



NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM

**THE EMERGENCE OF CHINA AS A GREAT POWER  
IN THE POST 1990 PERIOD: CHALLENGES & OPPORTUNITIES**

SARWAT QA HAR HAWEZ

MASTER'S THESIS

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THE POST 1990 PERIOD: CHALLENGES & OPPORTUNITIES**

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NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
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2019

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We as the jury members certify the '.....'  
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## DECLARATION

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## ABSTRACT

### THE EMERGENCE OF CHINA AS A GREAT POWER IN THE POST 1990 PERIOD: CHALLENGES & OPPORTUNITIES

This study aims at analysing and understanding the basis and the elements of power that China has been acquiring since the early 1980s to develop and grow as an effective international power in the international order. In this endeavour, the study evaluates different aspects of Chinese foreign policy in the post 1990 period and discusses various internal and external challenges facing China's growth as a great power. This study evolves from the hypothesis that external and internal variables influence the rise of China as an effective global power impacting the international order and that the nature of the international order is influenced at the present stage by the rise of China as a power influencing the balance of power in the international order.

The study reached an asset of results, but the most important are the following:

1. The transformations that occurred in the Chinese foreign policy were tactical, since re-uniting Taiwan and playing the leader role in Asia are China core strategy, and the transformation was in the Chinese tactics toward it.
2. Economic reform in China resulted in supporting international cooperation in the region, but still it is possible in the long run to be an element agitating disturbances, tension's and instability in the region because the economic reform led to the development of the Chinese industries at a large scale and to its increased need for raw material and energy resources.
3. Chinese military institutions are an important determinant for the decision maker, especially regarding the sensitive national issues like Taiwan, and their effective role on the equation of power struggle inside the Chinese communist party.

**Keywords:** China, Great Powers, International Order, Economic Rise, Political Challenges.

## ÖZ

### 1990 SONRASI DÖNEMDE ÇİN'İN BÜYÜK BİR GÜÇ OLARAK YÜKSELİŞİ: ZORLUKLAR VE FIRSATLAR

Bu çalışma, Çin'in uluslararası düzende etkili bir uluslararası güç olarak yer alabilmesi ve büyümesi için karşılaştığı temel unsurları analiz etmeyi ve anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma, bu amaçla, 1990 sonrası Çin dış politikasının farklı boyutlarını ve ortaya çıkan iç ve dış etkenleri tartışmayı hedeflemektedir. Tez, Çin'in yükselişinde ve uluslararası düzende etkili bir aktör olarak yer almasında iç ve dış değişkenlerin önemli bir rolü olduğunu, ayrıca uluslararası düzenin şimdiki aşamasının şekillenmesinde Çin'in küresel bir güç olarak yükselişinin önemli olduğu hipotezinden hareketle hazırlanmıştır. Çalışma sonuçları arasında en önemli olarak değerlendirilenler şunlardır:

1. Çin'in dış politikasında meydana gelen dönüşüm ve Çin'in temel stratejisi Tayvan'ı yeniden birleştirmek ve Asya'da lider rolü oynamaya yöneliktir.
2. Çin'deki ekonomik reform, bölgedeki uluslararası iş birliğini desteklemiştir. Ancak ekonomik reformların ve Çin'in kalkınmasında Çin sanayinin büyük ölçüde ve artan hammadde ve enerji kaynaklarına olan ihtiyacı uzun vadede bölgede rahatsız edici bir ortam yaratması, gerginlik ve istikrarsızlık unsuru olması mümkündür.
3. Çin askeri kurumlarının pozisyonu karar vericiler için, özellikle Tayvan gibi hassas ulusal meseleler ve Çin komünist partisi içindeki güç mücadelesinin denklemi üzerindeki etkili rolleri için önemli bir belirleyicidir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Çin, Büyük Güçler, Ekonomik Yükseliş, Siyasi Güç, Uluslararası Düzen.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

CPC	COMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA
USSR	UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPIBLICS
KMT	KUOMINTANG
GDP	GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT
PPP	PURCHASING POWER PARITY
WTO	WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION
APEC	ASIA-PACIFIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION
SCO	SOFT CORPORATE OFFER
NPC	NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS
MPS	MARGINAL PROPENSITY TO SAVE
G20	GROUP OF TWENTY
CCTV	CHINA CENTRAL TELEVISION
BRICS	BRAZIL, RUSSIA, INDIA, CHINA AND SOUTH AFRICA
ICP	INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON PROGRAM
DPP	DEMOCRATIC PROGRESSIVE PARTY
GNI	GROSS NATIONAL INCOME
IEA	INTERNATIONAL ENERGY AGENCY
NATO	NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION
EU	EUROPEAN UNION
UNDP	UNITED NATION DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

## INTRODUCTION

There is no doubt that there are developments in field of international relations, especially the emergence and formation of new great powers. The formation of the new power is usually followed by tensions in international relations. This tension may be linked with military confrontation between the great powers. Additionally, this process has been a negative effect on the interests of great powers. This may lead to a change in the balance of power among the major powers. On the other hand, these great powers may adapt to the new status quo or they may not support conflicts or jeopardize their interest for the sake of some matters. In this context, China has occupied an important position in international relations, especially after the changes in the world at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s due to the fall of the USSR and the emergence of the so-called "New World Order" which carries only a USA attempt to control and dominate the international order unilaterally taking advantage of the collapse of USSR and fall of Berlin Wall.

China, as independent revolutionary state, faced powerful enemies such as the USA and the USSR, which they had posed real threats on China and its position. From the first day of establishment, hostility, economic sanctions, international isolation, and continued US pressure have come to fear an imminent US attack, because Western propaganda classified the Chinese people side by side with the Soviet Union as part of the communist threat to the world.

China was one of the poorest countries, but through successful economic policies it managed to rank among the advanced industrialized countries at the global level, from the Eleventh Congress of the Central Committee of CPC in December 1978, which introduced the program of four updates, including making the Chinese economy more capable of adapting to structural changes and reconsidering the priorities of development.

China's great advancing in Asia was a major development in the global political and economic system through its rapid economy developments. As we know, China was able to develop its economy through its economic strategy and then became a major power and the largest exporter around the world since 1978, as well as through its peaceful foreign policy, this aims to link several international countries (Sharma, 2008). China is the world's most populous country, with a civilization of 4,000 years. The People's Republic of China was established in 1949 after the Communists succeeded in defeating the Kuomintang forces under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. After the defeat, Chiang and his followers fled to Formosa Island, where they established what they called the National Republic of China. Two Chinese states, the People's Republic of China, were established on mainland China and the National People's Republic of China on Taiwan, but China says Taiwan is an inalienable part of Chinese territory, Must return to the confines of the motherland the dispute has in the past drove to many tensions and threats from China to invade Taiwan, but since 2008 the two governments have started with a cooperative attitude.

After decades of economic and social stagnation under the totalitarian socialist rule of the promoter of China Mao Zedong, China has succeeded in reforming its economy in a quasi-capitalist style and has become one of the world's fastest growing and largest exports ever. Millions of Chinese are said to have died in Mao's "Great Leap Forward" program in 1958, which aimed to impose state control over the agricultural sector and the rapid transition to industrialization, as well as the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" launched to purge the country of hostile elements of communist rule. But Mao's death in 1976 was followed by a new political leadership that embarked on economic reform. The Chinese government was abolished in the early 1980s and China is now one of the largest countries to invest abroad, and has more aggressive foreign and defence policies.

China has also launched an ambitious space exploration program that includes plans for an orbital station by 2020, but China's economic reforms

since the late 1980s have not been accompanied by political reforms. The Communist Party of China (CPC), the world's big political party, continues to hold firmly to all aspects of political and social life in the country.

China is officially known as the People's Republic of China; it is the most populous country in the world with more than 1.338 billion people. It is located in East Asia and is governed by the Communist Party of China under a one-party system. China consists of more than 22 provinces, five autonomous regions and four directly administered municipalities (Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai and Chongqing) and two high-level autonomous regions, Hong Kong and Macao. The capital of the country is Beijing.

The country stretches over 9.6 million square kilometers, where China's natural landscape varies among forests, plains and deserts in the dry north near Mongolia and Siberia and Russia and sub-tropical forests in the wet south near Vietnam, Laos and Burma. The terrain in the west is rugged and at high altitudes where the Himalayas and the Tianshan Mountains are located and form China's natural border with India and Central Asia. On the other hand, the east coast of the Chinese mainland is low and long coastline 14,500 kilometers bordered to the southeast by the South China Sea and from the east by the China's east Sea, which is outside Taiwan, Japan and Korea.

Ancient Chinese civilization was one of the obsolete civilizations in the world, flourishing in the fertile yellow river basin that flows through the plain of northern China. In more than 6,000 years, China's political system has been based on genetic property systems (also known as breeds). The first of these was the Xia (about 2000 BC), but the later Chin Dynasty was the first to unite in 221 BC. The last dynasties (Qing Dynasty) ended in 1911 with the founding of the Republic of China by the Kuomintang and the Chinese National Party (Schomp, 2010).

The first half of the twentieth century saw the fall of the country in a period of disintegration and civil wars that divided the country into two main political camps - the Kuomintang and the Communists. The major violence ended in

1949 when the Communists settled the civil war and established the People's Republic of China in mainland China. The Kuomintang (KMT), the capital of its republic, was transferred to Taipei in Taiwan, where it is currently confined to Taiwan. Since then, the People's Republic of China has entered into political disputes with the Republic of China over issues of sovereignty and political status of Taiwan.

Since the introduction of market-based economic reforms in 1978, China has become the fastest growing economy in the world, becoming the world's largest exporter and the second largest importer of goods. China's economy is the second largest economy in the world in terms of nominal GDP and PPP. China is a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. It is also a member of multilateral organizations including WTO, APEC, BRIC, SCO and G20. China has a recognized nuclear arsenal and its army is the world's largest in service with the second largest defense budget, China's presence as a superpower and a major player in international politics has become remarkable after decades of isolation.

A day goes by without leading the country's long history, its cultural history rooted in human history, international scandals and news bulletins, especially in recent years. Its rise in international relations is not only due to its increasing economic efficiency and its penetration into global markets, but also to playing roles, political and diplomatic problems at the level of regional crises. This increase has been more striking in the last two years as China enters the line of the Syrian crisis along with Russia, which has long tradition of intervening in international crises and the prospect of its contradictions and local alliances. However, the remarkable shift in economic performance is not far from the country of heir to an ancient civilization that for centuries was stronger and more accessible than Western civilization in the use of science, especially applied technology, before it failed to keep pace with the results of modern scientific revolutions under pressure the internal political climate that hampered freedoms (Abdelkafi, 2009 ).

Since the founding of the Chinese Republic in 1949, the country has adopted a three-decade oriented economy, a new step in the path of economic development in 1978, a development of a purely Chinese character, and a combination of capitalist and reformist openness. Over the past six decades, China's gross domestic product (GDP) has doubled 160 times, its trade volume has increased 2,300 times and its foreign exchange reserves have doubled 15,000 times (Huang, 2016). China's economic growth was astounding by many standards, at 8% per annum and China became the second largest exporter in the world after the United States. Making Chinese development a threat to many giants and pioneers in the world are very influential and the secret of the rapid development and growth of China, and China enjoys a market is very large and internally rewarding to a large extent (Huang, 2016).

China has too much liquidity and its government is not giving up any support Chinese companies need. China has a population of 1.38 billion, of which 300 million are urban residents. China's income in the case of continuous increase which means that purchasing power in the growth situation and thus grows demand movement and consumption pace, The Chinese government and the Chinese have increasingly increased assets and assets in various parts of the world, China has also been impressed by the importance of developing human resource development and increasing skill rates in order to raise production and productivity. That is why China has begun to attract and repatriate a lot of overseas Chinese workers after having acquired a lot of training, skill and knowledge, in addition, the volume of China's investment in R & D has increased rapidly to over 25% per year, which has greatly reduced the gap between developed countries and China in this field.

China's major breakthroughs are not only in the economic sphere but also in the financial sector. The financial crisis in 2008 showed shortcomings and imbalances in the American-style global financial and banking system, while the Chinese financial system in that crisis proved to be more disciplined than the American system because of its intersections between the public and private sectors, intervene in a timely manner in the event of crises or

secession, through government spending and the injection of funds. The Chinese stock exchange is now the third largest stock exchange in the world.

While the world's biggest financial and banking institutions were swinging left and right, China held the world's largest foreign exchange reserves of \$ 2 trillion, boosting the Chinese stock exchange's position to impose approval on the use of the Chinese Yuan as the world's currency.

China has also helped other export-dependent Asian countries avoid drowning in the recession triggered by the global crisis and apply stimulus programs worth 4 trillion Yuan. Many talked about the Chinese model of development and the Chinese dream (Guerrero, 2017).

But there is another side to the story. From the beginning, some have argued that China's economic growth is fragile and unsteady because of the speed with which it developed. And then follow studies that have monitored and analyzed the imbalances to be corrected, and the most important. Despite the rapid growth of the economy over the past decades, China has so far been unable to stimulate domestic demand and balance export and consumption.

In addition to other problems related to the inflation of production capacity and the succession of real estate bubbles, the growth of domestic debt, without forgetting, the scourge of corruption is no longer hidden to the leaders in China, and then the pollution problem, which makes the air of Chinese cities non-inhalable. There is no balance between economic growth and quality of life. China's income is still low compared to developed countries. In 2014, China's per capita income was only \$ 6000; any country whose per capita income is between \$ 7,000 and \$ 10,000 is considered to be a country with stagnant conventional growth engines. Production costs may suddenly rise and productivity declines, leading to the country being placed in the position of a middle-income country, which negatively affects the competitive position of its exports (Shapiro, 2016).



China's economy has been experiencing the negative effects of rapid economic growth. China's average economic growth has declined since the first half of last year due to stagnation in overseas markets, worsening global demand and abundant supply. Developments in China's stock market have shown that they have had a significant impact on domestic spending and consumption, and have also brought about changes in the value of many other currencies around the world. This has also had an extremely negative impact on many emerging economies around the world that are heavily dependent on the Chinese economy.

It also led to lower prices for raw materials imported by China, including gold, copper and crude oil. This is why experts are appalled by the fragility of the situation. To get out of this situation, China is trying to change its form and mode of growth, which focuses on low labor costs and on primitive technologies, such as assembly and manual processing only, and its development into a more technologically advanced industrial system, China is also seeking to change its economic pattern based on state supervision into a free and private trade pattern and change its export-led growth and foreign investment to develop the capabilities and capabilities of its vast domestic markets.

The Chinese economy is also trying to capitalize on the advantage of its huge and multifaceted domestic market, which contributes to the creation of large internal spending and consumption rates, rather than to volatile foreign markets, and to enhance its investment in research and development and the upgrading of its human resources. China's efforts to restructure its growth engines, replace its priorities and change its methods will all bear fruit if they are well exploited, in which case it will benefit the global economy.

Since China's reform and opening-up policy has been implemented, China's economy has been growing at a high rate for more than 30 years, with gross domestic product (GDP) growth exceeding 10% annually on average (Morrison, 2013). This success has been based mainly on exports and investments. This old pattern of economic development was appropriate to

the previous circumstances, such as the inadequacy of supply and cheap labor factors in the country, and certainly played an important role in promoting economic growth, building and modernizing the industrial system and improving people's livelihood. But its disadvantages from excessive dependence on exports and investment have gradually become apparent amid changing social and economic conditions. First, excessive levels of investment have led to overproduction of some industries, reduced productive efficiency and economic imbalances. Second, broad investment has led to a steady increase in government debt. Thirdly, this model of export-led growth has made the Chinese economy vulnerable to cyclical changes in the global economy. Since November 2012, with the new generation of China's leaders taking over the country's affairs, new economic development plans have been developed that set out a precise road map to transform the pattern of economic growth.

The Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, held on November 12, 2013, adopted the document The decision of the CPC Central Committee on some key issues related to deepening reform comprehensively, which clearly put forward the deepening of the comprehensive reform of economic systems Political, social, cultural and ecological civilization, which covers sixty areas, to match the economic transformation of China (Communiqué of the Third, 2014). The main outlines of the 13th Five-Year Plan include national economic and social development from 2016 to 2020, approved by the National People's Congress (NPC), and the goal of China's economy over the next five years has been determined from an industry-based economy to an economy driven by innovation and consumption.

Under this new mode of development, consumption is the main driving force of economic growth. Its main points include improving the social security system and establishing a social security network, which will increase the disposable income of the citizens and free up their purchasing power, thereby enhancing consumption. Moves in the meantime are in full swing to strengthen the market economy in the financial market and the elimination of

financial constraints to provide a good financing environment, also to increase rational investment in light of increasing consumption and improve the financing environment, thus driving economic growth and employment increase.

From a long-term perspective, the transformation of China's economic growth pattern is conducive to the sustainable and sound development of the Chinese and global economy alike. In other words, China's sustained and stable economic growth, upgrading the consumption structure of China's population, improving industrial structure, achieving urban transformation will benefit the country, and will also provide new opportunities for economic development in other countries.

China's contribution to the growth of the world economy. China's economy is currently operating under a "new normal" situation, growing at medium to high rates. But it is still the main engine of the global economy; China's economic growth rate far exceeds the world average. China's economy grew by 7.7 percent in 2012, the first time to fall below 8 percent since 2000, falling to 6.9 percent in 2015. Despite China's declining growth rate, it still works within a reasonable range and has not come out on its annual growth targets. Globally, the growth of the Chinese and global economies has declined together, but the growth of the Chinese economy is still higher than in the developed economies of the world and emerging economies. Despite the slowdown of the Chinese economy, its annual contribution to the growth of the world economy has been rising. IMF projections indicate that by 2020, China's share of global gross domestic product (GDP) will rise from 17% currently to nearly 20%, according to published IMF reports, China contributed 32.4 percent to the world economic growth in 2015 and estimates it will contribute more than 25 percent as the annual average growth of the world economy from 2016 to 2020. (IMF, 2015)

It is also indicated that upgrading the consumption structure promotes global exports. With the transformation of China's economic development pattern, more attention will be paid to consumer demand for Chinese exports and

China's imports will boost the export and economic development of other countries. Historically, China's consumption has been shrinking for a long time, with household consumption falling from about 51 percent of GDP in 1985 to 38 percent in 2005 (Mathai, 2016). The main reasons include unreasonable labor prices, inadequate social security, but this trend will change with the creation of a demand-driven economic growth pattern. More importantly, transforming the pattern of economic growth from an export-based economy and investing into a consumption economy is to increase citizens' incomes and increase their purchasing power, thereby stimulating consumer spending. Taking measures such as increasing salaries, improving the social security system, supporting the development of small and medium-sized enterprises and encouraging community members to set up projects will help increase disposable income and promote the growth and growth of China's middle class. More than 75 percent of urban consumers are expected to have between 60,000 and 229,000 Yuan (US \$ 9,000-34,000) per year by 2022, up from only 4 percent according to Research by the McKinsey Foundation (Cui, 2014). The middle class will reach 630 million, and will become the main consumption force for medium and high-quality consumer goods, modern services and intellectual products. It is estimated that by 2020, population consumption will account for 45% of China's total national spending. Demand for Chinese consumers will increase from high-quality imported goods, high-tech products, financial services, health care and education. This will provide significant opportunities for exporters of these goods and services in other countries. The IMF expects China's imports of goods and services to grow at an annual rate of 3.9 percent between 2016 and 2020 (Cui, 2014).

Improving Chinese industrial structure is also considered to provide opportunities for advanced economies. Under the new pattern of economic development, China will expand the high industries, emerging strategic industries and modern services in the general industrial structure. After years of development, China's advantages are increasing in medium-technology industries, such as telecommunications facilities, electronic products, high-speed rail equipment, chemical and automotive products, and photovoltaic

devices. However, in comparison with developed countries, China is still far behind in high-tech industries and modern services, which are intrinsically financial. The integration is far greater than the competition between China and developed countries in the fields of new energy, bio-pharmaceutical products, and financial innovation. This relationship makes China a huge market for developed countries' exports of advanced equipment, assembly units and trade in modern services, and provides opportunities for strategic cooperation in industrial development between the two sides. An example of cooperation in this regard, "Sino-German strategic industrial cooperation," Made in China 2025 meets the German project 4.0 Moreover, the upgrading of China's industry would push research and science and technology in developed countries, To improve the high-end industrial chain by leveraging its superior resources.

