



Royal University of Law and Economics

Final Report on:

China Foreign Policy toward Cambodia

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Bachelor's Degree in International Relations

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Year of Submission: 2019

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This final report on China foreign policy toward Cambodia will not compete without support from many people and we really appreciate to all supportive people around us.

We would like to express our sincere to our advisor, **Dr, KEM SAMBATH** for offer and patient with support, insight, and valuable guidance Not only during study but also the duration of our undergraduate school experience. Without his valuable supervision and assistance through every steps of the process, this final report will not compete successfully.

Furthermore, we would like to give a very special thanks to His **Excellency Dr. LUY CHANNA**, Rector of the Royal University of Law and Economics who has supported International Relations program and provided us qualified professors, comfortable classes and a very nice university. Moreover, we also would like to participate our deeply feel thank to **Mr. SAU SIVUTHA** and **Mr. KHIM KIRI** who have been involved and facilitated the International relations program. We appreciate and acknowledge your encouragement since the beginning of the Program, especially with your consultant and care to all the students.

Moreover, we would like thank to all lecturers and professors of International Relations program who have been teaching us as well as supporting and sustaining to International Relations Program to enable the seventh graduation. And still continue until today.

Beside this, we would like to thank our beloved family for their encouragement and unlimited support in entire life and especially, during our studying for many years in the period of graduation university.

Last but not least, we would like thank to the people who help us from the beginning of my study until its completion. Especially, thank all classmates who also help and encourage us during 3 years of International Relations class. Without them we will not be who we are today. Thank for all memorable activities during three years with all classmates.

ABSTRACT

China is a big country in Asia which used to be an isolated country without involved with other countries around world. But after the establishment of the People's Republic of China by communist leader Mao Zedong, China started to took outside and tried as much as possible to deliver foreign policy to make and strengthen good relations with other countries. Especially Cambodia which is have a long relationship with China. China is an important foreign player in Cambodia especially in Xi Jinping Administration. China is trying to use their own government policy or foreign policy toward Cambodia in many ways such as aids, Belt and Road Initiative, Chinese direct investment, diplomatic, politic and military. These China foreign policy is playing a vital role to economic development in Cambodia as well as to strengthen the relationship between China and Cambodia. As the Result, this thesis seeks to answer the Question "what were China foreign policies which China used during Mao Zedong administration until Xi Jinping administration?" And "How do china foreign policies influence in Cambodia?"

Keywords: China, Foreign policy, Cambodia

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

AIIB:	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
APEC:	The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
BRI:	Belt and Road initiative
CCP:	Chinese Communist Party
CDC:	Council for the Development of Cambodia
EU:	The European Union
FDI:	Foreign direct investment
G-8:	The Group of Eight
HKTDC:	The Hong Kong Trade Development Council
KMT:	Kuomintang of China
NPC:	Nationalist Party of China
ODA:	Official Development Assistance
OECD:	The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PRC:	People's Republic of China
ROC:	Republic of China
SCO:	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SMEs:	small and medium sized enterprises
RGC:	The Royal government of Cambodia

INTRODUCTION

1. Background

Relations between China and Cambodia date back at least to the 13th Century, when Chinese emissary Zhou Daguan-also known by his Khmer Language name Chiv Ta Koan who visited the Kingdom of Angkor for one year, from 1296 to 1297.¹ More than 700 year later, ties between the two countries are at their strongest ever. But despite their long diplomatic history, China and Cambodia only grew close during the Second World War II and after Cambodia gained its dependence from France in 1953. The relationship developed while the globe was caught amidst a struggle between communism and democracy when World War II ended in 1945. At the time, the Kingdom of Cambodia under Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk declared neutrality. However, Cambodia pursued relations with China in order to mitigate the influence of neighboring countries Thailand and South Vietnam, which had shown support for Anti-Sihanouk rebels. Isolated due to its adoption of communism, China sought support from Cambodia in its bid for a seat at the United Nations over Taiwan, which had broken away from the mainland after Mao Zedong took power in 1949. China also hoped to maintain Cambodia as an ally amid growing US influence in Southeast Asia. Even, China-Cambodia relation go up and down in many regimes. But we can see that China is good partner with Cambodia in many fields include economic, politic, tourism and so on.

2. Problem Formulation

In this thesis, we will formulate some problems which is related to China foreign policy in some famous Chinese leader's administrations such as Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao and Xi Jinping. Moreover, we will look at China foreign policy which have

¹ China-Cambodia Relations: a history part one, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/special/chinacambodia/relation.html>, (accessed date June 17, 2019).

involved in Cambodia as well as the China-Cambodia Relations and how it provides advantages and disadvantages to Cambodia.

3. Research Objective

The objective to this paper to give a general overview of China foreign policy from Mao Zedong administration until Xi Jinping Administration. And also, the general views of China and Cambodia relation. A government's policy on deal with other countries or a foreign policy can show us how good relations between that countries. Sometime they do good to us because they want something from us. So, we must decide what is our interest and our benefits. That is why this final report will mainly focus on the china foreign policy involves in Cambodia as well as how china foreign policy influences in Cambodia.

4. Research Methodology

This final report is researched based on many different sources such as from libraries and internets. These data are collected from all source ranging such as legal documents, policy paper, reports, news, journals and other electronic devices. We would like to analysis on the key relationships in which China has been involved in Cambodia.

5. Research Questions

This Final report will provide you some ideas related to questions below:

- What does foreign policy mean? What are the advantages and disadvantages of foreign policy? How many stages of foreign policy decision making?
- What were China foreign policies which China used during Mao Zedong administration, Deng Xiaoping administration, Jiang Zemin administration, Hu Jintao administration?
- What do China foreign Policies use in Xi Jinping administration?
- How do china foreign policies influence in Cambodia?
- What are the advantages and disadvantage of China foreign Policy in Cambodia?

6. Scope and limitation

We would be important to notice that this final report is focus on China foreign policy on many powerful Chinese leaders from Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao and Xi Jinping. Moreover, we mainly focus on the relations between China and Cambodia on foreign policy and how China has involved with Cambodia in many years. Especially, focus on foreign policy which china has influenced in Cambodia. Consequently, according to source of document or literature reviews have provide you the definition of foreign policy by many authors and what are the advantages and disadvantages of foreign policy as well as the foreign policy decision making.

7. Necessary of Research

This final report is available to offer the general knowledge to know about china foreign policy and its toward Cambodia and also get to know how the china foreign policy influence Cambodia. Moreover, because of the good relations between China and Cambodia, the Chinese government policy must deal with Cambodia a lot. So, we also provide the advantages and disadvantage of China foreign policy in Cambodia as well.

8. Structure of Research

This research paper is divided into three main important bodies such as:

Introduction

This part provided the brief information about this research with following by Background, Problem Formulation, Research Objective, Scope and Limitation, Necessary of Research and Structure of Research.

Three main important chapters as the supporting body:

Chapter I is about the Literature Reviews: definition of foreign policy, advantages and disadvantages of foreign policy as well as the foreign policy decision making.

Chapter II is about the general views of China foreign policy: China foreign policy in Mao Zedong administration, Deng Xiaoping administration, Jiang Zemin administration, Hu Jintao and Xi Jinping administration.

Chapter III is about China foreign policy toward Cambodia: China-Cambodia relations during cold war until Now, China foreign policies influence in Cambodia, as well as Advantages and Disadvantages of China foreign policy in Cambodia.

Conclusions and Recommendation:

Last but not least, given the overall conclusion of China foreign policy which has involved in Cambodia and how China foreign policy influences Cambodia. As we know that China and Cambodia have good relationship with each other for a long time ago and keep continue their both relation on many sectors. Moreover, we also provide you some recommendations.

Chapter I: Literature Reviews

1.1 Definition of foreign Policy

After the treaty of Westphalia had signed on 24 October 1648² and the first and second world war had ended. The international system has witnessed an increasing growth in the development of nation states. The result of this development had created the interaction between each nation states. Because of this, the formation of foreign policies had created which aim of determining and identifying the decisions, strategies and ends of interaction of a state with another.³ We can call foreign policy as foreign relations or foreign affair policy.⁴

Christopher Hill defines foreign policy as the sum of external relations conducted by an independent actor (a state) in international relation.⁵ This definition focuses only on explaining broad trends in foreign policies and not individual actions and decisions.

White defines foreign policy as government activity conducted with relationships between state and other actors, especially with other states in the international system and he admitted that this definition does not include other form of collective actors like the European Union (EU) that also conduct foreign policy activities.⁶

Rosenau provides a simpler definition of foreign policy as the external behavior of states.⁷

²Richard Cavendish, The Treaty of Westphalia, <https://www.historytoday.com/archive/months-past/treaty-westphalia>, (accessed date June 6, 2019).

³What is Foreign Policy?, <https://www.omicsonline.org/open-access/the-study-of-foreign-policy-in-international-relations-2332-0761-1000337-106181.html>, (accessed date June 6, 2019).

⁴Market Business News, What is Foreign Policy? Definition and Examples, <https://marketbusinessnews.com/financial-glossary/foreign-policy/>, (accessed June 12, 2019).

⁵Introduction: Analyzing Foreign Policy, what is to be explained: "Defining 'foreign policy'", https://www.researchgate.net/publication/311754577_Introduction_Analyzing_Foreign_Policy, (accessed June 12, 2019).

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

Hermann defines foreign policy is the behavior of state. It is the separate purposeful action that results from the political level decision. It is not the decision, but a product of the decision.⁸

George Modelski defines foreign policy as the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their activities to the international environment. He believed that foreign policy must throw light on the ways states attempt to change and succeed in changing the behavior of other state.⁹

Joseph Frankel defines foreign policy contains of decisions and actions which involves to some important extent relations between one state and other.¹⁰ So, foreign policy involves set of actions that are made within state's borders and it comprises the formulation and implementation of a set of ideas that govern the behavior of states while interacting with other states to defend and enhance their national interest.¹¹

Padelford and Lincoln define "A state's foreign policy is entirety of its dealing with the external environment. Foreign Policy is the final result of the process by which a state translates its broadly formed goals and interests into specific courses of action in order to achieve its objectives and preserve its interests".¹²

Huge Gibson define "foreign policy is a well-rounded comprehensive plan based on knowledge and experience for conducting the business of government with rest of the world. It is aim at promoting and protecting the interests of the nations. This calls for a clear

⁸What is Foreign Policy?, <https://www.omicsonline.org/open-access/the-study-of-foreign-policy-in-international-relations-2332-0761-1000337-106181.html>, (accessed date June 6, 2019).

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Frankel J (1968) The Making of Foreign Policy. London Oxford University Press. (accessed date June 10, 2019).

