power strategy, grand strategy, foreign policy decision making etc. have been studied by experts of particular determinant such as Alastair Iain Johnston is an expert of Chinese security studies as well as its strategic thinking. David Lampton is an expert on Chinese foreign policy decision-making. John Fairbank has done extensive research on the historical collection of Chinese foreign policy. Mingjiang Li and Joshua Kurlantzick are experts of soft power strategies and China's Charm over the world. Evan Medeiros and Taylor Fravel are experts of Chinese New Diplomacy. Ashley Tellis and Swaine Michael are experts of Chinese Grand Strategy. Yong Deng is an expert of theoretical notions on Chinese foreign policy, mainly Realist.

There is another perspective on which one can identify the work done for the government of states. There are some prominent scholars from different states such as Samuel S. Kim, Kenneth Liberthal, David Shambaugh, Cheng Li's writings reflects American perception. Roy Medvedev is a scholar from Russia. Akio Takahara from the University of Tokyo is an expert on the ambiguities in Chinese foreign policy. Peter Nolan, Martin Jacques as well as

Yong Deng are the scholars from London School of Economics and Political Science, as well as University of Cambridge. There are scholars from Australia and France. Suisheng Zhao, Quansheng Zhao, Guoli Liu, Wang Jisi are prominent Chinese scholars on Chinese foreign policy.

2.2 Review of Literature

Reviewing the available literature gives an idea about the work done and helps one investigate the research gap that has not been addressed in the existing list of works that have been published. The review of several books and articles has been briefly discussed in this section.

2.2.1 Major Books on Chinese Foreign Policy in the Post-Mao Period

- C. Fred Bergsten, Charles Freeman, Nicholas R. Lardy, Derek J. Mitchell, (Eds.) (2008). *China's Rise: Challenges and Opportunities*. Washington DC: Peter G. Peterson Institute for International Economics.

This book is an edited work of various experts on Chinese foreign policy. They have discussed challenges to the world economy and opportunities for China and United States to adopt in this new world order. China's role has become important globally. The issues of the international system are the concern for the great powers and their foreign policies. The world is looking with hopes towards the United States and China as well as other great powers to address the issues and challenges existing in the contemporary world.

- David Shambaugh, (Ed.) (2006). *Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

The unique thing about this book is that the team of authors is from different states- American, British, Japanese, Chinese and Korean scholars have contributed in this book edited by David Shambaugh. A conference was held in 2003 to discuss the power shift in the 21st century with the rising China. The chapters are on internal dynamics as well as foreign policies of China with a concern of rising China's impact on the Asia-Pacific region. Authors have discussed about the questions regarding challenge to US influence in the Asia-Pacific region. Japan is also having its influence in the region. That is a point which is of concern as there is no clarity about the influence and impact of Chinese power in the region along with a competition from Japan and United States. So, Will the power shift from US to China or Japan?

This book gives an idea of Chinese influence in Asia-Pacific region as well as its global impact. The book by David Shambaugh confirms the influence of China globally and regionally.

- Deng, Yong (2008) *China's Struggle for Status: Realignment of International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yong Deng has tried to identify the IR theoretical approaches in the Chinese foreign policy implications. This has resulted into China's increase in power and influence globally. He has done a systematic work by discussing all the major aspects from realists, neo-realists, interdependent and neo-liberal approaches through Chinese foreign policy analysis. How China tackled its human rights stand and dealing with China Threat theories has been

discussed in detail. The foreign policy approaches used by Chinese leaders have been contributed distinctly.

- Fairbank, Roderick MacFarquhar and John k.; (1991) *The Cambridge History of China: Vol. 15, The People's Republic, Part 2: Revolutions within Chinese Revolution 1966-1982*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

The Cambridge History of China is a detailed collection of the data about China's domestic politics as well as foreign policy during Mao era. This vol.15 consists of detailed analysis of the leadership and the decision-making process during Mao era. Foreign policy has also been analyzed in context to the domestic policy extensions between 1966-1982. China's permanent membership to U.N. Security Council is considered as a major breakthrough in Beijing's future as well as failure of Cultural Revolution which compelled the CCP leaders to enter into Open Door Policy again with the United States for the enhancement of its power.

- Faust, Judith Kornberg and John; (2007). *China in World Politics: Policies, Processes, Prospects*. New Delhi: Viva Books Private Limited.

Both the scholars have written this book by introducing and sensitizing students with Chinese foreign policy by analyzing the issues. Alternate policy choices are suggested at the end of each chapter that makes this work unique from other literature available on the topic. China's relations with its neighbours, other great powers as well as its dynamic policy implications have been discussed in the book.

- Guoli Liu, (Ed.). (2004) *Chinese Foreign Policy in Transition*. New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction.

This edited book has been divided into four sections on Theory and Culture, Perspectives and Identities, Bilateral and Multilateral Relationships and Retrospect and Prospect. This gives a picture of Post-Cold War foreign policy and the latest strategies in the Multilateral World. Each section contains very different strategies than those used by Beijing during post-Mao era. The scholars such as Michael Ng-Quinn on The Analytic Study of Chinese Foreign Policy gives an idea of the Chinese strategies based on general analysis of different perceptions, Gilbert Rozman on China's Quest for Great Power Identity, as well as Allen S. Whiting, Samuel S. Kim, Harry Harding, Alastair Iain Johnston's chapters has made this book a complete analysis and a unique piece of work.

- Hinton, Harold C. (1972). *China's Turbulent Quest: An Analysis of China's Foreign Relations Since 1949*. Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press.

The Cambridge History gave the factual data while Harold Hinton has considered the foreign policy in a systematic manner through dividing Mao era into different phases. The other section is about influencing the foreign policy decision-making process as well as China's image in different parts of the world. The comprehensive study of Chinese foreign policy during Mao era has been conducted by Hinton successfully.

- Kang, David C. (2007). *China Rising: Peace, Power and Order in East Asia*. New York: Columbia University Press.

David Kang has focused on China's relations with the East Asian states. He considers it as strength for the East Asian states rather than a threat to the region. He has discussed about

the economic, military, as well as other opportunities for the states of the region. But he considers that all the states in the region do not opine the same for China. Their views differ and all of them do not welcome China's influence in the region. China's basic interest in the region is to get the raw materials and sell finished goods in the region.

- Kennedy, Paul (1988). *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. London: Unwin Hyman.

The book has been written by Paul Kennedy focusing mainly on the strategies and policies adopted by different states from 1500 to 2000 with the help of economic changes and policies adopted by great powers and get into military conflicts. This historical data is useful for the analysis of enhancement of power attributes such as economic strength, military strength and the technological advancement of states in order to rise as a great power with their specific impact on the international order. Each great power has contributed something typical for its rise in the international system.

Kennedy has analyzed the uneven growth and rise of states through technological advancements and organizational breakthroughs. There is no constant growth which has been discussed but mainly the European states which began to rise and then fall since the 1500 AD has been discussed in detail. Kennedy has discussed on the basis of time during which the state that was economically strong and militarily most capable in the world at one point of time along with the fall of that state. In short, beginning with the fall of Ming, Ottomans, Moguls and Muscovy Tokugawa Japan to the rise of Spain, The Netherlands, France, The British Empire and now the United States has been observed with its economic and military strategies.

By the end of World War II, the bipolar world emerged but the decline of Soviet Union during 1990, gave a way for PRC to emerge as a great power. The economy of Japan and China has contributed in the growth of North-east Asia as one of the stronger economic region other than the West. Japan's alliance with United States has given obvious results. But the rise of PRC needs a deep study and analysis to investigate the economic and military strategies used by it for the rise.

- Lanteigne, Marc. (2009) *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*. Oxon: Routledge.

This book is based on the basic information of China's Foreign Policy covering almost all aspects such as diplomatic relations, economic relations, military strategy as well as decision-making process and its relations with other great powers of the world during post-Cold War era. Though Lanteigne has discussed briefly about Mao era and post-Mao era foreign policy, post-Cold War era foreign policy has been discussed at length.

- Levi, Werner. (1953) *Modern China's Foreign Policy*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Levi Werner could be considered as first scholar to do detailed study of China's foreign policy from the beginning of the 20th century. Open Door policy with America was signed during the end of 19th century. Gradually, the First World War and its impact as well as experiences with Germany, America and Japan led China to move towards earlier Russia and later on towards Soviet Union. The beginning of Communism in China was imported from Russia through Mao Tse-Tung. The theory of Communist Foreign Policy and the principles of Mao were proposed and accepted on the establishment of The People's Republic of China in 1949.

- Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Cote, Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller, (Eds.) (2000) *The Rise of China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The book is about the rise of China as depicted in the title is mainly aimed to address the concern of China's rise and its impact on the international system. This means how United States and other great powers in the system should deal with China that has gained power. The authors have discussed about the capabilities that China has enhanced in the economic sector. China has militarily developed the sophistication and has been involved in the South China Sea islands for access to the deeper sea. Its activities in South China Sea are of major concern for other states of East Asia. Part two of the book is mainly concerned about the Asia-Pacific Security issues. And the last part of the book is about the policy choices. How United States and the other great powers should deal with China- is it safe to keep China engaged or China should be contained?

This book is unique in itself, focusing on China's security capabilities and its impact in the Asia- Pacific region.

- Ronald C. Keith, (Ed.) (2005). *China as a Rising World Power and its Response to 'Globalization'*. London: Routledge

This book is giving the idea of completely different perspective based on China's actual behavior based on Chinese Diaspora throughout the World. The Chinese community has always been helping the state during all ups and downs through which China has passed successfully in order to rise as a great power. With the Globalization in the world, the economic and trade policies had changed which had been adopted by Beijing much easier compared to other states in the world.

China's multilateral relations through ASEAN and SCO have been discussed in chapters to understand its regional and Asian behavior.

- Suisheng Zhao, (Ed.) (2004). *Chinese Foreign Policy: Pragmatism and Strategic Behavior*. New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.

This is a book mainly discussing the Chinese pragmatic approach in its foreign policy behavior. The book is divided into three parts. The first part is to understand the Chinese foreign policy from the international system-centred approach which is different from the domestic-centred approach. The second part is about the pragmatism adopted in the foreign policy giving priority to the national-interest instead of ideological goals. The third part is based on China's strategic relations in the multipolar world during the 21st Century.

This book reflects the realist foreign policy approach in Chinese foreign policy behavior. The justification of pragmatism and strategic goals reflects China's neo-realist approach in its foreign policy behavior.

- Yong Deng and Fei-Ling Wang, (Eds.). (2005). *China Rising: Power and Motivation in Chinese Foreign Policy*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

The authors of this book are trying to figure out the motivations behind China's rise and its international image. They have tried to analyze various aspects of Chinese foreign policy, such as ruling party's interests, international status, human rights, globalization, war on terrorism, international institutions etc. China's approach and actions during the post- 9/11 have become of pivotal interests amongst the scholars in order to figure out China's intentions.

2.2.2 Important Articles on Post-Mao Chinese Foreign Policy

- Dahl, R. A (1957) “The Concept of Power”. *Behavioural Science*, 201-215.

As the dissertation is mainly based on the concept of power analysis, it becomes must to understand the concept of power and then decide how to incorporate the concept in the theoretical aspect of the dissertation. The titles of the articles in journals are always clearly stating about the key argument in them. Robert Dahl’s intuitions helped him give an operational definition of power amongst relations. As international relations is a discipline developed on the basis of relations between actors of the international system, Robert Dahl’s definition of the concept of power helps scholars to conduct the research by applying this definition in it.

- Fairbank J. K. (1969) “China’s Foreign Policy in Historical Perspective”. *Foreign Affairs*, 47(3), pp.449-463. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20039389>

Fairbank is of view that when there is a great power, one should have a record of its historical background. This historical background and the factual data helps one understand its psychological behaviour in the contemporary times. Therefore, he wrote an article on China’s foreign policy in historical perspective.

- Fravel, Evan S. Medeiros and M. Taylor; (2003) “China’s New Diplomacy”. *Foreign Affairs*, 82(6), pp.22-35. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20033754>

Since 1990s, China’s role in the international politics has made several diplomatic changes that are considered as one of the major changes amongst them. The multilateral relations became more important with the beginning of the 21st century. China has also been playing an important role in regional organizations such as ASEAN and SCO. Now China is also

getting involved into regional security organizations. China has proposed in ASEAN to expand a security alliance of it.

This article gives the latest diplomatic relations of China that completes the study of Chinese foreign policy till the beginning of 21st century.

- Hsu Chih-Chia. (1999) “Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process in Deng’s China: Three Patterns for Analysis”. *Asian Perspective*, 23(2), pp. 197-223. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42704213>

This article is a unique work on foreign policy decision-making process with three different patterns of analysis. These patterns have studied the role of pre-eminent leadership, collective leadership and bureaucratic organization through its dominance in the decision-making process during the post-Mao era. Each pattern has its own place in Chinese foreign policy making.

- Keith R. C. (1985/86) “The Origins and Strategic Implications of China’s ‘Independent Foreign Policy’”. *International Journal*, 41(1), pp. 95-128. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40202352>

Ronald Keith has a specific style to analyze China’s behaviour. He is more inclined towards China’s ideological policy implications. This article is also about China’s independent foreign policy based on the ideological implications and China’s psychological power.

- Kim, S. S. (2003). “China's Path to Great Power status in the Globalization Era”. *Asian Perspective*, 27(1), 35-75.

Samuel S. Kim has discussed about China’s path to great power status in the post-Cold War era. He has defined the Comprehensive National Power and measured the economic as well as military power of China in the post-Cold War era. He further discusses the ways and means to rise as a great power and finally predicts the future of China in the international system.

- Lardy Nicholas R. (1995) “The Role of Foreign Trade and Investment in China’s Economic Transformation”. *The China Quarterly*, (144), pp.1065-1082. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/655292>

The major change in Chinese foreign policy is seen in the economic aspect. Nicholas Lardy is considered as one of the prominent scholars to write articles on Chinese economic foreign policy during Deng era. This article is mainly based on the economic reforms introduced in foreign trade, foreign direct investment as well as foreign aids received. Liberalization was adopted in almost all goods and exports. Not only the four SEZs, but also coastal cities were also benefitting due to Open-Door policy.

This is the core article which needs to be reviewed in order to understand the economic rise of China through reforms implemented during Post-Mao era. This article could be considered as creating the background of China’s rise and initial step towards the rise of China with the help of economic reforms.

- Saunders Philip C. (2000). “Supping with a Long Spoon: Dependence and Interdependence in Sino-American Relations”. *The China Journal*, (43), pp.55-81. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2667532>

Philip Saunders has focused on Sino-American economic relations based on interdependence and the level of dependence as theoretical notion. The American support to China is one of the obvious reasons in the development of China. Saunders tried to study the Interdependence notion through empirical puzzle of China’s economic development. Saunders is trying to find out if China’s political power was in danger; it depended more and more on U.S. while its actions had begun affecting the other states of the world in international politics.

This article gives a perspective to study and analyze the empirical set of events through theoretical notions. Another important point raised by Saunders is China’s impact and role in international politics during the post-Mao era.

- Yahuda Michael (1993) “Deng Xiaoping: The Statesman”. *The China Quarterly*, (135), pp. 551-572. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/654102>

China is popular for its leadership. Each leader has contributed by ensuring continuous rise of China through peaceful means. Deng Xiaoping is considered as a statesman for China through his major policy reforms and implications. Michael Yahuda is one of the prominent scholars on China studies. He wrote this article to analyze the role of leadership and Deng’s characteristics to understand Chinese behaviour.

2.3 Research Gap

The above-mentioned works on Chinese foreign policy and rise of China as a great power have got their distinct place and are complete. There are few aspects such as discussing the role of foreign policy and its contribution in generating the power capabilities has helped China to enhance its power and influence globally has been discussed hardly in any of the works done so far. Another point is that the changes and reforms in the foreign policy took place during specific time which has been scarcely discussed in any of the works available on Chinese foreign policy. The third aspect is that very few studies are discussing all the power attributes such as economy, military, technology, diplomacy, culture in one work.

The key research questions for this piece of research work are insufficiently addressed. Attention paid to the relationship between the foreign policy and great powers as well as the characteristics of great powers in the contemporary times is scarce. It has been found very sketchy in few of the works done so far. Consequently this piece of research work shall contribute to a different aspect in Chinese foreign policy analysis.

2.4 Conclusion

The review of above mentioned literature has contributed in delineating this dissertation. Each work done on the topic has its own analysis which has been justified by the authors. Though the above-mentioned gap was found on which this dissertation is delineated to address the research gap.

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CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF THE NOTIONS OF POWER AND GREAT POWER

3 Conceptual Analysis of the Notions of Power and Great Power

3.1 Introduction

Theoretical notions are the background and backbone of any piece of research work in social sciences. “Theory provides a framework for evaluating the policy recommendations, either explicit or implicit, that abound in all the social sciences”(James Dougherty and Robert Pfaltzgraff, 1989, p. 16). Generally, theory is meant to establish relationship among concepts. “It explains the phenomena systematically to predict the perception of relationship among the concepts”(Mingst, 2004, p. 57). This dissertation is thus going to study various important concepts and establish relationship between foreign policy and great power. Empirically, the relationship between foreign policy and great power has been analyzed by discussing Chinese foreign policy in the following chapters.

This chapter is not intended to produce any new theory or any new concept but rather discuss various meanings of the concept of power, concept of great power, foreign policy in order to understand the behaviour and policies which are discussed in the following chapters. The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First to understand various meanings of the concepts used in International Relations theories which are used in the later part of the dissertation as there are various aspects of each concept and second is to understand the characteristics of great power used in analyzing the foreign policy through various theoretical approaches as the answer to the key research questions.

3.2 Basic Concepts Used in the Research Work

As discussed above the basic concepts used in the thesis such as foreign policy, power, capability, great power etc. are very complex and dynamic. Hence, this chapter seeks to

analyze various perspectives on these complex concepts so as to render the arguments of the subsequent chapter easy to understand.

3.2.1 Concept of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy could be considered as a sub-field of international relations discipline. Foreign policy is a dynamic process. For some it is a process, for others it is a relation and some might consider it as an interaction between the units of the system. And others may consider it a tool of alliance among the units of international system. The generic concept of foreign policy has been discussed in this section. Let us observe various definitions given by scholars.

Hill has defined it as “foreign policy is the sum of official external relations conducted by independent actors in international relations” (Tayfur, 1994, pp. 117-8).

George Modelski and Pat McGowan have defined foreign policy by observing the actions of communities and the national or central governments. George Modelski has defined foreign policy as “system evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other states and for adjusting their activities to the international environment” (Tayfur, 1994, p. 117).

According to McGowan, “foreign policy could be defined as the actions of national or central governments taken towards other actors external to the legal sovereignty of the initiating governments”(Tayfur, 1994, p. 117).

K. J. Holsti’s perception is from the domestic development or domestic benefits. K. J. Holsti, considers foreign policy as “... designed to sustain or alter a current object, condition, or practice in the external environment” (Holsti, 1995, p. 250).

James Rosenau finds a gap of scientific study of the foreign policy. Hence, he brings a new dimension to the studies of comparative foreign policy with his pre-theories that has five variables namely, “(1) idiosyncratic; (2) role; (3) governmental; (4) societal; (5) systemic. These five categories of variables were considered as the main sources of foreign policy behaviour”(Tayfur, 1994, p. 122).

Consequently, one can say that foreign policy is a way of interaction between states in the international system. Traditional concept of foreign policy was mainly aimed to achieve the national interest by the state governments and develop relations with other states in the International System. As in contemporary multipolar world, foreign policy is a conglomeration of different policies delineated and implemented at domestic as well as international level by the leaders of the states with an aim to give sustainable and developed infrastructure to their citizens.

There are several actors in the international system, which interact with one other through different ways. The interaction during traditional era was through diplomacy, propaganda, economic rewards or force. But during recent times K. J. Holsti has discussed them as “...world trade, mail flows, tourism and travel, telephone calls, foreign investment, international conferences of scientists and other academics, or international sports competitions... they are matched by contacts between governments” (Holsti, 1995, p. 71).

Since foreign policy is a dynamic process which takes place in the international system delineated by various states, James Rosenau has discussed that there are people who may

cling to traditional norms in the newly emerged circumstances hence one can find the continuities of policies and changes according to the newly emerged circumstances (Rosenau, *Along the Domestic-Foreign Frontier: Exploring Governance in a Turbulent World*, 1997, p. 442).

A successful foreign policy of any state actor has a tremendous potential to bring drastic changes in the existing international order over a period of time. In fact, foreign policy is one of the ways to attain friendship and make allies in the international system through peaceful and sophisticated means. James Rosenau describes “In a word, the analysis of foreign policy has become increasingly sophisticated, giving rise to the development of more elaborate and more precise conceptual equipment with which to sort out and access the complex phenomena that links to the world beyond their borders”(Rosenau J. N., *The Study of Foreign Policy*, 1976, p. 15). So the concept of foreign policy in this dissertation is studied with the existing continuities and changes adopted by Chinese leaders and officials since the post-Mao era till now. The effective and efficient means of success of foreign policies depend on the power of the state it possesses in the international system.

3.2.2 Concept of Power

The concept of power is the central concept in international system. What is power? To answer this question, we need to understand the meaning of power. In a dictionary, the meaning of power could be described as ability to do something, capability, authority, strength, control, influence, rule, command, muscle, etc. Power is an abstract or intangible notion, which can be stimulated by converting ability, strength, capability, control, and

influence into concrete objective, real or tangible notion. But what is this ability or capability, how that ability is gained by any state or actor in the international system? There are several definitions of power defined by various scholars of International Relations starting from Thucydides, Kautilya, Machiavelli giving the traditional use of power in politics by the leaders of the state. The modern outlook or understanding of power needs to be revitalized, in the 20th century to actually gauge power by Lasswell and Kaplan, Robert Dahl, Herbert Simon, and many more (Baldwin, 1983, p. 3).

The Concept of power is ages old. Power had been studied by Thucydides in the West as well as Kautilya in the East during 5th and 4th century BC respectively (Modelski, Kautilya: Foreign Policy and International System in the Ancient Hindu World, 1964, p. 549). The writings by ancient scholars confirm the origin, the process of progress and the essence of concept of power as well as its significance in the international system. Power was not studied separately but it was accompanied by morality (E.H.Carr, 1995, p. 93). The concept of becoming more powerful emerged out of the insecurity which existed in the psyche of human minds.

Robert Dahl has given precise definition of power and has also stated how to gauge power. He has discussed that the concrete definition of any abstract notion is difficult so he has given an operational definition used by the researchers who can gauge power. For Dahl, power is a relation amongst people. In IR, scholars study power as a relation amongst the states and other actors. His intuitive definition is:

“A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do” (Dahl, 1957, pp. 202-203).

“Morgenthau held that power is ‘man’s control over the minds and actions of other men’.”
(James Dougherty and Robert Pfaltzgraff, 1989, p. 84).

Charles Kindleberger defines power as “strength capable of being used efficiently, that is, strength plus the capacity to use it effectively in support of some objective... Thus strength is a means that exists even in the absence of its use for some goal, whereas power is the use of strength for a particular purpose”(James Dougherty and Robert Pfaltzgraff, 1989, pp. 84-85).

“Also viewing power as an influence relationship, K. J. Holsti suggests that power is a multidimensional concept consisting of (1) the acts by which one actor influences another actor, (2) the capabilities utilized for this purpose, and (3) the response solicited” (James Dougherty and Robert Pfaltzgraff, 1989, p. 87).

“According to Robert J. Lieber, power is said to be the currency of the political system in the way that money is the currency of the economy”(James Dougherty and Robert Pfaltzgraff, 1989, p. 87). That is power is considered as an opportunity to quantify the attributes.

According to Organski, “Power = Economic Productivity per Capita x Population The gross national product (GNP) was the measure chosen because it combined the demographic and the economic aspects of a nation’s productivity”(Organski, 1989, p. 190).

According to Barnett and Duvall, “Power is the production, in and through social relations, of effects that shape the capacities of actors to determine their own circumstances and fate”(Duvall, 2005, p. 3).

3.2.3 Distinguishing between Power and Capability

There is a difference between power and capability. There are two dimensions of power – internal and external. The internal dimension of power explains that a state has a capacity to act and it shields the formulation and implementations of policy from external interference. The external dimension of power is generally understood as the capability of states to control the behaviour of other state (O’Callaghan, 2002, p. 220).

The concept of power here is a state’s influence in the international system. But capability of any state means power attributes. That is to increase the influence, state needs to enhance the capabilities such as economic, military, technological, demographic, having more number of embassies as well as more interaction in the international system. Consequently, capabilities are the power attributes through which states can generate power and by using those capabilities, states can get an action done by other states, i.e. execute the power over other states.

3.2.4 Concept of Great Power

The term great power is often used by the experts of international politics, as great powers are the main actors on which the whole international system is relying upon. Scholars like A.F.K. Organski, Hedley Bull, Paul Kennedy and many others have discussed at length about great powers but none has clearly defined the concept of great power. It is a challenge to define a great power. There are different factors which might help one state to become great power but those same factors may not work as effectively as it had worked for the other state. For example, U.S.A. is having ample amount of natural resources and is a super power but Kazakhstan or Kuwait also possess lot of natural resources but none of them is a great power.

Hedley Bull has discussed about great powers that- firstly, there should be more than one state which is comparable; secondly, it should be militarily powerful enough to have its control over the existing International system; thirdly, the state's capabilities should be legitimately accepted and recognized as Great power by other states and by its own people (Bull, 1977, pp. 200-205).

Lemke has quoted John Mearsheimer that "Great powers are determined largely on the basis of their relative military capability. To qualify as a great power, a state must have sufficient military assets to put up a serious fight in all-out conventional war against the most powerful state in the world"(Lemke, 2004, p. 58).

According to Paul Kennedy, "To be a Great Power- by definition, a state capable of holding its own against any other nation-demands a flourishing economic base" (Kennedy, 1988, p. 539). Paul Kennedy has analyzed the great powers' behaviour over the last five centuries. He is of view that the military power is important for a great power but the fact is that economic power supports the military power. He says that "The first is that economic resources are necessary to support a large-scale military establishment. The second is that, so far as the international system is concerned, both wealth and power are always *relative* and should be seen as such"(Kennedy, 1988, p. xxii). He mainly focuses on the "interaction between economics and strategies which stroves to enhance its wealth and its power, to become (or to remain) both rich and strong"(Kennedy, 1988, p. xv).

From above all different views we can say that there is no such fixed criteria to be considered as a great power. All the scholars have different perceptions. But great powers have specific characteristics that could be identified by studying the various perspectives.

Based on those perspectives, the characteristics of great powers are discussed in detail in this section.

3.3 Characteristics of Great Power

What are the different perspectives on great power and its characteristics? What are the various means employed for the rise of great power in International Relations? This question is one of the key research questions of this dissertation. The main reason behind this question is that the discussion about various perspectives of great powers is available but clear characteristics of great power are scarcely found. Lemke is of view that “[i]n spite of seemingly widespread agreement that world politics is undergoing an important period of change and adaptation, no one argues that the actions of great powers are unimportant. Consequently, theories purporting to explain great power behaviour are still a central focus of academic research about world politics” (Lemke, 2004, p. 52). The answer to the first question about different perspectives on characteristics of great power is discussed in this section.

According to classical realist perspective, great powers are those few powerful states that try to maintain the balance in the international system. As they are powerful states, their first characteristic could be of power-seekers. Great powers try to seek power in their initial rising phase, they seek power during the stage when they have reached hegemony to remain at the position and they seek power even at the declining stage in order to contain the rise of other great powers. “It is based on the simple assumption that states are led by human beings who have a “will to power” hardwired into them at birth. That is, states have an insatiable appetite

for power, or what Morgenthau calls “a limitless lust for power”.” (Mearsheimer, 2001, p. 19).

According to neorealist perspective, “Waltz argues for a neorealist approach based on patterned relationships among actors in a system that is anarchical”(James Dougherty and Robert Pfaltzgraff, 1989, p. 120). Another characteristic of great powers could be the self-sufficiency. The great powers were able to defend themselves from rest of the actors through its strong military power in an anarchical international system in order to ensure security. And the sufficient wealth used to help them spend it on the strengthening of military power. Consequently, not only the military power but also the economic power as well as political stability ensure the survival of the state in the anarchical international system. “In such a system, based as it is on the principle of self-help, states pursue one or both of two basic courses of action, in keeping with Waltz’s approach to structure as a variable conditioning, or circumscribing, political behaviour. They engage in internal efforts to increase their political, military, and economic capabilities and to develop effective strategies”(James Dougherty and Robert Pfaltzgraff, 1989, p. 120).

In other words, the great powers do not depend on any other state for their security. John Mearsheimer, explains it as “Japan is not a great power today, even though it has a large and wealthy economy, because it has a small and relatively weak military, and it is heavily dependent on the United States for its security”(Mearsheimer, 2001, pp. 55-56). Japan’s dependency on United States is the reason why it has been not considered as a great power. Consequently, great powers need to be self-sufficient militarily, economically, technologically, demographically as well as culturally. Mearsheimer argues that “great powers need money, technology and personnel to build military forces and to fight wars, and

a state's latent power refers to the raw potential it can draw on when competing with rival states”(Mearsheimer, 2001, p. 55).

Unlike the realist and neo-realist approaches, the interdependence approach of great power is more open for persuading free information in a globalized economic world. The interdependent economic world is making states more resilient. Another characteristic of great powers is resilience. “As the modernists of 1970s predicted, multinational corporations, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and global financial markets have become immensely more significant. But the state has been more resilient than the modernists anticipated”(Nye R. O., Power and Interdependence in the Information Age, Sept/Oct 1998, p. 86). States have been more flexible with other actors of the system according to the interdependence approach in its economic relations. The 21st century is leading great powers to be resilient in military as well as cultural aspects. Keohane and Nye have further explained about the significance of persuasion through soft power. “If a state can make its power legitimate in the eyes of others and establish international institutions that encourage others to define their interests in compatible ways, it may not need to expend as many costly traditional economic or military resources”(Nye R. O., Power and Interdependence in the Information Age, Sept/Oct 1998, p. 86).