Urbanization in China is also perceived as a new opportunity for world investors, greatly enhancing the development of China's service industry and related industries and creating investment opportunities for capital abroad. In 2015, the number of permanent residents in China's urban areas reached 770 million, an increase of 22 million over the previous year, while the rural population stood at 600 million, a decline of 15.2 million over 2014. Thus, the urban population represents 56.1% of total population. China's urban population is expected to reach 60 percent by 2020, according to some statistics (Ruibo, 2013). Urban development and transformation will increase demand for investment in public service sectors, including infrastructure, affordable housing construction, education, health care and environmental protection. In return, investment in industries associated with the process, such as food, household appliances, cars, energy and steel, will also be boosted. In this sense, China's new urbanization process will drive investment towards a new round of growth that will contribute to the expansion of China's and the world's economies. The new urbanization process will also contribute to the development of the service industry. Thus, the demands of the urban population will increase in education, tourism, health care, childcare and the elderly. The requirements for economic and social development of finance, logistics, law, technology, auditing and

accounting will also increase. China's service industry will become an important platform for foreign capital to participate in China's new urbanization. With the integration of the global economy, it was realized that China's economic transformation would provide new opportunities for other countries around the world. In 43 countries, 53% of respondents said China's growing economy was good for their economy, while only 27% opposed it (Hanaf, 2016).

China has its own elements to rebuild its institutions like economic, political, military, technological, geographical and demographic, and are therefore essential elements of the emergence of regional or global power in the world, it looks like a future giant through its strong economy and population census and geographical area and independent foreign policy (Salman, 2005).

China will be a competitive and influential force in international relations in the twenty-first century, and there is a possibility of reaching the dominant power stage in the coming years of this century. The Chinese say that they have set their plans to reach this stage in the middle of the twenty-first century. The political literature differs from the results of the process Regional and global growth and outlook and the policies pursued by China at this stage.

#### **i. Research Objectives:**

The issue of China's growth has created controversial among scholars. The rapid growth of the Chinese state has raised economic, political and military aspects, technological development, and the possibility of its emergence as a new superpower. this research aims to analyze the factors of China's growth and the factors internally or externally which are influencing on and its impact on the existing international system by analyzing the strengths of China as an influential force in international relations, whether economic, political, social or military, which qualify China To be an influential political player in international relations as a world power. The research is also trying to put some scenarios for the rise of China as an influential world power.

**ii. Importance of research:**

The importance of the research is to add something scientific and practical aspects of its previous studies on the topic of Chinese growth as an influential global force in the international system:

**1- Scientific importance of research:**

There is a lot of research regarding on the subject of China's growth components, most of them focused on the economic, political, technological and military aspects, so this research attempts to add information on the importance of China in the light of regional and international developments.

**2- Practical importance of research:**

This research tries to contribute to enriching the library in general and providing research material for the researchers interested in international relations in terms of giving him an idea of the opportunities and challenges facing Chinese growth.

**iii. Study Limits:**

This study deals with the period after 1990, the period that witnessed the transformation of international relations in the late 1980s and the beginning of the nineties of the last century and the effects of the collapse of the USSR, the disintegration of the socialist camp, the emergence of the new world order and the acceleration of Chinese growth in all aspects. And politically managed to maintain political stability through the central government controlled by the Communist Party, and technology has worked on the growing technological capabilities of China through the policy of encouraging the transfer and production of technology has been for those in the conquest of space, and the military has made a great effort to modernize its armed forces.

**iv. Research Questions:**

The research raises a key question about the opportunities and challenges facing China's growth. The research will seriously try to answer the following sub-questions:

1\_ What are the ingredients of Chinese growth?

2\_ What are the challenges facing China internally and externally that affect it as an influential force in the international system?

3\_ To what extent can the nature of the international system affect the rise of China as an influential global force in the international system?

**v. Research hypotheses:**

- 1- Internal and external variables have influenced China's rise as an influential global power in the international system.
- 2- China has the power to play an influential role in international relations at the current and in future.
- 3- The nature of the international system at this stage has influenced the rise of China as an influential global force in the international system.

**vi. Research Methodology:**

The descriptive and analytical methods are used in this research, and the data was collected in a library by first searching in databases and websites, and then in logs and citations from various sources like the Institute of Science and Technology, World Trade Bank, Institute of Humanities and Cultural Studies, and finally by referring to the digital libraries. The thesis was prepared with general guidelines of case-research methodology, as the subject involves an in-depth, detailed study of a geographical region, while such studies are typically qualitative in nature, Generalizable truths or deliver foresight either. Instead, a case study usually focuses on exploration and description of a given phenomenon. That being said, this study tries to explain certain sets of events with regards to the current geopolitical situation in the world, and therefore, contains elements of the deductive methodology. The deductive methodology rather focuses on developing a hypothesis or a set of hypotheses based on a given assumption (usually another theory), and then designs a research strategy to test or explain the hypothesis. As such, this study could be considered a combination of case and deductive methodologies, i.e. a deductive case study.



**vii. Structure of the study:**

The study focuses on the analysis of how China rises in the four decades from village to empire especially in economic field. The opening is introduction giving general information about China. The first chapter highlights theoretical framework and literature review. This chapter also provides an analysis of the balance of power theory which is the cornerstone of this study. The second chapter details the historical background and the political and economic aspects of China before 1990 and also changes in the international content and China's economic and political restructuring attempts. The third chapter characterizes the internal challenges and the fourth chapter characterizes the external challenges facing China's growth. And consequently, the conclusion provides a summary of chapters and some concluding remarks on China rise.

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **THE STRUCTURE OF THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL ORDER**

Birth... Youth... Death... The life cycle of the state, in the early days of the young generation is born to aspire to tighten its grip on the ends of the earth such as the British Empire, which is not absent from the sun, the rise will undoubtedly change the structure of the international system in the coming decades to become a multipolar between the United States of America and China to end the exclusive US hegemony over the world, which began the breakup of the Union Soviet Union in 1991 without firing a single shot, China's economic growth indicators confirm, of course, that the country has become a superpower, but there are many things that must first be resolved. China has become a great power. Economic power is the backbone of the rise, but alone it is not enough, in order to become a global pole, political, military, economic and cultural behaviour must be exercised outside the boundaries of its region, this is what distinguishes a regional power from the others. A regional force plays a role only in its regional environment, such as India in South Asia, Brazil in South America, Iran and Turkey in the Middle East. Playing a role outside its territory, India, for example, can not intervene militarily in the war in Africa or South America.

Although thousands of politicians have expressed hope for the G-20 and other economic blocs such as the BRICS Group as potential economic blocs that push the international system towards multipolar, USA has a soft power, such as a political model that is universally accepted, but is considered by some to be golden because it is based on democracy, respect for human rights and freedom, values that affect the human nature wherever you live on

the earth, but China has a comprehensive communist system that is very difficult to promote in its political and social dimensions. China does not have a strong culture that can be universally promoted. Culture has many indicators, including language and cinema. The number of Chinese speakers in the world is 0.01%; Of course, we excluding the 1.3 billion Chinese people, while English speakers reach 9.3% of the total population of the Earth (Crystal, 2013).

Although China spent two decades to spread its language in developing science, especially in Africa, by building Confucius Institutes as a spearhead and as a prelude to the cultural component of the Chinese superpower in the near future, these efforts have not borne fruit, especially in Africa (Chinese Dream) to the peoples of the developing world, In 2016, CNN published an article entitled "Africans give up the Chinese dream", stressing that China is not a dream for them (Marsh, 2016). Learning the Chinese language consumes great effort and time, and does not bear any material benefit worth learning, whether in academic or in the labor market, International, unlike an English global spread, in addition, China does not have a strong cinema or influential press, and despite its launch of global channels that address peoples outside its borders such as CCTV and CGN Languages such as Arabic, Spanish, but these channels address the world in a Chinese language with poor performance, apart from culture, art and media, there are very dangerous files that need to be resolved first for china to become a great power. It is a test in East and Southeast Asia and even within its own diameter, China's domination of the South China Sea, the resolution of border problems in the Spratly Islands, the resolution of the problems of Xinjiang and Tibet's separatist provinces in China, the Taiwan problem, border problems with India and Vietnam and its Communist Confucian identity are all exams for the Chinese dragon to pass first, this passage will undoubtedly require a direct confrontation with the United States of America involved in that region as a police officer for the security of East and South-East Asia in defense of its strategic interests. At a crossroads, the North Korean nuclear surface is seen and there is a cartoon and a paper playing the Communist Party leadership Beijing to pressure the West, \$ 11 trillion is

China's gross domestic product and will stand on par with his US counterpart of \$ 18.5 trillion in a decade, another \$ 146 billion in military spending of nearly 5 million Chinese troops, Will the international system of unipolar transform into a war between Beijing and Washington? An important question is that a regional war in East Asia could erupt into China's interests in order to push the international system towards bilateralism. An economic war between the poles of the near future has already started, prompting Trump to issue an immediate decision to open a comprehensive and immediate investigation of Chinese business practices (Handover, 2017).

USA remains the dominant pole of the new world order that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Some political literature on possible scenarios for the future of the international system has gone on to say that the world will continue to live up to an estimated five decades at least (Suwaidi, 2014).

Other literature goes on to say that the current period is a period of transition, and that transitional periods, as historical experience suggests, are very dangerous to both regional and international security, where the dominant powers try to maintain their place at the top of the system while the new forces seek to change the form of the rift of power relations. For example, the Global Trends Report 2025, issued by the US National Intelligence Council, predicted that the international system by 2025 would be a multi-phylogenetic system due to the rise of new emerging powers, the globalized economy, and the historical transition of relative wealth and economic power from west to east (Sohn, 2009).

As Farid Zakaria (2008) pointed out in his study of the post-American world, the United States remains a single superpower on both the political and military levels. However, other industrial, financial, educational, social and cultural spheres all turn away from American hegemony. The United States is not disappearing; it is waiting for its contention, the concept of the transformation of power has aroused great interest in the theories of international relations, and some studies have sought to apply the theory of

the transformation of power to what is a process of transformation of power between the United States and China (Zakaria, 2008).

Other studies have focused on the possibility of Russia's rise as a transformational force in the international system (Bugajski, 2002). In the same vein, Walter Russell Mead pointed to the rise of both Russia and China as global reformist powers, and Iran as a regional reformist power. He pointed out that these revisionist forces seek to change the world order that followed the end of the Cold War. In his study, the author referred to many cases that explain the return of geopolitical rivalries back to the arena of foreign policy after the West was thrown into the easy interpretation of what it called the end of history with the end of the Cold War (Russell, 2014). By studying the status of China's ascension, and whether that rise is already a shift in the balance of power for either side at the expense of the United States, and the impact of that rise in their relationship to the world's only superpower, the United States of America and the structure of the international system, this thesis will try to build on these arguments.

### **1.1 Power in International Relations:**

Great Powers are the strong members in the international system. The concept of Great Power plays a big role in the theory of international relations as any changes in the Great Powers strategies or evolution of new Great Powers normally modify the status quo.

Nowadays, China is playing a new role in the international system, holding the state of alert all over the world. China's economic power and political power in the past has affected places outside the Asia-Pacific region. Africa can be used as a venue for rapid Chinese participation as an area to assess whether China is a superpower. Scientific definitions The traditional definition of superpower can be found in the exclusivity reached at the Paris Peace Conference in 1997, which suggests that the superpower is a state that has a global scope of interests in the international arena (Fink, 1996). In recent years, the concept of great power has been conceptualized by a number of different schools of international relations, for example, constructivism, realism, liberal internationalism.

Basic to a notable British historian Arnold Toynbee (Wight, 2002), The Great Power can be defined as a political force that extends its influence to coexist with the widest area of the society in which it operates. Martin White, one of the leading scholars of international relations in the twentieth century, argues that superpowers are "forces of common interests, the state systems themselves, which means today around the world" (Wight, 2002). For Professor Hedley Bull from the Oxford of University, great power contributes to international system 'by managing their relations with one another; and by avail their notability in such way as to import a degree of central way to the affairs of international society as a full' (Falk, 1997). I agree with these viewpoints that the ability to plan influence and power beyond its region is a decisive factor for defining 'magnificence'.

The concept of "superpower" is central to many models of real international relations, including the balance of power and the theory of hegemony and the Arctic in the international system. According to a prominent world of neo-realists, Kenneth Waltz, in his highly effective book International Policy Theory, states that the super powers "extraordinary positions" in the international system enable them to "carry out tasks that other states do not have the incentive nor the capacity to follow (Waltz, 1967).

Some realist scholars argued that there is asymmetry of power within the international system, According to Krasner (Leurdijk, 1977). When power asymmetries are high, the frequency of intrusion increase He put forward the case that a great power intervenes the low states' internal affairs by different norms, rate and principles to warrant and legitimize their actions. They sometimes break those values and principles, but they stay free from external interference. Another realist scholar, Leurdijk also suggested that the international system is in 'hierarchical relations- relations of dominance and subordination' (Leurdijk, 1977). That means, the great powers are those who controlling over the subordinated countries, Therefore, from this perspective, a great power is a state which has more state sovereignty and autonomy it can demand, and it is subject to less external intervention. Also,

a great power is able to enforce the rule of international law. Meanwhile, contemporary international law incorporates broader ideas more than 'the rule of non-intervention'. According to Khachikian from Stanford University, it now embraces ideas of 'permissible intervention', such as enforcing international peace, protecting one's nationals, prevention a spill over across state borders, stopping bloc human suffering and others.

In generally speaking, the traditional definitions of great power confirm on the powers' wide global interests in the international system, while some scholars look great power as a state which possess the ability to exercise effect within the international system. From this perspective, great powers are able to put their targets of intervention and not being a target of intervention by other actors in the international system. To conclude, we may say that the former viewpoint stress on goal and interests while the latter on put emphasis on capability and influence (Khachikian, 1999).

Both of the concepts are able to supply us a general view. And it is true that a great power should be a state playing strong role in the international system and possess the ability to impact on the region it interested in. Otherwise, I am of the opinion that the definition of Great Power should also be something more specific and fixed. There need to be a norm unit of account for measuring political power. I will assess a country's power through several defining elements, for example, its geographic base, economic resources, educational and technical level, military potential etc.

To be a great power in international system, the nation has to possess not only economic growth and military force, but also strong soft power and identity as a ruler. Economic strength refers to the 'level of development'. For soft power, strong cultural ties with other countries, moral strength and technological level should be considered. Identity as a leader refers to the bargaining power in international arena and the ability to take action independently and at the same time, plays an active and co-operative role in the international system.

The concept of power transformation refers to the loss of the leading position by the dominant state in favor of a rapidly growing newcomer, making the latter a shadow of this dominant state. In order for a transformation to take place, the newcomer has to acquire more resources than the dominant state, or at least parity with the national capabilities of the leading state, in such a way as to make the national capacities of each of them close to the level of equality. Organski, through his theory of states, by level of strength and degree of satisfaction, divided into four main categories: (Organski, 1961)

- Strong and satisfied states.
- Strong and unsatisfied countries.
- Weak and unsatisfied countries
- Weak and satisfied states.

According to this approach, the second category of strong and unsatisfied states is the cause of instability, because the former have no interest in changing the structure of the international system under their dominion, while the third category, although dissatisfied, lacks the capacity to change, while the fourth category is weak and satisfied with the international situation. The second category envisages that it has the power to play a role in the international arena more important than its position, in accordance with the rules imposed by the existing power structure, dictated by special accounts of the countries of the first category. According to Organski, this category shows competitors who seek to change the status quo and establish another international order, with the forces that have retreated and agreed to play a secondary role in the international system they have tried to overcome. If Organski applied these statements to German after the World War Two, they may become more relevant to the situation of china and Russia nowadays. Although the theory of the transformation of power is similar to the realist school because of its focus on power relations, the two theories differ from the description of the international system, Realism focuses on the element of anarchy in the international system. the theory of the transformation of power views the international system as a hierarchical sequence of states that includes different degrees of cooperation and competition. Different



growth rates result in a change in the relative strength of States, leading to new international relations and the formation of new political and economic entities (Tammen, 2001). China's power transformation indicators, there are several indicators on which to know whether there is a shift of power. The interest of a state takes place at the expense of another state, which is often dominant in the international system and can be divided into two parts; traditional and non-traditional indicators.

Traditional indicators are concrete indicators that can be measured quantitatively, and the comparison of countries on the basis of them, such as total population, size of armed forces, gross national product, Non-traditional indicators refer to soft power, which means the ability to achieve the desired goal of the state by making the target more attractive to the other parties than the violence or coercion against it.

If we apply the traditional indicators of China's situation, it is the first country in the world in terms of population and in terms of accelerated economic growth. Since 1980, China has witnessed an annual growth rate of 10 percent. It also has an overall national product that is comparable to the US national product, a major development in industrial technology. China has been able to take advantage of the US administration's stumbling blocks, from the slow reaction to the Clinton-era Asian financial crisis to the huge losses suffered by US economy during Bush's rule over the costs of the so-called war on terror. If we apply non-traditional indicators to China's situation, we will find the following:

China is seeking to promote its model of development by hosting members of the elite in third world countries, peacefully settling disputes and forming economic ties. As for cultural and intellectual creativity, the cultural product in English is the most widespread in the world and the most extensive of the product Chinese culture, although most people of East Asian countries spoke Chinese. In recent years, China has been trying to overcome the problem of Chinese language difficulty by establishing Confucian institutes funded by the Chinese government around the world to teach Chinese and introduce Chinese culture (Shambaugh, 2013).

Indicators of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with China next part of the study aims to answer a key question: Is China a satisfied country now? Or is it an amendment that seeks to change the structure of the international system? What is the likely impact of dissatisfaction or dissatisfaction in their relationship with the United States of America? Will we try to answer the previous questions by examining several things that can measure the degree of satisfaction and dissatisfaction: engaging in regional activities with regional dimensions, each side building a weapons arsenal directed at the other side, complacency with international norms and ideological conflicts between the United States China, and US-China trade relations.

#### 1\_ Entry into the activities of the Armistice has regional dimensions

In China, if we look at border disputes and their effects on complacency and dissatisfaction, the United States and China have engaged in cross-border activities in three situations: Korea, Vietnam and Taiwan. In the Korean case, there was direct intervention in the fighting. In the Vietnamese case, there was indirect war through proxies. As for Taiwan, China still regards it as part of its territory, the most ominous example of a border issue, clear statements by Chinese leaders and some signs of growing Chinese nationalism, the possibility of wrong calculations by China, Taiwan or the United States. China is seeking to control the South China Sea region and has no intention of negotiating the territorial demands of its neighbors, due to oil interests and pressure from oil companies and China's desire to rise as a superpower, which depends on the availability of adequate supplies of oil and gas (Hayton, 2014). Former US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton (2014) pointed out that China-US relations they full of challenges, focusing on the tensions of the South China Sea and seeing an opportunity for the United States to stand up to China on behalf of its Asian allies (Clinton, 2014). some analysis (Huang, 2018). suggests that the most likely scene is the gradual collision between the American-Japanese-Indian axis on the one hand and China on the other because the United States wants not to give China the time it needs to achieve the ascension. One of the centers of concentration around China is its military presence in Central Asia, close to the western China border, already in Japan and the Indian Ocean on the eastern China border and on

its western border in Kyrgyzstan. US literature has warned of China's strategy to extend control of the world, based on the strategic rapprochement between China and Russia, and suggested that the United States take several measures to counter this trend, including working to strengthen US political and military alliances, US territory and the security of its allies, and work to prevent the illicit access of advanced military technology to Russia and China (Gertz, 2001).

## 2\_ Each Party shall build an arsenal of weapons directed at the other:

The second thing that can predict dissatisfaction is that each side is building an arsenal of weapons directed at the other. As for the Chinese situation, China is increasing its defence spending. It is now third behind the United States and Russia. That China has become the world's second-largest arms producer in last 10 years (Trump orders review, 2015). This means that the military gap between the two countries is dwindling rapidly. China has revealed that it has the first aircraft carriers and a new bomber, and its anti-ship ballistic missiles have the potential to threaten the most powerful naval vessels, in addition to China's capacity in space and cyber warfare. China has also announced the establishment of a new air defence zone in the East China Sea covering the disputed islands with Japan. It has tried to impose a new reality in the oil-rich South China Sea and China is focusing more than 700 plastic rockets in the Nanjing region across the border with Taiwan. It also buys advanced weapons from Russia and tries to obtain a joint production right with its weapons. Despite China's military power, it has no capacity to impose its control more than 300 nautical miles beyond its borders, so China will need to develop its naval forces as an important element in securing its international trade. The United States seeks to counter Chinese expansion in various seas, through the US presence in the Asia-Pacific region, as well as in the Indian Ocean. If US defence spending increases, this is not the result of an arms race with China. The majority of US military build-up was a direct reaction to the September 11, 2001, attacks. China's military budget is limited, fearing a negative impact on economic growth. There is an opportunity for the United States to build confidence and bring China closer to the land camp. The overlap of the US and Chinese

economies and the weapons of mass destruction possessed by the two countries are putting a brake on a military conflict between the two countries, but this does not negate the fact that the two countries are competing for more. Of the means of force and its instruments will continue (Shambaugh, 2013).

