

The Rise of China: Impacts on Geo-Politics and New World Order



By

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**Dedicated To
Muhammad Dahri,
My beloved Baba
(1957-2019) and
Mam Sadia Tasleem,
My Favorite Teacher in QAU (DSS Dept)
With love and respect.**

CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

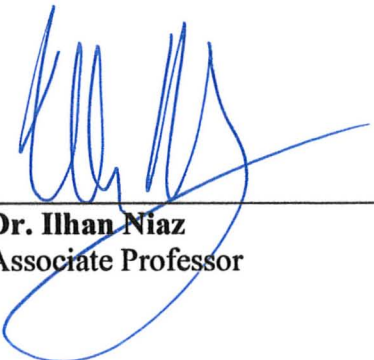
I hereby declare that the Thesis presently submitted bearing the title “**The Rise of China: Impacts on Geo-Politics and New World Order**” is the product of my own work and has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for any degree.



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SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that M.Sc. Student, Mr. Sarwech Dahri, has completed his Thesis entitled “**The Rise of China: Impacts on Geo-Politics and New World Order**” under my supervision. I recommend it for submission in candidacy for the degree of Master of Science in History.



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FINAL APPROVAL

This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Mr. Sarwech Dahri and it is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant acceptance by the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the award of the degree of Master of Science in History.

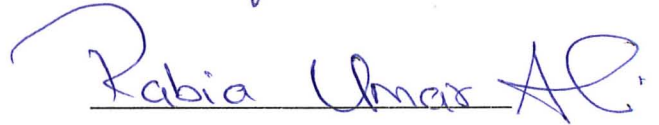
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Chairperson



**“It was the rise of Athens and the fear that this
instilled in Sparta that made war inevitable.”**

Thucydides

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Preface and Acknowledgements

It was the first semester when I heard about the option of **thesis** and viva. One senior told me that it is quite difficult to write a thesis in one semester along with four other courses. Difficult but not impossible. There were of course a few students that opted thesis in Masters, but it was generally unusual. Although, I considered myself a student who struggles for passing the courses, the desire to do something different sparked inside. As Shah Latif, the great Sindhi Poet, greatly expresses, “If the crowd is going on one side you should go towards the opposite”. Thus, the journey of struggling to pass gradually changed in desire to do something different in this phase of life.

Fortunately, there were great teachers in first semester that inspired, encouraged and boosted my confidence which ultimately led me to write this thesis. Foremost among them was **Dr Farooq Ahmed Dar**. Despite the fact that I always had a different perspective regarding Jinnah and the events of partition, I was incredibly lucky that he was my teacher in 1st semester who encouraged my nonstop questions and criticism with aid of his famous signatory quote, “You have every right to disagree”. Secondly, I would like to appreciate **Sir Mutahir Bashir** and **Sir Akhtar Rasool Bodla**, who also gave me much appreciated liberty to debate whenever I had a different opinion. The former's help in finding sources for the thesis is also immensely appreciated. I'll be forever grateful for the inspiration and help they both provided me throughout the journey.

Most importantly, it is an honour to mention **Mam Sadia Tasleem**, a young and junior teacher in Department of Strategic Studies, who had just completed her M.Phil but I could not find any Phd teacher with such a deep understanding of international politics and it never ceases to amaze me. She became such a great source of inspiration for me when I studied the course named “International Politics since 1945” from her in 2nd semester. Even this was the time when my interest developed in International Relations and International Politics which ultimately compelled me to work on this topic.

My decision, to opt **thesis** instead of viva, faced discouragement from a lot of people. The sole reason was their belief that there is no need to exhaust myself with extra pressure. Some believed that I may waste my time by not being able to complete my thesis in this semester and get my degree in fifth semester. While, others thought my grades will suffer because my presentation skills were better than my writing skills. There were comments that the examiner may not like my write up. The most severe objection, however, was on the selection of the **supervisor**. **Dr Ilhan Niaz**, being a face of not only history department but also Quaid e Azam University, is perceived as a strict teacher. So naturally the majority advised me to work with the easy-going teachers instead of Sir Ilhan. Lastly, many suggested going for a **topic** related to Pakistan history, which was well studied while classes, rather than International politics or current history.