According to neoliberal institutional approach, the great powers have much influence to shape the international system through international organizations. “[m]uch important work has been devoted to the study of transnational regulatory networks responsible for the development, diffusion, and implementation of an increasing range of norms, rules, and regulations... Such networks allow powerful states to shape and influence the process of integration without the need for formal interstate bargaining”(Hurrell, Power, Institutions,

and the Production of Inequality, 2005, p. 38). So another characteristic of great power could be influencing the process of integration amongst the states. The great powers have influence over other states in the system.

So from above discussion of different perspectives on characteristics of a great power are power seeker, self sufficiency, resilience and global influence. Individually, according to realist perspective great powers have power seeking characteristic, according to neo-realist perspective great powers have self-sufficiency characteristic, according to interdependence approach great powers are resilient and according to neo-liberals great powers have global influence.

3.3.1 Rise and Fall of Great Powers

What are the various means employed for the rise of great power in International Relations?

This is the sub-question which has been answered with the help of existing theories about the rise and fall of great powers to analyze it with several theoretical notions of international relations. A world order is a system based on 'rules' set up by powerful states. The changes in the world order bring changes to the system and thus it becomes a dynamic process. This takes place due to the rise of any state as a great power. When a state rises, it upsets the existing order and redefines new world order. The process and reasons for the rise and fall of states has been discussed at length by scholars through various theoretical perspectives. Mainly, the stages of rise of a state and its fall with their behavioural expectations have been discussed below.

3.3.1.1 Power Transition Theory

According to power transition theory, Organski is of view that the states which have emerged as great powers had chosen the road of industrialization. On that basis he talks

about three stages of transition. He views a cycle of development of states dividing it into three phases. That is pre-industrial phase, transition phase and power maturity phase.

In the transition phase, that is the contemporary times, there is a hierarchy that has been explained by Kugler & Organski. “At the top of the hierarchical pyramid is the most dominant nation that, for most of its tenure, is the most powerful nation in the international order. Today that nation is United States, and its predecessor was England. Below the dominant nations are the great powers. As the name implies, these are very powerful countries that cannot match one on one the power of a dominant nation at a given point in time, but have the potential to do so at a future time”(Organski, 1989, p. 173). Consequently, great powers are generally the allies of the dominant nations and are satisfied powers when compared to other powers of the hierarchical pyramid.

Power transition theory explains the process of rise of a nation with the economic, social as well as demographic changes in the domestic transition from first stage to the second stage of transition. “As the country begins to develop, economic changes are accompanied by profound social and demographic changes that increase greatly the pool of human and material resources exposed to governmental penetration and extraction. These are the sources of major power changes that a nation experiences as it passes through the stage of power transition”(Organski, 1989, p. 178).

3.3.1.2 World System Analysis

In an interdependent world where the markets are linked with each other, Wallerstein has tried to explain the different stages of the rise of a state. “A world-system is what Wallerstein terms a ‘world economy’, integrated through the market rather than a political

centre, in which two or more regions are interdependent with respect to necessities like food, fuel, and protection, and two or more polities compete for domination without the emergence of one single centre forever”(Vela, 2001, p. 3).

Wallerstein has worked with a group of analysts about the different phases of rise and decline of powers on the basis of time seen in table 3.1. He is of view that the hegemony can sustain its position only for a certain period. “The first stage (1450-1600/50) was made possible by the conjuncture of such processes as the disintegration of Western European feudal arrangements, climatic/demographic/technological changes, the political multicentricity of the European region, and the economic need for geographic expansion...The second stage (1600/50-1730/50) was marked by a system wide stagnation that brought about consolidation and retrenchment in the world-economy...The third stage (1750/1815-1917) was characterized by a noticeable shift away from an emphasis on agricultural production toward industrial production” (Thompson, 1983, p. 38). “Stage three gave way to stage four (1917-), an ongoing period that Wallerstein associates with revolutionary turmoil and the full consolidation of the industrially based world-economy. By 1945, the United States had replaced Great Britain as the system’s strongest state or hegemonic power, only to find its position significantly eroded after two decades of dominance”(Thompson, 1983, p. 38).

Table 3.1 Hegemonic Phases of World-System Analysis

Hegemonic Phases	Behavioural Expectations
Ascending Hegemony	Acute conflict between rivals to succession.
Hegemonic Victory	New hegemonic power bypasses old hegemonic power in decline.
Hegemonic Maturity	True hegemony- competition between the hegemonic power and other core states in free-trade, generally open system.
Declining Hegemony	Acute conflict of old hegemonic power versus successors- rival core powers move to preempt potential peripheral zones.

SSource: (Thompson, 1983, p. 53)

According to Wallerstein, the rise of a state as hegemony has a process to undergo. He finds a relationship between the core states. "According to Wallerstein, the core power

that achieves hegemony does so, first, because it achieves superior agricultural and then manufacturing productivity. Then it achieves commercial and financial superiority, in that order, over all the other core powers”(Ray, 1983, p. 16). So in order to rise as a great power, a nation has to move step wise: the first step is agricultural production, moving further industrial productivity to commercial and financial superiority.

3.3.1.3 Long Cycles of World Leadership

George Modelski has discussed various stages of long cycle which emphasizes the global influence of the great powers that has been depicted in the following table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Long Cycle Phases

Long Cycle Phases	Behavioural Expectations
World Power	The new global order is at peak. Greatest amount of goods and services are provided by the world power.
Delegitimation	The memories of the global war fades due to which the World power’s unchallenged position is questioned by nationalistic challenges.
Deconcentration	Reduction of resource base on which global order is dependent. However, the challengers are not yet fully prepared for the succession of world power.
Global War	Drastic decline in the net availability of global order and political resources may

	lead to a global war and a new world order emerges. With this one long cycle completes and another begins.
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Source: (Thompson, 1983, p. 45)

The political systems found at various levels are not territorially based but are based on the transactions conducted between them such as through intercontinental, oceanic and extraterrestrial. (Thompson, 1983, p. 43).

Modelski views the role of great powers to provide security and establish international economic relations through international organizations. “The political functions of the new world power are to serve as the system’s principal supplier of security and to establish the frameworks of the new global order as manifested in the international organizations and international economic relations”(Thompson, 1983, p. 43).

Modelski has explained that “the basic format of the long cycle begins with a major global war (usually fought at the end of one century and the beginning of a new one) which can be interpreted as a fight to determine the constitution or authority arrangement of the global political system”(Thompson, 1983, p. 43).

In order to think about a global war, the state needs enormous economic power which can sustain even after the end of war. “Global reach and global wars are expensive propositions and thus require the support of an extensive economic base, as is provided by access to the world’s dominant economy”(Thompson, 1983, p. 47).

The different ways to rise as a great power could differ as per various perspectives but Modelski assumes that the tenure of the world’s dominant state can last for a century. Since 1500, each century has moved closer to the development of states based on the criteria that

is legitimized by other actors of the international system and the people of that state. By considering the criteria (power attributes) as great powers in last 5 centuries that differ from each other, one can analyze the dynamics of the international system.

The great powers in the modern history began with Portugal and Spain with the expansion of naval power. Columbus discovered America that brought his nation recognition to be considered as a great power. The Netherlands emerged with new trading systems and Britain with its political innovations. France had its intellectuals and artists and Germany focused on education to rise as a great power. Japan, Russia and United States became great powers in the 20th century but the criteria to be considered as a great power has been different in past 5 centuries.

3.3.2 Great Power Criteria

Great powers were considered powerful during 16th century if they had strong navy and military. In 17th century the financial revolution brought changes in the criteria to be considered as Great powers. The geopolitics of a state was one of the important factors considered to become a Great power.

In 18th century new inventions in technology, and industrialization helped states maintain their economy during the wars going on. The Great powers survived even in crisis.

In 19th century there were numbers of Great powers playing the game of Balance of Power in the Concert. Mainly diplomacy was introduced and Realism was at its peak leading states to satisfy their national interest.

In the 20th century, great powers were engaged in two World Wars. The international order changed which was existent since centuries. The need of establishment of peace and to prevent war completely was the challenge. Now the Imperialism was replaced by

emergence of new independent states from Asia, Africa and Latin America. The economic development of all these new born states became the aim and now Great powers got engaged in providing all these states the tools for economic enhancement through international organizations. By the end of 20th century, economic power, military power, political stability, possession of nuclear weapons was the criteria to become a great power. Whereas in 21st century, emergence of multilateral diplomacy between the states and international institutions are playing a vital role in addressing issues of global concern such as terrorism, human rights, climate change, etc.

3.4 Various Theoretical Notions to Understand Chinese Foreign Policy Analysis

The trend in the study of international relations had changed after two decades of end of the Second World War. Due to the emergence of Bretton Woods institutions, the changes took place which resulted into increase in importance of the study of International Political Economy (Mingst, 2004, p. 233). As People's Republic of China was established in 1949, her foreign policy analysis needs to be studied with the various theoretical approaches to the international political economy.

3.4.1 Realist Approach

The realist approach is considered as the oldest approach of the international political economy. Mercantilism is considered as the economic approach of realism. The European states during the 17th Century adopted this approach in order to gain wealth for the betterment of their states. Governments used to enhance their capabilities by “encouraging exports over imports and industrialization over agriculture, protecting domestic production against competition from imports, and intervening in trade to promote

employment”(Mingst, 2004, p. 235). These patterns of economic growth were adopted by the powerful European states in order to rise and strengthen their economy.

After the World War II, the new pattern of economic rise has emerged in which, the role of the state is emphasized. “States used their power to harness industrial growth. Consistent with mercantilist logic, states single out certain industries for special tax advantages; they promote exports over imports and encourage education and technological innovations to make their respective economies more competitive internationally”(Mingst, 2004, p. 237).

There are several states such as Japan, South Korea, and Singapore after the end of World War II, which had adopted this approach in their foreign policy to make their economy stronger. As the role of state is important, it is also considered as ‘Statism’. Statists are similar to the realist thoughts considering the international system as anarchic. “Realism, as a school of thought in Western IR theory, consists of three main assumptions: (1) the nation-state is the primary actor in the international relations, hence realism is said to be state-centric; (2) there is a lack of central authority equivalent to domestic government, hence international politics is characterized as anarchic; (3) international politics is essentially power politics” (Deng, 1999, p. 48). The above characteristics give clarity to analyze the Chinese foreign policy behaviour based on those assumptions.

3.4.2 Neorealist Approach

The neo-realist approach was aimed to refine the realist approach with a systemic view to the structure of international system. Yong Deng in his work on the theoretical notions adopted in Chinese foreign policy explains neo-realist argument in simple terms. “Neorealism seeks to refine classical realism into parsimonious, scientific theory by treating the international system as a structure shaping the unit/state behaviour. Since self-

help is the ordering principle of the decentralized, anarchic international system, states are compelled to pursue uniform tasks. States only differ in their respective capabilities as determined by the distribution of power in the international system”(Deng, 1999, p. 49).

In order to understand the neo-realist conception of the international system, there are three types of changes that are expected and explained by Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff that firstly, the nature of the entities shall change. The second change is expected in the components of interaction between the units of the system as the states may rise and fall and the new risen state might define new patterns of interaction, and “finally, the third element of this neorealist theory of change has as its focus the nature of members’ political, economic, or sociocultural interactions” (James Dougherty and Robert Pfaltzgraff, 1989, p. 122).

Neo-realists are of view that the dominant states can control the states behaviour through the distribution of power. “In deciding upon foreign policies that would produce change in the international system, Gilpin suggests, states usually make trade-offs among various objective. They do not attempt to achieve one goal at the sacrifice of all others, but instead engage in a “satisficing” approach designed to attain various combinations of desired results”(James Dougherty and Robert Pfaltzgraff, 1989, p. 122).

Neo-realism is as discussed above a refined form of realism in the contemporary times in which politics determines economics, (Mingst, 2004, p. 238) while the liberal approaches such as interdependence and neo-liberalism also emerged during the same time with similar features but economics determines politics in contrast to neorealist approach.

3.4.3 Interdependence Approach

The liberal interdependence approach has widely been accepted after 1970s. The international regimes are aimed to “minimize their member’s transaction costs, assure equality of information, and assure liability” (Richardson, 1995, p. 285). These have turned into giving beneficial economic outcomes. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) has grown faster than the trade which used to take place before 20th century. “For interdependence theorists, the qualitative change that can result from quantitative growth in international transactions change the international system itself in substantial part, because the volume induces (and is further encouraged by) the creation of regimes” (Richardson, 1995, p. 286). Consequently, the interdependence has brought the changes in the international system through regimes that “consist of norms, principles of behaviour, and decisional processes”(Richardson, 1995, p. 286). All this has contributed into the increase of role of foreign policy amongst the great powers that are allies to the hegemony and are indirectly functioning in support of regimes to maintain peace and mitigate wars.

3.4.4 Radical Approach

The radical approach is in context to bring the revolutionary structural changes into the existing domestic and international systems. “Although interpretations of radicalism vary, a number of core beliefs unite the body of Marxist and neo-Marxist writing. First, while individuals may be naturally cooperative, when in society they act in conflictual ways. Second, the conflict emerges from the competition among groups of individuals, particularly between owners of wealth and workers over the distribution of scarce resources”(Mingst, 2004, pp. 239-240).

The dependency theorists criticize the liberal economic policies and believe that it widens the gap between the states. “Dependency theorists assert that developing countries are in a permanent state of economic dependency on the capitalist states. Liberal economic policies, they believe, lead to greater inequality among states”(Mingst, 2004, p. 240).

The dependency approach had its relevance until there was North-South debate going on but after the Yalta Conference the perspective of North-South divide has been shifted to East-West perspective and the maximization of interdependence in order to address global regimes. The foreign policy of PRC was under radical influence during Mao era. The critical analysis of Mao era foreign policy and the failures of strategies are discussed in next chapter. Thus, the radical approach to foreign policy has been discussed in this section to understand it.

3.4.5 Neo-Liberal Approach

“To liberals, institutions play a key role in developing and shaping policy debates, making commitments credible, reducing transaction costs, and enduring reciprocity among participants”(Mingst, 2004, p. 256).

The trend of three different kinds of institutions has emerged at the end of World War II: intergovernmental organizations such as IMF, GATT-WTO to facilitate the trade and open the opportunities to the newly emerged states to strengthen their economy; another is multinational corporations that participate only in direct importing and exporting; and thirdly, the non-governmental organizations that is established by aiming at the improvement of weaker economic condition of states (Mingst, 2004, p. 256).

The foreign policy through neo-liberal institutional approach is mainly about the non-state actors that are the international organizations, which are the transformers of power from the dominant nations to the other states globally. These actors play a very important role as they have defined a new pattern of interaction through the information revolution.

“For institutionalist liberals, globalization and ever denser networks of transnational exchange and communication create increasing demand for international institutions and new forms of governance. Institutions are needed to deal with the ever more complex dilemmas of collective action that emerge in a globalized world”(Hurrell, Hegemony, Liberalism and Global Order: What Space for Would-be Great Powers?, 2006).

Thus foreign policy is one of the significant concepts to study the international relations. The relationship of foreign policy and power has been discussed by many scholars but the direct role of foreign policy in the rise of a state establishes a relationship between concept of great power and the concept of foreign policy.

3.5 Relationship between the Role of Foreign Policy and the Rise of Great Powers

The power transition theory explains the rise of a state through the process of industrialization. This is possible only when states interact with each other, and transform various raw materials, technological advancement and produce new products to sell in the foreign markets. Great nations that support the international order are the allies of the dominant nations. It is about how great nations help run the system smoothly and maintain peace and security through international order. “...power transition conceives of alliances as stable and reliable instruments created to support the international order that cannot be easily altered in the short run”(Organski, 1989, p. 173). Consequently, the role of foreign

policy in the power transition is related to the gain of relative power by great nations in the international system through its smooth functioning.

According to the world-system analysis by Immanuel Wallerstein, there is an interaction between the core states and the peripheral states. In order to expand the demands of the industries, core states started their venture throughout the world. “Foreign policies play a key role in Wallerstein’s theory when he analyzes the advantages that core states enjoy in the world-economy”(Ray, 1983, p. 16).

According to the long cycle it is the great power which can define the norms and new trends in the world with its new contribution to the world. The old global order fades away and the new pattern of interactions emerges. “...World power does not necessarily mean world hegemony or total control of world affairs, for the role of world power is basically oriented to the global layer of interaction”(Thompson, 1983, pp. 43-44).

There is an obvious and most important role of foreign policy seen in power transition theory, world-system analysis and long cycle of world leadership, which is the key tool used for the rise of great powers. Thus there is a relationship between the rise of a state and an obvious role of foreign policy.

3.6 Conclusion

All the above theoretical understanding of concepts, great power characteristics and foreign policy analysis through various perspectives might help reader to understand the Chinese foreign policy implications in the next chapters in this dissertation. In particular, realist, interdependence and neo-liberal approach have driven the Chinese foreign policy in the post-Mao period. The scholars of Chinese foreign policy have not been able to trace any one particular perspective to understand the behaviour. Hence, the eclectic means were adopted

to delineate the Chinese foreign policy that could be understood systematically with the help of this above discussion.

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CHAPTER 4

OUTLINE OF CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY DURING MAO ERA

4 Outline of Chinese Foreign Policy During Mao Era

4.1 Background

China has risen as a great power in the 21st century. To understand the path that had been chosen by Beijing to rise as a great power with distinguished role of its foreign policy is the main objective of this dissertation. The People's Republic of China was formally established in 1949 A. D. Since 1949, China has been determinedly engaged in various activities to enhance power in order to rise as a great power. There has been a background to this engagement that is discussed in this chapter that gives us a clarity why China aimed to rise as a great power immediately after its formal establishment, whereas it did not have the legitimate status of a Sovereign State of China from the other actors of the international system. The mindset of the leaders and people of PRC has been discussed which adds better understanding of the objective and aim of China to rise as a great power. There are some fundamental actions which have been traced in foreign policy during Mao era that has significantly contributed to the enhancement of power. Consequently, the domestic policies and the foreign policies aimed at generating power have been discussed in this chapter.

The rise of China is prominently seen during post-Mao era; however the basic steps of power generation are traceable in foreign policy during the Mao era. Consequently, the chapter aims to bring out those features of rise of China as its background in brief. The pre-Mao era cannot be neglected in order to understand the establishment and the nature of state of PRC as a background to the aim of China to rise as a great power. "The Chinese obsession with great power relations is rooted in historical humiliations, ideological adjustments, and power politics"(Rozman, 2004, p. 123).

4.1.1 Chinese Foreign Policy During Pre-Mao Era

The Chinese civilization has been considered as one of the oldest civilizations. The legacy of Chinese Empire remained effective and powerful in Asia as the Chinese Empire had Tributary System under which they used to protect the neighbouring states and those states were directly under Chinese political control as well as cultural influence (Hinton, 1972, p. 6).

The Modern history which led China to move on a path of development from the weakness embarks on second half of the 19th century, when Manchu Dynasty started declining. China was left with demographic issues such as population exceeded and the psyche of the people who were mostly idler and lazy when Empress Dowager CiXi came to power. Her young son became the emperor of the Qing Dynasty. The internal problems of China were unmanageable hence she had to rely on foreign friends. Chinese went on for a treaty with Japanese with high expectations. Sino-Japanese war in the late nineteenth century was the time for China slipping into complete weakness. During that time Western imperialism was at its peak which naturally would not miss to have hold over China too along with other Asian giants. “The Chinese melon was being carved up in one of the worst cases of unadulterated imperialism in modern times. With the brutal methods they had become accustomed to using in dealing with China, the Western nations – Russia, Great Britain, France and Germany especially- and Japan forced the Chinese to grant leaseholds of territory along the coast, which became the wedges for the creation of spheres of interest in the hinterland”(Levi, 1953, p. 41).

After the fall of Manchu Dynasty, Yuan Shih-K'ai came to power who failed to have control over the outer regions from the foreign influence. Manchuria was under Russian

and Japanese influence, Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang under Russian and Tibet under British influence (Hinton, 1972, p. 12). Sun Yat-Sen formed a revolutionary party Kuomintang with an aim to unite all regions of China under central government but after the death of Yuan Shih-K'ai, China was mainly divided into provinces and was under different warlords.

The end of World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia brought different set of developments and changes in the China's foreign policy. Sun Yat-Sen came to know about Lenin's Comintern by 1922 (Hinton, 1972, p. 13). The Nationalists were liberals but still got attracted towards the Bolshevik Revolution and saw a ray of hope for Chinese people. Sun Yat-Sen had three main principles – nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood (Pye, 1984, pp. 142-143). His ideas were similar to the communists in the matters of anti-imperialist policy which gave a chance to Russians to gain sympathy from Chinese Government and the people which further contributed in a complete paradigm shift in the nature of the State (Levi, 1953, p. 175). After the death of Sun Yat-Sen, Chiang Kai-Shek took over the Kuomintang Party.

Chiang Kai-Shek's main objective was to follow Sun-Yat Sen's "Three Principles" and make China stand on her feet. He stated that "We will be pro any country which helps us to put China on her feet" (Levi, 1953, p. 175). His end was the development of China but his means was to get help from those foreign invaders. While Mao's objective was to build China into a Communist State with the proper implementation of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist theory and be free from the imperialist states with the help of all the classes of people of China.

On 1st October 1949, the People's Republic of China was formulated under the leadership of Mao Tse-Tung by hoisting new flag at Tiananmen Square. The three most important institutions the Chinese Communist Party, the People's Liberation Army and the state bureaucracy remained associated since then (Pye, 1984, p. 173). Consequently, the journey of China's rise began with introducing new domestic policies delineated in such a manner that can be extended in terms of foreign policies.

Mao Tse-Tung was the chairman of People's Republic of China till 1959. He had accepted the thoughts of Sun Yat-Sen regarding the People's livelihood and Democracy. Mao Tse-Tung could successfully defeat the Nationalists during the Civil war due to his determination to make China a Communist Society by considering all the classes of people and defining their role to achieve his ideological goal.. For Mao Tse-Tung, the Chinese culture was the ideological form through which the highest stage of Communism could be achieved with the stability in politics and rise in economics because Mao Tse-Tung in his writings has mentioned that "Any given culture (as an ideological form) is a reflection of the politics and economics of a given society, and the former in turn has a tremendous influence and effect upon the later; economics is the base and politics the concentrated expression of economics"(Philosophical Library, 1968, p. 70). Mao Tse-Tung viewed China to be under the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal influence from which a need of New Democracy emerged where the new state could consists of "the state system, a joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes and the system of government, democratic centralism- these constitutes the politics of New Democracy" (Tse-Tung, 1967, p. 20). With this Mao could successfully establish the People's Republic of China in 1949 and the Nationalists were marginalized to the island of Taiwan.

4.2 Chinese Foreign Policies as an Extension of Domestic Policies

Traditionally, foreign policies are considered to be an extension of domestic policies. After the establishment of PRC, the domestic policies were delineated with certain objectives or goals for the development of China in terms of relative power. China's foreign policy during Mao era had a vision and goal to enhance the power so the fundamental domestic development in economic and military aspect became possible as the foreign policy decisions were taken with a mindset of getting stronger to reply back to the great powers that had victimized China in the past century.

4.2.1 Domestic Policies

The domestic policies in various sectors were aimed specifically to enhance the capability of state. The initial phase focused on various agricultural policies in order to enhance the economic power as well as nuclear development to make military power stronger.

4.2.1.1 *Economic Aspect*

As China is an agrarian state, it mainly focused on the improvement of its agricultural policies. Communists gave emphasis to peasants and spent most part of its capital on irrigation. "At the time of Sino-Soviet rift, China was importing less than a million tons of fertilizer a year, but by 1968 it increased to 6 million tons and by 1975 it reached 30-35 million tons"(Pye, 1984, p. 263).

Because of China's major focus on the agricultural production and its growth, the modernization was conducted in the agricultural sector instead of industries. Only heavy industries were developed to make machinery. The 70% of economic exports during Mao era was dependent on agricultural sector having half of its GDP (Pye, 1984, p. 263).

During early 1950s, Soviet Union and Eastern European states became the main source of foreign aid, trade and technological assistance which could be considered as the first step to the development of industries after the establishment of People's Republic of China. Pye has mentioned that "the extent of Russian technical assistance can be seen from the fact that between 1950 and 1960 at least 10,800 Soviet and 1,500 Eastern European specialists and technicians were sent to China" (Pye, 1984, p. 258). Later on Sino-Soviet rift resulted into a lot of pending projects as all the major sources were not available in 1960s due to which there was a major halt in the development process. Soviet Union mainly introduced heavy industries in China which was a challenge for the newly emerged state to manage. By 1971, Chou En-lai's contribution gave a new path for the development by concentrating more on exporting light consumer goods (Pye, 1984, p. 259) which by 1975 could bring change in the worst situation after the Cultural Revolution and moved on the path of economic development for the rise of People's Republic of China as a Great Power. However, the military aspect and the development of nuclear arsenals have also contributed in the rise of PRC.

4.2.1.2 Military Development- Nuclear Weapons Production

People's Liberation Army has been considered one of the largest standing people's army. When PRC was established, it was divided into two groups-one was radical which wished to continue with guerrilla warfare whereas another group wished to develop with technological weapons in the nuclear era to resist against the great powers. Soviet Union's technical assistance in the earlier stage helped China to detonate first nuclear device by 1964 (Pye, 1984, p. 284). Atomic bombs as well as hydrogen bombs were detonated in

1960s, which was a fast development. The testing of nuclear bombs by China had become a major concern for the other nuclear powers of the international system.

China's overall military strategy during Mao era was more neo-realist offensive foreign policy approach towards neighbours and neighbouring regions in order to balance between the two superpowers. "Neo-realists might argue that China's militarized behaviour reflects the frictions generated by its efforts to balance against the dominant player(s) in the international system, given the threat posed to the security and autonomy of China from a system dominated by other power" (Johnston, 2009, p. 278). Consequently, China had to work on enhancement of strengths which required more economic endorsement for strengthening of PLA to be capable to become a great power. The relative capability in terms of quantitative data of demography, economy and military are shown in table 4.1. The population growth was needed to be controlled as China was having highest population in the world. In the below table, by 1975, there has been reduction in population growth. The economic resources based on gross national product had increased as compared to the GNP that China had in the initial years after the establishment. The total military force and the detonation of bombs indicate the military strength of China by 1975. These domestic capabilities could be generated with the help of foreign policy objectives in order to ensure the security and rise of the capabilities of China.

Table 4.1 Comprehensive National Power during Mao Era

Sr. No.	China's Capability	1952	1975
1.	Average Annual Population Growth Rate	2 to 2.5%	1.8%
2.	Economy (Total GNP in U.S billion Dollars) Chinese Government figures	51.9	193
4.	Foreign Trade (in millions of U.S.) (turnover)	1,890	14,575
5.	Military	Regular Forces	4.23 million
		Atomic bomb detonated	Oct. 16, 1964
		Hydrogen bomb detonated	June 17, 1967
		Space satellite launched	Aug. 24, 1970

Source: (Pye, 1984, pp. 8-10)

4.2.2 Foreign Policy Objectives

To delineate and implement the policies of a state, an objective is set. The most basic objective for any state is to survive and maintain the security of the state. To protect its territory, China's another goal was to include Taiwan, Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet into mainland China. Another major objective of China was of modernization with the help of enhancing economic, political, and military power. With the success in the establishment of the state the system level external goals were to be recognized legitimately as a sovereign independent state. It has also been traced that China had a deep quest for status and influence in the international system. Consequently, the

external goals were twofold with the emergence of PRC (Hinton, 1972, pp. 165-175). The anti-hegemony and anti-imperialism are the other objectives at the systemic level. However, in order to understand and clarify the external systemic level goals one should have an understanding of the international world order that existed during 1945 to 1990.

4.2.3 Cold War World System

After the end of World War II in 1945, two states U.S. and U.S.S.R. emerged as the most powerful states in the world. Both the power blocs had different nature of state and thus emerged a bipolar system with Cold War between them. “The stakes were high—total annihilation—and so most nation-states in the world, big or small, felt compelled to join the bloc of one superpower or the other” (Faust, 2007, p. 13).

To analyze foreign policy approach in the bipolar world during the Cold War era, one can divide it into two parts. Since the end of World War II till 1970s and from 1970s to 1990 the system had different approaches that need to be understood by scholars and leaders. The initial phase of Cold War as discussed above was still in a war situation and both the superpowers were trying to find an alternate option to war and establish peace in the world. Till 1970s, the newly independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America were compelled to join any one power bloc by adopting the nature of the state as per their ally. Consequently, Beijing adopted the policy of “leaning towards one side” i.e. Soviet Union. “The most important single step in the field of foreign policy taken by the new Communist Chinese regime in the first few months of its existence was the forming of an alliance with the Soviet Union” (Hinton, 1972, p. 37). However, China has undergone many ups and

downs during the Mao era that could be understood well with the explanation of its foreign policy discussed in the next section through various phases.

4.3 Chinese Foreign Policy During Mao Era

Chinese foreign policy during Mao era has been tumbled up and down. The foreign policy during Mao era is not consistent in its growth. There are several reasons -domestic as well as external situations and China's reaction to it shows a particular pattern and its overall objective to rise as a great power. The Chinese leadership had a vision and determination lying in its psyche that can be traced in the foreign policy approach adopted by Beijing during Mao era. Samuel Kim has viewed it as "the Maoist moral and political commitment to build a conceptual environment conducive to a new egalitarian international order" (Kim, 1979, p. 476). It reflects Mao's dream of China to be a powerful state. His aim was not limited to the national interest of China but to rise as a great power and alter the world order with his contribution.

In order to understand the rise of China and its foreign policy, it has been divided into three phases: the initial phase, the changes in the foreign policy of initial phase and the foreign policy during the Cultural Revolution phase.

