CHINA’S INTERACTION WITH EAST ASIA:  
THE POST COLD WAR HIERARCHICAL ORDER

Thesis for the Award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Politics and International Relations – A Partial Fulfillment...

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DECLARATION

I, Muhammad Nazim Rahim, hereby, declare that this Dissertation has been written by me in it’s entirely on the basis of my research work under the sincere and kind guidance of my supervisor, Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi (PhD China), Incharge Department of Politics and International Relations, IIUI. No portion of this Dissertation has been copied from any source. No portion of the research, presented in this Dissertation, has been submitted before for any degree or qualification in this or any other university or educational institution.

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FORWARDING SHEET

The thesis entitled “CHINA’S INTERACTION WITH EAST ASIA: THE POST COLD WAR HIERARCHICAL ORDER” in partial fulfillment of PhD degree in Politics & International Relations has been completed under my guidance and supervision. I am satisfied with the quality of student’s research work and allow him to submit this thesis for further process as per IIUI rules and regulations.

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In the Name of Allah, the Most Merciful and Beneficial

Dedication

The thesis is dedicated to my Parents, Teachers and my Wife who actually guided me and supported me in whole process.
ABSTRACT

China is rising again peacefully on the political canvas of Globe. The world views Rising China as nothing short of a miracle because of its rapid and consistent economic growth. Its vast territory, strong economy, political stability, massive population natural resources and modern military, therefore, cannot be overlooked. Chinese civilization is amongst the oldest civilizations of the world. History is evident that throughout the history China didn’t let any state to destroy the peace and security of this particular region of East Asia. Sino-Centric World owing to its hierarchic political order brought considerable balance, contrary to the anarchic political order in Europe. Modern China emerged after 1949 with the communist revolution and since then China has managed to move forward. Now once again, China is trying to re-establish hierarchical order in East Asian region, the one that was upset due to the proxy wars of Cold War era. This hierarchical order which is going to be established in East Asia is actually based on economic, political, security and social interdependence which would be regulated by institutions where China is ready to play a role of leader. Today, China is trying to win the trust of its neighbors by engaging them in economic and strategic realm. To serve the purpose, China and ASEAN have signed many mutual agreements, troubling the West. Rising China is also considered as a potential threat to the hegemonic position of US. Nonetheless, it is important to mention that Chinese regional policy is mainly driven by economic incentives which eventually will be translated into the economic development and prosperity of the region. A form of
complex interdependency is going to be prevailed in East Asian regional politics. States are very confirmed about their needs like, political, economic, security and social. They seem ready to achieve all their interests by cooperating with each other at regional level. Scholars are of the view “Future belongs to Asia.” The cooperation among China, Two Koreas, Japan and ASEAN is going to manage a new regional order that will ultimately challenge the existing world order and stop external interference. Neighboring states also understand the need of time that cooperation with China is a win-win game for all. No such kind of hard-liner regional alliance can be seen against China in East Asia which shows the keen interest of East Asian states to cooperate with China. China’s rise is dependent on economic growth and China will avoid taking any step which could deteriorate its splendid economic growth.
PH.D thesis writing is not an easy task. It is such a painstaking, ambitious and demanding job which remains incomplete unless assisted from all the sides. Present work is an illuminating example of such series of inspirations which brought it to its conclusion point. It will be sheer ingratitude if I miss to mention a few of those who fueled up my desires and potentials to opt the path of objectivity and insightfulness. First of all I am very thankful to Allah, the most merciful. I also deem it necessary to acknowledge kind and fruitful supervision of Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi who encouraged me a lot and didn’t let me de-track from my research work and whose guidance always motivated me for uphill task of Ph.D. I am highly indebted to my father who insisted me to go for PhD and provided me all kind of financial and moral support. My mother’s best wishes remained always with me during my research work. I heartily acknowledge the patience and support of my beloved wife. I am very much thankful to all my teachers (Dr. Akhter Hussain especially), class fellows (Mian Muzaffar & Ilyas Ansari), friends and students especially Saeed Ahmed Khan, Adeela Ashraf, Ayesha Nawaz and Tehreem Rauf Butt.
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<tr>
<td>AANZFTA</td>
<td>ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand</td>
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<td>ACFIC</td>
<td>ASEAN-China Fund on Investment Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACFTA</td>
<td>ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACMCA</td>
<td>ASEAN-China Ministers on Culture and Arts</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACMCF</td>
<td>ASEAN-China Maritime Cooperation Fund</td>
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<td>ACPA</td>
<td>ASEAN-China Plan of Action</td>
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<td>ACSPPP</td>
<td>ASEAN-China Strategic Partnership for Peace and Prosperity</td>
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<td>AD</td>
<td>After Death</td>
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<tr>
<td>ADMM</td>
<td>ASEAN Defense Minister Meeting</td>
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<td>AEC</td>
<td>ASEAN Economic Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>AFTA</td>
<td>ASEAN Free Trade Agreement</td>
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<td>AIFTA</td>
<td>ASEAN-India Free Trade Agreement</td>
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<td>AJCEP</td>
<td>ASEAN-Japan Economic Partnership Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>AKFTA</td>
<td>ASEAN-South Korea Free Trade Agreement</td>
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<tr>
<td>APEC</td>
<td>Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>APT</td>
<td>ASEAN Plus Three (ASEAN + Japan, China and South Korea)</td>
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<tr>
<td>APT</td>
<td>Asia-Pacific Trade</td>
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<td>ARF</td>
<td>ASEAN Regional Forum</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of South East Asian Nations</td>
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<td>BC</td>
<td>Before Christ</td>
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<tr>
<td>CABIS</td>
<td>China-ASEAN Business and Investment Summit</td>
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<td>CAEC</td>
<td>China-ASEAN Environmental Cooperation</td>
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<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAEXPO</td>
<td>China-ASEAN Expo</td>
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<td>CARAT</td>
<td>Cooperation A floats Readiness and Training</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBM</td>
<td>Confidence Building Measure</td>
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<td>CM</td>
<td>Common Market</td>
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<td>CMI</td>
<td>Civil Military Integration</td>
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<td>CND</td>
<td>Civil Nuclear Deal</td>
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<td>CPC</td>
<td>Communist Party of China</td>
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<td>CU</td>
<td>Custom Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>DOC</td>
<td>Declaration on the Conducts</td>
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<tr>
<td>DPRK</td>
<td>Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea)</td>
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<td>EAS</td>
<td>East Asia Summit</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>Economic Union</td>
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<td>FACEC</td>
<td>Framework Agreement of Comprehensive Economic Cooperation</td>
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<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
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<tr>
<td>FPSI</td>
<td>Forum on Political and Security Issues</td>
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<tr>
<td>FTA</td>
<td>Free Trade Agreement</td>
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<tr>
<td>GATT</td>
<td>General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs</td>
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<td>GNP</td>
<td>Gross National Products</td>
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<tr>
<td>IAEA</td>
<td>International Atomic Energy Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>IBRD</td>
<td>International Bank for Re-construction and Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>KCNA</td>
<td>Korean Central News Agency</td>
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<td>LDP</td>
<td>Liberal Democratic Party</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>LTTA</td>
<td>Long Term Trade Agreement</td>
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<td>MNC</td>
<td>Multi-National Corporation</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<td>NPT</td>
<td>Non-Proliferation Treaty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>Normal Track</td>
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<tr>
<td>OCA</td>
<td>Olympic Committee of Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODA</td>
<td>Overseas Development Assistance</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRC</td>
<td>People’s Republics of China</td>
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<tr>
<td>PTA</td>
<td>Preferential Trade Agreement</td>
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<tr>
<td>PU</td>
<td>Political Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>R2P</td>
<td>Responsibility to Protect</td>
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<tr>
<td>RCEP</td>
<td>Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership</td>
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<tr>
<td>ROC</td>
<td>Republic of China</td>
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<tr>
<td>ROK</td>
<td>Republic of Korea (South Korea)</td>
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<tr>
<td>RTA</td>
<td>Regional Trade Agreements</td>
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<tr>
<td>SCO</td>
<td>Shanghai Cooperation Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEANWFZ</td>
<td>Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapon Free Zone</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEATO</td>
<td>South East Asian Treaty Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAC</td>
<td>Amity and Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>TAC-SEA</td>
<td>Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia</td>
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<tr>
<td>TMD</td>
<td>Theatre Missile Defense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ToR</td>
<td>Terms of References</td>
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<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
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<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</td>
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<td>WB</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
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Chapter-1

INTRODUCTION

Throughout its history, China has been a powerful country in the region. It has showed its might by all of its means e.g. geographical size, huge population, military strength, rich culture, abundance of natural resources and political setup. From monarchy to democracy and then further to the communist regime, China has been persistent to keep its position in the East Asian region because, East Asia is China’s historical, geographical, economical, political and cultural backyard. Although she has faced some downwards trends in its relationship with East Asia in the pre-communist government and in the cold war era; but, is successful in rebuilding of its upward trend since its “Open Door” policy. (Fu, 2003) Much enthusiasm has been seen in this Chinese direction since the end of the Cold War, which is our concern to analyze here.

The present research has divided the study (China’s interaction with East Asia) into three periods, namely, the pre-Communist, the Cold War and the Post-Cold War, with emphasis on the later one. In the pre-Communist period especially in the Monarchical China, there was a hierarchical order, unlike the European anarchical system, under the leadership of China. (Kang, 2007) The surrounding East Asian states had respected the Chinese position and had to pay tribute to the Chinese King. On return, China was responsible to keep them secure from foreign aggression and keep the region free from disturbance. So, a Chinese Suzerainty was developed in East Asia, with no balance of power against it as China did not become a colonial power despite of its might and could not threaten regional stability with its hegemonic designs. (Womack, 2004) In the Cold War period, China strived hard to maintain her ancient position with regional stability by earning the trust of its neighboring regional states.
Although there are some important phases in Chinese history but when we talk of modern and rising China we directly concern the period after the communist revolution. That was a very hard time for Chinese who have been in chaos and turmoil since 1830s when first Britain invaded China by launching “opium war.” With the passing time some other colonial powers also did so. It was a long history of Chinese people’s struggle which they first started against the foreign intruders and then against the Kingship. They were totally fed up by their monarchical system in which they had no rights and their country was closed for the development. Chinese people were banned not to have relations with foreigners and foreigners were also not allowed to mix up with Chinese. Foreign traders sell their goods in Chinese market with the help of Chinese agents and foreigners were bound to remain in a limited area. When Britain came into this land, local people realized the freedom and right of self-determination. They came onto the result that only democratic political reforms can bring them out from this chaos. In 1911, they became successful in eliminating the thousand years old Kingship and establishing of democratic government. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen was the man who dedicatedly contributed a lot while making his men free from the absolute monarchy.

1911 is considered the remarkable moment in the Chinese history. But, unfortunately it couldn’t happen what the Chinese people thought that their country will prosper after the incredible achievement. A conflict started between the Communist Party of China and elected democratic government. Japan took advantage of this inner weakness and captured many areas of China and killed millions of Chinese people. After Second World War China became independent because of Japanese surrender in front of Allied Forces. Again struggle between Communist Party of China and Kuomintang was started for the throne of China. The world got astonished that Communist Party of China which was considered much weak in all means would defeat the
nationalists and Chiang Kai-shek and forced them to escape to Taiwan. In 1949 communist party of China became successful and from then Chinese people didn’t see behind.

Once there was discussion about China that this country with overwhelm population, less resources, lack of infrastructure, less health facilities, low morale will collapse soon. But, after Mao Zedong got the responsibility to lead the nation and put it on the way to prosperity. Although, there are many hard times came in this short history, but Chinese people always showed their commitment to the goals and objectives which they had set in 1949.

However, with the emergence of worldwide ideological conflict, a race for hegemony started between the superpowers (US and USSR) on global scale, with no exception of East Asia. The formation of alliances bolstered the containment strategies using the historical balance of power policy. The Soviet Union making North Korea, China and Vietnam, China’s making of North Korea and Cambodia; and the US making of Japan, South Korea, the Philippines and Thailand as their respective allies triggered the disturbance of East Asian region from hierarchy to anarchy. Mao Zedong also actively participated in promoting communism in other countries of East Asia. Vietnam, North Korea, Indonesia, Philippine are the states where China supported communist parties to bring communist revolution. They remained partial successful but ultimately failed. This thing put major question marks on the role of China in East Asia. All East Asian states became suspicious about China. To counter China threat, East Asian states established ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations). On the other hand US and West were also interfering in political matters of this particular region. China very after communist revolution stuck in Korean War which ended in 1953. Cold war was in its full swing and US was producing new theories and plans for East Asia to counter former USSR and communist China. US had established its military bases in this region. It was a difficult time but Chinese proved themselves
as a successful nation. In beginning Taiwan (where Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek escaped and established his government and claimed as a sole representative of Chinese people) was given the membership of United Nation and Security Council as a fifth permanent member, but in 1971 China (main land) got the membership of United Nations. It was a great achievement which further open the ways for Chinese people to prove them.

When we analyze the time period we reach at the point that the era under Mao Zedong China was reluctant to extend its relations with other countries and we can’t see any serious attempt to make the neighboring states fear free from China. It is evident that a country couldn’t prosper and develop until or unless it has good relations with its neighbors. This condition of suspicion was being exploited by the US and the gap between China and East Asian states. States which were previously supposed to pay tribute to Chinese King during Sino-centric world against his status and services to protect them from other states’ aggression now reluctant to build relations with it.

Deng Xia Peng was the first Chinese leader who realized the situation and visited other states having one thing in his mind that if China wants to develop then it must go to build good relations with neighboring states and with world as well.

Now Cold War has been over and a new phenomenon is occurring of emerging China as a regional power in East Asian region. This region remained a main theater of proxy wars supported by two super powers US and former USSR. While these two powers were immensely busy in this region for protecting their interests, it was somewhat difficult for China to be emerged as even a regional power. Finally, US wins and USSR collapsed and after the collapse of former USSR in 1991 China got the opportunity to expand its interests and relations within that region. This decade is evident that China developed itself a lot. But, the actual opportunity
which China got was after the events of 9/11 when US hegemony relatively declined. US is now busy in Middle East and Europe where Russia is trying to enhance its influence. China is trying to maintain Sino-centric regional order in this particular East Asian region.

There is a great debate going on around the globe on the issue whether China’s rise will be peaceful or aggressive. Because it is happening after a long time when one state is emerging as a potential world power which is a threat for the states who want to maintain status quo. Scholars are immensely busy in defining China’s rise and its implications for the region as well as for the whole world. There are two groups of scholars debating on China’s rise one is pro-China which look this rising dependent on mutual economic, political and social interests and second is anti-China. Scholars have their own mindset; they argue what they perceive about a particular phenomenon which might be right or wrong. We will discuss the rise of China in coming chapters in context of its historical role in East Asia and link it with the current scenario.

**Reversal of Mao’s Policies**

“Although the 1978 was considered the formal launch of the reform era in China, the actual reversal of Mao’s policies started very after his death. Neglected party leaders again came into power and they gradually modified party’s focus from ideological to realistic policies. After Mao’s period China was transformed from an isolated, poor, rural and politically unstable state into a comparatively open, stable, developed and modern state.” (Fairbank & Goldman, 2009)

Mao was a very strict communist comrade. He really didn’t want to open his country for foreigners nor did he do any struggle to have cordial relations with neighbors. He imposed very strict policies on his own people. Great Leap Forward, Cultural Revolution were the great incidents in which millions of Chinese people were killed and dead because of infamous policies
given by Mao. In late 1970s and early 1980s people started demand of economic development instead of promoting ideological campaigns. “That popular change was summarized in the slogans “Emancipate the mind” “Seek truth from facts” and “practice is the sole criterion of truth”.” (Fairbank & Goldman, 2009)

Deng Xiaoping gave the new momentum to Chinese economy. It is happened due to him only that China’s economy became the fastest growing economy in the world in the early years of the twenty first century, which was expanding on average by over 9 percent in the last two decades of the twenty first century. (Fairbank & Goldman, 2009) Reality was, that per capita incomes more than quadrupling since 1978 which was the fastest growing ratio ever evident in the history. In the beginning of twenty first century China got the status of second largest economy in the world in terms of purchasing power parity and stands after the only United States of America. If we compare the poverty level in China, an official estimate shows that 250 million people were living in poverty in 1978 but, in 2005 this figure declined to around 30 million.

Deng Xiaoping again comes in the power after the death of Mao’s funeral in September 1976. He actually introduced new reforms and modifications in economic system of China that made this extra ordinary economic enlargement possible. Another import thing, he not only focuses on economy but also give equal importance to some other relatively vital fields e.g., modern education, health facilities. He was focused to increase the living standard of a common man. He provided education for the younger generation, provided rudimentary health care and importantly raised the women position. “China not only absorbed Western science, technology and economic practices but, on the other hand it also grabbed the Western political ideas and values which both factors ultimately played very positive role in China’s expanding share in international trade.” (Fairbank & Goldman, 2009)
Changing Scenario

A shift came in the advantage of Beijing with the establishment of ASEAN, withdrawal of the US from Vietnam and the Opening of China in 1978 with fundamental reforms. The ASEAN concept strengthened the East Asian states to have a common vision, common identity and common community, as also its motto. (Fairbank & Goldman, 2009) ASEAN states were giving the approach that cooperation among the regional states may lead to the development of this particular region. They had vision that owing to the cooperation in different fields interests of states will be dependent on each others, and because of this situation not even a single state will go for adventure to disturb the status quo of cooperation, because this kind of act would disturb all members. It diverted their attention from involvement with a foreign power to intra-regional understanding and cooperation. ASEAN which was basically came into being with only objective to counter China now have absorbed China and enjoying deep economic relations with it. The US withdrawal from Vietnam considerably reduced its hegemonic position in East Asia. A new China under the Deng Xiaoping’s leadership was no longer interested in conflicts with its neighbors, instead sought a mutual understanding, cooperation and accommodation with its regional states. (Yunling, & Shiping, 2009) Deng Xiaoping in 1978 when visited outside of the country had come to know that many of its regional states are reluctant to accept China as their good neighbor and they had great suspicion for China’s intensions. Deng Xiaoping realized early on that China needs a stable and peaceful international environment for its “Four Modernizations (Agriculture, Industry, Education, Science & Technology)” program to succeed. (Nye, 2011)
A liberal touch to Chinese economy gave her confidence to develop. Currently, China is actively participating in various international and regional economic institutions. Finally, the Soviet collapse was so much instrumental with regard to East Asia that it is bringing back the Chinese-centric world over there.

In the Post-Cold War era, China-East Asian relationship has shifted from interaction to engagement. China is extremely involved in the process of interdependence. According to the liberals “China has become an engine of growth and a vehicle for regional integration.” (Harris, 2005) This shift from less cooperation to more one is witnessed by many arguments as both (China and East Asia) are accommodating each other. In the literature on international relations, one influential and perennial view is that the rise of great powers is potentially destabilizing and may lead to armed conflict because it threatens the established great powers which have benefited from status quo and will, therefore, resist the upstarts to preserve their own interests. (Goldstein, 2007) But, in case of rising China we can’t see it happening because of Chinese friendly behavior. Two things can erupt the danger in this scenario of rising China first; there is a sole competitor to China who really wants to lead the region second; East Asian states feel any threat from rising China and they go for alliance with each other and with US to counter China. Fortunately, something is not taking place in this region.

East Asian states do not necessarily show a challenging behavior because none of them, including Japan, has sufficient weight to single-handedly balance a rising China. Moreover, the two Koreas and the eleven East Asian countries do not appear to hold any aspirations to lead East Asia. Also, China has no peer competitor in the region for political leadership. Unlike the US, China has not maintained or sought any military bases beyond its borders in East Asia. On the other hand, the East Asian states today have neither forged military alliances with each other
nor with the US for the singular purpose of balancing against China. Thailand’s alliance with the US is not meant to be directed against China today, as was in the Cold War within the framework of SEATO. (Fu, 2003) To South Korea, another US ally, China is a facilitator to the Six Party Talks to ensure stability in the Korean Peninsula rather than a potential military threat.

The behavior of East Asian states since the end of the Cold War has showed primarily bilateral and multilateral partnership and accommodation with China. The unraveling of the Cold War, the reduced importance of ideology in international relations, and broad-based domestic political and economic developments in many Asian countries has further embedded this trajectory. (Dent, 2005) The region of East Asia which was a place, where two super powers were remained engaged in countering each other and both had formulated military alliances with East Asian states. After the end of the cold war the tension was eliminated among the regional states regarding the interests of their masters. It shows that there was no direct tussle and conflict between China and East Asian states but, cold war only. When the reason of conflict is over, conflicts must be eliminated.

China considers itself as a great power and due to this it has maintained an active “great power diplomacy”. It shows that China is keenly struggling for establishing a workable relationship with all great powers which will portray the image of China as a great power. The role of US is very dominant in this region and it is special for China to adopt such a policy which wouldn’t disturb the influence of US over there. Chinese policy makers worked hard to establish workable relationship with US although they bear a huge domestic criticism against being too accommodating to US.
China is a regional power with limited global interests, but, its most interests lie in its region where she exists. Deng Xiaoping and his successors understand clearly that, with more than one dozen bordering states, an aggressive posture would not be in favor of China, because aggression would lead to a counterbalancing alliance among East Asian states and distant US.

In the pursuance of its regional cooperation approach China has made tremendous efforts to build happy relations with its neighboring states and sometimes gave them concession despite the fact of strong domestic opposition. In this regard, since the early 1990s China took some major initiatives to participate actively in some regional and global multilateral institutions e.g. ASEAN. (Ravenhill, 2006)

China understands the importance of Asian continent for the great powers because this is the region remained the most concentrated area for them and still it is. Therefore, the first goal of Chinese foreign policy regarding East Asia is to maintain good and normal workable relations with all great powers having interest in this region e.g. US, Russia, Japan and India. This thing will engage China in mutual interests and no single power can contain it and second goal of Chinese foreign policy regarding China is to build cordial, warm and healthier relations with its all neighboring states because China views the region as a shield from pressure exerted by external powers.
**Literature Review**

One of the defining features of the early 21st century is the rise of China. What is extraordinary about this, the Chinese assertion that its rise will be peaceful and the apparent willingness of its neighbors to accept this Chinese rhetoric? During the literature review many things found very supportive for research topic, but the fact that everyone has its own views regarding China. Because, the basic purpose of this research is to analyze the role of China and its engagement with its neighboring East Asian states. Every writer discussed different aspect of Chinese regional strategy. If one is discussing economic perspective then he has neglected the cultural, political and military might of China. So, did happen in case of all writers they took one aspect and left others. In this study, it is discussed that China and its neighboring regional states are going to establish very warn and productive relations which would actually make them dependent on each other and this interdependence is actually will be managed and regulated through institutions.

David C. Kang (2007) concludes that, “a strong and dominant China is a force for stability in current scenario in the region and East Asian countries generally are not worried about the rise of China and thus choose to accommodate rather than balance a rising China.”

In his supporting arguments he mostly focuses on political and economic aspects of Chinese influences over the region. According to him, these above mentioned both aspects played a vital role in the pursuance of Chinese strategy for regional peace and stability and in preserving a hierarchical order in East Asia contrary to the historical European anarchical system.

But, this research work finds some evidences that, Chinese culture is having imperative function behind the maintenance of hierarchical system in East Asian region. By, using of constructivist approach, it is analyzed that relations between states are not build on the basis of material
resources but, on the basis of shared knowledge, shared ideas, beliefs and values so that they exert a powerful influence on social and political action. Chinese are living in all East Asian states from the history; therefore it is essential that Chinese culture must have influence on East Asian politics. So, this study focuses on Chinese cultural impacts on its regional strategy of peaceful co-existence and maintaining hierarchical order over there.

Brantly Womack’s (2004) work on China is also very monumental. He is of the view that China is a major power in East Asia and in the pursuance of this point he further stated that throughout the history, “China has been maintained a hierarchical order in this region through its military might and owing to this hierarchical order sustainable development can be seen in the region of East Asia along with security and peace.”

But according to this research work, China ever remained a great military power in this region from the ancient time. But, here one thing is very much important that instead, it remained a great military strength but, it didn’t adopt a policy of aggression and expansionism until its own security is on the risk. As a paramount Chinese scholar mentioned in his speech that our, foreign policy is based on “cordial relations with neighboring states” and “normal relations with other state.”

David Shambaugh (2008), one of most prominent scholar among those who are much focusing on China. He analyzes, “the role of China is very influential in East Asia and His main focal point is Chinese culture and its vast impacts and influence on regional politics which is a strong reason behind the stability of the region”. But, He didn’t give importance to hierarchical order which is prevailing over there throughout the history.
But, this research work also focuses on, that East Asian region is enjoying a real hierarchical order and for this the credit goes to China. China from the very early time trying to maintain its good relation with its neighboring states but, didn’t let the stability unbalanced.

Joseph Nye argues, “China’s soft power is its major instrument when she interact with its neighboring states which develop pro-Chinese sentiments among them and they believe the rise of China is in their own interests”. (Nye, 2004) But, here he neglects the force behind the usage of soft power and that is strong economy and solid political tactics.

Ralph A. Cossa (2009) wrote that, “foreign policy of China is based on cordial relations with its neighboring states and normal relations with other states”. This study focused on the reason behind the adoption of such kind of foreign policy and that is the psyche of the Chinese nation.

Gerald Segal (1996) is of the view, Chinese relations with East Asian states are very good and yet they both parties (China and East Asia) have enjoyed peace and stability in the region. Further he argued that to some extent East Asian states feel threat to the rise of China as a major power. But, this research work explains he is not clear about the intentions of China working with East Asian states.

Denny Roy (1994) analyzed the status of China in East Asia as a balancer to check the rogue behavior of the states and he mainly focuses on the military strength of China and the modernization of Peoples Liberation Army.

But, according to this research work China is not a balancer because there is no such a powerful states exists in this region in sense of geography, vast area, population, wealth of natural resources and modern military with blue water navy. All these measures show China has maintained a hierarchical order in the region.
William Zimmerman said that, “although China is a major power in this region, but Japan is trying hard to counter China. Japan is providing huge aid to its regional states and providing them also services, this could challenge the harmony of interest of China”. (Zimmerman, 1972)

But this research work explored, due to adverse economic recession of 2008 and later natural disaster in Japan in 2011 has turned the situation again in favor of China. China is the only world economy which is growing with consistency of more than 8% GDP annually in first decade of the 21st century, although the economic crisis of 2008 also disturbed this situation against China and its GDP in 2015 declined to 6.9%. This is an essential thing to dominate over others in this interdependence world system.

Christian Wirth is also in favor of “rising China will be a peaceful phenomenon.” According to him China is on the high level of economic development and this moment most of the world is going to be more dependent on it than ever before. He further argues, in East Asia there is no single or any group of state except China which is economically consistent and providing trade facilities, foreign aid and working on development projects in its neighboring states. The basic purpose of providing economic assistance to East Asian state is to build close relation. (Wirth, 2012)

In his analysis, he neglected one thing that China is still growing economically and a lot of potential is there for development. One thing which China itself realizes, this is a interdependence system in which no one can be independent. Owing to this interdependence, interests of all states become attached to each other. So did happen in case of China that it also need of cooperation of its neighboring states to sell its manufactured commodities, their cheap labor to run Chinese industry, etc. Therefore, according to this research work, this scenario the rise of China will be peaceful not a threat to its neighbor.
Ralf Emmers (2003) wrote that China rise will be peaceful for the East Asian states but, on the other hand, US hegemony is being challenged by this rising. He further argues, the China rise may produce the situation of wavering within the region. Because, US will tolerate such sort of situation where its interests would be challenged and especially in that region which remained most sensitive during cold war between both super powers.

But, in my opinion, rise of China should not be considered as a threat to US interests in this region. Today, world is economically interdependent and owing to the current economic recession, it has become difficult for US to play such a powerful role and provide economic assistance to the states to this region. Those states are also suffering from this economic recession and they need economic aid and financial assistance, China is providing them this all unconditionally. When these states don’t feel threat to China then US will have to withdraw from its hegemonic position over there and this change will be through peaceful means.

John Ravenhill (2006) is of the view that today economy plays a most powerful role is the development of any state. Trade strategy dominates in decision making process of state. Most powerful states are those which dominates the trade, China is now in this positions which is an alarming position for its surrounding states. He is of the view, China is just waiting for the time when will be an absolute economic power in this region. That situation will be use against its enemy to exploit their economic dependence on China.

But, this research work argues against this analysis, if China really wants to exploit the weakness, it could do the same what it did in the past especially in the Asian economic crisis of 1997. It even helped them to overcome that problem by providing loans, grants and technical assistance. Same is happening in current scenario on the platform of ASEAN+3. China has
facilitated all the member states by reducing tariffs and taxes on imports. It means China is accommodating its regional states instead of deceiving them.

Alastair I. Johnston and Robert S. Ross wrote that, “China’s rise as a dominant state in east Asian region will create serious threat to its neighboring states along with their historical ally the US’s interests.” American role in this region remained very prominent especially during Cold War. He means that, China is actually going to challenge the interests of both parties; East Asian states and US. (Johnston, et al, 2005)

But, this research work concluded that the complex interdependent system and economic recession, East Asian states are no more want play a role of client state of US. They need economic assistance regarding foreign direct investment, developmental loans, foreign aid, low tariffs and taxes etc. China is in this position to help them by all means. Former French President Charles De Gaulle said, “We have no permanent friend, we have just permanent interests, friends are just like young girls and roses, use them and throw them.” So, according to this research work, in East Asian Hierarchical system is going to be more powerful and East Asian states will feel more secure and comfortable with China.

**Justification for the Study**

The present study is important in many ways:

1. In the present day, China is rising as a regional power and playing a significant role in the development of East Asian Region. All the states consider China as a good neighbor, which is helpful for them in their crucial times as China did help East Asian states in the financial crisis of 1997. So this time when China is much powerful as compare to that time, its neighboring states
believe that China is not the threat nor competitor but pursuing a policy of peaceful co-existence and development of this region.

2. China always maintains a hierarchical order in East Asian region. From the ancient time China has been existed as a major power in this region. As compare to historical European anarchical system where every rising power was countered by other state or counter alliance, in East Asia, China was not ever countered by any state and the same situation is prevailing in recent time that against the rising of China as a regional power there is no such a counter balancing power which could stop China. So contrary to European anarchical system East Asia enjoys a hierarchical order which guarantees the stability, peace and economic development of this particular region.

3. Although much work has been done on China but, in this research work the objective is trying to explore the tendency of interdependence prevailing in East Asian region and China’s role with different aspects. Nobody has done it before in Pakistan, especially on Ph.D level. So, this research topic is very new and relevant to the present time where China is being considered as a major power.

4. Last but not least; keeping in mind the strategic relationship between Pakistan and China, it will make up new horizons for research in future.

Scope of Thesis

China has been a major power and important state in East Asia since the ancient time. She has dealt with the East Asian states in different time-periods, experiencing ups and downs but, has maintained a hierarchical order, unlike the historical European anarchical system. Interdependence in 21st century has forced all the East Asian regional states to come on a single platform for cooperation with having common interests. There is no even a single state which can rely on itself only. Every state is dependent on other so this situation can be used in favor of
bringing peace and stability in the region, because interests of each state are linked and attached with each other. The rise of China has opened new avenues of discussion among the academic scholars. The post-cold war era is witnessed of the relative declining of the United States and Soviet Union hegemony, and the rise of China in East Asia. Debates have been going on the reasons behind China’s rise and its implications. Whether its rise will be peaceful or will encourage the balancing tactic from other states, particularly the East Asian region. Whether the East Asian states will join to gather to resist the Chinese way of progress or will accommodate her to preserve the centuries old hierarchical order in East Asia.

According to this research work the current rise of China doesn’t show any threatening behavior to its East Asian neighbors, instead, China is trying for re-making of the Sino-Centric world and a regional hierarchical order over there. The East Asian states accommodate China’s rise and don’t show the “balancing” behavior.

**Hypotheses**

These hypotheses will be tested in this study:

1. China is pursuing strategies to make Sino-centric world in East Asia.
2. China has been maintained hierarchical order in the region.
3. Rise of China is benign for the stability and development of East Asia as there is no balance of power against China.
4. Complex Interdependence is prevailing in the region where China is on upper hand and this situation is going to be regulated and managed through establishing of institutions.

**Objectives of the Study**
1. It is crystal clear that China is rising on the canvas of world politics with special focus on East Asian Region. There are some important factors which are playing influential contribution to help China to be rise. This study actually explored the factors of China’s rise.

2. East Asia has great importance in world politics. Super powers always try to set their influence over this region. Now China is emerging as a major power in this region. What would be the implications of China’s rise for this region?, have been analyzed in this research work.

3. East Asian states are feeling no tension about China’s rise. There is no such kind of hard-liner formal alliance exists against China. This study has analyzed the reasons behind this situation of “no balance of power” in East Asia.

4. History is evident “China ruled over East Asia” by setting a Hierarchical order in this particular region. That hierarchical order was actually a guarantee of regional peace and security. China is trying to re-establish centuries old hierarchical order in East Asian. This study also discussed “hierarchical order” prevailing in East Asia.

**Research Questions**

The following questions will be addressed in this research work:

1. Why there is no “Balance of Power” against China in East Asia?
2. Why and how China has maintained the centuries-old hierarchical order in East Asia?
3. Why the East Asian states have no fear regarding China’s rise?
4. Why the East Asian states accommodate China?
5. How China is making contribution in the development of East Asia?

**Research Methodology**

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“China’s Interaction with East Asia: The Post-Cold War Hierarchical Order” is a very unique topic for research. Brantley Womack, David Shambugh, David C. Kang, Joseph Nye such big names have discussed the phenomenon of China’s rise especially in East Asian region as a major power. It was very difficult for a new researcher to investigate this issue and find some missing facts on which big names already done a lot. Reaching to the latest published books, articles and magazines was very hard but, HEC really doing very well to facilitate the researchers in this regard. It was very necessary to get direct access to original works of other scholars and HEC Digital Library provided me this opportunity.

In fact, Chinese official policies were under special attention during this research work. On the other hand, official policies of other regional states were also focused. Every new development regarding this topic is incorporated in this research work. It was special focused that latest information is included by authentic resources.

This research is primarily qualitative in nature. Throughout this research work, one thing was given much attention and that no compromise will be shown on the quality of references and data. Everything in this study is given with its original reference. The tools used for qualitative data collection are primary resources such as; live debates, seminars, conferences, speeches and secondary resources such as; books, articles, research papers and websites. Generally, descriptive and analytical approach will be adopted.


Chapter No: 2

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

INTRODUCTION

In this research work two theories of international relations (Liberal Institutionalism and Constructivism) have been used in order to understand the political situation prevailing in East Asia. These two approaches can best answer the set questions and have analyzed and explained the proposed title. The Liberal Institutionalism has discussed to explain the rise of China and East Asia with their mutual strong multilateral cooperation and accommodation in the field of trade and economic development. The Constructivist paradigm has used to analyze the ancient Hierarchical Order in East Asia by having focus on common social norms, values, customs and traditions in which China is on upper hand. By doing so, East Asian states actually binding themselves and making them dependent on each other.

This form of “interdependence” will fasten their interest together which could ultimately lead the region towards economic prosperity, political stability and social harmony. Institutions are being established in order to regulate this form of interdependence and to counter the rouge behavior of any state. In interdependence no state itself wants to disturb the existing cooperation because of binding of interest. Chinese people are settling in other East Asian states and established China Towns and by doing so they are developing their relations with other nations and communities.

In modern times, Public opinion is a key factor in foreign policy formulation. People of different East Asian states really want to live peacefully by developing common norms, values and customs which would further bind the regional states to surrender in front of public opinion.

Liberal Institutionalism
The rise of regional economic integration in Europe, for example, was inspired by the belief that “the likelihood of conflict between states would be reduced by creating a common interest in trade and economic collaboration among members of the same geographical region.” States would have then joint stake in each other’s peace and prosperity. The European Union is the best example of economic integration engendering closer economic and political cooperation in a region historically bedeviled by national conflicts. (Krupnick, 1996)

Liberal institutionalists accept that the international system is anarchic and states are the main actors but, it also argues the importance of international institutions. According to liberals that international institutions consist of “regimes” and “formal organizations” can control the behavior of states and by shrinking transaction expenses, shared information, prevent bully and cheat and providing peaceful means to resolve conflicts states can encourage cooperation.

Classical liberalism was the actual school of thought from where liberal institutionalists got guidance and ideas. “Very much similar to the other well known school of thoughts; liberal institutionalism argues that states are the main actors functioning and operating in an anarchical system.” (Krupnick, 1996) Liberal institutionalists also give much importance to some other non-state actors which they consider much important such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and multi-national corporations (MNCs). Neo-realists totally reject that regional institutions can play a significant role in bringing development in region through cooperation.

But, liberal institutionalists deny this stance by saying that state actors can cooperate with non-state actor in order to achieve regional stability. (Keohane & Martin, 1995)

Liberal institutionalism is more concerned with the matters of economy, trade, commerce and economic institutions. In simple words we can say that liberalist talk about international political economy. Liberalist almost discussed all regions of the world separately and while discussing
Asia’s international relations after Second World War, were neither on the basis of its unique geography and different culture nor on the basis of security threats. They further argue that the bases of international relations of Asia were based on international economic system in which the US was on the top. After Second World War, America gave an idea of establishing international institutions especially to regulate world economic issues and in this regard, with the help of other major powers the US created international institutions as World Bank (previously IBRD), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT). (Moravcsik, Andrew. 1993)

The basic purpose behind all this creation was to take control of international economy, trade and commerce because the trend had been changed. Scholars realized that that state will dominate which has strong hold over international trade.

After Second World War the major ideological conflict arose between communism and capitalism. US, the leader of capitalism wanted to save Asia from the communist threat and in this regard it had provided complete collective security shields against communism. It also let the Asian industrialists to use American market to sell their goods without any taxes and tariffs. By providing security shields and economic supports America made the Asian states capable of fast economic growth which produced “performance legitimacy” to the autocratic regimes of the region. The economies of Asia pursued the “market driven” and “market friendly” economic growth strategies because of this that particular region experienced mutual interdependence. (Norkevičius, 2014) Actually the US was not afraid of Asian states’ security but it was afraid of communism, because of it American commercial interests could be destroyed. Asia by population and area is the biggest continent in the world and if it goes under communist influence it would become much difficult for America to flourish its economy and industry.
Throughout the 1990s, liberal institutionalism got importance because it puts huge stress on the impacts of globalization which happened in the post-Cold War period. On one side renowned scholars like John Mearsheimer, who argues that “globalization only strengthen national sentiments and strengthens national identities”, (Mearsheimer, 2014) but, on the other side scholars like Yoshimatsu noticed that “globalization has intensely influenced the evolution of regionalism in East Asia.” (Baldwin, 2008)

Throughout the last decade of 20th century, economic and commercial relations among states increased just because of the occurrence of globalization. International trade was increased many fold e.g., total trade with the region of East Asia increased by 11% between 1900 and 2005, reached from 45 % to 56%. Trade between China and ASEAN got special momentum. Chinese exports to ASEAN reached to 330%, ASEAN exports to China grew by 420% in that particular period. Now that is the time to give positive response of this overall development in trade relations. Economic institutions and corporations now wanted to bring transaction cost on minimum level and minimize or eliminate trade barriers between the two parties.

Yoshimatsu (2007) didn’t label it directly, “the process of globalization and the trade between the two regions develop on a sub-state level are the element of East Asia’s bottom up market driven regionalization movement as the same thing was described by Frost.”

Yoshimatsu is of the view that because of the “pressure of a competitive world economy, the owners of the multinational corporations and other business actors of the East Asian region now provide central support for the state-led regional incorporation.” Multinational corporations want minimizing of transaction costs, universal rules so that employees shouldn’t worry to learn different rules for each state and institution they do import and export and there should be such kind of regional organizations where states and companies can settle their disputes peacefully.
Second aspect of liberal institutionalism is to discuss the role of regionalism within the context of international relations. “Realists are of the view that in fact peace is impracticable because of lust of power among the statesmen. This thing lies in the instinct of man. In order to maximize power, states always cheat, lie and try to bully their neighbors and even their close friend. This all is happening in an anarchical international system.” (Mearsheimer, 2007)

Liberal institutionalists reject the stance of realist school of thought in this regard. Liberal institutionalists strongly believe although international system is anarchic but, there is a chance of creating supranational regional institutions through which states can collaborate with each other in order to generate stability. Liberal institutionalists argue that “multi-polar peace and stability can be achieved within the existing an anarchical international system by use of regional organizations to minimize costs, promote free trade and deeper integration, manage and solve all sort of disputes through peaceful means.”

Jimbo is another renowned scholar who is also in favor of promoting regionalism as he discussed in his latest article regarding emergence of a potential East Asian Community titled “the impact of interdependence”, he said China’s double-digit economic growth is a new support for the regional framework. He further argues that, “East Asian rising economic position supported new regional groupings and one of them is Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) inaugurated in 1989 having objective of to facilitate regional trade among the Asia-Pacific states.” (Jimbo, 2012, June 12)

Association of East Asian Nations Regional Forum (ARF) was established in 1994 just to increase official bureaucratic exchanges and develop confidence among the regional states as they had a very bad experience of Cold War. Liberal institutionalists strongly advocate that
through the engagement of multilateral collaboration peace and stability can be attained and this could lead the entire region towards prosperity and future development.” (Norkevičius, 2014)

Liberal institutionalism focuses on the idea of interdependence as first argued by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye in the 1970’s placing emphasis on four characteristics which differentiate liberal institutionalism from realism. These include multiple channels which allow for interaction among actors across national borders and which increases the interaction and links between actors and non-state actors; attention is given equally to all issues, that is there is no distinction between high and low politics unlike realism in which the emphasis is placed on security issues and the decline of military force as a means by which policy is determined.

Furthermore, within a liberal institutionalist model, states seek to maximize absolute gains through cooperation, states are therefore less concerned about the advantages achieved by other states in cooperative arrangements. (Baldwin, 1993) Same case of international relations is stressed by Asian liberals that expanding interdependence would be a source of peace in the region. The end of the Cold War and rising economic power of China strengthen the argument of interdependence. Liberalists around the globe have reached at the point that interdependence should be increased in order to make China’s rise peaceful. Liberalists further argue that cooperation is actually a tool by which states mutually fulfill their interests by attaching them with each other and if one state is on non-cooperation mode it means it will not flourish. In democratic societies, it is necessary for the government to provide basic needs to its inhabitants and let them compete with other states. If a state is not providing better life to its people it would put a serious question mark on the credibility of the government and that government may be toppled by the public or in next election it will be rejected. Therefore, in this interdependence scenario where no state is powerful enough to rely on itself, every state has to cooperate with
others in order to get own benefits. The greatest obstacle to cooperation in world affairs is non-compliance or cheating by states. (Axelrod, & Keohane, 1986)

By focusing on International organizations such as the United Nations, the European Union and the World Bank, liberal institutionalism argues for greater emphasis on soft power and cooperation through ‘the forms and procedures of international law, the machinery of diplomacy and general international organization.’

Liberal institutionalism argues that emphasis should be placed on global governance and international organizations as a way of explaining international relations. Institutionalism places emphasis on the role that common goals play in the international system and the ability of international organizations to get states to cooperate.

Mitrany argued that initially cooperation between states would be achieved in technical areas where it was mutually convenient, but once successful, it could spill over into other functional areas where states found that mutual advantages could be gained.

Keohane and Nye explained this argument further, via membership of international institutions; states can significantly broaden their conceptions of self-interest in order to widen the scope for cooperation. Compliance with the rules of these organizations not only discourages the narrow pursuit of national interests, it also weakens the meaning and appeal of states sovereignty.

Liberal institutionalists believe that cooperation between states can and should be organized and formalized in institutions. “Institutions” in this sense means sets of rules which govern state behavior in specific policy area. Institutions clarify the benefits available to all as long as cooperation endures and make it easier to monitor behavior in ways that reduce the fear. (Snidal, 1991)
For liberal institutionalists, anarchy is mitigated by regimes and industrial cooperation which brings higher levels of regularity and predictability to international relations. They believe international relations need not be a zero-sum game, as many states feel secure enough to maximize their own gains regardless of what accrues to others.