Conclusively, here is the **result**: I went for the thesis, worked with **Dr Ilhan**, chose a topic of current history related to International Politics. And not only did I complete the thesis on time, but also enjoyed a great liberty while working with Sir Ilhan. I remember when sir rejected one of my chapters, he allowed me to add my seminar paper in the thesis. So, I can say with utmost responsibility that no teacher would have given such liberty which he gave.

I believe thesis is a joint work of candidate and supervisor where he decides a path for you to walk on. Therefore, the major credit of this thesis goes to my supervisor: **Dr Ilhan Niaz**. Honestly, I need another 80 pages to praise his qualities; I'm afraid it's not possible here, so I am leaving it for another occasion. Apart from praising his qualities, I also don't have words to express the extent of my gratitude for the entire time sir dedicated to this project. For the first time, when I asked him, I want to work on thesis, he said, "Yes, I think you can and you should do". Then I asked him if he would be able to supervise and he replied, "It would be my pleasure to do so". At that time the idea was too amateur, but his words encouraged me to go for this decision. There were moments when I thought I should give up, but his feedback always released my tension and freed me from worries and gave energy to continue the task. Let me reveal that one of the most important purposes behind writing thesis in M.Sc. was to work in his lovely company. As the famous motivational speaker Jim Rohn says, "We are the average of

five people we spend the most time with." So, it was a significant aspect of this project; to work under his influence.

I am also in debt of my external examiner **Dr Rafia Riaz**, head of history department Islamic International University. Instead of coming off like an examiner she was an appreciator. She was continuously praising the work and encouraging me. According to me the biggest weaknesses of my thesis was that my topic was too broad. However, she commented positively and considered it as a plus point. She said, "I like those works which are too comprehensive and its theme is broader and wide, whereas we have a common practice that students used to narrow down the topic." Her feedback and evaluation really boosted my energies.

Furthermore, there are a lot of people who helped me in this work and if it wasn't for their collective efforts, I would not have been able to complete this task on time. I am grateful to my sister, Khushboo, my little princess, Kiran and my buddy younger brother, Danish who helped me in correction of language style. I am also thankful to Zahid Mahar, Kashif Jagirani, Abdul Haq and Kamran Siraj, **senior fellows**, who helped in methodology and proof reading and gave their fruitful suggestions, especially Abdul Haq, who was always there to encourage me whenever I lost confidence. I am, no doubt, indebted to my friend, Rohina Ali Shah, who not only helped me in typing but also kept encouraging me throughout this journey. Moreover, it's my pleasure to thank all my **class fellows** especially, Shakir, Saud, Naeem, and Alahyar who helped in typing while Ahmed Khan, Ibrahim and Wahidullah became a great source of motivation. Special thanks to Mahnoor Khan, who despite being my arch rival for position in class, encouraged me constantly and Muqadisa Malik, who graciously helped me in correction. I am also grateful for aid of Mam Shahnaz, librarian of departmental library, who always cooperated in finding and lending the books.

How can I forget Saba, **Chocolaty Chashmish**, whose crush kept increasing along with my interest in IR as I studied three courses from School of Political Science and International Relations. Not only I studied about IR but tried to improve my English to impress her and both factors contributed in this work. Thank you so much Chashmish for being there.

Last but not the least; I am grateful of my **parents** who never burdened me with responsibilities that could keep me from achieving my goals. Despite the fact that **my Baba** was fighting with a deadly cancerous disease, he never revealed any serious issue to me in fear that it might de motivate me. Unfortunately, I lost my Baba in this journey. He was on death bed but asked me to go and pursue my dreams. He always used to ask, (what became of your book?)