4.3.1 Chinese Foreign Policy from 1949- 1955

The first five years were the deciding years of adopting suitable nature, characteristics, constitution and stabilizing the domestic system after the end of the World War II and the Civil War within two groups of people. Beijing initiated to follow Soviet Union because of the support that Communist party received during pre-establishment period of China had been enough for Chinese leaders to lean towards Soviet Union. China got engaged in the international system with Soviet Union perception during these five years. During that

time in 1948, South Korea got independent as well as North Korea got freedom from Soviet troops (Hinton, 1972, pp. 40-41). China being a Communist state had obvious relations with North Korea and was expected by Soviet Union to have indirect control over North Korea through Chinese occupation.

China had intended to help Viet Minh establish Communist regime in three Indochina countries. America agreed not to intervene in the independence of the agreement of the three states. Chou had been successful in convincing Molotov to accept the idea of three different states in the region. This gave a partial success and created an image of China which it was longing for in the international system (Hinton, 1972, pp. 65-66).

After the Indochina agreement China began to march towards Quemoy to fulfil its national interest of having control over Taiwan and merging it into the mainland China. The “Formosa Agreement” of 1955, under which United States had agreed to provide security in case of Communist attack. Consequently, the Taiwan Strait crisis remained tensed; however China relaxed pressure after the Formosa Agreement.

4.3.2 Chinese Foreign Policy from 1956-1964

After 1955, the Chinese foreign policy had witnessed a stage of a challenge for Chinese leadership. After the death of Stalin, Mao’s cult and personality became more arbitrary. But in Soviet Union, Khrushchev came to power and formally began to change Stalin’s foreign policies and establish his power over the Communist states in the world.

Due to Mao’s act in Taiwan Strait, Sino-Soviet relations worsened in 1958. Khrushchev condemned Mao Tse-Tung publicly over Taiwan Strait action, hence Sino-Soviet relations were damaged, resulting into Sino-Soviet rift with the issue over Albania in a conference in 1960.

In 1962, on one side Khrushchev got involved in Cuban missile crisis and on other side China had decided to go offensive against India in Aksai Chin area. But soon Khrushchev defended India over Sino-India crisis and that had completely worsened relations between China and Soviet Union.

By 1964, China tested her nuclear weapon, first atomic bomb that gave serious tensions to all the major powers in the world. Khrushchev demanded for the Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty to curb China's growing military power.

4.3.3 Chinese Foreign Policy from 1965-1975

In 1965, Mao formally launched the Cultural Revolution to bring reforms by punishing those colleagues who were his critics and many authors who criticized the Great Leap Forward policy. This had a serious impact over failures of Chinese image in the world. It worsened almost all foreign relations with superpowers as well as the relations with the Third World states. "...the Cultural Revolution was drastically reducing China's effectiveness in nearly every department of its foreign policy" (Hinton, 1972, p. 136).

America had launched an attack over North Vietnam in 1965 that had been a stress as well as a shock for China. But with the China's nuclear test, America changed its approach towards China and agreed not to attack each other.

In 1950s, China had declared itself to be a leader of Third World states and hence tried to send aids to the North African and Central African states. Chou En-Lai's visit to African states in 1963 had helped China to hold another Afro-Asian conference at Algiers. But since there was tension with Soviet Union, China tried to conduct the conference without Soviet Union. The African and other Asian states received great aid from Soviet Union, so

most of them did not agree with China's proposal to drop Soviet Union that later on moved to a postponement of conference and probably cancellation of it.

Overall one can analyze a kind of competition between Soviet Union and China in which China was much less powerful at that time to stand without American support. But the Chinese spirit and potential with the goal to enhance its domestic capabilities had its impression over United States. Henry Kissinger and Chou En-Lai met to establish a hotline between Washington and Beijing. Finally, President Nixon's visit to China in 1971 gave China an opportunity to act in the International System and have its stand in UNSC.

All these foreign policies had been executed by various strategies adopted by Chinese leaders. These strategies helped China stand during crisis and manage to come out with positive step towards the goal of modernization of PRC.

4.4 Various Strategies Adopted During Mao Era

The strategies adopted during Mao era in order to achieve its national interest have been discussed in this section. The strategies are discussed to understand the relevance of foreign policy during post-Mao era. The foreign policy strategies of China are based on trial-and-error method. There is some clarity in the goal but the path to reach the goal is not clear. The strategies adopted by China helped it reach a decision to form an alliance with United States which brought a significant change in Chinese relative capabilities.

4.4.1 Neighbourhood Policy

China had been largely in an offensive approach with its neighbours during Mao era. As discussed above, China was in dispute with Soviet Union, Manchuria, Mongolia, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Indochina as well as India. This neighbourhood policy rather than helping

her to enhance her capability had been damaging its international image and her economic and military capabilities.

China's aim was to generate economic and military capabilities to rise as a great power, so China expected those techniques of power generations from the superpowers. In order to maintain good relations with superpowers, China could not simultaneously focus on good relations with its neighbours due to Cold War going on between superpowers. Initially, China was involved in disputes as Soviet Union representative to deter American influence in the neighbouring regions. Consequently China went astray from its goal to rise as a great power.

4.4.2 Interventionist Policy

After the formal withdrawal of troops from North Korea, Soviet Union wished to have its control over North Korea. Stalin found an option to assign China to keep North Korea engaged and possess an indirect control over it. "Stalin was obviously angry at the failure of his plan to overrun South Korea and worried by the impending loss of North Korea, which would carry with it a threat to the rest of his territories and allies in the Far East...Stalin was prepared to promise, and actually delivered during the next several months, substantial new military aid to Communist China of the kind that had sent to North Korea before the beginning of the war" (Hinton, 1972, pp. 44-45).

China also intervened in Indochina and Southeast Asia to deter American occupation in the region, as well as got into direct confrontation with the two super powers that had injured the image of Chinese leadership.

4.4.3 Nuclear Policy

China, during Mao era has developed nuclear weapons and became the fifth state to possess the nuclear power. There was a concern and opposition from Khrushchev government in Moscow for China's attainment of the nuclear weapons, even then Chinese nuclear policy did not change. This shows China's determination to attain the great power status. Mao used to consider these weapons as "paper tigers" but did not drop the policy to possess nuclear weapons (Lanteigne, 2009, p. 78). This created a threat among other neighbouring states as well as great powers.

4.4.4 China's Relations with Other Great Powers

During the Cold War era, there were two great powers United States and Soviet Union. Geographically, China's land connects it with Soviet Union and waters of Eastern coast of Pacific Ocean are connecting it with Western part of United States.

China's nature of state has been derived from Soviet Union but China's potential and quest to lead the Third World states resulted into China's differences with Soviet Union. In case with United States, China's approach was to make the region free from American influence which resulted into confrontation with United States in various conflicts that occurred during Mao era.

As regards China's economic and military capabilities, Soviet Union initially provided major support. It also received major support from East European states. But Sino-Soviet rift had left many underdeveloped projects unattended and did not receive any aid from any great power. The post-Cultural Revolution brought a change in China's recognition as a sovereign state and the permanent membership to Security Council. This was possible

due to change in China's foreign policy towards United States. It began with the establishment of hotline between Washington and Peking.

Consequently, one can analyze a shift in Chinese foreign policy behaviour during Mao era: beginning with leaning towards Soviet Union, then a phase of isolation and then alliance with United States.

4.5 Conclusion

Chinese foreign policy during Mao era had a motivation and determination to become a great power but the strategies adopted to execute the foreign policy did not work effectively and did not give expected outcomes. There are various steps which are noteworthy regarding its contribution in the rise of China as a great power such as becoming nuclear power, alliance with United States, getting permanent seat in Security Council giving recognition to PRC as a sovereign independent state.

Mao Tse-Tung had focused to bring reforms in domestic policies and depended only on the demography and military power. He could have considered other aspects such as political, economic, technological as well as cultural aspects along with demographic and military aspect in China's foreign policy. The domestic policies delineated based on the international system gives fruitful results than focusing only on the domestic policy reforms in isolationism.

Another aspect was Mao Tse-Tung's focus on the actions and threats from two super powers. If Mao Tse-Tung could have opted for the balance-of-power by aligning with its neighbours in order to get some relaxation from both the super powers. But due to Mao's ambitions for China were so high, both the super powers kept China engaged in various disputes rather

than focusing on the enhancement of capabilities. Consequently, in the post-Mao era, the reforms were required to be introduced for China's rise as a great power.

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CHAPTER 5

CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY DURING THE POST-MAO ERA

5 Chinese Foreign Policy During the Post-Mao Era

5.1 Introduction

In 1976, China lost two of its most prominent leaders: Mao Tse-Tung, first Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party and CPC Central Military Commission and Chou En-Lai, Premier of the People's Republic of China and the Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party of China. Both the leaders had contributed significantly to create a base for China's rise as a great power during their reign. They had a vision of what Chinese people need but the bipolar system of Cold War had created a challenge for China to manage the external environment and rise continuously in the domestic environment simultaneously. The international system entered into a new pattern of interaction with an interdependence approach in 1970s. Both the superpowers - U.S. and U.S.S.R. - entered into the phase of détente. When there was high tension between superpowers, China was longing for an important role to play in the system but during détente China formally got a chance through UN Security Council to play an important role in the international system.

The transition was taking place not only in the international environment but also in the domestic environment in China. Almost all major political, economic, military as well as decision-making process underwent a transition in China. The actual rise of China can be seen in this era during which the transition is carried out by focusing on the actual power generation policies and its implementation. The chapter consists of various continuities and the transition in the above aspects in detail. This chapter is confined to 1979 to 1990 period of foreign policy continuities and changes. The first section consists of various modifications in the political aspect as discussed below.

5.1.1 Post-Mao Political Transition

Major modifications started taking place after the failure of Cultural Revolution to bring expected result. China had a Central Government, where power was centred into the single authority and in the Communist party. It was a critical phase to continue all the decisions and policies amongst different factions which existed and hence wise decision makers were required to normalize the unrest amongst the Communist Party, bureaucracy as well as millions of people who were getting affected who had lost properties since the establishment of the People's Republic of China due to Great Leap Forward or Hundred Flowers Blossom or the famine affecting the Commune system. Mao, after the death of Chou En-Lai, had decided Hua Kuo-Feng as his successor. "The new leadership who succeeded Mao Tse-Tung was centred around Hua Kuo-Feng, Yeh Chien-Ying and Li Hsien-nien" (Jurgen, 1985, p. 140). The main goal was to restore economic and social stability at the domestic level and "carry on Mao Tse-Tung's philosophical thoughts in the development as that was the only basis for Hua's legitimation as Party leader" (Jurgen, 1985, p. 143).

Hua Kuo-Feng introduced agricultural and rural societal policies by making changes in the Constitution through further opening up opportunities for radicalization of rural societal policies. But the implementation of Four Modernizations got possible only after Deng Xiaoping returned to CCP.

Deng Xiaoping was of moderate views and was the most experienced leader who along with Peng Dehuai was purged during the Cultural Revolution from CCP. "Alone of the world's Communist leaders, Deng Xiaoping has charted a course that has combined for his country rapid economic development, successful economic reform and openness to the

capitalistic international economy with continued dictatorship of Communist Party” (Yahuda, Deng Xiaoping: The Statesman, 1993, p. 551). His wisdom to understand the international system and giving a clearer economic foreign policy with a strong nationalist character makes him a statesman. He made a public appearance back in 1973 in Beijing with Mao’s consent. The next year in January 1975, Deng was “promoted to be a Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee and was listed among the Vice-Premiers appointed by the National People’s Congress and also was appointed as Chief of the General Staff” (Gardner, 1982, pp. 62-63).

Deng as a moderate and Chou En-Lai’s close associate was keen to implement Chou’s call for the ‘Four Modernizations’ which were discussed within the Party. The moderate faction tried to identify the flaws in the existing system and found that reforms are required for the developmental process in the party, current leadership, economic policies at the domestic level and improvement in the relations with great powers as well as neighbouring states and regions which had “resulted into three major policy documents on 1) ‘On the General Programme of Work for the Whole Party and the Whole Nation’, 2) ‘Some Problems in Accelerating Industrial Development’ and 3) ‘On Some Problems in the Field of Science and Technology’.” (Gardner, 1982, p. 68).

“During the fifth plenum from February 23 to 29, 1980, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang were elected to the Standing Committee of the Politburo”(Gardner, 1982, pp. 174-175). The power of the moderates had become stronger in the party and major positions were now replaced at all the levels by the reformer or moderate faction led by Deng Xiaoping. In a meeting in 1980, Deng discussed his analysis of what was the appropriate policy option to be adopted and implemented for China’s rise as a great power (Gardner, 1982, p. 175).

After the meeting held by Deng, Hua Kuo-Feng announced his retirement and suggested Zhao Ziyang to take his position as a premier. “Hua also announced that a number of veteran cadres, including Deng and Li Xiannian, had given up their posts as Vice-Premiers because they were ‘advanced in age’.” (Gardner, 1982, p. 177). China had undergone major transformation during this era where these facts and history might be useful as a background to understand the continuity and changes in the foreign policy discussed in this chapter.

5.2 Continuities in Chinese Foreign Policy in Post-Mao Era

Foreign Policy is a dynamic process but it always changes gradually hence along with the changes in the foreign policy of China in post-Mao era, there were few fundamental characteristics of Chinese foreign policy which did not change immediately after Mao’s death. The scholars and students might be able to analyze each step towards the rise of China through this discussion on continuities and changes in Chinese foreign policy during the post-Mao era.

5.2.1 Continuities in the Objectives of Chinese Foreign Policy

As discussed in previous chapter about the objectives of Chinese foreign policies, there are several objectives that had continued with emphasis on the goal of modernization. The basic goal of security has obviously continued. China’s several attempts to include Taiwan, Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet also had been continued. But in order to achieve these goals, China had identified to give prime emphasis to the objective of Four Modernization and delineate foreign as well as domestic policy accordingly.

The other goals to be identified were as a sovereign state had been achieved in the previous era. The continuity in the anti-hegemony and anti-imperialism has been analyzed in the systemic level objectives. But to attain the above mentioned goals, there are certain approaches as well as path to move on. The continuities in the means to achieve the end are discussed in this section.

5.2.2 Continuities in the Means and Approaches of Chinese Foreign Policy

Each great power has taken a distinct path in order to rise as a great power and China is no exception to skip that part to rise as a great power. China had been focusing on the relationship with the superpowers as a means to generate power. During Mao era, China tried to lean towards the Soviet Union and jumped into various conflicts on behalf of the Soviet Union to bring more number of states under the Communist bloc. In return, Chinese military got various benefits as well as China could raise its GDP with the help of agricultural policies. The methods to have profitable relations with superpower had continued and also to receive the techniques of power generation with the help of superpowers continued. The change in its approach has been discussed in the later section of this chapter.

The foreign policy approaches as discussed in chapter 3 explain that the continuities in the nature of state and decision-making process help one understand China's foreign policy behaviour during the transition phase.

5.2.2.1 *Continuities in the Nature of State*

Firstly, the nature of the State i.e. the political nature remained the same as it was during the Mao era. China advocated socialism and Mao had dreamt to attain the “stateless and classless society” which was the end. This end continued during the Deng period but only the means to achieve the end had changed. To achieve this goal in the post-Mao era, Deng Xiaoping came to power and continued Chou En-Lai’s dream in his “Four Modernization” goal of 100 years for the development of China.

Secondly, though China adopted capitalist means in its foreign policy for the developmental process, Mao’s aim to remain anti-imperialist had been continued even in the post-Mao era. Though the moderate leaders took over the power and introduced reforms in political and economic aspects of China their stand for anti-imperialism and anti-hegemony remained the same. Probably, these are the two aims which helped China to rise as a great power through which they could gain the trust from other super power and great powers in the world. Mao’s Third World leadership dream was continued during the post-Mao era. As there are continuities in the nature of the state, there are several continuities in the decision-making process also.

5.2.2.2 *Continuities in Decision-Making Process*

Firstly, Mao was the most powerful leader and the sole decision-maker whose decisions were accepted by other party members and political leaders. Deng, though moderate, continued to be the pre-eminent leader. The decisions taken during the post-Mao era were either taken by Deng or he was consulted before the final decisions were taken. Deng’s approval in all decisions was must.

Secondly, the role of the Central Secretariat as well as Politburo and its Standing Committee remained same in the decision-making process. Though The Central Foreign Affairs Leading Group (CFALG) was established, they had to prepare only policy drafts while the final decisions were delineated and finalized by the Central Secretariat and the Politburo.

Thirdly, the role of CCP and the PLA i.e. the party system and the military system in the foreign policy decision-making continued the way it was during Mao era.

5.2.2.3 *Continuities in Foreign Economic Policy*

In the foreign economic policies, there are several strategies that had continued even in the post-Mao era. One of them is the import substitution strategy that continued even in the post-Mao era. Deng Xiaoping continued the import substitution strategy in order to promote Chinese goods in the markets of the world. Gautam Sen has discussed that these strategies prevailed during Mao era. But these strategies could not give proper boost to the economy of China due to its occupation in several conflicts. The creation of economic zones was a plan that had been implemented but due to the effects of Cultural Revolution, the idea was dropped which had been revived during post-Mao era (Sen, *Post-Reform China and the International Economy: Economic Change and Liberalisation Under Sovereign Control*, 2000, p. 929). The economic policy of import-substitution strategy had continued from the Mao era. As there are continuities in foreign economic policy, so are in the foreign security policy.

5.2.2.4 *Continuities in Foreign Security Policy*

The strategic thinking during Mao era was driven by more offensive approach and China was engaged in several conflicts which continued with its support in Vietnam War even

in the post-Mao era through United Front. The army of red guards also continued with technological advancement and the extension in Naval and Air Force wings of the PLA. China also kept on advancing in preparing ballistic missiles and nuclear power during post-Mao era. Lee Ngok discussed about the PLAN's advancement during Deng era as "With adequate surveillance support and maritime air defence capabilities, the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) can cooperate in an environment 600 nautical miles from the home base and project power against its adversaries... In turn, the nuclear-powered attack submarines and Romeo class patrol submarines reinforce China's naval combat power against littoral states which do not possess high-level anti-submarine warfare capabilities" (Ngok, 1991, pp. 5.6-5.7).

5.2.3 Continuities in the Relationship with Other Actors of International System

China's relations with Soviet Union had worsened during Mao era. This continued even in the post-Mao era. The formal political and economic relations had continued in the Sino-Soviet relations. Due to the Sino-Soviet rift, relations with Eastern European states were not good during Mao era. That had continued but the change in European Union structure had brought several changes in the equations between China and EU in the post-Cold War era.

The improved relations with United States also continued during the post-Mao era. It had taken China to a new stage that brought back its confidence. China's relationship with Great powers continued but the equations had obviously changed. And the changes in the foreign policy are discussed as follows.

5.3 Changes in the Chinese Foreign Policy During the Post-Mao Era

As discussed above foreign policy is a dynamic process. It undergoes gradual changes. The continuities in the post-Mao foreign policies have been discussed but there are major changes that have actually contributed in China's rise as a great power. China could begin enhancing power during this era which has continued till now in contemporary times of 21st century. In order to understand the other changes in various aspects of foreign policy let us begin with the changes in the foreign policy objectives.

5.3.1 Changes in the Objectives of Chinese Foreign Policy

At the time of establishment of PRC, its foreign policy objective was based on ideological goal to be achieved to bring prosperity amongst the people. Mao Tse-Tung got initial success in creating the background but his isolationism and self-help policy in the international system could not achieve the goal of China's great power status, consequently the time had arrived to bring reforms in the enhancement of capability of state by strengthening economy, military and diplomatic relations with the other great powers in order to survive and sustain in the international system.

Deng with his far sight tried to normalize relations with other great powers through economic reforms as well as military reforms to enhance the capabilities and with a motive to rise as a great power. In order to improve relations with other states, trade was the only means which could help to break the isolation and actively participate in the existing system. "A main motivation of Deng's open-door policy is to attract foreign investment" (Chow, 2007, p. 326). The main objective of Chinese foreign policy was to enhance the capabilities with its foreign policy to become more powerful and participate actively in the international system.

5.3.2 Changes in the Means and Approaches of the Chinese Foreign Policy

The means to rise as a great power is to enhance the capabilities and activate the power it possesses. Changes in the economic, political, military aspects along with the changes in the nature of the state and the decision-making process that can help understand the foreign policy approaches adopted by the Chinese leaders in the post-Mao era. As foreign policy is a dynamic process, there are few gradual changes that have taken place in the post-Mao era.

5.3.2.1 *Changes in the Nature of the State*

In the nature of the State, the political nature had continued but the nature of the state had changed in the economic aspect. Let us understand the change in the economic nature of the State of China in the post-Mao era.

The first change which took place in post-Mao era was change in the means. The revolutionary means adopted by Mao Tse-Tung resulted into an adversity as neither policies such as Great leap forward nor the Cultural Revolution of 1968 helped him attain the enhancement of capabilities for China to achieve the end to rise as a great power. Consequently, the revolutionary means were dropped and economic means to rise as a great power were adopted.

Secondly, Deng Xiaoping who was a visionary leader designed the future of China by partly adopting liberal capitalist means of economic development and politically a Communist path by giving it a name of “building socialism with Chinese characteristics” so as to rise as a great power which was called “national communism” (Yahuda, Deng Xiaoping: The Statesman, 1993, p. 555). Probably, socialism with Chinese characteristics could be considered as Marxist-Leninist-Maoist-Dengist thoughts in which Deng tried to

implement Mao's thoughts to rise in his unique way with the pattern adopted by Western states and the other states to rise as a great power.

The "Four Modernization" by Chou En-lai brought a 50 percent change in Mao's style of working with revolutionary approach. The moderates were milder in approach compared to the extremist style of Mao's and radical faction's working pattern.

The reforms were thus introduced by identifying the appropriate reform policies which had been implemented by other states to rise as great power which were modified to make them suitable for Chinese people by adding Chinese characteristics. "In his report "On Questions of China's Four Modernizations and Reform", Comrade Hu Yaobang, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, made clear that our general principle should be for us to proceed from actual reality and carry out the reform comprehensively and systematically, and determinedly and methodically" (Shaozhi, 1983, p. 47).

Thirdly, to bring Four Modernizations in effect, the leaders tried to scrutinize the system and identified the places where the reforms needed to be launched beginning from the political aspect, the form of government dealings with the public in all political and economic sectors were through adopting democratic means to achieve goal to rise as a Great Power (Shaozhi, 1983, p. 49).

In a way, Deng-Xiaoping's attempt to launch reforms was almost more than 90 degrees and less than 180 degrees. We can say that the ends remained the same but the means were shifted from practicing reforms in two most affecting sectors – political and economic life of Chinese population. Deng Xiaoping had "launched a pragmatic-revisionist approach in which the new leadership insists on "finding truth" from

practice”(Chang, 1984, p. 280). As the reforms were launched gradually from practicing, the initiation of reforms began from changes at political level in the decision-making pattern of foreign policies and reforms in the structural aspects in the party and bureaucracy while reforms in the agricultural sector and industrialization were introduced for the economic reforms. These were the most pivotal changes which have been discussed in detail in this chapter.

5.3.2.2 *Changes in the Decision-Making Approach*

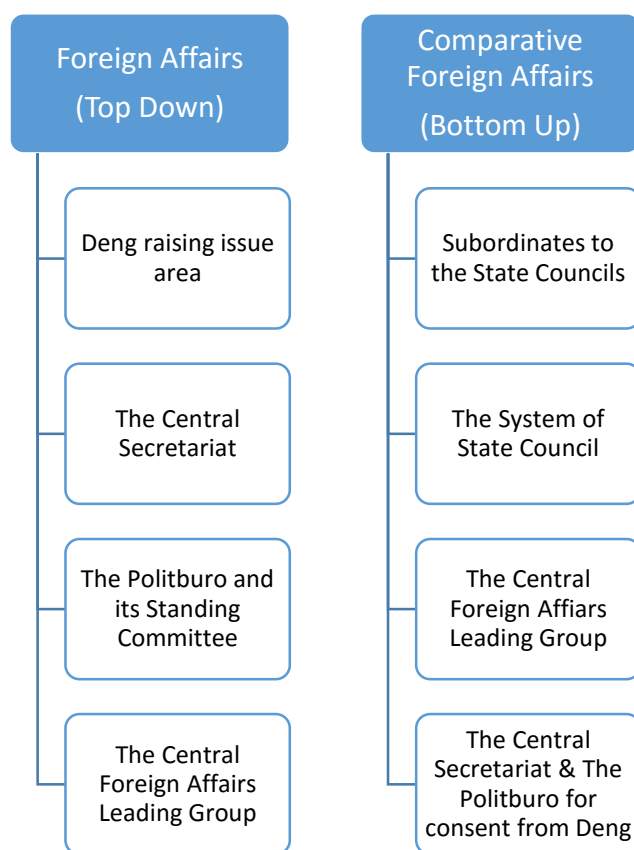
Decision-making process is one of the key aspects which should be analyzed while studying the role of China’s foreign policy in its rise as a great power.

Post-Mao era has mainly focused on the changes and reforms needed to be introduced for China’s rise with the help of foreign policy. The most crucial factor of the success of foreign policy is its precise decision-making and correct implementation at both the levels i.e. foreign policy with other international actors as well as within the state. China’s leaders not only focused on changing the policy but also changed the decision-making pattern which was earlier popular during Mao era.

Deng Xiaoping had firstly introduced different institutions for the foreign policy decision-making. The Central Secretariat (1980-1987), The Politburo and its Standing Committee, The Central Foreign Affairs Leading Group (CFALG), The System of State Council and The System of the Party & the Military are the main institutions which contributed either in providing the correct information to the pre-eminent leader or to implement the policy designed by the pre-eminent leader in accurate form. “China’s decision-making process reveals “multiplicity” during Deng’s era. Deng handed decision-making authority down to other leaders through institutionalization. Deng was still the pre-eminent leader with

final authority, yet his role in the decision-making process depended on the different issues and concerns”(Hsu C.-C. , Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process in Deng's China: Three Patterns for Analysis, 1999, p. 198). The pre-eminent leader along with retired elders as well as the leaders in power was mainly taking all foreign policy decisions. During post-Mao era, “The most important leaders were Chen Yun, Li Xiannian, Bo Yibo, Peng Xhen, etc”(Hsu C.-C. , Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process in Deng's China: Three Patterns for Analysis, 1999, p. 201).

Figure 5.1: Flow of the Hierarchical Pattern in Decision-Making of Foreign Policy:



The institutional personnel used to work in a typical two-way hierarchical pattern of process from top to bottom and bottom to top information and policy implementation channel. “The former one signifies that top leaders used to raise the policy issue, or they

formed a decision by taking the issues directly to the highest decision-making institute.....The later one signifies that the lower bureaucracy raised the policy issue to the decision-making group”(Hsu C.-C. , Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process in Deng's China: Three Patterns for Analysis, 1999, p. 202). This was a significant change which was seen in the decision-making pattern where Mao had taken all the decisions mainly himself or consulted his elite party members whom he trusted during crisis situations. While Deng’s style was more democratic and he took opinions from his bureaucratic officials in certain matters which were related to the proper implementation of the policy or getting accurate information regarding the actual scenario within the state. He even raised issue-areas and used to delegate for the drafting of policy to his officers. “Unlike Mao, Deng’s political style leaned toward consultation and consensus rather than coercion. Deng also had less authority and power than Mao and he has tolerated different opinions at the top level. Deng emphasized and highly valued opinions and consultation...”(Hsu C.-C. , Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process in Deng's China: Three Patterns for Analysis, 1999, p. 203).

Deng Xiaoping had established a special institute called The Central Foreign Affairs Leading Group (CFALG). This central group was at the middle level as per the hierarchical pattern of decision-making process in both the matters of foreign affairs as well as comparative foreign affairs. The unique part of this institute was in case of two or more different policy options, the CFALG used to send all the options to the higher decision-makers for their opinion to select the best applicable policy option by the pre-eminent leaders (Hsu C.-C. , Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process in Deng's China: Three Patterns for Analysis, 1999, p. 210).

In the technical matters of economic trade, Deng delegated his powers of decision-making to the State Council by considering the accurate production and requirement of the goods in the market.

5.3.2.3 Changes in Foreign Economic Policy

Economic policies are the main sources of power enhancement. China had focused on foreign economic policies in order to enhance its power. The domestic policy introduced during Mao era could not help China rise as much as it was expected and required to achieve the goal. China got bigger opportunity by opening up to the foreign markets. It proved beneficial in both terms- qualitatively as well as quantitatively. Competition of the products in foreign markets generated demand of finely produced goods, which helped it to improve the quality and quantity of goods. Thus foreign capital and foreign markets have contributed in the modernization process of China. “In line with this, Chinese economic reformers have used competition from imported goods to force Chinese enterprises to become more efficient, and have encouraged foreign investment to improve Chinese technology and management practices”(Saunders P. C., 2000, p. 57).

5.3.2.3.1 Foreign Aid

To achieve the foreign policy objectives, Deng had identified three sectors: political and economic. So the economic aspect chosen by Deng was appropriate and he tried to bring major changes with his own understanding and farsightedness to make china a powerful state. Consequently, the policy changes in the economic sector were given due importance for the rise of China as a great power which is as follows:

During Mao era, all the trade or business were restricted and required permission to carry out trade with any of the foreign states from the State government which during Deng era had changed. During Mao era, China was not a member of any international organizations such as World Bank or IMF and so the domestic procurement price did not match the international sale prices so as to ease the process. Chinese currency renminbi (RMB) needed to be convertible as well as opening up to the existing international market was required (Huang, 1999, p. 160). Consequently the reforms were introduced in the domestic as well as foreign policy.

Macroeconomic policy reforms introduced in post-Mao era were aimed to achieve China's growth in production to increase the export rate and reach the markets throughout the world as per the demand in the international market. There are four basic requirements for the production of goods those are land, labour, capital and technology. To enhance the rate of production, China had land and labour but borrowed capital and technology from the other states existing during Cold-War era with the help of its open-door foreign policy. All the major macroeconomic reforms were carried out by focusing mainly on the development of production and improving its relations throughout the world with its goods and services. Through this way China had adopted a neutral and unbiased position to establish its positive and defensive image in the world to become a responsible great power.

