

Session VI
Bureaucratic Politics of
Chinese Foreign Policy Making

Question

What were the major determinants for Chinese foreign policy during the cold war? Are these determinants different or similar in today's China and why?

The Foreign policy strategy of the PRC has undergone changes in almost every ten years since its founding. Please explain the determinant factors for these changes.

How is China's foreign policy making process different from those of other countries (like yours)? Give some explanations to those differences.

What are the advantages and disadvantages for democratic decision—making?

What would be the foreign policy making in a democratic nationalist China differ from a communist authoritarian China?

I. Foreign policy: Level of analysis and the basic concept

- **1, Kenneth Waltz's level of analysis**
 - Individual
 - **Government**
 - System

2, Understand the concept of bureaucratic politics

- ~~Bureaucratic politics as special model of understanding foreign policy making:~~
 - Developed by Graham Allison in explaining US foreign policy during the Cuban Missile crisis
 - It posits that any given state decision is the cumulative result of “compromise, conflict, and confusion of officials with diverse interests and unequal influence. During this process, where you stand depends on where you sit, or where you sit depends on where stand.
 - Not just looking at a key leader, but at many difference departments, how they interact, etc.

Chinese understanding of bureaucrats

- ~~It refers to~~
 - bureaucratic political system or structure
 - the process of bureaucratic political system
 - Bureaucracies
- Exist in certain stage of history (feudal and imperialist societies)
- Style of work, or way of doing things, or practice.
- The equivalent of bureaucratic politics in the west is factionalism.

II. Domestic determinants

- Ideology (combination of internationalism and patriotism)
- History and Nationalism (memories of greatness and myth of humiliation, and newly gained pride)
- Paramount leaders, their charisma, authority, and policy preferences
- Party factions

Domestic determinants

- General trend of domestic policies

Mao: internal-external enemies, class struggle, anti-revisionism

Deng: reform within and opening to the outside

Jiang: economics as the central task - WTO accession

Hu: scientific outlook on development; people-first, and harmonious society/world

Domestic determinants

- Sense of insecurity, vigilance against foreign interference

fan-hua (anti-China), *xihua* (Westernize) and *fenhua* (split off), peaceful evolution, Western support of dissidents, demonizing China, containment, keeping China down)

Domestic determinants

- National unification imperatives
 - Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau
 - National minority issues, especially those in Tibet and Xinjiang

III. The formal structure

The Central

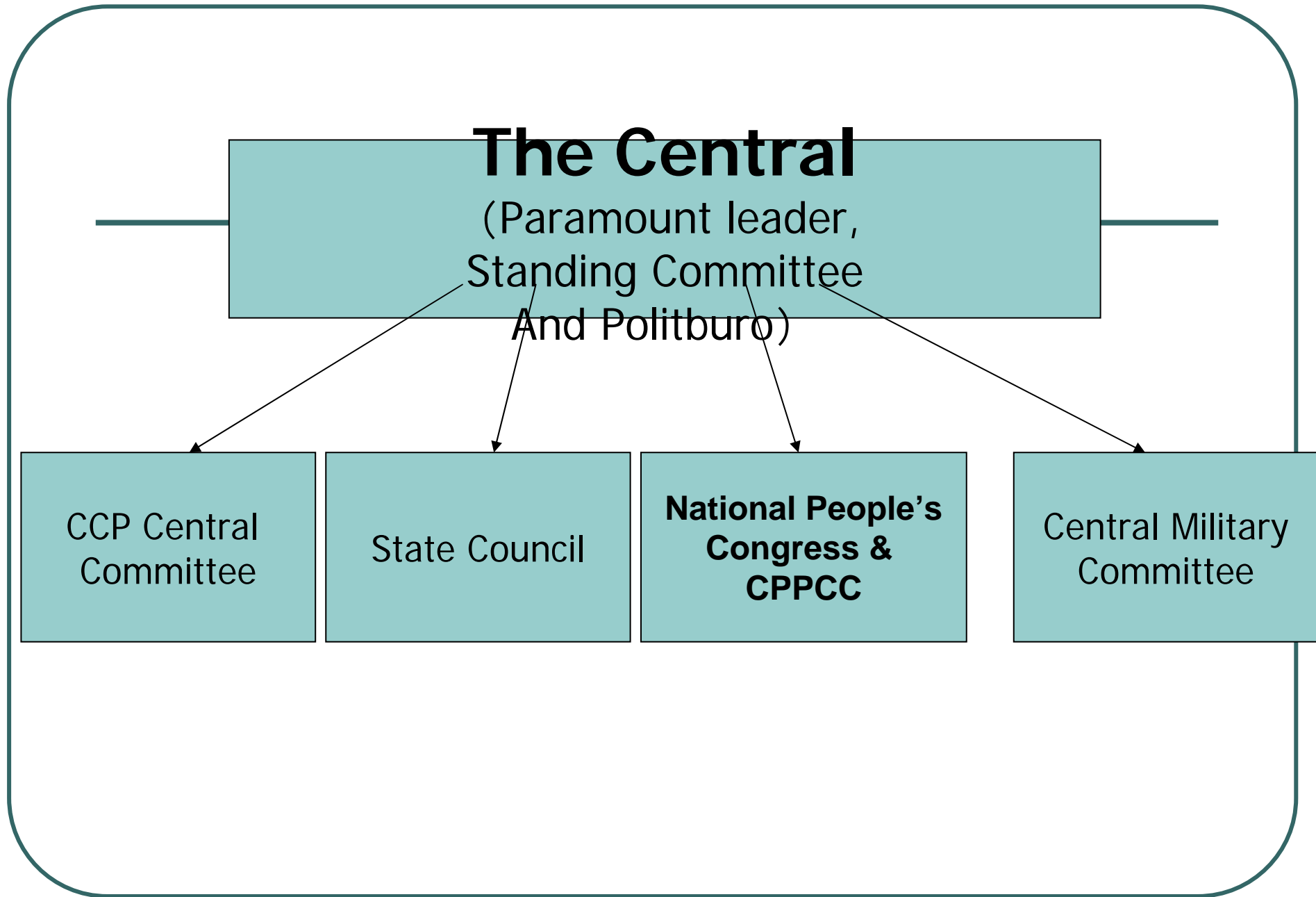
(Paramount leader,
Standing Committee
And Politburo)