According to Rosecrance, the growth of economic interdependence has been matched by a corresponding decline in the value of territorial conquest for states.

Furthermore, within a liberal institutionalists model, states seek to maximize absolute gains through cooperation; states are therefore less concerned about the advantages achieved by other states in cooperative arrangements. The greatest obstacle to cooperation in world affairs is non-compliance or cheating by states.

By focusing on International organizations such as the United Nations, the European Union and the World Bank, liberal institutionalism argues for greater emphasis on soft power and cooperation through the forms and procedures of international law, the machinery of diplomacy and general international organization.'

Furthermore, regimes and institutions place emphasis on the use of multilateralism and cooperation as a means of gaining interests for states.

In Keohane’s view, international regimes should be seen within the boundaries of issue-areas and since issue-areas depend on actor’s perceptions and behavior, ‘Their boundaries change gradually over time.’ It is this; liberal institutionalists say that differentiates their theory from realism as institutions can develop rules and norms that promote environmental sustainability, human rights and economic development.

If we compare liberal institutionalism and China’s regional strategy it is also underpinned by several important cooperative ideas. The first idea emphasizes China’s regional stability is the
The desirability of seeking comprehensive cooperation and partnership relationships with all regional states. It is highlighted in the China’s corner stone of foreign policy “The Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence”; respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality, non-interference in each other internal affairs, non-aggression and peaceful coexistence. For instance, China’s initial interaction with ASEAN came via the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), which remains quite security-oriented. Later, China has extended its relationship with ASEAN as strategic partnership by further developing its economic and political relationships through the ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA) and Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC-SEA). Along with this, regional economic relations in East Asia have experienced a period of profound change since the 1997/98 financial crisis. In this regard, two major developments are particularly notable first, ASEAN+3 (APT: ASEAN + Japan, China and South Korea) framework and second, bilateral free trade agreement (FTA) projects in East Asia and the Asia-Pacific. (Green & Gill, 2009)

**Constructivism**

Constructivists are very similar to the liberal institutionalists’ philosophy as they see Asia-Pacific Trade (APT) is now the regulator of regionalism. (Ye, 2011) Although, constructivism is somewhat a new theory in international relations, but it has been acknowledged by many prominent scholars especially in Asia. Scholars are using this theory to reach the conclusion why East Asian Region is so different from other regions particularly in its impression of power. This theory also provides a golden opportunity to the Western scholars to have a look at this particular region from an Asian perspective.
The focus of social constructivism (in shorthand: constructivism) is a human awareness or consciousness and its place in world affairs. Much IR theory, and especially neo-realism, is materialist; it focuses on how the distribution of material power, such as military forces and economic capabilities defines balance of power between states and explains the behavior of states. Constructivists reject such a one-sided material focus. They argue that the most important aspect of international relations is social, not material. Furthermore, they argue that this social reality is not objective, or external to the observer of international affairs. (Ye, 2011) The social and political world, including the world of international relations, is not a physical entity or material object that is outside of human consciousness. Consequently, the study of international relations must focus on the ideas and beliefs that inform the actors on the international scene as well as the shared understandings between them. There theme of thought is that material forces are not the only factors which shaped international relation but there are some “subjective” and “inter-subjective” factors which have strong hold on shaping world issues. (Wendt, 1999)

Constructivists consider sociological interaction view of international relations where others stress on strategic interactions. According to them, interests of states are not concrete and they can be changed and can emerge with the passage of time by procedure of mutual interactions and social collaborations. Anarchic world system and power politics are not permanent but, lack of international cooperation let them exist. (Wendt, 1999) Although, it is difficult to eliminate anarchic system completely but, by enhancing cooperation and interdependence it can be reduced to minimum level of intensity. Common thinking will lead all the nations for a common goal and they all will struggle for that equally.
They stress on the factor of “norms” which can re-engineer state’s interests and goals once it is established. They focus on international social organizations which can control the behavior of states. Through those international organizations it is easy for the states to develop “collective identity”. Collective identity means all states have same norms, values, traditions which are now internationalized that would enable them to overthrow the threats of political and security dilemma. (Wendt, 1999) According to the constructivists, in Southeast Asia, regionalism was an invention of ideational forces like shared norms and values and common social activities while searching of common identity. The core theme of the constructivism is regional institutionalization by understanding Post Second World War international relations of Asia. East Asian institutions provided the opportunity to the constructivists to plan and testify their concepts e.g. common identity, common security, cooperation and socialization. (Wendt, 1999) Constructivists differentiate Asia’s regionalism by European regionalism and while doing so they argue that European regionalism is basically formal, legalistic and bureaucratic in nature but, Asian regionalism is informal, consensual and process centric in nature.

Many scholars while discussing East Asian security situation neglect the region’s own history and culture. European model of regionalism cannot be used to judge the effectiveness and usefulness of Asian regionalism. David C. Kang a senior scholar who is much familiar with East Asian history argues that Realists have failed to understand East Asia’s security from the perspectives of regional historical and cultural developments. He is of the view that the best time in Asia was when there was a hierarchical system prevailing under the Imperial dominance of China. East Asia remained peaceful when China was strong enough to protect neighboring states from external aggression. According to him, this re-emergence of China as a regional and potential global power would again lead this region towards stability and prosperity. (Kang,
China is going to make again a hierarchical order in this region where no one would disturb peace and security situation because of presence of strong checker in shape of China. (Kang et al, 2012).

Constructivists have gained a prominent place not only in western academia but also in Asian academia while discussing Asian international relations. This is happening because of growing interest for studying Asian international relations under regionalism politics. Regional institutions are expanding in Asia and particularly in East Asia. Constructivists have gone forward in understanding East Asian international relations in many important ways. Constructivists focus on the functions of ideational forces which are values, norms, traditions, culture and identity enables the student of IR to understand the sources and determinants of Asian regionalism. Constructivism gave a new angle of thinking and provided an opportunity to the scholars of theoretical diversity and opened a vast ground of realization and understanding for them. They also gave new dimension in the subject of international relation that while studying a particular region you must keep in your mind the culture and history of that particular region. Achariya is of the view that although realism believes that the nations are the key actors but on the other hand they also believe that international system is not doomed to a state of eternal anarchy. “National interests could be shifted through interactions with good neighbors. Shared values, norms, beliefs, history, culture and identity formation becomes as important for a nation as the pursuance of power and wealth.” Constructivists are in favor of creating supranational institutions which could play a very critical role in the process of regional integration. “Socialization of states through regional institutions can lead to the formation of collective identity which in response helps the nation states to overcome the problem of ‘real
politiks’ and divert attention on community building.” They argue that, regional frameworks are may be formed through shared norms, values, dialogues and a strengthening of common identity. (Wendt, 1999) After the end of the Cold War and following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the situation turned much more fluid and open. It soon became clear that the parsimonious neorealist theory was not at all clear about the future developments of the balance of power. Neorealist logic dictates that other states will balance against the US because offsetting US power is a means of guaranteeing one’s own security; such balancing will lead to the emergence of new great powers in a multi-polar system. But since the end of the Cold War, this has not happened; Waltz argues that it will eventually happen ‘tomorrow’. (Waltz, 2008) Another neorealist, Christopher Layne speculates that it could take some fifty years before Japan and Germany start balancing against the US. The constructivist claim is that neorealist uncertainty is closely connected to the fact that the theory is overly spare and materialist; and constructivists argue that a focus on thoughts and ideas leads to a better theory about anarchy and power balancing. (Layne, 2006)

The core of Alexander Wendt’s argument is the rejection of the neorealist’s position, according to which anarchy must necessarily lead to self-help. Whether it does or does not or cannot be decided a priority it depends on the interaction between states. In these processes of interaction the identities and interests of states are created. (Wendt, 1999) For neo-realists, identities and interests are given. States know who they are and what they want before they begin interaction with other states. For Wendt, it is the very interaction with others that ‘create and instantiate one structure of identities and interests rather than another; structure has no existence or causal powers apart from process. States want to survive and be secure; neo-realists and constructivists
agree about that. But what kind of security policy follows from this? Do states seek to become as powerful as possible or are they content with what they have?

Wendt argues that we can only find out by studying identities and interests as they are shaped in the interaction between states.

Wendt drives home the point that constructivism is not merely about ‘adding the role of ideas’ to existing theories of IR. Material power and state interest are fundamentally formed by ideas and social interaction. Therefore, states in an anarchic system may each possess military and other capabilities which can be seen as potentially threatening by other states; but enmity and arms races are not inevitable outcomes. Social interaction between states can also lead to more benign and friendly cultures of anarchy. Wendt’s analysis is systemic; it focuses on interaction between states in the international system and disregards the role of domestic factors. (Wendt, 1999)

Martha Finnemore has proposed another variant of constructivist, systemic analysis in her 1996 book, National Interests in International Society. Her starting point is the definition of states’ identities and interests. But instead of looking at the social interaction between states, focus is on the norms of international society and the way in which they affect state identities and interests. State behavior is defined by identity and interest. Identity and interests are defined by international forces, that is, by the norms of behavior embedded in international society. The norms of international society are transmitted to states through international organizations. They shape national policies by ‘teaching’ states what their interests should be. (Finnemore, 1996)

Constructivists continuously challenge realism for its argument on East Asian regional institutions and the future of regionalism in international system. “Kang the most prominent proponent of constructivism gives the powerful challenge to realists by refusing Friedbergs’ classical realist argument of an international system and his ‘ripe for rivalry’ scenario.”
supporting Confucian norms of peace and stability to describe East Asian international relations. He said that, “the future of globe is not as miserable as realist and neo-realists draw its future picture.” China’s rise in East Asia is being supported by its neighbors as they have really realized that this rise would be peaceful and interests of their prosperity. He is very sure about the upcoming future of East Asia as it will likely be as its pre-colonial past when this particular region was under the hegemony of China and enjoying stability and prospering. (Kang, 2010)

The “Tributary system” was really a blessing of God on East Asian state that, China has established such kind of hierarchy where no state could bully its neighbors nor it could destroy the peace and stability of region.

To maintain peace and stability in East Asian region, China is following the constructive approach especially to resolve its bilateral and multilateral issues and conflicts with its neighboring states. Both the cultural exchange and personal interactions between China and other Asian countries have become active more than ever before. Such kinds of relationship e.g. “year of Sino-Korean People Exchange” and the “Year of Sino-Japanese-Korean Personal Exchange” are proved very fruitful in steps towards confidence building measure (CBMs). (Shin et al, 2007)

China has applied the Constructivist approach in its interaction with East Asian states not only in modern times but is rooted in centuries-old tradition. “Our friendly foreign policies towards our neighbors are not making shift in nature. They are based on our tradition of “qinren shanlin” and “xiehe wanbang” of more than a few thousand years. These terms basically mean having friendly relations with neighbors and peaceful ties with other countries. (Calder & Ye, 2010) Moreover, the concept of “Zhongguo” (Middle Kingdom) for China was used not only because of its huge
size but also due to its central position, both politically and culturally in East Asia. As the Constructivist main argument is put forward by Alexander Wendt “Anarchy is what states make of it” has rightly pursued by China in interaction with East Asia and vice versa. The ancient hierarchical order in East Asia was the outcome of the strong bond of states’ mutual ties with China, cemented by their culture-linkages. Confucian Culture is not only limited to China but has widespread influence in almost all of East Asia, notably in two Koreas, Japan, Laos, Vietnam, Malaysia and Singapore. (Wang, 1992) The East Asian states’ feeling of no fear about the China’s rise is basically constructed in their mutual trust because of the historical tradition of China as a “benign and beneficial power”. The “no balance of power” against China by the East Asian states is reflected in ASEAN’s motto of ‘one vision, one identity, and one community’. If they had any balancing intention about China, they would not have incorporated China in their domain of cooperation as ASEAN + 3. China is striving wholeheartedly to make a common community and East Asian society based on the historical and traditional mutual understanding and accommodation.

The historical Thai Princess Chulabhorn visited Beijing. She played “guzheng” during the dinner to commemorate the 30th Anniversary of the establishment of Sino-Thai diplomacy. China has declared eighteen countries as tourist destination and thirteen are in Asia.

In Asia’s diplomatic stage, China has made increasingly open and constructive gestures, actively adopting multilateralism to maintain peace, foster development and broaden interaction. In the eyes of liberalists Asia –Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) has been the most prominent organization in East Asia which has the potential to bring all the regional states at common strategy. In Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) China is actively fulfilling its duties
and commitments to reduce tariffs and promote economic and technological cooperation. Along with this, China’s actively participation in “ASEAN+3” cooperation is very helpful in the development of regional economic integration. (Zha, 2013)

One of the most important points made at the 16th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party Report was that the first two decades of the 21st century are a period of important strategic opportunities with bright prospects which we must seize tightly. It was further said that we should pay full attention to construction and development in order to produce a moderate and comfortable society (xiaokang shehui) in all aspects. China will strengthen diplomacy with its neighbors and consolidate and broaden peace and cooperation in Asia.

China is the first major country to accede to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation of Southeast Asia, and it takes the lead in completing the establishment of the China-ASEAN Free Trade Zone. Same is happening in case of Russia and Central Asian states where China also pursuing closer economic integration under the framework of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO).

Institutionalism’s focus on international organizations and international regimes is incredibly important in the study of international relations and can make a significant contribution to IR theory in the future. The development of norms and principles such as the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) (Bellamy, 2015) and humanitarian intervention question the validity and sanctity of state sovereignty whilst advocacy networks and domestic politics have a major impact on how states act on the world stage.
REFERENCES


Chapter No: 3

HISTORICAL LEGACY OF CHINA

INTRODUCTION

China is such a country which has over five thousand years old civilization in the world. This matchless state of China has developed its own attractive culture which has immensely enriched world civilization. China is not too difficult to understand. This country has opened its doors for the foreigners and learns from them also. From the ancient times, thousands of travelers, merchants, writers have come to discover China but, their experiences are different to each other and it varies according to the time period of different dynasties. Alvaro Semedo, belongs to Portugal missionary group came to China some 400 years ago. He discusses China in his book: (Houtman & Meyer, 2012)

“It is a big country with a large population, with endless villages and towns, each in close proximity to the next. Houses fill the horizon. China has varied climates according to latitude and region. The country abounds in fruit, giving the impression of being a warehouse of fruit gathered from around the world. It is self-sufficient in food production, and in fact produces a surplus to trade with other countries. Many countries yearn for the chance to visit China. Many countries consume mainly wheat or rice, and China grows both in large amounts.”

Although, it is a very challenging task to discuss Chinese history but, it’s unique, fascinating and interesting characteristics forced me to work on it. Many people think that China is a mysterious
country and its own history also tells something like this because most of its rulers didn't allow foreigners to come into China that they couldn’t study China nearby. One reason behind people’s regard that China is a mysterious country was, because it may be far away from the modern world. But, this drama should end now. China is much open country for the foreigners; secondly China itself stands in the category of modern world.

We start from the geography and climate features of China, as an old man said, “Man is conditioned by the natural environment he lives in”. Although, China is a multi-ethnic country but it is united and blessed with a perfect geographical environment.

The Word “CHINA”

Today the word “China” has become much important and famous than ever before in the history. There is a different ideas about the word “China” that from where it came. One common understanding which has developed around the globe is that “China” became the name of this country because it was famous for its Chinaware products in ancient time. Some argue that the word “China” developed from the word “Chin” which was the first ancient Chinese feudal dynasty, known as Chin (Qin) dynasty (221 BC-207 BC). (Goodrich, 1969)

But, the most authentic belief about word “China” is uncontroversial that this word evolved approximately three thousand years ago which was given to the specific area in the central reaches of yellow river and those areas were at that time under the control of different tribes and clans. Later, the word “China” extended its influence to mainly the central plains of main land.

Structure of the State and Government
Currently, “China” is a word used for the “People’s Republic of China” which incepted in 1949 after a bloody Communist revolution. Some 56 major ethnic groups compose the state of China and this country is divided administratively into the following segments:

There are many provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the main or central government. These autonomous areas and provinces are further divided into independent districts, then small districts known as county and then autonomous counties and cities. Further, these counties and autonomous counties are divided into townships, tribal communities, and towns.

Today, Beijing is the Capital of the “People’s Republic of China.” There are thirty four administrative units at the provincial level with twenty three provinces, five regions which are autonomous, four municipalities which are under the control of central government of China and there are also two special administrative areas. (Fewsmith, 2010)

**Configuration of the Ancient China**

When we talk about the formation of ancient China, three names of big dynasties come in front i.e., “Xia Dynasty 2070 BC-1600 BC”, “Shang Dynasty 1600 BC-1046 BC” and “Zhou Dynasty 1046 BC- 256 BC.”

**The Xia Dynasty**

The “Xia Kingdom (2070 BC- 1600 BC)” is considered the most important phase of ancient Chinese history because its inception was the point from where the Chinese history formally starts.
The Xia dynasty was setup by the ancient Xia tribe which was then settled in the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River. When Da Yu known as “Yu the Great” came into power in its Xia tribe, he expanded its territory. At that time the central area of the Xia monarchy is now the western part of Henan Province and the Southern part of Shanxi Province. During the regime of “Yu the Great”, Xia tribe conquered the other tribes and captured their tribes and land and made their people slaves. When “Yu the Great” died, his son got the throne of Xia monarchy he created the system of “hereditary rule” and replaced the original “abdication” system. But, later coming emperors couldn’t prove themselves as good and competent ruler and the last king of the Xia dynasty was “Jie” and he proved himself immoral and led a licentious life. He compared himself with sun by saying that “like sun never dies, similarly he and his kingdom will also never die.” He totally neglected the state and owing to this negligence, Tang the leader of Shang tribe got the chance to conquer Xia kingdom and he did it by his troops to defeat Jie and captured the rule and territory of Xia dynasty.

**The Shang Dynasty**

The “Shang Kingdom (1600 BC-1046 BC)” replaced the old Xia Kingdom and got the throne of China. It was the second dynasty in Chinese history. This big tribe was settled along the lower reaches of Yellow River. It was little bit earlier that Shang tribe created a powerful coalition with other small tribes against the Xia Kingdom. Shang crown continued the practice started by Xia crown to extend its territory and captured many areas. Its area stretched from the current areas of Northeast Henan Province to Southwest Shangdong Province and South Hebei Province. When historians compare both dynasties they realized the thing that Shang dynasty was much
developed, well developed administrations, proper offices, well equipped military forces, laws for criminals and social justice and many more.

The capital of Shang dynasty did not remain on a single place, instead, it moved several times but finally its king “Pan’gen” settled it to the area of Yin, which is included in Henan Province today. While studying ancient documents, “Yinshang” word can be found widely used which refers to the “Shang Dynasty.” Later, Zhou clan which had been preparing for getting the throne of China from Shang Dynasty succeeded in its objective when Shang Dynasty became weak because of continuous wars of the years. Zhou clan fought a decisive war with Shang tribe and finally got success and that was the end of the Shang tribe’s supremacy over China.

The Zhou Dynasty

Zhou clan was also very old inhabitants of China as the previous discussed tribes. They existed there for several hundred years and after defeating Shang dynasty, Zhou tribe established a new administrative system and that is a feudal lord system. Zhou’s period of rule is divided into two parts, first the “Western Zhou Dynasty which is from (1046 BC-771 BC)” and second the “Eastern Zhou Dynasty which remained from (770 BC-221 BC).” Again Zhou King changes the capital of its regime in “Haojing” which is present day situated in Shanxi Province. Zhou kings started the system of “distribution of lands to officials.”

Astonishing time for the Zhou dynasty came in 770 BC when the imperial court of Zhou dynasty was separated because of some local and inner conflicts and owing to this development capital was shifted to “Luoyi”, today’s in Henan Province. That was the end of the “Western Zhou Dynasty” and the beginning of the “Eastern Zhou Dynasty.” The capital of Western Zhou
Dynasty was “Luoyi” and it was located in the east of “Haojing (the former capital of Zhou)” so the dynasty got the name of “Eastern Zhou.”

Then further this “Eastern Zhou Dynasty” was separated into two parts: one was known as “Spring and Autumn Period (770 BC-467 BC)” and the “Warring States (475 BC-221 BC)”. Years from 475 BC to 221 BC were time period of battles, wars and conflicts among the local war lords and between warlords and King, therefore it is considered the “Warring States Period.”

After this, different small and separated states ruled over the different parts of China and this situation existed till the “State of Qin” got the power and conquered all the tribes and united the whole country under the rule of Qin Dynasty which lasted from (221 BC-206 BC).

**FIRST UNIFICATION AND SPLIT OF CHINA**

**The Qin Dynasty**

That was the “Qin Dynasty (221 BC-207 BC)” which firstly unified the state of China and made it centralized that was split before into numerous small states. (Sage, 1992)

Qin King was the first dynasty who established the rule over the whole country. Qin dynasty left remarkable and prominent influence on later generation because the prosperity of China during this dynasty was really unforgettable. “Ying Zheng” was the first emperor who got the throne at the age of thirteen. He was proved as a wise emperor as he adopted the policies of “making the country wealthy”, “developing and strengthening the arms forces” and following the strategy of “making alliances especially preventing” between different small states while defeating them in a line.
The remarkable moment came in the life of Qin Emperor “Ying Zheng” in 221 BC when he was only twenty six, he got the unification of China and declared the “Xianyang” state’s capital, which is today’s Shanxi Province. During the Qin dynasty there was relatively a complete central governing system. Previously established system of “granting titles to various dukes” was replaced and then established the new administrative system. Qin emperor administratively divided China into forty one counties/regions which were governed by “prefects”; each enjoyed the full jurisdiction over those particular counties/regions. (Sage, 1992)

The total ruling period of Qin dynasty was only fifteen years, but that fifteen years later proved as a solid foundation for the unified China with regard to politics, economy and culture.

In Chinese history, Qin King “Ying Zheng” is regarded as the greatest King because of his contribution for the unification and development of China. He took the responsibility at the time of “Warring States Period” and brought out its country from that hectic situation, gathered all the tribes, clans and small states and unified a scattered country. He also recruited tens of thousands people for the construction of five thousands kilo-meter long “Great Wall”, which is now internationally famous and thousands of people from all over the world visit it all the year. (Sage, 1992)

**The Han Dynasty**

Qin dynasty was replaced by the great “Han Dynasty” which established its rule over China. Han dynasty was actually administered and controlled by the “Liu” family till end. Similar to “Zhou Dynasty”, Han dynasty was also divided into two parts, one was “Western Han Dynasty (206 BC-25 AD)” and second was “Eastern Han Dynasty (25 AD-220 AD).”
Liu Bang the founder of the “Western Han Dynasty” also continued the practice of Qin Dynasty of empowering central government’s strength. He also learned from the Qin dynasty that how it failed and collapsed, introduced the strategy of increase in “economy” and “population.” That is why this period in considered as an established society and speedy economic development. History is evident that for the first time in Chinese history, peace, security, development and prosperity can be seen during Han dynasty ruling period.

Later period of Western Han Dynasty was full of internal social conflicts and revolts by the peasants. Many other Royal family members also started seeking for throne which finally caused a war. Then, “Liu Xiu”, a royal family member got the throne of Han dynasty and established it with the name of “Eastern Han Dynasty.” Later, at the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty, revolts broke out and various local warlords took advantage of this and setup separate regimes by fragmenting Eastern Han dynasty. (Wright, 2011)

As compared to previous dynasties, Han dynasty was much different as its emperor came from the ordinary family and his administrators, officials and army generals were also belong to middle or lower class of the society.

During Han dynasty, much work was also done for establishing foreign relations especially during the time of “Eastern Han Dynasty.” Japan was the first which sent its delegates to China that was the beginning of “Sino-Japan” relation. Later, Ban Chao a prominent army personal of the Han Dynasty also visited the western areas including Central Asia.

**SECOND CHINESE UNIFICATION AND SPLIT**
After a large period of clashes, local insurgencies, revolts and wars in China again the people of this split state experienced second reunification during Sui and Tang Dynasties (581-907). During this period China again experienced prosperity and unmatchable power.

**The Sui Dynasty**

The Sui Dynasty (581-618) got the throne of China, ended the centuries of division and split and established the controlled centralized country. Yang Jian was the important court minister in the last regime of the “Northern Zhou Dynasty”, when he saw that this regime is going to weaken, he revolted against his government and established his own regime with the name of “Sui Dynasty” by replacing “Zhou Dynasty.” After getting power, Sui Dynasty increased its power and conquered other areas and at last, Sui Dynasty defeated the “Southern Dynasties.” (Wright, 2011)

As compared to Qin Dynasty, the Sui Dynasty existed for less than thirty years which is only some ten years more than Qin Dynasty. The Sui Dynasty was usually compared with the Qin Dynasty because of its heavy influence over Han Dynasty, same happened there, Tang Dynasty (618 AD-907 AD) emerged and flourished because of Sui Dynasty. That Sui Dynasty became the reason of ending of long lasting division of China, laid a very influential basis for the future development which Tang Dynasty seized to utilize. After studying history of ancient China, we can easily reach at the point that “Sui regime” started the great projects which couldn’t be initiated by the previous regimes e.g., they started to conduct the “imperial civil examination” which provided the opportunity to the ordinary scholars to become government officials, they also dig the “Grand Canal” which has still got the status of main water supply source and
nation’s transportation between the two parts of the country, south and north. When second king “Sui Yangdi” came up with the throne, the decline of Sui Dynasty started. He was actually a typical bully dictator. Because of his bullies, people turned against him and Sui Regime became relatively unstable, rebellions broke out and due to this situation national power declined and ultimately collapsed.

**Tang Dynasty**

When Sui Dynasty was getting weakened, there were many factors who really wanted to get control of the government and Li Yuan was one of them. He was basically a vassal in the court of Sui Dynasty. He seized this chance to grab control of the government during rebellions while Sui Dynasty was ending. He claimed himself the King and changed the title of state as “Tang Dynasty.” When Tang Dynasty (618-907) was established, the nation was unified then. Tang Dynasty got the unmatchable power and there was no such a balancing or countering power which caused threat to it, that is why it is regarded as of the longest dynasties in ancient China’s history. (Wright, 2011)

This one of the longest periods of rule can be divided into the “early Tang” which had most powerful national strength and cultural affluence, second the “later Tang” featured with social instability dilemma, chaos and public’s declining living standards.

That was a very literary as well as very peaceful time. Many religious factors were living together and enjoying brotherhood. There were also many great scholars and writers produced as we know Li Bi, Du Fu and Bai Juyi etc. (Luo et al, 2011) New horizons of knowledge were discovered especially in the fields of “astronomy”, “calendar”, “medical treatment” and
“construction.” They also gave attention to the foreign trade and roads for business were built and restored, envoys belonging to forty states visited to the capital of China the “Chang’an city.” (Luo et al, 2011) This was the time in which special attention was given to the economy by developing trade and building foreign relations. At that time China was considered the most powerful and prosperous state around the globe.

Unfortunately, that prosperous time ended in 755 AD because of two military generals of the Tang Dynasty. Because of them government weakened and separatism movement started all over the China. In last days of Tang Dynasty, in most parts of the China powerful public rebellion had emerged. The peasants of Tang Dynasty got the opportunity to quarrel with the King. Finally, in 907 AD the Tang Dynasty was replaced by the “Liang Dynasty” which lasted from 907 AD to 923 AD. (Luo, 2011) When Tang Dynasty ended, China again separated into more than fifty small states. In north, five major dynasties emerged as “Latter Liang”, ”Latter Tang”, ”Latter Jin”, ”Latter Han”, and ”Latter Zhou.” These five dynasties existed for only fifty three years from 907 to 960. Same happened in South China where ten states emerged with the prominent name of “Ten States.” Those states existed for eighty eight years from 891 to 979. These particular names “Five Dynasties” and “Ten States” were given by the Chinese historians.

Later it was the King Zhao Kuangyin of the “Song Dynasty” who defeated and captured the “Five Dynasties” and “Ten States” through a rebellion and got imperial power in 960. This time period was given the name of “Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127).” Unfortunately, in 1127 Northern Song Dynasty was destroyed by the Jin Dynasty and they established their capital in Lin’an and this period was given the name of “Southern Song Dynasty.” (Luo,2011) When we talk about early period of Northern Song Dynasty, we find that during this period southern China
was actually reunified and most regions of the China were directly under the rule of central
government of Song Dynasty.

Zhao Kuangyin, the King of the Song Dynasty was actually a senior army official of the imperial
guard in the “Later Zhou Dynasty.” He got the throne of China through rebellion with the help of
his sincere military men. He just did not want to experience this practice against his own
government therefore he decided to weaken his own military generals’ powers. He hosted an
entertainment party for the refreshment of generals who supported him while in the struggle of
getting power and establishing his dynasty. There was a very famous historical dialogue between
the King and the generals on that occasion. The King Started; (Mote, 2003)

“I will never forget that it is you who brought me today. But do you know that
emperor is not happier than a military governor? The general felt surprised and
asked why. He replied: who does not want to be the emperor? The generals said:
Your Majesty, why did you say so? Now who will do that? The emperor calmly
said: may it be right. Even if you don’t think so, there is no guarantee that your
subordinates will not covet the wealth. The generals were scared and said quickly: In our ignorance we implore the guidance of Your Majesty to give us a
way out. He said: you would better relinquish the leadership of the military and
but more fertile farmland and big houses to enjoy yourselves. There is not any
problem between us. Let’s live in peace. Is it all right? The next day, the generals
handed in letters saying they decided to resign because of illness. He immediately
agreed and rewarded them large amounts of money.”
The period of Song Dynasty in the Chinese history is regarded with prosperity of economic development, radiant arts, culture, education, science and technology and liberal governing. According to the western scholars that period in the Chinese history was another phase of Renaissance and ultimate economic reforms. During this period, Chinese established their trade relations with more than fifty states around the globe. The country which was previously limited and self-contained, was now moving beyond the boundaries and many countries welcomed China to enter in international camp.

THIRD CHINESE UNIFICATION

The Yuan Dynasty

In 1271, the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) captured the reign of Song Dynasty and that was the period of third Chinese reunification. After Song Dynasty, three major dynasties emerged with the name of Yuan, Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911). Although, during this time period China enjoyed development and flourished but, later its decline started from late eighteenth century to early nineteenth century.

Before Yuan Dynasty, it is a fact that all ruling dynasties belonged to a prominent and powerful tribes. But, first time in the Chinese history it happened, that an ethnic minority established its rule over the whole China. Basically, the forefathers of Yuan Dynasty came from the Mongolian steeps situated in north China. The emergence of Mongolian tribes is evident in eleventh century in Mongolia and they got strengthened and prepared themselves to conquer other areas. It was the 1204, when “Temuchin” was born in an elite family of Mongolia, he reunified the Mongolian tribes.
After getting power of Mongolian tribes, he started conquering the areas beyond the boundaries and reached to the Central Asia and Europe for many times. During his reign, he defeated the dynasties of “Western Xia”, “Jin” and “Tubo (ancient Tibet)” and expanded its territory constantly. Next his grandson “Kublai Khan” gave the title of “Da Yuan” to his dynasty and established its capital in Dadu, today’s Beijing. Since then, the Beijing remained the capital of China in all dynasties. It is the sign that China’s political centre is shifted from south to north. In 1279 the Yuan dynasty destroyed the Western Song Dynasty and achieved the third unification of China.

In 1367, Zhu Yuanzhang, historically known as “Emperor Taizu” succeeded the Yuan Dynasty and established his own reign with the name of “Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)”. Basically, he was a peasant leader and got prominence during rebellions. Ming Dynasty also gave attention to security issue especially to counter foreign aggression. They built the “Great Wall” in north of China and repaired the previous one and made it a major hurdle and barrier for the foreign intruders.

Emperor Taizu proposed to build high walls like a goddamn or stores to store grains everywhere. He was skilled and able to rule over the country as he managed to maintain a powerful military and destroyed all the hurdles which came into his way to finally reunite the China. He introduced new state laws, established a new systematic form of government and reorganized the administrative regions to make the feudal system powerful.

This emperor of China proved himself as the cruellest one in the history of China. To avoid recurrence of the story of rebellion against him, he executed more than thirty thousand men at
one time who were actually his followers and some veteran generals they helped him during his struggle to get throne.

The prominent thing during Taizu regime was his voyages to Southeast Asia and also to Indian Ocean. His travelling around the globe left important impacts on world navigation. Later coming emperor of Ming Dynasty continued the policies of their Taizu. Emperor Chengzu. He also struggled a lot to establish friendly relations and ties with the overseas countries and in this regard he sent Muslim Zheng He (1371-1433) as a Chinese ambassador to the West Sea. Zheng He consistently visited more than thirty countries in seven navigations in Asia and Africa. He also reached to the coast of Red Sea and Africa. As compared to the European navigators, Zheng He conducted his voyages half a century before.

Ming dynasty also got the credit of developing Chinese culture and economy. On one hand economic and cultural developments were taking place in China, on the other hand that was the time of Western Renaissance: new geographical discoveries and religious and governmental reformations were happening in West. Both the regions China and West exchanged the Eastern and Western cultures while western missionaries visited China.

As had happened with the previous dynasties that they lost control eventually after getting full power, same came out with Ming Dynasty in later years. An ethnic minority living in northeast China got the strength and expanded its territory very rapidly. That ethnic minority was known as “Manchu.” In 1936, the leader of the local government belonging to ethnic minority claimed himself as a King “Huangtaiji”, later renamed it “Later Jing” as Qing. Finally in 1644, Ming
Commander surrendered in front of Qing army which seized the power and rule of the whole country rapidly. (Mote, 2003)

Qing Dynasty is being considered by the historians as the last feudal dynasty in China. Its rule over the country was for two hundred and sixty seven years. “Emperor Kangxi” of Qing Dynasty was considered a great King in China. He started to rule over China when in France “King Louis XIV” came up on the throne. Many scholars and historians compared these two leaders, because they think both had a few similarities. Both were very young as the emperors, being gifted, had great talent and high caliber and controlled the power under the autocratic monarchy, ruled for some half a century and brought their countries on the new historical heights of development and affluence. (Mote, 2003)

Emperor Kangxi was much different from his predecessors. His rule over the country was considered the longest rule since there were records in Chinese history. It happened very rare in Chinese history that an emperor loved books, but, Emperor Kangxi loved books and studying. Among all the emperors he was the first who concentrated on the Western scientific knowledge and had a great interest in adopting the Western technology.

When we discuss the middle and later phase of Qing Dynasty, it was the great setback for the Chinese agricultural civilization which ended during this period but, on the other hand Western states started accumulating primitive capital and expanded their colonial territories. Owing to this situation, China and Western states had clashes for more than one hundred years. Later, an agricultural empire was not able to resist the great colonial powers so eventually autocratic monarchy was forced to roll the stage of Chinese history.
Traditional Ideology and Culture of China

American Scholar Philip Lee Ralph wrote in a book “World Civilizations”:

“When the ancient Greek philosophers were discussing the equality of the substantial world and Indian ideologists were thinking about the relations between the Soul and God, China’s sages were trying to find the basis of human life and the fundamental principles of wise and able government.”

There is a long and enriched history regarding the traditional thoughts and culture of China. In traditional Chinese culture and thoughts a man was given much importance. Fundamental approach of Chinese ideology is that people always stand first. According to the Chinese philosophy, “If heaven and earth are the father and mother of all existing things, human beings are the most intelligent and important among all existing things.” (Winks, 1993) In ancient China, a very famous quote says, “People are the roof of a country and when the root is firm the country is tranquil.” Mencius elaborates this thing by saying, “People are most precious, the nation comes next and monarchs are not important.” (Winks, 1993)

While discussing about traditional ideology and culture of China we must keep one thing in our mind that this discussion should be based on the norms, values, customs, ideology and culture that existed before the establishment of modern state. Traditional ideology and culture of China at the time of dynastic regime were very unique and attractive. It is also evident that Chinese people also borrowed something from other different cultures but, on the other hand they have conserved number of unique Oriental cultural and ideological characteristics. These preserved characteristics are much powerful as it has far-reaching influence on the ideologies and cultures
of neighboring states of China. Chinese nation is a sign of spirit and character that Chinese culture and ideology provided it the foundations. It also stands right behind all the historical developments and remarkable achievements of China and Chinese people.

During the time of “Pre Qin dynasties to the Han dynasties” different and variety of ideological thoughts emerged. Many prominent proponents of different schools of ideological thought gave new codes of life to the Chinese people. Some of them were “Confucianism”, “Taoism”, “Legalism” and “Mohism.” Some prominent exponents emerged in that particular time period include “Confucius”, “Mencius”, “Lao Tzu” and “Zhuang Zi.” (Winks, 1993)

Confucianism

Among many prominent schools of thought, three dominated the traditional ideology and culture which are Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. Among these three, Confucianism has the most powerful influence over the life of Chinese people. Influence of Confucianism can be viewed in major thoughts and codes of life of ancient Chinese people such as “the idea of how to be a successful ruler, the moral value of society, and the way one conducts oneself in that society.” (Tan, 2004)

Confucianism is such a strong belief that it has also powerfully influenced the schools of thoughts existed in other parts of East Asia. In this regard, Korean Peninsula and Japan got the most significant influence from Confucianism ideology.

Confucius the founding proponent of Confucianism was born in the state of “Lu” which marks the present day Qufu in Shandong Province. He still grabbed the status of most influential
politician, thinker, scholar and educator. He wrote six ancient classical books and produced vast literature. Many Chinese wise phrases were coined by this great scholar. “He also illustrated theories about the law, life and government. Confucius greatly accentuated on “benevolence” and “rites” while explaining his ideological system.” According to him, “benevolence, concentrating on “loving people”, represents a variety of moral standards.” (Tan, 2004)

He once said, “The humane man wishing himself to be established, sees that others are established, and, wishing himself to be successful, sees that others are successful.” He again said, “Do not do to others what you do not want done to yourself.” (Tan, 2004)

Period of Confucius was when Zhou King lost his control over the state’s matters and small local states got the real power. In that condition, he saw uncontrolled deceptions; he condemned the existing chaos and lack of moral values. He realized the cruelty of time and recognized the only treatment was to convert people once more to the principles and precepts of the sages of antiquity.

He delivered various lectures to his followers on the principles of “rites” and “music.” Because of his thoughts, first time ever in Chinese history it happened that schools were established and he made it possible for the common man to go to school and get education. He was being worshipped by the Chinese people as “Master Kong” and the “great educator.” In these days, his sayings are still a part of everyday speech (Sato et al, 2003)

After Confucius, another prominent scholar Mencius made a significant contribution in the development and nourishing of Confucianism (385 BC-304 BC). He was also considered as a great politician, thinker and educator. Apart from this, he is regarded as a true follower,
translator and promoter of Confucius ideology around the region. He truly opposed the misuse of military force against the people because he advocated that human nature is basically good. A famous book “The Three-Character Scripture” begins with the words of “Men, at their birth, are naturally good.”

Mancius was latterly challenged by the proponent of same school of thought “Xun Zi (318 BC-238 BC).” He claimed that “human nature is basically bad.” He also elaborated the connection between the “ruler” and “mass” as a link between a “boat” and “water.” (Sato et al, 2003)

Later, Confucianism was developed into two schools of thoughts during the Song and Ming dynastic rules. Because of the emergence of these two schools of Confucianism it was latterly formulated as “Neo-Confucianism.”

**Neo-Confucianism**

Neo-Confucianism was the innovation of old Confucius thoughts. It was actually reinterpretations of the traditional Confucian ideology “which associates the moral standards put forward by the Confucius and Mencius with the heavenly principles.” (Huang, 1999)

It revealed the nature of man, the position and importance of human in this universe and the connection between the man and the universe. It gives value to pursue the promotion of culture and ideological thoughts.

**Taoism**
Taoism is also one of the important schools of thought in China and stands on second position after the Confucianism. Lao Tzu was the founding proponent of Taoist school of thought about 600 BC- 500 BC. It emerged before Qin dynastic rule in Chinese history as “Taoist thoughts”, later in the early phase of Western Han Dynasty “Taoist school” was established. Taoist school focused on “Tao” as a central thought and because of this the name “Taoism” was given to it. When we study Chinese historical philosophy, we find that “Taoism” was the first which discussed the question of the genesis of all the things in the world while relating them to the concept of “Tao”. So the concept of “Tao” is the core theme of Lao Tzu’s thoughts. He held that:

“Tao evolved from but was different from the divine order of things and that the essence of everything on earth was generated from Tao.” (Oldstone-Moore, 2003)

According to Lao Tzu,

“Tao is a blend of two aspects, the unity of “not-being” and “being” which can mutually transform each other (Oldstone-Moore, 2003)

Lao Tzu argued that “no action” is the quality of Tao and “no action” means abide by the original circumstance of all existed things. He further argued that “all existing things are bound together in a universal context that is founded upon a principle called Tao and held that Tao is nature complying with all things existing on earth.”

Taoist ideology had influential implications on the improvement of “aesthetic, literature and arts of China”, such as “imagist theory” and the theory of “artistic conception”. (Oldstone-Moore, 2003) An important principle of classic aesthetic in China was taken from the Taoist theory of
“unity of falsehood and reality” and its enormous impact could be seen on painting and poetry in ancient China. Zhaung Zi (369 BC-286 BC) was considered the most significant proponent of Taoist school of thought.

As Mencius played his important role in the development of Confucianism, Zhuang Zi also contributed a lot in the development of Lao Tzu’s thoughts. According to Zhuang Zi’s explanations, “the most difficult position for men was the loss of spiritual freedom. Man created wealth and culture and yet man was dominated by wealth and culture and the slave of substance.”

In the view of Zhuang Zi:

“The fundamental way to break free of such a difficult position was to reach “no-Self”, meaning surpassing self and reaching the realm in which the “heart wanders about in Tao”, i.e. the extremely beautiful and joyful realm of unity of heaven and man”. (Zhuangzi, 2008)

**Buddhism**

Contrary to previous discussed schools of thought, Buddhism was actually born in India in sixth century BC along the “Ganges River”. It was introduced in China at the end of the “Western Han Dynasty (206 BC-25 AD)”, via Central Asia and later it was deeply penetrated into the Chinese civilization and became an important faction of Chinese culture.

Emperor Mingdi of Eastern Han Dynasty one night saw a dream of a golden man in the west. He asked to his ministers to explain this dream. One minister explained it to Emperor, “you must
have dreamt of Buddha in west.” Emperor Mingdi immediately sent his envoys and they brought two monks (the followers of Buddha) with them. That was the genesis of Buddhism in China. (Siderits, 2007)

In beginning it was somewhat difficult for the Chinese to translate Buddha’s sutras. Then the Chinese monks started visit to Central Asia and South Asia for original Buddha teachings.

Xuanzang was one of those monks and he decided to go to the native land of Buddha India. He completely devoted himself for research on Buddha and his teachings. His is regarded as an authority on Buddhism. His written books are considered most respected and highly praised by the Buddhist community around the globe. He brought great number of Buddha’s sutras from India and translated them into Chinese which later made great contribution in the development of Buddhism in China (Siderits, 2007) Owing to the development in social economy of Sui and Tang dynasties, Buddhism got remarkable development in Chinese culture and later many large Buddhist sects “Sanlun”, “Titantai”, “Faxiang”, “Huayan”, “Lu”, “Chan” and “Jingtu” were formed. (Siderits, 2007)

When Buddhism got the status of local culture, it produced wide variety of impacts on the development of Chinese social system. It also had deep influence on the development of Chinese “phonology”, “Linguistics” and “Philology”. Chan sect was particularly famous for its thoughts about realm, void and soul. Theories of Chan sect had influential impact on the culture, arts and architecture of China. Along with all this development, Buddhism also played a role to enhance the influence of Taoism and Confucianism.
The main ideas of Buddhism which really influence the attitude of Chinese people are “leniency”, “being a Samaritan”, “getting rid of evil” and “accepting goodness”. Chinese language also borrowed some genuine Buddhist word and made it a part of it such as, “freedom”, “equality”, “world”, “all living things” and “realm”.