Though China had opened up for foreign aid, it has protected the key sectors of the local markets. This shows China's mercantilist approach which other states of South East Asia had adopted to raise their economy.

Philip Saunders is of view that “As China’s involvement in the world economy has deepened, Chinese leaders have sought to maintain a careful balance between the benefits offered by economic integration and the vulnerabilities it creates. The primary benefit is the chance to use foreign markets, capital and technology to fulfil the nationalist dream of turning China into a rich and powerful country”(Saunders P. C., 2000, p. 55). All these capital and technology are useful to invest in the strengthening of the military.

5.3.2.3.2 Foreign Trade

During Mao era there was no such scope to expand exports with the foreign countries as the policies framed during that time were delineated by keeping in mind the demand of the Chinese citizens while during Deng era the scope had widened as the policies were framed by keeping in mind the demand of the products in the international market. Contents of opening up of the policies are described by David Wall in his article that there was monopoly in the market that was removed so that a competition may encourage firms to produce better products. Another pivotal reform was the establishment of Special Economic Zones. “Furthermore, in what turned out to be an important addition to the reform package, four locations in China (three, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shantou, in Guangdong province and one, Xiamen, in Fujian) were designated as Special Economic Zones”(Wall, China As a Trade Partner: Threat or Opportunity for the OECD?, 1996, p. 335).

Deng had opened up foreign trade changes in export-imports, the goods and services which Mao did not allow. In order to enhance capability, Deng Xiaoping had identified the areas to bring reforms in agricultural sector, industrial sector and increase the

production to expand the foreign trade prospects throughout the world. Mao Tse-Tung's commune system was reformed by Deng with the goal of export promotion, formally adopted in August 1979... exports were identified as the principal method for acquiring foreign exchange for the modernization of China's economy (Sen, Post-Reform China and the International Economy: Economic Change and Liberalisation Under Sovereign Control, 2000, p. 929).

Foreign trade has made drastic changes in export-import. It had risen so rapidly that within a decade China could double its exports and earn twice "as much hard currency as did Soviet Union and Eastern European states combined"(Reynolds, 1989, p. 28). The foreign trade balance and growth rates within the decade are shown in the table below.

Table: 5.1 Foreign Trade Balance and Growth Rates, 1978-1988

Year	Trade Balance (Exports-Imports) (Billion US\$)	Annual Growth Rates (\$)	
		Exports	Imports
1978-80	-1.6	21.6	19.7
1981-83	1.3	13.1	4.5
1984-86	-5.1	5.4	30.1
1987	1.9	28.1	-1.2
1988	-7.7	20.6	27.9

Source: (Reynolds, 1989, p. 30)

5.3.2.3.3 Foreign Direct Investment

Foreign Direct Investment is a form of foreign capital which has been invested by foreign firms in the state which is receiving the investment inflows. China during post-Mao era adopted Open-Door policy to allow foreign firms to invest in China. This gave job opportunities to the Chinese population that reduces unemployment in the state.

Table 5.2: Foreign Direct Investment in China, 1979-1990 (Millions of US \$)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Contracted</u>	<u>Actual</u>
1979-82 (Cumulative)	6,999	1,767
1983	1,917	916
1984	2,875	1,419
1985	6,333	1,959
1986	3,330	2,244
1987	4,319	2,647
1988	6,191	3,739
1989	6,294	3,773
1990	6,987	3,755

Sources: (Lardy N. R., 1995, p. 1066)

The data shows, that it grew from modest amounts of a few hundred million dollars annually in the late 1970s and early 1980s to almost four billion dollars annually in the late 1980s

The neo-liberal institutional approach of foreign policy, China had opened doors for the MNCs to invest in China. This step has contributed to China's rise as a great power.

Today China is a base of multinational corporations such as Lenovo, Haier, Huawei, TCL and many more. Earlier during Mao era, the policies were focused on bringing changes into domestic production. Mao tried to advocate SOEs which had limited access to the foreign markets. But Deng had adopted great opportunity by adopting both the statist and neo-liberal approach in Chinese foreign policy.

The neo-liberal institutional approach of Chinese foreign policy can be traced in analyzing the role of foreign institutes like IMF, World Bank, etc to provide foreign capital to China. It had “borrowed money from multilateral lending institutions such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank; from national development banks such as the Japanese Overseas Economic Co-operation Fund; from national export-import banks such as the United States Export Import Bank; and from Commercial Banks”(Lardy N. R., 1995, p. 1065). Due to large funding and investment, China could focus on larger amount of production as a result of such foreign direct investments. The investors needed production of goods with huge labour force which they could find in China. Now this large production was easily supplied to the markets in the whole world (Kim, 1979, p. 492). Probably, that could be the base for the world to move on the path of globalization.

5.3.2.4 Changes in Foreign Security Policy

The foreign security policy had undergone drastic changes as the neo-realist offensive approach during Mao era towards its neighbours had turned into neo-realist defensive approach so there was a noticeable change in the security policy during the post-Mao era.

5.3.2.4.1 Strategic Thinking

China's security policy has been analyzed by its strategic thinking and behaviour which is "a systematic understanding of patterns of conflicts and crisis management would be a helpful addition to the evolving debate about the meaning of China's rise" (Johnston, 2009, p. 261). China's strategic thinking might give the scholars and students of Chinese foreign policy to measure and predict China's strategic behaviour with other states in future. There are different scholars who have expressed the strategic thinking based on their particular perspective. During Mao era, the strategic thinking of Chinese military was giving emphasis to the red guards - 'red over experts', which had changed during Deng period to 'experts over red'. The Naval and Air Forces got a start during Deng era as well as the introduction of technological sophistication in military got developed during Deng era (Lanteigne, 2009, p. 80). Many research centres were established which have contributed in 21st century to China's advancement in its space programmes.

China is accurate in the bilateral relations in carrying out trade matters but simultaneously can oppose the same state in matters of war or any other global issue. For example, bilaterally during Deng era, Beijing took all the technological, financial, as well as learning skills or training its citizens but opposed both the Soviet Union and United States in accessing power over China. Recently, When Chinese president visited India; they showed great pleasure in carrying out bilateral economic relations but simultaneously showed the limitations by its military on the borders. From these examples one can understand its cordial behaviour in matters of trade but offensive behaviour in terms of achieving its goals regarding borders.

5.3.2.4.2 Military Capability

China could successfully acquire arms from the great powers. Russian aids in terms of military technology has been stated as "... the acquisition of new weapons, especially from Russia: several squadrons of Russian advanced fighter aircraft, in-flight refuelling technology, several Russian troop transport aircraft, attack helicopters, surface-to-air missiles, several Russian Kilo-class submarines, three improved Chinese submarines, three guided-missile frigates, several missile patrol craft and two tank landing ships" (Joffe, 1997, p. 62).

The sources of arms acquisition were again the existing two great powers. In June 1981, the new Secretary of State Alexander Haig, paid an official visit to China during which he confirmed American agreement to sell 'dual usage' technology to China and promised to lift embargo on the sale to China on many kinds of offensive weapons also to step up co-operation between the war departments of two countries (Shutter, 1986, p. 132). From the above information one can analyze that Chinese development of Navy and Air force as well as technical advancement in arms production, training to the Military officials was provided by both Soviet Union and United States.

There have been different perspectives which are discussed by scholars based on their analysis of the strategic culture. According to Steve Chan, it was a deliberate strategic policy delineated to monitor the actions of China's potential adversaries and to deter them carrying out unwanted policies, as the domestic and foreign policy reforms during 1980s were of prime importance than any other conflicts in the international system (Johnston, 2009, p. 261). Beijing had very clear goal to rise as a great power, in order

to achieve this goal, she brought major reforms to adjust with the existing International Order and then gradually learnt to manoeuvre the adversaries into their allies and enhance its capabilities with whatever aids they get from the system.

There has been other analysis which throws a light on one of the biggest hurdle in achieving World peace is of arms sales. China is well known for arms sales in the international arms market during the 1980s, primarily selling to both sides in the Iran-Iraq war. The quantity of supply was high as it “estimated at \$21 billion for the years 1979-91” (Joffe, 1997, p. 60). “The General Staff Department and the Commission on National Defense Science, Technology, and Industry own the practical decision power for arms sale” (Hsu C.-C. , Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process in Deng's China: Three Patterns for Analysis, 1999, p. 214).

5.3.3 Changes in the Relationship with Other Actors of the International System

In the international system, during late 1970s and 1980s the bipolar system was existent and a Cold War situation was prevalent in which China's foreign policy reforms brought major changes and shifts in this Cold War bipolar system. China has acted as third party intervening in the conflict resulting into détente. During Mao era the foreign policy of PRC was isolationist as well as self dependent for their growth in terms of capabilities while in the Deng era, the open-door policy was adopted for the growth in terms of capabilities. Secondly, during Mao era Beijing granted loans to Third World countries while during Deng era they started accepting loans and help from the developed states as well as the international monetary organizations such as World Bank, IMF, Asian Development Bank etc.

5.3.3.1 *Changes in the Relations with United States*

After the visit by US President Nixon during 1972, the relations between America and China had taken off on the path of development. In 1979, America formally accepted and recognized PRC. This resulted into increase in trade and tourism by 200% (Faust, 2007, p. 137). China and United States formally opened up and established diplomatic relations with each other.

Sino-American relations during Reagan Administration had been more stable than the previous era. Reagan had dealt with China very tactfully and provided military and economic aid to China. Even China's actions with Tibetan activists and its relations regarding arms sales to Iran did not put any halt in the continuity of Sino-U.S. relations.

The diplomatic relations between Beijing and Washington which were initiated during Mao era got a proper thrust during Deng era. Beijing's diplomacy has contributed a systematic improvement in the Chinese foreign relations in the international system during Deng era. Deng could establish cordial relations with United States. While there were certain strategic issues such as Vietnam War, Cambodia issue of removal of Khmer Rouge in which China and U.S were in opposition to each other (Kreisberg, 1989, p. 118). President Reagan had aided and provided opportunity for the improvements in Chinese economic and military power as positively serving American interests by economic value to the United States. "This favourable situation allowed Beijing to pursue both economic growth and increased national power without worrying about reactions from other great powers"(Saunders P. C., 2000, p. 61).

5.3.3.2 *Changes in the Relations with Soviet Union*

Sino-Soviet Relations saw a complete change during Deng era compared to Mao era. It was a reverse process as during Mao era till Stalin's death, Sino-Soviet relations were cordial which worsened in the later stages during Khrushchev reign into Sino-Soviet rift. The Sino-Soviet relations in the initial years of Deng era until late 1980s were more in opposing condition in terms of ideological differences; developmental policy differences as well as China's views against Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Sino-Soviet bilateral relations, China's role in United Nations, China's Communist approach by United Front were the causes which brought a thaw in tensions in the late 1980s.

5.3.3.3 *Changes in the Relations with Neighbours*

Sino-Japanese relations had been in unrest during Mao era after the establishment of PRC but Japan could establish diplomatic relations by 1972 only after America formally recognized it and the two countries established embassies in Washington and Beijing. The trade went on between both the states even during Mao era as well as during Deng era with the open door policy. The change that had occurred was China's insecurity in the Japanese "remilitarization" as it was aware of Japan's military strength in history. But the common factor between both of them was to maintain peace regionally and deter the growth of two great powers (Shutter, 1986, p. 187).

Deng Xiaoping found Japanese pattern to raise its economy impressive and logical. Faust and Kornberg have discussed it as "the combination of centralized, authoritarian political power with land reform, emphasis on industrial investment leading to quick growth, and promotion of exports was attractive to the Chinese leadership"(Faust, 2007, p. 190).

China and Japan have entered into economic interdependence through benefitting by exporting raw materials to Japan for its industries and buying technology and capital goods from Japan. So both have now developed cordial relations with each other. The relations regarding military are more sceptical and it is a matter of concern for China if Japan is remilitarizing in a few years.

The relations with India were in conflicting situation after Dalai Lama arrived in India during Mao era. 1962 war and Soviet support to India had virtually frozen relations between both the states. An agreement during Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Beijing in the year 1988 "apparently sobered by a war scare along their disputed border in 1986-87, Chinese and Indian leaders, meeting in New Delhi for an eighth round of talks in November 1987, agreed to upgrade their discussions to the political level while maintaining peace and tranquillity along the border pending a settlement" (Levine S. I., 1989, pp. 58-59).

With Pakistan, China had been having strategic relations as China tried to have good relations with almost all states which had been allies to United States- Japan, Pakistan, Southeast Asian states, Western European states, etc. Pakistan was of help to keep a check on Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Its bilateral trade relations were cordial. China-U.S.-Pakistan is an anti-Soviet team of states which are together since the post-Mao era.

5.3.3.4 *Changes in the Relations with South East Asia*

ASEAN states as well as Vietnam and Cambodia had special relations with China. China's relations with these states are natural as there are many Chinese nationals who had settled in all these states. So Overseas Chinese was one of Mao's concerns to expand Communism through them with the help of United Front. However, during Deng era, trade was given preference as well as to change China's image globally, ASEAN was the key region, where its behaviour and actions helped China to get closer to United States. In earlier years when Vietnam War was going on, China tried to support the Communist Parties in the other states but later on China finally got successful in ousting Vietnamese military from Cambodia, where China opposed Soviet Union and took a stand in favour of United States.

The major change with ASEAN states was that the support to Communist parties was stopped during Deng era. Foreign Minister Li Peng promised that China will not interfere in the internal matters of those states and carry bilateral trade relations cordially (Levine S. I., 1989, p. 64).

5.3.3.5 *Changes in the Relations with Europe*

China's relationship with Europe has been well in contemporary times but its beginning can be traced back since 1978. During Deng era, China had mostly focused on bilateral relations rather than on multilateral arrangements. As the relations with Russia during that time were not good, the relations with Eastern European states were also not good. But the bilateral trade with the states such as United Kingdom, Netherlands etc, had economic relations with China. This was the phase that gave China a chance to understand the European states to deal with them as a group. So during later years after 1993, formal

establishment of supranational entity European Union, China was much comfortable to conduct its economic relations with EU.

5.3.3.6 Role in United Nations

During Mao era, China got a permanent membership in Security Council but still China needed to enhance its capabilities to be considered as a great power which can act as a balancer in the international system. Deng with his combination of altruistic values in expressing the Chinese perspective of World Order had been one of the key reasons for China to rise as a great power. Its normative structure presented in the United Nations, “System has been put into eight points by Samuel Kim as (1) anti-hegemony; (2) international egalitarianism; (3) populism; (4) anti-racism; (5) nationalism (which is closer to Herder’s cultural pluralism than to Hitler’s romantic chauvinism); (6) struggle at the dialectical imperative in resolving all types of contradictions; (7) self-reliance; and (8) mutual respect, state sovereignty, equality, and territorial integrity” (Kim, 1979, p. 491). These eight points are the key points to understand the Chinese multilateral diplomacy which it advocated in the United Nations through which Beijing by 1981 could make its independent policy towards both the great powers.

5.4 Reasons for the Transition in the Chinese Foreign Policy

The continuities and changes in the foreign policy are leaving a question why this transition was required and what could be its obvious reasons for the transition. There are several domestic factors as well as international factors that are responsible for the transitions that have been discussed below.

5.4.1 Domestic Factors responsible for the Transition

China is a state established with a purpose to rise and change its future with genuine efforts to enhance the power-capability of the state to become a great power. Mao era has witnessed a lot of issues such as Sino-Soviet rift, wars with neighbouring states, lack of economic-technological assistance, and people's participation as Red Guards in PLA, lack of technological advancement in military. David Chang has analyzed that "many policies of the past several decades should be modified or reversed. Major misdeeds of the Cultural Revolution must be corrected. Injured individuals and confiscated properties in the 1960s must be compensated"(Chang, 1984, p. 279). The first reason for introducing reforms could be to correct the mistakes which had occurred during Mao era.

The reform in the leadership after Mao's death was of significance as Hua was not able to address the issues which occurred and created unrest but he focused more on the spreading of Mao's thoughts. "During the first quarter of 1977, Hua was successfully able to restore some level of stability however, certain cases of sabotage and internal clashes were reported but Hua mainly focused on spreading Mao's thoughts by publishing his 1956 speech "On the Ten Great Relationships" (Jurgen, 1985, p. 144).

Another reason to bring reforms in leadership was the internal unrest amongst the party as well as the people. Mao's style of radical leadership was not appreciated by Chinese people. They were in need of somewhat moderate leadership which Deng could understand within two years of Hua's leadership. CCP's internal goals were set but the situation in the state bureaucracy and the social as well as economic unrest was to be addressed on urgent basis, due to different factions at different levels which resulted into loss of 45,000-50,000 lives during 1976-1977 as reported in more than sixty newscast reports (Jurgen, 1985, p.

141). Between these unrest lots of human rights demonstrations with democratic style started taking place. Many wall posters were posted in Peking which was soon called “the democracy wall” (Minchu Ch’iang) which was praised by Deng in his talks with foreigners (Jurgen, 1985, p. 159). It shows that the people of China were expecting moderate and liberal style of leadership in CCP. Hua could not succeed in controlling this situation which resulted into the transformation in leadership.

Along with the transformation in leadership, the decision-making process also required reforms. Mao’s style was authoritative and always took decisions solely, while Deng gave opportunity to the officials to express their policy ideas and took the decision based on the rational and best policy option available to him.

Another important reason for transition was the poverty of millions of people. There were more than 65% of people living below poverty line during the Cultural Revolution. This was the major crisis that needed to be addressed by the leaders to improve the standard of living of people of China.

5.4.2 International Factors Responsible for the Transition

There are many international factors which had its own role and contribution in China’s decision to bring reforms at almost all levels. One of the reasons could be that during Mao era, the economic development could not be enhanced to the expected results but the economic developments in the neighbouring states of the regions such as Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan as well as South Korea had been developed faster by mercantilism but China with its strategies could not develop faster.

Another reason for the reforms could be to convince the world which had been dominated by liberal Western states that China can become a responsible great power. For that China

had to open up and support interdependence to enhance its economic and military capabilities and enter into the power game of international system. Hence it was very much required to reform foreign policy to build a different image of China. "...liberals argue that increasing integration into the world economy and growing economic interdependence will enforce China's need to abide by the international rules of the game" (Saunders P. C., 2000, p. 59).

The realist views the vulnerabilities attached with the history and the dependence for the enhancement of capabilities but it was sure that if China is to develop as a great power, then it should open up to the world (Saunders P. C., 2000, p. 63).

The main reason for Chinese entry in the international system and breaking its isolation policy was United States' support to China in its developmental process. Probably, Sino-Soviet rift during Khrushchev era, was the reason which led US to facilitate China and bring an equilibrium in the Cold War situation which had reached to extremes during the Cuban missile crisis "...but US political support for China's entry into the world economy also played an important facilitating role and helped China gain access to Western capital and technology" (Saunders P. C., 2000, p. 61).

Another major perspective was discussed by Gregory Chow that it was essential for the domestic producers for larger scope of development through foreign competition. "Without foreign competition, the protected domestic producers have no incentive to improve their products or change their technology"(Chow, 2007, p. 321).

The above stated reasons - both domestic and international - were responsible for the transition in Chinese foreign policy during post-Mao era.

5.5 Conclusion

The post-Mao era was a phase of establishing firm foundation to take-off for the rise of China. In order to go for transition in various aspects such as political and economic as well as military, it was a challenging task for the leaders who took the control in the post-Mao era. Overall post-Mao transition was a shift from its radical approach and neo-realist offensive approach into an economic interdependent and neo-realist defensive approach in its foreign policy.

The initial 2-3 years were the crucial years for the Chinese leaders to bring political transition carefully with peace. The foreign policy objectives were mostly continued than changed in the post-Mao era. Only the emphasis to a goal of power generation was a change.

Earlier during Mao era, the means to raise economy was to bring reforms in domestic policies during the Deng era the means to raise economy was to bring reforms in the foreign policy. The foreign policy approaches obviously had changed from offensive to defensive realism and from radical to liberal interdependent orientation.

The relationship with other actors of the international system also underwent change during the post-Mao era. Overall, these relations during Mao era were based on ideology that has shifted to the economic interdependence as its base to extend them. Another change was China getting closer to the states that are allies of America and moving away from the allies of Soviet Union due to the continued Sino-Soviet rift.

The relationship with international actors such as U.N., IMF, World Bank, and other financial institutions had provided foreign capital to China during this era. The development of neo-liberal institutions such as multinational companies and non-governmental

organizations had started functioning in China which has contributed in the pivotal role of China in the international system in the next phase of globalization.

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CHAPTER 6

CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY DURING THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

6 Chinese Foreign Policy During the Post-Cold War Era

6.1 Post-Cold War International System

With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, there are several changes that took place in the international system. The system underwent structural level changes, the changes in the dominant nature of the system as well as approach level changes. This new emerging international system is different from the earlier bipolar Cold War world order. The understanding of the nature and features of the post-Cold War international system will help one understand the continuities and changes in the Chinese foreign policy. The chapter is confined to the post-Cold War era that is Chinese foreign policy from 1991 to 2014. The first section consists of the features of the new international system. The second section consists of continuities in the Chinese foreign policy during the post-Cold War era and the third section consists of the changes in the Chinese foreign policy.

6.1.1 Nature and Features of International System in the Post-Cold War Era

Kenneth Waltz has written about Structural Realism in which he has explained about the nature and dynamics of a bipolar system. “Changes in the structure of the system are distinct from changes at the unit level. Thus, changes in polarity also affect how states provide for their security. Significant changes take place when the number of great powers reduces to two or one”(Waltz, Structural Realism after the Cold War, 2000, p. 5). With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, one of the super powers of the international system collapsed and only one pole survived. So the structure of the system temporarily changed from bipolar to unipolar. There was a probability of rise of another power resulting into bipolar world again or dividing the power into a multipolar world consisting of few great powers.

Another change was regarding the nature of the conflict in the system. The world during the Cold War was divided into two power blocs which had a rivalry over ideological aspect. The collapse of the Soviet Union is considered as the failure of communism. Capitalism has survived that is still dominant in the world. This has changed the ideological character of the system.

The third kind of change is seen in the approaches to the foreign policy in the international system. The world during the Cold War era was divided into various approaches: realist, liberal and marxist. With the end of dominance of the marxist approach, the realist and the liberal approaches survived. The post-Cold War world order is witnessing the dominance of interdependence and neo-liberal institutional orientations which are borne out of these approaches.

6.1.2 Liberalization, Privatization, Globalization

Liberalization, privatization and globalization are the drivers of the post-Cold War world order. It is the global order in true sense that has brought changes commonly in the whole world and has connected each single corner of the world with technology and communication. This became possible with the three major factors: liberalization, privatization and globalization that have reached to all the entities of the world. A simple understanding of liberalization is to be free from governmental restrictions on economic and political policies. Earlier, there were governmental restrictions to conduct a business with foreign state. Now, through liberalization it has been removed and that has opened doors to the multinational corporations, non-governmental organizations and various multilateral forums.

Privatization refers to the selling or disinvestment of governmental firms particularly in areas such as power, telecommunications etc to private companies. That is selling off loss-making government or public firm to the private owners who can manage the production as per the demand and government can be free from the losses.

Globalization is a process of interaction among states and societies through interdependence. Mainly economic interdependence and ecological interdependence have been evident. Common goal of achieving peace, reduction in the effectiveness of military in the nuclear age and increasing the relevance of non-state actors have been witnessed under globalization. This has become possible through smooth and easy communication and transportation facilities available in this technologically advanced era. The interaction between states and non-state actors has been facilitated with the means of communication and information. The Chinese decision-makers have delineated the way of interaction in the continuities and changes in the Chinese foreign policy as discussed in this chapter.

6.2 Continuities in Chinese Foreign Policy During the Post-Cold War Era

As there is a paradigm shift in the international system during the post-Cold War era, Chinese foreign policy has also undergone various changes in its foreign policy. But complete change in foreign policy is never possible because it is a process and can be changed gradually. However there are also some continuities in various aspects of Chinese foreign policy from the earlier times which need to be noted.

6.2.1 Continuities in Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process

The continuity in the foreign policy decision-making process is seen in the fact that the final decision is taken by the Politburo Standing Committee. In the post-Mao era, the pattern of decision-making had changed into a hierarchical pattern that is bottom-up. The

same has been continued through influence of subordinates to the State Councils which are directly having connection with the society to the middle level leading groups to politburo standing committee. However, it is difficult to predict the accurate decision-making process of foreign policy. But based on several studies published by prominent scholars one can just figure out the bureaucratic institutions involved in the process. The changes in the foreign policy decision-making process during post-Cold War era are discussed in the next section of this chapter.

6.2.2 Continuities in Foreign Policy Objectives

As discussed in the previous chapter, the objectives of Chinese foreign policy have their continuity. The focus on the growth of economic capability has been analyzed. In order to protect the sovereignty, China has been focusing on enhancement of military capabilities also. Many activities in South China Sea at Mischief Reef are traced. Another objective of including various regions Tibet, Sinkiang, Taiwan, Manchuria and Inner Mongolia into the mainland China has been continued. One can analyze that China after becoming powerful has always been discussing about ‘One China’ policy.

Systemic level continuity is traced in its objective to remain anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonic. China has been advocating ‘Harmonious World’ that shows that China is against unipolar or bipolar world and is moving towards multipolar world. To attain these objectives, the means and approaches adopted by the Chinese foreign policy are as follows.

6.2.3 Continuities in the Means and Approach to the Chinese Foreign Policy

The means to attain the goal have been continued in the Chinese foreign policy. And the liberal interdependence and neo-liberal institutional approaches adopted by China in its foreign policy have entered into its actual beneficial role. Chinese foreign policy has demonstrated the benefits of these approaches through the enhancement of its capability. The economic and military means to rise as a great power have been discussed below.

6.2.3.1 *Continuities in Foreign Economic Policy*

Concomitant to economic aspect, China has still continued its bilateral relations with different states of the world. Though it advocates multilateral relations and is expanding its membership of international as well as regional organizations, its bilateral relations with the states have continued in the foreign policy during the post-Cold War era.

China's economic relations were studied in the previous era based on foreign aid, foreign trade and foreign direct investments. Foreign aid from various international monetary institutions such as World Bank, IMF, Asian Development Bank, etc, has been continued. Foreign trade with various states and its bilateral relations has also been continued. But the foreign direct investment in recent times after 2012 is reversing (Shambaugh, China Goes Global: The Partial Power, 2013, p. 174). The details of it are discussed in the section of changes in the foreign economic policy later in this chapter. Consequently, China's goal of economic enhancement has continued during the post-Cold War era that has helped China reach its position of great power and now is able to sustain the position.

6.2.3.2 Continuities in Foreign Military Policy

Regarding the strategic thinking in military relations, China has continued its approach of not seriously aligning or forming any security regional organization. There is a possibility of turning SCO into a military organization as well as ARF, entering into a security agreement. But up till now China has been sceptical in aligning militarily with other states. During Cold War era, NATO and Warsaw Pact were two examples of collective security. NATO has survived but there has yet not been any powerful formulation to counter NATO. Scholars discuss that if SCO or ARF is turning stronger militarily, then it may enhance China's military capability in the Eastern part of the world. Another aspect of Chinese military policy has continued its enhancement of technological advancement in PLAN and PLA Air Force. In fact more emphasis has been given to this aspect during the post-Cold War era. Increase in attaining sophistication in military through communications and advance technology in weaponry.

6.2.4 Continuities in the Relationship with Other Actors of the International System

The relations with other actors of the international system have reached to its best. The relations with United States have improved and become cordial during the post-Cold War era. It went into a friendly relation during post-9/11 era. "A year after the devastating terrorist attacks on the United States, Sino-American relations are their most stable since they began their decade-long deterioration and constant fluctuation following the events of June 1989"(Shambaugh, Sino-American Relations since September 11: Can the New Stability Last, 2009, p. 197).

The relations with neighbours had improved in the last phase which has continued in the post-Cold War era. "Sharing land borders with fourteen nations and (disputed) maritime

boundaries large with a number of others, china's national security is profoundly shaped by proximity" (Shambaugh, China Goes Global: The Partial Power, 2013, p. 95). The role in U.N., relations with other non-state actors that had initiated during last phase have continued and improved during the post-Cold War era. The changes in the Chinese foreign policy will give an objective outlook to the relationship of China with the world.

6.3 Changes in the Chinese Foreign Policy During the Post-Cold War Era

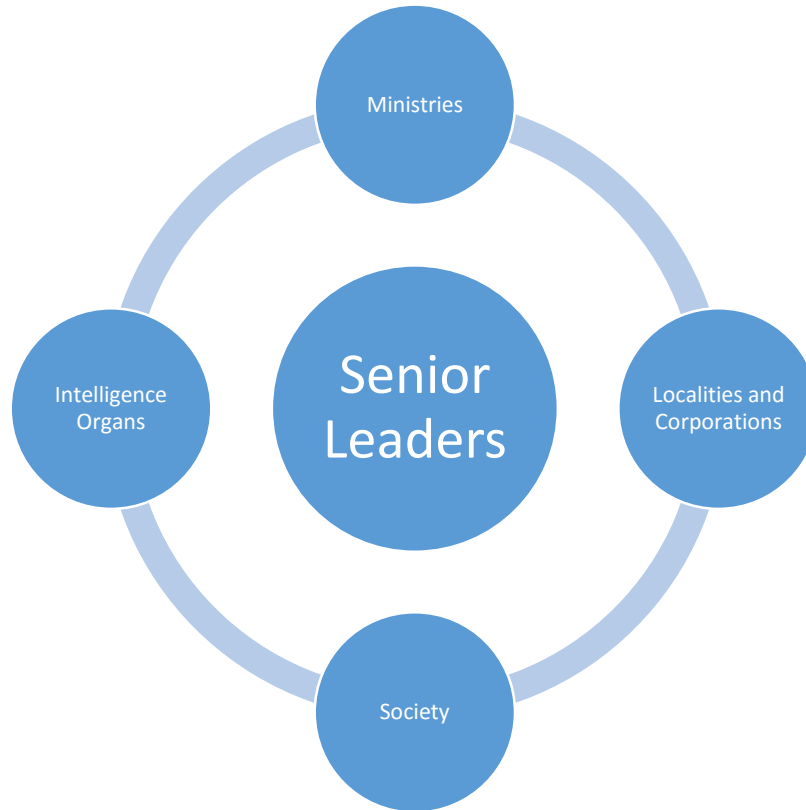
As discussed above, there are various changes witnessed in the international system during post-Cold War era. Due to these systemic level changes, Chinese foreign policy has also undergone various changes that have been discussed in this section.