¹¹ What is Foreign Policy?, <https://www.omicsonline.org/open-access/the-study-of-foreign-policy-in-international-relations-2332-0761-1000337-106181.html>, (accessed date June 10, 2019)

¹² Padelford NJ, Lincoln Ga (1997) The Dynamics of International Politics. Macmillan Company, New York, (accessed date June 10, 2019).

understanding of what those interests are and how far we hope to go with the means at our disposal. Anything less than this, falls short of being a foreign policy”.¹³

Deborah Gerner’s dictum defines foreign policy is the intentions, statements, and actions of an actor often, but not always, foreign policy is a state-directed towards the external world and the response of the other actors to these intentions, statements and actions.¹⁴ But Laura Neack has criticized Deborah’s definition being emphasized on states. She argued that other actors such as international cause groups, businesses, religions, and the like-in the international system formulate guidelines and goal that direct their actions towards other international actors. She used a broad definition of foreign policy that involves both statements and behaviors or actions.¹⁵

1.2 Advantages and Disadvantages of foreign policy

Foreign policy is the most important method for economic development of the country. However, John F. Kennedy who was a president of The United States during Cuban missile crisis said that “Domestic policy can only defeat us, foreign policy can kill us”.¹⁶ So, there are both advantages and disadvantages of foreign policy.

There are some advantages of foreign policy. First, it can strengthen relationship with other country. Second, it helps in Foreign direct investment (FDI) which come from another countries. Moreover, it improves tourism field because that countries have good relationship with each other and many people come to visit. Following this, it can help in economic

¹³ Gibson H (1944) *The Road to Foreign Policy*, Doubleday, Doran and Company Inc., Garden city, (accessed date June 10, 2019)

¹⁴ What is Foreign Policy?, <https://www.omicsonline.org/open-access/the-study-of-foreign-policy-in-international-relations-2332-0761-1000337-106181.html>, (accessed date June 10, 2019).

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ John F. Kennedy – Foreign affairs, <https://www.presidentprofiles.com/Kennedy-Bush/John-F-Kennedy-Foreign-affairs.html>, (accessed date June 12, 2019).

cooperation and development between that countries. Beside this, it can improve human capital because people will learn new knowledge and skills from other countries.¹⁷

There are some disadvantages of foreign policy. First, it makes country dependable on other country¹⁸. Second, it can hindrance domestic investment. Moreover, it can weaken relationship between countries when a country does something wrong. In addition, it is risk from political changes because foreign policy of a country is related to the political climate of that country. Furthermore, it can lead to economic colonialism where a country with a higher and bigger economy want to manipulate countries with smaller economies.¹⁹

1.3 Foreign Policy Decision Making

There are three stages in the process of making foreign policy such as foreign policy initiation, formulation and implementation.

The first stage is initiation. It occurs when political leaders which is probably the Head of State and foreign policy bodies led by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or Department of State conceive of foreign policy ideas: They are premised on national interest, perceptions, preferences, choices, options and capabilities. This stage also known as the stage of identification and articulation of roles or the ‘role conception’ stage.²⁰

Second stage is formulation which strategic and practical steps can be taken to realize national interest in international politics. In a democratic system, formulation requires sending

¹⁷ Pros and cons of foreign policy, <https://www.prosancons.com/politics/pros-and-cons-of-foreign-policy/>, (accessed date June 12, 2019).

¹⁸What are the advantages and/or disadvantages of having extensive foreign policy?, <https://www.quora.com/What-are-the-advantages-and-or-disadvantages-of-having-an-extensive-foreign-policy>, (accessed date June 12, 2019).

¹⁹Pros and cons of foreign policy, <https://www.prosancons.com/politics/pros-and-cons-of-foreign-policy/>, (accessed date June 12, 2019).

²⁰ Sheriff Folarin, Student Feature-Foreign policy, E-international Relations Students, December 20, 2017, <https://www.e-ir.info/2017/12/20/student-feature-foreign-policy/>, (Accessed date June 27, 2019).

the proposal to parliament for debate, readings and adoption, after which it returns to the executive for approval and ratification.²¹

The third stage is implementation. This stage engages the foreign ministry and all other relevant ministries to ensure execution of the policy. The foreign ministry in particular engages the Foreign Service made up political and career diplomats as well envoys and other diplomatic field staff to work on the policy or policies. The implementation stage may also be known as the 'role assumption' stage.²²

²¹ Sheriff Folarin, Student Feature-Foreign policy, E-international Relations Students, December 20, 2017, <https://www.e-ir.info/2017/12/20/student-feature-foreign-policy/>, (Accessed date June 27, 2019).

²² Ibid.

Chapter II: General views of China foreign policy

China foreign policy have established for many years ago. The beginning of china's foreign policy can be discovered in population and size, historical legacy, worldview, nationalism, Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought. All elements have amalgamated with economic and military capabilities, governmental structure, and decision-making processes in order to make clearly important foreign policy goals such as security, sovereignty and independence, territorial integrity as well as reunification, and economic development.²³

Since the late 20th century, China has been converting itself from an isolated and backward agrarian society into a modern economic superpower country with global interests and responsibilities. In order to change international and domestic conditions, Chinese foreign policy has become more active, pragmatic, and flexible. With continued economic growth China is expected to widen and deepen its global search for energy and other resources and to expand its investment, market, and political clout. China is vigorously projecting soft power and presenting a peaceful image abroad by promoting cultural, educational, sports, tourism, and other exchanges. China foreign policy has also become more active in global governance. In addition to its roles in existing international institutions, China has played a leadership role in establishing and expanding the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), setting up the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the BRICS Development Bank. It has also proposed the "Belt and Road Initiative" to strengthen connectivity and cooperation in global development. There is good reason to believe that China's reemergence to great-power status will be peaceful, as it serves China's fundamental interests.²⁴ China foreign policy has increased

²³Evolution of Foreign policy, <http://countrystudies.us/china/123.htm> , (accessed 06 May 2019).

²⁴ Introduction, China's Foreign Policy, <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199743292/obo-9780199743292-0025.xml>, (accessed June 19, 2019).

since the established the communist party that led by Mao Zedong and it is still continuing until today in Xi Jinping administration.

2.1. China foreign policy during Mao Zedong administration

Mao Zedong was a Chinese communist leader. He led communist force in China by a long revolution beginning in 1927.²⁵ He was a Marxist theorist, revolutionary from 1949 to 1959 and he was the first chairman of the People's Republic of China.²⁶

From 1937 to 1945, The Communists and The Kuomintang of China (KMT) were allied during eight year of war with Japan. But after the end of World War Two, that ally was broken and made civil war between each other. The Communists which led by Mao Zedong were victorious and Mao announced officially the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) on 1 October 1949 and Chiang Kai-shek the leader of the Republic of China (ROC) and the Kuomintang of China (KMT) or Nationalist Party of China (NPC) fled to the island of Taiwan.²⁷

During his first five years in office from 1949 to 1955, China initiated to follow The Soviet Union because The Soviet Union used to support the Communist party during pre-establishment of The People's Republic of China (PRC) and china had learned a lot from Soviet Union. So, during those five years, China engaged in the international system with the Soviet Union.²⁸

In 1948, after North Korea got freedom from Soviet Union. China being a Communist state had obvious relations with North Korea and was expected by Soviet Union to have indirect control over North Korea through Chinese occupation.²⁹

²⁵History.com Editors, Mao Zedong, <https://www.history.com/topics/cold-war/mao-zedong>, (accessed date June 14, 2019).

²⁶ Who was Mao Zedong?, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mao-Zedong>, (accessed June 3, 2019).

²⁷Mao Zedong (1893-1976), History, https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/mao_zedong.shtml, (Accessed June 3, 2019).

²⁸ Chapter 4 Outline of Chinese Foreign Policy During Mao Era, Chinese Foreign Policy from 1947-1955, 85-86,

²⁹ Chapter 4 Outline of Chinese Foreign Policy During Mao Era, Chinese Foreign Policy from 1947-1955, 86,

China had intended to help Viet Minh establish Communist regime in three Indochina countries and the premier Zhou Enlai convinced Molotov to agree the idea of three states Indochina countries. America also agreed not to involve in the independence of the agreement of the three states. It showed that China have involved in the international system.³⁰

After the Indochina agreement, China started to march toward Quemoy which were two group of island that governed by the Republic of China (ROC) in order to fulfil its national interest of controlling over Taiwan and merging it into the mainland but because of The Formosa Agreement in 1955 that The United States had agreed to provide the security for Taiwan in case of china attack. So, China relaxed pressure after this agreement.³¹

After 1955, the Chinese foreign policy had witnessed a stage of a challenge for Chinese leadership. After the death of Stalin on 5 March 1953, Mao's cult and personality became more arbitrary. But in Soviet Union, Khrushchev came to power and formally began to change Stalin's foreign policies and establish his power over the Communist states in the world³².

Because of Mao's act in Taiwan Strait, Sino-Soviet relations worsened in 1958. Khrushchev condemned Mao Zedong publicly over Taiwan Strait action, hence Sino-Soviet relations were damaged, resulting into Sino-Soviet rift with the issue over Albania in a conference in 1960.³³

In 1962, when Khrushchev got involved in Cuban missile crisis. China had decided to go offensive against India in Aksai Chin area. But soon Khrushchev defended India over Sino-India crisis and that had completely worsened relations between China and Soviet Union.³⁴

³⁰ Chapter 4 Outline of Chinese Foreign Policy During Mao Era, Chinese Foreign Policy from 1947-1955, 86

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Chapter 4 Outline of Chinese Foreign Policy During Mao Era, Chinese Foreign Policy from 1947-1955, 87

By 1964, China tested her nuclear weapon which was the first atomic bomb that gave serious tensions to all the major powers in the world. But Khrushchev demanded for the Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty to restraint China's growing military power.³⁵

In 1965, China launched the Cultural Revolution in order to bring reforms by punishing those colleagues who were his critics and many authors who criticized the Great Leap Forward Policy. This had a serious impact over failures of Chinese image in the world. It worsened almost all foreign relations with superpowers as well as the relations with the Third World states. "...the Cultural Revolution was drastically reducing China's effectiveness in nearly every department of its foreign policy".³⁶

In 1950s, China had proclaimed itself to be a leader of the Third world States and tried to provide aids to the North African and Central African States. In 1963, Premier Zhou Enlai visited African states and had helped China to hold another Afro-Asian conference at Algiers. China tried to conduct the conference without Soviet Union. But African and other Asian states received more aids from Soviet Union, so most African and Asian states did not agree with China's proposal to drop Soviet Union that later on moved to a postponement of conference and probably cancellation of it.³⁷

In international cooperation, when Henry Kissinger and Zhou Enlai met to establish a hotline between Washington and Beijing. In 1971, President Nixon's visited China and gave China an opportunity to act in the international system and have its stand in The United Nations Security Council (UNSC).³⁸

³⁵ Chapter 4 Outline of Chinese Foreign Policy During Mao Era, Chinese Foreign Policy from 1947-1955, 87

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Chapter 4 Outline of Chinese Foreign Policy During Mao Era, Chinese Foreign Policy from 1947-1955, 87-88

³⁸ Chapter 4 Outline of Chinese Foreign Policy During Mao Era, Chinese Foreign Policy from 1947-1955, 88

China's foreign policy between 1949 to 1976 can be divided into four periods³⁹:

(1) From 1949-1953, the U.S. imperialists attempted to contain and even roll back the Chinese revolution, and tried to suppress the advance of revolutionary movements in Asia. The response of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was to battle the U.S. military in Korea and support revolutionary struggles in Vietnam and elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

(2) During the "Bandung Period"—1954 to the early 1960s—U.S. efforts at containing China were complemented by the aggressive replacement of the European direct colonial empires with U.S.-dominated neo-colonial states. Chinese foreign policy, reflecting the influence of Zhou Enlai, sought to set up an alliance of socialist states and formerly colonial countries under an anti-imperialist banner. In practice, this policy placed primary emphasis on supporting bourgeois nationalist regimes such as Indonesia and India, and downplayed support for revolutionary struggles.

