

1	Introduction: Background, Rationale and the Methodology of the Research.....	2
1.1	Background: State and Power in International Relations	2
1.1.1	Study of State in Contemporary times in IR	2
1.1.2	Generic View of the Concept of Power in IR	4
1.2	Generic View of Concept of Great Power in IR	6
1.2.1	Succession of Great Powers since the Treaty of Westphalia	7
1.3	China as a Great Power	9
1.4	Statement of Research Problem	12
1.5	Key Research Questions.....	13
1.6	Objectives of the Research.....	14
1.7	Significance of the Research.....	15
1.8	Methodology	16
1.9	Scheme of Chapterization	19
	Works Cited	26
2	Review of Literature	29
2.1	Introduction	29
2.2	Review of Literature.....	30
2.2.1	Major Books on Chinese Foreign Policy in the Post-Mao Period	30
2.2.2	Important Articles on Post-Mao Chinese Foreign Policy.....	38
2.3	Research Gap.....	42
2.4	Conclusion.....	42
	Works Cited	43
3	Conceptual Analysis of the Notions of Power and Great Power	47
3.1	Introduction	47
3.2	Basic Concepts Used in the Research Work	47
3.2.1	Concept of Foreign Policy	48
3.2.2	Concept of Power	50
3.2.3	Distinguishing between Power and Capability	53
3.2.4	Concept of Great Power	53
3.3	Characteristics of Great Power.....	55
3.3.1	Rise and Fall of Great Powers	58
3.3.2	Great Power Criteria.....	64
3.4	Various Theoretical Notions to Understand Chinese Foreign Policy Analysis	65
3.4.1	Realist Approach	65

3.4.2	Neorealist Approach.....	66
3.4.3	Interdependence Approach.....	67
3.4.4	Radical Approach.....	68
3.4.5	Neo-Liberal Approach.....	69
3.5	Relationship between the Role of Foreign Policy and the Rise of Great Powers	70
3.6	Conclusion.....	71
	Works Cited	72
4	Outline of Chinese Foreign Policy During Mao Era	76
4.1	Background	76
4.1.1	Chinese Foreign Policy During Pre-Mao Era	77
4.2	Chinese Foreign Policies as an Extension of Domestic Policies	80
4.2.1	Domestic Policies	80
4.2.2	Foreign Policy Objectives	83
4.2.3	Cold War World System	84
4.3	Chinese Foreign Policy During Mao Era	85
4.3.1	Chinese Foreign Policy from 1949- 1955	85
4.3.2	Chinese Foreign Policy from 1956-1964	86
4.3.3	Chinese Foreign Policy from 1965-1975	87
4.4	Various Strategies Adopted During Mao Era	88
4.4.1	Neighbourhood Policy.....	88
4.4.2	Interventionist Policy	89
4.4.3	Nuclear Policy	90
4.4.4	China's Relations with Other Great Powers	90
4.5	Conclusion.....	91
	Works Cited	93
5	Chinese Foreign Policy During the Post-Mao Era.....	95
5.1	Introduction	95
5.1.1	Post-Mao Political Transition.....	96
5.2	Continuities in Chinese Foreign Policy in Post-Mao Era	98
5.2.1	Continuities in the Objectives of Chinese Foreign Policy	98
5.2.2	Continuities in the Means and Approaches of Chinese Foreign Policy	99
5.2.3	Continuities in the Relationship with Other Actors of International System.....	102
5.3	Changes in the Chinese Foreign Policy During the Post-Mao Era	103
5.3.1	Changes in the Objectives of Chinese Foreign Policy	103

5.3.2	Changes in the Means and Approaches of the Chinese Foreign Policy	104
5.3.3	Changes in the Relationship with Other Actors of the International System.....	117
5.4	Reasons for the Transition in the Chinese Foreign Policy	122
5.4.1	Domestic Factors responsible for the Transition.....	123
5.4.2	International Factors Responsible for the Transition	124
5.5	Conclusion.....	126
	Works Cited	128
6	Chinese Foreign Policy During the Post-Cold War Era	132
6.1	Post-Cold War International System.....	132
6.1.1	Nature and Features of International System in the Post-Cold War Era.....	132
6.1.2	Liberalization, Privatization, Globalization	133
6.2	Continuities in Chinese Foreign Policy During the Post-Cold War Era.....	134
6.2.1	Continuities in Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process	135
6.2.2	Continuities in Foreign Policy Objectives	135
6.2.3	Continuities in the Means and Approach to the Chinese Foreign Policy.....	136
6.2.4	Continuities in the Relationship with Other Actors of the International System.....	137
6.3	Changes in the Chinese Foreign Policy During the Post-Cold War Era.....	138
6.3.1	Changes in Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process	138
6.3.2	Changes in Foreign Policy Objectives	142
6.3.3	Changes in the Means and Approach of the Chinese Foreign Policy	143
6.3.4	Changes in the Relationship with Other Actors of the International System.....	157
6.4	Conclusion.....	185
	Works Cited	187
7	Evaluation of the Role of the Chinese Foreign Policy in its Rise as a Great Power	191
7.1	Introduction	191
7.2	Various Strategies Used to Rise as a Great Power During the post-Mao Era.....	191
7.2.1	Strategies Used through Economic Power Attribute.....	192
7.2.2	Strategies Used through Diplomatic Power Attribute.....	198
7.2.3	Strategies Used through Military Power Attribute.....	202
7.2.4	Strategies Used through Cultural Power Attribute.....	204
7.3	China's Pursuit for Great Power Position through Chinese Foreign Policy	207
7.3.1	From 1979- 2012	207
7.4	China's Eclectic Approach in Synchronizing with Theoretical Notions	212
7.4.1	Realist and Neo-Realist Orientation.....	213

7.4.2	Orientation towards Interdependence.....	217
7.4.3	Neo-Liberal Institutional Orientation.....	218
7.5	Critical Analysis of Post-Mao Chinese Foreign Policy	220
7.5.1	Successes in Foreign Policy Implementation.....	220
7.5.2	Failures in Foreign Policy Implementation.....	221
7.6	Conclusion.....	223
	Works Cited	225
8	Concluding Remarks.....	229
8.1	Limitations of the Research.....	231
8.2	Principal Conclusion	232
8.3	Recommendations for Further Study	236
	Bibliography.....	237-251