6.3.1 Changes in Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process

The foreign policy decision making in the post Cold-War era has now been expanded because of the role of domestic aspects to meet the worldwide demands of production. Consequently, in the post Cold-War era from the society to the senior leaders everyone is playing a role in the Chinese foreign policy decision making process.

David Shambaugh, one of the prominent China experts from the United States, has described it in the concentric circles explaining each category of group involved in the decision making process. The structure below has been taken from Shambaugh's concentric circles that has been depicted here with a different relational roles played by the factors into the decision-making process.

Figure 6.1: Factors influencing Foreign Policy Decision Making Process



Source: (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 62)

The above model might be able to clarify the effect or influence of the surrounding factors on the centred senior leaders who take the final decision in the foreign policy decision-making process. The core decision-makers-senior leaders are able to take final decisions mostly with the respective ministries regarding their departments. Usually, the influence from the respective ministries is an obvious factor in the decision-making process. They are consulted and their opinion matters and might even bring changes in the decision-making process. This shows the shift in Chinese traditional approach, as there are separate departments and the experts are consulted before taking the final decision.

The think tanks and research centres also play a very important role in the decision-making process. The scholars of international relations and foreign policy experts analyze the foreign policy of different great powers and influence the decision-makers to delineate a better policy as compared to the rival or other actors of the international system. In China, “many think tanks of various sizes exist today which focus on international relations, including multi-factional ones such as the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) as well as the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS) in Beijing and the Shanghai Institute of International Studies (SIIS)” (Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 29).

To facilitate the decision-makers and get the accurate information, a National Security Leading Small Group was established in 2000. It is said to have “exactly the same membership as the FALSG, which is an example of what Chinese call “one organ with two signboards”. But the NSLSG has a broader mandate to consider internal and external security; thus the Politburo member in charge of security issues and the minister of culture also participate” (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 64).

The leading groups collect the information from the local bodies and keep the precise record which is required by the decision-makers. One of the major flaws in the rational-model actor of foreign policy was the lack of precise information to the decision-makers. Chinese leaders have tried to resolve the matter with such leading groups. “The FALSG and NSLSG are two of more than twenty such leading groups under the CCP Central Committee, while a greater number exist under the state council (China’s govt. apparatus), each one of sits atop a national bureaucracy organized around a single functional issue area” (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 64).

The Central Committee has set up a Foreign Affairs Office (FAO) that takes care of the routine foreign policy implications for the national leaders, which consists of only thirty staff members which has been divided into four sections: comprehensive, strategic, contingency planning and macro management work (Shambaugh, 2013, pp. 64-65).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) personnel were sent abroad to get professionally trained and have come back with commendable professionalism in their task of diplomacy.

“Interestingly, many in the top echelon of the MFA studied at the London School of Economics and Political Science during mid-1970s”(Shambaugh, 2013, pp. 66-67).

Though China is considered an authoritarian state, the development of technology and social media have given some freedom to the citizens to express their opinion about China’s foreign policy. Newspapers, internet, television as well as media have reached to every single individual and have given strength to the individuals to express their opinion. The think tanks and university experts are able to communicate with common people and convey their opinions. Hence, all the five factors have their influence over the foreign policy decision-making process.

Marc Lanteigne has analyzed that there was a difference between Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao’s approaches to China’s international relations. With the process of globalization, the confidence in Hu’s government was higher than Jiang’s government (Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 30). Wherein, Lampton has described “four major changes in the policy process: professionalization, pluralization, decentralization and globalization” (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 71).

Chinese leaders are quite covert in nature and thus they do not share their actual data and information with other states. There has always been an ambiguity about the Chinese behaviour which has been explained by Shambaugh that the former officials do not write their memoir and the leaders keep secrecy about their success. So from the data available, we can just draw a broad picture or assume the decision-making process but cannot actually make out their real pattern of delineating the foreign policy (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 61).

6.3.2 Changes in Foreign Policy Objectives

As discussed in the second section the continuities in the foreign policy objectives remained more or less same but there are certain changes that can be analyzed in it during the post-Cold War era. Due to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Communist states felt a gap. After that, China was the biggest Communist state and had Communist party in power. So Chinese foreign policy objective was expected to adjust with the new world order and maintain the Communist power domestically. China did not try to replace the Soviet Union even though it was capable to do so because of its anti-hegemony objective. This has created a puzzle to the other world leaders and the scholars that China's next step is completely unpredictable.

During 1990s, the international system became unipolar with U.S. as the sole superpower. The international system could have entered into bipolarity from unipolarity with China's rise but during that time China was not capable to replace Soviet Union in terms of relative power. Hence multipolarity was inevitable and both U.S. and China were open to multipolarity. The role of China became crucial as China could have its impact over other middle powers after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. But China's goal of anti-hegemony has led the international system towards multipolarity.

China's goal to augment its power has been legitimately accepted by the world which now accepts China a great power. To maintain this great power status, China's objective could be to reform its economic policy and continue economic growth. "Great powers are more satisfied and may take certain actions only to remain at the position in the international hierarchy they have achieved. China according to Kenneth Waltz has started acting as a great power"(Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 29).

Another view to understand China's objective lies in three things: modernization, nationalism and regionalism in order to rise as a great power. Modernization was the motivation for China to grow economically, Nationalism as the spirit of people to continuously move towards achieving goal of modernization and regionalism focuses on Chinese occupation in Asia-Pacific region (Zhao Q. , *Chinese Foreign Policy in the Post Cold-War Era*, 2009, pp. 295-6).

6.3.3 Changes in the Means and Approach of the Chinese Foreign Policy

The post-Cold War era has brought several changes in the Chinese foreign policy. This section mainly discusses the economic, technological and military changes that have been delineated by decision-makers in order to rise as a great power.

6.3.3.1 Changes in Foreign Economic Policy

China's foreign economic policy has been distinct from the economic enhancement from other great powers in history. The post-Cold War foreign economic policy has actually fulfilled the objectives set up by the Chinese leaders. Chinese economy has been considered as "fastest-growing major economy, largest manufacturer, second-largest

consumer, largest saver, and (almost certainly) second-largest military spender” (Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 40).

Theoretically, China’s foreign economic policy is mainly analyzed as realist in nature where the economic attribute of power is the main goal and its mercantilist political economic approach are the two indicators. The neo-liberal institutionalism has acted as the means to provide a broad platform to the entrepreneurs to carry out their business in the globalized world. The neorealist approach was adopted towards military enhancements and advancing high technological weaponry. The major theoretical notions have come into actual form or can be illustrated with Chinese foreign policy in the post-Cold War era.

China has been very fast in surpassing the existing larger economies such as United Kingdom in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by 2005. “Between 1978 and 2004, China’s total GDP quadrupled to approximately US\$1.4 trillion, and in that time period the country’s international trade levels went from being negligible, to becoming the third highest in the world after the United States and Germany” (Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 40).

One of the changes in economic policy is making Chinese currency exchangeable. After Asian Economic Crisis, China had to find out solution by swapping its currency with few states such as Argentina, South Korea, Japan, Indonesia and Pakistan in order to conduct trade easily (Shambaugh, 2013, pp. 160-161). In the post-Mao era, China’s foreign

exchange policy facilitated only few states and was not open to the market, which was later by 2005 compelled by other great powers in the international system to change and include the *renminbi* to a group (or ‘basket’) of currencies including the US dollar, the British pound, the Japanese yen and others (Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 41).

Beijing during the post-Cold War era by strengthening relations with the states of South East Asia, Africa and Latin America designed the economic policy. China had been successful in expanding its economic relations with the developing states when “the Doha Round of the WTO talks failed due to differences between the US and EU and developed and developing states” (Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 49). Consequently, without getting into any dispute, China started providing help to developing states and expanded its influence globally. China’s larger industries have immense appetite to absorb ample amount of raw materials for which China relied on the developing states of Africa, Latin America and the neighbouring states of Southeast Asia. Beijing facilitated them with the exports of finished goods and provided free trade agreement.

Beijing’s trade relations regionally are very strong. Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan invest maximum in mainland China, which has been analyzed as “the pattern of China’s trade suggests that China tends to buy regionally and sell globally” (Bhaumik, 2009, p. 217). The spread of China’s economic power in the world has been faster. To expand throughout the world within just two decades and maintaining it in the third decade is something which none of the great powers could have done. “The world has never

witnessed a trading power like China. The United States' and Japan's foreign trade did not expand nearly as fast or as broadly as has China's" (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 157).

China's trade is mainly based on export of finished goods to the markets of the whole world. China is a producer of consumer items focusing on the demand of durables required in the market. China produces office furniture and household products, machinery, tools for machines, lubricant oils, lithium ion batteries, cameras, footwear, apparels, computers, textiles, nylon fibres, tape recorders, televisions, washing machines, mobile phones, watches, etc. (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 158). All these industries required energy, overseas direct investment as well as technology to enhance the economy of China. Consequently, China's economic foreign policy has been studied in detail in various sections such as energy sources, overseas direct investment, Chinese MNCs and technological policy.

6.3.3.1.1 Energy Sources:

To run the heavy industries, oil and energy are the basic requirements. Along with the quest for raw materials, China had a quest for energy too which it has managed by various sources throughout the world. China could manage to get large share of oil mainly due to its bilateral relations. Beijing's main sources of energy were from African states; later on Latin America, Gulf, as well as Central Asia also supplied energy to China. "In 1993, China crossed the threshold to being a net importer and is now the world's second largest after the United States. By 2010, China was dependent on imports for more than half of its total consumption- 4.8 million barrels per day (bb/d) of 9.2 billion (bb/d) that year (costing the country \$138.5 billion). The growth of China's

oil consumption has been at about 8 percent per year since 2002” (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 162).

Table 6.1: Energy Consumption during Past Two Decades

	(10 000 tons of SCE)			
	1990	2000	2010	2012
Total Energy Available for Consumption	96138	142605	339687	378690
Total Energy Consumption	98703	145531	324939	361732

Source: (China Statistical Yearbook, 2014, p. 9.3)

From the above table 6.1, one can analyze that by 2012 the energy consumption by industries has risen compared to 1990s. The available energy includes the imports and exports that cannot be fully utilized so the need to get more energy from various regions of Africa, Central Asia as well as Middle East has been the goal to continue the production of goods that has been supplied in the markets globally.

“Leading China’s global hunt for oil and gas have been its three major National Oil Companies (NOCs): China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC), China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC) and China Petrochemical Corporation (Sinopec)” (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 165).

“China’s tally till 1998 was:

- 1993: buys the Talara block in Peru
- 1997: signs a joint venture with Italy’s Agip to develop oil fields in Central Asia and Africa. Buys 40 percent of the Heglig oil field in Sudan for \$ 1 billion, buys the Caracole block in Venezuela for \$240 million, and the Intercampe Norte block

for \$118 million, buys 50% of Al Ahdab field in Iraq for \$1.2 billion with reserves of 140 million tonnes. Buys 60 percent of Aktyu-binskmunai Production Association, Kazakhstan for \$4.3 billion. Buys 60 percent of Uzen fields, Kazakhstan, for \$1.3 billion. Signs a joint venture with India's Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC) to explore oil in Kazakhstan" (Chandra, 1999, p. 3202).

China is known for its State Owned Enterprises (SOE) which has always been taken care of by China's state banks by lending them money and never calling on debts with low interest rates. Hence these 120 SOEs are the main import-exporters of China which includes even oil companies as well as big commodity firms. China mainly focused on oil exploration and making deals for energy supply could be seen in 1997, which resulted in rejuvenation of loss-making SOEs by assigning them the task to work on upstream(exploration and production) and downstream (refining and marketing) with the help of all the three NOCs of China (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 166). This way, China has explored major parts of the world and entered into various agreements to provide them the infrastructural level development.

"The lion's share (47 percent) of China's oil imports now comes from the Middle East. In 2009, Saudi Arabia was the largest supplier to China, followed by Iran, Oman, Iraq and Kuwait. Sub-Saharan and North Africa has become China's second main regional supplier, led by Angola, Sudan and Libya. In Latin America, Venezuela is China's most important energy supplier"(Shambaugh, 2013, p. 163).

There are only two routes to get oil imports- one is via sea and the other through pipeline. Both have got their blocks via sea, they need to pass through Malacca straits between Malaysia and Singapore. Through pipeline; China has Uyghur in the Xinjiang

region which is troublesome for China's smooth imports of oil. "Fully, 77 percent passes through the strategic chokepoint of the straits of Malacca between Malaysia and Singapore..... China's key to tapping into this network is the new 2,228 kilometer Sino-Kazakh pipeline, which opened in 2006 and by 2011 was transporting its full capacity of 10 million tons of oil into China per year" (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 163).

6.3.3.1.2 Overseas Direct Investment

During the post-Mao era there was a lack of clarity about the Foreign Direct Investment as all the policy makers were focusing on the internal reforms- mainly political as well as economic -to reach out to the demands for increasing production of goods in an interdependent world. But in the post-Cold War era, globalization was one big opportunity for developing states to enhance economies with foreign direct investments and establishment of MNCs. China got the advantage of the changed international order, which has now come to light during the post-Cold War era.

Table 6.2: Major Sources of FDIs

Year	Total	Hong Kong	Taiwan	Macao*	Japan	US
1994	34.0	19.8	3.4	2.0	2.1	2.5
1995	37.8	20.2	3.2	2.7	3.2	3.1
1998	45.6	18.5	2.9	3.8	3.4	3.9

"Note: * includes Singapore, Up to 1995 SYC; 1998: <http://ce.cei.gov.cn>" Source: (Chandra, 1999, p. 3196)

From the above table it is clear that the major source of FDI was from the region itself except US investments and the major share of investment was from Hong Kong.

Consequently, the independence of Hong Kong as a British Colony was the major benefit for PRC.

Until the beginning of 21st century, China was dependent on the FDI to raise its economic capability. But after the global economy has geared up, China has entered into Overseas Direct Investment (ODI). “China’s global economic footprint, ODI, is a more recent phenomenon. For more than three decades, China has been one of the world’s top recipients of foreign direct investment (absorbing a total of utilized FDI of more than \$1trillion between 1979 and 2010)”(Shambaugh, 2013, p. 174).

The MNCs of Chinese origin are now being established in other states which are also a means to Overseas Direct Investment (ODI). “In terms of the type and modalities of China’s overseas investment, even though “greenfield” (startup) investments are increasing, mergers and acquisitions remain the preferred modality for Chinese overseas investment” (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 179).

Another aspect of overseas direct investment can be seen in a different way in the form of foreign aid provided to the developing states by China. China has been practicing this since 1950s. “According to China’s white paper on Foreign Aid, China uses three types of foreign aid financing and eight forms of foreign aid. Financing includes grants, interest-free loans, and concessional loans. The latter are granted by the Export-Import Bank of China and raised on the stock and bond markets. The Export-Import Bank also offers short-term credits to Chinese companies involved in delivery of aid related goods and services abroad and longer-term credits for foreign recipients of this aid. (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 203) Consequently, China is a receiver and donor of overseas direct investment which can be considered as neo-liberal approach of foreign policy

through inter-governmental organizations such as IMF, World Bank, WTO. That has opened the gates for multinational corporations. The table below shows the foreign aid granted to several African states during the post-Cold War era:

Table: 6.3: China's Foreign Aid to African States

Country	Assistance Provided
Angola	Debt relief, US\$2 billion loan
Burundi	Textile Mill, hydroelectric power stations, hospitals
Congo (Brazzaville)	Stadium, hydroelectric power station, broadcasting station, hospital, factory
Gabon	Health-Care center, primary school and assembly building
Nigeria	Railway upgrade
Rwanda	Highway, cement factory, veterinary school
Zimbabwe	Stadium, hospitals, dams, factories

Source: (Halper, *The Beijing Consensus: How China's Authoritarian Model will Dominate the Twenty-First Century*, 2010, p. 101)

6.3.3.1.3 Chinese MNCs

Multinational Companies of China are thoroughly professional and completely possessing a global mind-set which is capable of operating in multiple cultures and languages. "In 2001, there were only twelve Chinese companies on the Fortune Global 500 list; a decade later, Chinese companies (including four headquartered in Hong Kong) totaled sixty one collectively, the sixty one Chinese MNCs had combined annual revenue of \$2.89 trillion and estimated overall profit of \$176.1 billion in 2010.

Of the fifty-seven mainland companies, forty-nine are SOEs. China now ranks third on the global list, only slightly behind Japan”(Shambaugh, 2013, p. 184).

To facilitate trade, China has entered into Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) with ASEAN states. China has become an expert in conducting trade with bilateral and trilateral trades mainly with Asian, African and Latin American states. China has also tried to extend FTA with thirteen nations other than ASEAN and is negotiating with five more states.

6.3.3.1.4 Technological Policy

Technology has become a part of life in each and every aspect. The American contribution to the world through technology is making human life easier and comfortable. China with its rise in economic and military sectors has also upgraded technology. China has been involved in producing mobile phones and electronic items since its open-door policy, which has made China’s rise easier. “The new wave of scientific and technological revolution, we were told, creates complex global networks of mutual influence and infiltration. In this new era, China could choose not to emancipate its political-economy thinking and fall behind in the technological race, forfeiting its global citizenship in the process, or it could more fully integrate itself into the world market and make more creative use of science and technology, whereby it would leap into the front ranks of world power” (Kim, 2009, p. 364).

During Deng era, many citizens of China were sent to America to get training for the enhancement of technological development in China. In order to facilitate them, 53 nationally recognized science or industrial parks were established to foster high technology. These parks provided various packages of tax and land incentives to subsidize foreign investors. Among them, the Zhangjiang High Tech Park in Shanghai’s

Pudong New Area was paramount. Zhangjiang Park has emerged as a centre of wholly foreign owned investment, which reached \$3.4 billion in 2000, triple the average in previous years” (Hsu, 2005, p. 53).

The technological know-how, development and transfer of knowledge have been now taken care of by three powerful technological entities namely Silicon Valley-Taiwan-China which “creates a pattern of capital and brain circulation in the nodes of transnational business networks. The power of transnational technical community is evident, and has become key force in shaping the global production networks” (Hsu, 2005, p. 55). All three have entered into formal agreements in the form of partnership and joint ventures that has contributed in the technological advancement of China.

China has contributed in technological goods by producing computers and electronic products such as ones by Lenovo, Haier, Huawei and TCL. Few of these companies have surpassed American expertise and could buy giant American firms such as IBM and Maytag (Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 44).

There is “[o]ne notable breakthrough by the 2010 unveiling of the world’s fastest supercomputer, stealing the top spot from the United States, which had held the distinction for many decades. The Tianhe – IA is capable of 2507 trillion calculations per second- 1.4 times faster than its nearest American competitor- and was developed by the National center for Supercomputing in Tianjin” (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 161). Consequently, China has moved ahead on the track of sophistication and advancement in technology. This is not limited to the electronic sector but also applies to the advancement in military sector.

6.3.3.2 *Changes in Foreign Military Policy*

Another most important power attribute other than economy in the contemporary times is the military power. “The People’s Republic of China (PRC) is on a rapid course to becoming a great power in East Asia, perhaps the great power of the region” (Chambers, 2008, p. 167). In order to move on a rapid course, China focused on enhancing its military power along with economic power.

During 1990s, the Gulf Wars led China to advance its military with technological sophistication. China realized the need of advancement in technological aspect due to American demonstration of high-tech weaponry during Gulf Wars. China could afford high-tech weaponry with its gain in economic enhancement during the past decade that was a point of advantage.

In the 21th century, China's Navy has been advanced by developing submarines with nuclear missile launching facility. The maritime projection with ballistic arsenal and mobile launch vehicles are the latest up gradation of PLA Navy. “The CSS-6 and CSS-7 SRBMs are mobile, and could be redeployed if necessary to target a large portion of mainland Southeast Asia. In addition, the PRC has 14-18 CSS-2 intermediate-range (IRBMs) and 19-23 CSS-5 medium-range ballistic missiles (MRBMs)”(Chambers, 2008, p. 170).

Chinese Navy has been actively patrolling in South China Sea, Indian Ocean as well as Pacific Rim to project its power in the Asia-Pacific region. “The People’s Liberation Army (PLA) Navy has traditionally been a coastal force and China has had a continental outlook to security. But with the increase in its economic might since 1980s, Chinese

interests have expanded and the country has acquired a maritime orientation with the intention of projecting power into the Indian Ocean”(Pant, 2011-12, p. 53).

The estimates of China’s and Japan’s economic expenditure for the strengthening of their military have been discussed as below. “In the 2005 annual report on China’s military power, the US Department of Defense estimates that in 2025 the Chinese economy will have grown to \$6.4 trillion (constant 2005 dollars) from approximately \$1.8 trillion- the US economy is predicted to total \$22.5 trillion and Japan’s \$6.3 trillion in 2025. Based on this economic growth, the Pentagon projects that the real Chinese military budget may range between \$225 billion and \$325 billion (up from \$60-90 billion in 2005).Such numbers indicate that China could build quite formidable military by 2025”(Chambers, 2008, p. 169).

If the military power of China continues to grow with the same pace then “The PLA is expected to complete development of land-attack cruise missiles (LACM), and to further enhance its deployment of anti-ship cruise missiles (ASCMs). Moreover, the Chinese military is emphasizing asymmetrical warfare methods, such as information warfare and electromagnetic warfare, to cripple those modern militaries that rely heavily on computers and information networks”(Chambers, 2008, p. 170).

As discussed above, China is interested in the continental security concern, which has been converted into action by proposing an idea “of an annual security policy conference within ARF framework. The proposal was accepted by ASEAN and the first conference was held in November 2004 in Beijing. In addition, the PRC became the first non-ASEAN country to sign the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in 2003, and in 2002 signed a

Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea and a Joint Declaration on Cooperation in the Field on Non-Traditional Security Issues” (Chambers, 2008, p. 171).

“In the 1950s, Prime Minister Zhou Enlai sought to create a ‘zone of peace’ that would stretch across China’s southern borders from Pakistan in the west to Vietnam in the east.

This string of friendly, or at least neutral neighbours would provide the PRC with a buffer zone between itself and potentially threatening great powers” (Chambers, 2008, p. 173).

This string of pearls has become a concern for the PRC activities in the Indian Ocean and for the Indian subcontinent.

It has been stated by Hedley Bull, that a state can only rise if the existing great power allows the other state to rise. Here, we can see the US has appreciated China’s power enhancement. “In the recent report on Chinese military power, the Department of Defense repeated official US policy that the United States “welcomes the rise of a peaceful and prosperous China”” (Chambers, 2008, p. 182).

China has surpassed other great powers in military spending and has now become the largest spender in 2006 (Pant, 2011-12, p. 52). China’s navy is the third-largest in the world after US and Russia. India comes fourth after China.

“China’s diplomatic and military efforts in the Indian Ocean seem to reflect a desire to project power vis-à-vis competing powers in the region such as the US and India. China’s presence in the Bay of Bengal via roads and ports in Burma and in the Arabian Sea via the Chinese-built port of Gwadar in Pakistan has been a cause of concern for India. With access to crucial port facilities in Egypt, Iran, and Pakistan, China is well poised to secure its interests in the region”(Pant, 2011-12, p. 55). This shows china’s growth in the military sector as a great power.

Consequently, the means and the approaches in the Chinese foreign policy strategies have taken-off to a rise before the 21st century began. This has resulted into China's global influence by extending cordial diplomatic relations with various actors of the international system.

6.3.4 Changes in the Relationship with Other Actors of the International System

Diplomatic policy is one of the most important policies for a state in order to have cordial international relations that have created an image with the use of soft power with other actors in the system. A state can ensure the trade or military relations with other states only if they have good diplomatic relations. In the fourth chapter, it has been discussed that after the establishment of PRC, both Taiwan and PRC were bidding to get recognized as China. During post-Cold War era, the international order changed with the globalization of economy, China had a challenge to adjust within 2 years of Tiananmen incident and get maximum benefit out of it with the help of its good diplomatic relations.

Beijing is well-known for its emphasis on bilateralism in its relations with other states. But after the new international economic order, China advocated multilateral diplomacy unlike during Mao and post-Mao era. China has a special relation with the United States starting with open-door policy to FDI and technological assistance. In some areas, the interests of China and US are quite complementary to each other which have been discussed in detail. China's relations with its neighbours improved during post-Cold War era. The bilateral approach to relations with the neighbouring states continued but two regional organizations play a pivotal role in enhancement of China's power attributes today: ASEAN and SCO. China extended its diplomatic relations into cross-regional and cross –continental arena with the help of its soft power as well as with its overseas direct investments. China is one

of the most important states for United Nations since its permanent membership in the Security Council. China has been a part of several missions of UN in the developing states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. All the relations are discussed in detail in this section.

6.3.4.1 *Relations with the United States*

China-U.S. relations have been studied extensively by scholars in the recent times. This relationship has gained attention in the world due to China's development after the improvement in the relations with U.S. It has also resulted into China's rise as a great power.

David Shambaugh, one of the prominent American scholars has written extensively about US-China relations and has covered almost everything that needs to be said as a summary of this relationship in this paragraph. "The relationship between United States and the PRC has rightly been described by officials on both sides as the most important bilateral relationship in the world. It is also the most complex one. These two powers are interconnected in innumerable ways: strategically, diplomatically, economically, socially, culturally, environmentally, regionally, internationally, educationally, and in many measures, they are world's two largest economies, in aggregate the two largest military budgets and navies, are the two largest consumers of energy and importers of oil in the world, are the two largest national emitters of greenhouse gases and contributors to climate change, contribute the two largest numbers of Ph.D.s and patent applications in the world and are the only two true global actors on the world stage today"(Shambaugh, 2013, p. 73).

Another aspect of economic relations of China and U.S. is that they are "one another's second largest trading partners. The growth of American exports to China is the highest

in the world (growing on impressive 542 percent from 2000 to 2011), the United States is the third largest source of foreign direct investment in China, and China is the largest foreign creditor of the United States. (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 73) China's relations with US has gone through ups and downs during the post-Cold War era with several issues in which both have wide difference of opinion such as human rights, status of Taiwan, China's activities in South China Sea, etc.

The relations were restored with official dialogue which had impeded in 1989, Tiananmen incident that has resulted into a new conceptual framework of "a constructive strategic partnership" between US and China. "Fortunately, the two countries were able to pull back from the brink, agreeing to schedule an exchange of summit meetings between Chinese President Jiang Zemin and U.S. President Bill Clinton. Moreover, the twin summits- Jiang's visit to the U.S. in the fall of 1997 and Clinton's visit to China in the summer of 1998- were surprisingly productive, resulting in five accomplishments." (Harding, 2004, pp. 179-180)

6.3.4.1.1 Human Rights

China being basically an authoritarian state, had acted brutally in 1989, which strained relations with US as well as most of the Western states and their allies. "The violent end of the student's demonstration in Tiananmen Square in June 1989 immediately led to international condemnation and isolation against the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)-run government"(Deng, China's Struggle for Status: Realignment of International Relations, 2008, p. 69).

The year 1999 had been important as it was the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of PRC and half way to reach the goal of 100 years set up as China's dream. A decade

had passed after the Tiananmen crisis and China was successful in getting back with double energy to deal in an international system by restoring its relations with the United States.

A different perspective was also raised linking the anniversaries which could turn into a protest for democracy within China and might slowdown her economic growth. “If antigovernment protests become more frequent, if disturbances are suppressed by force, or if dissidents are arrested in large numbers, that could also further inflame criticism of China in the United States”(Harding, 2004, p. 183). But Beijing could manage the citizens by restoring the faith of people in CCP administration and its authoritarian form of government.

6.3.4.1.2 Trade

As there was tension between both the states during the initial years of the post-Cold War era, the trade between them only began after the Asian Crisis of 1997-98. China got less affected by the crisis because of the inconvertible nature of its currency, but its economy slowed down as other neighbours which helped China were neither in a position to buy China’s exported goods nor invest in China through FDI. That was the point when U.S. and China again started trade with each other. The depression in many neighbouring countries is being reflected in declines in Chinese exports, incoming foreign investment, and revenues from tourism”(Harding, 2004, p. 183).

In the crisis situation, China was not willing to devalue its currency at that time. The United States provided technical assistance to reform and restructure its banking system which was in debt. (Harding, 2004, p. 184) China is the last state which has received trade assistance from United States from the northeast Asia region, after Taiwan, Japan and South Korea where the U.S. had developed strong trade relations as well as the U.S.

presence in the development of ASEAN states cannot be ignored. Though PRC's rise has been fast, U.S. had covered almost the Western Pacific region with its economic and security reasons. China has minutely studied the successes and failures of the U.S. and keeps on rectifying those steps with Chinese characteristics.

Initially, China was reluctant to sanction imports because of her weak banking system and was having a threat of opening to foreign financial institutions. But with its realist interests it could manage to survive as well as move on the footsteps of its predecessor great power, the United States made it convenient. Since its reform period China has closely followed other great powers, particularly the U.S., and exclusively focused on each step of American policies and tried to implement the same policy at an appropriate time with Chinese characteristics in it. Its anti-hegemony policy and the skill to take out the maximum possible outcome with any kind of help from the U.S. have made two states real determining economic players in the contemporary times.