Traditional Thoughts and Culture Shape National Character

Chinese national character is actually shaped by the traditional Chinese social and political thoughts and rich culture. These traditional thoughts and culture having a long historical development which now has become an ideology and injected in the blood of Chinese people is clearly shown in their national character. This national character can also be examined in their local policies as well as their foreign policies. There are some important and prominent characteristics of Chinese national character, which are discussed below.

Constant Striving to Become Stronger:

“Heaven goes soundly and man should constantly strive to become stronger.” (Zhao, 2014) This quote shows the spirit of Chinese nation. In this sentence, stress is being given on moving forward, contribution in the development of society, working hard and never ever stuck although there are some hurdles coming your way, just don’t give them importance and keep concentration on your objectives. According to Chinese scholars, the only source to success is to bear the hardships and difficulties. Chinese nation has adopted this vision and thousand years long history is evident of toughness of Chinese people. Chinese nation is one of those nations which will never give up to natural disaster, they solve their domestic problems without the help
of external factors, they didn’t let the foreign invaders to become successful and kept working or pursuing their tasks until they are accomplished.

**Tolerance and Harmony:**

Another important characteristic of Chinese nation’s national character is tolerance and harmony. Chinese nation has a very strong and powerful level of tolerance. While studying traditional Chinese culture, we realize that it supports the play of “harmony” and “peace.” This is in Chinese national ideology that any conflict and difference should be solved through peaceful means, diplomatic procedures and through cooperation. They are totally against of waging war or invading others for the solution of their problems.

With regard to the matter of “morality”, Chinese people are deeply concerned as being “even tempered” and “good humored”. While discussing the responsibility of a statesman, they believe that “It is a peace and harmony that can make a state prosper and developed.” (Huang, 1999)

**Diligence and Frugality:**

Another sensible saying by the eminent scholars of China is that, “a country should be diligent and a family should be frugal.”

“Diligent” means, a man should be fully concentrated while pursuing his task or objective. Do his work with utmost efforts, shows his complete skills, abilities and capabilities and never let the remissness and weariness to divert his attention from his assignment.
“Frugal” means, a man have a wealth but, he must use it reasonably. He should avoid profligacy and reckless spending, consistent and keep in sight the entire concerned things from start to till end.

**Kindhearted and Tolerance:**

Almost all the prominent scholar and ideal of Chinese nation, stress on having “good deeds” to make virtue. They emphasize for “good deeds and holding that many such good deeds can make people capable of reaching a higher plan.” Buddhism in China advocates the school of thought of keep distance from worldly issue. (Olberding, 2011)

Unfailing to be kindhearted, Chinese cultural philosophy also put emphasis on “tolerance”. They argue that a man should be very calm with his offender, must abandon former hostility, and discourage the culture of mutual mistrust and suspicion. In Chinese culture, there is a very good example that they advocate the principle of “loving to do philanthropic work” and “showing sympathies to the weak.”

**Be Optimistic and Practical:**

According to this characteristic, Chinese scholar actually wanted to make their nation practical and optimistic. It is evident that only that nation excels in the world whose vision is optimistic and practical. They stress that every person should actively participate in day to day life activities. Chinese culture supports to face reality, have an optimistic approach with positive attitude towards life and don’t be pessimist and dishearten.

**Development in the Relations of Chinese and Foreign Cultures**
When we see the geographic features of China as vast deserts, giant mountains, high plateaus and deep seas, it seems very difficult to start journey to it, especially in ancient China time when means of transportation and communication were very less developed. But, it doesn’t mean that no one visited China and there was no communication at all due to this reason. Although, rich traditional Chinese culture has deep impact on the process of culture around the globe and it also grabbed some norms, values and other features of different cultures as well especially from Central Asia and South Asia.

The main passage was the Silk Road during ancient time by which China conducted trade and some other exchanges with foreign countries. Because of this route, China became able to open up the communications with all Asian states regarding trade, culture, political and military affairs. Another development can be seen in 3rd century BC, this Silk Road route got the responsibility to establish relations and connections with other Asian and European states. It was really a great valuable route among the ancient different cultures and had a deep impact on the establishing and development of eastern and western culture.

The Roman writer Pali Ahatis words:

“The precious colorful silk made in China looks like the beautiful blooming flowers in the fields and its fineness can bear comparison with the gossamer spun by spiders.” (Hill, 2006)

The major items which were transported from China to other countries are tea, porcelain, iron products, lacquer, perfumes and medicines. Along with this, the knowledge regarding various fields like, medicines, architecture, astronomy, music and especially the most important
knowledge regarding paper-making, colored ink and printing techniques were introduced by the Chinese to the West and other Asian states.

Silk Road route was also the one major source through which the Central Asian culture was introduced in China especially the arts and religion, later it deeply influenced the development of China’s culture. For instance, in the northwest region China, Islam was spread which had very prominent impact on the social development of local society.

*During the “Tang Dynasty”, the importance and usage of Silk Road had reached on high level that the frequent exchanges among China and different countries were evident and many diplomats and envoys travelled to China from behind the western mountains to Tang Dynasty’s capital “Chang’an”.* (Hill, 2006)

Where on one side Chinese culture was developing and nourishing on the other hand it was also creating and establishing its influence on the neighboring states in the region. In this regard, we can take the example of Korean Peninsula and Japanese territory.

It was Tang Dynasty, when Chinese culture was particularly well developed and during this phase of Chinese culture, Japanese envoys visited China for thirteen times in order to study and learn the culture and system of Chinese Tang court. Japan also sent its brilliant students to China to study at “Tang Imperial College” and after returning to their home those students were appointed as government officials in various departments related to their studies. (Assandri & Martins, 2009)
There was another major development that can be seen regarding relations between ancient China and Japan, when Buddhism was exported to Japan by China which very soon had the most numbers of followers and later became the most influential religion of Japan.

Along with this, Japanese monks also got admission in Tang court for learning Buddhist ideology from Chinese experts of it. In the meanwhile, a prominent Chinese monk “Jian Zhen” reached Japan after twelve years of journey. He spent ten years there and contributed a lot to Japanese religion, architecture and medicine. He got the status of “Symbol of Friendship between China and Japan”.

In the seventh century, Japan introduced the famous “Taika Reforms”. The reforms were actually the copy of political and economic system of Sui and Tang Dynasties of China. Due to these reforms in Japan, the whole structures of politics, society, economy and military were transformed which pushed the Japan into a new phase of development in all fields of life. (Bendix, 1978)

On the other hand, ancient Chinese culture and thoughts had also a great influence on ancient Korea. From sixth century to tenth century, the Silla monarchy in ancient Korea also sent many students to China to learn. During the Sui and the Tang dynasties Korean emperor sent many monks as well to study the system of Chinese court especially Tang court. Silla regime also brought some reforms in their political system by following the system of three ministries and six departments introduced by Sui and Tang Dynasties. It was to establish its central administrative unit and also adopted the local system of same Chinese dynasties while establishing the system of counties and prefectures in Korea.
Silla regime also established its educational system on the models borrowed from Sui and Tang dynasties. There they opened the course of “Chinese national study” and started teaching Confucian ideologies such as “Analects of Confucius, the Spring and Autumn Annals” and “The Book on Filial Piety”. In order to recruit worthy and competent government officials, Korean regime also introduced the Chinese system of imperial examinations.

**Tributary System of Imperial China**

The network of trade, commerce and foreign affairs between China and its tributaries was called the “Imperial tributary system of China”. It lasted for more than one thousand years and influenced most of the East Asian issues. Ancient Chinese hegemony over East Asian Region was actually managed and governed through the Imperial tributary system. That system had a great influence over the culture of peripheral countries and due to this system China maintained a “Sino-centric” or “China Centered” word in East Asia. (Jing & Batteau, 2015)

That Imperial tributary system of China was the main force and factor behind the formulation of foreign policy and trade relations with foreigners for more than two thousand years. This system gave the opportunity to China to dominate this particular region and played a vital role in the development of history of Asia and East Asia in particular.

There is a debate regarding the time period of this Imperial tributary system. Some scholars argue that this system lasted for two thousand year but, some argue that it was flourished only in the periods of late Ming Dynasty and Qing Dynasty.
The ancient Chinese imperial structure was having a great distinction from other imperial systems such as British Empire, Japanese Empire, etc. There were two prominent premises and beliefs first, that China was the “cultural center” of the world planet and Chinese nation is only civilized and all non-Chinese people were uncivilized and “barbarians”. Secondly, Chinese ruler (Son of Heaven) was regarded the king of all human kind and all other uncivilized rulers are merely local tribal leaders. Due to this concept, there could be no diplomatic relations between China and other states. If any country wanted to trade with China it had to pay “tribute” mission which legitimize Chinese superiority and suzerainty. After paying this tribute they got permission for trade for some specific days for specific things at border point selected by Capital.

Not only Asian states paid tribute to Chinese kingdom but, even the Europeans paid tribute to Chinese King and in return they were allowed to enter in Chinese water and got permission for conducting trade within the highly restricted area mentioned by Chinese authority. This thing strengthened the Chinese belief of “Superiority”. (Yü, 1967)

During the Han Dynasty this Imperial Tributary System became fully developed. Confucius school of thought and “Mandate of Heaven” further empowered the bases of this tributary system. This tributary system clearly shows that the tributary states were inferior and China is superior.

**Neighboring Tributary States**

Mongolia, Xinjiang and Tibet were the areas which were not exactly included in China main land but, considered within the pastel and Chinese king had the right to appoint officials and
military forces there. Vietnam (old Annam), Thailand (old Siam), Myanmar (old Burma), Nepal, Ryukyu Islands and Korea were main “tributary states” which regularly sent tributary delegations to China. (Yü, 1967)

Since tributary states paid tribute to China, in return China was supposed to preserve them from other offensive states. Actually China got the responsibility to protect its tributary states’ territorial integrity. There are many events in history which tell us that China protected its tributary states while they were under attack by outsiders. Actually, China maintained a balance of power in the region and unlike European anarchical system China had established a hierarchical system in this particular region. Owing to this tributary system this region experienced very less number of war and conflicts as compare to Europe and other parts of the world.
REFERENCES


Chapter No: 4

DECLINE OF CHINESE MONARCHY AND GENESIS OF MODERN CHINA

INTRODUCTION
Since the 2nd century, China remained prominent on the canvas of world. Unfortunately, in 1840 China went into decline and suffered badly by catastrophe which came one after another. Later it was invaded by major powers while attacking on it with huge ships and modern weapons of which China had no anti. In the meanwhile, the modern and wise Chinese people started struggle to bring out their nation from this catastrophe and achieve modern development. Owing to this kind of acts and thinking China got new and latest technology, better social system and culture and later a communist revolution led by the Communist Party of China. Chinese nation then found the real way to put them on it towards real development.

Qing Court’s Orthodox Policies

Seventeenth century is evident that the world was experiencing a remarkable transformation regarding industrialization and scientific revolution. In Europe, Britain is considered the first state which adopted the revolutionary approaches and became modern state because of its “industrial revolution” and “scientific development and inventions”. Another development which was carried out by the French public was to overthrow the long period of dynastic and monarchic rule and establish a republic state. America also got independence and entered in the camp of major powers, Germany was also getting fast advancement because of unification and industrial development. Japan and Russian also copied the other developing states and established industry
and brought revolutionary reforms. But, unfortunately, when all above mentioned states were busy in developing themselves through scientific knowledge, education, industrialization, economic, political and social reforms, Qing Dynasty in China remained isolated. (Cooper, 2010)

Due to this policy of isolation of Qing Dynasty, it was gradually declined after hundred prosperous years of its rule. Qing court totally refused to adopt the modern and foreign reforms and sources of development. Qing Emperor called it states as “Celestial State”. Emperor Qianlong once had a meeting with British envoy in 1793, during this meeting Emperor proudly said:

“My Celestial Empire governs all other states in the world and we have abundant products of all kinds, so there is no need for us to trade with foreigners.” (Skocpol, 1979)

Chinese invented four most important things during ancient times such as paper making, printing process, compass and gunpowder all that had a deep influence on the development of entire world. Despite these four inventions, later coming governments of China did not pay a serious attention to invent new thing or to make some new developments. Some argue that all this lack of interest in new scientific knowledge and development is only due to the influence of Confucianism ideology that “the need to cultivate one’s morality, organize one’s own family, father one’s kingdom and bring order under heaven.” Cotterell, (2008)

Whenever missionaries came to China they had many new invented thing with them such as guns, clock etc. but the Chinese court didn’t consider them important.
Closed Door Diplomacy

Closed-door diplomacy was adopted by the Qing government. Although Zheng He travelled to the Arabia and Africa through sea voyages but, Ming Dynasty could not take any advantage of it. Ming court could utilize those voyages as to establish relations with foreigners and enhance its foreign trade. Contrary to this, Ming King put ban on the sea voyages in order to stop pirates and foreign states to interfere in the internal issues of China. Ming Dynasty totally contained itself into isolation from outer world. That was the chance that China could develop because it had all the sources for it. Later coming Qing Court imposed a stricter ban on the sea voyages as compare to Ming Dynasty. (Yongqin, 2013)

Another disaster for the international trade in China was happened when Qing government imposed strict ban on the foreigners to carry on their commercial activities in Guangzhou. They were bound to very small and limited area of the city and without Chinese agents they couldn’t sale or purchase anything. (Yongqin, 2013) This thing limited the vision of Chinese people to understand the foreigners and their thoughts regarding development and also created a distance between the China and the modern world.

Cultural Authoritarianism

Qing government did not want to eliminate cultural authoritarianism because it was itself a cultural autocracy. Government implemented the policy of obscure and creating ambiguity which dominated during the whole Qing dynasty rule. During the Qing dynasty rule, the Qing court stopped the scholars from establishing schools, colleges and academies. Free press was not allowed and only imperial examination related books were allowed to publish. It was instructed
by the Qing court that Confucianism would be our ideology and Confucius classics must be taught and spread among the people. (Geng, 2014) People want to know the reasons behind the decline of China in modern times similar to great Roman Empire. There are many reasons and factors behind the decline of Chinese monarchy system, some of them are discussed below.

Small-Scale Peasant Economy

Small-scale peasant economic system of Qing dynasty restrained and fettered the development of production. This is being considered as one of the major reasons of declining China. Ancient Chinese civilization was completely agrarian. Peasants lend lands from the landlord, cultivate it and give rent of it in form of crop or cash. The small-scale peasant economy shows that the people were old-fashioned and traditionalist which lacked consumerist and capitalist spirit. (Cotterell, 2008)

Autocratic Monarchical System

Second reason behind the decline of China was existence of its prolonged period of autocratic monarchical system. In that period, centralized autocracy authority had the mandate and power to accelerate political, social and economic development but, it adopted strict policies to contain such kind of progress. As compare to other states and regions in the world, Chinese autocratic monarchy system lasted for the longest time because of small-scale peasant economy and Confucius moral thoughts.

Stressing Agriculture & Repressing Commerce
Qing Court adopted the policy of pursuing agriculture based economy and suppressed the approach of commerce based economy. This policy created the situation of “no competition” because there was no such kind of activity due to the lack of goods market. Chinese said:

“Food is the first necessity of the people and grains are the sources of food.”

One reason behind this saying was very important that during the Qing Dynasty, Chinese population increased rapidly and with such a huge population it was only agriculture which provided the foundation to the country and commerce considered only a supplement. Status of a man in the Chinese society was linked with his occupation. A person who is linked with agriculture was considered a good man while a business man was regarded as a fraud.

Owing to no change in this policy and all industry was monopolized by state the growth of commerce and trade was painfully slow. That was the major distinction between the China and West regarding social, political and economic development.

**FACTORS BEHIND THE DECLINE OF CHINESE MONARCHY**

There are some important factors which contributed vital and influential role in the declining of Chinese monarchy and as a kingdom. These factors are internal as well as external.

**Opium War launched by Britain**

Opium is actually a drug which is usually used by the drug addictive people. It is totally illegal thing in global society. It has very severe consequences on life of its users. It is very destructive for the person’s health and more usage can cause ones death.
When we talk about decline of China, it is very closely related to opium, because it is the factor which decided the fate of China. Due to opium, China and western states reached at the point of no return and fought wars against each other especially against Britain. China started losing its territory, compensated western countries and eventually led towards a semi-colonial country.

Britain was the first who read the words written on the wall regarding China that it is the time to expand and make China its colony. In pursuance of this goal, Britain adopted the policy of “use opium as a tool”. (Scot, 2008)

In first half of the 19th century, trade between China and Britain was almost equally balanced and based on tea leaves, raw silk, wool, fabric, iron products and other things like that. Britain at the same time was a major colonial power and she was expanding its territory through its trade activities. Same happened in the case of China, British merchants wanted to enhance their trade and increasing profits from China they came up with an idea of involving opium in trade. They increased the volume of opium trade in China through illegal channels.

In early eighteenth century British traders start exporting opium to China and by the 1830s its volume reached at half of the manufactured goods exported to China from Britain and day by day its volume increased. By 1835, it is estimated that more than two million Chinese people were the victim of opium provided by the Britain merchants. Due to no check on the import of opium by Chinese authority, China got adverse impacts on the socio-economic development and especial regarding people’s health.

Qing court appointed Lin Zexu as special imperial envoy to the city of Guangzhou a city of seaport from where trade was conducted with foreign countries. (Fogel, 2001) The task given to
him was to control the opium and stop its import. He did this by putting ban on its import and also made the public understand that this is not a good thing. This ban was not in favor of Britain merchants; they asked to their government for launching war against China immediately and force the Chinese government to up lift this ban on opium.

In favor of its merchants, in 1840, Britain launched a war on China which is considered as the first opium war. In this war Qing dynasty was eventually defeated and finally on 29 August, 1842 signed a treaty with Britain which is known as “Nanjing Treaty”. (Wang, 2005) It was the first unequal treaty signed by the Qing government with foreign country, in which she lost Hong Kong and gave it to Britain. Along with this China also accepted the demand of opening of its five ports of Guangzhou, Xiamen, Ningbo, Fuzhou and Shanghai as trading sea ports. China also paid twenty one million teals of silver to British government. That was the opening of China for foreigners to capture its territory, use its natural and social resources and make the Chinese people as their slaves. Britain also got compensation regarding “Consular jurisdiction”, “unilateral most-favored nation treatment”, “rights as inhabitant” and “rights for lending land” in China by signing of Human treaty. (Wang, 2005) Later, US and France did the same with China by signing the treaties similar to China-Britain treaties. After 1840, for more than one hundred years China fell in the situation of declining day by day being invaded. Demands from the colonial powers increased with every passing day; wars, losing territory and compensation to the invaders got momentum which was remained endless.

**Second Opium War**
Again in 1856, Britain and France invaded China and defeated it. The reason behind this invasion was only further opening of Chinese market for trade. France and Britain’s allied army defeated China in Beijing and looted everywhere without any restraint. Again, China was forced to sign unequal treaties with the both states of France and Britain by name of “China-France Tianjin Treaty” and “China-Britain Tianjin Treaty”. (Lee, 1973) Ten more sea ports were opened for the international trade, envoys of the foreign countries will reside in Beijing and also compensated with two million taels of silver to France and four million tael of silver to Britain. After this Russia and US also signed the same sort of treaties with China by name of “China-Russia Tianjin Treaty” and “China-US Tianjin Treaty”. (Wang, 2005)

**Sino-Japan War 1894**

Japan was considered a very friendly neighbor to China during ancient times. Japan sent its brilliant students to China for learning different knowledge. Chinese teachers, monks and Buddhists also went to Japan on invitation. The major religion or thought in Japan was spread by the Chinese. But unfortunately, when it saw that foreigners are looting China then why it should be aside and see only show. Japan decided to launch attack on China and she did it in 1894 in which China WAS again defeated. (Paine, 2003) Why Japan came against China is a very relevant question. In 1868, in Japan new reforms were introduced and a new course of development was set by the name of “Meiji Reforms”. (Tipton, 2008) Because of this reformed social structure Japan showed its aggressive attitude towards its neighbor from where it also learnt a lot.
Japan forced China to sign the China-Japan Shimonoseki treaty. According to that treaty, China surrendered Liaodong Peninsula, Taiwan and its attached islands, and the complete belt of islands of Penghu to Japan. (Paine, 2003)

**Eight Powers Allied Forces Invaded China 1900**

Britain, France, Russia, the US, Germany, Italy, Japan, Austria unilaterally launched a war against China in 1900 with objective of enhancing their benefits in China. China again got defeat. Allied forces were accompanied with more than one hundred thousand troops; they captured Tianjin, Beijing and some other important northern areas of China and made it difficult for the Qing government to remain in capital. Qing government escaped to “Xi’an”. Winning forces slaughtered local public, looted all the properties and set fire to their homes and made the homeles.

After being badly defeated, Qing government signed treaties with eleven states including eight allied forces and three states of Spain, Netherlands and Belgium in September 1901. According to these treaties, foreign forces got great compensations from China such as establishment of permanent embassies in China, foreign forces will remain inside the embassies, got full control of twelve strategic places, Chinese were not allowed to establish their own organizations against foreigners and established Chinese ministry of foreign affairs. Along with this, huge fine put on China’s shoulders. Due to this, Qing government’s expenditures got exhausted and the burden in the form of taxes on Chinese people was adversely increased.

**China-Japan War during 1930s-40s**
Once again Japan attacked on China on 18th September 1931 and captured the northeastern city of Shenyang. This incident is known as “September 18th incident”. By marching forward, Japanese also occupied three more provinces of China namely, Liaoning, Jilin and Heilongjiang. In July 1939, Japanese forces launched full scale invasion in China by projecting a false drama that “a Japanese solider is missing”. (Yamamuro, 2006)

In this invasion, Japanese forces used all kinds of inhuman ways to torture the Chinese people. Chinese territory went under the control of Japan and Chinese people faced greatest disaster and suffered wretchedly. Japanese did the same what colonial powers do. Japan established a puppet regime in China and promoted different culture which is favorable to Japan and looted precious resources. (Yamamuro, 2006)

In the meanwhile, some sections of Chinese people came together and made an alliance against Japanese forces. In those sections, The Communist Party of China and the Chinese Kuomintang was the main which united the Chinese nation and realized them that this is our country we have to fight for it and send back these intruders. (Gi-Wook Shin & Daniel, 2011) This local Chinese alliance was later supported by Allied force of the US, the former USSR and the UK especially during Second World War. After fourteen years of struggle, Chinese people got freedom when on 15th August 1945 Japan surrendered to Allied forces. Chinese won the war and this was the first war which Chinese people won against foreign invaders after 1840.

During this fourteen years war, China lost a lot of things regarding massive destruction of infrastructure, bloodshed, devastation of agricultural land and many other resources. More than thirty five million Chinese people were annihilated during this war.
Realization of Need of Time

Opium war gave the realization to the Chinese people that the reason behind the decline of China is only that we are behind Western countries with regard to science and technology. In order to avoid this sort of disaster in future, we have to struggle hard and strive to be modern.

Lin Zexu was the first Qing official who started study of western knowledge. When he was appointed by the Qing court to deal with opium import, he concentrated to study outside world and later he reached at the point that “we should learn the strong points of our enemies to overwhelm them”. He convinced and organized the Chinese people to translate foreign books, newspaper and literature especially “records of four continents” which was written by Hugh Murray, a British National. He introduced the western culture to the Chinese people. He also forced them to study geography, history, law, economy, military technological developments, science and cultures of foreign western countries. (Qi, 2014)

Wei Yuan, a Qing government official also insisted the Chinese people to learn latest technologies which were developed in Western countries. Before this, there was prevailing a conservative ideology of “refuse the new knowledge”. In other words, Chinese Qing government kept its people blind and refused the innovations because of fear of losing control over masses. Wei Yuan, criticized that old conservative approach of “refusing to learn new technologies” of foreign countries and promoted the approach of learning “new good technological developments” in order to overwhelm their foreign enemies. (Qi, 2014) Wei Yuan developed a famous encyclopedia in Chinese language on westerns by name of “Records on Overseas Countries” in
which he mentioned history, geography and current positions of the foreign countries, which later had an influential impact on the Chinese public.

A new catastrophe occurred for Qin Dynasty in 1850s when an uprising by the peasants’ pilot by Hong Xiuquan broke out against the Qing government and later “Taiping Heavenly Kingdom” was established. (Reilly, 2004)

**Tilt towards Western Technologies**

Some core officials of Qing government realized the need of time after the incident of establishing “Taiping Heavenly Kingdom”, they proposed the idea of learning western technologies for Chinese people. They argued that in order to maintain the Qing’s power, lessons proposed by the scholars Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan would be taught to masses. They started operating affairs related to relations with foreigners, took revolutionary steps to improve their power by self reliance and declared that “Chinese knowledge is only a foundation but, western approaches and knowledge would be learnt to put Chinese knowledge into practice.”

**First Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

“Yamen” was the official department established by Qing government in 1861 in order to establish relations with other countries including commerce relation, political relations and foreign talks. (Wang, 2014) Modern Education

During the movement of “Westernization” government also gave importance to the modern education. Qing court established new-style schools which started teaching western languages, western cultures, western history and western arts to cultivate new knowledge in pursuance of
overwhelm their foreign enemies. Chinese government completely supported these modern schools by providing huge funds. On the other hand, Chinese government also got arrangements to send brilliant Chinese students to study abroad especially to America and European countries to get firsthand knowledge, to learn foreign language, to get familiar with western culture.

“Tong Wen Guan”, a school was established in Beijing in 1862 and an American man W.A.P. Martin was given its charge as President. He headed that school for thirty two years. Along with this, twenty more schools were established which later produced many great scholar having deep knowledge of western culture, foreign languages, scientific innovations, engineering, telegraph, mining, shipping, medicine developments and weapon inventions. It was a great step taken by Qing government which later had a deep impact on the development of Chinese culture. (Cohen, 1984)

**Military Development**

Chinese always regarded their ancient laws as superior to westerns. According to the foreign affairs officials, the ancient Chinese laws, rules and regulations are much better than the laws of west but, it lacked military technology. They found that, China was defeated because of its inferiority in firearms power. They proposed to study advance military technologies by which they could become completely superior. In 1861, Qing government started establishing new military weapons factories. They not only developed weapons but also established steel and iron industry. They got technology from the west and overcome their inferiority in firearms power.

**Industrialization**
“Striving to become wealthy” and “striving to become stronger” were the two ancient Chinese sayings that advocated of making China Modern and combined them by proposing of establishing new industry. More than twenty private and civil enterprises related to metallurgy, mining, textiles, railway, telecommunication and shipping were established during 1870s-90s. (Cohen, 1984)

This movement of “modernization” helped the China to overcome its enemies and build a new country which would be modern especially in terms of industrialization. That was the genesis of Chinese industrial development. Because of this modernization movement the relations between East and West got momentum and both became able to understand each other and decrease the level of threat and suspicion.

**Hundred Days Reforms**

Emperor Guangxu was very much excited for such reforms which would change the status of Chinese destiny. She wanted to establish constitutional monarchy in China and for this purpose she issued imperial declaration regarding democratic reforms. But, on the other hand Empress Dowager Cixi launched a coup d’etat after the 103 days of declaration of reforms and abandoned it. Because of this, it is known as hundred day’s reforms. But, the theory of democracy began to spread around China. Chinese realized that they should demolish the Chinese monarchy in order to secure China from extermination and establish a new modern state. (Becker, 2015)

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was the person who emerged as a leader who shouldered the responsibility to bring democratic reforms in China. He and his revolutionary school did a lot to bring out his nation from catastrophe.
1911 Democratic Revolution

In 1911, Dr. Sun Yat-sen brought revolution which absolutely eliminated the complete monarchical system of China which lasted there for more than two thousand years. (Yuzhang, 2001) He made the country a democratic republic. Dr. Sun Yat-sen in his youth visited United States and got complete modern education from there regarding natural science and political science as well. In 1894, he found a group based on the ideology of bringing revolution in China. He gathered many people who had same approach to restore the respect, dignity and integrity of China by eliminating absolute monarchy. His group became a revolutionary group with the name of “Revive Chinese Society”. That group proposed revolutionary agenda of “pushing back the foreign intruders”, “building new China”, “eliminate absolute monarchy” and “establishing new united government” which would be democratic republic. While writing preamble of his official journal of “Tong-meng Society”, Dr. Sun Yat-sen summarized the driving and fundamental principle and elucidated it with “three principles of the people dealing” including “democracy”, “nationalism” and “people’s livelihood”. These three “principles of the people” given by Dr. Sun Yat-sen were having aim of toppling the imperial rule and to replace it with a democratic republic. It is famously known with the name of “Old Three Principles of the People”. (Yuzhang, 2001)

On October 1911, an uprising broke out in “Wuchang” which later spread in many provinces and those provinces declared their independence from Qing Empire. Revolutionary leaders elected Dr. Sun Yat-sen as their leader in 1905 in Tokyo, Japan and after setting up Chinese Republic on January 1, 1912 he was appointed as a provisional president at Nanjing. Provisional Senate was elected as a law making institute.
While reaching on an agreement regarding the nature of Chinese government that would be
democratic and provinces would be given equal representation in Parliament. They realized that
unity was necessary to anticipate invaders. Revolutionary leaders very soon reached at consensus
and Dr. Sun Yat-sen resigned from the president seat and another prominent personality of
revolution became president of democratic China in March 1912. New government also changed
the old Chinese calendar with Gregorian calendar. Capital was shifted from Nanjing to Beijing.

**Ups and Downs of National Democratic Government**

On one hand Qing Dynasty was being toppled and new democratic setup was established, the
western forces were reluctant in leaving China. They still stayed there because of ensuring their
economic and commerce interests. Their actions had caused serious threats to the stability of
Chinese government.

On the other hand, circumstances deteriorated by the rebellions who wanted to restore the
imperial system. In 1913, Dr. Sun Yat-sen started the “second phase of 1911 Revolution” in order
to eliminate all the factions who remained in existence and caused serious damage to democratic
government. (Yuzhang, 2001) Again in 1916, the resistance occurred against constitution of
China and this again Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his colleagues launched the campaign and movement to
protect the constitutional system of China.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was the person who converted the Chinese nation into nationalist, democratic
and People’s Republic. He saved China many times and its democratic system.
After fight for many years to protect democracy in China, Dr. Sun realized the reasons that why Chinese revolutionary movement failed. He argued that because of lack of strong political party which could lead the revolution successfully, China is unstable. He was convinced by the Russian system of government. He gave three new policies to the nation which was given the name of “three great policies” of connecting with Russia, connecting with Communist Party of China and helping peasants and workers. (Thompson, 1995)

After a great work and preparation, in January 1924, “First National Congress of the Kuomintang of China” was held in the province of Guangzhou which was an important sea port of China. (Thompson, 1995)

He offered the members of Communist Party of China to become a member of government to start cooperation between both parties. He also established the “Chinese Kuomintang Military Academy” in May 1924.

Under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen that was the period of prosperity and development in China. Dr. Sun died in March 1925 in Beijing and the system again went into chaos because various groups within the Kuomintang started struggle for power. They clearly showed what they wanted and even some of them clearly mentioned to kick out the members of Communist Party of China. In 1927, Chiang Ki-shek and Wang Jinhwei both were the military generals and had the power who divided the Kuomintang and cooperation between Kuomintang and CPC ended.

In April 1927, Nanjing National Government was established. That government stated that it would continue northern expedition. Same year in June, the armies of Nanjing National Government captured Beijing and the period of sixteen years of control by warlords over the
region ended. On 15th June 1928 National Government declared China as united. In December 1928, the local government of northeast China also surrendered its autonomy to National Government and become a part of united China.

By fabricating 1931 issue as a cause, Japanese forces captured huge area of Chinese territory but, China adopted the policy of non resistance. Due to these circumstances anti-Japanese political struggle of the Chinese people eventually increased. Finally, in 1935, Japan invaded North China and caused for eruption of new crisis in China. Because Chiang Kai-shek had adopted the policy of non-resistance against Japan, two of his most senior military generals launched “official remonstrance” in order to force their leader to take strict action again Japan and launch war. This incident was famous with the name of “Xi incident”. Communist Party of China and some other political parties played a vital role in solving this issue peacefully. Owing to this role of Communist Party of China, foundation was led for cooperation between it and Kuomintang.

Japan came further ahead and launched full scale invasion on China in July 1937. National Government of Kuomintang declared a war against Japan and along with this it also joined the cooperation of Communist Party of China. That was considered the second phase of cooperation between the both parties. During the Second World War, Chinese land was the major war zone even Allied Forces also fought here in order to defeat fascism (Japan). Allied forces completely supported China in war against Japan. Role of Chinese people in this war against fascism is written in golden words and owing to playing this role China was elected as a one member among the five permanent members of the Security Council of United Nations. Finally, in August 1945, Japan surrendered and China got victory over Japan. China got back all its territory from Japan. Although Chinese people won the war of resistance against Japan but, unfortunately a new
war had been started between Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China on the issue weather this particular state would be democratic or communist. During this immense struggle between the both factions, millions of Chinese were killed and dislocated from their hometowns. That vigorous military and political struggle damaged the infrastructure of China massively.

**China under Communism**

Communist party of China was founded in 1921 in China to represent the working class. Actually it happened on 4th May 1919, a faction of students started agitation in Beijing against the subversive actions of the Nanjing National Government. Afterward, a series of demonstration and agitations broke out all over China leading by the working class especially shopkeepers, farmers and students. That was the history making time that Chinese working class entered in the political sphere and the representative of worker class “Communist Party of China” was established under this movement. Communist Part of China was established by the leaders namely “Li Dazhao”, “Chen Duxiu”, “Mao Zedong” and “Zhou Enlai”. (Shambaugh, 2008)

23 July 1921, was the day the “First National Congress” of the communist party of China was held in Shanghai. Fifty party members participated which were represented by twelve delegates. In this meeting they had discussion on the issues of “party program” and the official name of part which was selected as “Communist party of China”. (Shambaugh, 2008)

That monumental moment gave a new hope to the Chinese working class that now they have their own political party, their voices will be entertained in the policy making, a new political development emerged on the destiny of Chinese people.
After it came into being, it became committed itself to the main issue of making China “a real democratic”. It also launched massive strikes against imperialist faction and feudalism in order to completely eliminate from the land of China. Communist Party of China also enhanced cooperation with Kuomintang and formed a democratic united front with it.

Mao Zedong wanted to enhance the role of CPC in the development of China and in this regard Communists under his leadership combined the theories of “Marxism and Leninism” by realizing the increasing force and power of urban dominating Kuomintang. In its early period of existence, Communist Party of China established powerful basis in rural areas and due to this factor confrontation occurred between Kuomintang and CPC. CPC launched an agrarian revolutionary movement and established their basis in the rural areas.

Due to the Japanese aggression in 1937, both parties again joined each other in “war of resistance” in order to make powerful alliance to retaliate against a common enemy. That cooperation was proved to be a truce and it ended with the end of war in 1945.

During this war the leader of Communist party Mao Zedong keenly analyzed the basic characteristics and rules that administered the advancement of war and reached at the result that China could emerge successful by launching a people’s war. In the meanwhile, Mao Zedong and other part leaders also improved the theory of “New Democratic Revolution”. (Tony, 1995)

As they argued that at this stage a revolution can be produced the New Democratic Revolution in China and after this revolution it will be a new democratic country but not as westerns and socialists.
Success in war of Resistance against Japan gave hopes to the Chinese people of peaceful future and prosperity. They hoped China would remain peaceful, independent, democratic and powerful. Unfortunately, their dreams could not come true and civil war started between the CPC and Kuomintang as later one tried to demolish the CPC’s people’s army and its liberated city and towns. Due to launching attacks on the CPC’s areas by Kuomintang, a full scale civil war erupted in China. That proved to be a strategic decisive war in which the CPC defeated Kuomintang and its leaders had to escape to Taiwan.

In September 1949, First “Chinese people’s Political Consultative Congress” was held in Beijing, China. (Guo, 2010)

Mao Zedong chaired that congress and delegates representing the CPC and non-CPC parties actively participated. On 1st October 1949, Mao Zedong announced the founding of “New China” and the “Central Government of People’s Republic of China”. (Guo, 2010) It was a difficult task for Mao to put China on the way of development in short time. Foreign invasion and then revolutionary civil war had made the state critical. Millions of young generation members were killed during previous catastrophic time. New world order was emerged as two super powers were trying to maximize their influence in different parts of the world. Bases of conflicts now converted to ideologies. Communist and Capitalism were leading the two blocks of world as Mao came in China as a leader after a communist revolution, it was not easy for him survive without building any immediate alliance with former USSR the motherland of Socialism and Communism.
At the time of independence, Mao considered the US as the major capitalist rival. It seems very awkward that soon the difference occurred between PRC and USSR that Mao was suspicious about the appropriateness of USSR’s model of administration. USSR wanted to enhance its influence on Mao by implementing its model of governance in China. Due to increase in this sort of differences and disputes between the two allied states, this socialism based alliance failed in 1950s. (Luthi, 2008) (Mao’s experience to join one camp for protection from US was failed. Form 1950s to 1960s China remained in confrontation with both the super powers. Mao adopted such a poor domestic policies with the name of “Cultural Revolution” which produces serious chaotic situation in China and the threat to USSR of intervention reached to the peak. It was necessary for China to re-engineer its foreign policy of isolation, so Beijing undertook essential changes regarding relations with both super powers. Mao regime considered that the USSR has become the major threat to the security of China. This realization temporarily brought China into strategic alliance with US because it has the only balancing power which could counter the Soviet threat.

On one side Mao had an issue regarding establishing relations with super powers; on the other hand he was immensely busy in providing support and assistance to the Communist parties of other states especially in East Asia. After communist revolution in China, Mao accepted that it is our responsibility to provide every kind of help to the struggling communist parties in East Asia. In this regard, China fought war against world army in Korea from 1950 to 1953. (Luthi, 2008)

It was a very difficult time for China as it had got newly independent and was not powerful nor it was stable to fight this war. But, sympathies and commitment to communism provoked Mao go for this adventure and eventually she proved her worth as a major factor in the politics of East
Asia. More than three hundred thousand Chinese volunteers went in North Korea to fight against the capitalist forces.

China also provided powerful support to the Communist party of Vietnam. In Vietnam China also had confrontation with USSR which itself wanted to increase its influence in Vietnam. China also supported Communist party of Indonesia, Philippine and other East Asian states. After Second World War USSR was much busy in Eastern Europe and Latin America to promote communism and on the other side China was enhancing its influence in East Asia. (Shambaugh, 2000) In some areas China remained successful but unfortunately in many states Communist parties left armed struggle and entered into political struggle which was a serious setback to Chinese efforts.

Due to this keenly provided support to East Asian communists, almost every state became suspicious about China that it has imperialistic policy. East Asian states were reluctant to see China as a good neighbor. They felt need of such an alliance which could protect them from China’s threat. When China was plunged by Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), East Asian states established an organization named “ASEAN” (1969) in order to protect them from growing economic development of China. (Shambaugh, 2000) It is the platform which was really established having one thing in minds that East Asian states have to contain China by combined efforts.

Mao was very keen in his ideology. He adopted very strict policies regarding foreign relations. He never bothered what kind of feelings his neighbors had about China. He was stuck to expand communism in other states. He established good relations neither with its neighbors nor with other states. He adopted the same ideology of ancient Chinese imperial thoughts that “China was
the cultural center of the world planet and Chinese nation is only civilized and all non-Chinese people were uncivilized and barbarians.” Mao was of the view that Chinese socialism is the only best form of government and it is our duty to spread it for sake of world’s peace and prosperity. (Chi, 1992) During the phase of Mao rule China remained in such a situation in which it could not develop its economy nor it could manage to develop relation with other states. Some major incidents occurred because of strict policies adopted by Mao in order to increase agricultural production and industrial development but, unfortunately millions of men were killed. Many old companions of Mao turned against him because of unrealistic policies which caused serious disaster in China such as manmade famine in 1959. Many Chinese people also turned against Mao and finally millions of men were killed who ever opposed his policies. Many senior members of Communist Party of China were put into prison when they go up against Mao. (Chi, 1992)

We can say that during the Mao’s period China was a poor, uncivilized, less developed and isolated country, which had very limited objective of promoting communism only into other states. Second major concern of Mao’s policy was to protect China from Soviet threat. Due to that Soviet threat it was prospected that conflict will arise between China and Soviet. In 1968 Soviet invaded Czechoslovakia and in 1969 Sino –Soviet border clashed strengthened this version that Soviet has intention to invade China. This thing forced Chinese leadership to look at such a shadow or cover which has a capacity to counter Soviet threat. In this regard People’s Republic of China seeks alignment with United States while criticizing “detente” as a policy of appeasement like Munich treaty.
REFERENCES


Chapter No: 5

SINO-ASEAN COOPERATION AND ACCOMODATION
AFTER COLD WAR

INTRODUCTION

Since 1996, China has adopted official diplomatic strategy of building strong relations with its neighboring states. China endorsed itself for maintaining peace and stability in the particular region of whole East Asia including ASEAN countries. China emphasizes that we should treat our neighbors with kindness that is clearly seen in its peaceful intentions of resolving all kinds of political issues by using peaceful methods. China understands that if it really wants to achieve regional goals and objectives then it has to build cordial relations with ASEAN member states. Such kind of peaceful situation will lead the entire region towards peace and stability and brings social, political and economic prosperity which is essential for both parties.

On the other side ASEAN also looks enthusiastic for enhancing economic relations with its neighboring states especially with China. China and ASEAN both entities realize that economics is a major factor for real development of the region. This approach can easily be seen in the rising quality of China’s political, social, economic presence in Southeast Asia. It has become clear that the future of ASEAN is dependent on regional integration which would promote mutual benefits of each country. An analysis says that the future of both parties would be the mixture of collaboration and confrontations on some front like territorial issues.

SINO-ASEAN RELATIONS
History is evident that every moment China remained focal point and hub of the East Asian regional politics. China continuously dominated the entire region because of its vast geography, massive population and modern military might while comparing it with other Southeast Asian countries. Throughout the history there is only one moment when China posed threat to ASEAN member states and that was Communist China in 1960s. In 1960s and 1970s China supported communist movements in Indonesia, Philippines and Malaysia. In 1979 Chinese raid over north Vietnam (in response of Vietnam’s invasion of Cambodia) was a clear indication to all the neighboring states that China is following the policy of peaceful co-existence and will not let anyone to breach the security of any neighboring states. (Bijian, 2011) Although some of the Southeast Asian states assume that the current rise of China is a serious threat to the security of the rest of the states. But on the other hand positive voices are raised in favor of rising China as scholars and intellectuals really seem positive to see their region develop and peaceful. They are really fed up from the role of US of divide and rule. They consider that China is not a threat to their security in this actual complex interdependence of international system. They realize that the fate of the developed Southeast Asian region is tightly linked with the development of China. China is looking for eliminating the US role in this particular region as China considers it the biggest hurdle in the development of this region.

**FORMATION OF ASEAN**

ASEAN came into being in 1967 by Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Indonesia and Thailand in order to save them from the emerging communist threat of Communist China. (Solidum, 2003) They wanted to make such an alliance which could politically and strategically protect them from communist threat. Actually this kind of think was not their own feelings but given by the Capitalist block especially the US. US and other capitalist states propagate this thing that China
has become communist and it will force the neighbors to be also communist. Although ASEAN is such an organization which was established for the well being of this region but on the other hand it also fulfilled political and strategic objectives of member states. China was not only the single threat considered by Southeast Asian states but there was also a very strong factor in the shape of former USSR which was actually leading the communist bloc.