(3) Some of the most notable features of the 1960s period were the explosive growth of national liberation movements, concentrated in Vietnam, the rebirth of revolutionary struggle in the imperialist countries, and the initiation of the Cultural Revolution, an unprecedented revolution within a socialist society. These factors strengthened the revolutionary internationalist orientation that defined Chinese foreign policy during those years. At the same time, there was sharp struggle in the CCP over foreign policy, which was closely linked to the polemics against Soviet revisionism and the struggle against Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping and other leading “capitalist roaders” in the Chinese party.

(4) From 1969 into the 1970s, socialist China was faced with new conditions. A serious military threat developed on its northern border from the Soviet Union, and Defense Minister Lin Biao defected from the revolutionary camp. These adverse developments put the brakes on the Cultural Revolution and brought back Deng Xiaoping and other high-ranking officials who had been overthrown or demoted only a few years earlier. This also led to the emergence of the Three Worlds Theory, which advocated a strategic alliance with the Western imperialists for China, and

³⁹ Chinese Foreign Policy during the Maoist Era and its Lessons for Today by the MLM Revolutionary Study Group in the U.S. (January 2007), 4 <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/nem-5/cpc-policy.pdf>. (accessed date July 2, 2019).

assumed a dominant position in Chinese foreign policy from 1973 to Mao's death in 1976.

2.2. China foreign policy during Deng Xiaoping administration

Deng Xiaoping was a Chinese Political, who was famous on reforming China domestic and foreign policy. Deng Xiaoping was the most powerful leader in the People's Republic of China from the late 1970s until his death in 1997.⁴⁰ After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Deng Xiaoping served in close with Zhou Enlai and Mao Zedong as finance minister and vice premier.⁴¹ He introduced "Reform and opening up declaration" in December 1978.⁴² This declaration was an Open Door policy that was established by Deng Xiaoping.

China foreign policy under Deng Xiaoping was shaped by the Deng dictum "hide your ambitions and disguise your claws" which meant that China should devote its energy to developing economically and not concern itself so much with international affairs⁴³. He just thought about own interested and did not care much about other countries. Even though, Deng Xiaoping also improved relations with Russia, Japan and South Korea presided over the handover of Hong Kong. He was the one that ordered the incursion into Vietnam in 1979 with disastrous results.⁴⁴

In 1974, it was the first time that Deng Xiaoping traveled to New York to address the UN General Assembly. Chinese officials discovered that they could muster only \$38000 in

⁴⁰The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, Deng Xiaoping <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Deng-Xiaoping>, (accessed date May 29, 2019).

⁴¹ Ezra F. Vogel (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011, Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China, <https://origins.osu.edu/review/man-who-re-invented-china>, (accessed date May 29, 2019).

⁴² Qian Ding, China's rise all started with "Open Door" Policy. CCTV.com, June 13 2018, <http://english.cctv.com/2018/06/12/ARTI8ZJvz5IT7VPr39GUJwNc180612.shtml>, (Accessed date July 2, 2019)

⁴³ Foreign Policy Under Deng Xiaoping, Facts and Details, <http://factsanddetails.com/china/cat2/sub7/entry-5540.html>, (accessed date May 29, 2019).

⁴⁴ Ibid.

foreign cash to prepare for this trip. In that time, China had only a bank called The People's Bank of China.⁴⁵

In 1979, when China was under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, the relationship between the United States (US) and The People's Republic of China (PRC) had established. Deng Xiaoping was the first Chinese leader to visit the United States.⁴⁶ It had strengthened the relations between US and China.

2.3. China foreign policy during Jiang Zemin administration

Jiang Zemin joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1946 and he had become the leader of China from 1993 until 2003.⁴⁷ Jiang Zemin was given high marks for the way he handled international relations. He raised China's status in the world with positive relations around the world. Jiang Zemin did not change the 16-word Directive as a framework of foreign policy. He followed the Deng Xiaoping policy.⁴⁸ It led Deng's 16-word Directive became an official guideline of China's foreign policy.

Jiang Zemin was inaugurated as the head of the central leading group for Taiwan Affairs in January 1994 with with Qian Quichen as Deputy Head, the line-up strongly suggested that Jiang Zemin's first task in foreign policy would be Taiwan affairs. In January 1995, he proposed an "eight-point proposal for the peaceful unity of China".⁴⁹ It gave the impression for many people that Jiang Zemin had took the responsibility for China's new policy toward Taiwan.

In November 1997, Boris N. Yeltsin gave Jiang Zemin a bear hug when they met on the steps of the Great Hall of the People in Beijing after signing a border agreement. It strongly

⁴⁵ Foreign Policy Under Deng Xiaoping, Facts and Details, <http://factsanddetails.com/china/cat2/sub7/entry-5540.html>, (accessed date May 29, 2019).

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, Jiang Zemin, Apr 24, 2019. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jiang-Zemin>, (Accessed date May 28, 2019).

⁴⁸ Chapter 3 Foreign Policy of the Post-Jiang Zemin Era, China's New Leadership, Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organization (IDE-JETRO), 30

⁴⁹ Ibid., 31

wanted to show the world that Russia and China relations was really good.⁵⁰ As we know that China and The Soviet Union used to have a good relation since Mao Zedong administration. So, it was a sign that China want to keep a good relation with the former Soviet Union or Russia.

In November 1998, when Jiang Zemin visited Japan, it was a sign for recurrence of the historic problem that Japanese soldiers had invented China and committed many bad activities during the World War II. Moreover, it is sign for building a relation between China and Japan without think about that past.

In June 1998, The President Bill Clinton went to Beijing and it was the first by a US Present since the Tiananmen massacre in 1989. While President Bill was there. He criticized what had happened at Tiananmen, but he stated to support of the One China policy.⁵¹ During his visit in China, President Bill Clinton recognized that Taiwan is part of China. However, The China-US relation which had been deteriorating on and off since the Clinton administration improve following the September 11 incident in 2001.⁵²

In June 1998, Jiang Zemin introduced as the Head of Leading Group for Foreign Affair⁵³. This group was the central organs which was the most involved in foreign policy. The function of this Group for Foreign Affair had been to guarantee the continuity of Deng Xiaoping's Directive.

More than one year after Deng Xiaoping death in 19 February 1997, Jiang Zemin started to use his own initiatives in foreign policy. It was a Chinese diplomatic strategy report paper

⁵⁰Seth Faison, Nov, 11, 1997 In Beijing, Yeltsin Finds Jiang Speaks His Language, <https://www.nytimes.com/1997/11/11/world/in-beijing-yeltsin-finds-jiang-speaks-his-language.html>, (accessed date May 28, 2019).

⁵¹A&E Television Networks, Major Milestones in U.S.-China Relations, Clinton Goes to China June 1998, August 22, 2018, <https://www.history.com/news/major-milestones-in-us-china-relations>, (accessed date June 14, 2019).

⁵²Chapter 3 Foreign Policy of the Post-Jiang Zemin Era, China's New Leadership, Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organization (IDE-JETRO), 30

⁵³ Ibid., 31

from Chinese governmental research institutes and it titled “International Strategy and Evaluation of Safety”.

There were some main ideas related to “International Strategy and Evaluation of Safety” from 2001 to 2002 such as:⁵⁴

(1) China promoted multipolarity against the unilateralism by the U.S. Specifically, China consistently opposed America's Missile Defense Plans. China established the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in June 2001, and China, Russia and central Asian countries confirmed the diversity of civilizations and opposed hegemonism, China also defeated America's anti- Chinese human rights proposals at the United Nations.

(2) China dealt appropriately and calmly with difficult incidents between China and the U.S. The emergency landing of the U.S. reconnaissance plane did not damage China's national statue.

(3) After the terrorist attacks against the U.S. on September 11, China promptly joined the international anti-terrorism actions. Jiang Zemin made a phone call to President Bush, promising his support for anti-terrorism efforts, soon after the attacks. China held an APEC summit meeting in Shanghai in November 2001, and adopted an antiterrorism resolution. As a result, President Bush promised to work towards a constructive partnership with China.

(4) In regard to Taiwan affairs, China regained its initiative. The Bush administration sold huge number of weapons to Taiwan in April 2001. But the U.S. now seek China's cooperation in anti-terrorism campaigns. The U.S. become less aggressive in its policy towards Taiwan.

(5) The Chinese economy continued to grow. It raised the status of China internationally.

During Jiang Zemin administration, China had approached not only to neighboring countries including Russia and countries in southeast Asia but also countries in Europe, Central Asia, and South and Central America. It gave the impression that the “Omnidirectional diplomacy” proposed by Deng Xiaoping and Qian Qichen has finally developed.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Chapter 3 Foreign Policy of the Post-Jiang Zemin Era, China’s New Leadership, Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organization (IDE-JETRO), 32, 33

⁵⁵ Ibid.

In addition to the role in international institution, Jiang Zemin also signed the on the declaration on the establishment of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization with other countries such as the Kyrgyz Republic, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan and the Republic of Uzbekistan.⁵⁶ It established to ensure security and maintain stability across the vast Eurasian region, to enhance trade as well as cultural and humanitarian cooperation and also join forces to against emerging challenges and threats⁵⁷.

2.4. China foreign policy during Hu Jintao administration

Hu Jintao is a Chinese politician and he was a general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) from 2002 to 2012 and was a president of China from 2003 to 2013.⁵⁸

When Hu Jintao took over China's leadership, he followed the *taoguangyanghui* policy by hiding the capabilities, and focusing on its national strength-building, and biding its time that set by Deng Xiaoping in the early 1990s to avoid confronting the US and other Western powers.⁵⁹ This foreign policy was about strengthening own countries and did not involve too much with other countries.

Hu Jintao had introduced his main foreign policy theme which called "Peaceful rise".⁶⁰ That was the reason why, Hu Jintao tried to expand China's influence abroad by travelling. He visited the United States, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Nigeria, Laos, India, Pakistan. Moreover, Hu Jintao also tried to develop relations with Asian countries, European countries, the United States and Japan.

⁵⁶ the declaration on the establishment of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization

⁵⁷ Rashid Alimov, The Role of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in Counteracting Threats to Peace and Security, October 2017, <https://unchronicle.un.org/article/role-shanghai-cooperation-organization-counteracting-threats-peace-and-security>, (accessed date June 17, 2019).

⁵⁸ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, May 24, 2019, Hu Jintao, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Hu-Jintao>, May 30, 2019, (accessed date June 17, 2019).