6.3.4.1.3 Security

The relationship between China and US regarding security and technology has been unique. Chinese expectations related to military sanctions as well as technological advancement have been high from United States. But both the states are being sceptical about each other's intentions. "In fact, such a relaxation is virtually unthinkable in the present context, for there is growing concern in the United States that China poses a threat to American security. This concern is matched by similar suspicions in China about U.S. intentions and capabilities"(Harding, 2004, p. 185).

China's main concern regarding the military development is pertaining to the Taiwan issue. The U.S. is far more capable, probably possessing three times greater military power than China. "In particular, China is concerned about the renewed American

interest in developing a theater missile defense system (TMD) and deploying it in the Western Pacific.... Even more, Beijing worries that the U.S. might provide a TMD system for Taiwan; thus denying mainland China the ability to use the threat of a missile attack to deter Taiwan from declaring independence”(Harding, 2004, p. 187).

Looking at Beijing’s fast growth in almost all sectors, the potential to grasp technology is very high; consequently even if China deserves to be a part of any important bodies or structures, Beijing has been excluded with an intention to deter her growth due to her offensive image in the world. Though her actions since the post-Mao era are almost defensive the realist world is full of scepticism. “Second, the mutual suspicions could hamper efforts to bring China more fully into the international arms control regime”(Harding, 2004, p. 187).

6.3.4.1.4 Taiwan

Another important aspect in China-U.S. relationship is Taiwan. Harding has precisely described the probable threat of confrontation of the both the states in Taiwan Strait. China is in constant effort to enhance its military capabilities in order to resist the U.S. influence and activities in the Taiwan Strait which might result into a serious confrontation. Consequently, China is trying to justify its advancement in strategic nuclear force (Harding, 2004, p. 190). The recent development regarding Taiwan independence has been beneficial for China as U.S. and Japan has reassured Beijing that they may not support Taiwan independence.

China and U.S. are trying to be complimentary to each other in the post Cold-War era. There are certain gaps which both are filling up and trying to balance the international order. Though there are multiple actors, the current status can also be viewed as a bipolar world. The only difference is that there is no Cold War between them but constant check on each other's actions is a pertinent aspect of current situation.

6.3.4.2 *Relations with Neighbours*

China's relations with its neighbours during Mao era were quite strained and offensive in nature but the post-Cold War era has witnessed a kind of soft and defensive approach towards its neighbours. "In the wake of the diplomatic damages caused to China by the Tiananmen incident after 1989, the government of Jiang Zemin sought to repair relations with Asian neighbours via a series of foreign policy initiatives which came to be known as '*zhoubian*' (peripheral) diplomacy"(Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 109)

Basically, *zhoubian* diplomacy was a policy to keep the relations intact with the neighbours even after the Tiananmen crisis. This policy helped China to sustain with its diaspora in the ASEAN states, as well as in Taiwan and other neighbouring states which had the feeling of belongingness. This could save China from a speedy downfall. "Beijing's reasons for launching *zhoubian* diplomacy at this time are manifold. Primarily, the Chinese government did not want its neighbours to marginalize China's relations in the wake of Tiananmen, as there was a possibility that the country would regress into the isolationism of the late Maoist era; nor was it interested in radically challenging the political order in East and Southeast Asia. As well, Beijing wanted to forestall a collective attempt by its neighbours, especially those which were more directly aligned with the

West, to restrain or contain China's power in Asia by encircling it with states hostile to Beijing's regional interests." (Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 109)

6.3.4.2.1 China's Relations with Russia:

When one begins with the neighbours, Russia is the biggest and strongest neighbor of China. Even after the disintegration of Soviet Union, the Russians were militarily very strong which helped China to strengthen PLA Navy for the security issues in the Pacific Rim. As both the states are geographically larger in size, they share a long border with major issues. Both the sides put sincere efforts to resolve the border issues and could settle the issue in 2008. "China's relations with Russia have also warmed considerably since the end of the Cold War, and as a result the two countries have proclaimed a partnership and have shared information on issues related to regional security as well as joint international interests." (Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 14)

The economic relations between China and Russia which had fallen down during the initial years of 1990s but later on coped up and there was an increase in trade through borders. Many of Chinese origin people have crossed the borders and settled in Russia. All these demographic reports have contributed an increase of trade relations between both states. Today, China is third largest trade partner of Russia. (Dittmer, 2009, p. 221)

The need of military supply for China which had been stopped from US after the Tiananmen incident and turned back to Russia for the same in which China was at benefit.

The relationship between China and Russia has been considered much compatible to each other. (Dittmer, 2009, p. 222)

China had got lot of high technology sophisticated weaponry from Russia. After the disintegration of Soviet Union, China signed military agreement in March 1992 for the advancement in military with receiving sophisticated S-300 anti-aircraft missile system and SA-10 anti-tactical ballistic missile from Russia. The agreement was renewed by both sides in November 1996, facilitating China to purchase 30 to 50 SU-30MKK multipurpose fighters, four diesel-powered (Kilo-class) submarines, four Sovremenniy-class destroyers with accompanying Sunburn anti-ship missiles designed to fifteen year licensing agreement to produce up to 200 additional Su-27s (as Chinese F-11s) at a production line in Shenyang (with a restriction against exporting them) (Dittmer, 2009, p. 223).

The training of Chinese pilots by Russian experts for almost one year as well as 4000 trainers from Russia were based in China to enhance China's nuclear and missile capabilities became convenient to both the states. Both had common nature of state, both were much interested in military enhancement through which China could produce weapons at home. (Dittmer, 2009, p. 223).

6.3.4.2.2 China's relations with Japan:

Japan and China share a competitive kind of relationship. There are certain common aspects which bring them together and some aspects which always keep them separate from each other. They are regionally powerful states and in fact the most powerful in terms of economic development. Japan and China have a common ally: U.S. Their writing pictorial script as well as grammar of the language is common. However, threat perceptions create a big wall between both the states, as China is aware of the

demonstration of the Japanese military capability during Second World War. Even the current claim on uninhabited Senkaku/Diaoyutai islands is creating tensions in the region. The islets are near Japan but China is also claiming it. The claim of Senkaku/Diaoyutai islands located in the southern part of East China Sea which has traces of oil available and hence both Japan and China are interested in the land. (Lanteigne, Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction, 2009, p. 112)

The way Japan had adopted the strategy known as mercantile realism, a policy based on the development of economic power and high technology. But China's rising military might in post-Cold War era is of concern for Japan. Tokyo has been strongly criticizing China's military up gradations.

“The short (2006-07) tenure of Shinzo Abe as Japanese prime minister created some opportunities for improvements to the Sino-Japanese relationship.” (Lanteigne, Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction, 2009, p. 112) Both China and Japan share good diplomatic and economic relations. Japan has tried to support the PRC against Taiwan and assured Beijing that Tokyo shall not support Taiwan's independence. The interdependence world is trying to bring both closer to each other in terms of trade. Both the states are consciously making efforts for the development of Northeast Asian region as well as making the Asian century stronger. The latest value of imports and exports by Japan with China has been depicted in the following table.

Table 6.4 Value of Imports and Exports by Japan

(USD 10,000)

	Exports	Imports	Total
2012	15162183	17783395	32945578
2013	15013245	16224540	31237785

Source: (China Statistical Yearbook, 2014, p. 11.6)

“From a power politics viewpoint, there is the question of what will happen should both China and Japan claim to be the pivot states in East Asia. The wild card might be the United States, and much will depend on whether the US decides to scale back its future military commitments in the region”(Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 113).

It seems that both the states are in competition economically, and cooperative diplomatically. But both of them are in traditional security dilemma situation due to China’s military rise.

6.3.4.2.3 China’s relations with South Korea

The relationship between China and South Korea started taking shape with the end of the Cold War. Both the states share certain common interests regarding the protection of the region and economic development with cooperation. “This stance was codified in 1991 when China gave its support for both Koreas, obtaining seats in the United Nations General Assembly, and then the following year when diplomatic relations between Seoul and Beijing commenced. The talks referred to as ‘Operation East Sea’ in Seoul, led to the establishment of relations in August 1992.” (Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 114)

South Korea has now reached the middle power status. In fact, most of China's neighbours have the developed economy therefore China's peripheral diplomacy: *zhoubian* is being successful. "South Korea has become increasingly important as a trading partner for China. In his November 1995 state visit to South Korea, President Jiang Zemin reemphasized the importance of China's ties with South Korea and projected that 1995 bilateral trade would reach the level of US \$15 billion." (Zhao Q. , *Chinese Foreign Policy in the Post Cold-War Era*, 2009, p. 304)

China is in the top three lists of trading as its biggest trading partner, largest export market and trade surplus source so they both share a cordial and cooperative relations in terms of trade. "More than a decade after recognition, trade continues to dominate the Sino-South Korean relationship, and Beijing is now the centerpiece of what was called South Korea's 'Three Number Ones', namely that China is Seoul's biggest trading partner, largest export market and trade surplus source." (Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 114)

Strategically, both are concerned about the North Korean issues. They need to move forward in terms of arms reduction as well as make the region nuclear-weapons free zone. North Korea has been conservative and strong authoritarian state which needs to be dealt with tactically. South Korea has been supportive to China in this matter which shows the cooperative stance towards establishing peace in the region.

6.3.4.2.4 China's relations with North Korea

China is the only country with which North Korea has good relations after the disintegration of Soviet Union. During the post-Cold War era, North Korea went into isolation and relied completely on political, economic, military, cultural as well as nuclear support from China. "Since the 1990s the country, strongly encouraged by

China, has been gradually emerging from its diplomatic isolation, by participating in Track II dialogues as well as in the ARF, which was created in 1994 as an international discussion forum for Asian Security.” (Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 115)

North Korea had been very skeptical and extremely poor in economic enhancement. China has been promoting it by providing assistance in terms of bringing reforms, the way China did it by introducing Special Economic Zones amongst which the biggest project is on Tumen River to get hydroelectricity between Russia, North Korea and China. But North Korea is not yet ready to open up its markets and take foreign aid from developed states. Its primary trade partners are Japan, Russia and China. “The regime has sought hard capital and subsidies from several actors in the hopes of keeping its economy afloat. China still provides ‘fraternal assistance’ to Pyongyang and despite ongoing talk about *juche* and self-reliance, Pyongyang has shown little reluctance to accepting foreign aid and assistance, especially since the fall of USSR.” (Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 116)

Another important aspect of concern is North Korean possession of nuclear weapons. The way North Korean behavior has been analyzed, it is quite dangerous for mankind that it may sell the technology and space to make nuclear weapons to some irresponsible international actors. Possession of nuclear weapons is to deter the scope of war between great powers and not to use it. But middle powers intending to rise as great powers might adopt any means and can prove to be dangerous for the whole world. United States continuously is concerned regarding North Korea. “Both China and Soviet Union have been considered likely earlier suppliers, and more recently media reports have suggested

that the Pakistani scientist Abdul Qadeer Khan may have sold North Korea plans to assist the state's nuclear enrichment programme. In 1992, North Korea agreed to an inspection of its nuclear reactors by representatives of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)." (Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 116)

The America being the superpower in the world took the initiative to directly communicate with North Korea and deter the nuclear weapons development and exchange by signing NPT with an assurance not to be attacked by America. The Sino-North Korea relations are in cooperation and coexistence stage in the region, but in case if there seems to be any evidence or actions related to nuclear programme, China needs America to intervene. (Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 119)

6.3.4.2.5 China's relations with India:

China and India, two Asian giants, almost began together their journey of rising on different paths with different pace and approaches. Today, China is considered a great power and India as a regional power. The relationship between both the states has seen ups and downs but has reached to a cooperative approach by positively addressing the issues which are persistent by the governments of both the states.

The 1962 war and China's offensive activities on Indian borders as well as India's support to Tibet created hesitation on both the sides to establish friendly relations. "In 1976, the two countries restored ambassadorial level relations after 15 years... The Agreement on Confidence Building Measures in the Military field along the India-China border areas was signed in 1996. The two sides agreed to work towards a constructive

and co-operative relationship oriented towards the 21st century.... Both sides also agreed to accelerate the process of clarification and confirmation of the Line of Actual Control (LAC) along the India-China boundary”(Biswajit Nag, 2010, p. 75).

“In June 2003, during the visit to China, Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, along with Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao, signed the declaration on “principles for relations and comprehensive cooperation. The joint agreement agreed on the deepening mutual cooperation, promote socio-economic development, maintain peace and stability both regionally as well as globally, strengthening multipolarity and enhance the positive factor of globalization.” (Biswajit Nag, 2010, p. 75)

After the beginning of the 21st century, the economic interdependence resulted into opening greater trade relations as well as promotes each other’s multinational companies were in demands in China. The technological advanced and other electronic products were in demands in India so both had an opportunity to fulfill each other’s demands and strengthen economic relations. The list of Indian companies carrying trade is as follows: Indian companies such as Ranbaxy Limited, Dr. Reddy’s Laboratories, Aurobindo Pharma, Cadilla and Wockhardt, Orissa Industries Ltd. (Orind), Essel Packaging and Infosys, NIIT and APTECH have established joint ventures in China (Biswajit Nag, 2010, pp. 76-77).

Chinese companies represented in India include China National Machinery Import and Export Corporation, China Petroleum Technology & Development Corporation, China Metallurgical Import and Export Corporation (CMIEC) and Sinochem. In 1999, Konka and Haier, two Chinese consumer durable companies, set up joint ventures in India. Huawei Technologies has recently set up software R&D centre in Bangalore.

Now there are 15 Chinese companies in India and 71 projects set up by Indian firms in China. (Biswajit Nag, 2010, p. 77). The value of imports and exports by India with China during 2012 and 2013 has been shown in the table below.

Table 6.5 Value of Imports and Exports by India with China

(USD 10,000)

	Exports	Imports	Total
2012	4767751	1879582	6647333
2013	4843241	1697025	6540266

Source: (China Statistical Yearbook, 2014, p. 11.6)

China has always been comfortable in conducting bilateral trade relations. It has been its pattern and it is able to carry out trade with India successfully through this means. China has been militarily one of the stronger states compared to India. China had been providing training to the military personnel of the developing states. “In the years leading up to the 2005 Sino-Indian summit, there have also been a series of high-level military exchanges between China and India. In November 2003, General Wu Quanxu, deputy chief of general staff of the PLA met with Lieutenant General Mohinder Singh, commander of the 4th Corps of the Eastern Military Region of the Indian Armed Forces.... In the same month (November 2003) a three-vessel Indian warship fleet visited Shanghai for five days to conduct joint naval exercises with PLAN” (Athwal, 2008, p. 110).

General Vij visited China and discussed to exchange and co-operate at all the levels: Army, Navy as well as Air Force. There was already an agreement carried out for establishing Joint Military Training in late 1980s. “Both sides also discussed cooperation in facing non-traditional threats, particularly against international terrorism.

The visit of the Chief of Army Staff is an important element of the expanding military contacts between our two countries as part of the overall development of bilateral relations”(Athwal, 2008, p. 110).

“The year 2006 may indeed prove to be a milestone year for Sino-Indian relations. On 1 January 2006, Chinese and Indian heads of government met to officially launch the “China-India Friendship Year”..... The Sino-Indian Friendship Year has been unveiled as a series of official exchange activities that will be spread out through 2006. These activities range from political, economic and military exchanges to cultural, scientific and educational exchanges”(Athwal, 2008, p. 112).

The relationship between India and China began in the late 1940s with a fraternal relationship but later on it turned into conflict. This conflict had been the cause of a break in relationship for almost 15 years but the relations were revived with a positive note from the leaders of both the states. After that the relations in economic and military terms were enhanced, but the recent incursions and ignoring LAC as well as no clear border issues remain a major point of concern.

6.3.4.2.6 China’s relations with Kazakhstan

China’s another important Central Asian neighbour, Kazakhstan has developed a good neighbouring relationship with China. It provides oil to China and China supplies the manufactured goods, beginning with clothes and apparels to mobile phones and electronic items. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, China has become a responsible and reliable neighbour for the Central Asian states.

The most important aspect between both the states is supply of oil through pipeline to China. The pipeline passes through the Xinjiang area of western China that ends at Shanghai on the east of China. There were border issues due to the Uighurs migrating

from Xinjiang region of China to Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. But China has tried to resolve border issues by entering into agreement on oil fields in the Central Asian region. China had entered into a relationship with Central Asian States mainly due to energy sources. “Kazakhstan and China have resolved all their border disputes, largely to Kazakhstan’s benefit when the two states wrote a large oil deal that is widely thought to be a part of the compromise.” (Swanstrom, Jan. 2007, p. 575)

Other than Kashagan oil fields, there are other oil fields which have been explored by China such as the pipeline from Atasu, in the northwestern Kazakhstan; to Alashankou in China’s northwestern Xinjiang region became operative in May 2006.

It is not only China that is benefitting from this relationship. Kazakhstan is also receiving training and assistance to establish nuclear power generation technology from China. It can be considered as a win-win relationship on both the sides.

6.3.4.3 Relations with Inter-Continental Regions

Chinese relations are not limited to the region or the neighbouring states. China has extended its relations with the inter-continental regions such as Asia-Pacific states, African as well as Latin American states.

6.3.4.3.1 China’s Relations with Asia-Pacific States

In the 21st century, Asia-Pacific region has become one of the regions which has maximum number of potential middle powers and has become a ground for US and China to deter each other. There are many regional economic organizations formulated such as ASEAN, APEC, TPP, ARF, etc. Before the 21st century, the region was studied based on continental and regional level but now with the *Power and Interdependence* written by Keohane and Nye (1977); the Asia-Pacific region has been understudied by

scholars since then. “In order to enhance power China was focusing on the other great powers until the end of Cold War but by 1990s China’s interest “...began to develop as an active member of many Asia-Pacific initiatives including APEC and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF).” (Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 15)

China had been in constant effort to increase the significance of Asia trade system and globalize it through growing intra-Asian trade. (Bhaumik, 2009, p. 217) For that, China has been expanding its relations through Pacific Rim with states like Australia, New Zealand as well as the Latin American States.

China had also developed relations with Australia, New Zealand, Chile and other Pacific states. The tables below shows clear economic trade relations with the above states. China’s relations with Australia were of complementary nature. (Yang, 2007, p. 341) Both were supplying each other’s goods and technologies. China exported her goods and received advanced agricultural technologies from Australia. Australia has also been considered as one of the important ally of China.

New Zealand is world’s number one in Dairy Industries. China imports milk and cheese; log, wood-fibre; etc, from New Zealand and exports to it textiles, mobile-phones, bags, toys and foot wears. New Zealand also supported China’s entry to WTO talks. All these developed good and friendly relations between the two countries.

Though the relations with New Zealand were based on dairy industries, the relations with Australia did not remain limited.

They extended in exports and imports of goods, exchanges of technologies as well as advancing its agricultural technologies. The relations with Australia strengthened after 1997.

Table 6.6: Development of Trade between China and Australia

Development of Trade Between China and Australia US\$100 million			
YEAR	TOTAL VOLUME	CHINA'S EXPORTS TO AUSTRALIA	CHINA'S IMPORTS FROM AUSTRALIA
1998	50.30	23.42	26.88
1999	63.11	27.04	36.07
2000	84.50	34.30	50.20
2001	89.97	35.70	54.26
2002	104.36	45.80	58.50
2003	135.60	62.60	73.00

Source: (Yang, 2007, p. 340)

The above table depicts China's trade relations with Australia from 1998 to 2003. The total volume of trade, exports and imports has increased compared to its initial economic relations in recent times.

6.3.4.3.2 China's Relations with African States

After the establishment of PRC, China has been developing relations with almost all major African states. The diplomatic relations expanded via trade and cooperation agreements.

China had been the largest foreign aid supplier to the African states than other Western states. “In terms of the distribution of China’s foreign aid, China’s white paper indicates that the lion’s share goes to Africa (45.7 percent), followed by Asia (32.8 percent), Latin America (12.7 percent), Oceania (4 percent) and others (4.5 percent)”(Shambaugh, 2013, p. 204).

China has been exploring different regions for its quest of oil to run her large industries. China was at benefit to receive oil from many countries of Africa “China has developed a twin-pronged, strategy towards energy investments. First it has pursued exploration and production deals in smaller, low-visibility countries such as Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, and the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville). Second, it has gone after the largest oil producers by offering integrated packages of aid”(Obi, 2010, p. 183).

“During a state visit to Nigeria in April 2006, the Chinese President, Hu Jintao, clearly outlined the ‘... five pillars of a proposed new type of Sino-African strategic partnership: China and Africa should strengthen political mutual trust; China and Africa should strengthen win-win economic cooperation; China and Africa should increase cultural interaction; China and Africa should strengthen security cooperation; and China and Africa should maintain close coordination in international affairs.’(Xinhua News Agency, 2006). These goals were further reiterated by the Chinese leadership during the November 2006 Forum on China- Africa Cooperation (FOCAC)” (Obi, 2010, p. 183).

China have developed good diplomatic relations with African states such as Angola, Sudan, Nigeria and other states possessing oil fields.

“One of the scholars remembers that the heels of a visit by the Chinese vice-premier, cooperation agreements were signed, which has strengthen two way relationship between China and Africa by exporting “465,000 barrels of oil per day to China in the first six months of 2007, Beijing secured a major stake in future oil production in 2004 through Sinopec with a US\$2 billion package of loans and aid that includes funds for Chinese companies to build railroads, schools, roads, hospitals, bridges, and offices; lay a fibre-optic network, and train Angolan telecommunication workers. (Obi, 2010, pp. 183-4)

Sudan is Africa’s third largest oil producer. China’s oil exploration in Africa began in 1996 from Sudan “where CNPC (40 per cent) joined Petronas (30 percent), Sudapest (5 per cent) and Araxis, later Talisman, then India’s Oil and Natural Gas Corporation Videsh Ltd (OVL, 25 percent) to form greater Nile Petroleum Corporation (GNPC)” (Obi, 2010, p. 184).

The relations with Nigeria are not so old. “The growing profile of China in Africa reached a significant milestone on 4/5 November 2006, marked by the holding of the third ministerial meeting and first heads of state summit of the Forum on China- Africa Cooperation (FOCAC)”(Obi, 2010, p. 186).

New development in China-South Africa relations has been seen. South Africa and China trade relations have developed significantly that South Africa is reluctant in expanding relations with China’s rival states. List of major South African companies in China is as follows: Naspers/MIH, Kumba Resources, Sasol, AngloGold Ashanti, Anglo Coal, Bateman, First National Bank, Goldfields, SAB Miller, Metspan, Old Mutual, etc (Halper, 2010, p. 114).

African states, for their own development, have to either rely on Western states or on China as a developed economy which has helped them during the crisis without many conditions. “China has also taken advantage of the ‘nationalist’ instincts of, and invitations by, African elites seeking national development, and integration into a global system on more equitable terms”(Obi, 2010, p. 186). Consequently, relations between China and Africa seem to go longer.

6.3.4.3.3 China’s Relations with Latin America

China has developed diplomatic, economic, military as well as cultural relations with the Latin American states. Beijing’s soft power has played an important role in the establishment of cooperative diplomatic relations with key Latin American states. China has swiftly entered into the Latin American states. Diplomatic relations were given due importance by China for a decade which resulted into several visits by the leaders of China to Latin America and Latin American leaders to China.

Brazil is one of the most important players in Latin American region. The common interests of China and Brazil in the matters of multilateral matters have led them forward to the formation of BRICS. Relationship with Brazil was a challenge to China but BRICS is a common platform they share which has contributed to bring them closer to each other. “As Ambassador Regina Dunlop, the director of Asian affairs in the Brazilian Foreign Ministry expressed it ...We both favor a multipolar world and multilateral decision-making in international affairs....This coincidence of views led, of course, to the 2009 formation of the BRICS grouping: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa”(Shambaugh, 2013, p. 114).

China has been actively participating in multilateral economic means for the development of the Latin American states. Being an experienced great power, China is consciously trying to support other Third World states economically. “Multilaterally, Beijing is also active in a range of organizations in the region. In 2008 China became a full member of the Inter-American Development Bank, it joined the Caribbean Development Bank in 1997, and it has held permanent observer status in the Organization of American States (OAS) since 2004. China has held numerous rounds of dialogues with the Rio Group since 1990 and established a dialogue mechanism with the MERCOSUR common market group, as well as the Caribbean Community and Latin American Conference”(Shambaugh, 2013, p. 115). This shows the Chinese neo-liberal approach of foreign policy in strengthening the relations with the Latin American states.

China through its soft power has strengthened its relations with African and Latin American states. “Another element in China’s attempts to increase its cultural exchanges in the region has been establishment of 24 “Confucius Institutes” across the region, while the Chinese government provides one thousand university scholarships for Latin students to study in China every year”(Shambaugh, 2013, p. 116).

The economic relations between China and Latin America had reached \$242 billion in 2011. Within in a decade there has been a drastic change of more than twenty times since 2000, and the growth seems to be accelerating. It jumped 31.5 percent from 2010-2011. China is now the No. 1 trading partner of many Latin American countries, having surpassed the United States in the region (Shambaugh, 2013, pp. 116-117). China has been successful in surpassing America in commerce and in cultural aspect. One can

predict the growth into a stronger multilateral relation of China with Latin American region.

6.3.4.4 Relations with Regional Organizations

China's relations with various regional organizations have contributed in strengthening its diplomatic relations globally. These organizations have also helped China to enhance its power in terms of economy and security.

6.3.4.4.1 European Union

European Union is a union of states that was formally established with a goal of economic enhancement in the region. China- EU relations have undergone ups and downs during the post-Cold War era. "Since the end of Cold War, the China-Europe relationship has grown to be intensive and extensive. It is anchored in commerce. Trade and investment have grown more than sixtyfold since 1978 to the astonishing point of Europe being China's number one global partner, although China ranks second for Europe"(Shambaugh, 2013, p. 86).

As discussed above, China has been always comfortable in bilateral relations but EU is a group of twenty-seven members and dealing with the group by considering the overall benefit of almost all of them and achieve its own national interest was challenging task. But slowly China adapted to deal with the EU states and reach out the markets with her goods. (Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 15)

China had been at advantage as "Europe has also become the largest source of technology and equipment transfer to China, transferring a total of 22,855 "technological items" to China by June 2006"(Shambaugh, 2013, p. 86).

The diplomatic relations with the EU had resulted into the proclamation of “comprehensive strategic partnership”.....Beijing has also agreed to individual “strategic partnerships” with ten European states.” (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 87)

This cooperative relationship did not last long as by 2007, there were several reasons which brought a downfall for four years. China-EU realized the loss on both the sides and thus made several efforts to restore the diplomatic relationship and continue trading for the enhancement of both the China and the EU states. “By 2010 both sides realized that the deterioration needed to be arrested, and efforts were made to stabilize and improve Sino-European relations. A series of bilateral summits with European leaders were scheduled, and Chinese public diplomacy and research institutes organized several symposia with European think tanks”(Shambaugh, 2013, p. 94).

6.3.4.4.2 Association of South East Asian Nations

China’s mantra of success has begun with the entry in the ASEAN. China’s relations with ASEAN states have been very special during the post Cold-War era. “Beijing began participating in multilateral forums, something it had previously avoided. Foreign Minister Qian Qichen’s visit to the 24th ASEAN Foreign Ministers meeting in July 1991 marked the first formal contact with ASEAN.” (Kang, 2007, p. 130)

Many of the ASEAN states have ethnic Chinese community in their state. It has been analyzed that during China’s 1989 crisis, ASEAN states continued trade relations with China which helped it to survive and continue its rise as a great power. “Southeast Asia’s integration with China is as much a result of the webs of ethnic Chinese throughout Southeast Asia who have rapidly reestablished their historical trade and investment relationships with China as it is of more institutional relations.” (Kang, 2007, p. 134)

China has become the most active partner of Southeast Asian states.

“In addition to explicitly economic ties, ASEAN-China relations include the ASEAN-China Senior Officials Consultations, ASEAN-China joint Cooperation Committee meetings, and ASEAN-China summits. Another significant move was Chiang Mai initiative- a currency swap arrangement among Asian states designed to help prevent the currency crisis that led to the 1997 Asian financial crisis”(Kang, 2007, p. 133).

6.3.4.4.3 Shanghai Cooperation Organization

China is a member of another important regional organization called Shanghai Cooperation Organization. “The Shanghai Cooperation Organization developed out of the need of security after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The leaders of the five states signed a ‘Treaty on Strengthening Trust in Military Affairs in the Border Regions’(Zhuangzhi, 2005, p. 94).

China’s larger production got the markets to sell its goods and Central Asian states started selling Chinese goods at cheaper rates in their local markets. The additional benefit to China is the oil fields found in Kazakhstan and the addition benefit to Central Asian states is the protection from other states of the world as well as access to sea route via China. Strategically, there is no other military organization to counter NATO, if this group strengthens their security they can be an important military organization after Warsaw Pact in Asia. There is a probability of SCO to turn into a military alliance in future.

“The cooperation between China and Central Asian countries from within the framework of the ‘Organization’ can help serve regional economic integration and can help solve common security and development problems”(Zhuangzhi, 2005, p. 106).

6.3.4.5 *Role in United Nations*

China up till the Tiananmen Square crisis abstained several times from the UN missions of peacekeeping in Gulf War, Haiti and several others. But there was a change in its approach and behavior after 1989 with regard to UN activities. Samuel Kim has analyzed that “[t]he shift in China’s attitude resulted from “tactical and situational adaptation” rather than “normative conversion.” Kim states that the main motivation for the change was China’s desire to balance growing American power by moving closer to Third World. By emphasizing its place as “self-proclaimed leader of the developing world,” it was necessary for China to cooperate more with the UN, as many Third World nations supported the UN and its peacekeeping missions”(Tieh, 2004, pp. 21-22).