In 1984, another country Brunei joined ASEAN. The remarkable achievement of ASEAN can be seen in 1995 when an authoritarian state Vietnam got admission in ASEAN camp. Before this, all member states were enjoying democracy in their states. In 1997 another historic development occurred when Myanmar and Laos joined ASEAN and next Cambodia joined it in 1999. That was the actual vision of the founding partners of ASEAN to bring all the states of Southeast Asia on single platform. (Solidum, 2003)

Approximately more than 8% of the world population lives in ASEAN member states. All countries have different level of economic development. Most of the countries are famous for producing electronic goods and some of them also producing cooking oil. In 1970s, Southeast Asian nations first time made attempt to cooperate in trade and industrial sector but, failed to get set objectives. Chia Siow Yue explained the reasons of failure in that attempt in his own words; (Striebinger et al, 2012)

Member states were only pursuing increase in trade but, did not attempt for economic integration. Every state just wanted to increase its own exports.

- Most of the countries had industry in starting phase that could not meet the standard of quality and quantity of European producers.

- Almost all the states are producing similar manufactured goods for trade purpose.
On one side ASEAN states were emphasizing on mutual trade but, on the other hand individual states are trying to enhance its economic relations with non-ASEAN member states.

ASEAN member states are investing their money in non-ASEAN member states in different projects but failed to invest in ASEAN member states.

Tariff level of ASEAN member states was different and had a wide gap in tariff among member states.

ASEAN talks about the respect of each member states on the basis of equality. It also talks about for mutual respect for the sovereignty of member states. It bounds the member states not to interfere in the internal matters of other states and respect to the territorial integrity of member states. The main focus of ASEAN is to enhance cooperation in all fields among the member states but, on the other hand it also looking for enhancing relations beyond the boundaries of region in order to solve that particular issues which could really disturb the security and stability of this region. By political means and economic means ASEAN has gained global weigh as it has set Hanoi Plan of Action in December 1998 which is commonly known as “ASEAN vision 2020.” (Naya & Plummer, 2005)

Like other states, the primary goal of Chinese foreign policy is to ensure its survival. Foreign policy is actually a task to the statesmen for formulating strategies by keeping in mind the capabilities of states in order to attain set goals in state’s interests. Frankel says, “national interest is the key concept in foreign policy,” (Hongyi, 2011) it is actually a crux of state’s all national values.
It was Deng Xiaoping who strongly pursued for economic development in 1978 while coming in power in China. He kept this national goal on top of the priority. Deng Xiaoping also realized that regional and international peace is fundamental in order to achieve economic development. It was the time when China start looking for peaceful relations with rest of the world and especially with ASEAN member states. China’s strategic culture is based on Confucian political thoughts. (Wang, 2011) It is a strong belief of Chinese decision makers that their national strategic interest are traditionally pacifist and non-aggressive. China has adopted defensive foreign policy but, if time comes that someone really becomes harmful for Chinese security then use of force in the shape of preemptive strikes would be launched. (Liu, 2009)

China issued a “Defense White Paper” in July 1998 in which it is very much clear stated about the Chinese vision about post-Cold War Asia’s Security order. (Ong, 2013) China has played a very vital and positive role in United Nations along with other prominent international organizations and put itself in the matters of international community with the objective of solving them through political means. In current scenario Chinese govt. officials are dealing with neighboring countries and the rest of the world in a very cooperative way and Chinese leaders are pursuing close relations with each and every state by listening their views humbly. China is rising to a place of global prominence.

Although, China and ASEAN members states had individually official relations on very small level but, informal relations between China and ASEAN members started when Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen participated the “24th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting as a state guest of Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur in 1991.” (Wang, 2015) Foreign Minister clearly expressed his great desire to establish cordial relations with ASEAN. Since then, China-ASEAN summit has been
arranged on annual basis. China and ASEAN then formalized their relations in 1994 by exchanging their official letters between Secretary General of ASEAN and then Vice Premier of China Mr. Qian Qichen. (Wang, 2015)

This is the when time when both parties forgot the previous suspicions and started a new journey of bilateral relations. They were very much enthusiastic in increasing trade and commerce. ASEAN realized that China is very much competent and able to full the their domestic demands and on the other hand China also realized that in order to increase in trade and develop its economy it should increase trade with neighboring countries which would be a real life line for Chinese industry.

During the “29th Ministerial Meeting of ASEAN” in Jakarta in 1996, China got the full dialogue status. Under this development both parties established a “Joint Cooperation Committee” to coordinate all procedures and mechanisms for mutual working. Both parties also developed a “Forum on Political and Security Issues.”(Acharya, 2014) At this moment China calculatedly diverted its strategic engagement with Southeast Asia. China extended its strategic partnership with ASEAN. Rational China has redefined its geo-political ties with ASEAN as I have already discussed that China is seeking stability and peace because of its political and economic development which is clearly based on its current policy of “stability, development and reforms.” ASEAN member states paid warm welcome to the current China’s desire for establishing cordial and wrathful relations with ASEAN.

After the 8th ASEAN Summit in Phnom Penh in 2004, they held ASEAN-China Summit which was very dynamic and fruitful that both parties signed many productive agreements. Among all
the signed agreements the most important was the “Framework Agreement on ASEAN-China Free Trade Area for ten years.” (Acharya, 2014) This is the first experience that ASEAN signed such a pact with China. Before this, ASEAN had no such kind of pact signed with any other country.

Taiwan Issue

After communist revolution 1949 in China the issue of Taiwan came into being with the establishing of separate state by Chiang Kai Shek a nationalist leader who was defeated by communist revolutionary forces. Capitalist block was supporting Taiwan and considered Chiang Kai Shek as a mainland of China and real representative of China. On the other hand Communist block was considering Mainland of China where communist got control. Till 1971, Taiwan got the status of real representative of China in United Nations. When US got normalize its relations with China and many other independent states emerged on the map of world, Peoples Republic of China became the sole representative of China.

China didn’t use any force to solve the issue of Taiwan. Beijing would not support the idea of Separate and independent Taiwan state but, it is solving this issue politically by allowing “one-country and two system” concept. (Wong, 2012)

Beijing claims that it is the sole and legitimate representative of all China including Taiwan. For last 65 years national unification of China and Taiwan remained the core strategic objective of Chinese cultural values and foreign policy. History is evident that both parts were previously a same country. Beijing is not willing to use force for the re-unification of Taiwan although it has right in the light of historical evidences. China considers Taiwan as his “Traitor province.”
(Wong, 2012) If any other nation-state recognizes Taiwan as a sovereign nation-state it clearly harms the sovereignty of China. ASEAN member states are very clear on this issue. They are not taking side of any single party because this is against the charter of organization. But, most of the ASEAN members support for “one China Policy” and it was reaffirmed during Ministerial Meeting in Singapore in 1999.

The US has been deeply involved in Taiwan issue as it has signed “Taiwan Relations Act of 1979.” (Lawrence & Lum, 2011) This act binds the US to provide security shield to Taiwan if China attacks. There are set examples that the US proved its sincerity to Taiwan’s security as in 1995-96 during “Taiwan Strait Crisis” it dispatched U.S.S Independence and U.S.S Nimitz war ships to protect Taiwan and confirm this obligation. Taiwan has purchased numerous modern weapons from the US under Taiwan Relations Act. US are seriously busy in strengthening Taiwan by providing most modern weapons as “Theater Missile Defense” for its security which has angered China. (Assmann, 2007) China sees Washington as the main partner and protector of Taiwan.

On one side Taiwan’s President made it very much clear that Taiwan is a sovereign and independent state but, on the other hand China doesn’t seems to be ready to accept Taiwan as a separate state. Whatever is going on between the two parties China and Taiwan, clearly indicated that there is no possible solution in near future. Owing to this complexity of relations among the three parties the US, China and Taiwan the risk of serious conflict is not to be neglected. There are many supporters in US Congress which support China for its claim over Taiwan and although it is not sure but at any moment Taiwan may lose US support because US is loyal to only its own national interests.
When we talk about trade relations among the three parties of East Asia; China, Taiwan and ASEAN, it is fact that more than US$ 130 billion invested in China by the Taiwanese businessmen and about two million Taiwanese workers are settled in mainland of China. Business relations between ASEAN and Taiwan are established since 1988. Both parties are trading in different sectors such as electronics goods, food oil, textile sector etc. (Rosen, & Wang, 2011)

China-ASEAN Dialogue Relations started when Chinese Foreign Minister Mr. Qian Qichen was invited by the Malaysian government as a state guest to attend the 24th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in Kuala Lumpur in 1991. He strongly expressed his keen interests in cooperation with ASEAN for mutual profits. That was the beginning China used it in its favor and got the status of full Dialogue Partner 29th Annual Ministerial Meeting in 1996 in Indonesia. China and ASEAN further signed the Joint Declaration of the Heads of Government on “Strategic Partnership for Peace and Prosperity” at 7th China-ASEAN Summit in 2003 Indonesia. (Yang, et al 2012) Both parties also adopted ASEAN-China Plan of Action (ACPA)2005-2010 for the implementation of Joint Declaration at the 8th ASEAN-China Summit in 2004 in Vientiane. In October 2010 in Hanoi, at the 13th China-ASEAN Summit a new “Plan of Action” was signed between the two parties in order to enhance “China-ASEAN Strategic Partnership for Peace and Prosperity” for the period of (ACSPPP)2011-2015. (Yang, et al 2012)

China and ASEAN both now agree to cooperate in the eleven areas such as information and communication technology, Mekong Basin Development, investment, energy, culture, transport, tourism, agriculture, human resource development, health and environment.
China has deployed its resident Ambassador to ASEAN and established Chinese Mission for ASEAN in 2012 in Indonesia in order to promote mutual communication. ASEAN-China center has been established in Beijing. This center is providing the facility of one stop information center regarding both parties cooperation in trade, investment, tourism, education and culture.

**POLITICAL AND SECURITY COOPERATION**

China and ASEAN are enjoying best relations in trade sector. But, on the other hand they didn’t neglect cooperation in the field of security and politics. Because both realize that until or unless there is no peace, security and political stability they could suffer from unpleasant incident which could lead both parties towards hostility.

China and ASEAN both look very much enthusiastic in developing their relations and in this regard both parties are seriously busy on ministerial level meetings, senior officials from the both sides regularly meet with experts in different fields. As result China and ASEAN are enjoying such important developments as ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ASEAN Plus Three (ASEAN+3), ASEAN Defense Minister Meeting (ADMM) and East Asia Summit (EAS). (Yang, et al 2012)

China is the first who joined ASEAN as a dialogue partner to come to join Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) in 2003 in Indonesia. China is also the first country which showed its willingness to join the “Protocol to the SEANWFZ (Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapon Free Zone)” while it is already a nuclear capable state. (Swee-Hock, et al 2005) There is somewhat tension that prevails on the issue of South China Sea and for reducing this tension and having wish to promote peaceful, friendly and constructive relations both parties signed the Declaration
on the Conducts of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC)” in 2002. In July 2011, after a long series of discussions both parties agreed on the guidelines for implementing this DOC. Chinese Premier gave proposal of establishing of “China-ASEAN Maritime Cooperation Fund (ACMCF)” which was sanctioned in 2011. (Lam, 2015)

The basic purpose behind this Fund is only to enhance cooperation between China and ASEAN in the field of maritime scientific research, connectivity and navigation security. This fund will provide support in all promoting cooperation in above mentioned fields. Both parties also signed the “Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in the field of Non-Traditional Security Issues in 2004 which is again verified by the parties in 2009 till 2014.” Both parties look also for enhancing cooperation to eliminate drug trafficking.

**Economic Cooperation**

China and ASEAN signed an agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation in 2002, since then both are enjoying benefits of mutual trade and business. ASEAN member states and China are working very seriously on the formation of ACFTA, means ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement. In this regard 16th ASEAN-China Summit in 2013 remained very successful where the leaders of the member states strongly argued in favor of upgraded version of ACFTA and its immediate implementation. It was decided in 2010 that on 1st January 2015 ACFTA will be implemented in full swing. (Yongnian, 2015)

In this regard both sides established an ACFTA Joint Committee in 2011 which was given the task of overseeing, coordinating, supervising and then reviewing the implementation of this agreement. In the light of recommendations presented by the Joint Committee member states
have improved their trade relations by providing each other improved market access and maintain balance of trade among them.

China has been the largest trading partner of ASEAN since 2009. During the 16th ASEAN-China Summit in 2013 it was noted that the mutual trade volume has been increased at an annual growth rate of 21.6% since the singing of “Framework Agreement of Comprehensive Economic Cooperation (FACEC).”

Having purpose of supporting fifty (50) infrastructure development projects in ASEAN countries, China established “China-ASEAN Fund on Investment Cooperation (ACFIC)” in 2009. US$ 10 billion was given to that fund including US$ 15 Billion in term of credit and US$ 1.7 billion preferential loans which was later increased up to US$ 6.7 billion. (Gera, 2013)

Since 2004, China is hosting China-ASEAN Expo (CAEXPO) on annual basis in which ASEAN member states and China show their products and manufacturing goods for trading purpose. In this regard China-ASEAN Business and Investment Summit (CABIS) with having purpose of bringing government and private commercial sector together for exchanging their ideas regarding development of economy and business.

China and ASEAN both agreed on establishing of Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank which will provide loan facility to the regional infrastructure projects. Both sides are also enhancing cooperation in agriculture field. China is conducting series of training course to train the agriculture technicians and officials of ASEAN member countries.
Information Technology and Communication technology is one another field in which both parties are cooperating with each other and signed the Beijing Declaration on ASEAN-China ICT Cooperative Partnership for Common Development in 2007.

China also signed “MOU in Transport Cooperation” with ASEAN countries in 2004. Many individual agreements have also been signed on individual level. Many projects are under development in the field of transportation facilities between China and ASEAN members. Two agreements on maritime and air transport are also signed in 2007 and 2010 respectively.

Regarding tourism China has a great chance to become a major contributor in this field. Chinese civilization is much old and having a lot of places to be visited from the tourists of neighboring countries and around the globe as well. On the other hand Chinese population is biggest in the world and Chinese tourist could be the great source of income for the ASEAN member states. An estimated more than six (6) million tourist visit China from the ASEAN countries. More than nine (9) million Chinese tourists visited ASEAN countries in 2012 which clearly shows the huge potential in this field between ASEAN and China.

Laws for the security of Intellectual property rights have been also discussed among the parties and on 10th July 2012 3rd China-ASEAN Heads of IP Offices meeting was held in which it was proposed to work for Traditional and ancient Chinese medicines and knowledge regarding betterment of this region. (Lam, 2015) Both parties are willing to take task of preserving traditional knowledge and medicines and in this regard officials are meeting regularly.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL COOPERATION
Socio-cultural cooperation is very much important for bringing hostile states near each other. According to the constructivist that mutual norms, values, customs and thoughts would reduce the threat of occurrence of war between the belligerent states. Although, this thing can not eliminate this threat but, somehow minimize it. China and ASEAN have started cooperation in the fields of information technology, education, culture, public health, labor, social security, environment, youth, media, social development, poverty elimination, local government and people to people exchanges.

Cooperation has been started between China and ASEAN member states in above mentioned almost all fields. Different MOUs, agreements and treaties have been concluded to cooperate in different sectors some of them are discussed below;

MOU on “Health Cooperation” was signed by the Ministers of China and ASEAN member states in July 2012 in Thailand at the occasion of 4th ASEAN-China Health Minister Meeting. During the 16th China-ASEAN Summit in October 2013 it was calculated the progress on the different fields of medicines, infection diseases, communicable diseases and traditional and complementary local medicines. In this summit leaders of the participant states argued in favor of promoting mutual collaboration in health sector.

Year of 2012 was designated as the “ASEAN-China Year of Cooperation in Science and Information Technology” by the ASEAN and China. In enhancing cooperation in this field, China proposed to launch 10 scientific research laboratories in ASEAN member states by giving fund of US$ 1 million to each laboratory. (Yang, 2012) During the 16th ASEAN-China Summit it
is explained that there are four important cooperation programs are carried out under STEP (Science & Technology Partnership Program) between China and ASEAN.

Education is such a field in which cooperation is most important and both parties did not neglect it. China is increasing cooperation in education sector as it has convened 5th China-ASEAN Education Cooperation Week in 2012 in Guizhou, China. It was 2010 when both sides explicitly expressed their views on promoting cooperation in education sector and made efforts to “double 100000 goal of student exchange and mobility” between ASEAN member states and China. They also agreed to establish 10 ASEAN-China Education and Training Center in six provinces of China. These centers will further play an important role to promote solidarity, cooperation and development in this particular region and this project will also facilitate ASEAN’s efforts in promotion of socio-economic collaboration and human resources development projects.

Ceremony was held in May 2012 in Singapore in order to inaugurate ASEAN-China Ministers on Culture and Arts (AMCA+China) regarding increase in cultural cooperation among the East Asian states. In 16th ASEAN-China Summit in 2013, it was declared that the year of 2014 will be celebrated as the “ASEAN-China Cultural Exchange Year and it was celebrated.” Different seminars and conferences are being held just to increase cultural exchange.

Cooperation on environmental issues is also very prominent that China-ASEAN Environmental Cooperation Centre (CAEC) was established in 2011 in Beijing, China. Environmental problem is one among the major issues being faced by the East Asian states because of heavy industry. Although, China is the biggest contributor in polluting the environment but it is also cooperating with other neighboring states in order to control this issue.
Cooperation among the ASEAN member states and China on disaster management is also very prominent that China gave proposal to establish platform for institutional communication among East Asian states. China is willing to sign MOU on Disaster Management cooperation with ASEAN. There are many proposals in this regard that how cooperation can be boost up in this field of disaster management.

“Media” is also one the major field in which China and ASEAN are willing to cooperate. Media personals from both sides paying visit each other on regular basis. In 2001, China invited Television producers, Correspondents and other media personals of ASEAN member states. China International Communication Institute for Radio, Film and Television provided all kind of information regarding cooperation in this field.

These are the some important fields in which China and ASEAN enjoying a lot of cooperation. Both sides have realized the necessity of this complex interdependent international system. They know if they remain at distance to each other someone else from outside will come to fill this gap and will also take major benefits from this region. They have experienced the results of proxy wars of two super powers which ultimately left impact on regional politics which cause poor infrastructure, weak economies, political instability, foreign involvement etc in East Asian states.

**Chinese Premier Visit to Myanmar**

Chinese Premier Li was invited to attend 17th ASEAN-China Annual Summit in November 2014 in Myanmar. Chinese Premier participated in this summit with the vision of deepening friendly relations with ASEAN. Mr. Li emphasized the need of implementation of proposals regarding cooperation between China and ASEAN. His vision marked the genesis of “new diamond
decade” of ASEAN-China mutual cooperation. (Das, 2014) This participation by Chinese Premier was very much important that the relations between China and ASEAN were little bit confused and going towards trouble because of South China Sea issue and disadvantages of mutual economic interests and it happened because of lack of mutual trust. Chinese Premier did a lot in this regard by talking about enhancing mutual trust and interests.

Mr. Li gave the proposal of formation of “2+7 Cooperation” for the real development in future between ASEAN and China. The figure “2” actually has meanings of “deepening strategic trust and expanding good relations with neighbor” and “focusing on economic development and enlarging mutual benefits.” The figure “7” talks about the seven key fields where cooperation is needed to be enhanced which are “politics”, “trade and economics”, “finance”, “ocean”, “humanity”, “mutual trust and interconnection” and “security”. (Xing, et al. 2014)

Two main points which were discussed in this “2+7” concept are mutual trust and enhanced economic interdependent relations which could be the driving force in strengthening ties between China and ASEAN. Mr. Li also proposed “dual track solution” for the peaceful solution of South China Sea dispute. While talking “2+7 cooperation framework” Mr. Li was clearly focused on economic field such as promotion of “China-ASEAN Free Trade Area”, “mutual trust and close connectivity”, “infrastructure investment bank” and building of “Maritime Silk Road.” According to this “dual track solution” this dispute will be discussed on bilateral level in order to maintain peace in region at ASEAN-China level.

Mr. Li’s was remained focused on the issue of eliminating mistrust and enhancing mutual political trust. He was of the view that unless or until we eliminate mutual suspicion and mistrust
we cannot make our region stable and peaceful. China gave the proposal of “good-neighbor treaty” to ASEAN which will ensure China-ASEAN peaceful and constructive relations. He was very much positive about enhancing cooperation between the parties by saying that the last decade was the “golden decade” of relationship between China and ASEAN but, now we should concert this decade into “diamond decade”. His words clearly express his serious intentions regarding strong and cordial mutual relations between ASEAN and China.

China is struggling hard to make its neighbors realize the importance of regional cooperation and in this regard its utmost effort we can see in building mutual trust by giving different proposals to ASEAN members.

Zhai Kun, analyze the relations between China and ASEAN that building cordial relations with ASEAN is the preference in Chinese strategy and foreign policy. He also analyzes the first official visit of Chinese President and Premier to South East Asian countries in October 2014. Mr. Xi Jinping President of China visited Malaysia, Indonesia including attending of APEC meeting and Mr. Li Premier of China went to Vietnam, Thailand and Brunei Darussalam. Zhai Kun concluded these visits in a single word “upgrade” because both leaders offered a series of plans, proposals and development projects to boost up China-ASEAN relations. There are many things which China wants to upgrade such as “upgrade Chinese position in the region”, “upgrade China-ASEAN trade relations”, “upgrade China-ASEAN partnership” and “upgrade China-ASEAN multi-dimensional cooperation”. (Wu & Zou, 2014)

All these proposals were given in response of ASEAN countries complains that Chinese leaders are visiting other parts of the world and giving benefits to other states in Asia, Africa, South
America but, except neighboring countries of South East Asia. This complain came in front when Chines foreign minister Wang Yi randomly visited almost all East Asian countries last year and attended high level official meeting in Thailand.

The two top leaders’ visits to ASEAN countries are directly connected to eliminate this complaint. President Xi gave the proposal of establishing “community of common destiny” between ASEAN and China means upgrade relation level from “golden age” to “diamond age.” (Wu & Zou, 2014)

Both leaders’ emphasis remained on promoting good neighbor friendship policy and insisted on signing of friendship treaties in order to provide legitimate guarantees to the strategic relations and will provide positive guideline in the further development of bilateral relations. China tried to make it neighbors understand that China wants to establish relations with all neighboring states on equal basis that there should be no issue of big state and small state as it can be experience in case of China and Brunei relations contrary to the example of US-Thailand relations. China also signed three working agreements in order to eliminate mistrust and enhance mutual partnership on maritime issue, land and financial cooperation.

Chinese leaders also proposed to upgrade existing model of ASEAN-China Free Trade Area. China is on the vision to boost up trade between the two sides on the level of US$ 1 trillion by 2020. They also presented proposals regarding defense issues of South China Sea, maritime silk route connectivity plans and Asian Infrastructure investment bank.

Above mentioned ideas, proposals intentions of the Chinese leaders made the judgment very clear that China is quite positive and willing to show its openness towards South East Asian
region regarding regional development and resolving each and every issue with mutual consent. Chinese leaders have managed to grab the attentions neighboring states and most of the neighboring states are clearly accepting this kind of Chinese behavior. One thing is very important here that for some years the concentration of Obama government is diverted from this region. US is actually busy in managing its domestic issues and in South Asia, Middle East, Eastern Europe and Africa. China seems to exploit this opportunity and trying to increase its influence in South East Asian region. Acceptance of Proposals given by the Chinese government to the ASEAN countries proves that Chinese is successful in its mission to re-establish its century’s old hierarchical order in this region.

Academicians are of the view that the closer ASEAN-China relationship will provoke the major regional as well as world powers to actively pursue their goals in South East Asia. This time China has an edge over all other major powers but, for US this region is also very important and it is expected it will strongly pursue the goal of maintain status quo. On one side China is playing cards of mutual cooperation and economy to bring the ASEAN countries close on the other hand US is playing cards of social and cultural ties with ASEAN countries. US policy makers targeting the young and new comer heads of states of ASEAN member and trying to make them understand that you will be the future of this particular region if you cooperate with US. US has launched five year higher education partnership program with Indonesia and provided US$ 165 millions in order to increase educational, cultural and social relations. In this regard in my opinion, China will be the winner because it shares common culture, common values and common norms with South East Asia.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CHINA-ASEAN RELATIONS
Scholars have been discussing this thing that East Asia lacks regional institutions and cooperation. Asia was once described by Ravenhill as an “institutionally deficit” area where there was no such an institution which could bind the regional states for mutual cooperation and integration. But, now this particular region has gained much more by bringing dramatic changes. Many regional institutions have been established which are busy in promoting cooperation among the regional states such as ASEAN Regional Forum, ASEAN Community, RCEP etc. no doubt ASEAN is a part of almost every institute emerging in East Asia but we cannot ignore the strong role of China which changed itself for the sake of regional economic development and peace and security. The situation is that China is a part of almost each and every treaty and cooperation agreement in this particular region which shows the seriousness of China for making this region actually developed.

One major change which occurred after Cold War is very important to discuss. During Cold War, ASEAN remained under the influence of super powers especially US and it was being used for the fulfillment of western interests. US made them realized that until you are with us China and former USSR are not a threat to you. By making them realize about this threat the US did not let them come towards regional integration. By feeling this threat ASEAN states remained on distance from China especially which is an actual traditional ally. Now, this trend has been changed. China is rising as a major economic power with political stability, social strength and modern military. (Gugler & Chaisse, 2010)

China and ASEAN have signed and implemented “ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement (ACFTA)” in 2010. Chinese Prime Minister Zhu Rongji was the actual founder of this idea and first time talked about it in 2000. Both parties agreed on a framework of “comprehensive
economic cooperation” in 2002 and these terms of references (ToRs) became the foundation in establishing ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement. (Gugler & Chaisse, 2010)

Now this agreement has become a binding force for both sides to build and develop warm and pleasant relations maintain peace and stability in the region.

Both parties extending their economic relation while considering the uncertain changes on global level. They are using economic diplomacy in pursuance of their political objectives because of the phenomenon of interdependence. In current interdependence global system there is no even a single state which enough capable of self reliance. Political goals have been directly linked with economic policies and relations. China is rising on global level and its economic policies are making it capable of facing and dealing with all challenges. China’s rise is mostly dependent on its economic relations with other states. These are the economic relations that brought two hostile parties on a single page. Chinese industry is growing so that its demand of consumer market is also growing.

There is a global trend that countries from a single region build an economic alliance in order to cooperate with each having purpose of achieving their mutual goals. With the signing of ACFTA China has achieved the goal to access easy nearby market to sell its manufactured goods. But, on the other hand from ASEAN’s perspective we can check that ASEAN has also gained its goal to play vital role in strengthening its economic foundations. It was challenging for the both parties to sign such kind of free trade agreement because of many issues such as, South East Asia is a region which is experiencing massive economic growth and it seems this region will be the future driving force to run global economy. Another issue is the rise of China and its ambitions
to control the entire region stimulate the other major powers to take it serious. US has established its influence over the region very soon after Second World War. With the rise of Chine, the interest of US could be disturbed which is unacceptable for it. US wants to maintain status quo in South East Asia.

ASEAN individually playing a very decisive and influential role in its surrounding such as the establishing of ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ASEAN-China FTA, ASEAN-India FTA, ASEAN-Japan FTA, ASEAN-South Korea FTA and ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand FTA, ASEAN+3 (ASEAN+China+Japan+Korea), East Asia Summit (EAS). ASEAN has established deep economic relations with almost all major country such as China, Russia, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, India and America. ACFTA is one of the examples of economic regionalism by which East Asia is being benefited and regional states are enjoying peace and stability. (Chung, 2014)

Currently, ASEAN-China Free Trade Area is facing political hurdle in its full implementation by US. China and US are in competition in enhancing their influence in this region. This phenomenon can be judged very easily that in response of ACFTA, US has established Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP). ACFTA is led by China while TPP is led by US.

TPP basically established by the three states Malaysia, Brunei and Chile. It gained momentum and importance when US joined it and it also grabbed the other states so now its members are twelve states including Japan, New Zealand, Australia, Brunei, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, America, Canada, Mexico, Peru and Chile. Scholars are of the view that this could be an economic apparatus equipped with political objectives set by the United States to contain the
increasing influence of China in the region. Jagdish Bhagwati argued that the creation of TPP is actually a “political retaliation to Chinese new aggressive diplomacy, it is created not with the spirit of cooperation, but for containment and confrontation.” (Lim et al, 2012)

Nature of the world politics has been changed. Economic power replaced the importance of military power. Before this, a state having ambitions of ruling the world was supposed to enhance its military power and make military alliances with other states, but now in changed world, economy, trade and commerce took place of military importance. Currently, states are busy in making development in their industry so that they may able to increase their exports in order to minimize their dependence on others. This is a time of interdependence and this is also vulnerable for states. A state which is more dependent on other states is receiving influence from external factors. Week states have to do what the powerful industrialized states ask them to do. They need manufactured goods to meet domestic requirements, food to feed their people, military equipments to make sure state’s security, technology to become advance and developed, services to make their officials skilled and technical assistance and instruments to provide better services to their people. This thing is creating difference between week states and powerful states. Week states are creating regional alliances to stop the involvement of major powers. ASEAN states are also week and developing states they were heavily dependent on external powers.

After the Second World War, world was divided into two blocks the Capitalist and the Communist, most of the East Asian states decided to join capitalist block which was led by the US. East Asian states joined US camp that they wanted to fulfill the needs and demands of their people, but along with it they also surrender their autonomy and US made this region a platform
for its proxy wars. East Asian states especially South East Asian states suffered a lot and then they realized to get rid of this bad thing. ASEAN was created and started the process of regional trade and regional integration. Now ASEAN has become the most practical regional integration platform. ASEAN on one side want to minimize the role of US in East Asian political matters, but on the other hand feeling little bit conscious about the rise of China and its increasing influential role in regional politics.

This is the point where China needs to be focused and win ASEAN’s trust. China is moving towards this direction and by providing assistance and help to ASEAN in each and every field is close to achieve its objectives. Contrary to US, China is trying to solve its all political issues through negotiations and by political means. China is working on making its neighboring states developed by providing them foreign direct investment. Hundreds of projects are being completed in ASEAN states by the Chinese companies. Millions of ASEAN people migrated to China in search of business and jobs. Cultural exchanges are in progress between China and ASEAN. Chinese government is anxiously building Confucius center in order to make the ASEAN people familiar to Chinese social and political thoughts.
ECONOMIC INTEGRATION/REGIONALISM

The phenomenon of economic regionalism started after the end of the Cold War. This phenomenon changed the nature of international relations which is shifted from military power to economic complex interdependence. States belong to a same region decided to establish forum for economic cooperation among them also called inter-regionalism. By January 2014, it was recorded that 581 drafts on the building of Regional Trade Agreement was submitted to World Trade Organization in which 377 are approved and executed.

There are two kind of economic regionalism as through Free Trade Agreement (FTA) or Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) often called Regional Trade Agreement (RTA). (Hu, & Vanhullebusch, 2014) One region follows the other regions and so it has become very common phenomenon in the world. Pursuant have their different objectives behind the creation of Free Trade Agreement. As a powerful state of the region pursue regionalism just to maintain its hegemony over the rest of the states. On the other side week states really want to deepen the economic cooperation that they may overcome their economic deficiencies. Regionalism got momentum after 1990s. Cohn describes the phenomenon of economic regionalism and explains its five levels;

1. FTA  (Free Trade Agreement)
2. CU    (Custom Union)
3. CM    (Common Market)
4. EU    (Economic Union)
5. PU    (Political Union)

*Levels and stages in Regional Economic Integration*
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<th>Free Trade Area (FTA)</th>
<th>Custom Union (CU)</th>
<th>Common Market (CM)</th>
<th>Economic Union (EU)</th>
<th>Political Union (PU)</th>
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<td>Tariff Reduction</td>
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<td>Harmonization of Political Regulations</td>
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</table>

Regional states in first step take initiative for regional integration with the establishing of Regional Trade Agreement or Free Trade Agreement. In this first step, signatory parties come in an agreement to remove tariffs from imported goods. Member countries adopt the policy of non-discrimination and each member enjoys the equal status.

Next step in economic regionalism is “custom union”. In custom union member states do not remove tariffs for the member states but, put the same tariffs for non-members states. In Common Market member states provide facility to each other’s public to move freely from one member state to other only for the purpose of capital investment or in search for a job. Simply we can say people of the member states invest their capital in another state and move within the region for labor purpose. Common Market is considered a strong level and deeper economic integration as compared to previous levels. Then the stage comes of Economic Union in which member countries are ready to synchronize their economic policies regarding health, education and employment. Member states agree to unify many policies especial currency unification. All
member states adopt single currency like European Union member states are using Euro. The deepest level of economic integration is considered of Political Union. (Hu, & Vanhullebusch, 2014) On this stage of economic integration states not only cooperation in non-political fields but they also combine their domestic, foreign and defense policies. In this regard European Union is the best ever example for a case study.

Economic integration or regionalism is strongly supported and promoted by the scholars of liberal institutionalism. According to the liberals, economic integration forum is needed for information sharing which is useful and helpful in reducing costs. It also helpful in understanding the demands and requirements of each other along with it facilitates the member countries to avoid conflicts and misunderstandings. According to the liberal institutional school of thought that international system is synchronized and interdependent and cooperation among states in this sort of international system is a “positive-sum” game. By this cooperation all states could be benefited even can achieve those goal and objectives which are impossible to achieve alone. Although, achieved goal by all states are not balanced, it depends on the geography, size, industrial development, natural resources and political stability of the states but, even then no single state remains in loss.

According to the senior scholar Ravenhill, regional economic forum having not only commercial aspect but, it also deals with political issues among the member states. While reviewing the proposal for economic agreement and integration both sides China and ASEAN put emphasis on economic cooperation by signing of ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA) and did not ignore the political dimension of cooperation too.
POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF ACFTA

It is evident that Association of South East Asian Nations was established as an economic forum in 1967. Although, they have signed such an agreement but, they didn’t seem positive to promote or pursue deeper economic integration of ASEAN members. It was the first time in early 1990s, when ASEAN states seriously pursued economic integration and launched ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (AFTA).

“Soesastro” coined the terms “ASEAN is too big, but too small”. By using these terms he actually explained the economic condition and policies of ASEAN in early 1990s. When he says “ASEAN is too big” it means that ASEAN economies are diverse and different in nature. Their level of development is different to each other. That is why the process of integration of ASEAN members is slow. Second, when he talks about “ASEAN is too small” it actually means that still ASEAN is not able to face or handle any uncertain happen if occurs in world economy. (Curley& Thomas,2007) Soesastro proposed various strategies for strengthening economic integration to build strong ASEAN. ASEAN Free Trade Area was initiated with the intentions to toughen the basis of ASEAN economies to face any uncertain challenges posed by constantly fluctuated economies. Later it was proved that ASEAN economic integration provided strong position while negotiating with other states for economic cooperation viz-a-viz political agreements.

During 13th ASEAN Summit on 20 November 2007, members made a commitment to deepen their economic integration and build ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). This commitment
can be explained as ASEAN’s strategic interest to further deepen regional economic integration especially move towards building a “Common Market.” (Chau & Kane, 2014)

Practical development in this regard can be seen in the formation of ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (AFTA) in early 1990s clearly indicates the purpose of establishment to encourage the progression of economic integration in South East Asian region in particular and with world in general. (Soesastro, 2005)

Establishment of ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement (ACFTA) is one of the examples intended to enhance the progression of economic integration. ACFTA had two purposes behind establishment; one was economic integration and second was to address political issues. Actually both parties realized the false happening in the region in absence of mutual trust and suspicion. This region is rich in all terms but they are dependent on external factor such as security, solving political issues, trade and many more. ACFTA was signed with intentions of eliminating mutual mistrust and suspicion through building confidence and respect of each member’s territorial integrity and national goals.

Alexandrine C. Chandra elucidates the development of ASEAN-China FTA relationship that it is an important aspect to understand the political objectives of both sides. Although China-ASEAN has relations since early 1990s, but the signing of ACFTA marked the relationship as a major development in the region where US has already invested its time, money and much more. The formation of ACFTA means that perception among ASEAN states about the threat of China has been vanished. This increasing trust is going in the favor of both parties especially it helps China in rising on regional as well as global level. Credit goes to Deng Xiaoping, who initially thought
about establishing of good relations with neighboring states. (Soesastro, 2005) He was the real hero of China who put forward the country on the way to play a significant role in this region in particular and on global level in general.

Before this and after Second World War, ASEAN felt a great threat from Communist China. The role of capitalist block especially US was very important in realizing the South East Asian countries that Communist China is not in their favor but their opponent. US gave military, economic and political support to South East Asian countries in order to provide them shelter from Chinese threat. US signed different military and political treaties against China. During the Cold War both major powers remained in tug of war to exercise their influence over the region. The formation of ASEAN is also because of containing the influence of communism which was expanding under former USSR and Chinese influence. US actually supported the formation of ASEAN and even used it an as instrument against China.

The end of the Cold War gave opportunity to China to normalize its relations with its neighbors. China didn’t waste this opportunity and anxiously looking and struggling political and diplomatic relations with East Asian countries including ASEAN members. First of all China established diplomatic relations with Singapore in 1990 and this series continued till the establishment of diplomatic relation with all East Asian states. The establishment of relations on individual level made the path clear for China to build official diplomatic relations with ASEAN. For the first time ASEAN invited China as a guest to attend its 24th Ministerial Meeting in 1991. (Soesastro, 2005) At that moment, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen expressed Chinese intentions of building strong economic and political relations with ASEAN. He also expressed that China is willing to start negotiations with neighboring states in order to resolve its political
issues. China believes in resolving issue with peaceful means and peaceful co-existence. ASEAN got China involved in a consultation forum on senior official level to address security, economic, political and social issues. Then in 1996 China became a dialogue partner of ASEAN in regional cooperation.

Apart from increasing cooperation and development in relations, there is one very crucial issue existing between the two parties and that is “South China Sea and East China Sea”. (Emmers, 2010)

China has burning and hot issue with Philippine and Vietnam on the possession of Paracel and Spratly Island in South China Sea. Secondly, China has territorial issues in East China Sea with Philippine and Brunei on possession of Mischief Reef and Scarborough Shoal. Third, China and Japan are facing crucial situation because both claim that archipelago in East China Sea is the territorial part of China. China assured ASEAN states that this issue will also be resolved through political dialogues. ASEAN countries are not much worried about this issue because economic interdependence on high level between China and ASEAN. (Emmers, 2010) Chinese took various steps and implemented various policies since 1990 which has improved the relations between ASEAN and China. China has adopted good neighbor policy which enlightens Chinese commitment and sincerity for establishment of peace, prosperity and stability among the regional states. China has expressed on various platforms that it would not use force to resolve any kind of issue rather it would like to give more emphasis on political dialogues in resolving potential political issues. It is in China’s preference to earn neighbors’ trust and cooperation.
One very important factor which contributed much in building confidence and eliminating mistrust between China and ASEAN was China’s assistance provided to ASEAN member states during 1997 economic crisis.

China seems to play significant role and make a valuable contribution to South East Asian states in the situation of their economic trouble. During 1997 crisis, East Asian states like Thailand, Korea, Malaysia and Indonesia seriously realized that they have no more ability to overcome their financial crisis if they still rely and follow International Monetary Fund and World Bank’s financial policies and financial assistance. This improvement in China-ASEAN relations was the key tool and instrument in the creations of ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement.

Scholars are of the view that ACFTA is not only an economic forum to enhance cooperation in trade and commerce field but it also support and fulfill political aspects of relations between the two sides. Although, ASEAN-China Free Trade Area is established to increase economic activities between the neighboring states but it also had its political goals of reducing communist threat of China for ASEAN (Wang and Tong, nd p.48). Under ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement trade in goods is very productive and progressive. This agreement is divided into three tracks such as “Early Harvest Program (EHP)”, “Normal Track (NT)” and “Sensitive Track Program (STP)”. (Nesadurai, 2012)

Early Harvest Program aimed for tariff reduction on selected agriculture and manufactured goods between 1 January 2004 and December 2006. Opportunity was given to the former communist ASEAN countries Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia and Myanmar that they can reduce tariff till 2010. This schedule allowed the ASEAN countries to export special agriculture items to China from
2004 to 2010 without putting any tariff. While discussing normal track policy, tariffs had to be minimized by 0% to 5% in July 2005, and it will continue until eliminated till January 2010. In sensitive track program it was decided that for sensitive items such as automobiles and heavy machinery etc. tariffs rate would be minimized from 0% to 5% by January 2018. (Soesastro, 2005)

This development of reduction of tariffs on selected commodities between ASEAN and China has progressed the flow of trade and finance between the two sides. Ratification of EHP in 2005 provided many opportunities to the ASEAN member countries to penetrate in Chinese consumer market. Since then, ASEAN’s exports to China have enhanced.

While discussing Indonesian trade relations with China, Alexander and Lontoh analyzed that Indonesian exports to China was US 8.3 million Dollars in 2006 which later boosted up to US 15.6 Million Dollar in 2010. The growth in Indonesian exports to China has an average of 15.44% annually. (Mukhopadhyay&Thomassin2010)

**Trade Figures between China and ASEAN (2010)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Volume of Trade</th>
<th>Trade %</th>
<th>Increase/Decrease</th>
<th>Balance of Trade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laos</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>73.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>7.926</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>-4.168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>15.78</td>
<td>60.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>-4.786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>8.25</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>-1.264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myanmar</td>
<td>1.319</td>
<td>76.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>336</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunei Darussalam</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>517.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This cooperation produced the way for high level military official visits and defense delegations exchanges between China and ASEAN members. Both parties have initiated for joint military drills and exercises.

China’s intention behind regional economic integration with ASEAN member countries is boosted by the Chinese political and economic objectives in the region. China wants to play a hegemonic role in this particular region while it is rising as an economic giant on the canvas of world map. China’s anxious participation in the ASEAN-China integration process is a serious step taken in favor of East Asian region in order to bring peace, prosperity and stability in the region along with it is a diplomatic strategy to respond to US manipulation of the this region.

Signing of FTA between China and ASEAN is considered as a tool of China’s foreign policy to re-establish Chinese relations with neighboring states which was previously disturbed owing to the mutual suspicion, mistrust and clash of common interests. (Hu, et al2014) Re-establishment and building of faith and trust in this particular region is a very vital factor for China to continue its economic growth and rising as a regional as well as world economic power. Building trust and eliminating suspicion among the neighboring states is clearly in Chinese favor by which it can easily counter US influence in this region.

When we talk about ASEAN’s perspective regarding rising China there we find different arguments. Some scholars consider China’s rise as a threat for ASEAN because they think China will be struggling for ruling over the region and the entire states’ interests will be violated in

(Source: Chandra Dan Lontoh, 2011)
future. Some scholars are of the view that rising China is threat for neighboring states as well as it is productive too. But, many modern scholars argue that current rise of China is not threat to its neighbors but it is a very positive sign for the stability of the region. They further argue, current complex interdependence of states has made it sure that rising China will be beneficial for all regional states. In complex interdependence developing states need good relations to others because it need selling market to sale manufactured goods in order to keep momentum of its economic growth and industry.

Same is happening in case of ASEAN-China relationship. China is rising on the basis of its industrialization and manufacturing goods for which it needs consumer markets which are easily accessible and where Chinese products receives value. This condition puts China in a situation where it is compulsory to build healthy and good relations with all states. If China doesn’t grab any such market where it can sell its products then it would be a great threat to the Chinese industry and economic growth as well. South East Asian countries are very near to China. It is very easy for China to provide its manufactured goods in the consumer markets of these countries. Deng Xiaoping realized it first time in 1976 during his visit on neighboring countries which were at time very much reluctant in building relations with communist China because of rigid policies of Mao Zedong. US had influential role in this area and it was in the mind of ASEAN that they need US assistance in order to counter Chinese threat. That was the biggest hurdle between China and ASEAN which was felt by Deng Xiaoping. When he came back, he started convincing Chinese policy makers to change their strategies and make such kind of strategies which could really earn ASEAN trust.
The death of Mao Zedong was the turning point when second generation got control of government. They brought shift in Chinese policies and diplomacy from strict and rigid to soften. In favor of longer interests of China they started regular visit to the neighboring states and tried to build trustworthy relationship. Since then China looks forward towards enhancing cooperation among East Asian states.