⁵⁹ Hu Jintao's Foreign Policy Legacy, <https://www.e-ir.info/2012/12/08/hu-jintaos-foreign-policy-legacy/>, (accessed date May 30, 2019).

⁶⁰China Under Hu Jintao, Hu Jintao on Foreign policy, <http://factsanddetails.com/china/cat2/sub7/item75.html#chapter-6>, (accessed date June 16, 2019).

In relations with Asian Pacific countries, China stated its core interests to achievement in maritime territorial disputes. In 2009, Chinese leaders expanded the core interest issues in 2009 to include the maritime territorial claims in the South China Sea, where China had dispute over seas and islands which is also claimed by Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam.⁶¹

In international cooperation, Hu Jintao was the first Chinese leader to attend the meeting of the G-8 which a group of eight highly industrialized nation.⁶² This group includes eight high economic countries such as France, Germany, Italy, The United Kingdom, Japan, The United States, Canada, and Russia.

In October 2003, Hu Jintao and George W. Bush visited Canberra, Australia in the same time. When both leaders visited, Hu Jintao upstaged Bush. Hu Jintao came across gregarious with many people but President Bush came off as aloof. Hu Jintao spent three days to visit with a number of local businessmen and Sydney Harbor, while Bush stayed for only 21 hours and the road had swept of all people when motorcade came through.⁶³

In September 2005, Hu Jintao made a 12 days tour of the United States, Mexico and Canada. He met with US President George W. Bush in Washington, He also talked with Bill Gates in Seattle. Moreover, He also addressed the United Nations General Assembly in New York. At that time, he also gave a speech at Yale University in which portrayed China as a “peacefully developing” nation.⁶⁴

2.5. China foreign policy during Xi Jinping administration

⁶¹ Hu Jintao’s Foreign Policy Legacy, <https://www.e-ir.info/2012/12/08/hu-jintaos-foreign-policy-legacy/>, (accessed date May 30, 2019).

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ China Under Hu Jintao, Hu Jintao on Foreign policy, <http://factsanddetails.com/china/cat2/sub7/item75.html#chapter-6>, (accessed date June 16, 2019).

⁶⁴ Ibid.

After Xi Jinping became a president in November 2012, China has actually become a more active participant in global affair.⁶⁵ China's foreign policy has departed from Deng Xiaoping's reform era dictum to "hide our Capacities and bide our time; be good at maintaining a low profile; and never claim leadership".⁶⁶ China foreign policy is kind of in the middle between Mao Zedong's and Deng Xiaoping's foreign policy. China has made the economic partner with many regions in the world during Xi Jinping administration.

Xi Jinping has supported *fenfa youwei* or call "Striving for achievement" and he has made active calls for a greater Chinese leadership in world affairs. Over the past five years, new policy had been combined with new institutions like the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and new initiatives like the Belt and Road, to build what Xi Jinping refers to as a "Community of common destiny".⁶⁷

"Community of common destiny" also makes its first appearance in Hu Jintao's report where he recommends raising awareness of a "Community of common destiny" amongst China's neighbors. For Xi Jinping, "Community of common destiny" means something more. In xi's "New Era," fostering a "new type of international relations" and building "a community of common destiny with mankind" is the first aim of Chinese foreign policy.⁶⁸

The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) is a multilateral development bank with a mission to develop social and economic outcomes in Asia.⁶⁹ It headquartered in Beijing and it started operation in January 2016. Now, it has 97 members around the world. President Xi Jinping proposed The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank at the Asia-Pacific Economic

⁶⁵Neil Thomas, Chinese foreign policy under Xi Jinping, <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2018/10/21/chinese-foreign-policy-under-xi-jinping/>, University of Chicago, (accessed date May 8, 2019).

⁶⁶Jacob Mardell, October 25, 2017, The 'Community of Common Destiny' in Xi Jinping's New Era, <https://thediplomat.com/2017/10/the-community-of-common-destiny-in-xi-jinpings-new-era/>, (accessed date May 8, 2019).

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹ The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, Who we are, <https://www.aiib.org/en/about-aiib/index.html>, (accessed date June 17, 2019).

Cooperation (APEC) summit in Bali in 2013.⁷⁰ It is a China foreign policy toward many countries in the world especially, in Asia-Pacific region by aiming to support the building of infrastructure by providing loans.

In 2013, President Xi Jinping announced and launched the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). It is a broad plan to promote infrastructure development across Africa and Europe with China with Chinese financing. China loaned about over 120 billion dollars with many projects such as high way, railroads and power plants. China hopes that all those funds will develop growth in its near abroad, increase its exports and access to land-based and maritime transport facilities, boost its manufacturing and construction firms, and strengthen its economic, political and military influence abroad.⁷¹ BRI is aimed to connect China and the rest of the world with a network of roads, high-speed rail, power lines, ports pipelines and other infrastructure networks.⁷² It is one of the most important China foreign policy in Xi Jinping administration.

President Xi Jinping made more foreign visits than others such as president Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao. By the end of 2015. In 2015, Xi Jinping had made more than 33 foreign visits, he visited 12 countries by spending 42 days abroad in order to promote his signature foreign policy initiative, the One Belt One Road Project.⁷³

In some aspects of its foreign policy, China took an assertive approach while on other fronts it adopted an accommodative and cooperative approach. According to Professor Brady, “where China cannot affect change, it makes the best out of the current global order and quietly

⁷⁰ Will Kenton, May 9,2019, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), The History of the Asian Infrastructure investment Bank, <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/a/asian-infrastructure-investment-bank-aiib.asp>, (accessed date June 17, 2019).

⁷¹ Benn Steil, Benjamin Della Rocca, Belt and Road Tracker, Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies, May 8,2019, <https://www.cfr.org/article/belt-and-road-tracker>, (accessed date June 17, 2019).

⁷² Heng Kimkong, Po Sovinda, “Cambodia and China’s Belt and Road Initiative: Opportunities, Challenges, and Future Directions,” UC Occasional Paper Series (The University of Cambodia) 1. No.2 (2017): 3.

⁷³ Michael M, ‘Xi’s Focus on Foreign Trips: Belt and Road Initiative, China Daily, January 6, 2016, Chinese Foreign Policy: New Development under Xi Jinping, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2016-01/06/content_22946689_2.htm, (accessed date June 15, 2019).

pursues its own interests; but where the possibility of creating new norms exists, Beijing acts assertively”.⁷⁴

In 2015, The Paper had evaluated China’s foreign policy in the consideration of the major developments and events of the year. It divided into four sections such as⁷⁵:

1. The first section discussed the political and security aspects of the China’s foreign policy in which the driving force of nationalism plays a crucial role in China’s assertive foreign policy posturing.
2. The second section discussed the economic dimension of China’s foreign policy and focuses on Xi’s attempts to forge and strengthen ties in the neighborhood and the region. This section discusses whether or not China’s role as a catalyst for mutual benefit and win-win cooperation between countries is actually a self-interest based on initiative that consolidates its influence in those countries.
3. The third section examines the role of the multilateral regional and financial institutions launched by China. These bodies, according to the Chinese function as vehicles to facilitate growth in the developing countries but can also function as mechanisms to push China’s agenda in different regions and counter western dominated institutions.
4. The final section concluded with a broad assessment based on the national goals and the important developments likely in 2016.

⁷⁴ Anne – Marie Brady, ‘Chinese Foreign Policy: A New Era Dawns,’ The Diplomat, March 17,2014, at <http://thediplomat.com/2014/03/chinese-foreign-policy-a-new-era-dawns/>, (accessed date June 16, 2019).

⁷⁵ Jagannath P. Panda, *China’s Transition under Xi Jinping*, (New Delhi: Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, 2016). 166.

Chapter III: China foreign policy toward Cambodia

3.1. General view on China-Cambodia Relations

China and Cambodia had good relations with each other for a long time ago. China and Cambodia had a long history of trade and diplomatic relations since the 13th Century, when Chinese emissary Zhou Daguan or also known by Khmer language name Chiv Ta Koan visited Cambodia during the Kingdom of Angkor for one year from 1296 to 1297.⁷⁶ China-Cambodia Relations had continued to strengthen good relationship with each other from during cold war, after cold war. But during Khmer Republic From 1970 to 1975, China-Cambodia Relations was broken. However, China and Cambodia still keep their good relationship with each other now.

3.1.1. China-Cambodia Relations during cold war

Cambodia and China have a long history of trade and diplomatic relations since the 13th Century but it had been announced as an officially in the 1st Kingdom of Cambodia which was governed by King Norodom Sihanouk, he is the head of state in Cambodia. During that period, the leader the china was Mao Zedong His excellent Zhou Enlai is the prime minister had a close relationship with King Norodom Sihanouk, so it makes the diplomatic, politics and Aids between China-Cambodia had increase. Especially, the BangDong treaty in Indonesia 1955 both parties officially establish diplomatic relations in 19 September 1958, the relations between China-Cambodia has been promoted in every generations between China Leader and King Norodom Sihanouk, and this is shown that China-Cambodia during that period had really the close relation with each other. The frequently exchange between both parties on politic, economic, culture, education, military weapons and many other fields are the key to bind these relation and friendship in order to keep increase the power of both parties to become stronger

⁷⁶ China-Cambodia Relations: a history part one, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/special/chinacambodia/relation.html>, (accessed date June 17, 2019).

and stronger. In fact, during that period, China provided Aids and assistance (Expert People for Train) to Cambodia with the new independence on the economic field such as the main industrialization and six big factories,⁷⁷ technical school at Kampong Cham province in Cambodia and Airport close to Angkor Wat. Some expert people from china such as teachers, professor has been provided to Cambodia in order to help Cambodia to get developed. Furthermore, the relation between Cambodia and China depended on the basic of sovereignty, independence culture and conscience between each other and support and promote this relation last long ever in the history to increased potentially achieve the development.⁷⁸ Both parties made the relation with each other not just for gain benefits from other to development but in order to make a peace security.

During Khmer Republic From 1970 to 1975, the situation was changed. There was the revolte to the new regime which committed by Commander LON NOL (Supported by United States of America) who revolte and Topple the king Norodom Sihanouk out of the power by using military forced in 19 March 1970. In that time, Cambodia has fell and started the civil war (nation war) which killed many people and destroy everything such as infrastructure, high building, school, bridge in Cambodia. During that period, Leader of Cambodia (LON NOL) had dissolve the relation between Cambodia and China. He decided to refuse everything of Aids include Assistance from China and turn to get Aids and Assistance from USA. So, Cambodia during that period do not have any relations between China.

But in 1975, Khmer Rouge has been Topple the Commander of LON NOL party out of power and transforming Cambodia into the communist states which called Democratic

⁷⁷ LanStorey, China's Tightening Relationship with Cambodia, (December 31, 1969) <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2012/02/20122314155454169.html>, (accessed June 17, 2019).

⁷⁸ Jean-Michel Filippi, A history of the Chinese in Cambodia, (8 February 2013) <https://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2017/03/23/history-economic-relations-china-cambodia>, (accessed June 17, 2019).