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, UN found a need to introduce Second Generation peacekeeping to protect human rights. “As General Secretary Boutros Boutros-Ghali declared in his outline for the future role of the UN in the 1992 “Agenda for Peace”, the “time of absolute and exclusive sovereignty...has passed; its theory was never matched by reality. It is the task of the leaders of the States today to understand this and to find a balance between the needs of good internal governance and the requirements of an ever more interdependent world””(Tieh, 2004, p. 23). From this point onwards the UN motive towards multilateralism has been expressed and implemented in its policies. Since, China during the post-Cold War era has been advocating multilateralism, both U.N. and China moved on a same path that has generated active participation of Beijing in U.N.

Since then China has changed her approach as “[i]t appears that China has, in fact, increased its involvement in peacekeeping operations...As of April 30, 2003, China is

ranked 27 with 329 personnel partaking in peacekeeping missions, just below Russia and just ahead of France”(Tieh, 2004, p. 25).

In the 21st century, China had completed its target of Four Modernizations with the completion of 50 years. The time had come for Beijing to get back to her socialist nature and constrain the US power.

The ambiguity in Chinese behavior of adopting multilateralism after reaching almost closer to the hegemony is a question for the states in the world. “The changes in the Chinese approach toward the UN can therefore be read as rooted in both realist and normative concerns... Therefore, there is a reason to hope that when Beijing declares that “[o]nly by enhancing international cooperation can one... realize the goal of having universal and long lasting security,” it means what it says.” (Tieh, 2004, p. 28)

6.4 Conclusion

The Chinese foreign policy in the contemporary times is finely delineated and precisely implemented foreign policy. The discussion in the chapter consists of various changes that has occurred in the post-Cold War international system, continuities and changes in the Chinese foreign policy in order to understand its rise as a great power. The objectives of foreign policy during this phase were mainly to remain anti-hegemony and anti-imperialist and promote multilateralism in both economic and military aspects.

The means to enhance the capabilities were attained through various economic and military multilateral forums. That shows that the approach of foreign policy is of economic interdependence through regional organizations and transnational corporations. The neo-realist approach and the soft power of its culture has also been traced in the foreign policy

during the post-Cold War era that has been discussed in the next chapter that consists of the evaluation of the role of Chinese foreign policy in its rise as a great power.

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CHAPTER 7

**EVALUATION OF THE ROLE OF THE CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY IN ITS RISE
AS A GREAT POWER**

7 Evaluation of the Role of the Chinese Foreign Policy in its Rise as a Great Power

7.1 Introduction

The course of the Chinese foreign policy from its establishment up till now has been mentioned in the previous three chapters. Overall, the analysis of the Chinese foreign policy could be conducted systematically with the help of various foreign policy strategies adopted by the leaders during the post-Mao era. The first section consists of various strategies adopted to enhance power attributes such as economic, military, diplomatic as well as soft power in Chinese foreign policy in order to rise as a great power. The second section consists of these strategies that are further evaluated by applying various theoretical approaches - mainly the realist approach, the interdependence approach and the neo-liberal approach to the foreign policy. The third section of the chapter is about the critical analysis of the successes and failures of the strategies which has contributed in China's rise as a great power.

7.2 Various Strategies Used to Rise as a Great Power During the post-Mao Era

China's rise as a great power has been analyzed widely by scholars throughout the world. In order to rise as a great power, the Chinese leaders have used various strategies at different points of time for the successful rise of China. The strategies adopted and implemented not only in the political aspect but also in the other aspects such as economic, security, technological and cultural areas has impacted the whole world in one or the other way. In order to understand the various changes that occurred, one needs to systematically study the strategies used in different aspects of Chinese foreign policy. As Mao era foreign policy could not succeed in generating sufficient power, the analysis of post-Mao era strategies used in the Chinese foreign policy has its relevance. Hence this chapter is mainly focusing

on the strategies which were used by the Chinese leaders since the post-Mao era foreign policy. Evaluating these policies and strategies will be useful for scholars to understand the systematic rise of China as a great power. The detailed analysis of strategies through different aspects has been discussed in this section.

7.2.1 Strategies Used through Economic Power Attribute

As we discussed previously in this thesis, it is the pre-condition for any state to enhance its economic power attribute in order to rise as a great power. Chinese leaders were well aware and focused to work in the direction of economic growth. As China is an agrarian state and is also a communist state, Deng Xiaoping knew that the reforms in the economic sector should begin with the agricultural sector. John Wong has discussed that “[t]he communes returned the control of land to the townships, which in turn leased to community members. They would initially sell a portion of their crops to state marketing agencies, which in turn sold basic grains and oils to urban dwellers at much lower prices (with the government subsidizing the difference). The rest they could sell privately in farmer’s markets. The impact was almost immediate: a rapid growth of agricultural productivity and rural incomes. This in turn led to the mushrooming of township and village enterprises (TVEs), which subsequently became the driving force for China’s economic growth.” (Wong, 1999, p. 111)

There were several economic strategies adopted by Deng Xiaoping amongst which, the most effective one was the increase of export of goods produced in the domestic markets. This actually became possible only due to another most popular ‘open-door policy’.

7.2.1.1 *Open Door Policy*

Deng Xiaoping knew China's isolation during Mao era needed to be reformed and an open-door policy was the only effective option that can help China to achieve her goal. Deng in his speech has expressed the vulnerability of the open-door policy that "when you open the window, flies and mosquitoes come in"(Saunders P. C., 2000, p. 55). So it was important for China to have foreign relations with other states keeping safe distance along with expansion of economic exchanges. Ronald Keith has mentioned about open-door policy that "[s]ince 1979, the Chinese leadership has sought to reconcile its new 'open-door policy' (kaifang zhengce) with 'independence and self-reliance'. The resultant synthesis is, for example, summed up as follows: 'Based on the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in one's own hands, the implementation of the policy of opening up to the world and expanding economic and technological exchange with foreign countries is the firm and resolute strategic principle of China'" (Keith, 1985-86, p. 127).

Before the implementation of open-door policy Deng had created a background at UN in his speech in 1974 that China was willing to have foreign economic relations which clarified that China was willing to come out of isolation but not fully, initially it was to be limited to economic and trade relations. Rest of the aspects were not meant to be intervened by any of the states as well as the natural resources and food production were the two most important economic attributes which shall be under the control of the central government. Keith has discussed about Deng's speech that "Deng had stated then that China would pursue international economic exchange on the basis of 'self-reliance' as opposed to 'self-seclusion' or the 'rejection of foreign aid'. 'Self-reliance' varies in its

application according to specific national conditions, but Deng did advise that it required primary control over natural resources and food production” (Keith R. C., 1985-86, p. 126).

China’s economic policy is an ‘import-substituting industrialization (ISI) strategy. “After all, the original idea behind economic reform had been rather simple: make limited use of markets as a supplement to the plan, and undertake a partial opening to benefit from the modern technology, management skills, and production practices available in world economy.... As far as development strategy is concerned, the aim was to continue pursuing an import-substituting industrialization (ISI) strategy, financed by selected exports, in which the industrial core of China’s economy would remain insulated from foreign contact.” (Yang, 2001, p. 199)

Tellis feels that China is a “new workshop of the world.” His ideas about China’s economic policy matched with the above two scholars by explaining “China’s means of producing high economic growth have also been distinctive. By liberalizing commodity and labor prices of other elements such as land, capital, and energy, Beijing created limited free markets in China that operated under the supervision of a strong and controlling state. Because many foreign firms invested in China under this scheme, manufacturing consumer and industrial goods intended primarily for export, China has become the “new workshop of the world”.” (Tellis, 2015, pp. 11-12)

Consequently, from the above citations it is clear that China’s economic reforms are based on the open-door policy that is an “import substitution industrialization” strategy implemented by exporting the products produced in the “new workshop” with its “reserved natural resources and food production”. That gave China an overwhelming

success in foreign trade, receiving foreign aids and improving her offensive image into a defensive one.

By 1989, major changes occurred both at the international level as well as in the domestic scene at home. With the disintegration of Soviet Union and the Tiananmen incident the economic policies required some modifications. “The new orientation of Chinese foreign policy in the era of Deng was further confirmed by what was called “the twenty-eight-character strategy”... This strategy included the following seven phrases:

leng jing guan cha-watch and analyze [the developments] calmly;

wen zhu zhen jiao-secure [our own] positions;

chen zhe ying fu-deal with [the changes] with confidence;

tao guang yang hui-conceal [our] capacities;

shan yu shou zhou-be good at keeping a low profile;

jue bu dang tou-never become the leader;

you suo zuo wei-make some contributions.” (Zhao, 2009, p. 296)

This twenty-eight character strategy helped Chinese people continue their work with confidence along with keeping their position secure by new contributions and low-profile in their economic relations with other states of the world.

7.2.1.2 *Buy Regionally and Sell Globally*

Due to the self-reliance strategy of China, “[b]y the mid-1990s, cooperatives, village and township enterprises, and private and *guahu* firms accounted for more than half of China’s output and exports” (Wong, 1999, p. 111). They worked well but as discussed above the changes that occurred in the international system led Chinese leaders to introduce further reforms into TVEs.

The actual modernization drive of the smaller enterprises now had begun with Jiang Zemin. Gregory Chow has discussed these economic reforms in detail. The way to reform the state enterprise is to change them to shareholding companies. The shares were purchased by managers and workers based on their wages. (Chow, 2007, p. 71) In order to introduce these new policy changes in which the corporations with shareholders and board of directors needed bank accounts and the official transactions through banks increased. New commercial banks to reduce the burden on central banks governed by the state were established. These are the State Development Bank, the Agricultural Bank, and the Import and Export Bank. (Chow, 2007, p. 73)

During the Asian Financial Crisis (AFC), 1997-99 the number of bad loans increased, i.e. number of people increased who were not able to repay their loans in time. “Number of bad loans usually results from unprofitable investment in real estate, construction, infrastructure-building, or other major productive activities in an overheated economy. This was an essential characteristic of the finance sectors of the countries which experienced the 1997-99 financial crises in Asia.” (Chow, 2007, p. 74) During such situations, usually the account holders will start withdrawing their deposits. Due to heavy rush the banks may not be able to give money to all the account holders which lead into crisis situation. In China, the case was different as only 20 to 25 percent of loans were bad and people had faith in the government as were assured that the banks are under state control and hence will have to return their deposits sooner or later. So the usual rush faced by other Asian states did not disturb China’s domestic transactions. (Chow, 2007, p. 74) In such a crisis situation, China had lost its image in Western states due to Tiananmen incident plus the indigenous Chinese community in Southeast states attracted the attention

of China towards them as they also had bad impact of AFC. So China decided to buy raw materials from the region and sell its finished goods to the developed states of North America as well as Western Europe. This gave China benefit on the exports and relaxed relations regionally.

Gregory Chow has further discussed that China could maintain the value of RMB due to its altruistic motive of playing a positive role in contributing to the stability of Asian financial crisis. (Chow, 2007, pp. 77-8) Probably, Beijing's approach in the post-Cold War era is East-West. So, China during Asian financial crisis had tried to save the Asian (Eastern) states rather than being more realists in achieving only its self-interests.

During the post-Cold War economic policy, China's membership of WTO had its twofold impact on China's economy. First it could gain the expertise in international trade that has filled the markets with domestic as well as foreign goods. This gave more products for the consumers. Secondly, as the competition increased, its efficiency of the local enterprises also increased. Thus it has contributed in the modernization process of the markets in China. (Chow, 2007, p. 81) China's economy has risen at its peak within very short span of just two decades with the above stated different strategies as well as its improved diplomatic relations globally.

7.2.2 Strategies Used through Diplomatic Power Attribute

China has traditionally been known for bilateral approach to diplomatic relations with different states. But China's rise and the strategies used to rise as a great power has definitely brought a new trend in the world politics. China's diplomatic relations and new trends set up with the strategies are discussed in this section. In this diplomatic power attribute, we shall focus on two aspects, i.e. the rise of professionalism in Chinese diplomats and the strategies adopted during post-Mao era and post-Cold War era.

7.2.2.1 *Bilateral Relations*

China entered into diplomatic relations with other states in the Mao era for their recognition as the actual China against Taiwan's similar claims in the international system. The two superpowers and other great powers were supposed to legitimately consider any one of them as the sovereign state of China. Consequently, diplomats chosen to represent China were very intelligent and accurate but to convince great powers those diplomats required more professionalism and sophistication in their behaviour. This process began with the "[t]he third generation of Chinese ambassadors (1966-84) functioned within a domestic context of the Cultural Revolution and its aftermath...The third generation of 179 new ambassadors was a transitional cohort between the early political ambassadors and a more professionalized fourth generation. They were marked by a combination of strong political backgrounds with more professional experience, still not very high educational levels, but with improved foreign-language skills." (Liu, 2001, p. 202) This change after the UNSC membership was expected and so was achieved by Chinese diplomats.

These matured and old diplomats by 1980s were replaced with young and professional diplomats based on merit and competence which gave China a better image in the world. Liu also has taken a note that a peculiarity in the transformation of these diplomats was the trend of demilitarization. That had reduced the typical pattern of Chinese diplomacy. (Liu, 2001, p. 205)

Wherein, David Shambaugh is of view that formally after the entry to the UNSC, China has been able to integrate into the international system and community of nations. “These diplomatic opening not only offered China the fruit of normal commercial and cultural ties with other countries, but the strategic tilt to the West bolstered Beijing’s confidence and security in the face of continuing hostilities with the Soviet Union.” (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 48)

Diplomatic relations were purely realist that is goal oriented. China’s major goal to bring economic reforms was taken into consideration by extending stronger diplomatic ties with those developed states of America, Europe and Asia in order to receive more FDIs, access to international institutions and loans as well as technological skills through training of Chinese citizens. (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 50) These bilateral relations have resulted into China’s developmental process.

7.2.2.2 *Multilateral Diplomacy*

The post-Cold War era demanded great sophistication and professionalism from Chinese diplomats especially after the disintegration of the Soviet Union the role of China in the international system became more responsible and required accuracy. So the reforms were introduced at the administrative level to make diplomatic relations more effective.

The Chinese diplomats were trained in foreign language skills of the country or region

they were deployed to. They also took official degrees in international relations discipline from abroad in order to understand the role of their state in the international system. They are fully trained in the foreign relations and are experts in understanding the world affairs. Their approach with their counterparts tended to be objective and cosmopolitan. “The international community can expect from them rationality, collegial courtesy, professional disposition, and shared practice following the norms of the international system.” (Liu X. , 2001, pp. 203-4)

Moving on to the multilateral diplomacy, which has been defined by Jianwei Wang as “interactions among nation-states in permanent and ad hoc global and regional international organizations, conferences and talks in which more than two actors are involved simultaneously.” (Wang, 1999, p. 73) Accordingly, one can analyze the Chinese diplomatic relations and promotions of multilateral forums in the wake of the twenty first century.

Several changes occurred with the end of Cold War that led China to turn towards multilateral diplomacy. Firstly, Tiananmen Square incident had worsened China’s relations with Western states that led China to move closer to its neighbours in order to avoid isolationism. Secondly, disintegration of the Soviet Union had ended the political and military blocs which had widened the scope for multilateral relations. And thirdly, the geographic theme had been evolved with the development of regionalism due to multilateral relations. Based on above factors, China has initiated its multilateral diplomacy through neighbouring states. “This has been particularly true in the recent decade, with the stimulus of the changed international politics following the end of the Cold War, and is reflected in the newly invented official rhetoric of ‘befriending,

pacifying, and enriching neighbours' (*youlin, mulin, fulin*) in Chinese foreign-policy announcements, coincident with the Chinese turn toward multilateralism.” (Wu, 2008, p. 269) Through the membership of ASEAN and SCO, China has been practicing multilateral diplomacy. One can claim that multilateral diplomacy has contributed significantly to rise of China as a regional power. China’s involvement in multilateral organizations is a sign of its new diplomacy through which China has been cooperating in international security issues. SCO is an organization institutionalized to resolve the territorial disputes and focus on counter-terrorism in the region. SCO is also enhancing regional trade relations amongst the member states. “A safe conclusion is that, in certain areas where China feels both its security interests and image can be boosted by multilateral diplomacy, it has been taking the initiative in promoting multilateralism and institutionalization of security cooperation”(Wu, 2008, p. 276).

An analysis of the foreign policy which makes sense beyond its structural implications of multilateralism, those can be non-discrimination and indivisibility while one can see that even the smaller islands get a chance to have their voice and express their needs in the developmental process. Multilateralism has been viewed as a number game in which more than two states share a common platform. China has accepted international norms and has been involved in many multilateral institutions since the end of Cold War. This has helped China widen its influence globally.

China’s contribution into system-transformation became possible with the help of multilateralism. The more China is getting powerful it is trying to reform the international systemic rules. China has been responsibly taking each step consciously in changing the system in favour of the East.

In diplomatic power attribute one can see China's innovations and the impact of its foreign policy on the international system transformation is commendable and unique. China is yet not the most powerful state in the world even then with its foreign policy (the only tool) used since Deng era has brought drastic changes in China's domestic economic reforms through bilateral relations and later on drastic changes in the international system during twenty first century through multilateral relations.

7.2.3 Strategies Used through Military Power Attribute

China's military power has gone through ups and downs in the context of its rise. China's strategic thinking changed along with the top leaders coming to power with their own goals and priorities to enhance or bring reforms into the military power attribute. Deng Xiaoping tried to bring reforms in military as his major goal was economic rise of China with the help of Chinese foreign policy. Jiang Zemin emphasized to strengthen the military for security enhancement due to China's performance during Gulf Wars and Taiwan Strait crisis was not very commendable. The detailed discussion of this power attribute has been discussed with the strategies used in order to enhance the military capability.

7.2.3.1 Red versus Experts

After the Second World War, the number of conventional war reduced and states tried to find an alternative. On the other hand nuclear weapons proliferation led to increase in tensions that its use could be disastrous. Red army was given prime attention during Mao era which had changed with Deng era. Deng tried to bring experts in military power and become more sophisticated in naval power and air force. That has created a situation of red versus experts in the post-Mao era. (Lanteigne, Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction, 2009, p. 80)

The development of technological and sophisticated weaponry as well as naval and air force was the demand of rising China. “In 1979, under the direction of Marshals Su Yu and Ye Jianying, China shifted its doctrine slightly to one of “people’s war under modern conditions”, which authorized more attention to be paid to modern weaponry instead of solely relying on sheer number of ground forces.” (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 278)

There were several instances such as Gulf Wars and Taiwan Strait crisis during which China had realized that its military capability still requires modernization. During Deng era, the focus on the development of naval and air force began but largely, de-maoification of the red army was given emphasis, hence the ground force strength got reduced.

7.2.3.2 Military Modernization

Military modernization had begun with systematically introducing C4I strategy (command, control, communication, computer and intelligence). This strategy refers to make PLA powerful by all means. Military strength depends on command and control over its actions while communication, computers and intelligence are adding sophistication in the actions of PLA. During Mao era, PLA was considered as a labour-intensive force which got transformed into trained, professional and educated force during post-Cold War era. Post-Mao era is the middle phase during which the process of transformation had begun as discussed in the above section (Lanteigne, Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction, 2009, p. 77).

Since its establishment, China has never aligned with any of the states militarily in a traditional way of collective security. Earlier NATO and Warsaw Pact had been considered in that category. But China has entered into a neo-liberal way of common

interest of regional security by forming the regional institutions such as Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). It can be considered a new contribution from China to adopt the new international order.

For Beijing, it is trying to be more egalitarian and non-interventionists by clearly taking a stand against the alliances as well as zero-sum game. This is a new pattern which China is trying to introduce through her strategic thinking. (Lanteigne, *China and International Institutions: Alternate Paths to Global Power*, 2005, p. 157)

China is also facing terrorism on her Western border region. That has created a concern for deterring and discouraging terrorist activities through economic up gradation in the region. But after 11 September, China's support to war on terror is largely discussed over the world. (Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*, 2009, p. 83) The military strategies are more leaning towards neo-realist offensive approach of foreign policy that is becoming self-sufficient in terms of military power as discussed in the characteristics of great power in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

7.2.4 Strategies Used through Cultural Power Attribute

Cultural power attribute has contributed in China's rise exclusively through peaceful means. This cultural power enhancement can be analyzed with the help of China's soft power strategies through various means. Soft power is considering cultural power as one of the means. China has risen as a great power with the implementation of various strategies and policies through her cultural aspect.

The economic enhancement, the military impact and its rise as well as technological advancement and introduction of sophistication in its technological skills have its soft power backing.

7.2.4.1 *Soft Power Strategies*

China's cultural base is Confucianism. It addresses the soft power as well as its universal appeal which creates a great value of its culture in the world. "Confucian thought, thus, has also universal qualities and tendencies, but it could be classified as belonging more to a soft (aesthetic) universalism in contrast to a hard (rational) universalism in the West"(Chen, *The Practice of Mean: China's Soft Power Cultivation*, 2009, p. 86). There are several means to expand the cultural aspect globally. UNESCO has prepared a list of products used as means to depict the culture of the state through various collections of heritage goods pictures, sculptures, books, newspapers, movies, videos, paintings, etc. Some of China's cultural and creative products were in top ranking categories: China is 1) number one in audio-visual media, which is one of the fastest growing cultural products in the world; 2) number two in visual arts; and 3) number seven in export of books and other printed matter"(Zhang, 2009, p. 148).

China's cultural power has been enhanced with its exports and imports of good mentioned as above. China through its cultural goods exports has been able to generate notable revenue. "According to the UNESCO Institute of Statistics 2005 report "International Flows of Selected Cultural Goods and Services 1994-2003," China ranked fourth in the world in terms of export revenues of cultural goods and services... China's export revenue "reached \$5.27 billion in 2002" (Zhang, 2009, p. 148). China has been continuously exporting its goods to the Third World states of Africa and Latin America.

China has its ethnic communities in Asia; hence the products are also popular in Asia. China has also been establishing Confucius Institutes in African and Latin American states. People over the world are engaged with China due to economic relations hence the trend of learning Chinese language has also reached at its peak.

7.2.4.1.1 Education

Higher education is one of the ways adopted by great powers in the past centuries to depict their national culture and soft power. China had sent its many students to the Western states immediately after opening up after 1978. But China's cultural power has been attracting students from various states to study in China. China has been receiving more than 2 million foreign students every year to its top universities. The student of various states gets acquainted with Chinese culture which makes the interaction of those states easier with China in various ways mainly in expanding trade relations. The role of Chinese foreign policy is an attempt to use the soft power with peculiar goal to improve China's image internationally. "China's foreign policy has attempted to reassure others of its nonthreatening intent, enhance acceptance by the international community, and proactively realign the international environment to its liking." (Deng, *The New Hard Realities: "Soft Power" and China in Transition*, 2009, p. 69)

7.2.4.1.2 Global Presence

Due to China's rise, more people in the world are interested in its culture and language to get benefits by extending cooperative cultural relations with China that has resulted into China's presence globally. Cultural power is useful for states to legitimize their presence globally. "In practice, China's foreign policy has been geared toward adapting to the imperatives of deepening economic globalization, cultivating acceptance abroad, and bringing about change to the regional and international status quo such that its

domestic and international paths are legitimized and mutually supportive” (Deng, The New Hard Realities: "Soft Power" and China in Transition, 2009, p. 71).

The cultural attribute is considered as one of the most important aspect of China’s rise. Through public diplomacy, China’s foreign correspondents are trying to shape its world’s image of China. There are almost 647 foreign correspondents based in China and abroad from various news organizations and countries they are based in have been contributing to create a positive image of China in the world. (Shambaugh, China Goes Global: The Partial Power, 2013, p. 224)

7.3 China’s Pursuit for Great Power Position through Chinese Foreign Policy

This section discusses the gradual increase in the power attributes with the quantitative data available. The economic and military power can be measured so the data has been depicted in the graphical form which shows the growth of gradual developmental process. Usually, it is popular that China keeps secrecy in declaring its actual figures. The figures shown below are considered approximate which has been taken from the writings of American scholars.

7.3.1 From 1979- 2012

Henry Kissinger in his latest book on World Order has progressively discussed the contribution of the Chinese leaders since establishment of PRC for the peaceful rise of China. Deng Xiaoping’s main goal was to modernize the society and the economy of China. Unlike Mao, Deng’s goal was expand China’s relations and extend Chinese influence throughout the world with his reforms in policies. After Deng, Jiang Zemin came to power during the Tiananmen Square crisis situation which he could handle the situation with his personal diplomacy. Since then China has been involved as a member of the trading system in international market. Hu Jiantao tried to manage the China threat to other

great powers with his skills and by accepting multilateralism (Kissinger, 2014, p. 227). All these leaders have contributed in enhancing the economic and military capability as discussed by Kissinger through their distinct ways. That is the goal to rise as a great power was achieved by various means adopted and implemented effectively and efficiently by different competitive leaders.

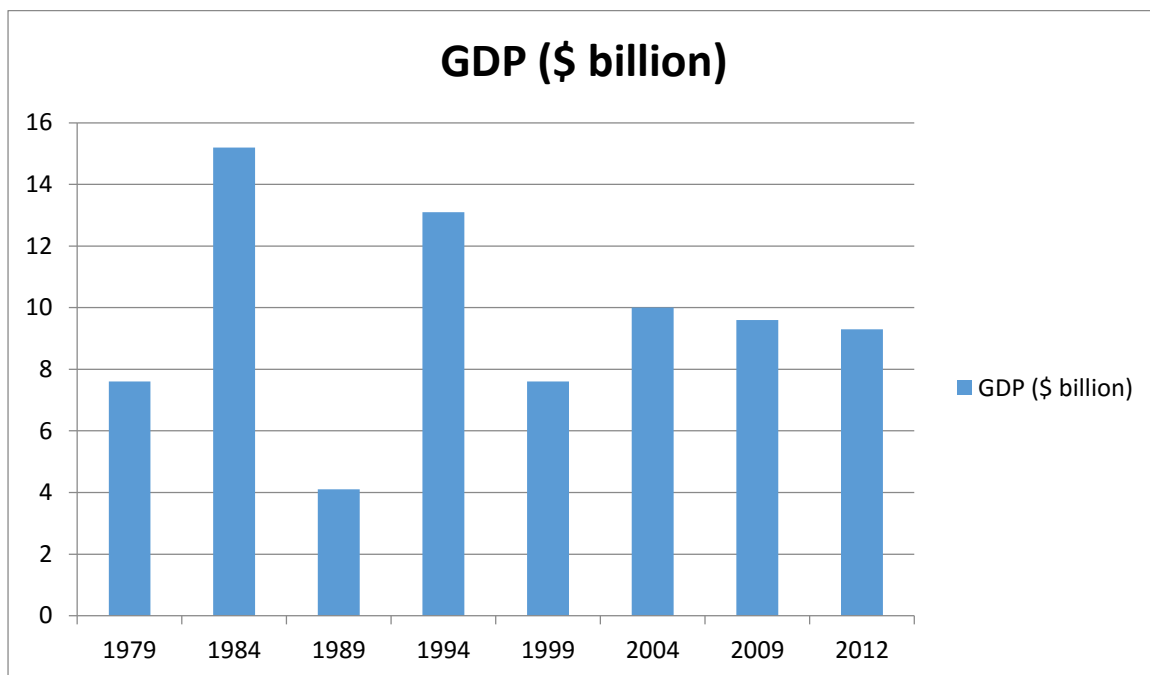
The gradual rise in the power generation with a goal of “Four Modernization” in agriculture, industries, science and technology and military has been depicted in the following section that helps one understand the overall process.

7.3.1.1 Statistical data of Economic Rise

China’s real GDP growth from 1979 to 2014 has been depicted in the following table. As the time span is longer, we shall see the growth with a five year gap.

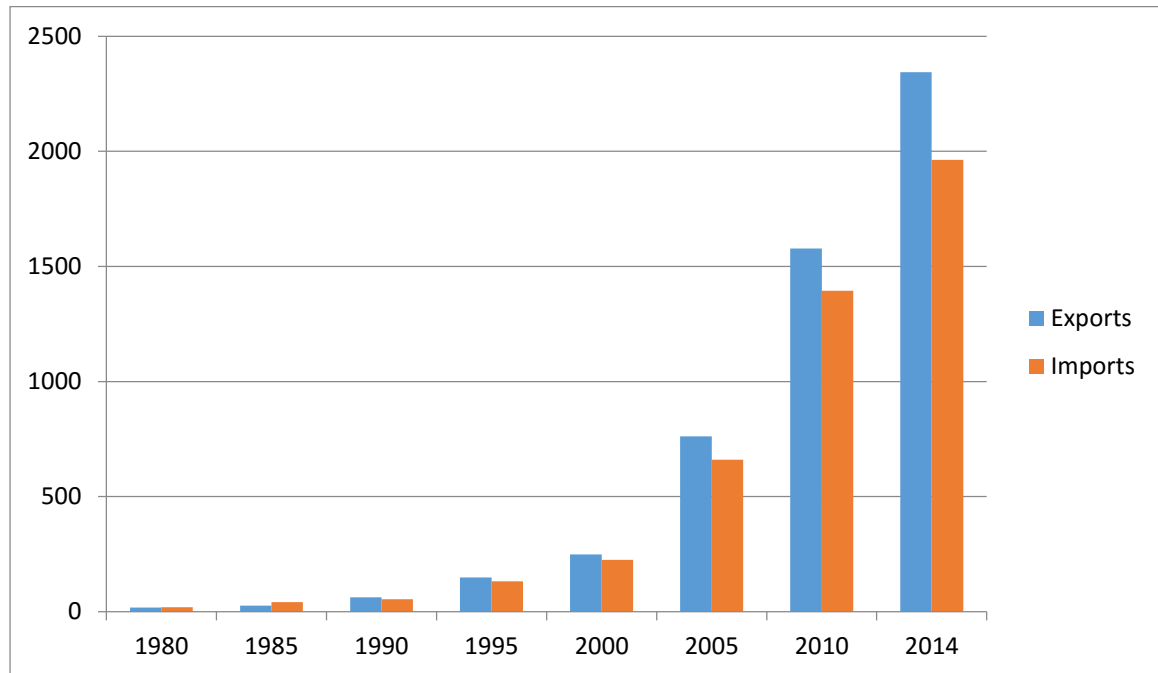
The growth chart is not consistent due to changes in the impact of foreign policy relations. The GDP growth of state helps one measure the quantitative data and can see the growth from post-Mao era to the contemporary times. The following figure 7.1, depicts the highest economic growth was recorded in 1984 while the lowest was in 1989. This growth is the result of reforms introduced by Deng Xiaoping in Chinese foreign policy. The economic rise as depicted in the figure had reached its peak in the year 1984. It means that the open-door policy had been successful in generating economic power for China. But the Tiananmen Square incident has affected the GDP growth drastically downwards.