CCP Central
Committee

State Council

**National People's
Congress &
CPPCC**

Central Military
Committee





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graph TD; CC[Central Committee] --> ID[International Dept.]; CC --> PD[Publicity Dept.]; CC --> UFD[United Front Dept.]; CC --> PRO[Policy Research Secretariat Office]; CC --> OD[Organization Dept.];
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Central
Committee

International
Dept.

Publicity
Dept.

United Front
Dept.

Policy Research
Secretariat Office

Organization
Dept.



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graph TD; A[Central Military Commission] --> B[General Staff]; A --> C[General Political Dept.]; A --> D[National Defence Univ.]; A --> E[Military Academy];
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Central Military
Commission

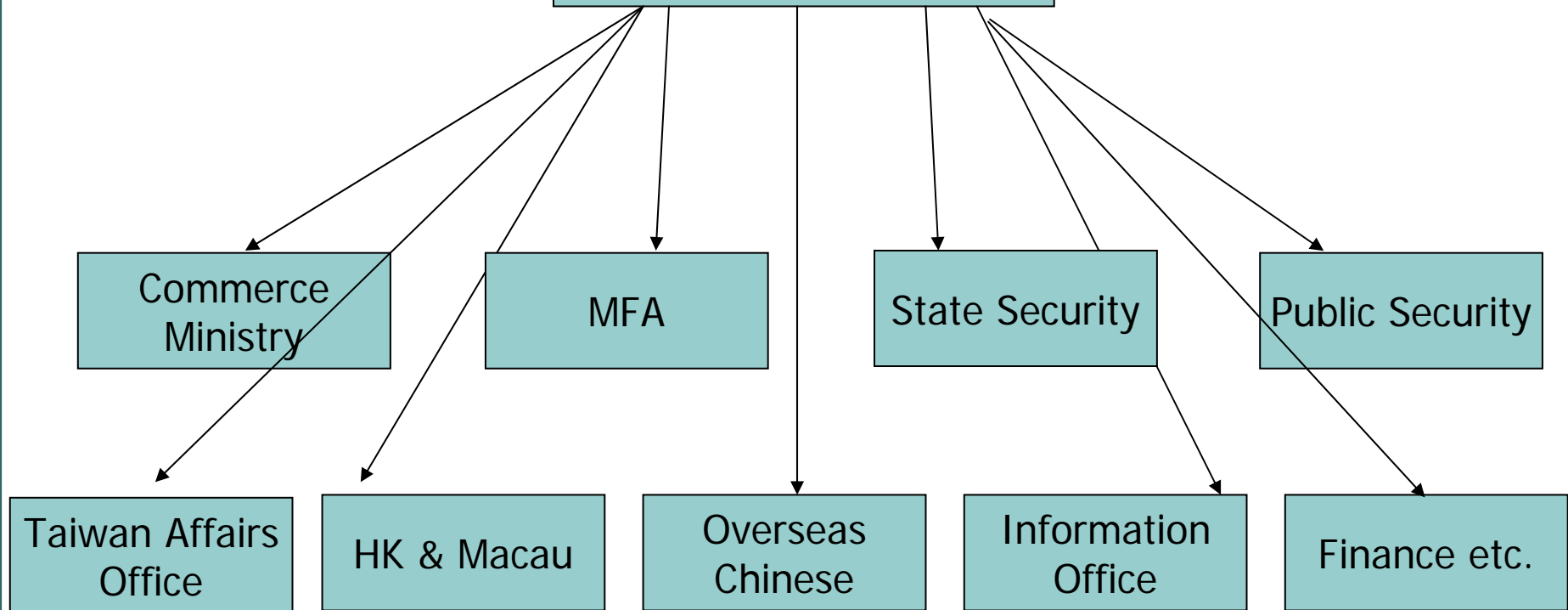
General Staff

General
Political Dept.

National
Defence Univ.

Military
Academy

The Central government & Foreign Affairs Leading Group



People's Congress
& CPPCC

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graph TD; A[People's Congress & CPPCC] --> B[Foreign Affairs Committees]; A --> C[Overseas Chinese]; A --> D[Hong Kong & Macau]; A --> E[Others];
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Foreign Affairs
Committees

Overseas
Chinese

Hong Kong
& Macau

Others

General

- Politburo Standing Committee (5-9 members, respectively in charge of Party affairs in general and Party organizations,
- National People's Congress (NPC),
- Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC),
- Central government

General

- Politburo (20 plus members)
- Central Foreign Affairs Leading Group and Central National Security Leading Group (coordinating mechanisms)
- Foreign Affairs Office as the secretariat

National Security and Defense

- Central Military Commission, General Staff, Political Department, Logistics Department, Equipment University, Military Academy, military industries, and Military intelligence

Functional (Party)

- Organization Department
- Propaganda Department (publicity, media, press)
- International Department (“Party’s Foreign Ministry”)
- United Front Department (national minorities, religion, and overseas Chinese)
- Research Office

Functional (government)

- Foreign Ministry
- Ministry of National Defense
- State Security Ministry
- Public Security Ministry
- State Council Information Office (Central External Propaganda Office)
- Ministry of Commerce
- Commission of National Development and Reform

Functional (government)

- (Ministry of Finance, Central Bank, etc.)
- Taiwan Affairs Office
- Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office
- Overseas Chinese Affairs Office