In my opinion, China still needs to do a lot of things for earning complete attention of its neighbors. Somehow, mistrust still exists in the minds of ASEAN and they look towards other major powers in order to provide security in any possible threat posed by China. China is in serious struggle to eliminate this sense of insecurity and win neighboring countries’ trust. (Bessho, 2013)

ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement signed in 2010 which brought huge dynamic changes within the region. This development in this region regarding free trade agreement and economic integration is not merely about economic and trade objectives, but it is a move towards restoration of political, strategic and security bonds with traditional regional allies. ASEAN welcomes the willingness of China to establish such kind of economic partnership which could be the base for the establishment of all sorts of relations such as, social, political, military and many more fields. If China is pursuing Free Trade Agreement with ASEAN for boosting up its economic growth and sustainable industrialization, on the other hand ASEAN is also looking for the fulfillment of its greater plan of making ASEAN a “hub of regional integration” through ASEAN-China Free Trade Area. ASEAN wants to sit on the driving seat to build regional economic integration.
In ASEAN’s perspective, ASEAN should establish cooperative relations with other neighboring big and major economies and in this regard it has signed bilateral Free Trade Agreements such as ASEAN-South Korea Free Trade Agreement (AKFTA) concluded in 2006, ASEAN-Japan Economic Partnership Cooperation (AJCEP) concluded in 2008, ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand (AANZFTA) and ASEAN-India were concluded in 2009. During 19th annual meeting of ASEAN in Bali, Indonesia, member states approved a draft for the establishment of “regional comprehensive economic cooperation for East Asia (RCEP).” Ten ASEAN countries and six partner states initially concluded and signed the RCEP including Japan, China, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand and India. Establishment of RCEP is actually an attempt to synchronize the already prevailing framework of cooperation like, ACFTA, AKFTA, AJCEP, AANZFTA and AIFTA. It was a thought that these many RTAs between ASEAN and other states might face complexities and hurdles due to multiple agreements so the need was felt of such kind of cooperation agreement which can grab all the states on a single platform. The establishment of RCEP is considered by “Wang” that it is actually an attempt to address the issue of “noodle bowl” means in presence of many RTAs complexity may occur in relations. (Das, 2012)

These countries also experienced different problems such as “tariff reduction level”, “difference in rates of single commodity” and “preferences”. RCEP is established to enhance the participation of East Asian countries in global manufacturing and production. Baginda Pakpahan Chinese policy makers consider the establishment of Regional Economic Comprehensive cooperation as central point of Chinese interests in admiring the EAFTA in 2001 and Japan’s interest in establishment of CEPEA in 2006. This forum is supposed to help the three countries China, Japan and Korea to come closer to each other and increase regional economic integration
so that this cooperation may play vital role in preserving peace and security of the region and world as well.

One interesting point is that US is not included in RCEP by the East Asian countries. US remained the most powerful state in this region since the end of the Second World War. Scholars think that this discrimination is just due to some technical issues that US and ASEAN had no Free Trade Agreement as ASEAN was working on “ASEAN Plus One” scheme. Scholars are declaring this thing “discrimination towards US.” (Morrison & Pedrosa, 2007)

At a time, Scholars were discussing that East Asia lacks regional economic and political institutions and cooperation. Ravenhill a renowned scholar once described “Asia” as an institutionally deficit area that it had no such institutions which could bring the regional states on a single platform for cooperation and integration. But, now time has been changed that this region has achieved much more by adopting critical changes. In this particular region many regional institutions have been established which are busy in promoting cooperation among the East Asian states and regional institutions such as ARF, ASEAN community, RCEP etc.

ASEAN is almost a part of every regional institution established in the region. Here we can’t ignore the constructive role of China which has changed itself just for the sake of regional development, peace and security. This is the reality that China is now a part of every treaty agreement based on cooperation and integration which clearly shows the seriousness of China for making this region developed.

A very dramatic change which occurred after the Cold War that ASEAN was under the heavy influence of super powers during the whole period of Cold War. Especially United States used
ASEAN for the fulfillment of westerns’ interests. This was US which made the members of ASEAN realize that until you are with U.S., China and former USSR could not pose any threat for you. US and Westerns did not let them to come towards regional cooperation and integration. Because realizing this threat from China and former USSR, ASEAN states remained at a distance from their traditional and historical ally “China”. Now China is rising as a major economic power with its strong political stability, social strength and modern military.

China is enthusiastically pursuing regional integration. The reason behind this pursuance is to stop the involvement of external powers in the internal matters of East Asian region. ASEAN also realized the need of time that this is the time for regional cooperation and regional integration so that it is also trying to minimize the inference from the external western powers. ASEAN actually does not want the external powers use their influence and force to dictate ASEAN states regarding any development in the region and on global level as well. ASEAN member states are basically week states and not enough capable either militarily or economically to resist the major powers interests in East Asia, that is why it is going towards regional cooperation.

**HUGE INVESTMENT DEEPENS ECONOMIC TIES**

Scholars and intellectuals around the globe are extensively busy in discussing the geo-strategic conflicts between China and ASEAN along with their close economic ties which is somehow a new phenomenon. Previously the manufacturers of both parties were competitor to each other, but situation has dramatically changed and rivals are now friends and adopted a single strategy of enhancing East Asian business activities.
Cooperation among the manufacturers of China and ASEAN members is rapidly increasing day by day especially in specialized manufactured goods, trade in services is boosting, investment flow is highly increasing. Regional trade networks and regional integration such as the establishment of ACFTA has supported the high trade flow between China and ASEAN. These two parties are going towards fulfilling their domestic demands by each other. The phenomenon of regional integration is in full swing. China is a developing industrialized country equipped with new modern technology and its manufacturers have found some very ideal locations in ASEAN countries for building their additional manufacturing plant over there to support China’s escalating market.

**China-ASEAN Trade**

Currently China-ASEAN trade mostly consists of raw material, goods for production, spare part etc. 58 percent of ASEAN’s exports to China and 66 percent of ASEAN’s imports from China are intermediate commodities. Brunei, Indonesia, Laos and Myanmar mostly exporting primary goods to China and markets of ASEAN are overwhelmed by the Chinese manufactured goods. ASEAN is also looking for balancing the trade with China.

Bilateral trade between China and ASEAN is increasing at the rate of 5.4% on annual basis and reached at US$ 261.3 billion in July 2014. Both sides have decided to achieve the target of US$ 500 billion in trade till December 2015. According to a research report, that the volume of intra-Asian Trade would cross the limit of US$ 10.8 trillion in 2020 (HSBC Global Research).

As China is developing, the cost on production is also rising. China is now moving towards manufacturing high value items like heavy duty mechanical and electrical products which are
very essential for the development of any country. Due to this development, China’s dependency on western states for high tech products has decreased and even it also now able to import these high tech products to its neighboring countries so that they may establish and develop their industrial sector. As the number of Chinese middle-class consumers is expected to accelerate from 250 million people to 600 million people in 2020 because Chinese economy is under the transformational phase that it is shifting towards “consumption driven economy” supported by its domestic growth. (Athukorala et al. 2014)

Some of the ASEAN countries are the very ideal locality for the Chinese manufacturers that they have established their additional manufacturing units in those countries in order to support the rising Chinese economy.

Many growing Chinese international companies are now manufacturing their different components and parts in cost-effective areas over the ASEAN countries like Cambodia, Philippine, Vietnam and finally take them to China for assembling. These manufacturing goods will be sold in China to newly emerged class or it may send to the genuine traditional western markets.

Foreign direct investment is like an injection for a weak and developing state. Foreign direct investment permits the state to develop infrastructure, provide health and education facilities to its people. China is providing foreign direct investment to ASEAN countries which accounts for total 7% of total Chinese foreign direct investment. Although, Chinese foreign direct investment to ASEAN countries is minimum but now it is increasing. Previously it was seen that most of the Chinese direct investment in ASEAN was in the sector of natural resources, but this trend has
now changed and Chinese are investing in infrastructure development, real estate and agricultural development. It is recorded that in July 2014 that Chinese direct investment to ASEAN countries has been reached to US$ 2.89 billion with the growth rate of 9.1% annually. (Athukorala, et al 2014)

Beijing is very clear about its objectives in ASEAN countries. Now it has focused its intentions on developing infrastructure especially road networks and modern railway system in East Asian region. Agreement has been finalized and signed for the construction of rail link which will start from the Chinese province Yunnan and passes through Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia and then Singapore.

China has announced its plan of foreign direct investment in whole East Asian region which will be five folded by 2020 with amount of US$ 159 billion. There is a problem. Japan is trying to counter China and doesn’t want to let the China play alone in the region. Japan is also investing heavily in ASEAN countries in different fields like road construction, agriculture, health, education, industrial development, science and technology, services, transport facilities and many more. East Asia is enjoying a tug of war between China and Japan and ultimately in this situation ASEAN is in profit because in this competition between the two major powers of East Asia actually both are facilitating ASEAN states.

**TERRITORIAL DISPUTES WITH ASEAN**

China and ASEAN members have some territorial issues in South China Sea regarding claim over the different islands and maritime boundaries. China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Philippines, Malaysia and Brunei are the parties in this issue and have serious concerns. Basically this dispute
erupted when different East Asian states claimed their sovereign right over Paracel Islands and Spratly Islands in South China Sea. Another place near Indonesia “Nautana Island” is also controversial between China and South East Asian states. These islands have much importance including rich fishing areas, crude oil, heavy reserves of natural gas and the strategically important sea routes.

According to the official Chinese documents the South China Sea covers 3.55 million KM$^2$ and about 2 million KM$^2$ is under Chinese jurisdiction. On 25$^{th}$ February, 2015, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi expressed his views on the platform of ARF Foreign Ministers Meeting in Myanmar, that we together would become able to maintain peace and stability in the South China Sea. He also said that the implementation of the DoC of the parties effectively along with the implementation of Code of Conduct are the best way to solve the territorial issue among the East Asian states. The DOC stated that;

“The parties concerned undertake to resolve their territorial and jurisdictional disputes by peaceful means, without resorting to the threat or use of force, through friendly consultations and negotiations by sovereign states directly concerned, in an accordance with universally recognized principles of international law, including the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea.”

(Wu & Zou, 2009)

**Nine-Dash Line**

The nine-dash line is the area which China claims as its integral part, but on the other hand some East Asian states like Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines,
Singapore, Vietnam and Taiwan claims that owing to this line their rights over Exclusive Economic Zone is being violated by China. Initially it was eleven-dash line but communist led leadership re-checked and re-defined it after 1949 and drew a new map consisted of nine-dash line. (Wu & Zou, 2009)

**Maritime Boundaries Issues**

Maritime boundary issue along the sea coast of Vietnam exists among China, Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Philippines, Vietnam and Taiwan.

Maritime boundary issue on north of Borneo exists among China, Brunei, Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, Vietnam and Taiwan.

Issue of Paracels Islands, Pratas Islands, Scarborough Shoal Islands and Spratly Islands exists among China, Brunei, Philippines, Malaysia, Taiwan and Vietnam.

Maritime boundary issue near Indonesian island Nautana exists among China, Cambodia, Malaysia, Indonesia, Vietnam and Taiwan.

Maritime boundary issue of the Palawan Coast and Luzon exists among China, Brunei, Malaysia, Philippines, Vietnam and Taiwan.

There are some other minor maritime boundary issues which exist among South East Asian states and between China and ASEAN.

However, region is facing very crucial situation especially after the end of the Cold War where territorial integrity and sovereignty issues are involved. The issues regarding South China Sea
are considered as the major “burning spots” in the region because it is assumed that the conflicted areas are full of natural resource so highly that they are enough to fulfill the requirements of East Asian states for hundreds of years. According to many surveys, it has become very clear that these territories in water are full of oil, gas, manganese nodules and sea food and the most important it has become the second busiest sea trade route in the world.

It is actually a maritime heart of the region which consists of three million km$^2$ as equal to two third the size of combined ASEAN member states. Here, non-claimant states are also taking it very serious because of the freedom of navigation on this route which is the most important route for trade between East Asia, Australia, South East Asia, South Asia, Middle East, Africa, Europe and America.

Parties are willing to resolve this dispute according to the international law on sea 1982. Parties are also looking for tools and means for enhancing cooperation in the disputed areas. China has complete control over Spratly Islands but on the other side it is also supporting cooperation and development in these areas. China is of the view that regarding resolution of these issues bilateral diplomatic negotiations are good rather than multinational forums supporting by major claimant powers. China realizes the need of the use of diplomacy for eliminating this issue but is not willing to limit its future action in those areas.

ASEAN purposed that this agenda should be placed on the ASEAN Regional Forum and initially China resisted it, but now China and ASEAN states are regularly using ARF forum in order to resolve these territorial issues. ASEAN seems on a single page that they are doing collective political struggle for the achievement of their territorial gains. In 2002, both parties China and
ASEAN states agreed on “Declaration on the conduct of the parties in South China Sea”, but unfortunately they could not develop such a legal agreement on documents. Scholars are of the view regarding South China Sea that it is an issue of “territorial sovereignty” rather “law of the sea.” (Song, 2014)

In early May 2014, some Chinese nationals got killed in Vietnam on ethnic basis which further deteriorated the maritime conflict between the two parties. Harsh statements were given by the Vietnamese Prime Minister Mr. Nguyen Tan Dung to the ASEAN leaders, “China is promoting conflict and endangering peace and stability in the region.” It seemed the tension will rise but, ASEAN foreign ministers issued a statement immediately that China and Vietnam should abide by the provisions of UN Convention on the Law of the Sea 1982. (Song, 2014)

Clashes between China and Philippines over Spratly Island disturbed the political situation in South East Asia but, ASEAN states collectively tried to control the issue and didn’t let the parties destroy the already developed environment of cooperation and economic development between China and ASEAN. ASEAN states realize the strategic importance of South China Sea that any disturbance in this area would bring regional instability and unrest. They goal is to create freedom of navigation, neutrality and peace in South China Sea with Chinese assistance. In 1995, ASEAN annual meeting, a joint statement was issued by the officials that all claimants should not take such kind of action and should even limit the freedom of navigation and aviation in the disputed sea routes which could destabilize the region.

Here, one point is very important that claimants from ASEAN states are also divided on this issue and they are not willing to compromise with each other. Every state is looking for 100%
profit and does not want let the others get maximum. Singapore, Thailand and Indonesia are not the claimant, but even then they want to settle this issue and Thailand has offered to provide its assistance for mediating this dispute. Some ASEAN states feel threat that this issue will help the nationalist emergence in China which would further deteriorate the situation in the region. Malaysia and Singapore desire to increase Chinese participation in regional development and cooperation.

**Role of Non-Claimants**

As I have discussed above that some non-claimants are also very active in resolving this issue because this is the second busiest trade sea route. Owing to the disturbance in this area will shake their commercial interests. Some of the non-claimants are from outside the region such as India, US, Europe etc. India is an emerging power with its increasing economic growth and economic cooperation with ASEAN states that both parties have signed ASEAN-India Free Trade Agreement. India is building its economic as well as military relations with South East Asian states. India also needs economic partners which could help it in import and export sector. Indian govt. sent its military vessel in South China Sea on friendly visit to Vietnam which was taken very seriously by the Chinese authorities. Chinese govt. officially asked to the Indian counterpart to avoid such kind of practice again and in response Indian govt. challenged it by saying it has the right to freely navigate in international waters, meaning to say, that non-claimants have also stakes in these areas and are also going to get involved in this issue.
US-ASEAN military exercises have become program in South China Sea. Since George W. Bush regime, “Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training (CARAT)” naval exercises are conducting on annual basis between ASEAN states and US. (Ross, 2009)

US has deep interest in this region and it is present here after the Second World War and with the phenomenon of rising China US is trying to maintain status quo by using ASEAN states by giving them economic facilities, political support and military protection assurance. US also conducted naval military exercises with Vietnam in 2012.

US Secretary of States Hillary Clinton, clear expressed that US has deep national interests in freedom of navigation in South China Sea while addressing ASEAN Regional Forum in Vietnam 2011. US clearly mentioned that South China Sea issue should be resolved through diplomatic process and any adventure would lead the region towards serious security threat. This thing clearly shows the US intentions and interests in the region while it is already present in South China Sea and its naval fleets regularly patrolling in this area. In April 2010, in Vietnam, an ASEAN-China Joint Working Group on the Implementation of the DOC (2002) was established which again met in the end of the year in China having purpose of resolving the issue peacefully.

The main reason behind the involvement of other non-claimant state in South China Sea issue is economics. American naval strategist “Alfred T. Mahan” once said, “If a nation wants to get control over the world politics it must control world trade before.” South China Sea is second busiest trade route of the world so naturally it grabs the attention of all the states who want to maximize their international trade.
US is involved in East Asian region from the end of the Second World War by getting control over the Japan and some South East Asian countries like Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam etc. Although, it was actually due to the tussle between two Super Powers but with the passage of time it has become necessary for US to maintain its influence in this region in order to maintain its super power status. Scholars are of the view that “future belongs to Asia”, gives more importance to this region and diverted the attention of world towards this area.

ASEAN and China are on a single page to stop the foreign intervention in this region because they have already borne the adverse consequences of previous foreign involvements in the internal matters of South Asia. Enhancing trade cooperation and trying to solve their all disputes between China and ASEAN has very clear intention that now they are not against each other and have adopted the policy of peaceful co-existence without let anyone else to interfere between them.

REFERENCES


Chapter No: 6

CHINA: AN EVOLVING NEW POWER IN ASIA PACIFIC

INTRODUCTION

It is quite justified to say that Asia Pacific has evolved as a new power centre in the International Relations. The importance of region with the new elements of dynamism cannot be denied. Economic dimension is there which cannot be denied. In it, lies the economic character and interdependence for Great Powers. But the region also faces array of challenges and Great Powers involvement. The Major power in the region is China that is rising in all dimensions if not comparable to the World Power US but it is otherwise a new power hub economically and it has able to devise good neighborly policy in the region. The element of disability in the region is Japan-US relations that always been in the consideration of China’s policy as the US extensive engagement in the region is prone to threat for China extensively and has led it to devise policy in that context. (Tan, 2011) China has also started playing role in the internal dynamics of the Asia Pacific in terms of tackling the political issues of Two Koreas, South China Sea issue and many others. This stance of China is quite visible in terms of its resolution of the issues approach that will make it take the place of a rising hegemony. That is how, hegemon in a particular region behaves encompassing various issues and focusing on the dynamics.
China’s evolving stance in the Asia Pacific would make it gain prominence in terms of the regional actors that look up to China as the new powers centre economically more in the region. This does not only make China as the regional power rather it will make it acquire the position of the new power centre in the region that will widely threaten the US interests in the region that is known as the “new economic hub”. (Tan, 2011) The Task to balance power in the region is not an easy one. It requires efforts and huge power demonstration for China to act as a balancer to US in the region as Big states like Japan look up to US for its needs and as a Big Brother that has always fulfilled the security needs of Japan rather guaranteed the needs for a long time which was also considerable in the China’s policy which was threatening China position in the region to the maximum. (Prabhakar et al, 2006)

This is prone to question, as China to acquire such dominating stance in the region, needs a lot of power demonstration not only economically rather militarily as well. It has to depict the power to play a visible role. US extensive involvement in the region is not easy to balance as Powers take ages to grow and enforce their agendas in a region and US military strength can also not be denied in the region where US has always depicted its military might since long. So China will have to go a long way ahead to prove its long lasting commitments.
PROJECTION OF CHINA’S POWER IN THE REGION

To project China’s power in the region to play the role as a balancer to the US or to get engaged into the internal pending issues of the regional states China will have to devise a long lasting policy. (Tan, 2011) This would revolve not only on the individual agendas of the states. Rather the collective problems of the states should be kept into consideration. Chinese leadership would have devise strength agendas in the region to play a dominating role positively to create an image in the eyes of the regional states. The major agenda in the China’s foreign policy would be to acquire a good neighborly policy that it has pursed for long but could not materialize well. This should again be the central theme in China’s policy to act as a lender of the last resort in the Region. China’s divergence in the Region towards Japan is the need of hour as the importance of evolving Japan cannot be denied. China cannot go on a solo flight until it would take Japan into its consideration to be able to demonstrate its power well in the Region. In that good neighborly approach ‘Japan’ stands aloof. China will have to strength fully get Japan into its orbit to be able to maximum its foreign policy goals in the Region. ” (Tan, 2011)

The New Leadership Agendas for the China’s Foreign Policy

President Xi Jinping has rationally strategized the new agendas in the evolving foreign policy goals. He broadened the new visionary approach for China to devise and sustain new agendas in the Region to strengthen its position. The conceptual building blocks have been analyzed full with the essence of the ideological commitment for Chinese. The ideological commitment of the party cannot be set aside while setting any new goals for the Party. Ideology continues to
dominate the stance of the Prime Minster in his speeches in which Ideology serves as oxygen. China’s major goal remains the ‘Peripheral Policy’. (Bijian, 2013)

The due consideration remains the peripheral policy in the region that cannot be denied. To maintain a sustainable position, the Xi vision revolves around maintenance of the Peripheral boundaries position. The Central theme in the Peripheral Diplomacy remains the ‘South China Sea’ conflicts that intensify the nature of rivalry between the states in the region.

China also has devised a new stance in terms of period of strategic opportunity that has made it focus not only its internal dynamics. Rather the need also is to devise a favorable strategic environment to focus on its evolving goals. The focus is just not only on the economic agendas rather China is pursing the Military Modernization to its maximum capacity. (Bijian, 2013)

This military modernization will make it project the agendas to rise as a Great power well. The time span has been analyzed as 2020. China sees it as a glorious power to implement its worldwide hegemonic agendas well.

Second basic agenda in China’s foreign policy remains the idea of the peaceful development with the neighbors. This can only be practically implemented by focusing on the win-win situation that can only happen with China focusing well on its neighboring policy. The peaceful development does not only to give assurance to the International Community rather it also relates for China for provision of ‘Strategic Imperatives for itself; as well. With the peaceful rise the peaceful development is also central theme for the evolving China. The Great power does not only have the international manipulation power rather it has extensive regional agendas. The regional stance makes it acquire a dominating position for it to function well.
Two Centenary Goals

Another visionary stance of the new leadership in China revolves around the formulation of new image of the China as the ‘moderately well off society’. (Luttwak, 2012) The idea revolves around the fact to vanish the hard core more socialist country and setting its goals parallel with the world states. Its goal is to make China a prosperous, Democratic, harmonious and well cultured society. This image of China is yet to be attained fully and practically. These goals are strongly set on the 100th anniversary of People’s Republic of China. A broader vision has been set up to practically set goals and rationality behind it is to acquire those goals well.

China with the new foreign policy agendas also set up the two centenary goals which became of due importance. The vitality of goals was to practically gain the goals to boost up Chinese position. This revolves around Beijing maintaining positive relationship not only with the US rather with other strong diplomatic partners. The attainment of these goals also would lead China to acquire global prominence in terms of the fact that China has perceived beforehand that it will surpass US in terms of the ‘purchasing power parity’ by 2021. This will not only make China acquire the status of the strategic power rather the arena of the Geo politics would also be dominated well by China.

Great Rejuvenation

The Foreign Policy designs of China are also coupled with its position to rejuvenate its nation’s strength. The will encapsulate China to acquire the extent of the regional primacy. Also, develop a strong foundation of the Chinese ideology domestically. China regards it as the new era of the
strategic development with the rise of the new leadership in the China. The new commitments have taken over.

**Maintaining Regional Position**

This does not only apply to Great Powers context rather Japan is also an important player in the region for the China. If China wants to enhance position acting as a traditional power also it would have to keep South Korea on board too. More reservations with South Korea will surely threaten its position in the US context too. US will raise many reservations as South Korea as now become a long lasting traditional ally for US. China now needs to act rationally. Enhancing relationship with US also would have a spillover effect on its relations with the South Korea and the Japan too. That is also a need to maintain and raise its regional status. Normal state-state relations with the North Korea are the need of hour to maintain and demonstrate Chinese position as a regional hegemon. Regional hegemon first has to fulfill the requirements of the regional dynamics by resolving issues and conflicts at regional level. (Lee, 2014)

**China’s Regional Contributions**

Since China adapted “reforms and Opening Program” in 1970s, China much focused on the regional development and the internal development of the state. It has pro active designs to rise in terms of acquiring a dominant regional status. China’s economic policies towards the neighbors in East Asia have risen in terms of making foreign investments in neighboring states. By promoting the successful external development it would contribute to China’s internal development too. Advanced modernization of the region and the development on all grounds is the prime agenda for the China. China’s strong regional assistance stance could not be denied
when the Asian Financial Crisis badly hit Asian neighbors in 1997-1998 and again in 2008-2009. Beijing had been able to maintain the more pro active role in not devaluing the currency which to a greater extent contributed to its positive image. (Lee, 2014)

China also has evolved as a regional player by contributing to regional development designs. China surely has contributed towards economic development of the neighbors but it has also raised concerns for the China as well. As neighbors have reservations regarding their overdependence on China and also the win-win situation is least practicable. It is more favoring China as Trade benefits are more in China’s favor. (Wesley-Smith & Porter, 2010) Under Xi Administration China has maintained the regional stance by increasing the neighbor coordination by devising more investment approach in terms of its neighbors especially with North and South Koreas. But on the other hand East China Sea has raised concerns on China’s part as the issue remains unresolved. It now depends on Chinese new policy how it expands the Regional influence positively. China’s infrastructure development is in the way to create dense level of development of highways, railway projects, gas pipelines, that will be a need to develop and strength relations of South East Asian Nations with Mainland China.

CHINA’S REGIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS

China has managed to acquire regional position to a great extent. Some issues might have been pending but the successes cannot be denied as well. Half of East Asia economic activity revolves around China. It is the world’s largest merchandise trader and it is also believed that China will contribute around US$2 trillion of Chinese investment not only in the external world rather in its periphery too. But there are extensive challenges too. The regional security issues and the less
neighborly mutual developments are questionable too. China is quite aware of these dynamics which is making it contribute towards coherence towards the Chinese neighbors. It aims to secure more reliable partners in the region. This will make China develop environment of peace and trust deficit between China neighbors would be able to eliminate.
SINO-JAPAN RELATIONS: HISTORY TO TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

China and Japan both are the big states in continent of Asia. Since history, developments in Asia are critically linked with the development of these two giants. There mutual relationship is completely significant and decisive for the peace and security of this particular region of Asia. Historians found very complex relations between Japan and China for over two millennia in which we can see in the form of cooperation by the Chinese for establishing education system, administration system, cultural foundations in Japan and in response Japan relied on China as a good neighbor and established good economic, political and cultural relations. On the other hand we also see very brutal policies adopted by Japanese against Chinese inhabitants while capturing the mainland of China. Bones of contention still exists between the two states and it needs to be resolved through peaceful means because in current scenario no nation can afford war with highly destructive weapons. My main focal point in this research is that this is the time of interdependence, “no nation can serve itself by only itself.” (Green& Bates, 2009) The conflicting issues between Japan and China will be addressed when these two big nations will go deep in establishing economic ties which will bind their goals with each other’s security. Cultural similarities could also play a pivotal role in normalization of relations between the two states if they are ready to let the cultural exchanges exercise. They both have to realize the rapidly changing world scenario of technological advancement where they have no capacity to survive and rehabilitate if war occurs. Economic liberalization and exchanges of shared ideas, common values and norms will play a leading role in eliminating contention between China and Japan.

Establishing of Sino-Japan Relations in History
During my literature review I found a very interesting thing regarding western scholars who talk about Sino-Japan relations in historical perspective that they believe there was nothing good between China and Japan but only discuss the brutal and anti-China policies and action of Japan which it had adopted after capturing the main land of China. They usually discuss some very prominent and crucial events which occurred in very limited time span of the history of relations of both states, in which Japan adopted anti-China policies e.g. dummy state of Manchukuo, World War II, Rape of Nanjing, biological tactic during war time and something like this.

When scholars talk only these things in fact they are denying the reality regarding good relations between the two states which existed prior to the war of 1894. Before this war, China and Japan had been enjoying very strong economic interaction which ultimately provided the sound basis for the establishing of prolific scenario of political stability and cultural exchanges. During good relations time Japan got many important things from China like knowledge wealth, borrowed the writing system of China, grabbed advanced technical expertise of China, adopted Chinese political system and so on.

Chinese and Japanese leaders often accept officially that the historical legacy of relation of both states is significant much for establishing good and healthy relations in modern times. In 1992, Jiang Zemin (General Secretary of China) announced that, “the two people of the two countries have forged a profound friendship through their exchanges for more than two thousand years. (Zemin, 1992) On the other hand in Japan a phrase is very prominent “dobun doshu” which means “same script, same race”, it acknowledges China’s supremacy over Japan in the shape of cultural debt.
Extensive era of economic and commercial relations established Sino-Japan cordial relations. It was the third century B.C when these two states came in contact with each other. After the emergence of Christianity three hundred years later an official contact was made. History is evident that during the thrones of Qin dynasty (221-207 B.C) and Han dynasty (206 B.C-220 A.D) Chinese migrants transferred a broad range of new local techniques like weaving cloths and rice cultivation and because of these cultural activities Chinese culture penetrated into Japan through Korea. In all this happening Korea played a role of bridge between Japan and China. From fifth century A.D to tenth century A.D, Sino-Japan relations further flourished and economic relations further got strength, also brought Chinese influence to a wide variety of fields like social, economic, political and cultural. Japan got the huge influence from Chinese Sui (581-681 A.D) and Tang (618-907 A.D) Dynasties which were the symbol of economic prosperity and social & political stability in China. Japan adopted Chinese systems as a model to implement within the state and the most prominent things which Japan grabbed like introduction of “Buddhism & Confucianism”, borrowed “Chinese writing system” and expansion of “Chinese arts and crafts”.

A prominent Japanese leader Nakatomi-no-Kamatari (614-669 A.D) introduced “Taika Reforms” and adopted Chinese political reforms and policies, tax and land policies which also include nationalization and equalization of landholdings. The thing that happened in China by which Japanese most significantly got inspiration was in the realm of political institutions and that was establishing of fixed capital city. Japanese first established their capital at Nara in 710 A.D and then later in Kyoto in 794 A.D. All these above mentioned details clearly indicate the very warm and cordial relations between the two states who enjoyed a period of economic growth, social and cultural prosperity and political cooperation.
Rumble Begins in Relations

A millennium of productive commercial and economic ties and stability was enjoyed by both states. But, unfortunately rumbling begins in Japan with the movement started against apparent cultural dependence on China. Because of this movement a member of aristocratic court of Japan invented a new phonetic writing style named “Kana”. He also introduced a new distinctive style of poetry namely “Waka”.

At the time of Song dynasty (960 A.D 1279 A.D) in China almost fifty trading and commercial ships were moved between the two these two states every year. During the Yuan dynasty (1271 A.D 1368 A.D) some bad incidents occurred by Japanese pirates’ attacks on Chinese coasts and China responded this activity by attacks on Japanese islands. That was the beginning of deterioration of relations between Japan and China and because of happening these things both states lost their official contacts between the tenth and fourteenth centuries. During Ming dynasty (1368 A.D 1644 A.D) in China hostility reached at the highest level when Chinese rulers forcefully tried to enter Japan into tributary relationship. Japan remained inferior until 1547 when Japan sent last tributary mission to China. Later Japan occurred as a rival state of China and competed China for getting control over Korean peninsula. (Howe, 1996) Under the Tokugawa regime, Japan adopted isolationist policies and totally banned official economic relations with China. After the Ming dynasty, Qing dynasty emerged as a ruling dynasty in China but it did not make even a single official effort to resume official relations between the two neighboring states.

Second part of Sino-Japan relation was not as much fruitful as compared to first millennium. Although official relations were totally cutoff but, on the other hand unofficial economic relations and commercial transactions prevented a full scale war. This unofficial relations cause
the continuous flow of manufacturing goods and ideas into Japan. Although official relations \textit{(tateme)} between Japan and China were restricted but unofficial \textit{(honne)} relations and interactions were certainly greater. The tributary system was very important in this scenario. On the other hand Japan’s \textit{sakoku} policy also allowed minor official relations. During the time of hostility, Japan-China economic interactions continued through the intermediaries such as Ryukyus, Taiwan and Korean peninsula. (Howe, 1996) Cultural and Intellectual exchanges remained and continued to prosper even under the isolationist policies of Japan. Tokugawa regime is considered the renaissance in Sino-Japan relation by increasing Japanese objectives of learning Chinese medical and literature along with Chinese law, administration, education and Confucian school of thought. (Toby, 1984) Last decade of the seventeenth century witnessed that these powerful unofficial relations caused establishing of official relation. Later coming rulers in Japan brought reforms and strongly pursued technology transfer in agriculture field. They keenly relied on Chinese immigrants and lift the ban on Chinese botanical literature. (Howe, 1996)

In the history of relations, the year of 1853 was the flashing point for China and Japan. Due to the western traders movement in this particular region both states had an opportunity to establish good economic relations so did the Japanese traders. In 1870, in Japan the Meiji government realized the need of time and moved forward for establishing official relations with China. On 24th July 1871, after three hundred years of official boycott, the two states signed a trade treaty and agreed on non-aggression towards each other. (Hsu, 1983)

**Clashes Occurred: 1894-1945**

Unfortunately the commercial trade treaty could not last for a long time and failed to stop both states from fighting with each other. Due to massive economic development in Japan, its
ambitions were converted into lust for Japanese empire as its army marched towards other Asian
states in sort of colonies. Japan started following western colonial powers. After three years of
signing of commercial trade treaty in 1874, Japan annexed Formosa (Taiwan), Captured Ryuku
islands (“Okinawa” a Japanese name). Japan had also signed a treaty with Korea in 1876 but,
Japan did not respect this treaty and sent a military mission to Korea and forced it to open for
Japanese interests. These aggressive steps and actions taken by Japan were direct threat to the
Chinese interests and its hegemony in the region. China took it seriously which resulted in the
occurrence of war on 1st August 1894. Japan defeated China in this war and captured Port Arthur
(Lushun) and Dairen (Dalian). A treaty was signed between Japan and China, which recognized
independent Korea and stopped tributary payments to China, surrendered Taiwan, the Liaotung
peninsula and Pescadores to Japan. Japanese national got special rights to establish industries and
manufacturing units on the mainland of China. Although, Taiwan resisted Japanese occupation
but, Japanese forces forcefully occupied it by October 1895. This defeat gave a jerk to the status
of Qing dynasty and alarmed it about the demise of dynasty’s rule. But, in 1896, China tried to
establish friendly relations with Japan and began to send Chinese students to Japan.

**Rise of Chinese Nationalism**

Revolution 1911 in China was a great phenomenon which gave new path to the Chinese
Nationalists. They started agitations against Japanese economic exploitation and also made “fear
of military threat by Japan” a very hot and burning issue. Their stance became true when in 1915
Japan enforced “Twenty-One Demands” which clearly showed Japan’s advancement into China.
During First World War, Japan continuously pressed China by demanding some more Chinese
territory and got more privileges and immunities to the Japanese nationals. Japan also forced
China to ban foreign access to all Chinese ports and kept this service and facility only for Japan.
According to the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 after First World War, the Germany-held Chinese territory handed over to Japan which caused emergence of strong nationalist sentiments in China against Japan and West. Chinese people boycotted Japanese goods and this movement facilitated the rise of Chinese Communist Party.
Japanese in China

In 1900, only 3800 Japanese nationals were settled in Japan but, in 1920 this numbers increases and reached to 134000. They selected the urban centers of Manchuria for their living. Japanese Kwantung Army was also there having complete control over the occupied territories and safeguarding the leasehold interests. As a renowned Historian Immanuel Hsu writes:

“Virtually free from home control, the Kwantung Army enjoyed a semiautonomous status and took upon itself the task of wresting Manchuria from China. (Hsu, 1983)

In 1931, China was unstable as internal conflicts and natural disasters grabbed it, Western Powers were suffering from Great Depression and in Japan military school of thought was provoking its government to further capture Chinese mainland and they did so. At that time trade between China and Japan was about 21.4 % of Japan’s imports and 21 % of Japan’s annual exports. They needed some excuse to intervene China. On 18th September 1931, Kwantung Army itself destroyed a section of South Manchurian Railroad. Japanese used this excuse and blamed Chinese troops were responsible for this happening. Japanese army occupied Mukden, Changchu, Antung, Yinkow and Jilin within five months of railroad incidents. On March 1932, Japan established the puppet regime in Manchuria by installing last Chinese emperor “Pu-i” as Chief Executive. (Hsu, 1983)

This was not the ending but starting of great massacre of Chinese by the Japanese forces. That was only the start which gave the courage to the Japanese forces to further advance into the mainland of China. In summer 1937, Japan again found an incident to make excuse for waging war on China just outside of Beijing at Marco Polo Bridge. Japan captured Shanghai and moved
towards North of China where it took over Nanjing by massive killing of Chinese people and
great destruction of infrastructure. This incident became known as the “Rape of Nanjing”. That
war continued for eight years in which Japanese forces captured most of the Chinese seaboard
stretched from Manchuria in North to Hainan in South. Chinese girls were given the status of
“Comfort Women” with the duty of making Japanese forces sexually comfortable. In the
meanwhile, in 1941 Japan attacked on Pearl Harbor in America and before this incident USSR
was the only country which was supporting China against Japan. But, now US entered the war
and strengthened Chiang Kai-shek by selecting him as a supreme commander of Asian War
Theatre. US also sent General Joseph Stilwell as Chief of the staff of Chiang’s army. From 1942
to the end of the Second World War, US financial support to Chiang reached at $500 million and
lend-lease aid reached at the level of $1.3 billion. (Hsu, 1983)
The period from the occupation of Manchuria in 1932 by the Japanese forces to the surrender of
Japan in front of Allies power in 1945 is considered as the darkest phase in the history of Sino-
Japan relations. Japan broke all the brutal records during this occupation. Japan launched
biological warfare research on the main land of China. Japanese forces captured main war
prisoners belong to Russia, China, Korea and even Europeans and used them in experiments in
order to invent biological weapons. One of the most notoriously famous units was located
outside of the Harbin city of Manchuria was called “Unit 731”. It’s in charge was “Ishii Shiro”,
actually a military doctor along with having a designation of Chief of the Kwantung Army
“Water Purification Bureau.”
Manchuria was liberated from the Japanese in 1945 in the light of an agreement concluded by the
former USSR, US and Britain and also a bilateral agreement signed between the former USSR
and Chiang Kai-shek the nationalist leader of China. In November 1948, Communist forces of
China seized the control of Manchuria and Nationalists had to withdraw. In 1949 Mao Tse-tung declared the independence of People’s Republic of China.

**Sino-Japan Relations During Cold War: 1950-1972**

Japan’s destructive war against China left negative marks on Sino-Japan relations. Furthermore, by the building of two post-war world blocks divided the two countries into opposing blocks. US-Japan security treaty signed in April 1952 which bounded Japan to take dictation from the US. Although, both sides made little unofficial struggle during the Cold War in order to build trust and establish formal relations, economic tools were being used during enhancing bilateral relations between Japan and China.

After getting control over Japan, the US intended to bring change in the shape of demilitarized and democratized Japan. The US also wanted to prevent any future cooperation between Japan and China which could threaten US goals and interests in East Asia. (Dower, 1986) John Foster Dulles made suggestion in 1951 that, “the US and Britain should make every effort to assure Japan’s allegiance by exploiting the Japanese feeling of superiority towards other Asian nations.” (Dower, 1986)

Owing to the emergence of hostilities on the Korean peninsula, bay between the two states enlarged because US was using Japan as a rear base for the American Army’s activities in Korea. Although, Japanese leaders tried to minimize these activities carried by US military but, all in vain. Johan Foster Dulles’s proposal of full-scale rearmament of Japan was completely rejected by the Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru. Japan was forced to sign security treaty with US and due to this treaty US put sustained pressure on Japan to establish diplomatic relations with Taiwan which was anti to People’s Republic of China. Japan also signed security treaty with Taiwan. These circumstances promoted suspicion between Japan and China.
On the other side, these circumstances and events made it impossible for the government of both states to directly hold bilateral economic relations. Private channels became functional to initiate trade agreements. In early, the figures regarding trade were in minus because of civil war in China and collapse of Japanese economy. In 1950, bilateral trade was at the level of US$ 4.7 million. In the meanwhile four private bilateral agreements were signed between the Japan and China which dramatically boosted the level of bilateral economic relations. First agreement was signed in June 1952, second in October 1953, third in September 1955 and fourth was signed in March 1958. Total bilateral trade reached at the level of US$ 34 million in 1953. By next year, trade reached up to US$ 60 million, in 1955 its level was US$ 109 million and in 1956 its level was reached at US$ 151 million.

On one side, China and Japan were trying to shift these unofficial economic agreements into the realm of official relationship but, on the other hand Cold War order was destroying their efforts. In 1953 an agreement was signed between China and Japan regarding “an exchange of resident trade missions” and in 1955 another agreement was signed by the both states regarding “provision of privileges to trade representatives” but, unfortunately due to the strict anti-Beijing stance by the Eisenhower regime these agreements were failed in exercise. Japan had to sign security treaty with Taiwan in 1954 and in US Congress a resolution was passed on Formosa in 1955. (Lee, 2014) Consequently, Japanese government rejected Chinese resident trade mission in Japan.

In 1957 in Japan Mr. Kishi Nobusuke took the oath of Prime Minister which further made the situation adverse. Mr. Kishi Nobusuke was the former director of the General Affairs Board of Manchuria and Minister of Commerce and Industry in Tojo Hideki’s wartime cabinet. Kishi took
very strong anti-Beijing stance and visited Taiwan and in response Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai supported Japanese Socialist Party and helped them in denouncing Japanese Premier’s position.

Another event was happened in May 1958 when two young boys in Japan ripped down Chinese flag at a stamp show in a departmental store; China took it very seriously and suspended all economic and cultural ties and relations with Japan. (Jain, 1981) Owing to this unpleasant development, bilateral trade figure dropped down dramatic 78.5% in 1959 and political affairs reached to the lowest level of post-war time. New Prime Minister of Japan Ikeda Hayato, changed the hard line policies of Kishi. He also resumed the policy of unofficial bilateral economic relations between Japan and China. The failure of Great Leap Forward in China created severe food shortage and this thing forced China to re-calculate its policy of self-reliance. Due to recession in Sino-Russian relation, former USSR withdrew its aid and China became completely dependent to import complete industrial machinery and plants, steel and chemical fertilizers. On this occasion, circumstances strengthen the hopes of moderate Chinese leaders Den Xiaoping, Zhou Enlai and Chen Yun because they wanted to establish good relations with neighbors particularly with Japan. Chinese leader Zhou Enlai introduced the conception of “friendship trade” in 1960. According to this concept, such a system was supposed to be established by which some Japanese trading companies would be selected and Sino-Japan trade relations handed over to them only and designated them as “friendly.” In 1960 only 11 companies were given the designation of “friendly” but, in 1962 “friendly companies” numbers reached at 190. Due to the adoption these friendly policies regarding neighbors, China was developing very fast. In early 1960s, it was realized that these “friendly companies” are unable to fulfill Chinese demand of growing imports. It was then decided by the Chinese leader to take some initiatives to develop some sort of new trading relations with Japan. (Keidanren, 2001)
Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai sent invitation to a senior “Liberal Democratic Party’ (LDP) member Matsumura Kenzo to come to Beijing. The basic purpose of visit was to devise a new trading system which could overtly lead towards the normalization of diplomatic and economic relations between China and Japan. Eventually they developed a particular trading system and powerful Japanese LDP members supported this plan and awarded this system a semi-official status. From 1963 to 1967, annual Sino-Japan trade turnover remained US$ 100 million. People’s Republic of China sent its “resident trade mission” in Japan and Japan’s Export-Import Bank also increased monetary support to China for trade. On the others side there were also some factors which could not see these increasing ties between China and Japan. The US and Taiwan put strong pressure on the Japanese government to stop providing financial support to China. In the meanwhile Japanese private banking sector took a bold step for extending long-term credit to China for industrial development and plant construction. Because of this technique, Sino-Japan bilateral trade continuously grew and reached at the level of US$621 million in 1965.