Being a lay man, he did not know about the technical terms. So, I had to explain him that I have to write a book late. Quite often he used to ask me this question and I always used to laugh before giving him updates. Unfortunately, he left us before the completion of the thesis and one of my biggest regrets is that he never got to see that book. I will always miss you, Baba.

Although all parents believe in their children, some believe more than the others, my mother and masi fall in later category. And their belief has paid off. Even though, the future is yet to come, this little effort is a mile stone in big journey. Thank you, **Ami, and Masi** for being always supportive....

Introduction

Whenever there is an emergence of a new power on the global stage, it challenges the status quo and the existing world order and tries to impose its own ethos on the world. Balance of power shifts from uni-polar to bi-polar or from bi-polar to multi-polar. The main concern that arises is about how to manage that country's rise. Usually, existing powers try to curtail emerging powers. The acronym described for this is the "Thucydides Trap" by American professor Graham Allison who tells us that 'throughout history we find 16 examples where the emergence of new powers has questioned the authority of existing powers and out of those 16, 12 went for war and only 4 managed to escape the trap.

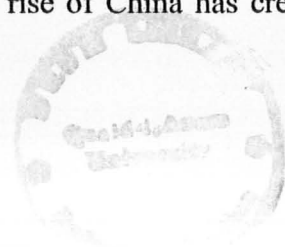
The emergence of China has also questioned the authority of the eroding superpower United States and its great power G7 allies. The formation of Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, Chinese economic loans and investment to poor countries, its economic boom and capture of markets, and its grand project of the 21st century Belt and Road Initiative have highly frustrated the US. China's aggressive behavior with her small neighbors in the South China Sea has further intensified the frustration of the superpower: the US. As a result, the confrontation between China and South Korea or China and Taiwan could drag the US in the war because they have defense treaties with the US and when a superpower does not fulfill its promise, it highly affects its other alliances. China claims that her rise is peaceful and that she does not have territorial interests anywhere, in contrast, she claims to have political and economic interests. Either this is the truth or she is just trying to delay the confrontation.

There are two possibilities of the US-China confrontation. The first one is a hot war which is less likely to happen because choosing nuclear war would be a fool's decision and the conventional battle is difficult due to geographical distance. Alternatively, the second possibility is a cold war and this is most likely to happen, in fact, it has already begun to some extent. The trade war between US and China, along with, United States' policy to dominate the Indo-Pacific region and strategic partnership with India are obvious signs of the cold war. This whole situation can be compared to the reaction of our body to an infection where the body temperature starts to rise slowly at first but it doesn't take long for its speed to increase drastically. Similarly, this escalation is growing slowly but could rise speedily anytime.

There is no doubt that emerging powers affect and leave great impacts on the world order. Usually, new world order is introduced and existing one's is replaced gradually. This study aims to find how China has risen from being devastated country after Second World War? Can her rise be stagnated? Or can her economic boom be busted like a bubble as Japan's in the 1980s? Besides it, this would also be evaluated whether the rise of China would be peaceful or not? How her rise could impact existing global norms and international institutions?

Statement of the problem

The emergence of new powers has always created troubles for existing powers and usually, the fear, of success of rising powers, in existing powers has led to war. Rise of Germany in the 20th century for two times led to world wars, but the rise of the Soviet Union did not drag the US and USSR in war. Although, there were proxy wars, yet the direct confrontation was avoided. However, this time the rise of China has created the



similar situation again and the ruling powers are trying to curtail it. China's rapid rise and speedy decline of the Western powers, after the 2007-2008 economic crisis, have compelled them to curtail China by any means.