- State Council Research Department

Role of Provincial and local governments

- Foreign affairs office in all provinces and cities
- Management of foreign diplomatic presence
- Receiving foreign official guests
- Border management
- Dealing with diplomatic problems in local areas
- Conduct tourism and other activities

Role of Provincial and local governments

- Managing sister city and province arrangements (Beijing-Paris)
- Promoting foreign trade and attracting foreign investment
- Dealing with overseas Chinese and Taiwanese affairs in their own areas

Advisory

- Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and various subcommittees within
- Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and subcommittees within
- Mechanisms for soliciting opinions from retired foreign affairs officials

Think tanks

- Research institutes attached to the military, Foreign Ministry, State Security Ministry, Commerce Ministry, etc.
- Eight institutes for international affairs in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
- University-based centers and scholars
- More extensive connection between the government and think tanks

Role of the Leader



Decision making process

Politburo
Standing
Committee (9)

Foreign Affairs Leading Small
Group of CPC (?)

(National Security Leading Small Group +
Taiwan/Hong Kong Affairs Leading Small Group)

Office of the FALSG / Ministries
/ Think Tank / Media etc.

IV. Changes and new features in Chinese foreign policy making

New trends (Lampton)

● Professionalization

- a higher level of specialized knowledge among Chinese elite and foreign policy decision-makers
- from revolutionary cadre to technocrat
- the proliferation of expert-based bureaucracies in the decision-making process
- MFA's arms control department, MOFTEC's Bureau of Science and Technology
- the increased reliance by decision-makers on information provided by specialized bureaucracies
- own professional research bureau and outside research agencies

Corporate pluralization

- the proliferation of organizations, groups and sometimes individuals in the policy-making process
- evidence :
 - (1) public opinion
 - (2) proliferation of interagency coordination(leading small group)
- pros : enhance system legitimacy
- cons: slow down the policy formulation process

Decentralization

- delegation of authority to low-level actors
- within the central bureaucracies and from Beijing to the rest of the country
- local provinces' efforts to influence the central government

Globalization

- including economic globalization, information globalization, and the increasing degree to which national security must be multilaterally negotiated.
- interdependence as a by-product of globalization
- foster cooperation?