In November 1964, Sato Eisaku was elected as a Prime Minister of Japan. He adopted very strict and rigid policy regarding China. He immediately visited Taiwan and United States which made Chinese government angry. This thing supported Chinese fears regarding Japanese revival of militarism. On the other side in China, civil circumstances got disturbed due to Cultural Revolution and this phenomenon diverted the attention of Chinese government from foreign to domestic. Cultural Revolution deteriorated Sino-Japan trade relations. Lee describes that situation into his words:
“Japanese trade negotiators were required to praise the Cultural Revolution, to study the little red book of Chairman Mao’s quotations, and to listen to prolonged political lectures delivered by their Chinese counterpart.” (Lee, 1983)

“For International Isolation leads to economic backwardness, causing political and military humiliation by foreign powers.” (Zhang, 1998) A popular slogan in China in the 1970s.....

September 1972 was the memorable year when two states reached an agreement to establish formal diplomatic relations. That was the beginning of new paradigm in Sino-Japan relations. Why it all happened suddenly is a big question. There were three main factors playing crucial role in achieving this historic goal and development. First, Anti-China Japanese Prime Minister Sato Eisaku had to resign because of extreme pressure by China and the emergence of Pro-Chinese Prime Minister Tanaka Kakuei in 1972. It was a great achievement of China. Second, the failure of rigid forces of China and Cultural Revolution, Chinese domestic system again got normal circumstances. Modern class was emerged on the scene of Chinese governance. The most important and crucial factor, was the re-establishment of US-China relations. In July 1971, Henry Kissinger visited Beijing and he was followed by the US President Richard Nixon’s crucial trip to China in February 1972. That was the signal of beginning of new era in relations between China and US. US realized the situation and importance of China in East Asia. Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka explicitly announced to establish formal diplomatic relations with China and it was established finally in September 1972. Japanese Premier adroitly tackled the issue of Taiwan and terminated official diplomatic relations with Taipei. On the other side he also got an agreement with China for continuing economic and non-diplomatic relations with Taiwan. That historic arrangement produced as model for not only US but also for other
countries to change their policies to recognize and establish diplomatic relations with China and leave Taiwan.

In this scenario, economic relations between China and Japan got an electric effect. In November 1972, the Japan-China Economic Association was formed in Tokyo. (Sato & Shimomura, 2013) This association worked a lot for the development of private-level economic relations between the two states. Results were very optimistic as Sino-Japan trade increased three fold between 1972 and 1975. Japan had become number one trading partner of China and trade reached at the level of 3.8 million. China’s exports to Japan were crude oil, foodstuffs, minerals and other primary products on the other hand, Japan’s exports to China were steel, machinery, chemicals, equipments and synthetic fiber. (Terry, 2015)

The increasing economic relations made the both states capable to meet their many important economic and political interests. Japan’s basic interest in China was to exploit the untapped Chinese market because many Japanese had previous experience when they captured China. Those Japanese were on top positions in government. Secondly, in 1970s, oil embargo applied by Arab states made the states very conscious regarding their energy needs, so did happened with Japan and it realized the need for changing its import and export markets.

Mao died in 1976 in China and Gang of Four was removed from the canvas of Chinese politics. Chairman Communist Party of China Hua Guofeng supported Zhou Enlai’s “Four Modernization Program” in order to meet the status of industrialized state as early as possible. Along with this, Chinese also wanted to grab Japanese technology and export petroleum products to Japan. Zhang said: “Put simply, Japan wished to sell advanced technology and China wanted to buy it. China had the resources, including crude oil and coal, and Japan needed them.” (Jiang, 1998)
A “Long Term Trade Agreement” (LTTA) was signed between Liu Xiwen, Chinese Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade and Inayama, Vice President of Japan’s business association “Keidanren” on 16th February. (Woodard, 1980) This agreement’s basic purpose was to address the difficulties and hurdles which both countries were facing in their trading relations. In this agreement it was decided that China will provide complete access to Japan to its energy resources and in response Japan will fulfill China’s demand of advanced technological goods. In between 1972 and 1975, Chinese were worried about their trade deficit which had increased from US$ 118 million to US$ 728 million. Both states took it very seriously and LTTA played a very vital in maintained long-term balanced trade. (Keidanren, 2001)

The signing of this LTTA agreement endorsed a positive atmosphere for bilateral trade and on the other hand both states strongly realized the common threat of former Soviet Union for their peace and security. To avoid such kind of threat, China and Japan concluded a Treaty of Peace and Friendship which was signed by the foreign ministers on 12 August 1978 in Beijing.

Overall, the 1970s decade observed very positive changes in the Sino-Japan political and economic relations. Diplomatic relations were established and a very important thing a Treaty of Peace and Friendship was concluded. In order to develop economic relations, LTTA was signed which indicated the potential and need of economic ties between the two states. That economic collaboration was based on three fundamental assumptions; “China’s ability to continue high level of energy exports and Japan’s ability to absorb those in comings”, “Chinese continuous demand of capital imports and technological advanced equipments from Japan” and “capability of Chinese local institutional infrastructure to enhance speedy industrialization and on the other hand Japan’s capacity to continue complete plant exports to sustain that industrial development.”
This cooperation continued when Deng Xiaoping took the oath as Chinese Premier and formulated “Open Door” diplomacy which pointed towards the signs of China’s reform in economic field. (Jia & Tomasic, 2010) That way goes straight to the rise of China as a regional power. Deng Xiaoping was the leader who initiated such policies which earned the trust of neighboring states. He brought his country into the mainstream of regional politics.

**Sino-Japan Relations: 1979-1999**

After Mao’s death in China, Deng Xiaoping got the steering of Chinese politics and keenly looking for establishing relations with neighboring states so “Open Door” diplomacy was adopted. Sino-Japan relations were transformed and a new policy of encouraging wide-range interaction with Japan as well as other countries as China was open for foreign capital and further enhance the Chinese export products. Deng Xiaoping remained successful in getting his objective that Sino-Japan trade volume grew ten-fold between 1979 and 1999. That period was evident that, the rising economy of China became very much important for Japan as a commercial partner and its importance had also increased for “foreign direct investment destination.” In early 1990s, China stood at fifth position in the line of Japan’s trading partners and in 1993 he snatched the second position and pull-down Germany, South Korea and Taiwan, only US remained above it. (Jiang, 1998)

Both states’ economies remained highly admiring especially in the field of technological and capital products. However, with the passage of time, the nature of China-Japan trade become changed as in place of Chinese energy exports China started exporting manufacturing goods to Japan. In 1990s, foreign direct investment became an imperative characteristic of bilateral
relationship and accumulated Japan’s foreign direct investment in China crossed US$ 10 billion. Because of this development, restructuring of industrialization took place in both states and transformed bilateral relations. MITI conducted a survey in which it was observed that 29% of Japanese production in China is exported to Japan only. Means, Japanese companies were producing manufacturing good in Chinese industries and buying back for their consumers. There were different phases of bilateral trade as in 1980s, Japan took lead in trade with China, in early 1990s China shifted this imbalance in its favor but in late 1990s it again fell into the favor of Japan. But, in both situations trade continuously enhanced and help both the states to come close to each other.

Deng Xiaoping was a visionary statesman. He tried to find out some other markets for Chinese industrialist and business. In mid 80s, China perceived that it is over-dependent on Japan for its trade. Deng Xiaoping actively sought to divert its foreign markets in this regard China improved its contacts with different international markets. But, on one side China was diversifying its trade relations with other Asian countries and United States especially and on the other hand volume of Chinese trade with Japan was also increasing. But, in fact, the importance of Japan as trading partner of China had declined to some extent.

When China opened its market in late 70s, its trade volume with Japan was more than 25% of total trade of China, it increased to 30% in the mid 80s and fell rapidly in late 80s and again it rose in 1999 at 18%. (Pang, & Low, 1995) In 1990s, China normalized its relations with South Korean government and also established trading relations with Taiwan even then, Japanese businessmen struggled a lot to compete their new trading rivals and competed with them. (Hook et al, 2005)
One very important fact regarding increase in Chinese trade volume was that China joined many international and regional organizations such as United Nations in 1971, International Monetary Fund in 1980, World Bank in 1980 and ultimately World Trade Organization. In these twenty years since Deng Xiaoping opened Chinese market for the outside world, the composition of China-Japan composition trade has significantly changed. In 1970s, China’s exports were consisted of raw material such as coal and oil but, in 1980, Chinese exports converted into clothing, textiles and other manufacturing goods. Japan was unable to restrict Chinese textile imports because of Multinational Fiber Agreement. Japanese Prime Minister Ohira Masayoshi declared the first “Overseas Development Assistance (ODA)” package for China, which enhanced and boosted up China’s steel industry in 1979. In 1987, China snatched the status of Indonesia to be a Japan’s leading destination of its Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) in terms of “net Yen loan disbursement” and in 1993 China became the topper in receiving funds from Japan. (Noriyuki, 1998)

Since early 1990s, foreign direct investment has become an important element in Sino-Japan bilateral economic relations. Japanese foreign direct investment in China grew in the 1990s in response of domestic transformations in both states. In order to protect the interests of traders and both countries’ investment Japan and China established “investment promotion organizations.”

**Japan as a Good Neighbor**

After the ideological war between Soviet Union and the United States, which impacted the entire world in general while East Asian in particular. Japan itself decided to maintain a status in the region because she thought to be leader of the Asian region. However, it was not
easy for Japan this time despite economic power but China was also an emerging power and less dependent on Tokyo than before. Both states were enjoying friendly relations after a long time so they could not bear any tension. One thing was appreciable of Japan as she maintained its role of “big brother” in the region and fostered China’s position in international organizations. Japan had also lead the Development Assistance Committee and called all the members of the organization to accept China as a “developing country”. “Japan also actively supported China’s membership in the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and played a leading role in persuading the other G-7 countries to renew World Bank lending after Tiananmen.” Similarly, Japan had bolstered the China’s position as an observer for Uruguay Round of talk regarding GATT and their membership for World Bank and other organizations. It was not enough as Japan had ballyhooed their actions to encourage Beijing membership for “Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and for Asian Multilateral Forum in 1989. This cooperation had changed the luck of both countries along with region because both states came at the peak of economic stability. Their friendly relations brought peace and prosperity in the region that have been put positive impact since then till today. One thing is worth mentioning here that the two states have learnt from the history and they were not agreed to repeat the bitter history once again. According to an analysts who wrote about Sino – Japan history like this “Integrating the PRC is an important motivating factor in Japanese support for establishing multilateral economic and political/security institutions in the Asia–Pacific.” (Manning, 1994)

Security Issues

After the end of World War II, Japan was disarmed and made an alliance with the United States for security. In this security alliance the United States had decided to provide security umbrella
to Japan in order to protect them from abroad. Japan came under heavy pressure of Washington because of this treaty and they could not sign any treaty without American willingness particularly with China. It was considerable issue for Japan living with China with empty hands but tried to seek support from major powers on many issues after World War II as there was seen new political system in East Asian region. China under communist regime adopted isolated policy somehow while building good relations with communist Soviet Union though they were having issues unresolved.

At the end of Ideological or Cold War, Japan has been focusing on security matters in order to seek a position in the region. They had to struggle for making new security framework in order to make its position strengthen in the region. However, the Japanese were relied on United States for security so far but wanted to establish new frame work of security in the region and that needed to be led by Tokyo. This intention or act was badly criticized by China because they showed their peaceful activities in the region generally while in relations with Japan particularly. Nevertheless, Japan could not be much relied on China’s concerns due to bitter history of their relations and had sought to make an alliance with America, building economic ties and ignoring the Chinese concerns changed the regional circumstances.

In 1996, both Japan and the United States had reaffirmed the security agreement in their meeting to keep their influence in the region especially Washington who sought their dominance in Pacific Ocean. Nevertheless, the PRC expressed their strong objection and sentiments on this treaty because they did not feel any need for such treaty in the region. PRC had also realized that it was a strategy of the two states to contain China and given a dominant role to Japan in the region because they could fulfill American interest in the region very well. The situation became
further intense when the United States installed Theatre Missile Defense (TMD) in Japan. (Assmann, 2007) It was embarrassing situation for Beijing because they felt this missile defense against their objectives in the East Asian region. Besides all these circumstance, the Japanese gradual adding in defense budget was created another issue for Beijing particularly when Tokyo deployed their peacekeeping forces abroad.

The reaffirmation of security treaty between America and Japan had created challenges for China in Taiwan as well. Being a democratic state the United States could not favor the communist regime in the region because they were having interest here that could be endangered by China. Similarly, China was having historical legacy with Japan that is why Tokyo was not ready for relying on China regarding security despite enjoying good relations after World War I. In 1996, Beijing missile exercise in this disputed region brought the United States and China on confrontation stage when Washington carried aircraft carrier in response. (Yuzawa, 2007) In this complex time, Japan adopted the policy of non-interference towards but China showed their anger on Olympic Committee of Asia (OCA) when they invited Taiwan in their games in 1994. China viewed it as interference in their internal affairs. Nevertheless, Japan refused to issue visa for the president of Taiwan Lee Teng-hui and terminate the invitation due to Chinese pressure.

In addition, Japan was having concerns too, on the burgeoning military strength of China particularly after the “in-flight aircraft refueling technology”. China was not comparing itself with Japan on security level but looking at the other powers threats in the region. The territorial issues were still existing which threatening their future relations especially the recent incidents on Senkaku Islands. In fact, the rising communism was not only the issue of United States but
also for China as well because Beijing threatens any Japanese treaty with other powers that endanger them in the region. Most important concern for Japan was the book “China that Can Say No, (Zhong guo keyi shou bu)”, publicized widely. This book which fanned the flames between two states declared major powers as aggressive along with Japan.

Benjamin Self and Michael Green analyzed their relationship in the following way that Sino – Japan relations have transformed from “commercial liberalism” towards “reluctant realism”. (Green & Self, 1996) They further analyzed that the nature of Japanese policy for China has been changing once again in the region and the Japanese youth along with people are tired of Chinese demands. Similarly, the Chinese missiles test over Taiwan and then nuclear testing in 90s created fear in Tokyo that deteriorated their relationship. During this period the Japanese were tired of pro – Chinese leaders and favored nationalism that rose with full strength. “In 1999, the government granted official status to the national flag and anthem-two symbols intimately connected to Japan's military past. ‘Research councils’ have been established to discuss, among other things, Article 9 of the Japanese constitution, which bans Japan from using force to settle international disputes and pledges Japan to ‘forever renounce war as a sovereign right’.

Sino-Japan Relations in 21st Century

Many questions and rumors were raging about the new century that how would be the future of two giant states. The two states are now major economic powers of the world and they have ability to dominate the world in new century in case of cooperation with each other. Besides major economic powers, they were failed to resolve their historical issues which have
been brought them at the edge of war as in the ancient time they fought wars on territorial issues. These issues were kept aside temporarily that could surge any time by looking at their nature of relationship. This is how various conspiracy theories took place about their future. The twentieth century or before that their relationship was dominated by various issues mentioned above in article. What would be the destiny of two major powers of the 21st century was another question in the mind of people. Similarly, during cold war era they joined two different groups and faced the music because the other major powers tried their best to dominate the region particularly the United States. The reaction and behavior of United States was still a million dollar question because Washington and Tokyo connection created hurdles for China in the region. The United States along with Japan have been working with different interests and American Asian Pacific policy could be endangered by China in the region. Nevertheless, looking at their nature and relationship in past scholars could expect the following reasons in beginning of the century. First, the burgeoning economic globalization after the ideological war decreased the ratio of war in the world. The economy is a factor that can provide mechanism for political peace and stability. There are so many examples of such conflicts that would prevent from mechanism of economy. Sino-Japan improvement in relations after 1970s was the result of economic ties particularly when the Chinese government adopted the policy of reform and decided to increase economic relations with Japan. (Ali, 2015) Both states have been halted their historical issues via increasing economic ties with each. The economic ties have not only surged their development in all fields but also put lasting positive impacts on the entire Asian region. During negotiation on various issues, China made the economic factor as a focal point and did not let any security issues to dominate the economic interactions between Sino-Japan relations. Also, they have maintained diplomatic interactions but played less role in tackling the historical issues. In fact,
the economic ties between two states established better understanding towards the resolution of historical security issues. Similarly, these two states have ample natural and other resources and they have also ability to dominate the world and so they had done same by sustaining the economic interactions in every critical situation. This is how some analysts at the beginning of 21st century made various speculations about the nature of Sino-Japan relations in future. Their relationship in 21st century has been dominated by economic interactions so far which is a positive sign for the development of them and as well as for the peace and prosperity of the region.

Second; most important factor on which their relationship relies, is the United States presence in the region and her ties with Japan. (Ali, 2015) Washington clearly justifies its interests in Pacific Ocean. After World War II, there was seen new blocs on political stage of the world; one was dominated by capitalist America while the other communist Soviet Union. Sino – Japan unfortunately joined opposite groups of each other that put question mark on the future of their relationship and as well as the peace and prosperity of the region. In the same way both Japan and United States had singed security agreement under which the Washington would be responsible for Japanese security in the region. (Drohan, 2007) This security umbrella to from the America was not acceptable for China in the region. Both America and China have been working in the region with uncommon interests since 1949. The United States feels threat from China because Beijing could endanger their ‘Pivot’ policy in Pacific Ocean. The United States favors Japan on Taiwan question and other territorial disputes with China which might put severe impact on their relationship in 21st century. Also, Japan is not agreed on any agreement with US to install their forces in disputed islands that would create tension in the region. Russia is another
factor that continuously emphasizes on US troops to be decreased in number in the region. Besides US factor, Russian role in the region would be important in 21st century.

Third; Japan wants to get a powerful status in the region and to play its role internationally. Japan was second largest economic power of the world but later crossed by China and so Tokyo is ambitious to dominate the region and make one’s own role important worldwide on the basis of its robust economy. However, the reality is that Tokyo’s role is not comparable with China and other powers in international issues. Japan had also tried its best to become member of United Nations Security Council for which she got some supports from United States as well. For becoming an international power, it is necessary to dominate the region but Japan has not been sincere in resolving issues with China that created hurdles in their relationship. (Drohan, 2007)

Fourth; Sino-Japan needs to play their combined role for bringing peace and prosperity in the region. They need to work for the establishment of collective security and economic arrangements. Similarly they must learn from their history full of enmity and cooperation both with each other because Sino-Japan development would be the entire region’s development as they are giant powers of East Asia. China is an emerging power of the world and in the same way Japan is a burgeoning economic power on world stage that could play crucial role not only for Asian but also for the entire world if they become ready for working with common interests. Most importantly, the tackling of historical issues would be major factor in their future relationship. (Wan, 2006)

**Four Notable Disputed Events**
The 1990 Crises

The Tiananmen Incident brought the Chinese communist leadership into pressure in 1989 which became the reason of 1990s crises. The Japanese government given a statement in which they said that they were going to recognize “light house” constructed on Senkaku Island in past by the Japanese “ultra-nationalist Youth Federation”. (Smith, 2015) This light house was the symbol of “official navigation mark”. It became source of crises between China and Japan because they both claimed on this area, belonged to them. Similarly, in response to this decision, the Beijing authority had not only rejected this statement but also declare it as interference in their domestic affairs and violation of their sovereignty. However, for maintaining good relationship the Chinese government curbed the government protest on diplomatic level and also restrained public demonstration in Taiwan and in one’s own country against Japan. But, this decision was not an easy task for the communist government because their public has showed anger on this decision of the CCP government. It was good time for China to use the Taiwanese demonstration attempts in their own favor because they were in favor of China to protest against the Japanese government act. They have attempted but the Japanese government dispatched them back. Nevertheless, the government of Taiwan had to show their interference in the matter by curbing the activists.

The 1996 Crises

The 1995-96 Taiwan Strait events became the reason of 1996 crises between Sino-Japan, one of the major crises which deteriorated the equanimity in their relationship. (Swanstrom & Kokubun, 2008) The crises surged between the two giant states when the Youth Federation once again decided to construct the Light House on Senkaku Island, as the first attempt of Japanese
government recognition had already turned their relationship into a difficult situation. The Youth Federation forced the Japanese government to claim on light house as their one’s own property after signing and ratifying the Law of Sea Treaty. In the same way, Beijing had already signed and ratified this convocation related to law of sea by recognizing their sovereignty over all the islands. This situation turned these territorial issues towards unilateralism.

In addition, the two states claim over islands created tension in the region which impacted the other states as well because these islands were not only having geographical importance but are also full of natural resources and so the other countries had also involved in these issues. Japan officials met with their counter – parts in Hong Kong in regards to the concerns on islands but the China’s government gave very harsh reply that they could not bargain or compromise over their islands. Similarly, Beijing criticized Japan and ultra – nationalists for their activities and called Japan to resolve the issue bilaterally. According to the editorial page of People’s Daily which elaborated that, “whoever expects the 1.2 billion Chinese people to give up even an inch of their territory is only daydreaming.” The CPC government as not only rejected Chinese claims but also declared their claims as creation of hypocrisy and conspiracy.

The Japanese Youth Federations efforts of repairing second light house were damaged by tropical storm. This incident took place around 56th anniversary of Tokyo’s occupation of Manchuria which resulted in anti – Japanese sentiments within China, Taiwan, Macao Hong Kong as well as overseas community in Canada and the United States. In September 1996, the assassination of Hong Kong residents resulted in a huge demonstration and raised the Chinese flag on disputed island but was later removed by the Tokyo’s army.
Both Sino – Japan claims made the public opinions against each other and the nationalist elements in two states outrage was getting strength. To remove such issues the two states officials met at New York during the UN General Assembly meeting but they failed to resolve the issue because during meeting both sides reaffirmed their claim on the disputed islands. But they had decided to calm down the nationalist elements that could create barriers in the going on smooth relationship. Beijing urged Tokyo to remove the light house at Senkaku island but Japan did not agree for removal but promised of non – recognition. (Suganuma, 2000) Nevertheless, good relationship and continuous contacts between Sino – Japan fetched the issue into halt.

**The 2004-05 Crises**

The 2004 – 05 crises were the result of various events in twenty first century in general while 2004 in particular. Many incidents in 2004 took place that became root causes of major crises, for instance, in January 2004, the Japanese petrol boats hit the Chinese vessels in disputed island and then their coastal guards arrested some Chinese who landed on island but two days later they had to release after investigations. The Chinese government needed to express their views about this condemnable act and so the authority criticized Japanese illegal holding of their citizens because Beijing also claimed over the islands as one’s own property. Similarly the government urged Japan to release their citizens without any condition. The strong demonstration against Japan once again took place in Beijing to pressurize their own government to restore sovereignty over the disputed islands. The Chinese leader Wen Jiabao urged on his counterpart to cooperate on the issue during his visit to China. He said such unresolved issue could deteriorate bilateral relations and ties. Such incidents made their relationship fragile because the two states were entangled with each other on basis of different interests.
The exploration of natural gas in disputed islands heightened the conflict between Sino-Japan. As already mentioned above that the areas were having geographical importance and full of natural resources and so the exploration of gas made the situation further difficult for them because now they were not ready to go back from their claims. China had severe concerns about Japan – American talks on military bases and so they showed their intension too, for deployment of 4 navy ships. In the beginning of 2005, Japanese government did not keep their promise of not recognizing the light house erected by Japanese Youth Federation as now they intended to take it in their own control which was unacceptable and unexpected for China. (Wan, 2006)

Beijing declared it as interference and violation of their sovereignty within their own areas. During the same tense situation, the United States and Japan had given joint statement regarding Taiwanese issues and decided the peaceful “settlement of Taiwanese question”. The increasing role of United States and their closeness with Japan was not in favor of China so this is how it tilted Chinese towards military rivalry with Japan in order to protect their objectives in the region.

After the tension, large number of Public came out for protest against Japan in more than forty cities and it was not easy for government to curb them. These demonstrations in which hundreds thousands people had participated, lasted many weeks. The Chinese public attacks on Japan’s embassy as well could create issues but media showed their positive role in the critical situation and the incident did not take as much serious by the two states as were expected. The government of China, however, wasn’t involved in demonstration but utilized them against Chins. The reason of controlling protest by the government was to prove the rising peaceful China. To decrease the Japanese and the United States effects, China decided to deploy more
naval ship and military capability in East China Sea. Nevertheless, Beijing stopped protests in the country and decided to resolve the issue via peaceful negotiations. In March 2005, the government attempted to go towards dialogue on political and diplomatic front. (Suganuma, 2000)

The 2010 Crises

The 2010 crises took place after the colliding incident between two Japanese ships and a Chinese trawler in the disputed islands. (Buszynski & Roberts, 2015) The Japanese Coastal services arrested and branded the Chinese ship whenever it was ready for flee. China strongly condemned this act of Japanese coastal guards and declared it against one’s own sovereignty. Beijing took the issue to many diplomatic forums with Japan in order to resolve it. As China claimed over the disputed areas belongs to them historically and Japan’s coastal guard continuously violating their sovereignty within their own water. Similarly, Chinese government enforced fishery law in the area in order to protect their fishery rights, the fishermen lives and property. The demonstration once again took place and demanded Japan’s government for apology on their illegal activities. However, the protesters in various cities of China were under the control of authority. This time the Chinese government expressed harsh reaction delaying negotiation on East China Sea and rescinded all cultural, tourist and trade ties. Similarly, Wen Jiabao, the Chinese Premier threatened Japan for further harsh actions if they would not release the Chinese captain without any condition. However, the Japanese released all the crew and Captain after investigation and this declared as their diplomatic victory. (Buszynski & Roberts, 2015) The crises came to an end when the leadership of both states met in Brussels for short meeting over resolving the issue.
During meeting they forgot all the history for a while and negotiated the issue with calmness and in friendly vibe.

NEED OF NEW THINKING

People’s Daily most prominent journalist “Ma Li Cheng” has written in his magazine that Sino-Japan need to adopt ‘new thinking’ for bringing peace and prosperity in the world because both states are having high prestige on the global level. He emphasized on China to engage in world affairs for making a peaceful vibe so then they could resolve their domestic issues. The solution of internal and external issues is Chinese dream that would be better for their policies of ‘rising peaceful China’ and ‘reform policy’. The communist leader Jiang Zemin tried his best to solve all issues and build friendly relations with Japan because a peaceful Japan is in the greater interest of China. The author of People’s Daily had outlined three important silent characteristics in both states relationship such as if Japan tries to come close to the United States in order maintain balance in the region and to keep watching of China’s activities in the region. Secondly; there is sever lack of confidence building measure between the two giant states because they look each other with doubt and suspicion and do their best to stab each other behind. It’s all due to their panic history, full of war and tension. Thirdly; besides all these issues, Sino-Japan combined work and assist the regional states in order to bring and prosperity in the region. The author in his articles emphasizes on China to come forward and abolish all the bitter facts of the history. Also, China must not demand from Japan for apologize on their full of conflict and harsh history towards China.
There are different views of Chinese public, mass media, politicians and authors. Some authors along with a number of public-support criticized Ma on his policy of “re-thinking” and declared him as a ‘traitor’ for cherishing soft design towards Japan. Similarly, he even, received ‘death’ threats on internet and call from unknown people for the sake of his article in the magazine. In the same way, some authors along with politicians and large number of public have supported his strategy or idea of building peaceful and cooperation with Japan. In fact, Ma has given a new path and direction to Chinese government for a peaceful future of the country and region. (Li, 2011) He has also given a topic for discussion to researchers, students, and politician to consider on needs of the time that whether Beijing should cherish a soft policy towards Tokyo or sustained the previous one.

Similarly, Ma’s direction of re thinking resulted in demonstration of nationalists in China because they were not in favor of any change in policy. This policy of the author offered Japan as innocent the views of the world as nationalists viewed. However, Japan did not utilize this policy due to their fear of outrage from nationalism. In fact, his policy was a good choice for both states to build peace and prosperity in the region. The friendly and fraternal relationship has changed its destiny when they went towards cooperation after 1980s. Both Sino – Japan have ample resources and capability to emerge as major powers as they are today, with each other cooperation.

**Examining Sino-Japan Power Transition**

When two states reach on power parity and one of them remains dissatisfied that would lead towards conflict and war, called power transition theory. Same things have been happening in
East Asia where both China and Japan look unhappy from status quo in the world and in the region. Japan was second largest economic power before it was crossed by China as it ranks second in the world today. In fact, both states are burgeoning economic powers of the world and so the Japanese would never let Beijing to dominate the region because they are having history full of warfare and complex relationship. China is also complaining to Japan by not accepting its sole authority in the region and also Tokyo’s disagreement for resolving the historical issues. (Harlan, 2013, December 07) At the same time, Japan wants to dominate the region with its economic power but worries that Beijing endangers status quo in the region to which favors.\(^{170}\) Also, Japan is not considered China as a reliable regional and neighboring country and seeking security umbrella from the United States.

Japan was a major military power in past while China is burgeoning economic and military power of the region. Both states exist with almost same economic parity though; China is second largest economy and it is estimated that it would cross the United States until 2025. But the problems have been created when the Japanese seek to achieve its military power in the region though; China is emerging military power of the world indeed and maintained peaceful policies towards Japan. (Lai & Lu, 2012) Beijing is the largest trade partner of Tokyo but the feeling of enmity towards China deteriorated their relationship in 21\(^{st}\) century as well.

Japan has its own profound history on which they are proud because in past they had defeated China and Russia. They had become an industrial power in second half of the 19\(^{th}\) century and once again proved their ability after World War II, by achieving higher economic development. In fact, Chinese culture had its strong influence on Japanese customs, traditions, culture and society. Similarly Japanese nation has ability and ample resources to do their best for the region
but if they forget their history. However, Japan needs to accept the reality that not only China but also there is other economic powers like Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea. If they work together so it would be brought peace and prosperity for the region. They can work for collective security and economic organization in the region that would further strengthen and enhance their economic, technological and security development.

The United States ‘Pacific Policy’ and its Japan security relations create some issues in the region because China doesn’t want to follow aggressive strategy towards Japan in the region. (Simon & Goh, 2008) However Japan considers that Beijing might take revenge of what had happened to them in the past. In fact, the United States realizes that the greater and stable China is in their favor and their public. Similarly Japan played its crucial role in economic development of China since 1970s – 80s. It provides loans and assistance to fulfill Chinese ambition of economic modernizations. Chinese soft attitude and economic development compels the United States to withdraw all sanctions despite Tiananmen incident. Now China is an emerging power of the world on one hand while on the other hand, Japan cannot see it as a dominant power. All issues can be resolved via peaceful negotiations and cooperation and Japan’s government has to change public opinion about China.

In recent years, the Japanese rules came under conservative and nationalists impacts in the leadership of Shinzo Abe. Prime Minister Abe cherished aggressive policies towards China that resulted in distress in the region. Similarly, his threatening China in his speeches and meetings and working with United States to counter Chinese threat. He calls China as “absurd” and South Korea as a “foolish” country. “Most controversially, Abe visited the war-glorifying Yasukuni Shrine on 26 December 2013, in open defiance of China, South Korea and even the United

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States.” Such a tense and inflexible situation form Japan created trouble and hurdles in path of flexible relationship. Some scholars from China emphasizes on their country to take Japan as a ‘normal’ neighboring state beyond the embarrassing history, so then Tokyo might change their policy.

21st century is called the century of Asia due to economic and technological developments of Asian states in which China and Japan are notable countries. However, despite the needs of 21st century they have been failed to resolve their historical issue which dominated their relationship since 19th century. Sino – Japan needs strong leadership for resolution of the issues. Current leadership of China (Xi Jinping) and Japan (Shinzo Abe) are prudent leaders who have ability to resolve political issues and move forward to bring peace and prosperity in the region. Both leaders have been trying to curb nationalist elements in their states and to resolve domestic issues willingly. (He, 2009) For improving relationship, the two prudent leaders of Sino – Japan must not release provocative statements against each other and they have to refrain the domestic rogue actors, military generals and politician to avoid making provocative remarks which might further intense the situation in region. Similarly both states need to realize the other actors like the United States to prefer diplomatic channels rather than focusing on force to resolve the issues. Sino – Japan must not focus on historical disputes but to work on common interests and cooperation with each other. They should learn from one’s own history and take 1970s steps to normalize the situation which would be in their legitimate interests. The leaders of 1970s Tanaka (Japan) and Zhu Enlai (China) willingly normalized the situation by shelving over Senkaku issue. (Lee, 1984)
The territorial issues are still existing in Chinese views while, Japanese do not believe on such issues because they consider the disputed territories historically belong to them. Similarly the Chinese naval air patrol and increasing army activities for keep watching the Japanese activities in disputed areas, not only challenging its sovereignty but also forcing Tokyo to resolve the issues on negotiations table. Japanese leadership should avoid harsh policies and word like ‘absurd’ and ‘foolish’ for South Korea and China. In addition, Tokyo believing on non-existence of issues in South China Sea and Prime Minister Abe defiance visit of Yasukuni Shrine would create issues that intense the situation in the region.

China will be agreed to step back willingly for seeking the solution of issue because normal relations with Japan is in the interest of ‘rising China’ and as well as in the region. This is why China needs to make Japan realize about the construction of ADIZ over disputed islands would not endanger the freedom of navigation. In the same way, China should decrease its air and naval patrol in these islands in order to bring Japan on negotiation table. Also, Beijing should take Tokyo in confidence over their feelings of power transition in the region that seems in favor of China because developed Japan is better for their modernization and for regional peace and prosperity.

Sino–Japan should adopt ‘new thinking’ for normalization of vibe as People’s Daily prominent journalist Ma Li Cheng introduced this idea, mentioned above too. The Chinese forgive Japan for making apology on its aggression in past while the Japanese refrains claiming sovereignty over disputed islands. This is the era of globalization and economic and technological development. According to Joseph Nye who writes in his book “The Future of Power”, in 21st century that state will be super or major powers who have developed economy and advance technology along with
energy resources. Both China and Japan are able to cooperate with each other to become advance technological and developed economic states on world stage as they are today indeed but, still these efforts are less for them. Western concept of sovereignty faces severe problems from ancient time and in era of globalization challenges for sovereignty are further increased. Both states should work for mechanism in order to resolve these issues and get benefits too, because Senkaku Island is having important geographic significance along with natural resources.

**ECONOMIC RELATION & JAPAN FRIGHTENED MOVING**

John Mearsheimer was an American realist who got attention via one’s own logical ideas as he used various terms regarding major and super powers and one of them is following term, “the balance of latent power.” He says when a state gets economic stability then it is used for achieving other interests along with creating challenges for ‘status quo’. (Mearsheimer, 2003) Nevertheless, another prominent scholar defines economic power as, “the external expansion of the UK and France, Germany and Japan, the Soviet Union and the United States coincided with phases of intense industrialization and economic development.” In the light of ideas of these scholars it is worthy to mention here that economy is most drawing factor through which a state can achieve its advancement of military and technology. For instance today super power United States and major powers like China have achieved their current position due to their robust economy. Likewise, Japan’s Defense reported in 2002 that, “many countries in the region have used the remarkable growth of their economies to expand and modernize their military capabilities. Especially, China’s military strength draws attention from countries in the region”. (LeBlanc, 2004) Similarly China, on other hand is also having concerns over Japanese ambition for increasing its role politically, and for that they needed “not only its economic strength but
also its military power.” In 2005 – 06, Beijing issued a white paper regarding ‘arms control and disarmament’ in which they declared one’s own victory in “People’s War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression” and said that, “China is even more reluctant to see some countries cooperate in the missile defense field to further proliferate ballistic missile technology.”

Since 1990s the economic ratio of Sino – Japan dramatically increased due to their cooperation which became three – quarter of Asian economic portion and almost half of military portion. (Park & Patrick, 2013) China and Japan economic activities have reached to 100 billion US dollars annually and so Beijing became major trade partner of Tokyo by crossing America. According to a prominent scholar who elaborates that “Japan with its resource-poor advanced high-tech economy, it is argued, should find a natural partner in China, with its resource-rich, more backward, but developing economy.” (Patrick & Meissner, 1986) China’s economic modernization was at first initiated in 1990s while the Deng Xiaoping efforts played crucial role in economic stability by connecting their economy with security, globalization and domestic stability. The Chinese economy is consequential factor of Chinese Communist Party CPC and for sustaining a global position, depending upon “‘GNPism”. In 2003 – 04, China as a burgeoning economic power and largest ‘FDI recipient’ was seen by entire world that increased the economic advancement and rise of China.

In addition, Chinese have also been become 2nd largest investor of the world by initiating investment in the field of technology and research. During the same period Japan has also increased its military power and is leading in ‘Civil Military Integration (CMI)’ that permits “spin-on and spin-off of commercial and defense technologies respectively.” It expresses the reality indeed that Japan’s economic modernization has been linked with China and together they
could transform the fortune of the region. During the period of 21st century many domestic upheavals were seen in China that forced the nationalists to stand against Japan. Besides, domestic unrest, Chinese markets were very fascinated for investors due to their robust global economic status and Walter Russell declared China as a “sticky power”. According to Russell the strong economic state has ability to utilize the weaker for one’s own objectives while the weak states cannot come out from this economic net of China. This is why, Japan worried about Chinese position in the region though Beijing has no such intension because developed and peaceful Japan is in the interest of China. Likewise, Beijing’s economic model is role model for rest of the Asian states like South Korea, Malaysia and Taiwan etc. and they enjoy friendly relationship with China indeed in which economy is their focal point.

Economic interdependence has been increased in the world after the era of globalization. This economic interdependence has also increased Sino – Japan economic ties and they are now largest trade partners of each other and dominating the higher economic status at global level. (Ichimura, 1998)

Yehuda points out that economic cooperation increased where states are independent on each other and work with common interests. In fact, economic interdependence brought China and Japan close to each other for working with mutual understanding. However, despite this system both states are deprived from long lasting resolution of the historical issues which dominated their relationship.

The economic ties are possible in other fields as well such as energy sector which is severely needed to both Sino – Japan. Both states bear heavy population and industrialization which run
via energy resources, while these two states have ample resources to tackle all such issues before happening. According to Kenneth Pollock (Middle East specialist and ex-advisor of Bill Clinton) who describes global economy as “rests on a foundation of inexpensive, plentiful oil, and if that foundation were removed, the global economy would collapse.” It shows that energy or oil is very consequential for economic development and there are a lot of energy resources in disputed areas. If Sino – Japan agree to resolve mutually those issues so it would benefit both of them. It is worth mentioning that Japanese imports are almost relied on oil and gas (99%) and same is the case of China with 90 percent. (Harnisch et al, 2015)

CHINA’S MILITARILY RISE & JAPAN Follows

The realists declared the world system as an anarchic and emphasizing on military strength which is “decisive in shaping the patterns of relations” between two countries. Since 1996, Beijing has been increasing its military strength and ranked 2nd largest military power in the world with almost $140 billion annual budget. (Shambaugh, 2013) Despites, the great military power along with a huge amount for defense budget, China “loves peace and advocates that nothing is more valuable than peace” which is part of its soft and non-interference policy in the world. Also, Chinese, “unswervingly pursues a national defense policy defensive in nature.” Nevertheless, Japan and United States have concerns on this situation because they are having bilateral security with each other under which Washington providing security umbrella to Tokyo in the region. Japan has been looking towards the United States for bringing military parity in the region and Washington as a leader tries to take steps in order to bring Japan as a ‘normal state’ by seeking to “balance China’s rise through its campaign to return Japan to a ‘normal nation’.” In 2001-02, the Armitage Report exhorted Japan and American military cooperation “should be
regarded as the floor—not the ceiling—for an expanded Japanese role in the transpacific alliance.” These circumstances express that they both are having problems from rising China in the region as well as in the world, despite Chinese peaceful and non-interference policies. (Graff, & Higham, 2012) Hence, the military power cannot be ignored in liberal era as well because it has consequent role in rising a state on regional or world level. According to Morgenthau who was a realist says that “armed strength as a threat or a potentiality is the most important material factor making for the political power of a nation.” (Morgenthau, 2012)

China as a rising power however, fears from Japanese military expansion due to its aggressive behavior in past on military basis. The historical issues of islands would become more critical with Japanese military expedition. Nevertheless, Japan has also been emphasizing on military power since 1990s and participating in various military events on world level. For instance, Japanese installation of forces in Persian Gulf in ‘91, participation in “UN Peacekeeping Mission” in Cambodia in ‘92, Installation of forces in East Timor in 2002, and also brought reforms in law that permitted Japanese Army to play their role in “war against terrorism” and in Iraq war in 2003. China is not ready for further military damages in the region looking at the aggressive behavior of Japan in past and having concerns on Tokyo’s military activities that’s the result of “slippery – slope” in their views. (Yahuda, 2014) Japan on the other hand; deepening its military interaction with United States to counter Chinese possible threat in the region. In 2005 both states have given a joint statement that they seek “peaceful resolution of issues concerning the Taiwan Strait through dialogue.” The main reason behind this statement looks-like they wanted to pressurize China in the region. However China has not impressed by these joint activities along with ‘Theatre Missile Defense System’.
Since 2007, Japan was 2\textsuperscript{nd} largest military state who spent more than 45 billion US dollars budget on Defense, while China was ranked third with 45 billion US dollars. However, the US and Japan military expenditure forced China to increase its military budget which resulted in a dramatic rapid growth because Beijing has raised its budget to $140 billion. (Shambaugh, 2013) This highest military budget made it 2\textsuperscript{nd} largest in the world and the United States and Japan criticized this adding of defense in the region. Donald Rumsfeld (US Defense Secretary) showed concerns on burgeoning Chinese military budget and questioned “Since no nation threatens China, one must wonder: Why this growing investment? Why these continuing large and expanding arms purchases?” It’s not less than a threat because military competition between Sino-Japan without resolving issues may bring them on the brink of nuclear war in future. The People’s Liberation Army threatened US and Japan with Nuclear War if these two states do not stop their intervene policy in Taiwan. In response, the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party threatened China by issuing a statement in 2002 that “Japan can easily have thousands of nuclear warheads…In fact, we have enough plutonium in use at nuclear power plants for three to four thousand warheads. If that should happen, Japan would not lose [to China] even in military terms.” However, the Japanese Prime Minter Abe statement was a real threat for China when he said in 2003-04 that it will be “acceptable for Japan to develop small, strategic nuclear weapons.” The military expenditures were not less than a threat for the whole region due to lack of confidence and trust, that’s why China urged on all regional states that “relevant countries should increase transparency in their missile defense program for the purpose of deepening trust and dispelling misgivings.” (Hook et al, 2005)
China and Japan have less experience with nuclear equipment because military competition along with issues makes it possible to be seen nuclear conflict in Asia. These weaknesses of them are itself not less than a threat for the region. Eugene Matthews argues that non–experience of Japanese “can barely deal with natural disasters such as earthquakes, let alone foreign armies.” Matthews (2007) said it rightly because Japanese Tsunami is still remembered by the entire world that mostly impacted their nuclear reactors which put the lives of million people in danger. Nevertheless, China views that Japan is “day dreaming to materialize its wild ambitions of becoming a political and military power… when it will definitely pose a threat to peace in Asia and the world.” It is cleared that both states want their hegemonic role in the region which would put great danger of nuclear war. Both Sino-Japan must cooperate with each other rather than to be entangled in military competition. Likewise, China is a rising global power at global level so Japan needs to accept the reality for regional stability. China has proved it’s peaceful and non-interference policies while working with all regional states and so Japan should realize too.

