

CHAPTER 7

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

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

7.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

7.2.1 Strategies Used through Economic Power Attribute

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

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

7.2.1.1 *Open Door Policy*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

tao guang yang hui-conceal [our] capacities;

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

jue bu dang tou-never become the leader;

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

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

7.2.1.2 Buy Regionally and Sell Globally

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.2.2 Strategies Used through Diplomatic Power Attribute

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

7.2.2.1 *Bilateral Relations*

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

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

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

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

7.2.2.2 *Multilateral Diplomacy*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.2.3 Strategies Used through Military Power Attribute

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

7.2.3.1 *Red versus Experts*

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

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

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

7.2.3.2 *Military Modernization*

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

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

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

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

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

7.2.4 Strategies Used through Cultural Power Attribute

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

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

7.2.4.1 *Soft Power Strategies*

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

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

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

7.2.4.1.1 Education

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

7.2.4.1.2 Global Presence

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

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

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

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

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

7.3.1 From 1979- 2012

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

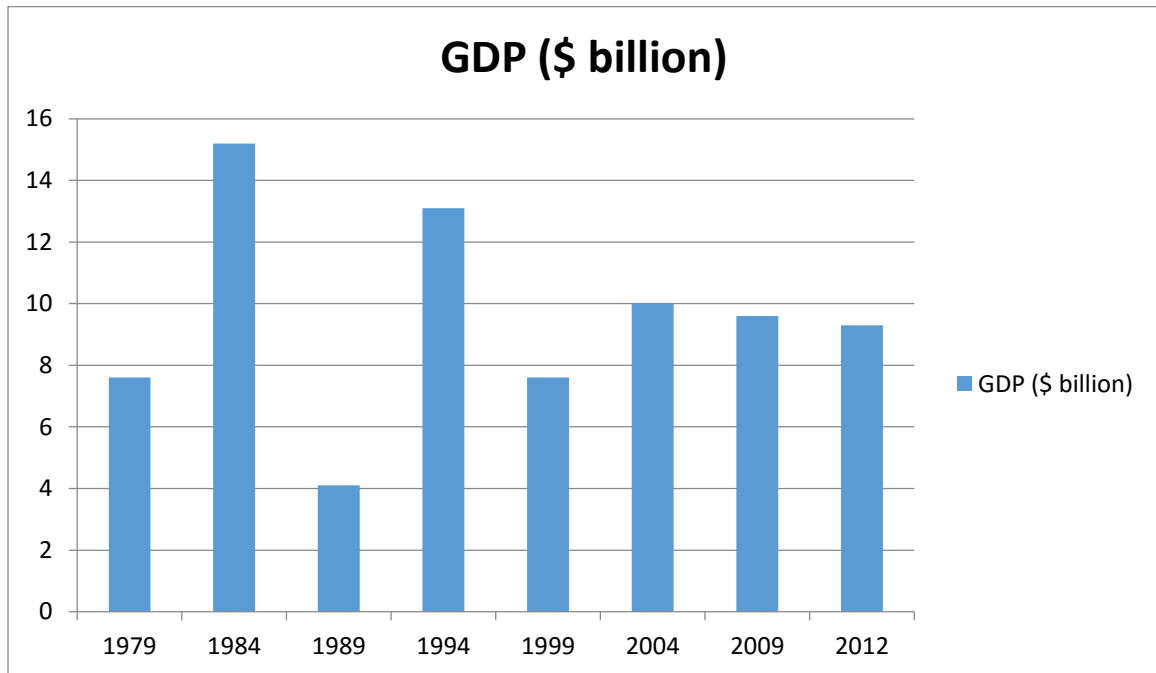
great powers with his skills and by accepting multilateralism (Kissinger, 2014, p. 227). All these leaders have contributed in enhancing the economic and military capability as discussed by Kissinger through their distinct ways. That is the goal to rise as a great power was achieved by various means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

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

7.3.1.1 *Statistical data of Economic Rise*

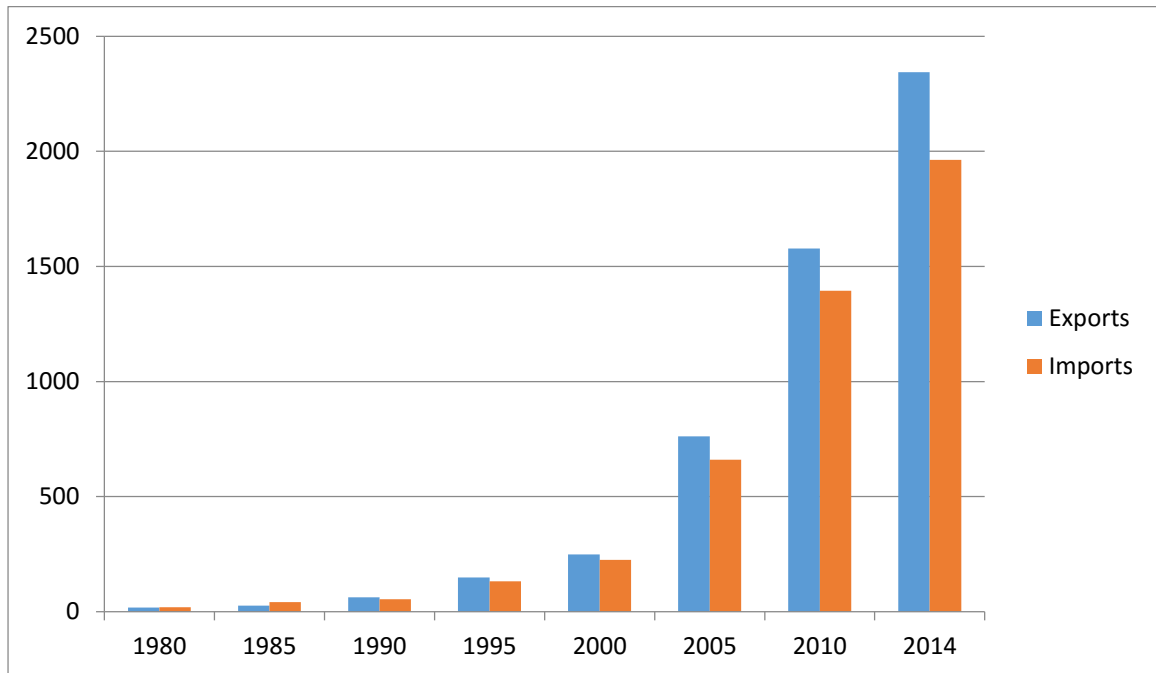
China’s real GDP growth from 1979 to 2014 has been depicted in the following table. As the time span is longer, we shall see the growth with a five year gap.

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

Figure 7.1 China's GDP growth from 1979-2012

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

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

Figure 7.2 Export-Import growth rate from 1980-2014

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

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

7.3.1.2 Statistical data of Technological Rise

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

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

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

7.3.1.3 *Statistical data of Military Rise*

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.4 China's Eclectic Approach in Synchronizing with Theoretical Notions

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

7.4.1 Realist and Neo-Realist Orientation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.4.2 Orientation towards Interdependence

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

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

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

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

7.4.3 Neo-Liberal Institutional Orientation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.5 Critical Analysis of Post-Mao Chinese Foreign Policy

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

7.5.1 Successes in Foreign Policy Implementation

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

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

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

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

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

7.5.2 Failures in Foreign Policy Implementation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.6 Conclusion

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

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

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

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