1, Leadership change

less political credential & charisma

Professionalization of foreign affairs

Domestic legitimacy imperative

Foreign policy as a consulting and
persuading process

Examples:

- Mao—Korean War, Taiwan Strait Crisis 1958, Ping Pong Diplomacy, etc.
- Deng—“One country, two systems”; Zhao Ziyang’s visit to US in 1985, Extradition of Soviet Pilot in 1985
- Jiang—China’s participation in WTO, Sino-Russian & Sino-Vietnamese boundary disputes, criticism of his Japan policy
- Hu—North Korea issue & China’s policy on climate change.

2, Bureaucratic changes (pluralization, fragmentation, professionalization)

Decentralization

top-down

MFA to other ministries

from central to local

Corporate pluralization

Expanding diplomatic ties, from 111 countries in 1979 to 171 countries (as of 2009), from several missions to 171 embassies, more than 50 consular general.

Foreign service officers: from several dozen in 1950 to 4640 in 2005

Departments within the Ministry: from nine in 1949 to 29 in 2010

**Proliferation and professionalization of foreign
policy bureaucracies**

Economic,

Cultural,

Military,

Agricultural,

Public security,

Medical and hygienic,

Environmental, etc.

Foreign policy as an coordinating process

- Where you stand depends on where you sit, and where you sit depends on where you stand
- Every institution claims to have a direct channel to the top leadership
- Increased mechanisms for horizontal coordination
- Collection and Dissemination of policy papers

Some examples

- China's foreign aid (school bus issue)
- China's cooperation with Africa
- China's policy on South China Sea (recent conference organized by Foreign Ministry on China's foreign policy)
- China's difficulties in coordination of public diplomacy

3, Social changes, domestic politics and China's Foreign Policy

1) . More access to information and more freedom to express ideas

2). Changing role of media in China

- **As the mouth and tongue of the Government**
- **Commercial incentive of media and their deviation from the official voice**
- **Uncontrollable internet media: internet users increased from zero in 1994 to 400 millions plus in 2009**

3). Interaction between media and public opinion

4). Rising nationalism as a double-edged sword

- **Public opinion as diplomatic asset**
- **Public opinion as hindrance in diplomacy**

5). Two-pronged government responses:

- **tolerated and even encouraged**
- **cautious to prevent nationalist sentiments from getting out of hand and causing a backlash in both domestic and foreign affairs**

Examples:

- **Foreign Policy as two-level-games**

- **Anti-Japan demonstration**

- **China's negotiation on textile export with the U.S. and EU**

- **Confucius peace prize**

- **The failed arms sales to Libya before fall of Gaddafi Regime**

V. The dynamics of foreign policy making

1 From vertical to horizontal authoritarianism.

Some examples on the role leaderships

- Mao: vertical authoritarianism--leadership dominated
- Deng: horizontal authoritarianism—consultative process
- Jiang: fragmented authoritarianism—two-level negotiation)
- Hu: ?

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- 2, From factionalism to bureaucratic politics (US-China confrontation—to rapprochement—to stagnation—to normalization; today different ministry and foreign policy)
 - 3, Domestic politics: rising nationalism, public diplomacy (domestic public diplomacy; all domestic politics coincided with foreign policy shift)

VI. Conclusion

- Chinese foreign policy making has experienced great changes since the Mao years; it is now definitely the most complicated one in the world, due to the scope of issues, the interaction between the Party and the Government, and the diversity of interests and views

Conclusion

- The complexity of China's foreign policy making today has its merits and demerits

Merits: relatively stable and consistent; helpful to avoidance of hasty decisions based on short-term consideration; helpful to hearing different perspectives and views

Demerits: clumsy in responding to crisis; susceptible to domestic political considerations; unhelpful for individual leaders to bring their personal skills into full play

Conclusions

- Though increasingly complicated, foreign policy making remains a highly centralized, woefully sensitive domain. It's hard for the public sphere to be woven into the process
- There is a great need for strategic vision and planning and coordination among agencies, and China is moving into that direction

Question

How is China's foreign policy making process different from those of other countries (like yours)? Give some explanations to those differences.

What are the advantages and disadvantages for democratic decision—making?

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