Kampuchea. The Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK), also known as the Khmer Rouge (Red Khmer) governed Cambodia from 17 April 1975 until 7 January 1979. In 1976, the Khmer Rouge established the state of Democratic Kampuchea.⁷⁹ In that time, Cambodia was governed by Khmer Rouge had dissolve any kind of international relation. All of the embassy and consular are complete isolated from Cambodia border because of the political crisis in Cambodia had no clue to be a positive sign. And this is the result that Cambodia had many problems of practicing foreign policy as well as diplomatic relations. Even though, Khmer Rouge which led by Pol Pot still needs a strong country to support his planned in order to increase his power to governed Cambodia. And this country was China. While less of people no known historical record showing the extent of Beijing's assistance to Pol pot. China has been supported Khmer Rouge by supplying the regime with military, economic and commercial Aid⁸⁰ The architect of China's Cultural Revolution, also traveled to Democratic Kampuchea in secret to help the Khmer Rouge draft a constitution in January 1976⁸¹. Moreover, many researchers have shown that Khmer Rouge follow the idealism from China, especially learned from Mao's revolutions and his culture include principle of communist. And this shown that Khmer Rouge had a good relation with China by shrouded and mystery.⁸²

3.1.2. China-Cambodia Relations After cold war

⁷⁹ Aljazeera, *Key facts on the Khmer Rouge*, 4 February 2012, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2012/02/20122314155454169.html>, (accessed date June 17, 2019).

⁸⁰ Reported by Cheng Mengchou for RFA's Khmer Service. Written in English by Joshua Lipes. *China-Cambodia Relations: A History Part One*, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/special/chinacambodia/relation.html> & https://web.archive.org/web/20070616041520/http://www.jamestown.org/publications_details.php?volume_id=415&issue_id=3704&article_id=2371023, p.5 & <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/the-chinese-communist-partys-relationship-the-khmer-rouge-the-1970s-ideological-victory>, (accessed date June 17, 2019).

⁸¹ Reported by Cheng Mengchou for RFA's Khmer Service. Written in English by Joshua Lipes. *China-Cambodia Relations: A History Part One* <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/special/chinacambodia/relation.html>, (accessed date June 17, 2019).

⁸² Chenyi Wang, *The Chinese Communist Party's Relationship with the Khmer Rouge in 1970s: An Ideological Victory and a Strategic Failure*. Dec 13, 2018, (accessed date June 17, 2019).

Since 1989, Cambodia has followed China's lead in shifting to a free market economy and launching an economic reform program privatizing state owned enterprise, restoring private property rights, removing price controls, and encouraging foreign investment.⁸³ From that time, Cambodia started caught up the relations with china once again. And the time Cambodia asking China for help by provided Aids and Assistance in order to arrangement the country and develop the country. Because Cambodia fell into the civil war which cause a lot of damage to human (many people dead) and all infrastructure have been destroyed. However, in January 1990, the foreign minister of Indonesia Ali Alatas is the chairman of the conference of United Nations who suggest to held a meeting in Jakatar in 26-28 February which all of the four parties in Cambodia attended and other ASEAN member Vietnam and Laos, and especially, assist from China who is the permanent member of the United Nations Security Council to find a one solution to deal with the political crisis that lead to establish the Peace Agreement at France to establish election.

3.1.3. China-Cambodia Relations from 1993 to Now

The political crisis still exists unless the presence of King Norodom Sihanouk and Samdach Hun Sen and the assistance from the international community to establish the Paris Peace Accord is the only agreement that effective to stop the Civil War between four parties, and make a solution in Common interest and lead to the election in 1993. During the first election in Cambodia that arrangement by UNTAC and also China to attendance to support United Nation in Cambodia in order to secure Cambodia and make people to gain the full of peace and harmony to get away from the blood civil war which was consider as the internal conflict that conducted between Cambodian and Cambodian that will effect to the economic

⁸³ Antonio Graceffo. Foreign Policy Journal, The History of Economic Relations Between China-Cambodia. March, 23 2017 <https://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2017/03/23/history-economic-relations-china-cambodia>, (accessed date June 17, 2019).

development of Cambodia, especially harmful to the human life. Of course, during that period, China had played the important role in Cambodia by provided medical, doctor to help Cambodia. Especially, to improve cooperation with Cambodia as a good partnership of trade agreements.

Following UN supervised elections in 1993, a coalition government was formed composed of Prince Norodom Ranaridh's FUNCINPEC party and Hun Sen's Cambodian People's Party (CPP). First Prime Minister Ranaridh (Sihanouk's son) and Second Prime Minister Hun Sen (a former Khmer Rouge guerrilla who defected to Vietnam in 1977 and later served as prime minister in the Vietnamese installed People's Republic of Kampuchea during the 1980s) had a tense relationship, and in July 1997 the coalition government collapsed when Hun Sen ousted Ranaridh in a violent coup. Prior to 1996, China backed FUNCINPEC, viewing Hun Sen as a Vietnamese puppet. Beginning in 1996, however, China began to woo Hun Sen, incensed at FUNCINPEC's courtship with Taiwan. The 1997 coup left Cambodia with few friends in the international community, and Hun Sen turned to the PRC for diplomatic support and financial aid. China seized the opportunity to expand its influence in Cambodia: it immediately recognized the results of the coup, opposed the imposition of international sanctions against Phnom Penh, and admonished Western countries not to interfere in Cambodia's internal affairs.⁸⁴

In fact, in 1993 the grand re-opening of China Embassy in Phnom Penh city with Attendance of H.E Mr. Xi JuEi is the China ambassador who operated in Cambodia from 1993 to 1997. Following the second mandate by H.E Mr. Yan Ding Ai in 29 May 1997 to 18 July 2000. Third Mandate operate by H.E Mr. Ning Fokui in 28 August 2000. This is the re-

⁸⁴ Ian Storey. China's Tightening Relationship with Cambodia. June 16, 2017 https://web.archive.org/web/20070616041520/http://www.jamestown.org/publications_details.php?volume_id=415&issue_id=3704&article_id=2371023, (accessed date June 17, 2019).

establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Cambodia are become strengthen and developed from each year until now.

China and Cambodia participate in a number of other economic associations and agreements. In 2006, China and Cambodia established the Trade and Economic Cooperation Zone in Sihanoukville.⁸⁵ The East Asia forum reported that the same year, the two countries formed a comprehensive partnership of cooperation, which was raised to a comprehensive strategic partnership of cooperation in 2010. Another such agreement in the ASEAN china free trade agreement, which is the world's largest free trade area by way of population. According to the ASEAN-China priority project for the implementation of work program which promise to connect transportation routes from china through Southeast Asia and Cambodia was announced at a meeting in Vietnam in 2010.⁸⁶ Other Chinese investments include: a planned \$100 million investment to build a new Olympic stadium in Cambodia by 2023 to host the Southeast Asian games (Liger 2015). Chinese developers have constructed 10 bridges and more than 2,000 kilometers of road. More than 3,000 East Asia forum stated that Chinese companies have invested in the garment and textile sector, which accounts for 80% of all exports and employs about half a million Cambodians. In northeastern Cambodia, China is building the \$800 million Lower Sesan 2 Dam project. According to The Washington Post, on the southwest coast, China's Union Development Group (UDG) is building a 90,000-acre international trade and eco-tourism center. Hao explained that some of China's investments in transportation infrastructure can be used to facilitate the exportation of raw materials such as the China-built highway linking Kratie-Cambodia-Laos Border.

⁸⁵ Antonio Graceffo. Foreign Policy Journal, The History of Economic Relations Between China-Cambodia. March, 23 2017 <https://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2017/03/23/history-economic-relations-china-cambodia>, (Accessed date June 17, 2019).

⁸⁶ Ibid.

China responded generously with a \$10 million loan. Between 1997 and 2005 China provided a further \$600 million in investments, grants, and aid. As noted earlier, during Wen's April visit, China pledged another \$600 million. China has used this aid to maximum political advantage through the financing of high profile, but relatively low-cost, infrastructure projects and then canceling the debts on maturity. Such projects include luxury offices and facilities for the Cambodian government. During his April visit, Premier Wen laid the foundation stone for a new PRC-financed \$49 million Council of Ministers (the Cambodian cabinet) building. China has also provided preferential tariff treatment for 418 Cambodian products.⁸⁷

Other Chinese investments benefit Cambodia's government directly, such as the construction of government office buildings.⁸⁸ Given the large volume of Sino-Khmer economic activity, the National Bank of Cambodia has had RMB clearance since 2013. In 2015, a forum on the Internationalization of Renminbi (RMB) was held in Phnom Penh in 2015, to expand the use of RMB denoted bank products by the Bank of China Phnom Penh Branch.⁸⁹ In 2016, the Cambodian Ministry of Tourism began encouraging merchants to accept RMB, alongside US Dollars and Cambodian Riel.⁹⁰

According to Radio Free Asia, In July 2010, China erased more than U.S. \$4 million in loans to Cambodia that had been provided to the Khmer Rouge during the Democratic Kampuchea era of the late 1970s. The move came immediately after Hun Sen requested that the U.S. cancel more than U.S. \$400 million borrowed during the Khmer Republic of the early

⁸⁷ Ian Storey. China's Tightening Relationship with Cambodia. June 16, 2017 https://web.archive.org/web/20070616041520/http://www.jamestown.org/publications_details.php?volume_id=415&issue_id=3704&article_id=2371023, (accessed date June 17, 2019).

⁸⁸ Denyer, S. 2015, The push and pull of China's orbit. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/sf/world/2015/09/05/the-push-and-pull-of-chinas-orbit/>, (accessed date June 17, 2019).

⁸⁹ Xina 2015B, Forum on RMB Internationalization held in Cambodia.

⁹⁰ Arno Maierbrugger, Cambodia To Get Third "Official" Currency: The Yuan, Jul 31, 2016. <http://investvine.com/cambodia-to-get-third-official-currency-the-yuan/>, (accessed date June 17, 2019).

1970s, but received no response.⁹¹ In March 2012, ahead of Cambodia hosting an annual meeting of foreign ministers from the 10-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) bloc, China's then-Premier Hu Jintao visited Phnom Penh and pledged to provide U.S. \$40 million in grants and U.S. \$30 million in loans.⁹²

During a welcome ceremony at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on 13 December 2010, Hun Sen requested that China provide Cambodia with annual loans of U.S. \$300-500 million for the development of infrastructure, irrigation and electricity. The two leaders agreed to set goals to increase bilateral trade two-fold to U.S. \$5 billion by 2017, while China promised to support Cambodia's bid to be a rotating member of the United Nations Security Council. Cambodia in turn agreed to keep a thorny regional dispute over territory in the South China Sea off the table at the upcoming July ASEAN meeting.⁹³

By May 2012, Beijing signed an agreement providing assistance worth U.S. \$20 million to Phnom Penh for the construction of a military hospital and institute, and promised to take an increasing number of military officers from Cambodia for training in China. One month later, China provided Cambodia with a loan of U.S. \$430 million.⁹⁴

By June 2019, during foreign affairs minister Prak Sokhonn was visiting China. Both countries agreed to cooperate in the implementation of the Action Plan on Forging Cambodia-China Community of Shared Future 2019-2023 in order to bring closer cooperation on political

⁹¹ Reported by Cheng Mengchou for RFA's Khmer Service. Written in English by Joshua Lipes. *China-Cambodia Relations: A History Part Two* <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/special/chinacambodia/relation2.html>, (accessed date June 17, 2019).