Trump, who was a non-serious candidate for the presidency, won the election due to naked rhetoric against China which tells that public opinion of ruling power has also perceived China as a threat. While comparing old rising powers with China it can be assessed that the situation is somehow different. Germany needed markets and territory and the Soviet Union wanted to export revolution. The former was more aggressive and the later had a balanced approach in international affairs but both ended with wars, one in the hot wars of WWI and WWII and second in the Cold War. On the other hand, China neither needs territory nor exports revolution; although it needs markets, yet China have both approaches. It composes itself and avoids direct conflict with the US. Its population is much larger than the former powers as well as from the existing powers. China's rise could badly affect existing world order but either her rise would be managed, as small mistakes can destroy the world in this nuclear era, or proxy war would be played again and grass will be trampled in the fight of elephants.

Now the question arises whether China will adopt the western culture, ideas, philosophy of life or political system and will it accept existing world order? Or her ideology, culture, norms and political system will come in clash with Euro-centric world order as a political system and westernization as a social system? Moreover, how the world is going to respond in the result of that clash?

Review of Literature

The sources used for this research include primary as well as secondary books. In addition to this, talks of international scholars from YouTube, like **John Mearsheimer**, **Graham Allison**, **Shashi Tharoor**, **Kishore Mahbubani**, **Weiwei Zhang**, etc. are included.

When China Rules the World (2012), by Martin Jacques, discusses the rivalry between China and the US. The author believes China's rise has made the US uncomfortable. Power of center has been shifted from the West to the East, from the developed to the developing countries, and from America to Asia. Furthermore, he argues that the rise of China is not going to be ordinary phenomenon due to its huge population, never before any country with such huge population has become superpower, secondly China is a civilizational state, not a nation state and all the former superpowers were nation-states or empires, another reason is it will be the first time that a developing country, whose half population is still developing, will become world's largest economy, and yet another reason is after a long time the East will rise again. Impacts of the rise of China will be felt on existing culture and norms. Thus, the rise of China will eventually shake the foundation of current Western culture and the world order.

The author of *On China* (2012), Henry Kissinger, says that hard-liners in China are of the view that bearing US dominance in the region is defeat without war. Therefore, US must be pushed back from, at least, East Asia. To manage the rise of China he advises his government that the US, instead of countering China, should bring her on table and responsibility of world affairs must be shared with Chinese. So she could become a responsible member of the international community. He also suggests China that they

should not force the US to leave the region which will aggravate small countries. Moreover, he narrates that Chinese do not follow the rules of Chess where the ultimate aim is to kill the king which usually the Western superpowers have been following but Chinese believe in Wei qi game where the opponent is circled in a way that he can't move further. He also tells that Mao Tse-tung consolidated China politically, Deng Xiaoping put it in the right direction to become a great economic power. This book does not cover the era of Xi Jinping.

Tom Miller argues in his book, *China's Asian Dream* (2017), Belt and Road Initiative is the biggest project of China in their history through this Xi Jinping wants to influence all over the world as the passive foreign policy of Deng Xiaoping has been abandoned and proactive foreign policy of Xi has been adopted by the Chinese government. Moreover, the author argues that China is gradually influencing weak Asian countries through loans and BRI. This book helps us to analyze all those indicators which are manifestation of the rise of China including BRI and AIIB.

In his book *New Silk Roads* (2018), Peter Frankopan mentions that most of the Chinese economist and government officials understand that 80% investment will be wasted in CPEC. Therefore, this project is more political than economical "to box in India." The author also tells how China has started to behave as a global power. BRI, in XI's words is "the project of the century" has cautioned world especially the US and India. He also mentioned the acronym for CPEC as China "Punjab" Economic Corridor. The author has discussed the relation of China and the US as well as has compared Chinese development with American. He states that although Chinese Artificial

Intelligence is not equal to the US, yet her huge investment in AI, which is 50% of total global investment, suggests that soon Chinese would be ahead in AI as well.