### 3\_ Satisfaction with international rules

Cooperation between the BRICS countries is one of the most important tracks in the foreign policy efforts of the BRIC countries, especially Russia and China, to break Western hegemony on the international scene, to find a balance in the international system and to directly influence the global economic and political system. Of the world's gross domestic product, its total foreign exchange reserves are estimated at more than US \$ 4 trillion, with a population of 42 percent of the world's population. The recent BRICS Conference, held in Russia from 8 to 10 July 2015 (Handover, 2017), adopted several resolutions, the most important of which is the adoption of a strategy for economic cooperation up to 2020, with the creation of 50 projects. With regard to China and its satisfaction with international norms, considering China's growing regional and global influence, China's leaders regard China's rise as not interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. China's regional expansion has allowed the United States to be the largest export market for Japan, South Korea and Taiwan, and has joined many economic and security organizations the Asian continent, the most important Nizna Shanghai Prix as noted above has occurred fifty countries, including France, Germany and Britain, in Beijing on June 29, 2015 on the agreement, which establishes the basic law for Asian Investment Bank, and The real objective of the Asian Investment Bank is to expand China's political influence throughout Asia. Based on a Chinese initiative, the capital of the bank is \$ 100 billion is expected to contribute to financing infrastructure work in Asia, which is severely underfunded. After the project was launched at the end of 2016, USA and Japan declined to participate in the project. The United States has expressed strong reservations about the bank; the real reason for fear is that Beijing will use the bank to serve its geopolitical and economic interests. The bank may become a tool in serving China's soft

power, especially as it is the largest contributor to it and far from other countries, its share accounts for about 30 percent of its capital; this allows China to hold 29 percent of voting rights, giving it a crippled minority, as some structural decisions assume a majority of 70 percent of votes (Curran, 2018).

At the global level, China has chosen its institutional affiliations carefully. It joined the World Trade Organization in 2001 but has refused to accede to international treaties on the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and international organizations that are concerned with this issue. These activities indicate a degree of dissatisfaction with prevailing international patterns under American leadership.

Are there deep ideological conflicts between the United States and China?

As far as China is concerned, its successful experience has balanced political discipline and economic freedoms. The ideology sponsored and imposed by the State is the price required to restrict personal freedoms. Certainly, the two regimes represented by the United States and China are contradictory on the role of the individual in political life. What complicates the picture is a history of Western interference in China's affairs. Increasing the strength of China's civil society and business community may shift preferences from nationalism to a global perspective.

4\_ US-China trade relations:

As for US-China trade relations, the US market is the main market for Chinese products. China has a trade surplus with the US of more than 70 billion dollars a year and has become the top creditor country of the United States (Curran, 2018). Economic and trade relations between the United States and China have greatly expanded over the past three decades because of the preferential trade treatment law that the United States granted to China in 1980. Trade was itself a cooperative interaction, working not to deteriorate relations when politics collided on other issues. Trade had taken on a conflict dimension recently when the United States accused the Chinese

government of pursuing unfair economic policies that would plunge the US market into cheap Chinese goods.

The theory of power transformation continues to attract research interest, given its interpretations of the future of global politics. Contrary to the realistic theory that war always prevails when the transformation of power motivates the new United State to collide with the regime's leader, the theory of power transformation merely states that such a war is likely to occur only if the rising power is not satisfied with the status quo in the international order and seeks to modify it. The indicators set out in this study to determine whether China is a land state or is an adjustment and seeks to change the current structure of the international system refer to the following: China, it entered with the United States in subversive activities with regional dimensions in three cases: Korea, Vietnam and Taiwan, and despite the increased military spending of the United States and China, but this was not the result of an arms race between the both of them, and indicate the institutional affiliations of China and accession to international treaties to dissatisfaction with the patterns International standards is subject to the US, the indicators show that if the Chinese state continues to grow, as in recent decades, China will overtake the United States as the world's dominant power, perhaps before the middle of this century. But if China overtakes the United States as the world's most powerful nation, on which the international system is based, the theory of power transformation says that a catastrophic war can be avoided. In this case, China will emerge as a satisfied power, as was the case in the United States when the international leadership moved from Britain. This is more likely because the political culture of the society and the ruling elite suggests that China does not tend to become a global force for the foreseeable future, which seeks to achieve "international respect", and only to restore the historic role of China in its immediate territory. Despite China's occasional dissatisfaction with international patterns of US influence, its efforts to play a greater role at regional and global levels have led to several activities, most recently the establishment of the Asian Investment Bank, which will be an important source of Chinese soft power. China is aware of its economic interests with the United States, the danger of engaging in an armed conflict

with it, and the fact that the China-US rapprochement contributes to reducing threats to China's political unity or promotes peace and stability in the East Asia region and on international issues such as, terrorism, immigration, and others. The United States would welcome the rapprochement with China, seeing China as developed better than from some aspect and rapprochement with China would contribute to preventing any Russian-built strategic alliances aimed at sapping USA.

### **1.2 literature review:**

Some thinkers and academics believe that Chinese power will transcend world powers, especially the United States, and emerge as the great power of the world, and that the present century will be a whole Chinese. Joseph Stiglitz one of the proponents of this is the American economist, who writes that China's economic power, is outperforming the US, and that China is in 2015 at its best, attention that 2014 was talk about US as the biggest power Economic development in the world (Stiglitz, 2015).

When 2014 is written, it will be noticed that a big fact has not caught much attention: 2014 was the last year in which the United States could claim to be the world's largest economic power. In 2015 China entered the lead, where it (Stiglitz, 2015). reached estimates based on the best possible provisions for so-called "purchasing power parities", which enable comparison of income in different countries. These figures should not be taken as 100% correct figures, but provide a good basis for assessing the relative size of different economies. In early 2014, the latest assessment was more controversial because it was more important: new figures showed that China would become the world's largest economy faster than anyone had expected.

The source of the controversy surprised many Americans, saying a lot about the differences between China and the United States - and about the dangers of presenting some of our positions to the Chinese. Americans want to be number one. Chinese participants even threatened to get out of technical discussions. On the one hand, China did not want. It means paying more for the support of international bodies such as the United Nations, may

bring pressure to take an enlightened leadership role in issues such as climate change. Ordinary Chinese may ask whether more of the country's wealth should be spent on them.

The areas where the United States is still competitive with China are not always the areas we want to draw attention to. The two countries have similar levels of inequality; China outperforms America in the number of people executed every year, but the United States progresses a lot when it comes to the proportion of people in prison (more than 700 per 100,000 people). In 2007, China overtook the United States as the world's largest source of pollution, in terms of total volume; although on a per capita basis continue to take center stage. The United States remains the largest military force, spending more on armed forces than the following 10 combined, But the solid power of the United States has always been less dependent on hard military power than soft power, most notably its economic influence. This is a basic point to remember. This is what the American economic expert Nobel laureate in economics Joseph Stiglitz said (Stiglitz, 2015).

Jacques Martin (Jacques, 2009 ). whose vision emerges from the title of his book "When China rules the world" which sees China not only as the next great economic power, but also seeks to establish a world order different from the one that the US has now established and led. economic and political is different from what Western countries adopt. As with the Marshall Plan initiated by the United States to build Europe after the Second World War, China established the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, which was joined by 21 countries from East, South and Central Asia despite US pressure to discourage the Asian countries. "the author wrote: It will be a profound shock to the United States of America, The Western totalitarianism will no longer have any meaning in the rise of China, realistically on the relativization of everything" (Jacques, 2009 ).

The West has come back to the idea that the world is its world, the international community is together, international institutions are its institutions, the world currency (dollar) is its currency, and the world language is its language, but it will not continue. The West will increasingly discover



that the world is no longer Western. But he will find himself in the same situation, which was the rest of the world in the era of West domination.

The author of the book is the British journalist Jacques Martin, who in recent years has been a visiting professor at a university in China and a researcher at the International Center for Chinese Studies, which writes about a scientific and realistic vision, examines the rapid developments in China and compares them to what is happening in the West.

Jacques second book "End of the Western World" (Jacques, 2009 ). consists of two parts. The first is about the end of the Western world, while the second deals with the rise of China and its ability to control the future international, especially its economic side, on which military, political and cultural power is based, in the first section, the author talks about the features of the Renaissance in Europe, the great economic rise that has been achieved due to progress in the industrial field, and the impact of this Western rise in the European hegemony on the countries of the world, politically, economically and cognitively, and then militarily, while the rest of the world, Especially in East Asia, live in different conditions in terms of scientific progress and industrial development, for example, average per capita income in Western Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century was almost double that of South-East Asia and at the beginning of the twentieth century the average in Europe was ten times higher than in China.

To date, the West has been the dominant geopolitical and cultural force, and Western influence has reached a level where it is difficult to think of a world without it, or imagine the shape of the world if it did not happen, so we are taking Western hegemony, as one of the Muslim writers and thinkers of the West, The author speaks of the Japanese experience in early industrial development, but this experience cannot be described as a Western experience, because Japan had a very important link to Chinese civilization in the fifth and sixth centuries AD, while it was influenced by Western civilization in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and thus became the

most advanced East Asian country. It is doubtful that the Asian tigers would have started jumping and starting without Japan.

“The rise of China” (Jacques, 2009 ). the book then reviews the historical stages of China, to the twentieth century, which saw a huge boom in manufacturing, although it was too late for industrialization in Europe for more than two centuries, China's conditions was better off than in western countries. Communist rule is the beginning of a huge transformation in its economic status. This phase (1949-1978) started with economic failure, restoring unity and stability to the country, ensuring economic in which previous regimes failed. Despite Mao Zedong's catastrophic abuses, the fundamentals of China's economic transformation have been put into trouble, at the end of this section the author refers to the rise of several countries in East Asia since the early fifties of the twentieth century, the so-called Asian tigers, namely South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand, in addition to China, all of which achieved high economic growth rates, and managed these tigers learn from the experiences of others, use the latest available and the supply of existing technology, jump on the old ones and reach the best results.

The Asian Tigers created new political regimes, the state's development system based on their popular legitimacy, not on democratic elections, but the ability of the state to achieve sustained economic growth, the best description of the age we are entering now is that it is an age of competing modernity. It is not characterized by a clear political or ideological line, but rather by a dominant cultural competition, it also means that the history, cultures and values of those new communities will confirm their existence in a new way.

The Western world has so far been characterized by western arrogance, that is, the West's conviction that its values, beliefs, institutions and arrangements are superior to all others. The strength and perseverance of this mentality should not be underestimated. Western governments do not feel any trouble or restriction. They are lecturing other countries on their versions of

democracy and human rights and their proven value and its stark virtues, there is a profound sense of self in Western values, derived from strong economic, political, ideological and ethnic trends, challenging the emergence of a multidisciplinary world.

China's century, the author speaks in the second part of the book about China's century and economic rise, although nearly half of its population still lives in the countryside, that is developing countries. Chinese modernity can be seen as still ongoing, and some of its features have become clearly, others are still embryonic, and the rest are not yet visible, China's growth has been squeezing its resources to the limit, and here lies China's most profound problem. But if the economy continues to grow at an annual rate of 8 percent, per capita income in 2031 will be the same as the current per capita income in the United States, equivalent to two-thirds of the world's wheat harvest, its demand for paper will double its current world production, although it will have the same rate of car ownership per capita as the United States today. It will have 1.1 billion cars, as well as will use 99 million barrels of oil per day.

Among the strengths of China is that it has a large number of highly educated professionals, as well as a strong belief in the values of education. Chinese universities now graduate from 900,000 science, engineering and management professionals. A large number of Chinese students study in the American universities.

The form of hegemony, under the title "When China Controls the World," (Jacques, 2009 ). the author asserts that it is natural - under the growth of the Chinese economy - that this emerging nation, one of two superpowers in the next 20 years and at least fifty years, becomes the only force after that, history can guide us in a limited way to the future, so it is difficult to imagine the influence of this hegemony clearly, the West still finds it difficult to imagine a viable, viable alternative to its arrangements. It is believed that all countries, however different their history or culture, will finally meet the Western model. The prevailing mainstream belief in the West remains that

the rise of China will only cause little change relative to the world in its fundamentals. This belief is based on three main axes:

\* China's challenge will be essentially of an economic nature, and then it will become a typical Western country.

\* The international system will remain as it is now.

\* China's compliance with the status quo so that it becomes a pliable member of the international community.

But the author sees these idioms as wrong, and that the West does not see China in its historical context, as a unified state, in which there is a huge diversity in all directions, in addition to its great continental size.

At the end of the book, the author identifies several aspects of the personality of China, including:

\*\* It is not really a nation-state, it is a state of civilization, and much of what has characterized China in the past continues to this day, and the relationship between it and the East Asian countries is more likely to be based on the system of states belonging to the nation-state.

\*\* There is the Chinese approach, which eliminated race and ethnicity, as one people of China, was able to melt all races in one crucible.

\*\* China is located on a huge area and continental size, and therefore different from the majority of the world, Australia, for example, which is a continent in itself, with an 80% surface of China, does not exceed the population of 21 million people.

\*\* The nature of the Chinese regime has a great deal of differentiation and privacy, in contrast to Western experience.

Chinese modernity, like its counterparts in East Asia, is rapidly transforming the country, and it combines both past and future as part of the present.

\*\* Since 1949, China has been under Communist rule. Despite the collapse of European communism and the Soviet Union in 1989, 1979 marked the beginning of the largest economic transformation in its history, overseen by another communist party.

\*\* For decades to come, China will combine the characteristics of developed and developing countries, and this is a unique situation for a major planetary power.

If the developed countries formed the twentieth century, it is likely that the developing countries - especially China - will form the twenty-first century (Jacques, 2009 ).

China's economic power is growing, but it does not threaten America's global standing. Nye's (Nye, 2002). ideas are more popular among American thinkers and analysts, Nye, who argues in his new book that China's economic power is sleeping, compared to US economic power setup on purchasing power, but that does not mean Chinese power outweighs US counterpart in its total image.

To illustrate this, Nye distinguishes between the concepts of "absolute regression" and "relative regression"; the concept of "regression" itself is a misleading and confusing concept. "Nye" means "absolute retreat" when controlling forces face internal bands that other compete forces can overcome. The "relative retreat" is intended when the superpower maintains might against "the rise of other international forces", but without going beyond the first, with China's growing economic, military and demographic growth in recent years, many experts and think tanks have suggested that global politics is heading towards an era in which China not the United States is the dominant player in the world, in constant decline as a global power, unlike Beijing, despite the signs of China's rise, Joseph Nye, a prominent political scientist and professor of political science at Harvard University, sees the opposite of these expectations in his new book, "is the American Century over?", stressing that the "American century" is still holding.

Between the US retreat and the Chinese rise:

Nye believes that it is the total decline that leads to the superiority of other countries over a country that has been dominated by them but, has fallen as a result of internal disability. A relative decline occurs when a country's dominance declines as a result of other countries achieving better growth than the collapse of the former, for example, Henry Kissinger and Richard Nixon predicted in the early 1970s that the United States was on the decline, and that the world was heading towards a multi-polar system. Nye said that

view was true on the one hand, because in 1945, Washington accounted for about half of the world's economies. This was the result of the destruction of most of the major economies of World War II, but when the US share of world output was measured between 1945 and 1970, 50% to about 25% in 1970. Thus, it may be "Nixon" and "Kissinger" that decline as a deterioration in U.S power, but what harmed understand is the continuity of this collapse, which did not happen realistically, and therefore, instead of the world will be expected a multi-polar, became the end of the twentieth century, a U.S-led unipolar.

"Joseph Nye" proves the validity of his argument about "the steadfastness of the American Century", with a number of signs (Nye, 2002):

1. With regard to demographics: after China and India US is the third largest country. United Nations demographers predict that this arrangement will remain so until 2050, with Washington remaining the only country to maintain its global ranking, due to the increasing rates of immigration to the United States.

2. Energy: The United States is likely to remain self-sufficient until the second decade of the 21st century due to the "shale" revolution, as well as a leader in research and development, including the technological field that will be most important during that century.

This reinforces the role of American universities, which will remain highly advanced in global competition, as well as the flourishing of a culture of entrepreneurship in the United States, whose economic output is faster than anywhere else in the world.

Turning to the concept of relative retreat, according to IMF forecasts, the US share in world production will fall to about 18% next year. This decline does not mean a decline in Washington itself, but reflects the Rise of the Rest, as other countries will achieve partial growth as a result of the U.S policy that encouraged them to enter the World Trade Organization.

The question is simple: Can China advance peacefully? Mearsheimer (Mearshmeir, 2013). says no. He says if China continues to achieve its

economic growth by this miracle on time, it is likely that the United States and China will engage in intense security competition with great potential for war! Many of China's neighbors, including Japan, Singapore, India, Russia, South Korea and Vietnam, will join the United States to contain Chinese power, to predict the future in Asia, one needs an international policy theory that explains how the rising superpowers are likely to behave and how other states will respond to the system. This theory must be logically sound and must be responsible for the behaviour of the former superpower.

The theory of international politics says that the most powerful countries seek to establish hegemony in their region of the world, while ensuring that no rival superpower takes over another region, China is likely to try to control Asia in the way the United States controls the hemisphere. Specifically, China will seek to maximize the energy gap between it and its neighbors, especially Japan and Russia. China wants to make sure it is so strong that no country in Asia can threaten it. It is unlikely that China will seek military supremacy so that it can provoke the unrest and invasion of other Asian countries, although this is always possible. Instead, it will likely want to dictate the limits of acceptable behavior towards neighboring countries, as the United States makes clear to other countries in the Americas that it is the president.

China is likely to increasingly try to pull the United States out of Asia, prompting the United States to force European superpowers out of the hemisphere. should expect China to come up with its own version of the Monroe Doctrine, as Japan did in the 1930s, these political goals have a good strategic meaning for China. Beijing should want Japan and Russia to become militarily weak, as the US favors Canada militarily weak on its border. What is the state in its right mind that wants the other powerful states in its region? All the Chinese certainly remember what happened in the last century when Japan was strong. and China was weak. In a world of chaos from the world of international politics, it is better to be Godzilla than Bambi.

Further, why does China accept the strong US military forces operating in its backyard? After all, US policymakers are going to ballistic when other

greatpowers send military forces to the Western hemisphere. These foreign forces are always seen as a chance to threaten US security. The same logic should stratify to China. Why is China safe with US forces on its doorstep? After the logic of the Monroe belly, is it not better to serve China's security by lobbying the US military out of Asia?

Why do expect China to behave differently from what the United States did? Are they more proactive? more ethical? less national? Less worried about their survival? It's not that, of course, and that's why China is likely to imitate the United States and try to become regional hegemony.

China was a very poor country in 1977, and the main industrial products in the country were "yarn" textiles, raw coal, grain and cotton. Today; China has become a giant industrial country and has become a model for all those seeking to embrace civilization from countries at present, there are many factors that have contributed to this important change in China, including political, economic and structural factors, in particular the fall of the two-pronged system since the end of the Second World War and the economic globalization that allowed unprecedented openness to market and movement capital of the world, and China's efforts to restructure its economy to cope with these developments and harness them to serve its economic growth.

the Chinese economy has been growing at a rate of more than nine percent a year, doubling its size by eight times, China's GDP is the eighth in the world, then declining, China's rise is now more important than the rise of Japan in the 1960s, and the rise of China is now more important than Japan's rise in the 1960s. The rise of China will change the balance.

Some researchers see that China is in a hurry, racing to join the world's leadership, and sparing no effort in this context. In addition to its great economic growth, giant enterprises are showing up every day and Chinese exports are invading the world. Pose a model contrary to the Western model in progress and development, which puts western theories at risk.

The growth of China's major economy has caused problems for China and other economies. Locally, the main problem is the Chinese leadership's view of how to maintain social cohesion amidst the current socio-economic



turmoil, internationally in trade competition with major industrialized countries of influence, as well as the problems of global issues related to climate, freedoms, genetic engineering and artificial intelligence.

The Chinese threat has emerged not long ago. With China's prosperity, this idea began to crystallize, with China penetrating and dominating emerging markets. This analogy has been confirmed by some, and some have developed strategies to counter it.

Some have described China's investment and developing infrastructure of developing countries as the new colonialism. Chinese intentions have been questioned about China's road and belt initiative launched by Chinese President Xi Jinping in 2013, which aims to develop and establish trade routes and economic corridors linking more than 66 around the world in China, to be characterized by "a new globalization with Chinese characteristics".

