

## The summary of my thesis

### China's Foreign Policy towards Central Eastern European States

after 1949

--Feng Ping

My thesis is about China's foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states after 1949. The constructivism is used as the theory to analyse China's identity, and evolution of China's identity after 1949. Through elaborating China's identity, the thesis mainly discuss the influence of China's identity towards China's foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states. The thesis use comparative analysis to compare China's foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states in six different period, 1949-1978, 1978-1990, 1990-1995, 1995-2003, 2003-2010, 2010 to present.

Central Eastern European states is a term that includes the countries in the Central Europe, the Baltic states, and Southeastern Europe. To China, this term is not only a geographic term, but also an ideological term. Most Central Eastern European states are states of former socialist camp during the cold war. In 2012, China proposed twelve measures to deal with relations with Central Eastern European states. The term of Central Eastern European states in the thesis refers to the sixteen states under the 16+1 forum, V4 states, (Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Slovenia, the three Baltic states(Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) and the eight states of Southeast Europe Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania.

There are connections between China and Central Eastern European states in the ancient time. Most Central Eastern European countries got independent after the first world war. They established diplomatic relations with republic of China. After the Second World War, Central Eastern European states are belonged to the communist

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bloc. They are among the first countries to recognize People's Republic of China, and establish diplomatic relations with China.

From 1948-1978, during Mao zedong's period, both China and Central Eastern European states belong to the socialist bloc. Their relations is much dependent on the relations with Moscow. There were both political, economic and cultural ties between China and Central Eastern European states. During the culture revolution in the 1960s, and beginning of 1970s, China has cold relations with Central Eastern European states, except a few countries like Romania, Albania,

From 1970s to 1990s, is the second period. When Deng Xiaoping came into power, China started the open and reform policy. China started to focus on developing its economy. China seeks to have good relations with Central Eastern European states, and have pragmatic cooperation with Central Eastern European states. Still CEE states are not priority focus of China's foreign policy.

The third period of relations between China and Central Eastern European states is from 1990 to 1995. During this period, Central Eastern European states have experienced political, and economic transformation, which starts to lean towards west. Only the basic economic links were kept. From 1989, the communism was collapse in the Central Eastern European states, and Soviet Union. Central Eastern European states have experienced political and economical transformation. Central Eastern European states started to adopt the western values and tried to join the NATO and EU. The political and economic transform in CEE states bring great opportunity of development of CEE countries. The economy of CEE states develop fast after the political and economic transform, and CEE states set up its goals to catch up with western European countries.

In both domestic, and international policies, CEE states put emphasize on relations with western countries, and tries to become a democratic country.

In the beginning of the 90s, because of 1989 incident, China was isolated in the international world. The relations between China and Central Eastern European states

is frozen. The difference between ideology and political system between China and CEE states make the cooperation stagnated. Central Eastern European states have strong atmosphere of anti-communism. CEE states have adopted western values, and criticized China on human rights, Tibet and Tai Wan issues. During the 90s, Central Eastern European states established diplomatic cooperation with Tai Wan. Leaders of Central Eastern European states received visits of Dai Lai lama. There are not many visits of state leaders between China and Central Eastern European states. The economic cooperation between China and Central Eastern European states is stagnated.

In order to end the Chinese isolation, during Deng Xiaoping' s southern tour in 1992, China changed its foreign policy into "Biding time" and "keeping a low profile", and deepening the open and reform foreign policy. China would focus on developing the economy. In the perspective of China- CEE relations, China adjusted its foreign policy towards CEE states based on five principles of peaceful coexistence. When Premier Li Peng visited Romania in 1993, it proposed "Bucharest principle" as guideline to deal with relations with CEE countries. The relations between China and CEE states is gradually warming. There are more frequent bilateral states visits from politicians between China and CEE states after the "Bucharest principle." China' s relations with CEE states gradually normalized. In 1997, Polish president Kwasniewsk paid a state visit to China, which is the first president visit of Poland to China after the political and economic transformation in Poland.

The fourth period of China- CEE relations is from 1995 to 2003. Jiang Zeming succeeded Deng Xiaoping as the leader of China. He raised Deng Xiaoping flag and inherited the legacy of Deng Xiaoping' s foreign policy. China respects the ideology difference between China and Central Eastern European countries and learn from the mistakes from the former communist bloc. China focused on developing its economy. In 2001, China has joined WTO. The trade between China and Central Eastern European states is increasing. Central eastern European states is still not a focus of foreign policy in China.

The fourth period of China- CEE relations is from 2004 to 2010, during Hu Jintao' s period. China' s economy develops very fast, and Chinese government encouraged Chinese companies to go out, and explore the market overseas. At the same time, CEE states have joined NATO for security reasons, and some CEE states have joined EU.China starts to focus on this region, as most CEE states have a veto in European Union. The trade between China and CEE states increased. China starts to invest in CEE states. The relations with CEE states has been included into relations with European Union by China.In order to develop relations with CEE states, premier Wen Jiabao visited Romania in 2005, and proposed a new “Bucharest principle”, in which it mentioned that China seeks to have economic cooperation and increase mutual communication with CEE states.