Andrew Small in his book, *China-Pakistan Axis* (2015), which is basically about Pak-China relations, states that China's biggest concern is not US rivalry but domestic uprising, that's why the Chinese government has helped Taliban in past. She was first known-Muslim country which maintained diplomatic relations with the Taliban government. CPEC, as a sub project of BRI, is also a key feature to this policy and could be considered as an incentive to Pakistan government to control the Taliban through the Pakistani channel and block help of Uighur Muslims. This book covers Chinese foreign policy towards Pakistan which helps us to understand her foreign policy towards other neighboring countries. The author has also argued that Chinese neither want to offend the US nor Indians instead they want Pakistan to have good relations with both of them.

Ejaz Hussain in this book named *China Pakistan Economic Corridor* (2018), which is a compilation of his articles related to CPEC and BRI, says that CPEC is important for both countries because China is taking it as a test project. The reason behind this is, Chinese engineers have been working in Pakistan for long. So, it would not be a new or difficult job for them. The author has also thoroughly mentioned XI's foreign policy and his motives.

Hypothesis

Rise of China would not bring dramatic changes, though it will affect global order and existing norms, yet it would not be able to change everything from its roots. The cold war is likely to happen but the rise of China would be manageable on a scale that it would not

turn in hot war as otherwise, there is a threat of nuclear war. Economic interdependence is another factor which would prevent great powers from confronting each other.

Organization of Chapters

The present study is divided into three chapters along with introduction, conclusion, and bibliography.

Chapter One: China: A Historical Overview is about the historical background and evolution of the rise of China. How China arose after the devastation of the Century of Humiliation and Japanese invasion and how Mao- Deng and XI's reigns have helped China to become a great power. In addition to this, major events after 1949's revolution are covered along with current indicators which are signs of the rise of China.

Chapter Two: Impact of Rising of China deals with socio-political and economic impacts of the rise of China. Few things as an example are taken that how those would be affected such as the world order, English language, allopathic as medical science, western junk food, western soft power currently dominating as movies, music, education, etc. China's neo-colonialism, Chinese racism and status of democracy in China are also put in examination.

Chapter Three: Belt and Road Initiative: Challenges and Responses

This chapter revolves around BRI which is taken as a manifestation of the rise of China. Its impacts, challenges, and responses are discussed. Furthermore, CPEC as the subproject under BRI is also included. The chapter aims to define BRI as a global project and CPEC as a regional project. Motives of China and Pakistan regarding these projects and its implications, internal and external challenges, responses by rival countries,

especially the US and India, would be analyzed. It is an old policy of China: "to end poverty, build roads" but why China is building these projects worldwide and investing a huge amount of money? What projects are being run under BRI? How CPEC is a key project of BRI? What would be its impacts and how the world is going to respond to this project especially India, US, and Japan? These questions will be discussed in this chapter.

Methodology

Basically, this study is to understand the rise of China in the context of the current international political scenario. Therefore, the components which are a manifestation of the rise of China will be analyzed. International events will be explained through explanatory methods. Thus, the research will be explanatory and analytical in nature. Hence, to address the research question qualitative methods and deductive reasoning will be applied. The Turabian manual will be used in order to conduct this research, references as an endnote to each chapter will be covered. As China is a Marxist state. So, Marxism as a theory will also be applied and evaluated especially in the context of Sino-Soviet split and their Marxist approaches along with classical Marxism.

Scope and Significance

This study will try to evaluate the process of the rise of China since its emergence as an independent country to its rise as a global power. The indicators which show China as a great power will also be discussed. Furthermore, its impact on the world order and existing norms would be analyzed. Moreover, how BRI is a manifestation of the rise of China and how it could affect international politics would be dealt with under this study. The research conducted on this topic will help readers to understand the rise of China, which is going to dominate the world, and how its rise is going to affect the world order. The current tensions in international politics between ruling power and emerging power: the United States and China will help readers to understand where world politics is going, especially in shape of the trade war and China's ambitious project, BRI, and counter strategies of ruling powers.