In recent years, China has increased its investments in the sectors of industry, energy, tourism and construction. All these contributions have received scepticism, non-welcome and welcome treatment from Western researchers and economists. Some question China's intentions. China is trying to change the demographic of countries, spread Chinese ideology indirectly, field new areas of influence, and reshape the world's political and economic map.

For decades, Western researchers and politicians have published all sorts of estimates and predictions about China, including those who predict that China will collapse or pose a threat to the whole world. For this theory and its exploitation, the US National Security Strategy Report (report, national security strategy , 2017). was issued in December 2017, which contains references and affirmations of this theory seriously.

However, the United States wants to produce a variety of strategic reports for internal rather than external reasons. US officials, when talking about China and China-US relations, use different languages on different occasions, so

these reports and talks cannot be taken seriously, also cannot be completely ignored, still evokes the "Chinese threat theory", and its background is the logic of "China's touching of American interests." Various versions of the "Chinese threat theory" have emerged since the founding of the new China, A "strategic competitor" to US policy toward China increasingly.

threat theory of China; The "threat theory of China" gained new significance after Trump declared the concept of "US priority" and the "U.S priority", the rival, made China one of the few who could persuade America itself as a "strategic adversary"

China calls on all countries to respect their political system and development path, to abandon foreign policy based on ideological demarcation. In terms of security, China calls for joint cooperation in security and non-participation in any kind of arms race. From the economic and trade point of view, China supports the mutual benefit, convenient cooperation of the two sides and the pursuit of common development. China's "Belt and Road" initiative is the best example.

China is facing the new round of "Chinese threat theory" calmly, rationally and wisely. The facts have shown that China's development has not posed any threat to the world but, has contributed to the development and stability of the world. China is also developing a country's infrastructure without pursuing unfair lending policies.

The spread of the "Chinese threat theory" is due to three reasons:

First, the Cold War mentality and its continuation continue to exist, as biting is deeply suspicious of China.

Second, some also view China as the world's largest developing country, and the challenges it faced in joining the World Trade Organization (WTO) are difficult to avoid the emergence of many different problems and issues.

Thirdly, some do their utmost to preserve the theory of "democratic supremacy" and do not want to see China's "undemocratic" progress and success in their eyes.

It is still too early to judge what China's progress will bring to the world, given the visible effects of Western progress. China still has a lot to be able to lead the world.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

#### **2.1 Historical Background: China's political and economic system before 1990**

The Republic of China was founded in 1911 that was inherited by the king dynasty more than 2,000 years of the country's imperial rule. China is the oldest East Asian country. Chinese territory has passed successive periods of war especially Japanese invasion of the country during the Second World War to the civil war between the Kuomintang and communists, when the Government of the Republic of China moved into the island of Taiwan which witnessed industrial prosperity, economic growth and a strong shift towards democracy ever since, at the beginning of 1928, the Chinese Republic was a monogamous republic under the Kuomintang. Between 1950 and 1960 the Kuomintang adopted several resolutions that would ease the tension in the country by issuing decisions to restructure the various organs of the state, Agrarian Reform and identification of individual land ownership. Following these decisions, there was a period of prosperity and rapid economic growth which the Republic of China became one of the four Asian actors despite the growing threat of war and the lack of reassurance and danger posed by the People's Republic of China. Between 1980 and 1990, the country peacefully turned into democracy and the country's first presidential election was held in 1996. Thus, In the 2000 presidential election Chen Shui-bian, the country's first president ruled the country from outside the KMT since 1949. But the Kuomintang returned to victory in the 2008 presidential election, and also boosted their position in the legislative elections by winning more seats in the Legislative Yuan (Decisive election win puts KMT back in power, 2008).

### Establishment Period (1911 - 1927)

In 1911, after more than 2,000 years of the country's imperial rule, the Republic of China was founded after a group of revolutionaries overthrew the ruling regime and the imperial Dynasty of the king dynasty which for a century before that history suffered from internal revolutions and international control of its internal affairs. Before the other empires, the Confucian teachings that established the King Dynasty became questionable as well as a general lack of confidence in the national culture that led the country into a state of general despair, forcing more than 40 million people (about 10% of the total population at the time) the drug addiction to heroin. During the suppression of the Boxer Revolution of 1900 by an alliance led by eight of the great powers of that time (Russia, Japan, United Kingdom, United States, France, Germany, Italy and the Austro-Hungarian Empire), the king Empire had already died but the absence of an alternative regime took power for its demise until 1912, after the success of the Wu Chang Revolution which broke out on Oct. 10, 1911, against the king Dynasty, the Chinese Republic became the national day of the Republic of China, known as the "Twentieth Day", the day and month of the revolution. on 1912, Sun Yat declared the establishment of the Republic of China, until the election of the country's president. On March 10, 1912, as part of an agreement of Emperor Boi's abdication, Yuan Shikai was officially elected as a president, but dissolved the Kuomintang Council and suspended the Constitution under his powers as president and declared himself as an emperor of China on January 1, 1916. But his allies abandoned him. and many provinces declared independence from China and turned them into empires scattered in the hands of the warlords. Yuan Shikai was forced to abdicate as emperor of China on the 22nd of 1916 and died soon after. Instead of uniting into one strong state, China broke into small states under the wartime rule of warlords for a decade. Sun Yat-sen was banished to the south-eastern province of Guangdong in the period 1917 to 1920 and successive governments among them on the country until Sun Yat-sen re-established the Kuomintang again in October 1919 with the help of elements of the Russian Bolshevik rebels. (Leung, 2012)

Pyongyang's government struggled to stay in power in Beijing and has been waging controversy across the country over how China is facing the West. In 1919, a group of students strongly objected to China's weakness and softness in dealing with the Treaty of Versailles which led to the outbreak of May 4 movement that led to the growth of the sense of national need to return to the constitutional republican system, the Chinese Republic has derived the organizational matters of governance from revolutionary socialism. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, Marxism became widespread in the country and Li Dagau and Shin Dushui published the Marxist-Leninist movement in the country (Guillermaz, 1968).

Chiang Kai-shek's founding of the Republic (1927-1945), after the death of Sun Yat-sen in March of 1925, Chiang Kai-shek became the leader of the Kuomintang. After leading the party, Chiang launched a successful military campaign against warlords in the north of the country with the help of the Soviet Union between 1926 and 1927, during which he reunited China under the banner of the Kuomintang. During the campaign and since the first moments of preparation, the Soviet experts trained the Chinese military elements and provided propaganda, public mobilization and weapons for their success. However, Xiang did not keep the Soviets beautiful and expelled the experts as soon as he tightened his grip and drove the Communist and leftist elements out of the Kuomintang. He threw the country into the civil war. Chiang forced the Communists to retreat into the country in an attempt to eliminate them and consolidated his republic by establishing a national government in Nanjing in 1927; Chiang's government has tried to promote the country in various fields, established the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the Bank of China and many other development institutions. In 1932, China sent its first Olympic mission to the Olympic Games. The mission consisted of only a single athlete, Liu Shangxun, who was sent for fear of his participation in Japan.

Only the Japanese inroad of Manchuria in 1930 and the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War as part of World War II battles between 1937 and 1945 prevented the Chinese government from withdrawing and moving

its headquarters from Nanjing to Chongqing. In 1945, the Japanese troops in Chinese territory unconditionally surrendered to the Chinese troops. The Republic of China (under the name of China) became a founding member of the United Nations and the Chinese government returned to its former headquarters in Nanjing.

Post-Second World War (1945-1949) after Japan's defeat in World War II, Taiwan was handed over to the Allied Forces after the Chinese troops accepted an unconditional surrender of the Japanese troops stationed on the island. On October 25, 1945, China demanded to return of Taiwan to the Republic of China as the sole heir to the Qing Empire which the island was under its rule. Opponents of Taiwan independence have opposed their entry into China, citing their position that accession came without signing a clearly defined peace agreement that sets out duties and guarantees the rights of all. The Republic of China extended its military influence over Taiwan, spreading public uneasiness and increasing tensions between Taiwanese and native Chinese (mainland residents, sometimes called mainland China). The arrest of a cigarette vendor and the passing of a passerby by Chinese troops on February 28, 1947 aroused the anger of the people of Taiwan, triggering many internal tensions and protests against the presence of Chinese troops, prompting China to suppress these demonstrations by military force in a historic incident now known as 228 (Forsyth, 2015). The reported casualties of the Chinese authorities are estimated at between 18,000 and 30,000 people (Forsyth, 2015), the vast majority of whom are Taiwanese. As the tension continued, the Chinese authorities declared martial law in 1948 as it's considered as civil war.

Government Transition to The Taiwan (1949-present) In 1949, civil war and military clashes broke out again between the Chinese government and the communist military militias more fiercely than before and the communists emerged more experienced and tactically sophisticated. With the beginning of the fifth decade of the twentieth century the Republic of China lost its control of the mainland in country, prompting Chiang Kai-shek and his government to flee from Nanjing to Taiwan and Taipei as the country's

interim capital. Xiang transferred the Chinese Republic's gold reserves with him to Taiwan; Nearly 2 million refugees joined another 6 million Taiwanese. Mao Zedong announced the establishment of the People's Republic of China on mainland China's mainland and declared himself as the president. The threats both internally and with Taiwan's demand for independence from the Mother Republic of China and threats from Communists on the mainland, the Chiang regime pursued a dictatorial approach, while the Government of the Republic of China remained on the mainland until 1987, to quell any political opposition on the island against Chiang's ruling regime where nearly 140,000 Taiwanese were executed and arrested on charges of anti-communist policies and communist support.

At the beginning, the United States thought that Taiwan would fall into the hands of the Communists, forcing it to give up support for the Kuomintang and waiting for things to become clear but with the renewed conflict between the North Korea and South Korean which had grown since the Japanese withdrawal from the Korean Peninsula in 1945, However, the United States, the United Kingdom and the Republic of China (Taiwan) or the People's Republic of China disagreed about the legitimate heir to the First Republic of China which led to the freezing of treaties on the recognition of the right of any party to control the island with the continuation of the Chinese Civil War throughout the fifth decade of the last century, the United States intervened repeatedly to defend the island and then signed a joint defence agreement between the United States and Government of the Republic of China on Taiwan on the second of December 1945 and the Treaty of Formosa on January 29, 1955.

On 25 October 1971, the United Nations General Assembly passed its resolution 2758, recognizing that the representative of the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legitimate representative of China to the United Nations, that the People's Republic of China is one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, The restoration of all legitimate rights in the United Nations to the People's Republic of China. At the same time, the representative of the Taiwan authorities was expelled. The United Nations and the whole world have recognized that there is only one China in



the world, that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China, and that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only legitimate government representing the whole of China.

Between 1960 and 1970, the Republic of China became an advanced country. Its economy has boomed and turned into a technology-producing nation despite its regime and political party system as a one-party system. Meanwhile, the Republic of China achieved a huge economic boom that was later known as the Taiwanese miracle and the Republic of China became one of the Four Asian Tigers as a result of the government adopting a financial system independent of the financial system followed by the People's Republic of China, foreign aid to the country and US support for Taiwanese products. As a result of the Cold War, the United States and many other Western countries recognized the Republic of China as the sole legitimate representative of the First Republic of China and the illegitimacy of the Government of the People's Republic of China until 1971 when the United States decided to pursue a breakthrough policy in its relationship with the People's Republic of China, on 1971 expelling the Republic of China (Taiwan) from the Security Council and giving its seat to the People's Republic of China despite strong US opposition to the resolution. In 1972, the era of legislative elections began for the first time in the country. In 1975, Chiang died and was succeeded by his son three years later who retained full control over the country. In 1979, the United States cut all its diplomatic relations with Taiwan and abolished their mutual defence agreement.

The Republic of China gradually progressed towards democracy in the eighties of the 20th century when President Chiang Ching-kuo, the son of late President Chiang Kai-shek allowed the establishment of new parties, followed by President Li Ting-hui, helping to form the first opposition party named the Progressive Democratic Party. In 1987, martial law was lifted, followed by a law lifting the ban on the establishment of newspapers. In April 1993, an economic cooperation agreement was signed with the People's Republic of China. In December 1994, local elections were held in which the opposition Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) candidate won the position of mayor of Taipei while the Kuomintang candidate won the position of mayor

of Kwasi Yung the second largest city in the Republic of China. The Government's adoption of democratic life led to the first direct presidential elections in 1996 (king, 2016).

## **2.2 Changing International System & China**

### **2.2.1 Political restructuring**

The issues of political reform have become one of the most important issues in the political, economic and social thought on the international scene as a result of the continuous changes in political, economic and social status, the relationship between economic reform and political reform has become highly controversial. Although many researchers and decision makers have agreed on the interdependence of these two aspects of reform and the assertion that one cannot be dealt with in isolation, they are often approached with divergence and separation of the principles governing both, good knowledge of the history of China's politics and of China particularly makes us know that the process of transition from the old structure of the political system and the economic order can be only a political change. The advantages of the old Chinese political system do not separate political features Such as the institution is the unit driven by politics party and society, while the course of China's reform process is consistent and does not separate the political and economic solution and the interaction of economic reform with political reform. In short, there is a great accumulation of the political reform package in China and the depth and breadth of political reform in China is much greater than what the world knows (Bashir, 2014).

China's top leadership especially from Communist Party has followed a model that promotes economic reform first at the expense of political reform., these political reforms have been accompanied by widening the margin of political freedoms, reforming the electoral system, encouraging civil society, and giving the priority of political stability, and maintain the status quo as the only guarantee for China's internal reconstruction, in this context, two points have been considered as following the first view is that China's ruling Communist Party still has the same exclusionary policy of excluding other

counter-elites in power and still controls the course of political life without allowing for real political reforms the second view is that China's ruling political elite, the ruling Communist Party has highly become politically aware and has opened the way for the growth of the reformist movement within the ruling Communist Party itself and some of the opposing trends like marginalizing of freedoms in Chinese society Hence, will address the role of the communist party of china and its impact on China's political reform process and how to develop the political development process and the measures taken in this context.

The new leadership and the process of political reform:

Many leaders took control of China's political system and each played a prominent role in influencing Chinese society. Each political leadership also had distinctive features in the period in which has played a leading role in China's rise and the occupation of China as an international standing, due to studying the history of China's political leadership, we find that five generations have taken over the leadership of China, forming four distinct stages of Chinese socialism. The first phase (1949-1977) begins under the leadership of Mao Zedong in the field of food and access to the export stage and industrial renaissance led to a strong self-sufficiency in the areas of light manufacturing industries and politically were the ideas of "Mao" tend to harden and adopt Marxism-Leninism values and lack of openness to the outside (Qandil, 2001).

The second phase (1977-1990) under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping experienced a major transformation of China's domestic and foreign policy after Deng Xiaoping introduced an economic program in which he aspired to modernize the country industrially, technologically, commercially and to open doors to the outside world. Reforming the state's political and Ideological structure, eliminating the values of Mao Zedong and adopting slogans that open the eyes of the Chinese toward wealth, money and capitalism, the third stage (1990-2002) under the leadership of Jiang Zemin is a new stage of the Chinese economy in the age of technology. China has become the largest regional power in Asia and Zemin has followed the same policies of Deng Xiaoping as the reformist reformer of the outside world. One of the most

important achievements of Zemin is the re-integration of the internal society sectors between party cadres and technocrats, on the other hand between intellectuals and the masses between military elites and technology cadres and re-normalization of relations between China and the outside world (Sammak, 2008).

The party's new leadership efforts in the process of political reform:

The fourth phase (2002-2012) coincided with the arrival of the fourth generation under the leadership of "Hu Jintao" China under the various global economic, political and cultural variables beside the willingness of China to become a Great State in term of economy.

Renewed political leadership in China:

The year 2002 showed a renewal of leadership in China where a young administration led by Chinese President Hu Jintao who was appointed. Former President Jiang Zemin, who has been in power for more than 13 years, also organized the "Communist Party Leadership" In November 2002. He was able to indicate his views in his conference under title "tripartite representation" aimed at involving the upper classes, including the capitalist class, in the party charter governing China since 1949, president Hu Jintao, the 75-year-old former secretary-general of the party, is not well known among the Chinese. Although Deng Xiaoping had chosen him before, he remained in the shadows behind Jiang Zemin. President Hu Jintao took up his duties as head of state and the Chinese government with a number of new leaders in early 2003.

Achievements of the new Chinese leadership

Where the new political leadership led by Hu Jintao to consolidate the foundations of political and constitutional reform in the country, especially within the ruling Communist Party, The 17th Congress of the Party, held in October 2007 made important decisions on strengthening the reform process within the party, state, economy and society. It decided to quadruple domestic production by 2020 and to create a system that ensures the fair distribution of social benefits to citizens and more importantly to take decisions regarding the circulation of the political leadership summit within

the party (the Secretary-General) and the leading cadres of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau. Under this new rule which allows the pumping of new blood of youth or veterans in the president of the state shall not exceed the age of 68 years in office and the deputy Prime Minister shall not exceed 60 years and the member of the new Central Committee should be at least 52 years of age and have a university qualification. On this stage, China has taken a number of political issues such as democracy and human rights issues. In a speech Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao during the closing session of the National People's Assembly in March 2007, he said: "Democracy, law, freedom, human rights and brotherhood are characteristics of capitalism. These are the common results of civilization that have come into existence in the history of the whole world and are among the values sought by all mankind (Datong, 2010). "China's new political leadership was to be headed by Hu Jintao, who was also committed to the path of China's foreign policy development. It is committed to the founding fathers' approach. Deng Xiaoping has taken China's first major diplomatic transformation initiative by launching the " Reform and Opening " in the late 1978s, while Mao rejected the rules of the international order and sought to overthrow him and opposed the two superpowers (the United States and the Soviet Union), Deng rapprochement with developing countries and accepted the policy of economic self-sufficiency, Deng Xiaoping took China in the machines in order to facilitate economic modernization at home, Deng Xiaoping encouraged participation with the international community. China worked to strengthen its international presence by significantly increasing its participation in governmental and non-governmental organizations and began to emerge from the isolation imposed by the Mao era. The Deng transformation was only a "partial" process and China's participation in the international community remained limited during his tenure the new Chinese leadership who led by Hu Jintao, is pursuing an independent and peaceful foreign policy. Its objectives are to safeguard China's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and to provide an appropriate international environment for reform and opening-up to China. China's approach to bilateral relations, multilateral organizations and security issues reflects new flexibility and

sophistication so that most analysts now see China's foreign policy as stemming from Peaceful Coexistence (Brown, 2012).

Phase Five (2012-present) Xi Jinping and anti-corruption period, Xi Jinping, the current president of the People's Republic of China since the CPC president took office in 2012 from the Eighth Congress and the President of China in 2013, Xi embarked on a massive campaign to root up corruption. A lot of senior officials, including former Homeland Security Minister Zhou Yong Kang said Xi said anti-corruption efforts "are far from successful." (Zhidong Hao, 2014). China's top anti-corruption and graft authority has said more than 70,000 provincial and senior officials have been investigated on corruption charges since 2012 (Lam, 2015). the anti-corruption campaign launched by Chinese President Xi Jinping since he came to power five years ago, he is still gaining momentum and support in a statement which has been posted on its website known as the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection of the ruling Communist Party of China, when he launched and expanded campaign, Xi pledged that there would be no exception for any one. The anti-corruption effort over the past period has succeeded in dropping a number of high-ranking officials, known as "tigers", as well as "flying", a title given to corrupt junior officials, among the "tigers" who fell under the campaign were Zhou Yongkang, former member of the Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee; Bo Xilai, former head of the Chongqing Municipal Party; Shou Khaio and Guo Boxyong, former generals and two deputies of the Central Military Commission; As well as Ling Jihua and Su Rong, who were former deputies to China's top political advisory body (Economy, 2018).

China has also worked with the international community to hunt down corruption suspects who fled the country where they were chased through its program known as Sky Net and other programs to catch fugitives from justice, at the end of last August, 3339 fugitives who had fled to more than 90 countries and regions, including 628 former officials, were arrested and China recovered about 9.36 billion Yuan (about 1.41 billion US dollars) Her money looted by the corrupt officials, a total of 46 people on the list of 100 escaped Chinese wanted persons listed on INTERPOL's red flags were

arrested, the reports said that there are more than 100 senior officials sentenced to prison terms in 2013 on corruption charges and often up to the death penalty which is often shot and pay the people convicted of the price of the bullets (Chi-yuk, 2018).