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Reported by Cheng Mengchou for RFA's Khmer Service. Written in English by Joshua Lipes. *China-Cambodia Relations: A History Part Two* <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/special/chinacambodia/relation2.html>, (accessed date June 17, 2019).

security, expand investments, trade and economic relations and enhance tourism and cultural exchanges.⁹⁵

3.2. How do China foreign policies influence in Cambodia?

China is appearing as an important foreign player in Cambodia because Cambodia's geographical, natural, and cultural landscapes are conducive to China's rise in the region. China's influence now runs deep in Cambodian society. In Politically, Cambodia is one of China's oldest and closed allies. In Economically, China is Cambodia's top foreign investor, a main donor and an important trade partner. In Culturally, Chinese values are very deep embedded in Cambodians' way of life.⁹⁶ China foreign policies has influenced in Cambodia in many ways such Chinese aid, Chinese loans, the one belt one road initiative, the Chinese direct investment, Diplomatic and Politic, military. All these methods of China foreign policies help to strengthen China-Cambodia relation as well as enhance economic development in Cambodia.

3.2.1. Chinese Aids to Cambodia

China and Cambodia have really good relationship with each other for a longtime ago. In order to influence Cambodia, China has provided many aids to Cambodia as money and equipment in order to strengthen the relationship with Cambodia. According to Sok Touch, president of the Royal Academy of Cambodia said "China aid is crucial to support social and economic development in Cambodia" and he also added that China's aid has no strings attached and has an intention to help enhance Cambodia with the respect for the country's sovereignty.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Ben Sokhean, Prak Sokhonn cements ties on China trip, Khmer Times, June 3,2019, <https://www.khmertimeskh.com/50610253/prak-sokhonn-cements-ties-on-china-trip/>, (accessed date June 17, 2019).

⁹⁶ Heng Pheakdey, Cambodia-China Relatins: A Positive-Sum Game?, *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 75.

⁹⁷ Xinhua, Chinese aid, investments vital for Cambodia's development: Cambodia top academician, April 30,2019, http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-04/30/c_138025192.htm, (accessed date June 18, 2019).

According to Council for Development of Cambodia, China had provided financial aid to Cambodia about 2.5 billion US dollars since 1992.⁹⁸ These aids helped Cambodia's economic a lot because Cambodia just got stability from war. SO, this aid was playing an important role to restore Cambodia's economic from the conflict time.

In December 2009, Vice President Xi Jinping visited Cambodia. During his talking with Prime ministry Hun Sen, Vice President Xi Jinping agreed to provide more than 1.2 billion US dollar in aid to Cambodia.⁹⁹ It also included 14 agreement for grants and loans, ranges from help in building roads and repairing Buddhist temples.

In May 2010, China has pledged new aid to the Cambodian military. During the World Expo in Shanghai, Prime ministry Hun Sen met Chinese president Hu Jintao. President Hu Jintao had provided 257 new military cars and 50000 uniforms and also provided 100 million yuan qual 15 million US dollar in aid for Cambodia.¹⁰⁰ These aids helped Cambodia develop its military and also economy. According to a senior official at the Ministry of Defence who asked not to show the name said, China is the biggest source of military aid to Cambodia, China contributes more than 5 million US dollar a year and sponsors around 40 Cambodian soldiers every year to study military strategy in China.¹⁰¹ This military aid is really important in development of military activities in Cambodia.

In July 2017, Chinese government donated 98 Chinese Yutong's buses which is well-equipped with high technology and air conditioners for Cambodian government in order to

⁹⁸ Chea Vannak, Ven Rathvong, Xi Visit: 31 Agreements Reached, October 14, 2016, <https://www.khmertimeskh.com/7910/xi-visit-31-agreements-reached/>, (accessed date June 18, 2019).

⁹⁹ More China Aid to Cambodia, May 6,2010 <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/cambodia/aid-01222019164457.html>, (accessed date June 18, 2019).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Heng Pheakdey, Cambodia-China Relatins: A Positive-Sum Game?, *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 67

serve passengers in Phnom Penh.¹⁰² This aid helped Cambodian government to enhance the public transportation which the vital way to reduce the traffic congestion as well as reduce poverty and also reduce the air pollution.

In the first stage of the construction of the Morodok Decho Sports Complex completed 70 percent and is being built by Ly Yong Phat's LYP Group for 39 million US dollar and it paid by Cambodia's government.¹⁰³ In the second stage of the construction, Chinese government decided to give 100 million US dollar and also decided to help Cambodia without renting or borrowing.¹⁰⁴ The Morodok Decho Sports Complex construction was started in 2013 and expect to complete by 2021. Moreover, Cambodia is the recipients of the stadium. China responsible to build it in the second stage and until its completion.

In January 21, 2019, Prime Minister Hun Sen met with President Xi Jinping at the Diaoyutai state guesthouse in Beijing. During that bilateral meeting, Cambodian leader Prime minister Hun Sen requested additional aid from China. In fact, China agreed to provide Cambodia with 4 billion yuan equal 578.6 million US dollar in aid from 2019 to 2021.¹⁰⁵ This aid is really important of Cambodia's economic.

3.2.2. Chinese Loans to Cambodia

China is not only Cambodia's largest foreign donor or aids but also the biggest loans in Cambodia. according to data by Cambodia's government shown that Beijing has provided

¹⁰² Nguon Sovan, Mao Pengfei, Chinese "smart" buses bring safe, comfortable transport to Cambodia, January 9, 2018, <https://www.khmertimeskh.com/100871/chinese-smart-buses-bring-safe-comfortable-transport-cambodia/>, (accessed date June 19, 2019).

¹⁰³ Transparency of Chinese Loans, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/special/chinacambodia/loans.html>, (accessed date July 7, 2019).

¹⁰⁴ Moeun Nhean, Cambodia's audacious sports stadium moves into Chinese hands, 17 March 2016. <https://www.phnompenhpost.com/post-property/cambodias-audacious-sports-stadium-moves-chinese-hands>, (accessed date July 7, 2019).

¹⁰⁵ More China Aid to Cambodia, May 6, 2010 <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/cambodia/aid-01222019164457.html>, (accessed date June 18, 2019).

Cambodia with nearly 3 billion US Dollar in loans for 47 development projects and China also provided 180 million US Dollar in grants for another 10 since 2002.¹⁰⁶

By the end of 2018, the Cambodia's government has a total outstanding public debt of 7.02 billion US dollar, and 99.9 percent of debt is external public debt. The national debt had been shown largely through bilateral and multilateral concessional loans, especially from China.¹⁰⁷ By the end of 2018, Chinese loans is about 3.4 billion US dollar and equal half of Cambodia's total public debt. Chinese aid is playing a vital role in the economic development in Cambodia.

In a draft of the 2019 National Budget released in 2018 shown that the Cambodia's government plans to borrow 1.94 Billion US dollar from China.¹⁰⁸ The Cambodia's government can manage its public debt so well and is actually can borrow more money from China because Cambodia really need that money to develop the infrastructures such as roads, Bridges as well as irrigation system which is really important for agriculture field in Cambodia.

3.2.3. Belt and Road Initiative

Belt and Road Initiative was announced by President Xi Jinping in 2013 and it was welcomed by many Asian Countries especially Cambodia. Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is aimed to connect China and the rest of the world with a network of roads, high-speed rail, power lines, ports pipelines and other infrastructure networks. The Cambodian government has been very interesting about Belt and Road initiative (BRI) for many reasons. China has convinced the Cambodian government that the future of geopolitics and geo-economics of Asia must be Sino-centric. Therefore, Cambodian leaders want their country to stay on the right side of

¹⁰⁶ Transparency of Chinese Loans, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/special/chinacambodia/loans.html>, (accessed date July 7, 2019).

¹⁰⁷ Hor Kimsay, Government repays \$1.39B in debt service payments, 28 March 2019, <https://www.phnompenhpost.com/business/government-repays-139b-debt-service-payments>, (sccessed date July 8, 2019).

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

history of the 21st century.¹⁰⁹ Cambodian government believe that Cambodia will gain many benefits from this BRI especially, the development of infrastructures. In May 2015, the Cambodian National Assembly ratified an investment proposal of 62.3 million US dollar to the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and it led Cambodia one the 57 founding member of this Bank.¹¹⁰

In a security perspective which is linked to Belt and Road initiative, Cambodia does not examine China a threat but China is a potential balancing power in order to against foreign political interference and military threats.¹¹¹ Moreover, Chinese top leaders also expressed their commitment to protect Cambodia's sovereignty and security.

In Economically, Cambodia see an important connection between Belt and Road initiative (BRI) and Cambodia's economic development. As a matter of fact, China's economic engagement has helped Cambodia to encourage economic growth and address deficit and budget in infrastructure such as rural transportation and access to electricity. In fact, China has been the biggest source of investment in seven projects of hydro-electricity with more than 3.37 billion US dollars and it produces 1328 Megawatts in 2016.¹¹² Moreover, China has also played a vital role in Cambodia's infrastructure development. In fact, by 2017 China's assistance helps Cambodia to complete the construction of road for more than 1500km and also seven bridges.¹¹³ China is the only partner that has had the money and resources in invest in the 1 billion US dollar to 2 billion US dollars type of projects in Cambodia.¹¹⁴ In addition to the infrastructure development projects, Cambodia and China through Belt and Road Initiative have also focused

¹⁰⁹ Cheumboran Chanborey, Cambodia embraces Belt and Road Initiative, April 22, 2019, <https://www.khmertimeskh.com/50596624/cambodia-embraces-belt-and-road-initiative/>, (accessed date June 18, 2019)

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

on creating Special Economic Zones (SEZ) and ports. Sihanoukville Special Economic Zone is the largest special economic zone in Cambodia that was established in 2008 before the announcement of BRI in 2013.¹¹⁵ It was a sign that China had thought Cambodia is a main economic partner in southeast Asia.

Because of Belt and Road Initiative in Cambodia has changed, Cambodia will promote Cambodia-China Comprehensive Strategic Partnership which will play as a role model of the modern relationship between powerful country and a small country with the principle of equal sovereignty, mutual respect and win-win cooperation.¹¹⁶ Cambodia-China Comprehensive Strategic Partnership was established in 2013 in order to increase economic ties and strong political security cooperation and coordination.¹¹⁷

In December 2017, Cambodia has become China's premier partner and beneficiary on the Belt and Road Initiative. After Prime Minister Hun Sen visited China and signed an investment contract around 7 billion US dollar with China. It consisted with the Green Group and Henan Transportation Investment group's highway project from Phnom Penh to Sihanoukville, the satellite city of Phnom Penh, the visitor center, bank and other projects.¹¹⁸ These projects will enhance the infrastructures in Cambodia as well as the economic development in Cambodia.