SINO-NORTH KOREAN RELATIONS

INTRODUCTION

China is considered as a most reliable and trustworthy friend, major source of weapons, food and energy and a biggest trading partner of North Korea. (Xu, & Bajoria, 2014) North Korea is cut-off from rest of the world after Korean War (1950-53) and this is only China which provides her every kind of help and support to counter all weather difficulties. Recently, China supported Kim Jong Un to get control over the Korean government. China always provided political and
military shield to North Korea whenever international community tried to impose any kind of harsh sanctions or suppose to pose military threat. China’s main objective is to prevent North Korean regime to be collapsed. In February 2013, North Korea conducted third nuclear test which caused little bit serious and bitter tension between the China and Pyongyang. (Kwak, 2014) In current international political scenario the North Korean nuclear issue has become flash point which is being discussed everywhere in the world. Only China is standing behind North Korea but, owing to the third nuclear test by Pyongyang, China is seriously thinking about tackling this issue technically in order to save the regional as well as international peace and security. China is playing a very critical role in Six Party Talks aiming denuclearization of North Korea. Along with this, China’s soft relations with South Korea could also have potential to change the geopolitical situation in East Asian region and North Korea may lose its closest ally. China is moving ahead with the best intentions of making this region peaceful and developed.

HISTORIC ALLIANCE WITH STRESS

The importance of the Korean old rulers’ ties with the Chinese old kingdoms cannot be denied. The relationship can be traced back before independence when both ends shared common historical heritage. Korea was part of Sino-centric regional dimensions from the 1200 to 1900. (Schwartz, 1967) The relationship not only had historical dimensions rather both were highly encompassed in terms of deep economic, cultural and commercial bonding. Korea has been under suzerainty of China for long. However the rise of imperial Japan raised concerns and Chinese were defeated and Korean suzerainty to China came to end.
The Democratic Republic of Korea got independence on 1948. The Chinese Communist Party contributed a lot towards facilitating and standing shoulder to shoulder in the independence movement of Korea and condemning Japanese offensive designs in Manchuria. Chinese leadership contributed extensively in the Korean War standing by the communist faction. During the Cold War North Korea has pursued policy of balancing between the Soviet Union and the China. The relations were hard to maintain after the Sino-Soviet split. Another political conflict remained the transferring of power to the dynastic elements which negated the basic tenets of the Communism. The conflict between Mao Ze Dong and Kim II rose when Mao had reservations to reappoint the Kim in the second leadership to be selected for North Korea. (Armstrong, 2006) The stance was overcome by taking Chinese leadership by Deng Xiaoping.

It is quite evident that after the end of the Second World War the East Asian Region became the centre of proxy wars between the two Super Powers. Both tried to influence East Asian states in order to make them their allies by using different political, economic and military means. In this regard, Korean War was occurred between the Two Koreas in 1950 till 1953. At this occasion China supported North Korea by sending its troops in Korean Peninsula. More than 300000 Chinese volunteers fought Korean War. (Zhihua, 2012) Since then China and North Korea are close allies and China has provided political and economic support to the leaders of North Korea; Kim Il Sung, Kim Jong II and the current leader Kim Jong Un. Pyongyang’s nuclear test in October 2006 provided an opportunity to the western world to see strains in the relations between China and North Korea. China got little bit stressed and voted for “United Nations Security Council Resolution 1718” for imposing economic sanctions on Pyongyang. Along with this, Beijing also changed its tone in diplomatic relations with Pyongyang just to punish it.
However, China also wanted to maintain good ally relations as it showed on the visit of then Chinese Premier Wen Jibao to North Korea in 2009 while celebrating 16th anniversary of Sino-North Korean relations. But, again something wrong happened between the two parties when North Korea third time conducted nuclear tests in February 2013. This time China showed a very hard reaction and summoned the North Korean ambassador to China in Ministry of Foreign Affairs to record protest against Pyongyang’s nuclear test. China implemented new economic sanctions, reduced support in energy sector and put pressure on Korean regime to come to solve this nuclear issue through talks.

Recently, China supported UN report in February 2014 which highlights human rights violations in North Korea. Scholars are raising questions whether China would use its “Veto Power” in Security Council to resist international community’s interference in the internal matters of this communist state or it will support this cause. There was an event in Pacific Ocean in 2010, when there were clear evidences against North Korea for its involvement in destroying and sinking a South Korea’s naval ship but, China rejected to take any kind of stance and action against its neighbor and ally. On the other hand, in June 2013 there was a summit in the Sunny lands where Chinese President Xi Jin Ping openly asked to North Korea to come to join the efforts of denuclearization while President of US Barak Obama was also present there. (Freeman, 2015)

This kind of Chinese behavior confuses the scholars and academicians as well as statesmen weather China is serious for making efforts of denuclearization of East Asia or it is protecting North Korea to carry on what he is doing. But, in my opinion, China is a very sensible state which really wants to maintain peace and security of East Asia and bring economic development by using diplomatic means in resolving political issues. There are some senior scholars such as
Adam Segal (senior fellow at CFR) who advocates that this is totally illogical that China would turn its back from supporting North Korea. Although China supported the UN Resolution 1718 but it happened after revisions and international community had to remove some tough economic sanctions on North Korea.

China’s trading relations with North Korea are also very strong and even increased in recent years. In 2013 trade between China and North Korea increased by more than 10% as compared to the year of 2012. China is moving towards a hegemonic position but this time it has only limited regional interests which are directly linked with the peace and security of this entire region. China doesn’t want to see any kind of western interference in this area which could jeopardize its struggles and efforts for making this region developed, that is why on one side it is influencing North Korea for denuclearization and on the other hand it is also increasing good and normal relations with South Korea. China is trying to maintain balance of power and would not let any state to become much powerful that may affect Chinese interests. China is emerging, scholars are very confident about this phenomenon. Chinese are actually in struggle of establishing centuries old hierarchical system in East Asia.
North Korean Interests

It is very clear that China is the only country which is providing all kinds of trade facilities to North Korea. China is providing most of Pyongyang’s food and energy supplies and trade between the two states is about over 60% of total trade of North Korea. (Freeman, 2015) According to Nicolas Eberstadt (Senior Fellow at American Enterprise Institute), that since 1990s China has served as the major food supplier to North Korea and fulfilling 90% of its energy needs. With the passage of time economic dependency of North Korea on China is continuously growing as it is clearly shown by the significant imbalance trade figures between the two states. North Korea is in US$ 1.25 billion deficit in trade with China and economists see this deficit as an indirect financial support by China in shape of subsidy because Pyongyang cannot finance its trade deficit by borrowing. (Pempel, 2013)

There is another source of helping North Korea by providing direct food and economic aid. It is commonly known and believed that food aid from China to Pyongyang is “channeled to the military.” According to the rules of World Food Program, food aid must be distributed among the general masses that to resist the military-first policy and regime stability. (Pempel, 2013) North Korea at this time is under the heavy influence of western pressure for about its capability of developing nuclear weapons. After the end of the Cold War it was realized that now onward there would not be such kind of communist state which would be the potential threat to capitalism. But, North Korea still maintains itself as a sole and pure communist state which is militarily developed and also nuclear capable. China is the biggest ally and supporter of North Korea because of Ideological similarities which brought the two bordering states on a single platform. There are many prominent scholars who are continuously talking about the threat of
Sino-Korean alliance for the peace and stability of the world. But, it is very difficult for them prove their statements because China didn’t commit any kind of aggressive act yet which could be the violation of the sovereignty of other neighboring states. Same is the case of North Korea; it is developing nuclear weapons because of its own security because North Korea has concerns over the big powers policies regarding East Asia and especially North Korea. (Kim, 2014)

North Korea is on the view that capitalist states’ group has isolated her from rest of the world and now they are trying to surround it and in struggle of abolishing the sovereign and autonomous government of North Korea.

**Chinese Interests and Priorities in Korean Peninsula**

History is evident that China always played a critical role in maintaining peace and stability on the Korean peninsula as it is in its own favor as well. In history China had establish hierarchical order in this region and opted the responsibility of security of neighboring states. China always supports Pyongyang to make it sure that there is a friendly nation on its northern border which also provides an opportunity to China to have buffer zone between the two anti states i.e. China and South Korea. Differences between China and South Korea erupted very soon after the Second World War due to the division of the whole world into two ideological blocks. In this regard the famous Korean War was fought between the two Koreas backing by China and US. South Korea is an US ally state which is hosting around 29,000 US military troops and marine within the state’s boundaries. (Schwartz, 1967)

Since the Korean War, there is a constant tussle and tug of war between the regional states as well as it is a serious concern for the rest of the world. After the death of Kim Jong Il and the
getting the throne by Kim Jong Un, South Korean policy makers are seriously planning to capture North Korea to bring it on the discussion for denuclearization. In this regard South Korean policy makers are trying enough and hard to bring Chinese and US officials together for serious discussion on this hot issue.

An associate director for research at Stanford’s Asia-Pacific Research Centre Mr. Daniel Sneider is of the view that” maintaining stability, peace and the avoidance of war and conflicts are on the top priorities of the Chinese government.” He further said that possibility of millions of North Korean refugees flooding into PRC would be huge concern for China that refugees can upset the entire environment of inner China by crimes and other social evils. Some Chinese are of the views that China should put limits on the China-North Korea relations and Chinese government just look at its own national interests. Beijing is regularly repatriating North Koreans to Pyongyang who escape across border and this thing is creating trouble for China as this act is considered as human rights violations. China has constructed wire fence along North Korean border to avoid such a potential threat from refugee problem. According to him, Chinese are very much concerned about the collapse of North Korean regime, so China is very serious to solve the nuclear issue, political, economic and military issues between North Korea and South Korea.

China is emerging as a regional power and its first priority is to solve the issue politically and in this regard it is trying to convince the world’s power not to put hard pressure on Pyongyang in order to prevent Kim Jong Un’s regime to collapse.

Owing to these circumstances US administration is stuck around the East Asian region’s issues and Chinese government considers it as containment of China by the US. Because of this
scenario China has suspicion about US interests especially regarding North Korea. There is a very complex situation, on one side US and South Korea has very close alliance and China is a close ally to North Korea. Here China is moving towards positive move for maintaining balance of power viz-a-viz establishing peace and stability in the region by countering US-Seoul alliance by establishing good relations with Seoul too. (Shin, 2010)

China is intentionally moving forward to build very friendly environment in the whole region. This proposed friendly coordination among the East Asian states is actually favorable for the consistent development of Chinese economy. In 2014, the Heads of two states Chinese President Xi Jinping and South Korean President Park Geun-hye visited each other’s states in same year. Scholars are of the view this is a remarkable intensification of the relationship between the two traditional hostile states. Although the two states are anxiously looking for economic relations and moving towards signing a Free Trade Agreement but, they are still far away to sign such a strategic agreement which could be a real means of relaxation of tension between them. Scholars are very clear yet that China is not going to support any kind of military adventure within the territorial sovereignty of North Korea. In 1960, both states concluded an agreement “Sino-North Korean Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance” by which China is bond to defend and protect North Korea by any external aggression. (Kwak & Joo, 2010) But, one thing is very important that while signing that treaty China kept the right to make an authoritative interpretation of the principle for intervention. Jaewoo Choo a specialist of Chinese foreign policy speaks that after the end of the Cold War and due to certain changes in regional security China now have more concern with its own national interests rather to safeguard others.
Daniel Sneider argues that “bringing stability and avoidance from the war is on the top the interests list of China.”

**NUCLEARIZATION OF NORTH KOREA**

Preserving stability on the Korean peninsula is one of the top priorities of Chinese policy makers. If instability occurs in North Korea because of either a political or by an economic crisis would lead the entire region towards negative consequences especially for Chinese consistent economic development. There is a situation such as on one side US thinks that North Korean weapons of mass destruction are insecure and on the other hand South Korea wants to reunify the Korean Peninsula. These two directional pressure on North Korea might brought the two states US and South Korea to rush into the North Korean territory which would be a nightmare for China to have military conflict on the border. (Moore, 2014)

While we talk about Chinese intentions regarding denuclearization of North Korea, we can find that China keeps this on the lower level of Chinese interests’ list. Although China very clearly opposes North Korean nuclear program and prefers a nuclear-free region. All time Chinese statesmen clearly expressed their views that China will not support such kind of act to demilitarize North Korea which could lead the entire region on the brink of the war rather China wants to solve the nuclear issue with political means. Developing a nuclear weapon by the North Korea is a serious direct threat to China but, one thing is needed to be addressed that there is a possibility that perception of growing North Korea’s nuclear threat might lead the other regional states especially Japan, South Korea and Taiwan towards developing their own nuclear weapons instead of looking towards US for their territorial integrity. (Moore, 2014)
Already there is a very strong feeling of insecurity in South Korea and Japan regarding North Korean nuclear capabilities which has stimulated and provoked the both states to strengthen their defense coordination while enhancing their missile defense capabilities. Chinese are calculating this situation very anxiously and worry that these developments might prove very harmful for the Chinese security.

This perception regarding proliferation of nuclear weapons is having one very important threat that owing to this expansion “nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT)” could also collapse. Most of the world is worried about an issue that North Korea could transfer nuclear technology and material to some other states or even to any non-state actor which would have unbearable consequences for Chinese interests. On the platform of United Nations, US along with other states continuously putting pressure on China to change its lenient and relaxing policies towards North Korea and make it agree for allowing the inspectors of “International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)” to check the nuclear sites of North Korea and bring its program under the surveillance of international authority. (Kim & Chang, 2007) According to the western scholars China is not seriously pursuing the denuclearization of North Korea which could provoke the US to even launch strikes on North Korea and if it happens it would be the wider conflict which can drag the entire region and Beijing as well.

China understands the whole situation and its position in the region and takes this issue very seriously. China is actively participating to conduct “six party talks” such a development which has the potential to resolve the nuclear issue of North Korea peacefully. Six big and concerned states are actually party to these talks such as North Korea, South Korea, China, Japan, Russia and US. (Niksch, 2010) Initiative was taken in 2003 with the support of China to bring North
Korea on the table to discuss the security situation of the entire region. It is China which convinced the North Korea and brought it on the table for the peaceful negotiations in order to resolve the nuclear issue.

One very important point by which China feels very threatening that because of the Nuclearization of North Korea there is possibility that US and South Korea intervene North Korea which could lead the situation towards unified Korean peninsula under capitalist Seoul’s administration. If it happens it would be very drastic for Chinese security that the concept of buffer zone will be eliminated and then China will have to share its borders with a hostile state South Korea where already more than 29,000 US military men are deployed. China prefers nuclear free region in order to save the territorial integrity and security of North Korea to prevent it to be intervened.

China believes in “no war, no instability and no nukes”. (Tan, 2014) China doesn’t want to see a hostile and enemy state along its north-eastern border. China keeps North Korea as a useful buffer state against South Korea. Although, with the invention of Long-range missiles, polite political developments and dynamic economic relations with South Korea have minimized the need of China for having buffer state. China is in pursuance of existence of North Korea as an independent and sovereign state as it doesn’t have to take tension regarding the deployment of US military closer to its territory.

Along all this, China also wants to see North Korea as a strong and stable state but, it requires the implementation of dynamic economic reforms and opening of Pyongyang for the outside world. China strongly believes that a developed and stable North Korea has potential to remove
security threats along the Chinese border and it will also provide the opportunities for the
development of north-eastern provinces of China. Now China is putting pressure on North Korea
to bring serious economic reforms within the state.

**US INTERESTS IN KOREAN PENINSULA**

Although US has very limited interests in Korean peninsula as compared to China and its
prioritization is also different. One of the top most priority, it keeps the issue of denuclearization
of North Korea. US is keenly struggling for containing proliferation of nuclear and missile
technology to other countries and especially non-state actors. According to the US thoughts, due
to the export of such technology by North Korea to other states would be high risk for both
regional and global peace and security. (Chow, 2014)

There is also a very serious issue that by this, the integrity of non-proliferation and exports
control institutions could become questionable for the efficiency of the nuclear non-proliferation
treaty and its aligned norms. US seconds the Chinese thinking that North Korea’s nuclear
capability would encourage the other regional states to be nuclear states. Japan and South Korea
feel more threat from the nuclear capability of North Korea and there are possibilities that they
both can go for having their own nuclear weapons.

Very interesting point in it is that China is not ready to consider its north-eastern ally neighbor as
a threat to its own mainland’s security but, on the other hand US is propagating the North
Korea’s nuclear capabilities are becoming a serious threat to the US. In 2011, Robert Gates,
former US Secretary of Defense forecasted while he was on visit to China, that North Korea will
become able to develop intercontinental ballistic missiles within five years. (Zhao & Liu, 2009)
In 2011, Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency Mr. Lt. Gen. Ronald Burgees made it clear that North Korea possess many plutonium-enriched nuclear weapons and warheads that can be delivered via intercontinental ballistic missiles and aircrafts.

It is happening from the Korean War in 1950, that the United States had been securing its interests by deterring Pyongyang’s attack on US allies especially Seoul. Japan is second state which feels insure due the growing nuclear capability of North Korea. Japan’s many territorial parts are within the striking range of North Korean medium range missiles. To counter this threat US is coming up by conducting bilateral and trilateral military exercises and it is also working separately with both states for enhancing their defense capabilities. (Hickey, 2001)

US also support the South Korean vision of single Korea which would be controlled by Seoul. Former US ambassador Kathy Stephens said, “We support reunification-too long postponed, too long delayed, too tragically prolonged-by peaceful means and in accordance with the wishes of the Korean people.” In the June 2009, “US-South Korea Joint Vision Statement” clearly shows the commitment of US to the reunification of Korean peninsula.

US also wants to improve the standard of living of common North Korean citizens. According to the World Food Program reports in 2011, approximately quarter of the North Korean inhabitants were suffering from severe food crisis. Obama regime has set goal to protect human rights in North Korea and ensure the North Korean population welfare. But, it doesn’t mean that US has changed its desire to change the Pyongyang regime.

SINO-NORTH KOREA: BILATERAL ATTACHMENT
It was the historical bilateral relations which brought the two states closer to each other. Historical “tributary system” allowed the Chinese King to receive tribute from the Korean emperor and in response Chinese dynasties were supposed to protect Korean sovereignty from the external threat. Something like that happened during the Cold War, when the leaders of both states China and North Korea often spoke about their ties as close as “lips and teeth”. (Ma, 2004) Scholars are of the view that North Korea is strategically much important for China as they connote this relation as the “Korean Lips” provide protection to the “Chinese teeth.” Both states enjoy shared land border, common communist and socialist legacy and ideology while both states had common experience of fighting together in Korean War. China is providing assistance to the North Korea for reconstruction and development.

After 1970s, the strategic partnership of both states changed into asymmetric mutual dependence while China remains primary trading partner as more than 70% of North Korean oil and food needs is being fulfilled by it. About more than half of the total Chinese foreign aid goes to the North Korea. Although, North Korean nuclear program and aggressive attitude towards South Korea created little bit tension between China and Pyongyang but, even then China’s vital interest lies in to safeguard stability of North Korea.

During the Cold War, relations between North Korea and China were not even trouble free. The main reason behind the tension was North Korean diplomacy to play off former USSR and China against each other in order to receive maximum economic and military support and assistance. Due to this practice North Korea was able to receive a huge amount of funds from the both sides as well as security surety. Both big states signed treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance.
When Deng Xiaoping came into power, he introduced sharp economic reforms and opening up the state in 1978, which created reasonable differences between China and North Korea which further widened when Deng Xiaoping actually implemented the policy in 1980s. (Chang, 1991) Due to this change in Chinese domestic policies, North Korea considered this change as the “betrayal of Socialist Ideals” which further deteriorated the relation between the two states. North Korea distanced itself from China but, keep continue to rely on China for economic and military assistance. The most important and vital source “ideology” for the unity of two states now is diminished. Chinese national interests are now changed that its first priority is to establish good diplomatic relations with all states which would be beneficial for increase in Chinese economy. In this regard, China is also trying to establish good and warm relations with Seoul which is traditionally anti to China. China which had traditionally isolated itself from rest of the world and on the policy of self-reliance and autarky now looks beyond the boundaries of state. It is now showing much flexibility in its foreign policy as it is looking for establishing cordial relations with other states especially bordering states.

In 1992, China and South Korea came near to each other for the purpose of eliminating the reasons for what they both were hostile to each other. China took initiative to resolve the ideological tussles which it has with Seoul, which was the pragmatic approach that clearly shows the lessened importance of Pyongyang for China. That was a serious damage to the cause of North Korea which was already suffering from the demise of its ultimate ally former USSR. Due to this change in behavior Sino-North Korean relations further went under strains and isolation of North Korea. There are many other events which ultimately made it very much clear that now North Korea is not as much important for China as it was in previous times.
Kim Jong Il took this deteriorating situation very seriously and decided to re-establish cordial relations with China and in this regard he visited China in 2000 where two sides decided to reinvigorate the bilateral ties. Actually the North Korean intention and struggle for developing nuclear weapons and long range ballistic missiles is the major source of friction between China and Pyongyang. On one side Kim Jong-il tried to re-invigorate bilateral relations but, on the other hand he didn’t compromise on the vital objective of developing nuclear weapons. US, Japan and South Korea increased pressure on China to use aggressive diplomacy against North Korea to stop it for developing nuclear weapon and due to this pressure Sino-North Korean interests in many ways now become incompatible.

Cultural Bonding

Since Korea has been under influence of China for long, the cultural influences still proliferate in North Korea regarding China. However North Korea also negated the Chinese cultural influence on their society by initiating doctrines of self reliance. (Yi, 2007) To devise new cultural dynamics they devised society on Marxist grounds too. Their strategic location also make them concern for the Great powers. Korean Peninsula is of due consideration for Great Powers for trade purposes. Despite cultural bonding North Korea is also raising eye brows to develop independent foreign policy from China.

The flow of Migrations

Another issue between the two states that have come into existence is the flow of refugees. The North Koreans’ migration from North Korea has become a common problem for China now. The refugees have started seeking asylums in the Chinese embassies. This has also raised concern for
China. As China has immense population it cannot bear the brunt of the North Koreans. The North Korean instability and less developed infrastructure have made people move out of the state and to seek better life and opportunities in the China.

But the deportation of refugees back to North Korea has risen as a serious concern by the International community. As China is a signatory to the UN Convention on Refugees. (Logie, 2012)

It needs to accommodate the refugees on those grounds. China is focusing on the Refugee problem as it can prove to be detrimental for China as the more influx of North Koreans in China can make them harmful for Chinese interests.

China regards its security concerns to be directly related with the Korean Peninsula. History tells that, how imperial Japan had tried to annex Korean Peninsula. Japan regarded it as a dagger pointing in Japan’s heart. China fought against Japan in 1800 to protect Korean Peninsula and against US in 1950s to not to let Korean Peninsula out of China’s hand. China strengthened the pact with North Korea which acts as a buffer for China to check on South Korea which is US ally for long now. US needs Korea to maintain check on China’s rise and also Japan does not want Korea’s unified emergence. China relays on 5 no’s for Korean Peninsula no collapse, no instability, no nukes, no refugees and no conflict escalation.

**China-North Korea Friendship Treaty**

Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai and North Korean President Kim Il-Sung signed a treaty “China-DPRK Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance” in July 1961. According to the
article “2” of the treaty “the two parties undertake to adopt all measures to prevent aggression against either party by any state.” It also states that “in the event of one of the parties being subjected to armed attack by any state or several states together and thus being involved in a state of war, the other party shall immediately render military and other assistance by all means at its disposal.” This treaty is supposed to be revised if both parties are willing to change any word, sentence or language. It is supposed to be renewed automatically after twenty years. In 1981 it was renewed for the first time then in 2001 and now it will be renewed in 2021. (Hsiao & Lin, 2008)

On one side we see this treaty is intact yet but on the other hand it is facing some serious challenges. In 1997, Chinese foreign minister “Tang Jiaxuan” argued that Chinese government realized the military assistance articles in the treaty “a remnant of Cold War era thinking and no longer relevant to the current situation.” In 2002, Chinese government discussed the issue with North Korea that the phrase “immediately render military and other assistance” should be modified but, Pyongyang refused it. After this a Chinese scholar Mr. Shen Jiru argued openly that defense clause of the friendship treaty should now be wiped out. (Scobell & Wortzel, 2015) He further argued that, if there is a war in East Asia because of the North Korean nuclear program then China will not allow its troops to participate in that war because there is incompatibility between China and North Korea on the issue of nuclearization. He is of the view that Chinese public is also against this treaty because they are enjoying first time in history liberty and economic prosperity and they don’t want to be a part of such a game which could destroy their lives. Public will force their government not to enter a war if North Korea is attacked by any side. In my opinion, public voice is the most power determinant of state’s
decision making process and if Chinese public is against this treaty then Chinese government will be failed to reach for the help of its ally North Korea.

Shen argued that, it is better for the peace and security of the region that China withdraw from this treaty and this move will force the North Korean Government to establish diplomatic relation with other states. He proved that the old defense clause of the treaty is inconsistent with the new Chinese security concept and situation as given by Jiang Zemin in 1999. According to the China’s new security concept, “the old security concept with military alliance as its basis is not conducive to the protection of international security and will not help build lasting peace in the world.” (Hsiao & Lin, 2008)

We can say the treaty “China-DPRK Treaty” is valid but, it depends on Beijing that either they should intervene or not and it will be dependent on the prevailing circumstances at the moment.

**BILATERAL FRICTION BETWEEN CHINA AND NORTH KOREA**

As I have stated above that Sino-North Korean relations are just like “teeth and lips” and they both are serving each other from the ancient time. After 1950 Korean War both states came very close to each other. In recent scenario North Korea has only single ally and that is China. But, one thing is going to be adverse that some kind of tussle is now has started between the two states. Scholars argue that North Korea totally refuses to adopt Chinese-style of economic reforms and openness and its aggressive actions against South Korea which cause the increase in regional tension and US military activities near to the Chinese main land.
North Korea conducted its first nuclear test in 2006 and China used very hard words in order to criticize its close ally. Chinese government used the term “flagrantly” for North Korea to condemn those tests. Previously this term was only used for the Capitalist (Hsiao & Lin, 2008). China also showed its willingness to put sanction on North Korea and she did it while resolution was submitted in UN against North Korea. United Nations Security Council passed resolution 1718 against the North Korea for nuclear tests. (Coyne & Mathers, 2011) Again in 2009, North Korea conducted second nuclear test and again China condemn Pyongyang by using critical language. Chinese foreign minister explains its relations with North Korea by saying it as “normal state-to-state relations” similar to those “with any country around the world.” This stance is contrary to the Chinese past cordial official references to Pyongyang that it was a very close ally. Chinese government voted in favor of UNSC Resolution against North Korea for conducting illegal nuclear tests.

Along with this, Chinese government didn’t consider North Korea as a suspect for destroying and sinking of South Korean naval vessel. North Korea fired shell on Yeonpyong Island of South Korea in same year but again China refused to accept it. This is very confused situation that on one hand China criticize North Korea to stop it from nuclear proliferation but at the same time it protects North Korea from the international community. North Korean President simultaneously visited China for two times in a year, which clears reflection of strains prevailing over bilateral relations. Even then the both states couldn’t reach to the solution of their differences because China is not ready to accept North Korean nuclear proliferation and North Korea is not ready to bring economic reforms but, both states tried hard to develop their political relations.
China is anxiously struggling for convincing North Korean President for economic reforms. In this regard, Chinese President Hu Jin Tao once told North Korean President that “Economic development requires cooperation with other countries as well as self-reliance and underscored the need to unswervingly focus on the central task of economic construction and continuously ensure the improvement of the people’s livelihood.” This issue is the only source of contention between China and North Korea. (Kuhn, 2010)

**CHINA-NORTH KOREA ECONOMIC RELATIONS**

China largely changed the foreign policy economic goals after the change of leadership there. Deng Xiaoping more focused on economic liberalization. The idea was termed as a betrayal one by the North Korea leadership. Since 1992 China also managed to replace the barter trade with North Korea replaced by hard currency one. Visit of Kim II to China made North Korea impressed about the economic reforms which led it to devise Economic zones in the North Korea as well. The nuclearization issue had implemented high burden costs on North Korea. North Korea was unable to circumvent sanctions in terms of its nuclearization issue. In the need of hour, Chinese highly facilitated the investment opportunities in the North Korea. But still North Korean firms have become highly dependent on China for assistance. But these sanctions have highly affected the economy of North Korea in terms of lacking of basic infrastructure, poor banking system and lack of institutional development.

China shares a border of about 1416 km with North Korea. The territorial dispute is also found between China and North Korea that comprises three different principle areas. The area surrounding Mount Paekto, islands surrounding Yalu River and Tumen River and issue
regarding Sea of Japan. The North Korea and China tried to resolve the territorial conflicts in dialogues that were held between two states. The bone of contention remains there but both did never consider it the major halt between the relations of both states. As China is a major power and the relationship cannot be equated on those controversial grounds. However relationship was heated up with the China demanded UNESCO for recognition of this area as remarking it as the world heritage site. This agitated North Korea because they regarded this site of conflict as of due importance to them in terms of their national affiliation. They believed their First Korean Dynasty to have been originated from this end. Apart from that there are reservations regarding the maritime issues between two states. In May 2012 North Korea also captured around 13 Chinese fishermen and demanded huge ransom. However they were released after 12 days. The border dispute at now may not be raising serious concerns but China is considerable that it might raise concerns in future. As China is having national group of North Korea concentrated in the Jilin province of China that may ignite any time. China is the North Korea’s biggest trading partner and investor. This story of love started from the Korean War in 1950 and after the end of the Cold War it has been developed enough. North Korean external trade has been developed by 51% to US$6.3 billion in 2011, which is the highest figure in last 22 years, reported by Korean-Trade Investment Promotion Agency. All this happened that Korean Trade figures are increasing because of expansion of North Korea’s trade with China. About 89.1% of North Korea’s total trade is accounted with China which is almost US$5.63 billion. (Kwak, & Joo, 2014) On the other side, trade between North Korea and other partners like Europe, Japan, South Korea is going towards decline. Sino-North Korean trade in the first half of the 2013 reached at US$3.14 billion which was up 24.7% from the previous year. Oil, fuel, steel, iron, filaments, machinery, plastic, vehicles and meet the basic and vital products which North Korea imports from China.
and in response it exports seafood, minerals, raw steel and iron, wood, and apparel to China. As the demand of Chinese industry for raw material is growing as the exports of North Korea to China is increasing. In 2000 North Korea exported only 8000 tons of coal to China but, in the volume increased in 2009 at the level of 3.6 million tons and it reached on the peak in the first nine months of the 2011 when China imported 8.19 million tons of anthracite coal from Pyongyang.

The growing trend of increasing dependency of North Korea on China for its trade shows that North Korea will be heavily dependent on its major ally for its economic development and prosperity. China is also playing a very crucial role in the development of North Korea as it is the major foreign direct investor. The flow of the volume of foreign direct investment in Korea has been grown since 1980s and in this list China stands on the top. From 2003 to 2009, foreign direct investment of China in North Korea remained US$ 98.3 million which was actually less than China’s investment in other neighbouring states especially South Korea. (Pempel, 2013) In October 2009, Wen Jiabao visited North Korea which ultimately produced number mutual agreements regarding commercial interests of both states. Due to these signed agreements foreign direct investment by China is growing and along with this, Chinese companies are expanding their businesses by establishing their offices, industrial plants and ware houses in North Korea.

In 2012, KCNA introduced new laws, regulations and revisions of the existing legislations to promote and support foreign direct investment. There is very positive thing that Chinese businessmen and investor are feeling very easy and happy by investing as they think that it will be future success of their businesses in North Korea. According to the Samsung Research
Institute that Chinese companies are going to invest US$6.5 billion in North Korea mostly in the field of infrastructure development.

Chinese government and private sector has focused some areas in North Korea for investment such as mining, railways, minerals and road. One import area of investment is the development of exclusive economic zones like seaports and free trade zones. The first exclusive economic zone was established in 1991 but, its development was started actually in 2009. (Pempel, 2013) China’s north-eastern provinces are actually landlocked and not compatible for sea trade especially for Jilin and Heilongjiang. Chinese companies funded for the construction of road from China-North Korea border to the port. A rail line is also proposed from the North Korean port to Chinese north-eastern city of Tumen will boost up the growth of development. Shangdi Guanquan Investment Company is actually a state own enterprise which has currently developed a plan for the investment of about US$2 billion in different projects at Rason such as coal-fired power plants, oil refineries, road structures, rail lines and seaports. In February 2012, China got the ultimate rights to develop three dockyards for the time period of fifty years. China is also going to build an airport and power station in that particular area. (Pempel, 2013)

Jang Song-taek visited China in August 2013 which brought the new momentum regarding the development of Rason and Hwanggumpyong exclusive economic zones. (Mansourov, 2013, December 09.) While Hang attended third meeting of the “China-DPRK Joint Development Collaboration Leadership Committee” there he signed agreements on communications network development, simplification of customs procedures, agricultural cooperation and electricity supply for the Rason area. He also visited north-eastern provinces of Jilin and Liaoning which are directly linked to North Korean economic zones of Rason and Hwanggumpyong. He
requested to China to investment for the development of those particular zones. Jang’s main focus was on Sino-North Korean economic cooperation and the development of economic zones while he met with Chinese President. He remained successful in achieving his goals that very after his visit to China, many private Chinese companies showed their willingness to invest huge amount in Rason. A state-owned Ludi Group is also going to invest in building of power plant in Rason area.

On one side trading relations between China and North Korea are expanding, on the other side these relations are also not trouble free. Chinese President informed the Jang that they are going to revise their investment plan in Hwanggumpyong. Chinese companies which have invested in North Korea and doing joint ventures are also in trouble because of the rules and regulations of North Korea. North Korea thinks very critically of its economic dependency on China as it considers it as a source of frustration because it brings Pyongyang under the influence of Beijing. This is correct, as China is a major trading partner of Pyongyang and it fulfills the needs of North Korea and it can use its economic leverages for influencing and punishing its close ally as North Korea have experienced after 2006 nuclear tests when China totally closed oil exports to North Korea. This is a very important indication regarding Beijing’s disapproval of North Korean nuclear program.

There are several factors which motivate the Chinese to increase economic relations with North Korea. Maximum economic and trading cooperation between the two states is beneficial for China’s own development and it also provides the opportunity to the Chinese businessmen to have access to North Korean minerals and energy resources. China is investing heavily building
infrastructure like roads and rail lines and development of exclusive economic zones have actually strong positive impacts on Chinese economy.
SOUTH KOREA-CHINA MUTUAL PERCEPTIONS AND AREA OF DIVERGENCES
(NEW MILLENNIUM FOR IMPROVING TIES)

China and South Korea have begun the diplomatic ties in 1992. The era was termed as the normalization of the relations. In the context of China there is a background to it. China overall internal dynamics have changed extensively with the Tiananmen incident and the China’s realization that it could not pursue a less liberalized stance in the international arena. This was the beginning of new century for China in terms of getting economic prosperity and strength.

The importance of China-South Korea relations as an excelled regional organization cannot be denied. ASEAN is the big arena that compels the ASEAN+3 to cooperate not only on economic dimensions rather on political forums too. Both share the area of commonality and confluence of interests in maintaining the regional security. (Lee, 2014) The recent main example is Six-Party Talks that made both states to devise cooperation in terms of North Korean nuclearization. The era has mushroomed the ties between the both states and they have put firm foundation of the ties in the respective era. The exchanges between two states have number of dimensions from grass root level to top level such as the cooperation in people-people exchanges, tourism, education, culture ties etc.

However the old rivalry and everlasting existing thorns in relationship of both cannot be denied. Such as the political clashes, historical issues, territorial conflicts etc. The product of which was heightened anxieties and conflicts. The tangled web of the complex political, economic and social relations has never been much static rather there have been ups and downs still there are. The relationship has different contexts. (Yee, 2010)
Political Dynamics (The era of honey-moon)

It cannot be denied that high level South Korean and China’s political exchanges have taken place since the normalization of relations between two states. President Lee Myung extensive recent efforts to strengthen bilateral ties between South Korea and China cannot be denied. He has played a vital role in attending the Beijing Olympic Ceremony in 2008. “Strategic Cooperative Partnership” agreement between both the states was devised. (Lee, 2014) The idea revolved around both states to cooperate on all levels foreign affairs, society, economic grounds etc. In reciprocity President Hu Jintao visited South Korea in 2008 emphasizing on devising cooperation extensively on trade terms. The increase in two way investment was also highlighted. This cooperation was also based on raising concerns from both sides too. Xi, the new Chinese Leader also have great inclination for Sino-South Korea growing strategic cooperation. The major concern from Chinese side is mainly the US-ROK alliance which has been strengthened over time. The major irritant remains there as US-ROK relations surely have a great implication on China-South Korea relations.
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

After the normalization of relations between China and South Korea, trade has risen widely between the two neighbors. The figures state that how trade has rose from about $7 billion in 1992 to $169 billion in 2009. (Croix, 1995) This reflects not only that China has emerged as the largest trading partner of South Korea rather the investment flow between both states have widely expanded too. Both sides even set target to enhance $200 billion by 2012. The present figure also reflects that China-South Korea was equal to both Japan-South Korea and US-South Korea. This reflects South Korea’s evolving relationship with the China. This also reflects the overdependence of South Korea on China. The China-FTA agreement was also conducted in 2008 that was further carried on with the greater developments the greater agreement of East Asia and FTA with ASEAN. Despite the extending economic ties between both states there are irritants in the relationship of both states.

The “Garlic War” and “Kimchi War”

The Garlic War related to the Chinese Garlic import crisis from South Korea and South Korean imports were banned. Another kind of area of conflict was the Kimchi War which resulted when Chinese found parasite eggs in kimchi exported to China. With the contradiction the trade relations never ceased entirely. They continued to play their role even after these clashes. This might have reflected the anti feelings from both the ends. (Teo & Guen, 2014)

The South Korea knew of Chinese growing economic strength worldwide. The importance of China as a new power in Asia economically cannot be denied. The factor that binds China with the South Korea is the essence of economic development. South Korea is highly caught with the
economic dependence on the China that makes a bond between two and might contribute towards spillover effect on the political issues too. The dilemma also is that it has lot of military dependence on US. This makes it caught between the devil and deep blue sea. South Korea highly needs China to get fair measure of good behavior from China. This is the need of hour from South Korea. For that South Korea might not worry on China economic rise in the region like Japan and US but it will hardly compromise on nearby territorial issues with China.

China also gets leverage to manipulate South Korea anti Japanese feelings. This is a rational play from China’s side to develop a gap between American main allies in the region so that much strong bonding cannot be established. China in this way could play a more important role to take part in facilitating the American allies in the region. As two confronting American allies might beneficial for China, this also make hard for South Korea to entirely join which block. This is a dilemma for South Korea. Koreans hate Japanese more than they dislike Chinese due to war atrocities committed by Chinese. (Teo & Guen, 2014)

China and Korea also share deep bonding. Chinese Ming Dynasty was very helping towards the Koreans. In 1590s Chinese proved to be great help against Japanese war crimes towards Koreans. So South Korea now has great reservation to align with Japan against US despite of Japan being the major ally of the US. South Koreans could never forget the past history between them and Japan.

**China’s Prospects to get benefit from United Korea**

China always is associated with the North Korea. Recent North Korean nuclearization has destabilized the region in the way that the blame was put on China for being the big brother of
the North Korea. US and Japan accused China for facilitating the nuclear aspects of the North Korea that had led it acquire a significant position in the region. It can lead to a war like situation in the Peninsula as South Korea would be undermined as per the west. Despite heavy consequences China has been apparently coercively snubbing North Korea for the nuclear dilemma on external pressure but world knows it cannot play a more anti role towards the North Koreans in this context. China always is dragged in the issue of the North Korea when US talks about on what basis China has been cuddling North Korea. (Hickey, & Guo, 2010)

**CHINA POLICY TOWARDS NORTH KOREA AND SOUTH KOREA**

China policy has been regarded towards North Korea as keeping the state functioning viably and maintaining it as the ‘buffer zone’. If the unification occurs China can be the long time winner as its presence in the region gives it a positive line of thinking to engage both the Koreas which it is already doing.

China has not been failed in engaging South Korea too on economic ground more. The relationship does not entirely rests upon the North Korea rather China’s diplomacy towards South Korea also gives the idea how China is playing its part well with minor issues. China relationship with South Korea tells it that entire how both conducted a joint venture in condemning the regime of the Shizno Abe. What gives China absolute advantage over other neighbors with the relationship with South Korea is that Japan is at loggerheads with South Korea. US alone cannot devise a relation as Japan and South Korea hardly come to table talks. On Chinese Premier recent visit to the South Korea it promised to induce positive development
in the uplifting of the economic grounds of South Korea. This tells how strategic partnership is taking place with zeal and zealth. (Snyder, 2009)

South Korea has always supported the unification aspect. They have always regarded how that is of due importance for their people and how it can contribute to their evolving strength in the future and also a vital element for their happiness. China however is in deep crisis how to contribute to the unification as North Korea has been a traditional ally. China cannot ignore the nuclear assistance to the North Korea that agitates the South Koreans. China does not know how to open up to this unification in future and what lines to adapt in present to initiate the process of unification another element that can be a greater wedge between China and South Korea relations.

Also it can be a disturbing factor for the unification is the US factor. The US factor is in alliance with the South Korea since the Korean War. The presence of US in the South Korea is the big deal for the Chinese. This can disrupt the unification process for sure. US would never want its traditional ally to be out of US orbit. It would never want China to play its part in the united Korea. For the unification Northern side has to be more strength full as China would be at a better place then. The instability in the North Korea could lead to its collapse and ultimately South Korea would take over on united Korea. This could more benefit US as South Koreans can be better placed in the US orbit. That will bring endless defeat to China. (Harrison, 2002)

**Demands of unification**

For the unification need to how the both states can come along in developing positive relations. South and North side can only be unified if they can come up with the healthy relation between
them. Both have to identify areas of commonality between them. The South Koreans need to get China on board that US presence on their soil would be minimized if it threatens China interests in the region. But in turn China should guarantee their security needs as North Korea fails to develop strong ties. China has to play a part then.

China also would have to play a role to pursue North Korea to be a good boy to give up its nuclear designs. (Hickey & Guo, 2010)

Not to innovate more in military aspects to give confidence to the South Korea. Only then one can hope for unification. The unification would place China at a better position as US pressurize South Korea to develop ties with its ally Japan. The unification would make Korea more close to the Chinese end as Japan has not with very good terms with North Korea too. This will be more victorious for China. It can prove not very happening for the US interests in the region. So US would play a role to not to let the unification happen.

The event of unification would bring more favors on China side. South Korea cannot compromise on its economic evolving relationship with the China. As the economic dimensions are the main aspects in the present arena. South Korea would think rationally in China’s side. This would be a gain for China.

However, unification is not an easy process it would take a long time. China would have to play a more diplomatic role to pursue the both ends. China being major power in the region would have to play a vital role to make both ends meet. It will also strengthen position in China’s part. China now has a role to play. China needs to acquire role to give benefits to both ends. It can engage both sides to full or rather enhance dependency to for both sides. The both ends should
believe that China is a better option and China will more support us. South Koreans as they devised economic relation with the China. China has been successful enough to engage South Korea. China can surely play a part for unification as picture has been changed over time in China’s context.

China and Japan should be agreed for cooperation and continued diplomatic dialogues despite historical issues of territories and waters. They need to move forward on the basis of common objectives for creating a good vibe in the region. China and Japan are the two burgeoning economic powers at global level and so it’s the needs of the region to resolve all the issue to bring peace and prosperity in the region. The democratic party of Japan’s leader Abe has to control his harsh behavior as he called China as an “absurd” state that deteriorated their bilateral relationship first time after normalization of relationship from 1970s. However, China has to carry its peaceful policies of non-interference in order to achieve their dream of rising China. Beijing is a rising power at global level that not only replaced Japan as a 2nd largest economy but also became a dominant regional power that is unacceptable for Tokyo. Japan must be realized reality of the time and deal with China on equal basis.

