

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

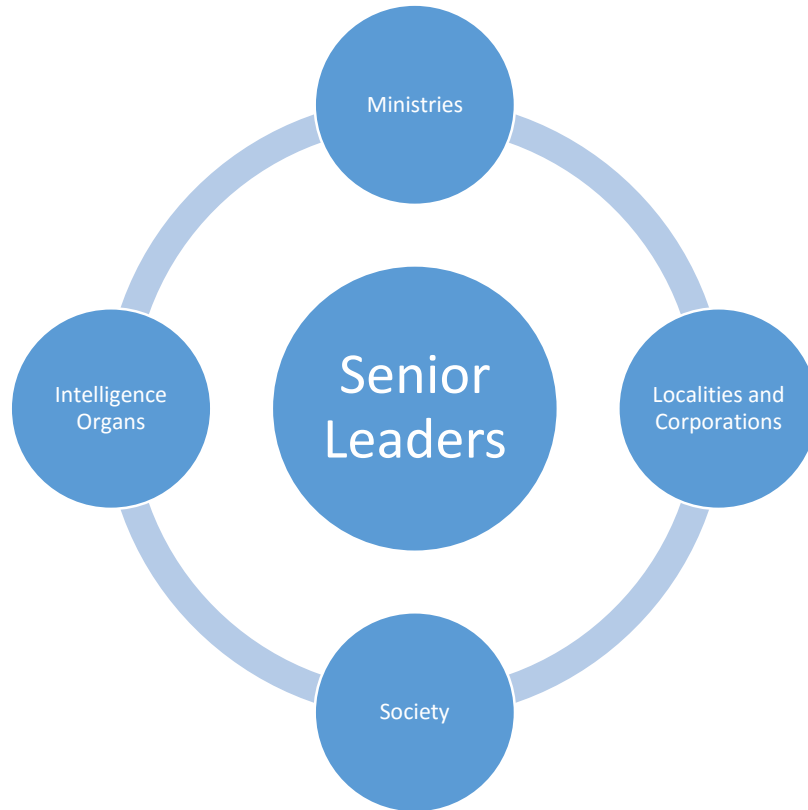
As discussed above, there are various changes witnessed in the international system during post-Cold War era. Due to these systemic level changes, Chinese foreign policy has also undergone various changes that have been discussed in this section.

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 21st 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 Quanzu, 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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