3.2.4. Chinese Direct Investment

¹¹⁵ Heng Kimkong, Po Sovinda, "Cambodia and China's Belt and Road Initiative: Opportunities, Challenges, and Future Directions," UC Occasional Paper Series (The University of Cambodia) 1. No.2 (2017): 3.

¹¹⁶ Cheumboran Chanborey, Cambodia embraces Belt and Road Initiative, April 22, 2019, <https://www.khmertimeskh.com/50596624/cambodia-embraces-belt-and-road-initiative/>, (accessed date June 18, 2019).

¹¹⁷ Chheang Vannrith, Cambodia and China reassert strategic ties, Khmer Times, December 5, 2017, <https://www.khmertimeskh.com/93912/cambodia-china-reassert-strategic-ties/>, (accessed date June 18, 2019).

¹¹⁸ Cambodia has boosted the "Belt and Road" to a new high, September 10, 2018, <https://www.khmertimeskh.com/531942/cambodia-has-boosted-the-belt-and-road-to-a-new-high/>, (Accessed date June 18, 2019)

China is not only the largest donor or providing aids for Cambodia. But also, the biggest investment in Cambodia. China is playing a vital role in Cambodia as investor in different Sectors such as agriculture, Banking and finance, garment and manufacturing industries, tourism and especially infrastructure investment.

After the restoration of peace and stability in 1993, Cambodia started to receive inflow Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and there were many foreign investors from both developing and developed countries come to Cambodia. Chinese direct investment has contributed to economic development and also poverty reduction in Cambodia by providing the job opportunity for Cambodian people. According to a report by the Council for the Development of Cambodia, the fixed asset investment from China accounted for 20.2 percent of the total investment in Cambodia from 1994 to 2017.¹¹⁹ In 2017, Cambodia attracted the fixed asset investment of 1.43 billion US dollar from China equal 27 percent of the total investment in 2017.¹²⁰

For agriculture, the majority of Chinese companies that are directly involved in development of plantations in Cambodia are private enterprises. Some companies have links to state-owned companies, but the investment chains are difficult to examine because the most Chinese companies do not have website and do not advertise publicly the work that they are working in Cambodia.¹²¹ According to Council for the Development of Cambodia (CDC), approximately, 11% of approved investment from China were for agro-industry with 439

¹¹⁹ Xinhua, Chinese investors, tourists contribute to Cambodia's socio-economic development: Business leaders, January 12, 2018, <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201801/12/WS5a584fa8a3102c394518edc0.html>, (accessed date June 19, 2019).

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Mark Grimsditch, Chinese Agriculture in Southeast Asia: Investment, Aid and Trade in Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar, Heinrich Boll Stiftung Southeast Asia, June 207, 39 https://th.boell.org/sites/default/files/hbs_agriculture_scoping.pdf, (accessed date June 19, 2019).

Project between 2005 and 2012.¹²² In April 2016, in the northern Cambodia, the Chinese company operated a \$360 million sugar processing plant. China's ambassador and the Cambodian Prime Minister joined the opening ceremony.¹²³ This sugar company has provided job opportunity for local people in order to reduce the poverty. Many farmers switched from growing rice to sugar because they can see how much they can earn from this sugar plantation.

For banking and Finance, According to Peter Wong South Asian and South Asia regional director of the Hong Kong Trade Development Council (HKTDC) said that Chinese foreign direct investment (FID) in Cambodia is expected to diversify into finance and banking in the future by offering micro lending service to small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) and he also added that many Chinese investors are interested in development these types of institutions although Chinese investors are known that there are more than 40 financial institutions operations in Cambodia now.¹²⁴ In fact, there are some Chinese banks operating in Cambodia such as the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China (ICBC), the Bank of China and Prince Microfinance.

For real estate investment, Prince Tian Xi Wan is the first development in Sihanoukville by Prince Real Estate Group. It is located in the Sangkat Mittapheap of Sihanoukville which is next to the provincial headquarter and near the Victory Beach.¹²⁵ This project will be developed by the China Construction Fourth Engineering Division (Cambodia) Corp., Ltd and it will contain a five-star hotel, five-star standard serviced apartments, the largest duty-free shop in

¹²² Lewis, S. and Phorn, B. (2013, 6 February), Ambition Trumps Reality in Investment Figures, Cambodia Daily. <https://www.cambodiadaily.com/archives/ambition-trumps-reality-in-investment-figures-9387/>, (accessed July 2, 2019).

¹²³ Liu, K. (2016, 13 October), Chinese sugar mill opens in Cambodia, CCTV.com English. <http://english.cctv.com/2016/10/13/VIDEdKjtFMVXfi2ct620vEgg161013.shtml>, (accessed July 2, 2019).

¹²⁴ Sangeetha Amarthalingam, hinese investment in Cambodia to diversify into SME finance, December 4, 2018, <https://www.khmertimeskh.com/555620/chinese-investment-in-cambodia-to-diversify-into-sme-finance/>, (accessed date June 19, 2019).

¹²⁵ Prince Tian Xi Wan, <https://www.realestate.com.kh/prince-tian-xi-wan/94551/>, (accessed date June 19, 2019).

Sihanoukville, a luxury shopping walk and IMAX cinema, private marina, and beach lounge.¹²⁶ And this project estimated date for completion in March 2013.¹²⁷ After completion of this project, Sihanoukville will attract more tourist come to visit as well as the place which provide job opportunity of local people.

3.2.5. Diplomatic and Politic

China and Cambodia have had a good diplomatic and political relations with each other for a long time ago. Because of this, there are many bilateral agreements has made between China and Cambodia. especially, Trade agreements between both countries.

According to Cambodian-Chinese Trade and Tourism Promotion Conference in 2017, Prime Minister Hun Sen mentioned about the trade between Cambodia and China has grown quickly, an accounted for 26% of the most recent 10 years. Bilateral trade reached \$4.8 billion, exported to China worth \$830 million and imported worth \$3.9 billion in 2016¹²⁸. It is the largest investors in Cambodia. Overall, China's investment capital is \$5.1 billion, mainly in production, construction, textiles and energy. Cambodia has received both grants and loans accounts for 4.2 billion USD as of February 2017 from Official Development Assistance (ODA) as part of developing assistance which focusing on physical infrastructure, agriculture products, health and education. The two countries carry out to enlarge the collaboration on some comprehensive sectors as well as fortifying economic growth through the Belt and Road Initiative Strategy.

¹²⁶ Prince Tian Xi Wan, <https://www.realestate.com.kh/prince-tian-xi-wan/94551/>, (accessed date June 19, 2019).

¹²⁷ May Kunmakara, Massive Chinese resort breaks ground on Sihanoukville coast, June 11,2019 <https://www.khmertimeskh.com/50612951/massive-resort-breaks-ground-on-coast/>, (accessed date June 19, 2019).

¹²⁸ Bora Ly, How China influence Cambodia from the past to the present for the case of politics, diplomacy, military and economic relations perspective. 30 May 2018 https://mpr.ub.uni-muenchen.de/88060/1/MPRA_paper_88060.pdf, (accessed date June 19, 2019).

As a major aspect of this new collaboration structure to advance availability, particularly individuals and individuals, Cambodia has chosen to construct a Cambodian-Chinese cultural town in Beijing, which will be worked sooner rather than later (Pressocm.gov.kh, 2017). Cambodia have opened an exchanging business center in different areas of China to boost common trade of Cambodian and Chinese as well as advancement for the advantage of brokers and financial specialists. These social and business focuses likewise display Cambodian items, books and other related reports on exchange, tourism, culture and interest in Cambodia. In addition, through the Council, to take full advantage of the comparative advantages of each country and promote investment in industrial development of the two countries and the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) on behalf of the PRC has a letter of intent on collaboration signed NBC Industrial Investment Operations on October 15, 2015 in Beijing.¹²⁹

3.2.6. Military

During the Khmer Rouge time, China had supported the development of the Khmer Rouge Guerrillas in Cambodia Wilds. From that point, China play important for Khmer Rouge to help Pol Pot to take control of Cambodia in 1975. In that time, many expert people include military have sent to help Khmer Rouge changing their course due to power influence.

In July 1997, Hun Sen had seizure of power to oust the Norodom Ranarddh and removed the formal relations office of Taiwan because he claimed that Taiwan has firmly supported the forces of typography FUNCINPEC (Marks, 2000). Clearance of the Taiwan office by Hun Sen was opened the door for the initiation of Chinese diplomacy. Afterward in the mid of August, Hun Sen and Ung Huot visited King Norodom Sihanouk at Beijing, the recognition of Cambodia administration began by China accordingly. In the meantime, China conveyed 116

¹²⁹ Bora Ly, How China influence Cambodia from the past to the present for the case of politics, diplomacy, military and economic relations perspective. 30 May 2018 https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/88060/1/MPPA_paper_88060.pdf, (accessed date June 19, 2019).

army freight vehicles and 70 vans esteemed at \$2.8 million to Cambodia administration (Marks, 2000 & Jeldres, 2003).

China has given military help to Cambodia, for example, military troop hovels, vehicles, hospital's facility, school, emergency vehicle and has given military, police getting ready, and de-mining since the late 1990s. Preliminary training was sent to give 100 Cambodian police officers from China on August 21, 1997, a two-week training course in the investigation and physical security system (Marks, 2000). Welcome to China in 1999 by Chinese Defense Minister Chi Haotian, Defense Secretary Tea Banh and Sisowath Sirirath met with Hu Jintao, Vice President of PRC and chairperson of the unit of the People's Liberation Army Fu Quanyou and was considered the senior authority of China's strong and dynamic foreign policy.

According to Prashanth Parameswaran (2018), Tea Banh, Minister of Defense of the Kingdom of Cambodia, confirmed that the Republic of China will be equipped with another military leader. Report cards come as both countries must help their federations in 2018 if they honor their special relationships for 60 years and Cambodia has taken decisions in the near future. The military working environment, but also the railway and the readiness for the Cambodian king are supported in the Chinese military form. The composition particularly has military equipment including rocket structures and tanks, has for quite a while been enduring by explanations of rights violation and shadowy and even unlawful activities (Prashanth Parameswaran 2018).¹³⁰

3.3. Advantages and Disadvantage of china foreign policy in Cambodia

China, while once being at odds with the current government, is now Cambodia's largest development partner. Both countries have grown increasingly of close relations in these recent

¹³⁰ Bora Ly, How China influence Cambodia from the past to the present for the case of politics, diplomacy, military and economic relations perspective. 30 May 2018 https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/88060/1/MPRA_paper_88060.pdf, (accessed date June 19, 2019).

years which has been a boon of government policy in Cambodia.¹³¹ China as a development partner with Cambodia is not exactly the same as the relationship Cambodia has with its bilateral donors. The funds that provided to help Cambodia are come from many forms but the vast majority of it is cooperate investment and non-concessional loans. China's official investment into the Cambodian economy has totaled US\$ 2,219,914,520 since they first started in 2004, and has become by far the country largest¹ – culminating in US\$4.92 billion from 2011 to 2015.¹³² Even there was many benefits for Cambodia on received help from China in any forms, there still had the impact for Cambodia as well. Everything have two sites; one was positive and other was negative. So, here are the advantage and disadvantage of China foreign policy that towards in Cambodia.

