

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND, RATIONALE AND THE METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH**

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

## **1.1 Background: State and Power in International Relations**

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

### **1.1.1 Study of State in Contemporary times in IR**

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

### **1.1.2 Generic View of the Concept of Power in IR**

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

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

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

## **1.2 Generic View of Concept of Great Power in IR**

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

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

### **1.2.1 Succession of Great Powers since the Treaty of Westphalia**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **1.3 China as a Great Power**

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### **1.4 Statement of Research Problem**

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

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

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

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

## 1.5 Key Research Questions

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

## 1.6 Objectives of the Research

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

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

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

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

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

## **1.7 Significance of the Research**

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

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

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

## 1.8 Methodology

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

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

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



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

- Data Analysis and Interpretation

- Mixed Methodology

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

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

- Qualitative Content Analysis as method to interpret data.

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

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

## **1.9 Scheme of Chapterization**

### **Chapter 2: Review of Literature**

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Chapter 4: Outline of Chinese Foreign Policy during Mao Era**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Chapter 8: Concluding Observations**

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



## Works Cited

- Bryman, A. (2004). *Social Research Methods*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Flick, U. (2009). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Forster, M. N. (n.d.). *Hermeneutics*. Retrieved Nov 30, 2012, from Division of the Humanities,  
The University of Chicago:  
<http://philosophy.uchicago.edu/faculty/files/forster/HERM.pdf>
- Holsti, K. (2004). *Taming of Sovereigns: Institutional Change in International Politics*.  
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holsti, K. J. (1995). *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis*. New Delhi: Prentice-Hall  
of India.
- Kennedy, P. (1988). *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military  
Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Kim, S. S. (2003). China's Path to Great Power status in the Globalization Era. *Asian  
Perspective*, 27(1), 35-75.

Modelski, G. (1964, Sep.). Kautilya: Foreign Policy and International System in the Ancient Hindu World. *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 58( No. 3), 549-560.

Retrieved 04 07, 2012, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1953131>

Perkins, N. D. (1985). *International Relations: The World Community in Transition*. New Delhi: CBS Publishers and Distributors.

*Political and Economic Potential of China*. (n.d.). Retrieved 3 15, 2013, from Chinese Embassy: [tr.chineseembassy.org/eng/xwdt/P020060531553907348055.doc](http://tr.chineseembassy.org/eng/xwdt/P020060531553907348055.doc)

Rana, A. P. (1976). *The Imperatives of Nonalignment: A Conceptual Study of India's Foreign Policy Strategy in the Nehru Period*. Delhi: The Macmillan company of India Ltd .

Sahni, V. (2009). The Fallacies and Flaws of Area Studies in India. *International Studies*, 49-68.  
Retrieved October 3, 2010

Wight, M. K. (2010). International Relations and Social Science. In M. K. Tim Dunne, *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (pp. 14-35). New York: Oxford University Press.

Zhao, S. (2004). Chinese Foreign Policy: Pragmatism and Strategic Behavior. In S. Zhao, *Chinese Foreign Policy: Pragmatism and Strategic Behavior* (pp. 3-22). New York: M. E. Sharpe. Inc.