Figure 7.1 China's GDP growth from 1979-2012



Source: (Morrison, China's Economic Rise: History, Trends, Challenges, and Implications for the United States, 2015, p. 6)

China's mercantilist, import substitution strategy has been depicted in the following graph. China's merchandise world trade from 1979 to 2014 with a data of 5 years gap has been mentioned in the following figure. China's another reform in its foreign policy was of its import-substitution strategy. According to it, China tried to focus on exports of finished goods and imports of raw materials at lower rates. Till 1990, China could not exceed exports over imports but after 1990, the exports have exceeded the imports and the gap in 2014 between exports and imports is highest as well as the growth in exports has been continuously growing. Thus the import substitution strategy also has been efficiently implemented for the rise of China as a great power.

Figure 7.2 Export-Import growth rate from 1980-2014

Source: (Morrison, China's Economic Rise: History, Trends, Challenges, and Implications for the United States, 2015, p. 21)

From the above graph one can analyze that the imports are lesser compared to exports after 1990. That depicts the Chinese realist approach of foreign policy in order to rise as a great power. China's agricultural and industrial growth through its production has achieved its two goals of Four Modernization.

7.3.1.2 Statistical data of Technological Rise

The third goal of Four Modernization was of advancement in science and technology. China has tried to spend its larger economic share on the R&D sector of various fields. The data below depicts China's development in science and technology. The development in the scientific and technological field had begun since 1979. There were

approximately 29.26 million professional who were technically advanced working for China's state owned enterprises. This achievement has contributed in the modernization of Chinese firms and industries. China has not only contributed in industries but also has been successful in launching Shenzhou II, an unmanned spaceship in 2001. (Scientific and Technological Development, 2004, p. 1)

Today, China has surpassed America in few fields of technological advancement that has contributed to China's rise as a great power. China has advanced in information technology and as discussed in previous chapter, China has also successfully established industrial parks to facilitate its scientists and engineers.

7.3.1.3 Statistical data of Military Rise

China's fourth modernization was in military aspect. As the Chinese economy has grown faster, it has become capable to spend larger amount on the military technology. It has been argued that the total budget declared by China may differ from actual spending on PLA. "The Institute of International Strategic Studies and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute assert that total spending by the People's Liberation Army (PLA) is four to five times the amount officially reported (which Chinese military officers hotly dispute)." (Lampton, 2009, p. 165)

Military modernization was conducted in all its wings. PLA ground forces are largest in the world having 2.3 million personnel. Other than that, there is a reserve force of about 600,000 and paramilitary People's Armed Police force of around one million. The data shown gives us the Chinese active standing force to fight and defend. This self-sufficiency characteristic indicates China's rise as a great power. China has risen not only on ground forces but has actually been developed in terms of technologically advanced Air Force.

China is now capable to produce its own fighter planes. It possesses J-7, J-8, J-10, J-11 and Q-5 totalling approximately 1600 combat aircrafts. The PLAAF's most advanced fighters are the Su-27s and Su-30s purchased from Russia (about seventy of each).” (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 286)

PLA Navy too is possessing 78 principal surface combat ships. Moreover it has 211 patrol and coastal combatant craft, 73 mine warfare vessels, 210 amphibious landing ships and craft, 205 logistics and support ships, and 71 submarines.” (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 291)

The great powers during 17th and 18th century had risen with their naval power. China has also been able to generate its naval power during post-Mao era that has contributed in its rise. China is also a nuclear power having deployed ballistic missiles. Totalling 1370 ballistic missiles including intercontinental-range, intermediate-range, short-range as well as submarine launched ballistic missiles. (Shambaugh, 2013, p. 294) This depicts China's nuclear capability that indicates China to be a great power in the nuclear age.

The capabilities that China has been possessing since post-Mao era depict China's continuous developmental process with the help of various approaches to the foreign policy.

7.4 China's Eclectic Approach in Synchronizing with Theoretical Notions

There are various foreign policy approaches that have been adopted by states to make their foreign policy effective. Usually, a states foreign policy is analyzed on the basis of single perspective but China has adopted various perspectives in its foreign policy approach. In order to understand the most suitable theoretical notions of the strategies adopted and implemented in Chinese foreign policy is the eclectic approach of various perspectives.

7.4.1 Realist and Neo-Realist Orientation

Realism and Neo-realism are mainly based on the ‘struggle for power’ as explained by Morgenthau but their perspective differs hence the view based on realism is mainly focusing from the foreign policy attributes a state enhances such as economic, military, cultural aspects while neo-realism is a perspective having systemic perception and implications of states foreign policy contribution. This section shall discuss the realist as well as neo-realist perceptions of Chinese foreign policy strategies in its rise as a great power.

“Realism, as a school of thought in Western IR theory, consists of three main assumptions: (1) the nation-state is the primary actor in the international relations, hence realism is said to be state-centric; (2) there is a lack of central authority equivalent to domestic government, hence international politics is characterized as anarchic; (3) international politics is essentially power politics.” (Deng, Conception of National Interests: Realpolitik, Liberal Dilemma, and the Possibility of Change, 1999, p. 48) The above characteristics give clarity to analyze the Chinese foreign policy behaviour based on those assumptions. The import-substitution strategy indicates the focus on larger export of goods. This is a feature of statist and mercantilist approach that falls under the realist notion of International Political Economy.

It has been claimed that China’s foreign policy under Deng Xiaoping has been based on the realist approach focused on the national interest. “Deng was hailed as responsible for having single-handedly shifted China’s erstwhile approach in drawing its foreign policy lines according to the social system and ideology to the rightful emphasis on dealing with

international relations based on national interests.” (Deng, *Conception of National Interests: Realpolitik, Liberal Dilemma, and the Possibility of Change*, 1999, p. 50)

Various strategies discussed in the first section of this chapter are interpreted on the basis of theoretical perspectives. Under the diplomatic power attribute, the bilateral diplomatic relations strategy has the realist foreign policy approach. The diplomatic relations were aimed to improve China’s relations with other states in order to enhance its economic as well as military power attributes. Another aspect was focused on the professionalism of its Foreign Service officers to train them so as to project China’s positive image in the world. As power and national interests as stated above are features of realist approach both the strategies have realist orientation.

“Neo-realism seeks to refine classical realism into parsimonious, scientific theory by treating the international system as a structure shaping the unit/state behaviour. Since self-help is the ordering principle of the decentralized, anarchic international system, states are compelled to pursue uniform tasks. States only differ in their respective capabilities as determined by the distribution of power in the international system” (Deng, *Conception of National Interests: Realpolitik, Liberal Dilemma, and the Possibility of Change*, 1999, p. 49).

The Red versus Expert foreign policy strategy adopted by Deng Xiaoping during post-Mao era indicates China’s neorealist offensive approach. The neorealist offensive approach as discussed by John Mearsheimer argues that the security of the state is the prime national interest hence, the expert’s role in advancing the military sector had been started while the red army adhered to traditional guerrilla warfare. He discusses that “greater economic prosperity invariably means greater wealth, which has significant implications for security,

because wealth is the foundation of military power” (Mearsheimer, 2001, p. 34). Consequently, during post-Mao era Deng Xiaoping’s economic enhancement goal indirectly was an investment for the increase of military power.

There is another strategy of military as discussed in the above section: Military Modernization. This was adopted during post-Cold War era that has similar goal of advancement of PLA Navy and Air Force along with sophisticated weaponry, nuclear arsenals and intelligence and communications. But it simultaneously falls under the neo-liberal approach. ARF and SCO also are contributing in the goal of ‘regional security’. The way APEC and APT are emphasizing the neo-liberal institutionalism but they are meant to achieve the national interest, so they have been analyzed with the realist viewpoint by Lanteigne. “From a realpolitik view point, China’s approach to regional economic regimes may be seen as a method of building Beijing’s regional-level economic strength. Both APEC and the APT have served to demonstrate China’s increasingly important role in Asia, both economic and to a larger degree, political.” (Lanteigne, *China and International Institutions: Alternate Paths to Global Power*, 2005, p. 150)

Yang also is of same view that China’s realist approach in its foreign policy has given its more long term political gains rather than economic enhancement. “As suggested earlier, it may well be that this shift was designed not to achieve goals such as individual welfare, as economic liberalism would suggest, but to enhance China’s economic strength so it can pursue great power aspirations in the long run, as a political realism or economic mercantilism would suggest.” (Yang, 2001, p. 226)

National interest is one of the perspectives to view or analyze Chinese foreign policy. The economic interdependence and neo-liberalism are the other two perspectives to view

Chinese foreign policy. Along with the realist's perspective, the world order during 1980s shifted giving more emphasis on trade and economic relations with the détente during the Cold War. This phase had two dominant perspectives, neo-realists from the realists approach and economic interdependence from the liberal approach. So the trend of economic interdependence gave an advantage to the Chinese policy makers. Now the question is that is Chinese foreign policy designed according to the international system or falls into place naturally? Probably, the initial post-Mao era reforms got along with the international system naturally but the post-Cold War foreign policy has been designed to adjust with the system initially and later on transform the international system. So, during Deng's initial phase, China had classical realist approach but by mid 1980s it adopted neo-realist approach along with the economic interdependence. And in the post-Cold War era till mid 1990s this continued but Asian financial crisis led China to adopt multilateralism. Nevertheless, the concept of sovereignty is of core importance and so is the national interest. Consequently, one can see the eclectic approach of Chinese foreign policy and its theoretical puzzle.

Not everyone is in agreement with the above view and there are some scholars who dispute the success of Deng. "Deng's transformation was only partial and Chinese participation in the international community remained thin during his tenure." (Fravel, Nov-Dec, 2003, p. 24)

7.4.2 Orientation towards Interdependence

Interdependence, neo-liberal institutionalism are various aspects of liberalism in international relations theory. This has widened the scope for the states and non-state actors to play a positive-sum game rather than zero-sum game. “Liberalism gives great attention to the mitigating effect of interdependence, multilateral institutions, and international regimes on international anarchy.” (Deng, *Conception of National Interests: Realpolitik, Liberal Dilemma, and the Possibility of Change*, 1999, p. 54) .

There has been evidence of the debates and discussions of China’s interdependence approach during 1980s and 1990s. Mainly the exchanges of technology and ideas became feasible with the development of interdependence approach. This helped China to move towards its goal of modernization of industries and science and technology. “The late 1980s and 1990s have seen highly frequent references to interdependence in international relations, in contrast to the complete absence of the concept of “interdependence” in earlier Chinese writings. For example, a *People’s Daily* editorial on the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) quasi-summit read: “Exchanges in economics, trade, investment, science and technology, and information have increased steadily in recent years, spawning the growing interdependence” of the world economies”(Deng, *Conception of National Interests: Realpolitik, Liberal Dilemma, and the Possibility of Change*, 1999, p. 54).

“Buy regionally and sell globally” - a strategy adopted by Chinese foreign policy experts falls under the economic interdependent approach of foreign policy. There has been the exchange of raw materials and goods in global market which is a feature of economic interdependence.

Another most important cultural strategy of soft power falls under the interdependence approach. The complex interdependence has considered soft power as one of its features discussed by Joseph Nye to connect the world by cultural attraction. Yang notices that the increase in people-to-people contact that has enormously increased the interdependence of the states to be more cosmopolitan. “One of the greatest changes in the post-Mao era has been the enormous increase in person-to-person contacts between Chinese and foreign citizens. China has sent more than two hundred thousand students abroad during the past two decades, whereas a more modest (but ever-growing) number of foreign students are taking advantage of opportunities to live and study in China.” (Yang, 2001, pp. 193-194)

7.4.3 Neo-Liberal Institutional Orientation

We discussed economic interdependence earlier for China’s rise but during the post-Cold War era China has moved towards regional. It is a new strategic thinking aimed at promoting regional stability and not to balance against common enemy. That is possible through multilateral institutions such as Association of Southeast Asian Nations Regional Forum (ARF) and Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) (Deng, Conception of National Interests: Realpolitik, Liberal Dilemma, and the Possibility of Change, 1999, p. 57).

Lanteigne finds the importance to understand the role of international institutions in China’s rise as a great power with the wake of the twenty-first century. “From the start of the twenty-first century, China has demonstrated growing confidence in its interactions with the global community. This has resulted in the increased use of international institutions as a means of developing and enhancing Chinese power in the international system. Therefore to understand the dynamics of China as a great power, and as a future

global power in the areas of politics, economics, and military capability one must begin with the variable of China's cooperation with international institutions"(Lanteigne, China and International Institutions: Alternate Paths to Global Power, 2005, p. 143).

Reforms of the State Owned Enterprises led to the formation of national level banks that falls in the neo-liberal approach of the foreign policy. China's membership to WTO is a noteworthy attribute of the Chinese foreign policy during the post-Cold War era.

In the military sphere, China adopted C4I strategy of command, control, communication, computer and intelligence falls under the neo-liberal feature of technological advancement and communication has been included in order to strengthen the military. The need of collective actions whether it is economic or security, the international institutions plays a vital role in providing a platform to the developing states to communicate and interact in the globalized world.

China's multilateral diplomacy, through various international institutions and forums, is an example of the neo-liberal institutional approach of its foreign policy. China is active in several institutions: economic, financial as well as security institutions. China has also been establishing cultural institutions in various African and Latin American States that depicts its neo-liberal institutional approach in foreign policy.

China's regional power status has been achieved through its engagement in the multilateral institutions such as SCO and ARF. "There is something intuitively logical about the idea the regional preponderance should represent an important element of any claim to major power status. A state may promote itself, or maybe seen by others, as the representative of a particular region that in turn might be defined geographically, linguistically, or in cultural

or civilizational terms.” (Hurrell, Hegemony, Liberalism and Global Order: What Space for Would-be Great Powers?, 2006) .

Consequently, one can analyze that the various theoretical notions adopted by China eclectically has contributed in China’s rise as a great power. The puzzle of adopting particular perspective in foreign policy has been traced because China uses various perspectives at one point of time and in single strategy.

7.5 Critical Analysis of Post-Mao Chinese Foreign Policy

Throughout this piece of research work, almost all the theoretical, empirical as well as factual discussion on Chinese foreign policy has been conducted. The critical analysis of the success i.e. achievement and the failures of Chinese foreign policy are discussed in the coming section. This gives a complete idea and an objective analysis about the Chinese foreign policy implications in the international system.

7.5.1 Successes in Foreign Policy Implementation

The major success of Chinese foreign policy can be found in its implementation of various strategies in order to enhance its power attributes during the post-Mao era and the post-Cold War era. The strategies discussed in the first section of this chapter have been useful in generating power in several aspects of foreign policy.

The reforms introduced during the post-Mao era were mainly based on the studies conducted to analyze the path to rise as a great power by other great powers in the history. For each state, the path to rise as a great power is different. Chinese foreign policy has got traces of mercantilist strategies, import substitution strategies, banking system and such other economic strategies that helped western states to rise.

Chinese diplomatic policy through bilateral as well as multilateral approach during the post-Cold War era has led the international system towards generating new diplomacy. China has been successful in changing its victimized image into a responsible great power through its bilateral relations, trade and security agreements as well as cooperation in global security initiatives and multilateralism. “Reflecting both regime interest and Chinese national aspirations, the Chinese government has consistently demonstrated a desire to cultivate a responsible and prestigious international image and to be consulted on important international issues. Supporting the war against terrorism afforded China an opportunity to gain ground in these areas”(Roy, 2009, p. 329).

China’s military strategies have been successful in strengthening its military might through modernization and sophistication in its possession of weaponry. China has become a self-sufficient military power which is still on a path of progressing to make its military as powerful as United States.

China’s cultural power strategies, that is the soft power has been contributed in its successful rise of a great power. Today, more than 4 Chinese universities rank in top 100 universities of the world. Number of doctorates has risen compared to post-Mao era and with its soft power China is able to attract greater number of foreign students to its universities. China’s education and research capabilities have enhanced with its successful implementation of soft power strategies.

7.5.2 Failures in Foreign Policy Implementation

There are several drawbacks of implementations of strategies delineated in Chinese foreign policy. One of the major drawbacks of Chinese foreign policy is that it could not generate

its distinct theoretical perspective that can contribute to a path for developing states to rise as a great power.

Due to lack of its own perspective, Chinese leaders and people had to adopt eclectic approach which might have created difficulties in the implementation of various strategies. Even the people and the institutions must have faced problems in understanding what exactly the Communist government is trying to impose on them. That is a gap which Chinese foreign policy could have addressed with the help of correct communication.

Another failure is that strategies require to be reformed as per the changes taking place in the norms set by great powers in the international system. Continuous reform might disturb the domestic peace that can lead the mass to revolt against the government.. “In the real world countries need to redefine their interests. In the early 1980s, China did so in avoiding involvement with the nuclear non-proliferation regime; in the 1990s, with some minor exceptions related to Pakistan, China altered its stance and adhered to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Similarly, in the early 1990s, China defined its interests as avoiding a comprehensive nuclear test ban. In 1996, faced with the risk of becoming isolated and losing face with the other countries, China redefined its interests and signed the draft Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). The further evolution of Beijing’s national interests will depend on the policies of the U.S. and of countries in the region”(Nye, 2009, p. 345).

China’s economic efficiency could have helped China to surpass Japan and United States’ economy but China’s expected economic power generation could not efficiently generate revenue. The policies were mainly focused on the production for the exports while the enterprises engaged in production for domestic consumption were ignored. “This was the

main hindrance to the achievement of economic efficiency in China upto the early 1990s”(Chow, 2007, p. 320).

China’s soft power that has been projected in the African and Latin American states is ambiguous. The Beijing Consensus is of different views from what has been projected through Chinese foreign policy soft power strategies. “As with hard power, soft power projection encounters resistance and contestation. Most notably, Beijing’s practices in Africa have elicited criticism of neocolonialism, allegedly repeating the pattern of rapacious Western plundering of local economies”(Deng, The New Hard Realities: "Soft Power" and China in Transition, 2009, p. 75).

7.6 Conclusion

The Chinese foreign policy strategies implemented in various aspects such as economic, technological, political, military as well as cultural spheres has contributed to China’s rise as a great power in the post-Mao era. While the economic contribution has been considered of prime importance according to the new economic world order, the traditional elements such as political, military and cultural aspects have still not faded and they are relevant in the studies of international relations. Consequently, Chinese foreign policy strategies were meant to bring reforms in all the above aspects in order to rise as a great power.

China’s eclectic approach towards making and strategizing of its foreign policy has been a puzzle for the scholars on Chinese foreign policy. The realist notion has been predominantly traced in its foreign policy approach. But according to the new trends of economically dominated contemporary world order, China has also adopted various strategies of interdependence and neo-liberal institutional approach in its 21st century foreign policy.

Consequently, China's rise is a result of its foreign policy strategies that have been implemented in the post-Mao era. The Chinese leaders had targeted to accomplish the goal of Four Modernization as a part of 100 years' goal, which China has fairly tried to achieve through its foreign policy in the recent times.

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CHAPTER 8

CONCLUDING REMARKS

8 Concluding Remarks

This research is conducted with the main objective to analyze the role of Chinese foreign policy in its rise as a great power along with the analysis of reforms introduced and implemented in the post-Mao era and the post-Cold War era. It investigates the foreign policy as one of the means to rise as a great power and establish relationship between the concept of foreign policy and great power. The research is based on a few key research questions to achieve the objectives of the research. They are:

1. What are the different perspectives on great power and its characteristics? What are the various means employed for the rise of great power in International Relations?

The characteristics of a great power are discussed on the basis of the realist, neo-realist, interdependence and neo-liberal perspectives. According to the realist perspective, great powers have power seeking characteristic, according to the neo-realist perspective, great powers have self-sufficiency characteristic, according to the interdependence approach, great powers are resilient and according to the neo-liberal institutional approach great powers have global influence. Consequently, great power has four characteristics - power-seeking, self-sufficiency, resiliency, and global influence.

Various means employed by great powers according to the power transition theory is possible through economic changes accompanied by social and demographic changes which the government needs to extract from the resources. According to world system analysis, the states have to achieve agricultural then manufacturing capability then financial superiority to rise as great powers. According to Long Cycle, a great power remains in dominating position for a century and then it declines.

2. What are the principles, background and objectives of Chinese foreign policy during the period from the Chinese Revolution till the end of the Mao era?

The main principles during Mao era were based on Communist ideology with an objective to achieve 'Four Modernization' domestically. At systemic level, it had an objective to rise with anti-hegemony and anti-imperialism goals.

3. What shifts have occurred during the post-Mao period in the Chinese foreign policy?

The shifts that occurred during the post-Mao period were mainly in the Chinese economic policy, Chinese leadership, foreign policy decision-making process, and diplomatic relations with the neighbouring states. These shifts have contributed in China's rise as a great power.

4. How effectively have the formulation and behaviour of foreign policy contributed to the rise of China as a great power since 1979?

Various strategies and the reforms implemented in the formulation and behaviour of Chinese foreign policy have efficiently and successfully contributed in the rise of China as a great power with the help of eclectic approach of foreign policy, China had effectively achieved its goal of 'Four Modernization' as a part of 100 years' goal.

The key research questions are addressed with the successful conduction of a library research based on mixed methodology of qualitative content analysis and quantitative statistical data to measure the actual rise and growth of power attributes. The data is collected from various libraries such as Smt. Hansa Mehta Library, Gujarat Vidyapith Library, Library of Ministry of External Affairs, Parliament Library, and Chinese Embassy Library as well as UGC Inflibnet Centre in order to collect primary and secondary sources in the form of White Papers, Joint Statements, books, journal articles and news paper articles.

8.1 Limitations of the Research

Each piece of research work has vast and varied scopes as well as its inadequacy to study all the perspectives considering the data available. This piece of research work too has certain limitations as discussed below.

Chinese foreign policy has been studied as much as and for as long as the study of international relations discipline itself. Consequently, it is next to impossible for any researcher to go through each work done on the topic. Nevertheless, the works of prominent American as well as Chinese and Indian scholars have been considered and studied for the analysis of this piece of work. The data is widely available in various forms such as newspaper editorials, articles in magazines, podcasts, videos, blog by the people from various sections of the society which could not be taken as data to conduct this piece of research work as it might become a huge data set difficult to analyze within limited time period.

China is a state known for its enigma. So to resolve the puzzle one needs to learn and understand Chinese language and its dialects which are useful to interpret the documents available in their language. As the present researcher could learn only the elementary level of the Chinese language it was difficult to read even Chinese characters, hence the data available in Chinese language is not used to conduct this research work. Instead, the scholars from China, such as Yong Deng, Suisheng Zhao and Quansheng Zhao, who have worked on the topic, are studied.

Researches in international relations can be conducted based on the objective to find a new model of analysis or to test empirical data in the form of events that have occurred in the international system. This research work is not primarily theoretical in nature or its goals

and has used the pre-existing concepts and theoretical notions to conduct the research. No new model or theoretical concepts have been created to study Chinese foreign policy behaviour. Nevertheless, the research has been successful in establishing relationship between the foreign policy and the rise of great power.

8.2 Principal Conclusions

1. Post-World War II international relations have moved towards paradigm shift. There are several events that have occurred in the international system such as establishment of United Nations, emergence of Bretton Woods, the phase of Cold War, disintegration of the Soviet Union, globalization as well as rise of China as a great power. All these events are the causes of paradigm shift in the international relations. The rise of China as a great power is one of the remarkable events that has facilitated the contemporary trends of multilateralism, globalization and the economic interdependent world order through its dynamic foreign policy behaviour and implications in the international system. The traditional relationship of great powers with other actors of the international system has changed into more resilient and interdependent relationship in contemporary times.
2. In this rise, the post-Mao period has been the most crucial and decisive phase of the growth of Chinese power. This period has undergone drastic reforms in the international system. Both the superpowers during the ongoing Cold War had entered into détente phase. The emergence of neo-realism and liberal interdependence has led the system towards political and economic re-orientation. This was the significant and crucial time to bring reforms in the internal affairs to synchronize with the external system and get benefits of enhancing its power. China was quick to understand the trends of the international system during the post-Mao period which led the Chinese leaders to

introduce reforms in various aspects, factors and processes of foreign policy. During Mao era, the policies could not succeed to generate sufficient power that was required for the rise of China as a great power. The post-Mao period reforms have resulted into the sufficient power generation for China to rise as a great power.

3. There are several factors and processes – both internal and external – have played a role in the rise of China as a great power in the post-Mao period. Principal among them are economic strategies and policies such as open-door policy, import substitution policy, reforms in the banking system; leadership change from Mao Tse Tung's successor Hua Kuo-Feng announced his retirement and suggested Zhao Ziyang to take his position as a premier of People's Republic of China; internal political reforms from the radical group to reformist group; opportunities offered by globalization and liberalization of world economy; reconfiguration of power at international level after the end of the Cold War; changes in the military and strategic policies such as moving from conventional war to the war on terrorism and from collective security to regional security and foreign policy strategies and actions have been the major and significant causes for the rise of China as a great power.
4. The thesis has come to clear a conclusion that in addition to the other factors as discussed above, the foreign policy strategies and actions of China have played a very important and decisive role in its emergence as a great power. All the above mentioned factors have played the role of a catalyst, but the actual and significant role has been played by the foreign policy strategies and actions which have resulted into its emergence as a great power. Both the internal and external opportunities that were available had been transformed into actual capabilities with the help of foreign policy strategies and actions.

5. The principal foreign policy strategies could be the open-door policy that has allowed the flow of foreign direct investment resulting into the growth of productions of goods and exports of finished products. China is considered champion of bilateral diplomatic relations. This diplomatic strategy has been adopted by China since its beginning of diplomatic relations which has continued in contemporary times also. China's cultural strategy of enhancing its soft power and changing its image at the world level through public diplomacy has been successful in attracting the people from all over the world to China in terms of education or tourism.

China's foreign policy actions have also contributed significantly in its rise as a great power. Three principal actions could be the beneficial decision of supporting 'War on Terrorism' has given China benefits to create its strong image against terrorism and join the global consensus as well as gain American guidance on antiterrorism expertise and technology. Another action was to help Third World states such as African states without any conditions. Sometimes, China has let off the debts to be paid by smaller states of Africa. Infrastructural development of stadiums, roads, railways, airports, etc. has created a positive image of China in the world. China's involvement in the UN peacekeeping missions has added value to its image globally. Time has changed that UNESCO provides help to the developing states but China is the only developing state providing help to UNESCO in its missions.

6. The way there are merits based on the decisions taken by the Chinese leaders, there are obvious demerits which pull China down on several counts. The reforms introduced were not complete and thus the weak institutions and judicial system have led China towards corruption which has become the concern of contemporary times. Though China has

given personal choices to live better life but even today its authoritarian government is not ensuring human rights. This point is of concern throughout the world. Even many of the Chinese students sent to US and other Western states to acquire modern technological knowledge did not return due to its authoritarianism.

7. China's continuous growth, military build up and its rising economy are the indicators of its realist approach. China's use of soft power and the economic interdependence are the indicators of interdependence approach. And China's membership in various trans-governmental and trans-national corporations as well as multinationals and non-governmental organizations is the indicator of neo-liberal foreign policy approach. Consequently, none of the approaches has been traced in the post-Mao Chinese foreign policy exclusively or singly. China has adopted an eclectic approach in the implementation of theoretical approaches. Eclectic approach is a unique way to delineate the foreign policy. Till the end of World War II, all the great powers had adopted any one particular perspective in its foreign policy. China has opened the doors for other developing states to adopt eclectic approach in its foreign policy.
8. Foreign policy is a continuous and dynamic process. The changes that have occurred in the past three to four decades have contributed to the power generation and the strengthening of various capabilities. However, there has been consistency and stability witnessed in the Chinese foreign policy since the Mao era. Many of the foreign policy objectives of the Mao era have been continued. One by one, few of the objectives such as attaining the legitimate recognition, permanent seat in the UN Security Council, attainment of Four Modernizations have been achieved but there are few objectives such as having control over Taiwan are unfulfilled have continued in the post-Mao era. The

nature of the state has continued with an authoritarian form of Communist regime in power. The experiment of reforms in various aspects such as economy, technology, military, etc has also continued.

8.3 Recommendations for Further Study

Conducting research gives an outlook to a researcher about areas that have not yet been explored much by scholars. While going through various studies conducted on China's foreign policy, the researcher has come across other related topics which need to be addressed and studied. Such topics in which researches have been limited or sketch are recommended for further study below:

- Research regarding the soft power strategies used by China has been scarce. It requires further research. The soft power has various categories in enhancing the legitimacy of a state through various cultural and social products that can widen the scope of China's cultural attractiveness.
- Another aspect of research that requires attention is China's relations with Latin American states and African states during the post-Cold War era.
- The researches on ASEAN and SCO are available but China is also a member of many international organizations which needs attention of international studies scholars.
- The research on adoption of neo-liberal approach in Chinese foreign policy has been found scarcely. It requires further research that can help other states to adopt the approach in their foreign policy.
- Research on geopolitics of Chinese foreign policy is one of the important topics that requires further research.

- Research on naval strategy of China, particularly its efforts to expand its reach in Bay of Bengal and Indian Ocean. The research conducted on naval strategies is sketchy and it requires deeper investigation.
- Domestic constituencies that influence Chinese foreign policy-making in the contemporary area has been scarcely found which requires scholarly attention. There are continuous reforms introduced at the domestic level which has its impact on Chinese foreign policy making.

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