3.3.1. Advantage of China foreign policy in Cambodia

China foreign policy towards in Cambodia had many kinds of forms such as providing Aid, investment from investor of China, low tariff of trade, one belt one road and else. However, Aid provided form China and investment from China toward in Cambodia are play important role in situation of Cambodia. Those 2 majors are really helpful for Cambodia to gain many benefits such as economy in Cambodia grow faster and avoid the poverty in the society. Moreover, China's foreign Aid was made available relative quickly and easily with developing countries without political, economic, social environment conditions and safeguards, bureaucratic procedure that major of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) aid donor, multilateral corporation and financial institution impose. Furthermore, Hence China's aid has assisted to build public works in foreign countries such as high building, highways roads, bridge and else. Those activities of supporting aid it also related

¹³¹ OpenDevelopment Cambodia. *Aid and Development*. 22 July 2016
<https://opendevelopmentcambodia.net/topics/chinese-aid/>, (accessed date June 20, 2019).

¹³² Ibid.

to investment of Chinese activities as well. Example: While Chinese investor come to investment in Cambodia, so they need their own building which mean they will need employee to work for them as the company. And this is the big result of helping Cambodia to reduce the poverty and increase the financial of Cambodia people. Furthermore, China makes up 70 percent of the total industrial investment in Cambodia. Chinese investors are actively engaged in trading, construction, small-scale and light manufacturing and food processing.

As part of the partnership agreements between China-Cambodia, there has been an increased level of bilateral trade between those two countries. In 2017, bilateral trade between the countries will increase to \$5 billion annually. It is this type of “south/south” relationship that the Royal Government of Cambodia seeks to foster and support in order for the country to be less dependent of foreign (and particularly western) aid. Chinese investors are consistently the largest single foreign investor in Cambodian business. Additionally, almost 90 percent of total foreign investments come from regional Asians investors.

Aid between the two countries is not restricted exclusively to financial aid packages. In November 2015, China agreed to further its already substantial military support. (In 2013, Cambodia bought 12 military-grade helicopters on a \$195 million loan from China. In February 2014, Cambodia was given 26 trucks and 30,000 military uniforms from China. In Kampong Speu province, China has funded a military training facility, and in recent months they have jointed run military exercises in the South China Sea) by providing Cambodia with a military assistance package of an undisclosed value.

Last but not least, China also provides loans to the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC). These loans are not the type of recipient friendly loans that DAC members give. According to Vongsey Vissoth, a secretary of state at the Ministry of Economy and Finance,

Cambodia has acculturated roughly \$2.7 billion worth of debts to China.¹³³ These loans do not have conditions attached like many other countries, allowing the funds to be used in any way. This is exemplified by the prime minister's 2006 remarks, "China talks less but does a lot." This type of aid has allowed China to become the strongest supporter on infrastructure projects (e.g. roads, bridges and public buildings) for Cambodia.

In additions, China government have financial for many infrastructures that relevant to energy, hydro power development, agriculture, railway, construction, and other development projects to help Cambodia in order to strengthening the economy of Cambodia to grow faster. China is not only providing aid to Cambodia, but also focus in the issues that related to counter-trafficking people and the counter-narcotics effort by offering many vital assistances for recipient of Cambodia.

3.3.2. Disadvantage of China foreign policy in Cambodia

Besides, China foreign policy that specific on aid and investment have provide many benefits, but it also has their impact of received those funds. Especially, developing countries like Cambodia who were the victims of this impact. There are many reasons such as:

China's foreign aid seem like the rough aid or cheating aid that do not guide recipient countries order, but it leads by China's national interest alone. Although, China has offered many aids to recipient countries (include Cambodia) such as given funds to build or upgrade the infrastructure in your Cambodia, but China's principle was dominated your natural resource from most of the developing countries like Cambodia. Furthermore, beside the need of natural resource from developing, China also desire to maintain the closely relation or diplomatic with recipient countries to support their side. For example: the conflict of south-china sea and the

¹³³ OpenDevelopment Cambodia. *Aid and Development*. 22 July 2016
<https://opendevelopmentcambodia.net/topics/chinese-aid/>, (Accessed date June 20, 2019)

case of not recognized Taiwan to become an independent state. In order to archive or success with it, China need supporter from recipient countries who received aid or help from china to participate their side.

Since Chinese funds come mostly for investment in business and construction, Chinese businesses have been given a great deal of land for construction projects. And this is a reason that the land conflicts in Cambodia between Cambodian people have been increasingly so badly. The value of lands in Cambodia are grow and increase and the dispute of land also increase between people who had powers against weakness citizens. The people who own powers in their authority are try to find way to deprived of land ownership that organized by people in their area in order to provide by sell those land for Chinese for earn the big results of money. Another case, many Chinese people had sent to Cambodia to live, those people include business people, investors, and gangsters or group that made Cambodia look like unsafety. According to news of this recent year (2019), criminal case which committed by Chinese people such as: the case of robbed by groups of Chinese who owned the gun and committed the crime on Sihanouk province, other case the builder of china company had fallen down in Sihanouk province (in Cambodia) and killed 28 Cambodian people. After the investigation by government official under their authority have shown that this building was illegal which means they did not get a permission from authority of Cambodia to build that building. Those can influence to Cambodian people living in that areas, its show the unsafety for Cambodian citizens. It is the reputation of China that conducted this problem on territorial of Cambodia which was a sovereignty state.

Another impact was environmental problem, the coastal city of Sihanouk Province, known for its beaches and Cambodia's only deep-water port, has already undergone an immense transformation thanks to the increase in Chinese investments and citizens since 2013.

Locals now dub the city Macau II, a nickname stemming from the proliferation of Chinese-operated casinos and Chinese citizens taking up residence. Estimates of the Chinese population range from the thousands to the tens of thousands in the city of 250,000. After Cambodia received those people in Sihanouk province have been decrease so badly. Chinese investors came to Cambodia especially in Sihanouk Province which cause the water pollution, land pollution include air pollution as well. Those investor's factories and company (hotel) septic into the sea, land. Those activities had destroyed many benefits include economy of Cambodia; the results of tourists have been reduced because of Chinese who living in Sihanouk province. The once quiet Sihanouk province is dotted with Mandarin signs and nonstop construction dominates the landscape. Cambodian tourists and Western visitors now opt for other cities like Kep and Kampot provinces. Cambodia had lost the number of tourists which will cause to the economy by decrease among of money from tourists and increase the poverty in the society.

CONCLUSION

Even China is a communist country. But in late 20s century, China have changed its country from isolated country to a country which involve with many regions in the world. China foreign Policy has established since the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1 October 1949 in Mao Zedong administration and it has developed in each Chinese leader such Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao and until now in Xi Jinping administration.

Mao Zedong was the leader who make China become one of the powerful countries in its region. During his administration, almost foreign policies followed The Soviet Union. Especially, in the first five year from 1949 to 1955. Moreover, China had involved many countries such as North Korea, and Vietnam. In 1950s, China had proclaimed itself to be a leader of the Third world States and tried to provided aids to the North African and Central African States.

Deng Xiaoping was the second powerful Chinese leader after Mao Zedong. His open Door policy connected China with other countries around the world. His policy was freer than Mao Zedong President. China foreign policy under Deng Xiaoping was shaped by the Deng dictum "hide your ambitions and disguise your claws" which meant that China should devote its energy to developing economically and not concern itself so much with international affairs. China did not involve much with other powerful country. China just developed their own economic.

For Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao Administrations, almost China foreign policy was depended on the Deng Xiaoping policy. During Jiang Zemin administration, China used Deng's 16-word Directive as an official guideline of China's foreign policy until Deng Xiaoping death. After death of Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin established his own foreign policy. Furthermore, during Hu Jintao administration, China followed the *taoguangyanghui* policy by hiding the

capabilities, and focusing on its national strength-building, and avoid confronting the US and other Western powers and it was Deng Xiaoping foreign policy.

In present, Xi Jinping is a president of China. Xi Jinping foreign policies do not follow Deng Xiaoping like Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao. Now China foreign policy is kind of in the middle between Mao Zedong's and Deng Xiaoping's foreign policy. Xi Jinping has supported *fenfa youwei* or call "Striving for achievement". Encouraging a new type of international relations and building a community of common destiny with mankind is the primary aim of china foreign policy. Belt and Road Initiative is the biggest china foreign policy which is influencing the world now.

For the general view on China and Cambodia relations, China and Cambodia had a long historical relationship with each other since the 13th Century, when Chinese emissary Zhou Daguan came to visit Angkor empire. This good relation between China and Cambodia have developed in many regimes which were during cold war, after cold war and until now. This relation has provided many benefits for both China and Cambodia in many sectors especially, Economic development.

China foreign policies has influenced in Cambodia in many ways such Chinese aids, Chinese loans, the one belt one road initiative, the Chinese direct investment, Diplomatic and Politic, military. In fact, because of China foreign policies. Cambodia has development economic by enhancing infrastructure as well as providing more jobs opportunity of Cambodian people.

Even, Cambodia can gain a lot of benefits from China-Cambodia Relation, especially advantages of economic growth. But it also causes some negative impacts to Cambodia in term of destroying natural resources, environmental problems, making land dispute as well as Cambodia need to support Chinese side.

RECOMMENDATION

In order to become a big power country in the world of competitions to be a superpower, big countries need support from small countries as well as small countries need to seek a more favorable big countries to help and lean on for protection. In fact, many small countries use relations with other big countries in order to gain benefits. So, China is one of the big and superpower countries in economically should know how to deal with small countries by using diplomacy rather than military.

- China should keep good relations with neighboring countries and especially, in Asia region. China has some disputes in Asia region such as in East China Sea dispute with Japan and Taiwan and the South China Sea dispute with some ASEAN countries such as Vietnam, the Philippine, Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam. In fact, disputes with neighboring countries will not provide any benefits for China but it only affects own self.
- China should keep good relations with small countries or poor countries. Especially, with counties which have a lot of natural resources by providing Aid for them to develop their economic and China also gain some benefit from it.
- China should aim to provide the human resources aid rather than aids via providing more opportunities for technical assistance and education to small countries. In fact, providing aids is good for small and poor countries but, providing human resource is sustainer than aids in money. Because by providing human resource aid, China can advertise itself to world.
- China should maintain and enhance its economic if China want to compete with the United States. Moreover, China should involve with many regions in the world especially, in Trade.

- China should use more soft powers at the international level because Soft power is playing a vital role in advertising Chinese cultures and policies. It is the way to attract rather than coercion and it is good for China to connect to the world.
- China should walk in the middle way of realism and liberalism. In the modern world, many countries want to adapt the globalization by increasing trade internationally. So, by using direct hard power cannot bring much benefits to its national interests and it will not make China to become a good position in politics.

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