The United States is an important factor in the region as it has bilateral security agreement with Japan. Also, Washington ‘pivot’ policy in Pacific Ocean has been creating tension for China in the region. Beijing considers that United States has been entangled in ‘containment’ of China in Asian region. In fact, China is a rising power and having second largest economy so economic interaction between Beijing and Washington is in the best interest of both states.
21st century is called the study of Asia due to economic and technological developments of Asian states in which China and Japan are notable countries. However, despite the needs of 21st century they have failed to resolve their historical issue which dominated their relationship since 19th century. Sino – Japan needs strong leadership for resolution of the issues. Current leadership of China (Xi Jinping) and Japan (Shinzo Abe) are prudent leaders who have ability to resolve political issues and move forward to bring peace and prosperity in the region. Both leaders have been trying to curb nationalist elements in their states and to resolve domestic issues willingly. For improving relationship, the two prudent leaders of Sino – Japan must not release provocative statements against each other and they have to refrain the domestic actors, military generals and politician to avoid making provocative remarks which might further intense the situation in region. Similarly both states need to realize the other actors like the United States like to prefer diplomatic channels rather than focusing on force to resolve the issues.

Sino – Japan must not focus on historical disputes but to work on common interests and cooperation with each other. They should learn from one’s own history and take 170s steps to normalize the situation which would be in their legitimate interests. The leaders of 1970s Tanaka (Japan) and Zhu Enlai (China) willingly normalized the situation by shelving over Senkaku issue. The territorial issues are still existing in Chinese views while, Japanese do not believe on such issues because they consider the disputed territories historically belong to them. Similarly the Chinese naval air patrol and increasing army activities for keep watching the Japanese activities in disputed areas, not only challenging its sovereignty but also forcing Tokyo to resolve the issues on negotiations table. Japanese leadership should avoid harsh policies and word like ‘absurd’ and ‘foolish’ for South Korea and China. In addition, Tokyo believing on non –
existence of issues in South China Sea and Prime Minister Abe defiance visit of Yasukuni Shrine would create issues that intensify the situation in the region.

China will be agreed to step back willingly for seeking the solution of issue because normal relations with Japan is in the interest of ‘rising China’ and as well as in the region. This is why China needs to realize to Japan about the construction of ADIZ over disputed islands would not endanger the freedom of navigation. In the same way, China should decrease its air and naval patrol in these islands in order to bring Japan on negotiation table. Also, Beijing should take Tokyo in confidence over their feelings of power transition in the region that seems in favor of China because developed Japan is better for their modernization and for regional peace and prosperity.

Sino–Japan should adopt ‘new thinking’ for normalization of vibe as People’s Daily prominent journalist Ma Licheng introduced this idea, mentioned above too. The Chinese forgives Japan for making apology on its aggression in past while the Japanese refrains claiming sovereignty over disputed islands. This is the era of globalization and economic and technological development. According to Joseph Nye who writes in his book “The Future of Power”, in 21st century that state will be super or major powers who have developed economy and advance technology along with energy resources. Both China and Japan are able to cooperate with each other to become advance technological and developed economic states on world stage as they are today indeed but, still these efforts are less for them. Western concept of sovereignty faces severe problems from ancient time and in ear of globalization challenges for sovereignty further increased. Both states should work for mechanism in order to resolve these issues and get benefits too, because Senkaku Island is having important geographic significance along with natural resources.
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Chapter No: 7

RISING CHINA: NOT AT WAR WITH US

INTRODUCTION

China’s economic rise is often described as a miracle by economists. Irrespective of social turmoil and economic sluggishness that China experienced prior to 1949, the state eventually managed to somehow stabilize its economy under the leadership of Mao Zedong. While the reforms for structural transformation were launched in early 1950’s for the sake of modernization and industrialization, China’s economic success story begins from 1978-79 when Den Xiaoping launched an energetic era of economic reforms. His economic reforms like Household Responsibility System and Enterprise Responsibility System contributed a lot towards the economic growth of the state. Since then, the Chinese economy has improved and strengthened under the dedicated and intelligent leadership. Consequently, China has emerged as a global economic power. Today as the world’s second largest economy, largest manufacturer and the largest exporter and holder of foreign exchange reserves; China cannot be ignored (Morrison, 2014). Moreover, owing to her giant economy, there is no doubt left regarding China’s great power status.

In economic realm, China has exhibited impressive willingness towards economic liberalization by opening herself up. China has presented a unique model of success to the world by undergoing structural changes. While Soviet Union failed to overcome its economic crisis because of its inability to adapt, China adopted the Soviet model of central planning when
required and replaced it with economic openness and liberalization when needed. Her decision to join World Trade Organization and integration into global economy proves this point well.

This impressive economic development has been accompanied by growing suspicions by the U.S. The China’s economic rise is indeed one of the most highly and hotly debated topics in the contemporary politics where different analysts have drawn various possible future scenarios. While the staunch realists believe that China’s rise will imbalance the status quo thereby creating trouble in the region and at the international level, the liberalists think the other way around. For them, the rise of China as a super power will not only stabilize the world more, it will also create further economic interdependence which will benefit all the actors included. In the light of such divergent opinions, it is therefore important to carefully analyze the rising China’s power, her behavior towards the regional states and the existing great power i-e Unites States, and the credibility of the American suspicions regarding her rise.

**Understanding China’s Power**

The reason why the discussion of a relative power of a state in comparison to another is often difficult is probably because of the complexity of the nature of the word “power”. Power, which occupies central position in world politics, has been defined in a number of ways and the exact definition is not yet complete. Generally speaking, the term power is often related to influence, control, force etc. For Robert A. Dahl, it is the ability of A to cause B to do something which B would not do if given the choice (Baldwin, 2013). While the definition still occupies important position in the realist explanation of the world politics, it has failed to explain the increasing interdependence between the states, thereby creating a situation in which B would do what A
wants due to the common interests they share. Dahl’s definition explains power as a zero-sum
game but the second scenario suggests the likely possibility of a positive-sum game.

Power has been categorized in a number of ways but here one may start with the general division
done by Kira Peterson who distinguishes power into coercive, bargaining, concerted and political
power. Coercive power, as the name suggests, is related to use of force and violence to get the
job done. Treating the international relations as a zero-sum game, a great power can convince a
relatively weaker state to do what the great power wants either through the use of direct force or
by creating deterrence. The bargaining power also relies on the available resources and so is
somehow related to the first type, yet despite the competitive interests the states may agree to
cooperate; not because of coercion but because of interdependence. Concerted power is not
hierarchal rather horizontal. It simply means that the outcome is not owned by one actor but
belongs to many. Largely driven by the common interests and progress, the involved members
work together. The fourth one is the institutional power which “is the capacity to implement
decisions, enforce rules, provide essential collective goods and achieve collective goals”
(Peterson, 2011). Another nature of power that needs to be mentioned in the 21st century is the
soft power that for Joseph S. Nye is “the attractive power” (Nye, 2008).

Keeping in mind this general overview of power, one can not only estimate China’s power but
also her behavior in the world politics. Moreover another important fact often overlooked is that
despite China’s increasing power in relevance to United States and her growing influence, the
clear distinction can be made between the behavior of the rising powers of the previous century
and China; not only because of the transition in the nature of international system but also
because of China’s willingness to adapt and peacefully co-exist. Therefore, equating China’s growing power to aggressive or challenging behavior would be wrong.

As far as the first form of power is concerned, China no doubt has an impressive military power but it has not used the power for violent or coercive purpose. China, by spending 2% of its GDP, occupies second position in the military spending after U.S.A, though the difference between their spending is roughly that of 1.2% (The World Bank, 2012). The state is also a nuclear power since the Cold War. Yet as said earlier, the behavior of the state needs to be analyzed as well. China has adopted the doctrine of No First Use and self-defense. Secondly, China has always given more priority to the economic power rather than the military power. China has also insisted on the limited development of nuclear weapons. Furthermore though China had previously been engaged in territorial rifts, it has resolved these disputes not with the use of coercive power but through compromise and dialogue. Even with the contrasting territorial claims that are left, China’s leadership has assured to resolve the issues peacefully.

Bargaining power, which is less intense than the coercive power but encourages competition and rift, also does not define China’s influence well; provided the fact that China’s “inviting in” and “going out” strategies create more of a win-win situation for all. By opening up her economy, China has provided a great opportunity to world community as well via her contribution to the international trade. China’s relations with third worlds states, for example, do not reflect an unequal partnership rather economic interdependence; thereby benefiting both and creating opportunities for further integration. Hence it can be said that unlike the other powers, China does not want to concentrate power rather share it. As Zheng Bijian (2005) writes in “China’s Peaceful Rise to Great Power Status” that China will not follow the example of great powers
who strive for global domination, in fact, it strives for development and peace of the world. China’s determined commitment to the strategy of “peaceful co-existence” and the introduction of “China’s peaceful rise” under the leadership of Hu Jin Tao further elaborates the point. Talking about the institutional power, China has institutional influence in the world mainly due to her permanent membership of United Nations Security Council. China’s performance in the Security Council demonstrates well that she realizes the authority and responsibility that comes with this status. In the post-Cold war era, China’s participation in UN peacekeeping has been enlarged. It is the 13th largest contributor to United Nations troops overall and the first largest contributor among the P5 (UN Peace Keeping Troop and Police Contributors, 2014). Furthermore, China has always advocated strengthening the international law and supremacy of United Nations against the unilateral interventions and state-led coercive measures. Four Chinese requisites in this context are: all activities should be authorized by UN, cooperation of the concerned state, stability of the state and region, and fourthly China’s own limitations as the state is fully aware that commitments need to be made after full consideration of one’s capacity (Zuguai, 2008). This is the reason why China has urged dialogue in the contemporary nuclear crisis of North Korea and Iran. She urged them both to abide by their commitments, failing which both the states have faced sanctions. However based on the assumption that any use of force may worsen the situation, China has urged all the actors to resort to dialogue. The Six-Party Talks, initiated by China to reach a compromised agreement over North Korean nuclear crisis is one such example.

Lastly, China’s soft power is increasing with the passage of time due to various reasons. Though many analysts believe that China’s soft power lags behind that of Western powers, Chinese
elite’s increasing desire to expand the soft power demonstrates the importance this power occupies in Chinese politics. Moreover, China has all the elements of soft power ranging from the cultural, language and civilization power to the intellectual power (Minijiang, 2008). Five principles of peaceful coexistence play an extremely important role. The five fundamental rules governing China’s foreign policy include mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. It can be argued that it is not just the capital that a state invests in other states or at the international level that helps the state to improve its image, the behavior also matters a lot. For instance despite enjoying military supremacy and elevated supreme soft power, anti-American sentiments are increasing around the globe. This evident decline in United States’ intangible influence is probably because of U.S interference in the internal matters of the state, her unilateralism which often contrasts with the international norms and standards, strings attached with her aid or assistance to other states in the form of proposed reforms or strict conditions and most importantly because of the dual approach towards the issues concerning allies and foes.

It is, therefore, without any doubt that China is a power today but China’s approach towards her rising power and influence in the world politics is different from the powers of the past. China understands it well that the 21st century is different from the previous centuries where the great powers would plunder other countries’ resources by expansion, invasion, and aggression. China’s rise has been motivated by technology, capital, and resources acquired through peaceful means (Bijian, 2005). To add in more, China is smart enough not to jeopardize the influence she has gained through peaceful means by adopting aggressive military posture; a mistake too often
committed by the great powers of the past. Indeed like the rest of states, the ultimate goal is the
pursuit of national interests but China seems to understand that power comes with responsibility.
This is the reason why China wants to share the power to share the responsibility of maintaining
world peace and harmony.

**Rise of China and Overstated Concerns**

While the world has observed the economic rise of China with surprise and praised this
economic development, United States has shown concerns and wariness. Despite Chinese
assurances and devotion to the peaceful rise, the concerns raised are often overstated and
exaggerated. John J. Mearsheimer, a staunch supporter of offensive realism, needs to be
mentioned here. He argues that China will follow in the footsteps of other great powers that seek
regional and then the global hegemony to ensure their survival. His theory of offensive realism
asserts that as the world is anarchic and uncertain and the states have offensive capabilities,
every state lives under the constant fear for her safety and survival. Such an adverse situation,
therefore, prompts the countries to seek hegemony and the already-existing powers to maintain
the status quo. He predicts that China will seek hegemony in Asia by translating her economic
power to military power and will try to push United States out of there because he says: “most
Chinese surely remember when Japan was powerful and China was weak. In the anarchic world
of international politics, it is better to be Godzilla than Bambi” (Mearshimer, 2006)

A large number of modern day writers frequently use the term “new Cold War” to explain the
atmosphere of competition and contention that surrounds the Asia-Pacific in particular and the
world in general. The new Cold War, according to these writers, will involve China and United
States as key players; both striving to woo allies and expand their influence across the world. It is believed that the growing mistrust between U.S.A and China reflects “cool war”, if not Cold War and therefore poses serious threat (Silver, 2014). Hence the U.S administration is imprudently advised to “contain” China’s rise, giving an impression that United States cannot afford to overlook this important development. The reason given is that if U.S wants to maintain its contemporary position in the world, it has no other option but to balance China. (Tellis, 2013)

While U.S.A, after enjoying considerable hegemony with the disintegration of Soviet Union, is worried about China’s rise, China seeks no hegemony. The fact is that due to her integration in the world economy, it would be ridiculous on behalf of China to behave aggressively. China cannot afford to and surely does not intend to show that aggression; as China’s main focus has been on the economic development and not to achieve the military supremacy. It is well aware that a confrontational foreign policy will thwart the development and by affecting life of millions of Chinese will cause domestic instability. Hence China is rational, calculating and conscious (Brzezinski & Mearsheimer, 2005). Moreover, Mearsheimer compares emerging China with United States of 20th century that emerged as the super power after the fall of European powers. Nonetheless, he forgets one important point; which is that the modern China has preferred dialogue over force and compromise over coercion to settle down her inter-state differences. While U.S has been engaged in multiple wars in the Cold War and post-Cold War era across the globe, China has avoided such foreign meddling. It is, for sure, concerned with her border and home security in particular and world security in general but she appears to avoid direct military encounters. Not only that China’s main focus has been on economy, her tools of persuasion are also different from those employed by United States. Secondly though the mistrust and suspicion
between the powerful states is natural and understandable, making comparison between U.S-U.S.S.R rifts of Cold War with today’s Sino-U.S relations is a bit of exaggeration. The competition between the Soviet Union and United States was based on arms race, where both the sides sought domination in military realm. Today’s world is highly interdependent because of the increasing commercial relations. Whilst U.S is busy establishing military bases across various regions of the globe, China is busy engaging states in economic relations which further create interdependence and this interdependence, the majority agrees, assures peace and stability. To add in more, those who believe that China’s strategic culture is dominated by the concept of war need to realize the fact that China has undergone considerable changes on its journey from being an empire to a modern state; the changes that were brought from within and not forced upon it. This reflects China’s rationality and flexibility. Therefore though the realists can predict a gruesome future, they cannot be certain. Unfortunately, however, it is their prediction that creates a sense of fear often leading to anarchy and aggression.

China’s economic integration can be well explained by analyzing her commercial relations with the regional states and most importantly by looking at her relations with United States. However before moving on to China’s evolving relations and foreign policy, it is preferable to look into U.S policy towards Asia-Pacific and her upgraded involvement in the region due to notable China’s emergence.
United States’ engagement to the Asia-Pacific is not new. Indeed it was in the latter part of 19th century when United States sent delegations to various countries, forcing them to open their ports for trade. Throughout history, U.S has managed to influence the behavior of the states using various means. It was, however, in the Cold War when the region occupied important position in U.S policy. Japan, the emerging power of Pacific, surrendered in World War II (after U.S dropped nuclear bombs) thereby creating a power vacuum. The vacuum had to be filled to contain the spread of communism and to restrain Soviet’s influence to reach the strategically important region. United States, therefore, seized the opportunity and extended strategic, economic and diplomatic relations to the already existing and the newly independent states of the region. It was, in fact, the Second World War that enabled U.S to establish military presence in the region, the presence that has been strengthened and upgraded since then. While the attention of U.S was diverted towards Middle East and South Asia in the post-cold war era and particularly after 9/11; after her failures in both Afghanistan and Iraq U.S.A has once again shifted towards areas of her key interests, with Asia-Pacific being most important. Five officially stated interests U.S has in reference to the region are: retention of access to Asian markets, continuance of a permanent American military presence, prevention of the rise of a dominant regional rival, maintenance of military bases and facilities to assure freedom of access and maneuver, and advancement of democracy (MacDevitt, 2007:3).
America which looks at itself not only as a superpower but also as the Pacific power has developed relations with the regional states through both bilateral and multilateral forums. As far as the bilateral relations are concerned, the degree and extent of these relations have varied from state to state and from time to time. Brief overview, nonetheless, is required to better understand the U.S policy toward the region. Starting with Japan, the first encounter of both countries was quite hostile where Japan was forced to open itself up for trade. In fact General Ishiwara Kanji, when prosecuted for his war-crimes in 1946, demanded to charge Commodore Matthew Perry of the U.S. navy who negotiated first U.S- Japan trade treaty. The point he made was that it was through this experience that Japan learned about aggression. (Mearsheimer, 2001) The history of their bilateral relations is also tainted by the catastrophic nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Ironically, the war-torn Japan then became U.S key ally rather a junior partner in the region. Though this unequal alliance increased with the passage of time, it also received some setbacks owing to the economic development of Japan during 1970’s and 1980’s. The same advancement could be observed in the strategic realm where the need to build sufficient Japanese forces was felt. At present, U.S is actively supporting the Japanese military upgrade. Moving forward, America’s relations with South Korea are dominated by the common threat of North Korea. The Korean War of 1950 in the cold war era and the nuclear status of North Korea in the contemporary world have had large impact on South Korea; thereby pushing the state under U.S umbrella. U.S also enjoys cordial relations with Taiwan. Though the formal relations with Taiwan ended in 1979 when U.S recognized the People’s Republic of China, the informal ties have been extensive and cordial which have been kept alive through Taiwan Relations Act. The fact is that irrespective of the developing relations with China, U.S.A has never backed from her relations with Taiwan. It was in 2000 when the Congressional bill titled Taiwan Security
Enhancement Act was passed by one of the two houses of Congress. Had it become law, it would have further jeopardized Sino-U.S relations as it suggested exalted military support to Taiwan. U.S.A needs to be more vigilant in this context as her military assistance may adversely affect peace in region by fueling suspicions. Recently, U.S has shown eminent interest in strengthening relations with her regional allies. This suggests that Asia has once again become “central to U.S policy” as said by Joel R. Campbell (Campbell, 2012). Another U.S key ally in the Pacific is Australia with which U.S enjoys cordial relations since long. Other than trade and economic relations, both the allies have been working exclusively on the military relations as well. Being the members of ANZUS, Unites States and Australia along with New Zealand have agreed to cooperate on military and defense matters. As far as the South East Asia is concerned, with the arrival of Nixon Doctrine and bitter defeat in Vietnam, U.S disengaged herself from the region largely. Though U.S provided financial and non-lethal aid against Vietnamese and Cambodian rebels, the superpower turned her focus from security to economic issues in the region of ASEAN. Though the “Vietnam Syndrome” affected U.S influence in the region, the economic relations between U.S and ASEAN have improved. In the light of many analysts, U.S.A is working on improving its bilateral relations with the states of Asia-Pacific after a period of “neglect”. Not only this, United States has also extended her strategic relations with India. The Civil Nuclear Deal (CND) of 2005 is important to mention here which has not only grown suspicions in Pakistan but is also believed to be another measure to contain China. Bilateral relations with regional actors reflect U.S strategy of “raising others up” as is said by Ashley J. Tellis (2013)

**U.S Pivot to Asia**
U.S views Asia Pacific stretching from Indian subcontinent to America, spanning across Pacific and the Indian Ocean, including engines of the global economy and home to several emerging powers. At this time when the region has emerged as an economic engine, it has attracted the attention of the world including the U.S.A. As the once hegemon of post-cold war era realizes that the region has become important in the 21st Century, “Strategic pivot or rebalancing” has been launched by Obama administration to increase influence over this part of the globe. U.S Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton explains this pivot to Asia as “U.S commitment” to the region that is working on its security and economic structure which U.S will assist through “American leadership”. The reason she gives is that “Just as Asia is critical to America's future, an engaged America is vital to Asia's future. The region is eager for our leadership and our business…” (Clinton, 2011)

With this belief, United States has embarked on strengthening relations with the allies and improving relations with key regional players. By engaging the region in different multilateral and bilateral arrangements, U.S has not only speeded up trade but has also expanded her military presence. The reemphasis approach is multidimensional; ranging from security and economic to diplomatic enhancement. In the security realm, owing to the increasing significance of the Asia-Pacific, United States has refocused attention towards the military deployment in the region particularly after the decision of forces withdrawal from Iraq and Afghanistan. The doctrine of Air-Sea Battle has been enforced, to counter the state and non-state threats. However, it has been accepted at both the official and academic level that the doctrine is intended to contain China in East Asia and Iran in Persian Gulf (Sutter, et al 2013). With already established permanent bases in South Korea and Japan, U.S has enhanced strategic partnership with Australia, Thailand,
Singapore and Philippines. Other than that, by strengthening her allies’ position, United States aims at ensuring her influence in the region by countering the other rising powers, particularly China (Twining, 2007). America is also working on improving relations with the regional states through multilateral engagements including APEC, TTP and EAS. U.S.A, irrespective of expressing suspicions regarding SCO, applied for its membership.

The U.S relentless efforts to project power across the region coincide with China’s economic rise. The question is despite having economic ties with almost all regional states, having a web of military bases stretched across the region and the growing strategic relations with important players of the region like Japan, Australia and now India; why does United States fear rise of China?

**China’s Regional Policy**

After looking at United States’ policy towards the region, it is necessary to review China’s regional policy as well. While U.S policies enable us to understand U.S concerns and the consequent containment of China, China’s regional policy will help us comprehend how Chinese leadership look at her rise and the available opportunities. For it is important to know how China interprets her global emergence.

While China was somehow isolated during the Cold War, her policy has been completely transformed in the post-Cold War era. Peaceful cooperation, win-win situation and the harmonious world form the three pillars of China’s foreign policy. These three guiding principles indicate that China does not want to play the role of a destructive major power, rather it wants to
participate towards the construction of the international community which will benefit the world and of course China itself (Zugui, 2008).

Last year’s speech by Foreign minister Wang Li at the symposium titled “New Starting Point, New Thinking and New Practice 2013: China and the World” points towards the new approach in China’s foreign policy including the regional policy. Wang Li explains that the basic principles of Chinese neighborhood policy revolve around the concept of “amity, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusiveness”. Realizing the fact that the neighborhood is extremely important for China’s own security, progress and prosperity, the Chinese government has designed an effective regional diplomatic agenda. China, he says, has not only proposed a number of cooperation initiatives but has also upgraded high official contacts for the sake of building confidence and enhancing mutual trust. Representing the China’s government, Wang Li expressed the state’s welcoming attitude towards the region and suggested strengthening the regional and bilateral relations (Yi, 2013). China’s Ambassador to United States Cui Tiankai expressed the similar official desires this year. Owing to the fact that the region has experienced many bloody wars in the past, China is committed towards the peace and stability. He says: “The last thing we want to see in our neighborhood today is instability, be it in the form of armed conflicts, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction or rise of terrorism.” China also wants inclusive integration of the Asia-Pacific and believes that the creation of alliances and blocs is likely to produce negative consequences. He further adds that China wants to see itself as a strong, democratic, culturally advanced socialist state and these goals can only be achieved through peace (Tiankai, 2014). The reason is strong enough why unlike United States, China has avoided making alliance to counter increasing U.S influence in the region.
With this realization in mind, China has developed bilateral and multilateral relations with the region that holds significance for her because of security, economic and political reasons. China’s improving relations with the states of Southeast Asia illustrates the point as the states, which previously viewed each other with suspicion, now acknowledge one another’s importance and interdependence. China’s response towards the East Asian Financial Crisis and SARS, which further deepened the economic crisis, was appreciated by the Asian countries and China’s responsible role was praised by both the leaders and public. The result of the special treatment by China is that “the concept of China threat” has been replaced by “the concept of “China opportunity” (Ye, 2010). To achieve this goal, China’s policy towards Southeast Asia is based on trade relations, CBMs, and providing the developmental assistance without conditions with special emphasis on uplifting the poorer states like Laos and Burma (Mauzy & Job, 2007). This approach has not only helped China make the economic gains but has also improved China’s image in the region. The tool employed, therefore, is often interpreted as China’s soft power.

Lu Jianren explains the different stages in the China-ASEAN relations. Before 1991, he argues, was the period of confrontation and fluctuations. While both sides established diplomatic relations in the mid of 1970’s, it was not until 1990’s that China and ASEAN speeded up the cooperation in various sectors. The second phase was that of creating a framework. It was between 1991 and 1996 that both sides laid down proposals to establish mechanisms. In this period, the actors involved not only worked to improve trade ties but also expressed willingness to address the territorial disputes of South China Sea, which indeed reflects the level of seriousness from both sides. The third period represents the mutual trust and good neighborhood policy. It was the time of Asian Financial Crisis when China proved her sincerity towards the
relation with ASEAN by not devaluing its currency and by offering unconditional assistance to the states. This grandiose gesture of China convinced the regional states that China is not only a responsible regional power but also trust-worthy. The fourth period is that of setting the strategic partnership and China and ASEAN have made important developments in the domain of security and strategy as well (Jianren, 2006). Hence the relationship which started with some hesitancy and much fear has been transformed into an all level partnership. Statistics show that trade between China and ASEAN rose more than 10% in 2012 and by 2020 and the annual trade is expected to reach $1 trillion. The two-way trade not only makes China the largest trading partner of ASEAN but also makes ASEAN the third largest source of China’s FDI (Alter, 2014).

Not only the bilateral but also the multilateral arrangements connect the region to China. Being the member of ASEAN+1, ASEAN+3, ARF, and EAS, China wants to ensure her involvement in the important regional forums. Boao Forum of Asia also provides a platform for the regional states to improve relations by extending cooperation in different fields. Moreover, the growing relations between ASEAN and SCO illustrate the level of engagement China has achieved bilaterally and multilaterally in the region.

It is important to realize however that despite the deepening economic integration, the overlapping territorial claims made by states in South China Sea and East China Sea continue to pose a serious challenge in the region. Though China’s territorial issues remain unresolved with ASEAN members, both sides have signed non-aggression pact and the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in South China Sea and there appears to be a reaching consensus between the various parties involved. In the presence of strong economic ties, there are high hopes that China and ASEAN states will reach a compromise. The matter is different with Japan, however. It is,
nonetheless, worth mentioning that for China, her “peaceful rise” does not contradict with her territorial claims. Chinese Chief of Defense Fang Fenghui has recently explained China’s stance in his press release along with United States’ General Dempsey where he stresses that China means no harm to her neighboring states but she has firm stance when it comes to her sovereignty and territorial integrity. He stresses that China will “not lose an inch” by arguing that “we do not make trouble, we do not create trouble, but we are not afraid of it.” Moreover, he demands that the world needs to adopt objective approach towards the region’s dispute (Feedersen, 2014). While his remarks are being used to criticize China’s peaceful rise argument, what needs to be understood is that China is not a weak state and like the rest of members of international community, gives immense importance to her national interests and sovereignty. Yet China has a wide experience of peaceful settlement of border disputes and has, in fact, successfully settled down boundary issues with 12 of its neighboring states (Hua, 2014).

Therefore, the world should give as much attention to Chinese President Xi Jinping’s remarks as much as has been given to China’s military statements when he says: “There's no gene for invasion in Chinese people's blood, and Chinese people won't follow the logic that might is right (Xi, 2014).” The rising power fully understands her power but also acknowledges the fact that her rise is possible only in a peaceful environment.
China-U.S Interdependence

China’s regional policy indicates that though China wants to improve her relations with the neighbors, she does not intend to snatch United States’ share. From Latin America to Africa and from Middle East to Asia-Pacific, China is extending relations but has not adopted “the containment policy”, the tactics too often employed by the rest of major powers. While the great powers normally try to create blocs and/or counter-blocs; China, other than building relations with the rest, has always endeavored to maintain warm and sound relations with U.S.A. The fact is that principles of peaceful co-existence do not just apply to China’s neighbors but have also greatly influenced China’s policy towards United States.

The expanding trade between the two since last decade is considered to be just a start by China and urges to further speed up the economic ties. In 2013, China became the second largest trading partner of U.S by exports totaling $122 billion and imports totaling $440 billion (Office of the US Trade Representative, 2014). China’s serious commitment towards trade relations with United States can be further explained by the fact that China increased her imports from United States after the international financial crisis though her exports to U.S have decreased. This is the reason why many U.S firms have turned towards the China’s market (Shan, 2012). Another sector promising further integration between China and U.S is that of foreign investment. According to Rhodium group’s findings, China’s FDI in U.S doubled in 2013 and only in the first quarter of 2014, Chinese companies have already announced deals worth $8 billion (Hanemann, 2014). Moreover, while American exports to rest of the world increased only by 162% between 2000 and 2011, but its exports to China increased by 632%. (Chen, 2012) China’s increasing trade and lucrative FDI in United States reflects the building confidence and trust or at
least such an effort on behalf of China. Moreover, China offers market to the American small and medium businesses, thereby attracting U.S direct investment as well. The trends in economic relations predict the growing interdependence between the two powers in the future despite little setbacks. Mr. Zhong Shan, the vice minister of commerce of PRC urges, as the representative of government, that the two states should enhance trade and investment by avoiding the politicization of economic ties (Shan, 2012).

The study of U.S-China 2022: Economic Relations in the Next Ten Years suggests that the two states have impressive opportunities to extend cooperation in fields of agriculture, tourism, and energy and research sector. The study not only predicts the possible future bilateral relationship between them but also represents the wishes of both sides. Moreover, even if the states decide to conduct the trade at a same pace as now, their trade is expected to reach up to $1 trillion by 2022 (China Focus, 2012).

It is not just the economic interdependence that binds them only. Rather now in the globalized world, United States and China have to cooperate and work together on a number of issues. Ranging from the issues of global warming, climate change to countering terrorism, China’s ability and the growing interest in active participation in the global issues cannot be ignored by the world now. The two, for example, being the permanent members of the U.N Security Council have every reason to cooperate with each other or else the world affairs and progress may get paralyzed as was experienced in the Cold War. The fact is that their approach may be different but as the major powers, China and United States share the same concerns regarding the various global issues. China, for instance, wants the earliest possible solution of North Korea’s and Iran’s nuclear crisis. She is equally concerned about the growing terrorism, has condemned the
acts of terrorism worldwide and has promised all kind of support to the international community in this context. Particularly, her proximity to Afghanistan, Pakistan and Central Asia makes her more vulnerable to the rising assemblage of non-state actors in the region. Likewise, China is as concerned about the misuse of Syria’s chemical stockpiles as is United States. Being the responsible members of U.N Security Council and the powerful states of the world, therefore, both need to converge rather than diverge their energies if want to secure the world peace. The approach adopted is often different though, this difference is not a conflict in itself. China believes that the issues of North Korea, Syria and Iran should be resolved at the table and not in the battlefield, for this will make matters only worse. While China’s preference for dialogue is often interpreted as her intent to delay, the fact is that haste and use of force have always accelerated the tension and misunderstanding.

The interdependence between China and United States is unique and unparalleled and it is because of this interdependence that many conflicts have been overcome or at least pacified. It indeed is the “new type of great power relationship” where if U.S desires to be treated as an “indispensable nation” then it needs to recognize China as an “indispensable partner” (Zhongying, 2013) which may help her sort issues which United States cannot solve on its own, either because of its limitations or because of problem’s gravity. In short, while many in the Western circle draw the sketch of China as a rising power which is desperate to compete with United States, China is nothing but an opportunity for U.S and it is through cooperation that U.S can get the maximum out of this opportunity.

The attitude of Chinese leadership, her growing economic relations with the regional states and the level of interdependence she has with United States point towards one direction and that is
China views itself as a responsible member of international community. Moreover, the state fully realizes that her designed goals are only possible to achieve through cooperation, collaboration and co-existence. The logical question to be asked at this point is why will China jeopardize what she has gained so far to challenge the status-quo? While the realists may hold the aggressive behavior of powerful states responsible for it, the fact is that China is not following the track of other powers. China has neither pursued the imperialism of Japan after her industrial revolution nor has shown any inclination to challenge United States and her allies by making an alliance similar to that of Allied powers in the Second World War. Furthermore, never in the history can we find an example of a rising power with policies such as peaceful co-existence, peaceful rise and harmonious world. Had China inclined towards becoming a regional or global hegemon, she would not have favored economic integration equally with all.

Though the Western writers present the bleak future scenario, China does not seem to agree with that. It is, hence, essential to know how China views the future. One can look into the concept of “harmonious world” presented by the last Chinese president Hu Jintao, for instance. He made the four point proposal and argued that a harmonious world can be achieved through multilateralism, mutually beneficial cooperation, spirit of inclusiveness, and rational and necessary reforms. Not only this, but he also defied forceful interference in another country’s affairs, use or even threat of a military force against the sovereignty of a state (Hu, 2005). Xi Jinping’s speech at the opening ceremony of Boao Forum points to the similar emphasis on “common development” and “boost cooperation” to “uphold peace.” He further vowed that as an important member of global family China “will continue to develop itself by securing a peaceful international environment and, at the same time, uphold and promote world peace through its own development (Jinping,
Country’s white paper on the peaceful development expresses similar future vision. China’s foreign policy is aimed at promoting harmonious world based on mutual benefit, mutual trust and coordination; where politically the states should be treated equally, cooperate economically and seek common ground culturally. None of this hints China’s inclination to either threat or challenge United States or any other state of the world.

The fact is that China is a responsible power of the contemporary world that has always cooperated and desires to cooperate in future as well. She neither follows any belief similar to that of “Manifest Destiny” to lead the world nor is she striving to reach the top by pushing others down like other major powers. The state has shown flexibility in her foreign policy and her leaders have expressed goodwill towards all including the United States. Now it is time for United States to reciprocate in a positive way as it is the need of time, for China has already made it clear that “the Chinese people want peace do not want war.”
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CONCLUSION

East Asia is emerging on the political map of the world as a fastest developing economic zone. Scholars are immensely busy in discussing political, economic, security and social affairs of East Asia. Hilary Clinton says, “future belongs to Asia”, many interpreted these words by pointing towards East Asia. China, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Vietnam are the economies which have shown their potential. After Cold War, major turn can be seen in the political scenario of East Asia that China has been in pursuance of increasing its role in the internal matters of this particular region. Although, it is very difficult because US, Japan and South Korean nexus is there which feels China as a threat for their security. The same thing they want other states to realize but, ultimately China has controlled this situation.

China is trying to win the trust of its neighboring states as it is offering them huge loans, development projects, foreign direct investment, services, technology transferring, etc. On social side, Chinese people are rapidly settling in other East Asian states and have established China towns over there. Chinese people are interacting with other nations and convincing them about good intentions of China. China is also establishing Confucian schools in many countries “the ideology” which already has deep impact on the East Asian nations. This kind of interaction actually brings the people of different nations and societies of East Asia near to each other which could lead the region towards peace and security. Public opinion is one of the main factors which actually plays an important role in foreign policy making and if public of different countries are close to each other then it would force their governments to establish normal and even cordial relations.
China is a major country in the region since history by showing its strength by huge land, political setup, economic development, strong military, rich civilization, and abundance of natural resources. After Cold War, China is seriously struggling for re-establishing “Sino-Centric” world in the region. For this purpose China is trying to reduce mutual mistrust and suspicion which is prevailing among the regional states. Now, there is a situation of interdependence exists in East Asia which is supposed to be controlled through formal institutions like ASEAN Plus Three (A+3), ACAFTA etc.

Regional institutions are being developed in every field such as, politics, economic, military and social in order to cooperate with each other. Almost China is a part of every institution because it has become successful in making the other states realized that China is a regional power and has the ability to play the role of hegemon in the region. China also proved that China has the potential to bring peace and establish security in the region. China is using its entire means to establish good and cordial relations with its neighboring states to eliminate its “belligerent image” among them.

East Asian states are also very consciously acting in this situation as they have realized the need of Chinese fastest growing economic policies. Both parties, (China and East Asia) are trying to establish interdependence where both would be dependent on each other and their interest are attached. This interdependence is not like previous sorts of interdependencies existed in the world or still existing, but, it would be totally managed and controlled by the formal institutions which aims to protect the interests of each party that, no state can exploit this situation of complex interdependence against any one.
History is evident that this region enjoyed prosperity and joy under the leadership of China. Chinese civilization is more than five thousand years old and is considered as one the oldest and richest civilization of the world, having deep impact on the neighboring states’ culture and traditions. For instance, Japan has borrowed a lot from Confucian thoughts, writing style and governance. China made its presence felt in the region by its vast territory, massive population, abundance of natural resources, political stability, consistent economic development and modern and capable military might. Many dynasties ruled over the China but there is not even a single dynasty which ever tried to capture or annex the territory of its neighbors. In fact, Chinese King had established “Tributary System”, in the region where neighboring states were supposed to pay tribute to Chinese King annually and in response China was responsible for their security from any kind of external aggression. China always provided assistant to its neighbors for their development by using political, monetary and military means. That was actually a “Sino-Centric World” where the center of power was China. As compared to the “European anarchical system”, China had maintained “hierarchical order” in East Asia where to preserve its power, China ensured to keep region in order.

Unfortunately, owing to the wave of colonialism started by the European powers, East Asian region also couldn’t protect itself. European colonial powers started “opium war’ in 1830s, by introducing opium in China. China, which by now had become weak due to internal problems and powerful enemies, starting losing control over the region. In 1949, Communist revolution took place in China and Communist China emerged under the leadership of Mao Zedong. Since then China is trying to re-establish hierarchical order in the region. During 1960s, China supported communist movements in East Asian countries which ultimately produced negative
impacts and neighboring states started feeling mistrust and suspicion about China. The border skirmishes have also aggravated the relations. At the same time, the external powers particularly U.S have been trying to establish their influence over the region. U.S fought two major war in this region “Korean War” and “Vietnam War” where it found China on the other side.

After the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, Deng Xiaoping came to power and realized that neighboring states are reluctant to establish even normal relations with China. He was very well aware of the needs of China and realized that if China really wanted to develop and flourish, it would have to improve relations with the neighboring states. He started visiting East Asian states in an attempt to eliminate environment of suspicion and mistrust in the region. So much so that the very same ASEAN which was especially established with the aim to counter China enjoys extended relations with it, having signed agreements and deals in all fields. Deng Xiaoping not only set China on successful path by launching immense political and economic changes but he also succeeded in creating the soft image of his country at regional and international level.

Chinese Defense White Paper of 1998 clearly stated about the Chinese vision of Asia’s post-Cold War security order. It was a difficult task for Chinese leadership to develop good relations with the countries of East Asia, due to certain regional implications and U.S military presence. Nonetheless, China has managed to engage the regional states in extensive bilateral and multilateral relations. Today China is rising again, invoking the debate of “Peaceful Rise” vs. “China Threat”. U.S, which enjoyed the status of sole Super Power for decades, doesn’t want to change status quo. However even United States acknowledges that fact that Rising China is an inevitable phenomenon. China has managed to assuage old rivalries; historic enemies are becoming partners if not friends; interdependence is in full swing, bringing all regional states
closer. There is a question why all this is happening? Population is increasing day by day, scientific inventions have changed the nature of development, international trade got much importance, feeding public has become difficult task, means of transportation and communication brought the people of different societies close to each other and many more reason are there.

China’s rise is dependent on its strong economy and its consistent economic growth has helped the state tremendously. So much so that today it has become the largest producer of manufacturing goods. As it needs consumer markets for its growing products, China fully acknowledges the need to build good relations with other states. East Asian states, on the other hand, also understand that they require a peaceful environment to flourish in, other than the immense opportunities provided by regional power. China is capable of fulfilling their demand in a cheapest way. China’s economic development has astonished the whole world, living standard of Chinese people is rising, Chinese private companies are heavily investing all over the world, Chinese government is providing loans and aid to the needy countries which is at least alleviating their fears if not ending them totally.

Although China has potential to become a global power, China’s current intentions are a bit limited and clearly related to regional integration of East Asia. China is working a lot for the mutual cooperation of East Asian regional states and brought them out of U.S influence. East Asia is historically the sphere of Chinese influence and China is spending billions of dollars to revive this sphere of influence. China has become the biggest provider of foreign direct investment to its neighbors. Furthermore, it is trying to sort out political disputes with neighboring states by using diplomatic and political means. Although China has maintained a
very strong and well equipped army with modern and unconventional weapons, the state understands that it won’t achieve much through hard power. China’s evolving stance in the Asia Pacific will help it gain prominence as it may persuade the regional actors to look up to it as the new power center of the region, making it the economic hub.

There are some important disputes in this region which got the importance on global level. One is the issue of North Korean nuclear proliferation. Although China is the only and sole trading partner and ally of Pyongyang, it has proved to be an important facilitator of “Six Party Talks”. Preserving stability on the Korean peninsula is one of the top priorities for Chinese policy makers. They know instability in North Korea, either political or economic in nature, will lead the entire region towards negative consequences especially for Chinese consistent economic growth. This is the reason that despite opposing North Korean nuclear program, China cannot and will not support any military stunt to demilitarized North Korea. To add in more, China realizes the fact that nuclear weapons of North Korea are likely to prompt its rivals to acquire their own nuclear weapons, instead of relying to American assistance. China is calculating this situation very anxiously and thereby is urging to solve the issue as soon as possible but diplomatically. China prefers nuclear free region in order to save the territorial integrity and security of North Korea to prevent it to be intervened.

Relations between Japan and China have been complex though. Japan, the regional hegemon of the past and China, the burgeoning economic and military power of the region have territorial issues, spurring tensions between the both. Though both states exist with almost same economic parity, China is making significant gains in economic realm and is expected to supersede United States in the near future. Despite having extensive economic relations, both sides have failed to
sort out their territorial disputes and have openly declared a no compromise policy towards the islands, claimed by both. In the contemporary world, U.S Pivot to Asia has also tensed the situation further as China looks at Japan as a belligerent regional state backed by the outside powers.

Despite all these differences, United States also realizes that stable China is in American interests too. Similarly Japan played its crucial role in economic development of China since 1970s – 80s by providing loans and assistance. Furthermore, within decades the world realized that China’s importance in geopolitics term is hard to ignore, leading to normalization of relations. China also realizes the fact that her impressive economic growth highly depends on peaceful environment. All the involved actors, therefore, need to resolve their remaining issues through dialogue and not through force.

To add in more, China understands that her regional and international goals and objectives demand cordial relations with regional states. Such kind of peaceful situation will lead the entire region towards peace and stability and bring social, political and economic prosperity. On the other side, ASEAN also intends to enhance economic relations with its neighboring states especially with China. This approach can easily be seen in their ever improving relations. It has become clear that the future of ASEAN is dependent on regional integration, promoting mutual benefits for all. Based on the current statistics, future seems to be a mixture of collaboration and cooperation, having confrontations at few levels.

China has played a very vital and positive role in United Nations along with other prominent international organizations where it intends to improve it says at the international level. To serve
the purpose, China has mostly supported the political solutions and objects to the use of military or unilateral actions. Keeping all these aspects in mind, it can be said that Chinese plans to deal with the neighboring countries and the rest of the world in a very cooperative way and Chinese leaders are pursuing close relations. In this way, China is rising to the place of global prominence.

In conclusion, I have reached at the result that China’s rise is peaceful and it has shown no negative impression regarding threat to the peace and security of East Asian countries. The regional states have decided to pause if not end their political grievances and territorial disputes, for the larger mutual economic gains. China is providing all kind of assistance to its neighboring states and in response regional states are providing consumer markets to the Chinese manufacturers. China knows its rising position needs peaceful environment and good relations with all the states on the map. China is keenly working on re-establishing Sino-Centric World in the region with China at top. To achieve the status, China has shown much flexibility over its once uncompromising claims. For instance, in case of Taiwan, China has deliberately accepted “one state-two system” just for the sake of regional peace and stability.

I strongly recommend that as scholars are of the view “Future Belongs to Asia”, academicians should also concentrate on studying the phenomenon of “China’s Rise” because soon China will be in a position to rule over Asia. Countries of SAARC should also study this phenomenon that how China and ASEAN is intact and working together for the mutual benefits of region by leaving behind their political and territorial disputed.
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