### **2.2.2 Economic Reform:**

The Chinese experience is a unique and a private international model, the successes in economic sector was achieved in a short time. The Chinese economy has become the second largest economy after the US economy with a total domestic GDP of about 10.35 trillion US dollars in 2014 According to the World Bank. China is the fastest growing economy in the past 30 years with an annual growth rate of more than 10%, but has shrunk in the last two years to 7.3%, with speculation that growth will continue to decline over the coming years to reflect the real situation of the Chinese economy, there is no doubt that China has gone through many difficult phases to get rid of from a central economy that has not succeeded in achieving the desired development goals to a market economy or free economy which is based on fair competition. Decentralization has helped to raise economic growth rates to the provinces as well as the growing role of the private sector and its contribution to economic life, China is classified as the top middle-income group by the World Bank. GNI per capita in 2017 is about US \$ 8000 beside that China is the largest population in the world with a population of 1.3 billion while unemployment rate of 4.1% in 2013.

The research tries to shed light on a series of axes explaining the Chinese economic experience:

- A historical overview of China's economic development.
- Leading economic sectors in China.
- The fundamentals and challenges of the Chinese economy.

#### History of China's economic development

The Chinese economy has undergone several stages since the proclamation of the People's Republic of China in 1949. Each stage has been a set of characteristics that have contributed greatly to the development and growth of the Chinese economy to succeed in controlling a significant part of the

international economy and reaching an advanced stage of contributing to the Global trends in partnership with a group of economic and political forces, and perhaps the most prominent of these stages:

- The Socialist Model and the Central Economy (1949-1977)
- Economic liberalization and reform policies (1978-1988)
- Freezing of Reform (1989-1991)
- The resumption of reform (1992-present)

It is worth mentioning that the Chinese economy suffered many major events and transformations from the beginning of the nineteenth century until 1949, when the Mao Zedong Revolution and the beginning of the stage of socialist construction, The most significant development of the Chinese economy during the 19th century was China's economic isolation, increased economic openness and vastly expanded trade with the West as a result of China's defeat in the 1839-1842 war, known as the "opium war" forcing China to reduce restrictions on trade, long imposed by the Kungang regime. The Western penetration in China led to a sudden and unchecked transformation into capitalism. Thus, the Chinese economy collapsed within a few years and then became a poor semi-colonial state where helped spread chaos and rebellion of all sectors of the population. The revolution of 1911 ended with the overthrow of the dictatorship in 1912 (Lee, 2015).

Instead of stabilizing the political situation in China, things has been worse and the civil war broke out, once the situation began to stabilize until the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 followed by the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese war between 1937 and 1945 and the defeat of China by Japan, The Chinese government and the Communist Party militias. In 1949, the Communist Party's Red Army controlled the government and Mao Zedong announced the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

#### 1. The Socialist Model and the Central Economy (1949-1977).

With the proclamation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the government began to build the socialist model based on central government. Despite Mao's insistence that the government's goal was to regulate



capitalism rather than collapse it, the reality was contrary to those statements, the issue of private capitalism. Mao applied the Soviet economic model for the purpose of establishing an intensive socialist model of economic and social growth. Hence, the idea of medium-term planning or five-years which is the moderate method in China to this day the phase of socialist construction was characterized by the re-organization of agriculture and the transformation of a centrally managed agricultural economy. Agricultural land was grouped into large cooperative societies. Each of the 1200 rural families did not have private ownership in order to establish full agricultural socialism.

The first five-year plan (1953-1957) focused on the strategy of heavy industries, especially those that related to national defence amid transforming China from an economically backward agricultural country into an industrial society with technical and financial support from the Soviet Union. This strategy was characterized by a decline in the rate of growth of GDP where the growth rate in 1953 about 15.6%, while fell to 5.1% in 1957 (Brodsgaard, 2017). the decline in the rate of growth is due to the inadequacy of the Soviet strategy applied to the situation in China. The focus was on heavy industries such as iron and steel. Neglecting of the agricultural sector and light industry as a middle stage of industrial development which led to the redevelopment of China's new economic development principles. The second five-year plan or the so-called "Great Leap Forward Strategy" (1958-1962) was adopted. One of its most important ideas was to liberate the masses, eliminate bureaucracy, dispense with models, is the abolition of cooperation agreements between China and the Soviet Union and the cessation of Soviet aid to China.

The Great Leap Forward strategy is based on a set of principles The most important one was the comprehensive development of the all sectors and the principle of administrative decentralization such as encouraging the lower units to make decisions. The People's Commune was formed as a result of the integration of a number of small economic units into large socialist cooperatives. Industrial and agricultural activity, education and culture but the

actual implementation of this strategy resulted in a great recession. The communists were required to hand over about a third of their production as a state tax, leaving the rest as the food of the housing complex for each commune. From the occurrence of drought in that period but the supporters of "Mao" were reporting on the increase in grain production in large numbers and so it came to pay the majority of the production of the state tax as a result of a quarter of the inflation rate of one third of the production figures, resulting in a significant reduction in purchasing power the lack of available resources for agricultural production and famine at a time when grain stores in the country were full. The rate of deaths due to diseases and undernourishment in that period was estimated by official figures to be approximately 30 million (Brodsgaard, 2017).

When Mao realized that the Great Leap forward strategy was not a success, he stepped down to Liu Shaoqi one of the leaders of the Communist Organization before the Revolution and merely acted as leader of the ruling Communist Party, in the same year, criticism of the strategy and its mismanagement, especially from the Party's senior leaders, were tense. The political situation was tense as the party sought to overcome its failure to implement it, leading to a cleansing movement against Mao's enemies, especially those within the ruling party, in 1963-1966, the Chinese government engaged in studying the reasons for the failure of this strategy and the way to find a suitable approach to achieve the growth of productive forces which resulted in the adoption of the Cultural Revolution Strategy (1966-1976) with the third Five Plan (1966-1970) (1971-1976).

The main feature of China's economy during the Cultural Revolution period was self-reliance. Initially, the state was interested in reducing individual consumption in order to boost investment. This trend caused the economy to be disrupted initially. GDP growth contracted by 5.5% and 4.1% in 1967 and 1968, respectively but grew strongly over the next two years due to the mobilization of productive resources as well as the restoration of order after the deportation of the Red Guards to the countryside in 1968. A major earthquake in 1976 and Mao's death caused political unrest in the same year leading to a decline in growth.

The Cultural Revolution ended with the death of Mao in 1976 and two years of power struggle until Deng Xiaoping took power. China entered a new phase of transformation. From 1949 to 1978, it was an economically poor country. Foreign investment was not there before 1978 while their contribution to world trade was too small to fit a country of its size (Naughton, 2007).

## 2. Economic Liberalization and Reform Policies (1978-1988)

China began implementing reform and opening-up policy toward the world and moved to an economically advanced stage that was different than before. During the Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 1978, it was agreed to carry out economic reforms aiming to;

- make the Chinese economy more resilient to the changes in the global economy.
- Revisit the priorities of development; the agricultural sector comes first followed by industrial research and then scientific defence field.
- Restructure production sectors and allowing private projects while maintaining state control over heavy industries, energy and mining sector.
- Allow greater autonomy for administrative institutions away from the ruling party bureaucracy and centralization.
- Encourage and develop the tourism sector.
- Seek membership in international financial and trade bodies.

In 1982, Deng introduced his idea of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the need to move towards "market socialism" in the sense of an economic system in which the means of production are public property working for profit within a market economy and using profits to determine the wages of workers in general, Deng believed China would get the technology and capital that China needed for its rise. China declared that opening up toward the world was one of China's key policies, attracting foreign capital and advanced technology and studying successful experiences in economic planning and management. Foreign countries and encourage state institutions to participate in competition in global markets and promote the deepening of internal reform and economic development.

This period indicated the beginning of the economic renaissance of the People's Republic of China and many achievements were realized. A development strategy for China was set in three steps and a period of 70 years was set to achieve its objectives. The first step was to provide food and clothing for all citizens within 10 years. To achieve this goal before the end of the eighties the second step was to make double the GDP by four times at the end of the twentieth century and reach the required rate in the mid-nineties and the third step was to increase the per capita income to reach the counterpart in the medium-developed countries in 2050, China has signed the Treaty of Peace and Friendship with Japan in 1978. During a visit to the United States in 1979 Chinese officials were able to restore relations with the United States and China's relationship gradually improved with the Soviet Union after a long break. In addition China encouraged Chinese youth to study abroad.

The reform of the agricultural sector was first initiated as an input to development. People's communes were abolished, land was distributed to families and farmers were allowed to choose the types of crops they wished to grow, in 1984, the ruling party adopted a series of reforms based on decentralization in the management of public enterprises, especially with regard to pricing and employment policies. Local provinces were also entitled to have trade representatives abroad and to open private and joint ventures with foreign investments, in both the agricultural and industrial sectors and in addition to the opening-up policies toward the world in advancing China's development and raising growth rates.

In the mid-1980s, the growth process accelerated in line with economic reforms until inflationary pressures began to emerge in 1988, prompting the president to urge officials to find a solution to the problem carry out price reforms and face obstacles to reform and economic growth, prices to reach acceptable inflation rates (Lee, 2015).

### 3. The Freezing of Reform (1989-1991).

Rapid opening-up and economic reform led to a wave of unrest and one of the most famous demonstrations was in Tiananmen Square due to high inflation rate and widespread corruption and high expectations of political and

economic change that made public anger and protests, at the end of 1988, the Chinese government was forced to freeze its reform measures in order to control the high inflation rates resulting from the storage policy pursued by those missing goods, in order to raise their prices, fixed wage earners such as workers, farmers and junior employees were most affected by the surge in inflation. In 1989, the popular opposition to Chinese government policies which opposed democratic concepts and sought to restrict freedoms, escalated a series of mass demonstrations led by a group of students and workers in the field, protesters held for seven weeks in the field, the spread of demonstrations and sit-ins to about 400 cities across China and over time the Chinese government realized that the return back to economic and political reforms was inevitable, especially after the strong earthquake in the world economy in 1991 when The Soviet Union collapsed.

At the beginning of 1992, Deng visited some economic zones in southern China and reiterated the resumption of economic reform. "It does not matter if the policies are socialist or capitalist, as long as they promote development" (Naughton, 2007). Development is the only constant that must be pursued, followed.

#### 4. Resumption of reform (1992-present).

By 1992, China was once again in the process of implementing reform plans, emphasizing China's adherence to socialist features and integrating them as far as possible into the capitalist economic elements that corresponded to the global market trends which were greatly altered by the forces of globalization. In 1995, the five years plan ahead of it where it was able to increase the value of GDP four times as much as in 1980. The GDP in 1995 was about 5760 billion Yuan, which constituted a big leap in the history of economic development in China and succeeded in increasing per capita income US \$ 390 to \$ 7820 during the period (1992-2015) (Naughton, 2007).

With this success, China sought a confident step in the same year to join the World Trade Organization (WTO) and to carry out further economic reforms. The real liberalization started in 1997 with the commitment of the government

to maintain a high level of control. In the same year, China was among the least affected countries by the trade surplus coincide with foreign exchange reserves of about \$ 140 billion as well as continued investment inflows and a decline in the amount of short-term debt China was only affected by the devaluation of the currencies of neighboring countries which had a negative impact on the competitiveness of its exports to those countries. In 2001, China succeeded in becoming a formal member of the World Trade Organization although China's membership in the World Trade Organization pressures and sacrifices on the part of the government. However, the agreement also includes several positive aspects, including the stabilization of external economic relations better implementation of the economic reform program and higher rates of economic growth.

In 2005, at the end of the five-year plan, China's economic structure improved significantly. There was also a major boom in infrastructure in terms of road network development and natural gas lines for rural areas. In addition to increasing the Chinese technological exports greatly and attention to quality, not just quantity, China's economic growth continued rapidly and by 2010, GDP reached 26.1 trillion Yuan, an increase of 7.5 percent over 2005. This economic growth has helped a stable increase in national financial revenues which has then ensured the flow of funds in many fields, including education, healthcare and medicine, China hosted the Olympic Games in 2008 which helped booming the economy despite the negative effects of the global financial crisis. In 2010, China hosted the Shanghai World Exposition in Shanghai, increasing the influence of the Chinese economy in the world.

GDP per capita increased to nearly US \$ 8000 by 2015, making China one of the top tranches of middle-income countries worldwide, the Chinese economy witnessed a remarkable decline between 2011-2015 with growth rate of 6.9% in 2015 down from 7.3% in 2014 making China the slowest economic growth in 25 years. The slowdown in the Chinese economy is due to the extraordinary growth of the economy over the last three decades. It is very natural that growth will decline in addition to the aging population, the

stability of investment rates which constitutes about 49% of GDP and the decline in the value of securities (Mu, 2016).

### **2.2.3 Capabilities & ambition to become a great power**

Today, peace and development will remain as two biggest global issues. The world arena demands peace, stability and development and requires more dialogue and cooperation, less confrontation and conflict but the narrowness is that the world is far from calmness, that interference in the affairs of other states under the pretence of fun and excessive sanctions or the use of force, all these things crush the goals and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and in this way should add peace and global stability a major force to maintain the peace and stability in the world. China as it is the largest developing countries and have the fastest economy in terms of growth, they must contribute to world peace and development, however it seems that a small number of countries and individuals have fear that China will not provide much support for international peace.

In the United States, for example, there are the anti-China forces in the U.S intelligence and the Senate, a number of politicians and so-called specialists in China who look at things through strange binoculars and states use various kinds of justifications to impose sanctions on other countries, threaten the use of force to overthrow non-aligned regimes. These are iron-hard truths but the anti-China forces are turning a blind eye to them, they recognize that the very different behaviors of against China and what the light of the fact that in their minds they do not want to see a strong China, given the modern history, we can find a large number of facts (al-Afifi, 2009).

The Chinese nation is a nation that loves peace and dependent on the maintenance of world peace and regional stability that China will not strive to dominate in the future. The Chinese people who have long been oppressed by the invasion and oppression by foreign forces, China will not sell the foreign policy of peace which has been adopted according to the nature of the country, the social order, history, the age of jewellelry and the challenges faced by the state. It is public information that China initiated and built the five

principles of peaceful coexistence - mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and integrity, the doctrine of non-interference in the internal affairs of countries, equality and mutual interests, peaceful existence and now china's relations with other countries based on this five principles, even when China becomes stronger.

China's affairs are driven by China's own circumstances and by the Chinese themselves. Independence and self-reliance have always been and will always be their basic position while the Chinese people appreciate their friendship and cooperation with other countries. This means that the Chinese government starts from the original concerns of the people of China and other peoples of the country are independent proofs in line with the requirements of international law and the international principles that have been spent on them in general, in addition to the current situation that will not succumb to any burden of superpower. China insists that all countries in the world are large, strong or weak, progressive or advanced are all equal members of the international community. Each country has the right to choose its own social system, develop its strategy and development model in accordance with its national situation and without any foreign interference. those international problems should be solved through equal consultation for all interested countries rather than the control of a country or a few major powers to see the futility of the political bloc and the military alliance of peace and global stability so China will not enter into an alliance with any country and a group of countries. China hopes to develop friendly relations with each country in the world on the five principles of peaceful coexistence. China has always followed a good-neighborly policy and will continue to do so in the future. The development of friendly relations with the surrounding countries is the top priority of China's independent foreign policy which can be observed in the following elements: (Salman, 2005).

1\_ Improving bilateral relations: Senior leaders in China and neighboring countries have been keen to maintain regular contacts and exchange visits, especially in the past few years as heads of state and senior officials in the country have paid visits at least once to each country. China and Russia have set up a mechanism for regular meetings between the two countries.



From various levels through different channels has become more systematic through these regular contacts and mutual visits of friendship and cooperation between them and their neighbors. As for territorial disputes territorial and territorial waters that have remained throughout history China is determined to solve these problems with justice and wisdom through equal consultation and friendly negotiations bear the vision of maintaining peace and regional stability in general.

2\_ Strengthening trade and economic cooperation: While China seeks to develop unlimited economic and trade relations with neighboring countries, it also seeks to explore new ways of economic exchange, such as the best use of civil groups And private capital to strengthen cooperation with small and medium-sized countries around the border. In addition, China will continue to promote regional cooperation with the surrounding countries. The strengthening of economic and trade cooperation will lay a firm foundation for the growth of bilateral relations between China and its neighbors.

3\_ Development of Security Dialogue and Cooperation: China is a founding member of the ASEAN Regional Forum and was accepted as one of the most faithful participants in interfaith dialogue in July 1997. Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen attended all the previous meetings of the Forum at the first meeting in 1994 since he presented a five-points to push forward the friendly relations between countries, resolve disputes through peaceful means, ban the context of armaments and the nuclear context, strengthen security dialogue and increase mutual trust. The second point of the proposal was approved by many countries of the world to establish a bilateral security dialogue and a mechanism to calm the unrest with a number of its neighbors. That China claims to actively participate in the regional security dialogue held by the official, academic and civil organizations, these facts give an indication that China has a great will to provide great damage to the security and stability in the region. China does not agree with the military alliances and military blocs in Region because this is not possible within the current global trend. China expressed strong interest in the US-Japanese move, the amendment of the US-Japan Security Treaty, and the redefinition of defence in the new outlines of defence cooperation between the United States and Japan (Fuzhan, 2007).

In contrast to this, we find that few superpowers are still waving their hegemony and power which has already become a source of threat to peace and stability. If we take the United States as an example, it likes to impose sanctions or threaten to impose sanctions on states that violate their own interests or through the use of international organizations, signed by President Clinton in 1996. This has been strongly rejected by many countries Allies of America, China is helping to resolve disputes among nations through equal and peaceful means, and China opposes:

- 1- Excessive use of voodoo or threat of use of force.
- 2- Any kind of foreign invasion.
- 3- The attempt by any country to exploit the size of its economy and its strength or wealth to harm small or poor countries.
- 4- The use by any state of race, nationality, human rights, freedom, democracy and others as a pretext for interfering in the internal affairs of other States, violating their territorial integrity and closing the end.

China will not impose its social system, ideology and values on other countries. nor will any other country do the same with it. Mr. Ding Xiaoping explicitly stated that (Kandil, 2008) “China will not accept any interference from other countries in its own affairs. Our social system has been adopted on the basis of the rules of our situation. This is what our people are asking. Why should we accept foreign intervention designed to change this decision? It would not be useful to ask all countries in the world to transfer models developed by the United States. it is regrettable that a few Western powers still wish other countries to represent their social systems, values in freedom and democracy. If they face any resistance, they will turn all means to punish the state and it might be the use of force to overthrow the government.”

However, with the growth of the multipolar world model and the growing demands for independence in developing countries, hegemony and power politics will end up in the waste bin of history, the old world order has collapsed by the end of the bipolar world order and the new order has not been established. The nature of the new world political and economic order, which is formed at the beginning of 1991, after the end of the Gulf War,

former US President George W. Bush, the establishment of a new world order under the leadership of the United States of America but in the context of a global trend towards a multi-polar world and reduce the political power and political influence of the United States in general, it is not appropriate to form a new world order wholly owned or controlled by the United States.

This is radically different from the old system of power distribution. In addition, China opposes and will not participate in the arms race. The Chinese government has repeatedly stated that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries. At the same time, China will follow the military defence strategy. China's modernization of its defence comes from the point of protection of national security and territorial integrity, but will not impose a threat to the security of other countries. and that most of China's military equipment is old and China's military technology lagging behind that of the United States and many other countries in many decades, to modernize its poor military status, offering China to many successive criticisms such as saying that China seeks to dominate, China has become an element of instability China poses a threat, the United States has the most advanced military technology in the world, sparing no effort to produce new weapons, as well as its naval arsenal, which roams the four oceans in the world. However, they are rarely blamed for what they have done and what they do. This illustrates the lack of truth in international relations and the double standards of global politics. Those who promote China's threat theory are keen to stop China from shedding one million recruits and the subsequent release of 500,000 PLA men, reducing China's national defense budget and the fact that China's military spending is much lower than in the United States, Britain and France Japan. China's modernization of defense comes at a later stage and serves the modernization of the economic level. Therefore, the first goal of China's national security and military strategies is to affirm local peace and stability and create an international environment for the economic structure. China will do its utmost to avoid confrontation and military conflicts with any country. By judging the facts already mentioned, we can clearly see that China's modernization of its defense will not pose threats to other countries. On the contrary, it will be more useful to maintain the

balance of power and stability in the Asia-Pacific region, in the next 10-15 years, China will emerge to become a real superpower, and even more, its role in global politics will increase, but at the same time it will face major challenges. In any case, China will continue to pursue its independent and peaceful foreign policy. Together with other countries, continue their efforts to establish a just international economic and political order and promote the cause of peace and development on a large scale for a more prosperous future (Kandil, 2008).