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The sixth period of China- CEE relations starts in 2012, under Xi Jinping' s area. Central Eastern European states have become very important region to China under Xi Jinping' s area. In 2012, during Wen Jiabao' s visit to Warsaw, during China- CEE summit, China proposed “ twelve measures” of dealing with relations with Central Eastern European states. According to twelve measures, China wants to deepen cooperation with Central Eastern European states in the aspects of politics, economy and culture. China has established a special secretariat under the ministry of foreign

affairs to deal with relations with Central Eastern European countries. China proposes to establish 16+1 forum to deal with relations with Central Eastern European states.

“16+1” is also within the framework of “Belt and Road” initiative., which is the major foreign policy of China under Xi’ s area. China also sets up relevant institutions, and mechanisms for the implementation of OBOR. China has set up China based Asian development bank, with 100 billion US dollars. China also launched 40 billion new silk road fund for the implementation of OBOR. The annual meeting between China and CEE states is held every year since 2012. After Warsaw, the 16+1 summit was held in Bucharest, Belgrade, Suzhou, Riga, Budapest, and Sofia. In 2017, China also held the “OBOR” summit in Bei Jing. Prime Minister Beata Szydło of Poland, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán of Hungary, and Prime Minister Aleksandar Vučić of Serbia among CEE states have attended the summit.

My research is through the literature review of China’s foreign policy towards CEE states during different period of time, to find out why there is difference between different Chinese leaders in the foreign policy towards CEE states? And what is the outcome of such difference? I will review the documents, government statement, papers, and monographs on China’s foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states in the aspects of politics, economy, and culture. I will find out the domestic and international factor’s influence on China’s identity, and in turn influence China’s foreign policy and foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states. The study also include the speeches from political leaders in China on China’ s foreign policy. To analyze, the paper use constructivism as the methodology.

The research is a qualitative research on China’ s foreign policy towards CEE states in historical perspective of different Chinese leaders.

The main methodology is comparative analysis and case studies. It is a comparative historical analysis. I will review the literature on China’ s foreign policy towards CEE states under the different Chinese leader since 1949. My main case to do the research is focused on Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Romania. When doing

the compare on China' s foreign policy towards CEE states I will also analyze the relevant data, and reports on the trade relations between China and CEE states.

I mainly use holistic constructivism to analyze the change of China's foreign policy towards CEE countries in the aspects of internal and external factors. I use case studies such as the states: Poland, Hungary, Czech, Slovakia, and Romania as case studies. The study is divided into five chapters. .

The study is mainly divided into five chapters. The first chapter is the introduction of constructivism theory in IR. It introduce the evolution of IR theories and how constructivism theory is developed. It analyze the main idea of constructivism theory, focusing on conventional constrcuvtism, which provides various practical theories of IR. In this chapter, it introduces three levels of construcvitsm theory, systematic level, uni level, and holistic level. Alexander Wendt culture of anarchy theory introduces three anarchical culture. Alexander Wendt develops systematic theory by his "culture of anarchy." It mainly focuses on interactions between states. Identity of a states forms interests, which will in turn influence states' foreign policy. In Wendt' s "culture of anarchy", there are three major types of different anarchy. Hobbesian culture, which states viewed each other as enemies, Lockean culture, which state regard each other as rivals, and Kantian culture, which states viewed each other as friends. States supported each other in case of threat from the third country. China' s foreign policy towards CEE states during the cold war period is influenced by Hobbesian culture. According to Wendt, there are two approaches of forming of identity, one is natural approach, which is the result of competition of scarce resources. The other is culture approach, passing from generations through the process of social learning and so on.

According to the uni level approach, it argues that domestic factor such as domestic norms and identities influence a state' s foreign policy. China' s foreign policy is influenced by China' s identities. The different period, China showed different characteristic of China' s foreign policy.

Holistic approach is a cross level approach, which is the main tool of study to analyze the changes of China's identity and China's foreign policy towards CEE states.

The second chapter analyze the evolution of China's identity and China's foreign policy since the establishment of People's Republic of China. The analysis is based on Holistic constructivist approach. During the first period, since Mao Zedong's time, history has a strong influence on formation of China's identity. The newly established people's republic of China experienced century of humiliation. When China was first established, China is at the bottom of international system. The identity of China is that China wants to develop the country based on self sufficiency, and non alignment. China is also a socialist country that is based on Lenin Marxist ideology. China's foreign policy leans on socialist camp during the cold war, and because of China's history, China is a anti imperialist country. China adopted five principles of coexistence, and deal with relations with other countries based on such principle. China classifies itself as a third world country, and China's foreign policy is mainly focused on the third world.

In Deng Xiaoping's time, China changes its identity in the world. Because of domestic changes, when Deng came into power, China wants to build a socialist country with Chinese characteristic. China has shifted from Maoism ideology and started the open and reform foreign policy. In the 90s, after the big changes in the international world, China also became a isolated country because of Tian Anmen incident. China changes its identity in the foreign policy as "Biding time, Hiding brightness, not taking the lead, but doing some things" China wants to "observe clearly, secure our position, and cope with affairs calmly." China will propose a low profile in the foreign policy of international relations. The main focus of China is to develop its economy, and deepens the reform.

