

## **CHAPTER 8**

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

## 8 Concluding Remarks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 8.1 Limitations of the Research

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

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

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

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

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

## **8.2 Principal Conclusions**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **8.3 Recommendations for Further Study**

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

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

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