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **THE INTERNAL CHALLENGES FACING CHINA'S GROWTH**

After this miracle growth of China in every aspects there is some challenges facing china eternally such a socio-economic like demographic, food security, and also political challenges such as reform of the state in the way anti-corruption, reform of communist party of china and also main challenges is case of Taiwan and regional security.

#### **3.1 socio-economic challenges**

##### **3.1.1 demographic & population**

China is the first country in the world with a population of 1.3 billion, a population density of 147.2 people in two km. according to the 2015 census, the most densely populated Chinese region is Shanghai; the high population has exacerbated China's social and economic problems, which since 1979 has led to the implementation of the one-child policy for each family, hoping to reduce the problems and consequences of the population explosion. The application of the law to control the growth of the population and avoid the rise of an estimated 400 million people, but the application of this policy for more than three decades led to many problems, the most significant decline in the proportion of the workforce in the country, and the injury of society in aging, the second child was officially launched in October 2015 and allowed families to have a second child. Starting on January 1, 2016, China faces challenges because of the expected increase in the 21st century. It expects a net increase of 200 million in the next 30 years after it has succeeded in reducing the expected natural increase by 400 million. The proportion of Chinese declined from 22% in 1980 to 20% for the world's total population in 2017, with the family planning policy adopted. The annual growth rate decreased from 4.18% in 1982 to 3.10% in 2017. Then the natural increase of its population from 12 per thousand to 2.5 per thousand in 2018, and the

increase of the population of China will result in considerable pressure on the country's resources and the environment in the coming decades. China's population is close to its potential natural resource limit, fertility rates are unstable, and the quality of life is still low in many Chinese households. Chinese youths face great difficulty finding jobs that fit their qualifications, and health insurance is under increasing pressure to meet the needs of all Chinese and care for the elderly, they expect the population to reach 1.550 billion in the next 50 years. China will be approaching a population growth rate of zero, and births are equivalent to deaths. However, the problem is exacerbated by the disparity between the ratio of males and females among new-borns. on the one hand and the high proportion of older persons on the other. For every hundred females, today there are one hundred and seventeen males. The proportion of males under the age of nine now exceeds the proportion of females by more than 12 million male, So experts are afraid of the negative consequences of the disparity between males and females, If this inequality continues unchecked, between 30 and 40 million young people will remain unmarried by 2020 (Wang, 2019).

### **3.1.2 Food Security and Agriculture Planning**

Another challenge for China is that, despite the substantial growth in grain production in the 1980s and 1990s, it will face the problem of food shortages in less than three decades. Experts expect China to face the worst-case scenario if it does not begin to address the three obstacles to growth of food output, Which is the decline of cultivated land area, climate change and population growth, the People's Republic of China has announced the establishment of the China Food Security Research Center, which has the potential to develop future crops, techniques and strategies for food security so that it can overcome the problem, the President of China Agricultural University, (Chen K. B., 2018). Dr. Chen Zhangliang, Food for the Chinese people, which will be 1.5 billion by 2020.

The Director of the Center emphasizes the need to increase the production of crops by 50 to 60% in 20 years, and supports the Director of the Center Wang this vision statistics and historical facts, over the past thousand years

average output per hectare from 915 to 1020 kg and then increased in the current period from 1020 to 4500 kg. This is the starting point for Wang and his colleagues at the center to reach twice the current average in a 20-year period. According to Wang, his country, which feeds 20 percent of the world's population with 7 percent of the world's cultivated area, should place grain insurance at the top of the government's agenda, especially after four years of declining cereal production as a result of natural disasters, shrinking land area, The new center expects China's population to reach 1.6 billion by 2030. The country's annual cereal demand will increase from 640 to 720 million tons, which will require 200 million tons of Chinese output over the next 30 years, agricultural scientists are now emphasizing the ability of Chinese hybrid rice technologies to enhance global food security levels, particularly in poor countries with insufficient cultivated area and growing populations. An excellent program for rice hybridization has given encouraging results if it achieves its goals. a Chinese Academy of Sciences researcher is expected to try to increase China's annual rice production by 30 billion kg per year, enough to feed another 75 million people at an average of 400 kg of rice per year. China will seek to ensure self-sufficiency in irrigated rice, wheat and maize to more of 95% each separately, maintaining the basic balance between demand and supply in the local food market (Chen, 2018).

## **3.2 Political challenges**

### **3.2.1 Reform of the state**

Reform in the state apparatus: The most important aspects of transformation in the structure of the ruling elite revolves around the transition from the elite of liberalization to the elite of modernization and highlighted the manifestations of such a transformation are:

- 1 - Change in the age and scientific level of the ruling elite as the stage of either after the introduction of the younger age groups gradually with the rise of educational level in the ruling elite.
- 2 - Reconsidering the party leadership that the Cultural Revolution put forward.

The increase in the proportion of technocrats in power has been ruled out the traditional leaders who assumed their functions during the Cultural

Revolution on the basis of their revolutionary role and were replaced by specialized young cadres of efficiency and many observers noted that the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1982 was the beginning of gradual transformation of leadership in the political power and the emergence of the light of technocrats. Here that increasing the proportion of technocrats in the decision-making organs at the expense of ideologues will make the decision-making organs more inclined towards pragmatism (Chaudhuri, 2017). another challenge facing China is corruption Chinese President Xi Jinping, an intelligent scholar of history, is fully aware of the potential destructive power of corruption - he has faced the phenomenon directly and without equivocation. But as the process of modernizing the Chinese economy continues, there is still much work to be done.

Prior to the economic reforms of the 1980s, corruption in China was relatively small, because the limited size of the market limited opportunities for administrative abuse. But as the market deepened, factors such as a lack of legislation and poor prudential measures by institutions facilitated greater corruption and administrative misuse. At the same time, as incomes and education have risen, citizens have become less tolerant of such practices, increasingly demanding that basic public goods and services should be delivered in a transparent and legal manner, from infrastructure to environmental protection, as well as a fair distribution of income and opportunity. Recognizing the ability of corruption to undermine the legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese state, Xi launched an anti-corruption campaign unprecedented in scope, scope and depth. Over the past five years, this campaign has resulted in the dismissal, punishment and acquittal of at least 440 government officials. But the initiative is not over yet. At the Nineteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC), the party approved the establishment of a national oversight committee to support and modernize the anti-corruption campaign to go beyond party members to all officials exercising public authority at all levels. But building strong and robust anti-corruption bodies will not be easy, given the ability of corrupt officials to take control of such sectors. to continue to hold corrupt people accountable and to prevent personal interests from



dominating bodies - a process that involves institutionalizing ethics within bureaucratic institutions with increasing potential for corruption - will not be an easy job. It may even be the most difficult challenge for President Xi to achieve what the Chinese people want. Now, in fact, China's anti-corruption agenda seems to be on the right track (Fabre, 2017).

### **3.2.2 Reform of Communist Party**

The main objective of the institutional reform in any country in the world is to control all public activities within the framework of official institutions and their powers. The process of institutional reform includes the establishment of the institutions necessary to improve the performance of the government in addition to ensuring the continuity of these institutions, which creates a state of stability and continuity. Institutional reform contributes to the mitigation of the influence of a particular personality or stream. The behavior of the system is characterized by a kind of respectable monotony and improvisation, reforming state institutions contributes to the regulation of the legal relationship between all parties in the state, thus reducing the clash of gains or blaming the case of mistakes. The ruling Communist Party of China is the main component and engine of political life instead of the government, and it retains most of its power to act as it pleases. The party also enjoys a sacred and central structure and hierarchy in decision-making, as well as a complex bureaucratic body, like telephone and electricity in some of our random neighborhoods (Hicken, 2014).

Deng Xiaoping's economic opening policy in the last century led to many reforms of Communist Party institutions to keep pace with this economic opening. The changes did not stop at any point and the Communist thought, for which the Chinese regime derives its legitimacy. from focusing on the workers' class as a vanguard of change and leading the society to the integration of other segments that were outcasts and centers of decision-making as businessmen, a major return to one of the most important axes of Marxist thought, but justified it as a temporary concession for the advancement of China's economy. The Party's internal home welfare is a very important step for the party to continue to play an important role in all

forms of life in China and to maintain stability and ensure the environment for continued economic growth. It also removes the confusion between the party and the government, which remains an obstacle to the government to exercise its full natural allowing the people and their representatives to hold the government away from being accused of antagonizing the party and its beliefs. Xi Jinping's policy is based on four axes: economic reform, technological development, China's unity, and anti-corruption. This policy has changed the face of China, and China has produced a process of reforming both admirable institutions and concerns. It is important to note that many believe that the process of reforming party institutions in China is aimed primarily at creating a stable environment to ensure economic growth and not necessarily based on the party's conviction of the importance of reform. The challenges facing the reform of the party's institutions are:

- The ambiguous relationship between the party and the government: The Party's exceptional standing in Chinese life, being the vanguard of the people and a protector of workers' rights, as in the Party literature, makes the government a second-ranking government, contrary to the natural form of the modern state, not only that, but the most important government positions with members are usually vacated by high-level members of the Communist Party. This practice is reinforced by the fear of the ruling Communist Party of the emergence of any rival power or political body, so all ministers and senior positions in the government must have the blessing of the party before their appointment. The party deliberately insists on this hierarchy to ensure the loyalty of officials within the bureaucratic state system. The continuation of this patriarchal relationship between the party and the government hampers the reform of Chinese state institutions and prevents the government from making any bold decisions if it opposes the interests of the party. One of the leaders of the Communist Party proposed several measures to mitigate the negative effects of this problem:

- 1\_ Not allowing party members who are regular full-time party organizations to occupy any government job.

- 2\_ Identify the full terms of reference between the government and the party and not to confuse them.

3\_ to hold party leaders who hold government posts before the Chinese public courts, rather than the Committee on Discipline of the Embryo Party, to enjoy a bad reputation and accusations of corruption.

A\_ Complexities of inheritance of governance: This issue is one of the most important challenges to institutional reform in China; the Chinese political system lacks the point on this point and not like democratic systems. Political families and personal relations play an important role in ending political differences. The Deng Xiaoping retirement system, like one of the exits set up to get rid of the 67-year-old members of the Politburo and its Standing Committee, and 65-year-old ministers, provincial governors and party secretaries, could not get rid of an entire problem in the state (Garnaut, 2018).

B\_The problem of political families: Conflicting political families within the Communist Party constitute an embarrassing issue that contributes to disrupting the institutional reform of the party and the Chinese state. The idea of a powerful and influential family has existed in Chinese society since ancient times. Perhaps most notable are the imperial families that ruled China in the past centuries. The Chinese society still celebrates the values of intolerance to the family and relatives. The most influential families came from the generation that led China's opening in the last century, took advantage of their positions by virtue of the wealth generated by foreign investment, which entered China in abundance and thirst in the early years of openness. This problem did not stop at the old generation of the party, but extended to the younger generations, whose connection with the political families became necessary for the rise of the party and belonging to the ruling elite. This dependence on the role of personal relationships rather than competencies creates a hostile and fierce environment that does everything to protect its interests and strengthen its influence, including campaigns of media distortion and dissemination of scandals. This may explain the importance of an absolute personality always in power in China (Emperor) so as to create a balance between these conflicting families and weighting the final decisions. Therefore, we can say that the wheel of institutional reform in China is not effective in weakening the influence of political families and

strengthening the role of state institutions, especially with the absence of normal partisan life, forcing people to resort to these alliances and fanaticism. Despite all this, China is expected to continue to push for reformist policies to create a healthy environment for sustained economic growth and foreign investment flows. Although the party is immune to any political transition, supporters of the theory of globalization believe that China's economic growth has profound social effects that will logically lead to an increase demanding institutional and political reform. The party will find itself in a hopeless compromise in all possibilities, in which he will be forced to abandon his absolute control or the occurrence of large splits within the party and the collapse of the whole. But the reform process of party institutions in the late 1970s only began to convince the party leadership that radical changes must be made to ensure the party's legitimacy and to improve the economic situation. The same reason will prompt the current leadership to grant more freedoms to the people and strengthen state institutions in exchange for weakening the party institutions if they want to preserve Gains at the internal and external levels (Lam, 2017).

### **3.3 security challenges**

#### **3.3.1 Taiwan & regional security**

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, when China began to make its way to a world-class position, and suspicion grew. One of the most important problems raised by the issue of China's rise is the possibility of China's threat to global or regional stability. Has become one of the countries seeking global and regional hegemony, this possibility has become a powerful concern that distracts the politicians of the world, and the neighbors of the Chinese genie too, so it is not strange that a large section of researchers and analysts in these parts of the world to investigate and monitor Chinese behaviors and foreign Affairs in an attempt to draw their conclusions in this regard.

The Taiwan issue is the most sensitive issue for China, which it considers part of its territory. Taiwan has ruled an anti-Beijing regime since the end of the Chinese civil war. Communists seized power in the last century, when the

two countries separated. The communist nationalists set up a government on the island 160 kilometers off The Chinese mainland and the relationship between the two countries experienced long periods of military tension. In the seventies of the last century Beijing announced the end of the routine shelling by artillery fire of the islands under the control of Taiwan, and offered to open channels of communication between the parties after decades of hostility. Then, Chiang Ching-kuo, rejected the offer, and announced the policy of "three no's": no communication, no compromise, no negotiation (Roy, 2003). Taiwan's people have been allowed to visit China to meet with their families, but no peace treaty or formal termination of hostilities has been reached. China still refuses to recognize its neighbor as an independent country. Despite improved relations between Beijing and Taipei over the past four decades, China continues to threaten the island with a military option if it formally declares independence or requires a foreign force to intervene. Relations between the two countries have deteriorated since Tsai Ing-wen, a pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party, took office in Taiwan in 2016. China suspects that Tsai is seeking to push for official independence, a red line for Beijing, which stepped up military and diplomatic pressure in 2018 and carried out air and naval exercises around the island (Xie, 2016). China resolutely opposes Taiwan independence and looks suspiciously at its president, whose ruling party, the Democratic Progressive Party, supports the island's official independence. In its political options, Beijing proposes the formula of one state, two systems adopted in its relationship with the Hong Kong province. By granting it a high degree of autonomy and the right to universal suffrage, this proposal does not motivate Taiwanese to accept the Chinese vision, especially as it calls for a referendum on the independence of the island of Taiwan, which is home to 23 million people. Pressing the Chinese defence minister threatened that the military would move at any price to thwart attempts to separate the island of Taiwan. A group of Chinese warships, led by an aircraft carrier, sailed northward across the strait in Taiwan, and warships on their way, which led to the escalation of tension between the parties (Roy, 2003).

Experts believe that the military option will be very costly to Beijing, with the possibility of failure to succeed in this option, even if the United States did not intervene, and an overview indicates that the Chinese approach prefer the peaceful option in dealing with Taiwan, creating mutual interests, while making Taiwan dependent on the Chinese market and creating elites in it, to convinced that its future is in joining China for economic and financial integration. Statistics show that the trade exchange between the two countries reached 103 billion dollars in Taiwan became China's first trading partner of Taiwan, 22% off the total foreign trade of the island, with China's recognition of this peaceful and cooperative transformation so that its neighbor exports 30% of its products to the Chinese market, compared to 13% of its imports come from China (Lin, 2016).

the relationship between China and Japan has been a new development but there is still a lot of debate about the future of these relations, the debate is about how to deal with history or whether history can be overcome? The relationship between China and Japan in the international framework and its assessment from this perspective the international framework means the structure of the global multi-polar system, economic globalization and cultural diversity, Japan is one of the most important of these global poles as it is a major moving force of economic globalization. Eastern cultures are mixed with Western. Stimulating the interaction between political and economic factors and mobilizing both official and popular initiatives: This is the outcome of an important experience that Sino-Japanese relations have developed after the Second World War and are still feasible. The Sino-Japanese relations have undergone some changes similar to the radical changes in the international situation after the end of the Cold War. However, despite the recent years of expansion and development in the exchange and economic and trade cooperation between the two countries, we notice a chill in the political contacts, and the decrease in mutual visits between individuals, especially high level mutual visits have almost stopped, and increased contradictions and friction between them. In fact, it is difficult to avoid contradictions or frictions in the relations between the major powers, and it is possible to create new problems between the two countries as a result of

changing the international environment and in the midst of the process of development and development and characteristics of each. But we also have to see that the basis on which the political cooperation between the two countries is based has not changed and that their points of convergence are more than points of difference. Today, the pillars of economic, scientific and commercial cooperation between the two countries are stronger and stronger than in the past. This gives us reason to believe that economic relations will in turn push political relations forward. The activities and popular exchanges between the two countries have been characterized by Sino-Japanese relations with their scope, flexibility and diversity, enabling them to play a role that promotes mutual trust and dissipate existing doubts. It plays the role of laying the foundations for pushing forward the development of official relations between the two countries. China and Japan are important countries in the Asian continent and the development of their relations will be reflected positively on the regions of East, Southeast and Northeast Asia, which should activate their cooperation in various fields, starting with the economic and scientific and technological fields and the political sphere (Bush, 2013).

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **THE EXTERNAL CHALLENGES FACING CHINA'S GROWTH**

#### **4.1 the nature of Chinese perception of the new international order**

Changing the structural environment of the international system has liberated China's foreign political movement and opened up a wide margin and new opportunities to deal with some issues. In the Cold War, the two superpowers, the United States and the former Soviet Union, dominated China's perception of global transformations. Economic and preservation of its special character and to find the appropriate conditions for its continuation and necessary for its success and because of its importance in building China's future role in an international system whose features are based on economic data. China also realized that it has a role to play. Regional and international interactions, and thus moved towards a set of issues, which were key axes that had to reveal the reality of changes in Chinese thinking and behavior patterns and the shift from the relative retreat of the bipolar phase to the active opening in the unilateral polarity phase. China itself searched for the elements of a new role adapted to the realities of change and prove its international standing in a world collapsed in the foundations of international monopoly of the United States and the Soviet Union, and in the forefront of change comes ideologies that no longer have the role. It is possible to say that China sometimes resorts to ideological justification as a determinant of vision, but it has largely fallen in line with the requirements of national interests, The Chinese viewed international law as a tool that could serve the foreign policy objectives of their country, and saw the need to participate in strengthening international legitimacy, especially that the international legal system could continue without China's participation. The result would be to restrict China's movement in the international community. Since participation in international legitimacy by China requires explaining



China's behavior in the light of the criteria of legality, the dilemma facing China was either to counter this legitimacy and to contradict it and then with the objectives of the international community, or consensus and accept its standards. For example, the concept of national interest for China was the absolute sovereignty of the State as a basis for international relations, which meant the standard that determined legal conduct in the international sphere, and therefore the criterion in which it acted. or acted The Chinese concept of the national interest was extensive, and included basic interests such as land, security and sovereignty. China had a strong sensitivity to everything related to its national interests in the sense that it was not strictly adhering to such terms. that China But with the changing structure of the international system, and with the internal reforms initiated by China, this concept is changed. On the one hand, national interest accounts are based on balancing the returns that could result from violations of the rules of international law (Breslin, 2013).

On the other hand, China no longer relies heavily on its assessment of international behavior and the norms of international legitimacy on the global distribution of power and influence as much as it depends on the size of the benefit or damage that can be caused by this behavior. In addition, China has become more responsive to international obligations and more involved in terms of internal variables (such as economic reform policies), which have arranged many external commitments. In the United Nations, it seems that China is determined to play a more active role in the international community, especially through its role in the Security Council of this international body because it believes in the need to support the efforts of this body to establish security, and peace and stability in the world, where there is no alternative on the world stage to achieve this goal. It is clear that the more strengthened role of the Security Council increase influence of China, because of its permanent membership status and the veto power For this, it naturally China possesses insists on that the United Nations is directly involved in conflict resolution policies of international disputes to increase its influence through the body, especially as its influence outside the body is relatively less than the influence of the United States of America, but they enjoy equal rights,

which helps to have a field of relative procrastination and reduce the gap in the level of influence, although the United States of America supports its position in the Security Council through its external influence. China indicates its willingness to confirm the role of the United Nations in preventing crises before they occur and to address them before they are exacerbated, and that the Security Council has an effective, vital and neutral role in dealing with crises and peacekeeping forces are maintained on international peace and security. China believes that international sanctions, especially economic boycotts, are supposed to comply with international legitimacy and the Charter of the United Nations, and with the consent of the Security Council (Kent, 2013).