In Jiang Zemin's time, China adopted the same foreign policy with precious leader. China's identity is a socialist country with Chinese characteristics, and at the same time, China is a developing country, and emerging economy. China joined WTO

during Jiang Zemin's time.

During Hu Jintao's time, China's economy develops very fast. There is a growing voice in the international world that considered China as a threat. To create a harmonious environment for economy development, Hu Jintao proposed "Peaceful development" and "Harmonious world" as political slogan. China wants to develop peacefully, and contribute to the global prosperity, rather than to challenge the current international order, and be a threat.

When Xi Jinping came into the power, China has become the second largest economy, and first largest trading country. China has shifted its foreign policy from keeping a low profile to striving for achievement. China proposes China dream as Chinese slogan, and wants to realize the rejuvenate of Chinese nation. China has adopted more assertive foreign policy, and more and more active in the international world. China wants to participate into the formation of new international order, China proposed "OBOR", (One Belt, One Road, or Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st-century Maritime Silk Road) as main foreign policy under Xi Jinping's area. It was unveiled in 2013 by Xi Jinping during his visit to Kazakhstan and Indonesia in 2013.

The analyze of China's foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states can be divided into six periods so far. The first period is from 1949- 1978, during the Mao Zedong's time. The second period is 1978-1990, Deng Xiaoping's period before the political and economic transformation of CEE countries. The third period is 1990-1994. The frozen relations between China and CEE countries because of differences in ideology and international environment. The fourth period is 1995-2004. It is a time when China started to warm up relations with Central Eastern European states and China entered the WTO. The fifth period is from 2004 to 2010. It is a time when most central eastern European countries have joined EU. China started to invest in central eastern European states. China's foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states is within the framework of EU. The sixth period is from 2010 to the



present, when China started to focus on the region, and created 16+1 framework to deal with relations with Central Eastern European states.

Chapter three and chapter four is the elaboration of China's foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states. Chapter three is historical relations between China and Central Eastern European states, mainly before 2010. It analyze the factors that influence China's foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states, and its implementation. Finally, I analyze the result of such foreign policy implementation.

The fourth chapter is current relations of China and Central Eastern European states. It starts from the period 2010. It analyze the transformation of China's identity during Xi Jinping's time, and changes of China's foreign policy. The "OBOR" foreign policy is mainly discussed in this chapter. Following the Holistic approach, China's foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states is also analyzed by domestic and international factors. The proposal of "OBOR" is influenced by both domestic factors, such as slowing down of China's economy, and Chinese companies' need to explore the market overseas, and international factors, such as China's threat theory in the international communities, and United States' pivot on China. In this chapter, 16+1 is mainly discussed of China's foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states. China's cooperation with Central Eastern European states is mainly in the political economic, and culture aspects during the new period. The achievement of 16+1 during the five years is listed as the outcome of such foreign policy. The study is used case study as methodology. I focus on five case countries among all Central Eastern European states, Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Romania to analyze China's relations with these states.

The fifth chapter is conclusion of the research. In this chapter, I present the overall research of the study in brief summary, and answer my research question. The predictions of future of China's foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states. .

I have found out that China's foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states

in Mao Zedong's time mainly focused on political aspects. Politics is the reason of developing good economic, and culture ties with Central Eastern European states. In Deng Xiaoping, and Jiang Zeming's time, China's foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states are very limited because of frozen political relations. Only basic economic links are kept. In Hu Jintao's time, economy is the main focus of China's foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states. China also seeks to improve political, and cultural ties with Central Eastern European states. In Xi Jinping's area, China seeks to establish cooperation with CEE states in both political, economic, and culture areas.

China's different foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states under different period have different outcomes. In Mao Zedong's time, both China and CEE states are belonged to communist bloc. China establish good relations with CEE states. However, in Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zeming's time after 90s, China's influence in the region is limited. After 2004, China started to invest in the region, however, China's investment in the region is still limited. After the raise OBOR, CEE states wants to compete with each other, and establish good relations with China to attract China's investment. China's influence in the region is increasing.

There are limitations of my research. Firstly, Constructivism can not fully explain China's foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states. The economic, and political interests of cooperation with Central Eastern European states can be the reason why China wants to cooperate with the region. China's current foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states can be driven by geoeconomic, and geopolitical interests.

Secondly, when I am doing the research, sometimes, there lacked of information, and resources on China's foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states. For example, especially during the 90s, the resources on China's relations with Central Eastern European states are very limited. This will influence the result of my study.

Thirdly, when doing the research, I use case studies of Poland, Hungary, Czech

Republic, Slovakia, and Romania as case studies. However, my topic is China's foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states. There are eleven more Central Eastern European states within the subject of my discussion. So, my case studies can not include all the relations between China and Central Eastern European states.

Moreover, the time to do the research is limited. I can't go through all the documents of China's foreign policy towards Central Eastern European states, which will influence the result of my studies.