China's vision of the international system aspires to a new world order based on security, justice and equality, away from the Cold War mentality and its concepts and blocs. In this context, China focuses on the importance of mutual respect for sovereignty and the importance of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. International law and international custom are the basis of relations between states to achieve peaceful coexistence, and also focus on the principle of free choice. That is to say, each country has its own economic, social and internal policy, which is compatible with the achievement of national development without the interference of other countries, a veiled badge to the United States, which always links its trade with China to the issue of internal human rights. It strongly opposes China's attitude toward minorities in Tibet, for example, and the United States' interest in these affairs can be attributed to purely economic interest. In its trade policy, a pressure paper on China to modify some domestic economic policies harmful to US trade, as a violation of intellectual property rights. China also opposes global domination and unilateral tendencies to dominate the international system, the unilateral polarity represented by the United States of America. It advocates the principle of participation in international political interactions rather than being singled out. China's view of the international system has been defined as pluralism and participation rather than unilateralism and monopoly by one state. To complement its vision of rejecting the unilateralization of one country by the capabilities of the

international system, China does not tend to enter into alliances with other countries or to form any fronts in the face of certain powers. It has endeavored to put aside the ideological differences between it and the countries of the region. The Chinese leaders recognize that the move towards universality and the effective contribution to shaping the future structure of the international system must be preceded by a regional status. The Asian regional environment provides a fundamental foundation. China has pursued a policy of good neighborliness with the surrounding countries. China has given it a high priority, strengthened its relations with Singapore, resumed diplomatic relations with Indonesia and pursued more cooperative relations with other countries. In 1991, diplomatic relations with Vietnam were restored on the basis of peaceful coexistence. It is true that there are some outstanding problems with Vietnam, but China is seeking to solve them peacefully. It is pursuing the same path with Malaysia and the Philippines. It also recognized South Korea in 1992, helped to prevent nuclear weapons from North Korea, and established good relations with Pakistan. China also improved its relations with India since 1991, where the two countries entered into a dialogue that ended most of the problems between them, and although the border problem remains an obstacle to the development of relations, there is an agreement between the two sides to resolve peacefully. India has confirmed its commitment to China's sovereignty over Tibet, Stressed the prevention of elements that reside in exile which belongs to Tibet, from engaging in any hostile activities against China from Indian territory, and the countries are committed to the principles of peaceful coexistence. Moreover, China is seeking to strengthen its relations and positions with the North Korea, South Korea and Mongolia. China also Membership of a number of regional institutions such as APEC and ASEAN (Swee-Hock, 2005). if China is in conflict with the United States of America in some problems, this does not negate its quest to develop relations with it on the basis of cooperation and mutual interests. Therefore, China and US relations enjoy a special relationship. Economic and trade relations are important for both sides. The best solution to the problems of the US economy, both in terms of investment or export, and China believes in the United States of America, which can be used technically in some areas, yet the United States of America was often

used the economic tool in the face of China when interests conflict with some political problems, and China's desire to be a status-holder within the formations of the centers of power of the new international order, It seeks to make a clear contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security, the actors on the basis of equality in solving international problems, has been a manifestation of this trend, China's opposition to some of the American stand-in which sees what is contrary to their interests: in January 1997, China made a step is not without significance has used the veto in the Security Council against the American plan in order to send 155 international observers to follow up the implementation of the peace concern in Guatemala because of its relations with Taiwan (Bush, 2013).

## **4.2 China's Relation with other Actors**

### **4.2.1 China's Relation with U.S**

The history of American-Chinese relations has been accompanied by many events that have directly and indirectly affected the relationship, given the differences of the two countries in social, political and ideological systems, as well as the difference in the level of economic development and foreign policy. Hence, it is natural that there are fundamental differences between the United States and China, their relationship to the world, as well as their relations with each other. The US-China relations and the intensification of trade and economic mutual interests have become twofold: they combine mutual fears and suspicions, again emphasize the need to strengthen cooperation and shared interests own. China cannot ignore the role of the United States in the modern international system, or the size of its interests with Washington. for its part, the United States cannot ignore the fact that China's growing economic progress, which qualifies it to be one of the economic forces affecting international interactions the analysis of the reality of US-China relations enables us to identify two trends in the nature of the relationship between them. The first trend is the element of hostility, supported by the American Military Industrial Complex, which seeks an enemy that allows it to continue the arms race huge military budgets. The second aspect is the component of cooperation, which emphasizes that deepening the ties of mutual economic and trade relations. is the best way to

deal with the different issues between the two countries and the necessity of the necessity of mutual and comprehensive partnership in the bilateral relations between the two countries. The current international environment In view of the fact that the nature of contemporary international relations has become incompatible with the inter-state paradigm, developments associated with the industrial revolution and the increasing global exchange have contributed to the creation of a complex network of interdependencies between different countries. It also imposed new social and economic tasks on the country, which was found unable to meet these new requirements. The relations of cooperation and cooperation in carrying international costs and responsibilities and the distribution of benefits were achieved through cooperation in the form of the distribution of interests rather than in the form of aggressive relations. The nature of international problems will make it difficult to cope without the participation of other parties, such as terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, climate change and energy security. In this context, China has sought to maintain the stability of the international system in order to create an environment conducive to the stability and economic growth of China, which is the top priority of the Chinese leadership, continuing the approach taken by former Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping. The United States of America is a benefit to China technically, financially and commercially, so China does not have much interest in its hostility to the United States, and therefore seeks to take calculated steps that do not affect the vital interests of China. The United States is also aware of the importance of China for it has the largest purchasing power in the world, and a large market for American products; so the economic partnership with China is necessary for them, and that any process to separate economies will be very difficult and cost-saving at the same time. The emergence of China as a major power will help stabilize the international order and will push the United States to reassess future roles, interests and policies, which will bring several benefits to the United States by contributing to the maintenance of international peace and security at the lowest possible cost. This means that the United States will reduce the number of its military forces as well as the economic cost in the Pacific region, which can be reflected on different regions of the world by seeking to

address the problems and crises experienced by the logic of dialogue and understanding and non-confrontation. US relations and Chinese great deal of importance for the two countries politically, economically and security, which is sought by the parties to strengthen those relations at present and in the future. Although the US administration of President Donald Trump has adopted from the beginning a tough and inflexible approach to China and China's latest economic strike amid accusations that its spy technology could be used for the Chinese government. US President Donald Trump has decided to include Huawei and its 70 subsidiaries the black list of exporters, and prevent the company from selling its technical products to the United States, but the reality indicates that this is a door to pressure on China to make concessions without damaging relations with them, and perhaps confirms the importance of those relations that despite the existence of difference and the intersection of many common issues and issues their relationship does not reach the level of estrangement or clash, of the common ties and interests, and of the role played by each of them in many regional and international issues, which is in the interest of maintaining the stability of the international system and thus strengthening international peace and security (Johnson, 2017).

Trade relation between China and US, Bilateral economic relations and trade cooperation between China and the United States have brought great benefits to the peoples of the two countries, as a factor that represents the balance of Sino-US relations.

Some facts and figures concerning economic and trade relations between China and the United States are follows:

- China is the second largest economy in the world, and the United States, the world's largest economy, has fundamental mutual interests in almost all economic fields.
- China is the largest trading partner of the United States, while the United States has become China's second largest partner. Bilateral trade between the two countries rose nearly 207 times to 519.6 billion

U.S dollars in 2018, compared with 1979 levels when the two countries forged diplomatic ties.

- This strong growth is due to the nature of the economic situation in the two countries and the commercial structure of the two complementary countries. It is impossible to imagine this kind of growth without a common benefit.
- China accounts for 26% of Boeing's exports, 56% of soybean exports, 16% of automobile exports and 15% of its agricultural products and integrated circuits (Meltzer, 2019).
- China's trade surplus does not necessarily mean that China benefits and the United States is losing, and about 40 percent of the trade surplus comes from U.S companies in China. Trade with China helps each U.S family save 850 U.S dollars each year and bilateral trade and mutual investment in 2017 created 2.6 million jobs for the United States.
- The structure of bilateral relations changes as countries try to restructure their economies. In the past decade, U.S exports to China increased by an average of 11 percent a year, while China's exports to the United States increased by 6.6 %. Bilateral trade in the services sector has exceeded \$ 100 billion, while the United States has achieved a surplus with China.
- Bilateral investment reached more than \$ 170 billion by the end of 2018, which helped boost the economies of both countries.
- By the end of 2016, U.S companies invested about 80 billion U.S dollars in 67,000 projects in China, about 7.8% of Chinese enterprises and 4.5% of actual foreign investment. About 90 percent of foreign companies in China have become profitable companies (Wong, 2018).
- China's investments in the United States, U.S investments in China for the first time, reached \$ 45.6 billion in 2018, three times what it achieved in 2015 and with the rapid decline in production cost gap between the two countries, China's investment in the United States has the potential to increase to about 200 billion U.S dollars in 2020, according to the company's estimates (Meltzer, 2019).

- Jack Ma, founder of the giant electronic commerce giant Alibaba earlier in 2017, said his company would help create jobs in the United States by enabling a million small companies to sell U.S goods through Alibaba.

#### **4.2.2 China's Relation with EU**

China's relations with the European Union date back to ancient historical eras. For historical, political and economic reasons, the EU was not sufficiently interested in China, and some European governments viewed China as a threat to contain, based on misinformation about China. In 1975, diplomatic relations were established between China and the EU. In 1978, a trade agreement was signed between the two sides and a joint committee was established to regulate trade relations. In 1979, European Commission President Jenkins visited China with the aim of promoting and strengthening relations at all levels, during which he met with Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping. Later, representatives of the National People's Congress (NPC) met with their European legislators in the French city of Strasbourg. With the development of relations and exchanges, a China-EU summit was held and a mechanism for holding these summits was established periodically. Since the establishment of comprehensive strategic partnership between China and the EU, the two sides have maintained close contacts. In 2005, Chinese President visited Europe and visited eight presidents to China, including the President of the European Union, Jose Manuel. In 2005, the trade value between China and the EU reached US \$ 217.3 billion (Li, 2019). making the EU the largest trading partner of China. Despite disagreements between China and the European Union over the textile trade, they have resolved the issue of quotas and textiles stored in ports through consultations and agreements have been signed. China has ordered 150 Airbus planes to be paid in one batch, the largest cargo order in the history of Airbus. In other areas, the various EU countries have become tourist destinations for Chinese citizens, and the Confucius Institute has begun to settle in Europe while exchanges and cooperation between China and the EU in cultural, scientific, technological, educational, environmental and other fields have maintained an active growth trend. By pushing the two sides to practical exchanges and



cooperation in a practical way, relations between China and the EU have become more pragmatic. On the basis of the mechanism of dialogue between the leaders of China and the EU each year, the two sides decided to establish a regular dialogue mechanism at the level of deputy foreign ministers to promote political dialogue to push the relations between China and the EU to a historically higher level. Economic and trade ties remained the cornerstone of China-EU relations and despite changes the trade volume between the two sides has maintained its momentum since the mid-1990s, and despite the global economic slowdown, China and the EU maintained stable economic and trade ties. This trend was accompanied by continuous shifts in the positions of the two parties in the global economic scene, the repeated threat of protectionism in Europe and a growing number of trade frictions involving more monetary issues than ever before. The volume of trade between China and the EU reached about 22 billion US dollars in the first half of 2018, an increase of 11% year-on-year, according to the latest local customs data. Politically, China and the EU have set up a regular multi-level platform for dialogues on economic and trade cooperation, culminating in the annual summit between the two sides. Since the first summit in London 1998, the two sides met 15 times in this annual meeting, while on the other hand dialogue on human rights issues is another advantage of the relations between China and the EU. The thirty-first round of human rights dialogue between the two sides, the two sides made progress in this regard and exchanged views on issues related to international cooperation in this area, in the areas of law enforcement and combating racial discrimination.

Despite good relations between the two sides, however, there are steps to be taken in this regard. The bilateral relations should advance at a time when close cooperation is being pursued to advance stability on the turbulent global geopolitical arena. Both sides should work together to advance the process of multilateralism, reduce conflicts and friction in bilateral economic and political fields, and promote mutual understanding and strategic trust. To achieve these goals, the two sides must work together, as their bilateral relations are of utmost importance to each and to the whole world. Any disagreement between the two largest political entities in the world will have

a devastating impact on the international community and on opportunities for promoting peace, stability and development in the world. Relations between China and the EU have changed with changes in the international arena. The most prominent of these changes is the rise of developing countries and a relative decline in the influence of Western countries. Europe may have been uncomfortable with the rise of China - a country that is completely different from its European counterparts in the fields of cultural traditions, ideology and social institutions. For Europeans, as a decision maker in international affairs, it is very difficult for them to accept a strong new member in international decision-making and then to adhere to the proposals he or she is entitled to make. As for China, it is very important to recognize objectively its growing status on the international scene, increase its national strength, and handle its new responsibilities with a wise mentality. Looking to the future, it seems necessary for both sides to identify a set of mutually beneficial priorities that serve the progress of China-EU relations (Spigarelli, 2016). Among them: the proper development of bilateral relations should be viewed from the perspective of a common win that not only serves the two sides but also benefits the peace and prosperity of the world. Europe must recognize that China's peaceful development means freeing one fifth of the world's population from poverty and enjoying a living. This is good for Europe and the world at large. China's development has provided great opportunities for the growth of European institutions and economies.

#### **4.2.3 China's relation with Russia**

The Russian-Chinese relations date back to 1640, when diplomatic and commercial relations were established, but this relationship was not ideal because of differences on the border. In 1858, Russia annexed the Amur River to its geographical region. This river is the boundary between Russia and China. The Communist regime in Russia, as in China, was founded on the principles of social justice and the elimination of class. The Soviet Union had a great role in supporting the Asian peoples in the Communist system. China received a lot of development aid. In the 1960s, when Khrushchev decided to cut off Soviet aid to China, this decision was enough to bring the country into a state of economic decline, unemployment and poverty, many

Chinese politicians consider China to have been the correct communist principles and had preserved them after Lenin's departure. But the Soviet-Chinese divergence and the border, ideological and political problems that began to proliferate would have weakened the Soviet Union until it collapsed and made China a weak and fragmented state at the time. There is no doubt that the shape of the world today will be different and the international order that the West established after the collapse of the Soviet Union would not have been if the Russian bear had united with the Chinese dragon. But the Russians quickly recognized the fact that abandoning China was a historic mistake. After the collapse of Soviet neutrality, China was Russia's real economic and political partner, and China worked to increase economic cooperation with Russia. With the beginning of the nineties, Russia was economically devastated. China was working on a policy of economic growth. China took advantage of this opportunity and started an economic and military partnership with Russia. For its part, Russia agreed to this partnership because of its need to re-strengthen the economy. It did not forget the aid it received from the Soviet Union. The move to re-open to Russia is a message to turn the page of the past and to walk on a common path, the path of neighborliness, common destiny and confrontation with the West. In recent history, diplomatic relations between China and the Soviet Union were established in 1949. The Soviet Union was the first to recognize the People's Republic of China. In 1969, military clashes between the Soviet Union and China lasted for seven months. In addition, the enormous Soviet power and growing ambitions have led China to move from the ally of the Soviet Union to its evil opponent and ally of the United States of America (Rozman, 2017).

Communist ideology was not a deterrent to the Soviet-Chinese dispute, because China felt that the Soviet Union had begun to pose a threat to its national security and strategic interests, choosing to ally itself with the enemy (the United States) to weaken the Soviet neighbor. The liberal and democratic United States welcomed the new Communist friend (China) because it needed a foothold near the Soviet Union. Thus, China secured its

borders from the Soviet threat and the United States became directly on the border with the Soviet Union.

China today is on its way to become a great power and also the existing socialist system, but the characteristics of China, which is different from the socialist and liberal systems. China today allocates a large proportion of its budget to arms spending, while China's per capita income has surpassed Russia's per capita income and China today has become cross-border through economic expansion, especially the Belt and Road Initiative. In other words, the Soviet Union has collapsed, China is in constant expansion, the Russian economy is very weak compared to the Chinese economy, and the Russian military arsenal is excellent. Russia and China are the economic wing, although China has one of the most powerful armies in the world, and is constantly developing its military power in parallel with its enormous economic growth. Russia accepted China's entry into Central Asia, because China did not use military force through its expansion and because the region needed economic and development projects. In some countries, the Chinese Yuan became the primary currency after the Russian Ruble was the standard currency.

The initiative and the road launched by Chinese President Xi Jinping in 2013 should stop China making China the economic pump and the international trading center through the land, sea and land networks linking China to the world. This initiative would not have been true without Russian approval of Chinese expansion, especially China's use of roads in the Central Asian region and the new Eurasian bridge. In other words, this is a Russian recognition that China has become a superpower that cannot be stopped on the American historic enemy. China has put Russia in its first priority because of the common geographical borders and because no matter how strong Chinese power is, it will still need a strong and lasting ally like Russia, especially as international pressure against China grows today with the trade war launched by US President Donald Trump and the systematic campaigns against China. Singled out the Uighur and the South China Sea, the Sino-Russian alliance is a duty and an imperative for China's renaissance.

Chinese President Xi Jinping stressed the strong relations between China and Russia and stressed that the joint cooperation in the areas of energy and innovation should be deepened, the link between the belt and road initiative and the Eurasian Economic Union should be further strengthened and international relations should be strengthened and coordinated. The idea proposed by Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi to build a Sino-Mongolian-Russian economic corridor across the entire Eurasian continent is proof that China is seeking to strengthen its political and economic influence with Russian support and coverage. If Russia did not need China, it would not have been a strategic alliance. The Russian-Chinese alliance emerged during the Syrian crisis, the founding of the BRICS and, more recently, Russia's effective and effective accession to the Belt and Road Initiative. For his part, Russian President Vladimir Putin said that Russia is very interested in the Chinese image and hopes that it will be possible to find a model of cooperation towards launching joint projects between Russia and China on the Trans-Siberian route. Russia is a lever and a source of development for the Belt and Road initiative, and the historic antagonism between the Soviet Union and US is the direct motivation for Russia to stand by China and a positive factor for China's development and prosperity. China today is a strategic partner of Russia after Russia was the world pole, but China is also in alliance with Russia is strengthening its northern front and addressing the United States and the world from solid and strong bases (Bekkevold, 2018).

### **4.3 Weakness and Strength of China**

#### **4.3.1 Military**

The Chinese army or the People's Liberation Army (PLA) is the world's largest and most advanced army in its weapons and modernization programs. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) was established in 1928 following the Nanchang uprising led by some Communist Party leaders. The Red Army, took part between 1934 and 1935 in the long march. And then turned into the People's Liberation Army of China, The Chinese military is controlled by the Central Military Commission, headed by the country's President xi Jinping and deputy general as the leadership includes the

defence minister and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Chinese army is about two million and three hundred thousand troops, with the reserve army. China's defence budget in 2017 amounted to about 146 billion dollars, the second big defence budget in the world, accounting for 1.9% of the country's GDP. The Chinese Army consists of five units: Ground Forces, Naval Forces, Air Force, Missile Force, and Strategic Support Force, The Chinese army is one of the fastest growing armies in the world. Its formations have undergone modernization and equipping of modern weapons in recent decades, driven by successive increases in military spending. China has the largest ground forces in the world, with about 1.6 million troops, accounting for 60% of the army. In times of crisis, the ground forces are reinforced by reserve forces and paramilitary forces of 510,000 troops. Technology, special operations forces, air force and e-war units (Bitzinger, 2018).

Until the end of the 1990s, the Chinese Navy was attached to the ground forces, but after carrying out reforms to modernize the army, the navy, which has a staff of 255,000, has been disbanded and each fleet includes naval units, air force, coastal defence force and infantry units.

The strength of the Air Force is about 398 thousand, divided into five leaders and 24 teams. The largest operational unit in the Air Force is the Corps, which has several regiments, each with between 20 and 36 aircraft.

The missile force is the most important unit of China's strategic missiles. It controls conventional and nuclear missiles. It is estimated that the nuclear missile arsenal is between 100 and 400. The missile force unit is composed of 100,000 troops, divided into six sections operating separately from one another, The Strategic Support Force (SAS), established in 2015, is the first of the military's reforms to the military, and has not formally provided details of the force's functions. But a Chinese Defense Ministry official said it was a combination of support units, such as electronic warfare and space warfare. Path of evolution during the Second China-Japanese War between 1937 and 1945, the communist military forces of the Revolutionary National Army of the Republic of China were incorporated into two main units known as the Second Way Army and the Fourth New Army. The units used guerrilla tactics. In 1945, after the surrender of Japan, the two units merged into a single army called the People's Liberation Army (PLA). This was followed by

a massive restructuring of the army with the establishment of an Air Force Command, then the Air Force, a Command of the Artillery Corps, Armored Units, Rail and Communications Forces from the 1980s, The Chinese leadership sought to transform the military from a large ground force into a smaller but more mobile force with high technology capable of carrying out operations outside the country. Since the beginning of the 21st century, China has purchased many advanced military systems from Russia, and the United States, Particularly naval destroyers, Sukhoi 27 and 30 aircraft and diesel and electric submarines. China also began designing its own military aircraft, such as the Chengdu Fighter, and manufactured nuclear submarines in 2004. In 2015, China established new military units such as the Missile Force and Strategic Support Force, and in January 2016 the Central Military Commission issued a military reform manual, a month after the president called for a broad change in military administration and military command systems.

There are some weak points in the Chinese army the last time a great war army fought in 1979, the Vietnam War means little experience. The Communist Party of China has eliminated its armed forces through politically motivated purges. To tactics that are questionable, but with low skills, such as the human wave attack, as well as the inability of pedestrians to navigate or read maps and the inaccuracy of the artillery because of their lack of understanding of the procedures of Heath books to measure distances and calculate the distances of fire, and still the specter of that defeat hover over the army, People's Liberation in China, Authorities have largely ignored the embarrassing conflict that suits the Beijing story of peaceful promotion but the official silence has left many veterans of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) disappointed by their participation in the war, And also retires a few veterans who remained in service within the next few years, which means that the army will soon have personnel with direct combat experience. But that does not mean that Beijing cannot win major wars. But China is quickly looking for a solution to these problems if the will of the first world power (Fravel, 2019).

### 4.3.2 Economic

Strength point:

- The diversity and the rise of agricultural production, where China occupies advanced ranks globally in several products: ranked first in the world in the production of rice and wheat and the second in global maize production, the share of China's contribution to the total world production, contributing 43% of the total Global production of peanuts and 28.7% for rice is noted that the most important agricultural areas in China spread in the south and east of the country.

Industrial Strengths: - China's industrial products occupy advanced ranks globally, with China ranked first in the world in the steel industry, cotton fabric and synthetic fabric, the third largest in the aluminum industry and the eighth in the world of automobile production, opening the Chinese industry to the global market which facilitates the process The flow of investments on the one hand and the marketing of their products on the other. The strength of Chinese industry is that China is a factory of the world.

Trade Power: China's growing economic growth has been positively reflected in the growth of trade exchanges, with the latter rising between 1990 and 2016. China is first trading partner for Asian countries. As their products compete with the products of the world's major economies, and with the positive development of the economy in recent years, many experts expect China to become the first economic power in the world in the coming years. China's opening policy has made it a global investment destination, especially as China is characterized by low wages and thus low production costs and labor availability.

The explanatory factors of the strength of the Chinese economy

1. The importance of natural data China is characterized by its vast area, which explains the diversity of its traditional units. It can be distinguished from:

- Mountains, most notably the Himalayas and the plateaus (Tibet), characterized by highlands and spread in the east and center of the country.
- Plains: spread in the western façade of China, the most important publication plain, the large plain, which facilitates the process of agricultural exploitation, and in general, the rise in China ranges from the west to the



east against these qualifications. China suffers from natural disasters such as floods, large spread of deserts and the natural barrier in the mountains and plateaus (Kroeber, 2016).

2 - The Importance of Natural and Mineral Resources China has a wealth of minerals and precious metals. It is characterized by its diversity and importance. China ranks first in the world in producing iron and the second in the production of phosphates, silver and the fourth in the production of gold and bauxite.

- Energy wealth: China has significant energy resources, the most important of which is coal, where China ranks first in the world and oil, which ranks sixth in the world as well as the increase in production of uranium and natural gas. From here we conclude that China's availability of rich energy and mineral wealth explains the power Economy.

3. The role of human and organizational factors in the strength of the Chinese economy: China is a global human force with a population of about 1.3 billion. The rising population of China's active population, which exceeds 70 percent in 2017, is a pillar of the Chinese economy (labor availability, distinguished by skill).

Despite China's human qualifications, its low population growth rate (0.65 percent) is due to the birth control policy (the only child's policy), which could threaten the country with the problem of aging in the coming years. The importance of state intervention: The economic trends adopted by China since 1979 have played a role in the strength of the Chinese economy. The state has pursued an open policy to encourage investment. China has witnessed a series of political changes since the 1970s, in which some leaders have played a major role in addition to the slogan adopted by the Communist Party of China - Opening to the world, changing curricula, researching for modern technology, modernizing Chinese industries, and transitioning to a market economy.

Problems and weaknesses China's economy:

- The problem of energy: Despite the availability of China on the mineral wealth and energy is important, the domestic production of them is not

enough to meet the needs, forcing them to connect abroad, for the import of energy and metal, especially as the prices of these materials continue to rise, significantly reduced. China currently imports 40 percent of its oil needs. China's energy resources are expected to increase in line with the country's rapid economic growth. It will have to import 50 percent of its oil needs in 2020.

2 - The problem of imbalances and disparities associated with economic development, where different areas of China according to the degree of progress, decision centers, and the most important industrial cities and the most important agricultural areas, concentrated in the eastern front and southwest of the country, and explains the opening to the sea front, for isolated areas, and particularly marginalized areas North and West. North and West In contrast to the level of development and the distribution of wealth in China, another problem is the problem of rural migration. In addition to the problem of the level of human development in China, some 28 million Chinese are below the poverty line. One can Conclude from the above that the combination of natural, human, organizational, historical and political factors played a role China is still facing a range of challenges to continue its economic superiority globally (Bai, 2017).

#### **4.3.3 Political**

China's relations with countries around the world, its relationship to globalization, and reform and opening-up have provided a strong impetus for China's development and relations with countries around the world. The drive for development is largely the same. The dynamics of safety and ideology are often confrontational, while development-based dynamics are quite different, to achieve development must be open up to the outside world. If willing and able to provide cooperation for China's development, the impetus for the development of foreign relations has changed. After a brief period of reform and opening up, China has removed the constraints of the Cold War confrontation style and has carried out broad-based friendly cooperation. China is the first big country to emerge from the Cold War style. In addition to the transformation of foreign policy, China's assessment of the international situation, especially the hot-day issues, has undergone a fundamental

transformation. China not only believes that global war can be avoided, but also believes that "peace and development" has replaced war and revolution as a matter of time, whether peace or development is the universal aspiration of the peoples of all the countries of the world. China and all the countries of the world can become partners in safeguarding world peace and promoting common development, so that China carries the banner of development committed to the path of peaceful development. Foreign relations; on the other hand, build active partnerships with countries all over the world to build a network of partnership, which needs special focus and the relationship between China and the developed countries in the West has changed significantly. Most developed Western countries are important members of the partnership network with China. In the course of the evolution of the world economy in recent decades, all countries that can cope with globalization, despite the problems and challenges posed by globalization, ultimately enjoy the gains of globalization. Those countries that are outside the process of globalization because they fear their challenges will undoubtedly suffer from the bitter consequences of economic development. In recent years, there has been a strong anti-globalization voice within the United States and Europe in particular, and some Western powers that have been the main driving force of globalization (Economy, 2018). It is a new situation and a new challenge that has not been seen in the last 50 years. In response to this new situation and new challenges, emerging countries, as important beneficiaries of globalization, have the conditions and responsibilities to become an important driving force of globalization. As one of the most important emerging powers, China, which entered a new era, has made it clear to the world not only to embrace globalization, but also to sustain the progress of globalization. Since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, China has actively contributed to the promotion of global governance and has performed exceptionally well. On the one hand, actively participated in the activities of important mechanisms of global governance and played a constructive role in large responsible entities, such as the United Nations and the Group of Twenty. On the other hand, China is actively developing new governance mechanisms such as the Asian Bank for Infrastructure Investment and the "Belt and Road". The initiative is a new

model of international cooperation between most countries and regions of the world and will greatly enhance global governance. The Nineteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China actively participated in the reform and construction of the global system of governance as an important aspect of China's continuing role as a large nation. This means that China will serve as the backbone of world governance in the new era. The pursuit of development and peace is the trend of the times, all countries of the world have their own dreams, and integration is the dream of the world. Building the bond of the common destiny of mankind is a visionary scheme that combines the Chinese dream with the global dream and became the overall goal of China's diplomacy in the new era. Based on the vision of building the bond of common destiny, sovereign equality is the basis of relations in the international community, and on the basis of globalization and global governance, the countries of the world have become highly interdependent, as well as focus on the advanced ideas that guide the development and progress of human society, which are related to the challenges of the future. The common destiny of humanity does not exclude or deny differences between countries, but it emphasizes the integrity of humanity and the common destiny. Building a community of common destiny requires concerted efforts from all countries in the world. As a supporter of this concept, China should play an active and constructive role in promoting the building of a society of common destiny. Through the initiative to build the common destiny of mankind, China has provided a model for the international community not only through its modernization, democratic political structure, cultural development, social governance and the building of ecological civilization, but also by the peaceful development of diplomacy and its commitment to openness to the outside world (Economy, 2018).

## CONCLUSION

The study concluded that contemporary China is truly a pivotal state in the current international politics. This is because it possesses the capabilities that have been highlighted in this research. It has started by relying on the right of veto and nuclear weapons and possessing the largest army in the world. The second largest economy in the world, recording its economy for the largest growth in the economies of today's world, adding to its contribution to global GDP by the world's first, and it has an important strategic position that gives it preference in political, economic and military interactions, The existence of an ancient and distinctive civilization rooted in the depths of history, and its recent accession to many political, economic and military spheres, global and regional, all of which qualify China to play prominent international roles and to control even partially the interactions of contemporary international politics. This will impose upon it challenges and difficulties very large, as it will enter into a conflict with the US hegemony, which is able to withstand the first rounds of this conflict because of the elements of power; but here we can be aware that China, despite the strength and what it seeks to own is not still far from competing with US strength in both soft and hard power. It seems that the most important constraints on the development of the status of China originated from the US, as we note from the economic and trade reforms imposed by the US and the imposition of more, whether in terms of tax policies, or raised by the current US administration and President Donald Trump on intellectual property rights, and the need for China to pay for its use of US technology and innovation, which it does not pay now. In short, US policies may have been the most important impediments to China's development. Despite the obstacles, and if China's future status in the international system is to be judged by words, China's status in the international system is likely to be strengthened if it does not become the world's greatest power in the not-too-distant future, within multi-polar world. The study concluded that the Chinese rise was the result of many indicators; but it is not comprehensive of all dimensions of power. China in the three dimensions covered in this study by

the political, social and economic has achieved average rates in two areas; is weak in one area. The rise in China's recent decades is reflected in a marked improvement in the indicators and reports adopted by the study. It is also confirmed by the diversity of international and non-international reports and indicators, which ultimately result in one result: an improvement in China's power. But the degree of ascension and appreciation of Chinese power cannot be separated by the study categorically that they dealt with three dimensions only, and claimed that it ended to the assessment of Chinese power is a scientific venture, ended to appreciate the strength of China in the three dimensions; In the economic sphere, China has achieved a rate of 69%, which, according to the study's estimate, is not considered high; but it is acceptable given that it has improved considerably from the beginning of the 1990s. In the social sphere, China achieved an average rate of 60%. In fact, a rate that could threaten the Chinese rise is that many of the tensions and popular revolutions have been caused by deteriorating social condition, China cannot look for a global role and it has already been unable to secure some of the basic needs of its citizens.

As for the rate in the political field are the worst rates, with a rate of 45%, and related to politically oriented government environments, this rate as previously noted is a certain rate , The high rate of corruption and the climate of political and social freedom is very restrictive, and these deteriorating conditions in addition to the above extend the stability of China and impedes the ongoing process of advancement but because the Chinese people are distinguished by their ancient cultural characteristics and broad national cohesion, they will soon recover and be able to follow the course of the advancement of the intermediate and distant domains (2025-2035). One cannot talk about the strength of regional and global rate, but this statement reflects the fact that the strength of the state is not measured according to this peace, but with forces like the similarity, to be confirmed that the rate of China acceptable must be compared with a group of States in order to show their true situation in the international power.

The China's economy surpassed its German counterpart in 2007 and also its Japanese counterpart in 2013, surpassing the United States in 2014 and supporting the global picture of the China economy in light of the flood of industrial and technological exports, which placed China as the world's largest exporter of goods, surpassing all major industrial capital states, If current growth rates continue (8% per year on average), China will move to high middle income countries by 2025, the High in 2030 At the latest, China's strength is that in the past two decades it has achieved two seemingly impossible goals: The first is marked political and the second is social stability, in parallel to economic growth that surpassed all previous records while the Chinese Communist Party with a clear political monopoly beyond the political terror of 1989 and now there has been progress in the field of political and human rights, the reality is still negative in this respect. China's national income grew at an annual rate of 8% beside that now international organizations such as the World Bank consider China's economy to be the second global power by comparing total purchasing power with Japan.

Foreign investors have great interest and confidence in the Chinese economy with more than 446 billion dollars invested so far. China is the world's second-largest recipient of foreign investment after the United States. In 2003, China benefited from eight times as much he went to Brazil of investments and seven times the benefit Mexico, more than 21 twice the benefit of India, and thus, China has emerged as the fifth global trade force in 2003. China's foreign reserves exceeded 400 billion dollars, not exceeding 10 billion dollars in 1990 due to the influx of foreign capital and the meagre trade surplus. And the world's second-largest nation after Japan moreover the most populous nation in the world has been able to provide its own food and processing needs. Finally, China can now be considered a middle-income nation with a per capita income of \$ 8000. The European Union and Japan criticizes China because it pursues interventionist policies of problems and relies on foreign trade policies that are detrimental to free trade, disrespectful of individual property rights, opening and exporting unsafe products that harm public health, threaten human life and plunge the markets of many countries of the world with cheap products leading to distorting world

trade and limiting competition. In particular, the United States accuses China of not cooperating enough to make the Doha Round which began in 2001, a success and is still stalled. The European Union joins the United States in accusing China of working in trade relations with developing countries, particularly in Africa to support dictatorial regimes and the plundering of natural resources in particular, on the other hand, China refutes these accusations that it sees it as a new state of free economic order and the World Trade Organization and that it is carrying out its obligations gradually and that there is a European and American involvement in accusing its products of dumping and that many of these accusations are not true, Many countries in the world are overprotective to protect against these products without sufficient justification and also many countries in the world are in their dealings with China as a result of the 2008 global crisis. China criticizes export fears that is based on the large quantity of these exports and believes that the logic is to look at value rather than quantity. China refutes the issue of its trade relations with developing countries, especially Africa, and in this regard it demonstrates that it adopts the approach of sustainability in economic cooperation and in its trade relations with other countries, African countries and in their relations with their trading partners, they do not support political regimes and do not set commercial conditions for their dealings with these countries. Alongside these defences, China is critical of major economic powers, especially the policies of these powers, including American and European agricultural subsidies and the role of these policies in distorting world trade and harming the poor in developing countries.

Whatever the differences between China and the major industrial countries, especially the United States, dialogue and understanding will eventually overcome the tone of criticism and mutual accusations, either because the United States no longer has the initiative and can no longer afford to strike an economic blow abortion is the Chinese ascension or because its interests require delving into understanding and dialogue and not the economic escalation against China or both. This confirms that most of the issues that the United States has submitted against China to the World Trade Organization have been resolved also it relies heavily on the strategic



dialogue that began between China and the United States of America will reduce the differences between the parties on various issues, including the economy and trade issues. The analyst can also understand this Chinese departure if the international political events are not important but the current events are at the heart of China's strategic future, whether the U.S war on Iraq that means a great strategic control of the U.S political behavior of China, taking the tools of economic pressure, energy and oil, on the other hand, the hidden conflict Europe and the United States as well as the potential conflict. Its development and its occurrence between the United States and Iran or the United States and North Korea at the Chinese gate. Part of this problem is due to real reasons and imaginary reasons. Perhaps these reasons can be posed as follows:

Firstly: the new Chinese administration's preoccupation with China's internal problems, especially the attempt to bridge the real gap between the rich southern coast and China's poor rural centre, China's economic transformation has become a real obstacle and it has threatened the entire Chinese unity when the rich southern demands are growing in the desire for financial independence and then developing into total independence at some point.

Secondly, China's popular and international mind expects the new Chinese government, especially as it is based on young elements to make some kind of tangible change in the composition of the Chinese Communist Party. In other words, many people in China are looking for some kind of modernization of the Communist Party of China that is the instrument of economic development and linked to political discipline but this new instrument of discipline has become a political obstacle to the real transformation and the launch of real political development.

Thirdly, China's political behaviour can be explained by the fact that there is an international issue that can explode at any moment on the threshold of China's borders and linked to the Chinese crisis. China's preoccupation with the North Korean crisis and the United States is a very important factor in China's outward behaviour. China is seeking to invest the situation on the Korean Peninsula to the fullest extent and is in pursuit of bigger concessions and more demands from the entire Chinese Ocean, whether Japan, South

Korea or India, let alone the possible political concessions from the United States and Australia, as China is aware of the magnitude of the political dilemma and the magnitude of the benefits that can be derived from this crisis as well as the volume of losses and risks. On the other hand, China dominates its behaviour and thinking economic concern, so that economic development is key to the development and strength of China in the medium term and the Korean crisis along with development and its economic development is the real key to the role of the Chinese influential at the regional level and at the international level. Therefore, China's departure from international events came in order to consolidate and complete the economic and development program on the one hand and to keep away from China in the adventures of the calculated and unclear and the results are not guaranteed in the medium and long term. The Chinese bet can give the best results but the opposite can happen. In other words, international events are accelerating and can make China less able to use its influence and prestige to invest strategically for its benefit and the time to clarify and highlight it in the future.

The main findings of the study were the following:

1. The changes in China's foreign policy are tactical rather than strategic as Taiwan's reunification and leadership play in Asia are two of the core issues of the Chinese strategy, the transformation was in the Chinese tactics direction.
2. China's economic reform has strengthened international cooperation in the region but in the long term it could be a factor in triggering tensions and instability in the region, as economic reforms have led to the development of China's industry and its growing need for primary resources and energy sources.
3. The position of the Chinese military establishment is important for policymakers, especially for sensitive national issues such as Taiwan, for its influential role in the equation of power struggle within the CPC.
4. The new security nature of the post-Cold War era has made new security threats necessary for China to modernize its military forces after the collapse of the traditional defence strategy based on widespread popular war with the demise of the USSR military threat.

5. That the security trends of China emphasizes the interest of China to achieve political stability, security and economic in the East and Southeast Asia and full-time to build a strong economic base to play an active role in the global system and China seeks to play a leading regional security and economic role without seeking the role of Universal polar.
6. China is the world's first in terms of human resources, the world's first in terms of economic growth rate, the second largest economy in terms of purchasing power and the largest army in the world supported by reserve forces.
7. China is likely to outperform the US economy for years if its economic growth continues at the same pace and China may take advantage of appropriate international conditions to impose its views on the United States on several global issues.
8. As for the obstacles that may stand in the way of China towards its global trend, the most prominent is through the problem of energy shortage suffered by China that led to increase the proportion of oil imports from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (38%) and the second problem of environmental pollution because of the adoption China's excessive use of coal as a source of energy which could push the international community to pressure it to reduce its dependence on coal to reduce the factors of global warming and climate change.
9. China's foreign policy has recently begun to look for a global position. This has resulted in a number of indicators which is China's intervention in a number of international issues, such as sending an international force to Sudan in Darfur where has disturbed the US administration. Sanctions in the Security Council on Iran and the conclusion of contracts and trade agreements with a number of Gulf States like UAE and Saudi Arabia, all these indicators indicate that China looks forward to Washington's participating in global decision-making process.
10. China possesses several political, economic, cultural, military and diplomatic assets and capabilities.
11. China's economic system has proved to be effective and has given a strong impetus to the development of the Chinese economy.

12. China's economic recovery is caused by environmental imbalances to which China will suffer.
13. China's large economic machine pushed the military machine to growth.
14. China's political and social development is developing at a very low pace, which could lead to imbalances and cracks in the construction of the Chinese economy.
15. China's rate in the economic sphere is above average and is improving continuously.

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12.06.2019

Dear Sarwat Qahar Hawez

Your project “**The Emergence Of China As A Great Power In The Post 1990 Period: Challenges & Opportunities**” has been evaluated. Since only secondary data will be used the project it does not need to go through the ethics committee. You can start your research on the condition that you will use only secondary data.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Direnç Kanol

Rapporteur of the Scientific Research Ethics Committee

**Note:**If you need to provide an official letter to an institution with the signature of the Head of NEU Scientific Research Ethics Committee, please apply to the secretariat of the ethics committee by showing this document.