Chapter 1

China: A Historical Overview

Introduction

History has witnessed many superpowers in different periods. Achaemenid Empire of Iran was the world's first superpower and ruled parts of Asia, Africa and Europe. Then came Rome, which is considered the longest ruling empire till today, enduring 1500 years. Then, the Arabs emerged in 6th and 7th centuries AD and conquered the world and reached Spain and parts of India. China was superpower of East for many centuries, while the Mongols, Portuguese, Holland, Spain and Britain also emerged as great power. After 1945, the United States, along with her rival, the USSR struggled for world supremacy until the US emerged as victorious in 1991.¹ But, like others the US is also gradually declining and giving space to a new emerging power, China.

There are speculations as to whether China will succeed the US or not? Firstly, because in 1980s there were some rumors that Japan will surpass the US but it could not.² Secondly, because China is still a developing country, 50% of the population still lives in rural areas. So, it is hard to believe that China, a developing country from East will succeed a developed country from, the West. We will come to this question later, but first let's see how this developing country, has at least reached the stage of rivalry. Then will see how she might surpass the US.

Century of Humiliation

About the origin of the history of China, famous diplomat, Nobel Prize winner, Henry Kissinger writes that special feature of Chinese Civilization is that it has no beginning.³ China has unique history, it has been isolated and her mind set is full of isolationism but it is contrary to America isolationism. China did not export her ideas but let others come and seek them. She has been richest country in history. For the west, China and India were ideal lands with whom they wanted to establish trade relations. But Chinese mentality of middle kingdom did not allow her to do so. Later, in the first Opium War, British invaded China and made treaties with them, in which Hong Kong was given to the British along with trade rights on Chinese ports.⁴ This was not only process of suppression but humiliation. In 1900, when the Boxer uprising took place against foreigners in China, it was crushed by eight powers collectively and this was end of the Chinese Empire.⁵

After the first Chinese revolution in 1911, Qing dynasty's emperor was dethroned and Dr. Sun Yat-sen become president and China transformed from an empire to a nation state. This said, it was too fragmented and he could not continue and gave power to his military commander, Yuan Shih-kai, who died in 1916, and power was diluted among his governors.⁶ Later, in late 1920s nationalist leader and successor of Sun Yat, Chiang Kei-shek exercised authority relatively successful.⁷ In 1917 due to Russian revolution practical manifestation of Marxism came into being and it exported world revolution and, as a result the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) came into being in 1920.⁸ The CCP ultimately proved to be the rival of the nationalist party. Though Lenin had addressed national question as an extension of Marxism-Leninism, and CCP also followed that

doctrine, even Maoism later was more nationalistic. But at that time ideological clash was there between communists and nationalists. Chiang even once had said it's better to hand over government to Japanese then making alliance with communists. Due to set back of World War I, no western country was in position to further interfere in Chinese affairs. Germany was deprived of colonies, Russia was in civil war, and other western countries Britain and France were devastated and were busy in crushing red virus along with US. Only remaining country was Japan who had become giant after Russo-Japanese war in 1905 and especially after WWI. Japan exploited secessionists in Manchuria, created a new state there and began to conquer whole China.⁹ Although at one point Chiang and Mao Tse-tung made an alliance to defeat Japanese, but after the end of World War II nationalist and communist fought against each other.¹⁰ Cold war had started and the US was sponsoring Chiang to crush communists who were backed by USSR but even Stalin had still not stopped support of Chiang. Finally, after long civil war communists were successful in getting government of Beijing and Chiang fled to Taiwan, where he installed a government with back of US and other NATO countries.¹¹

Korean War

After World War II Korea was divided in two countries. North was under the supervision of USSR and South was in US umbrella. It was decided that after some time there would be elections and country would be reemerged and power would be handed over to new regime. US had been careful and had not supported militarily to South even its police had out dated weapons. Thus, US did not want to put region in conflict as South might invade North. after becoming strong. On the other hand, ruler of North Korea Kim II was a favorite of Stalin so he got full support from USSR and made his country stronger. He

urged Stalin to attack South Korea which was weak, but Stalin, who was reluctant to antagonize US, forbade him from doing so. However, Kim II convinced him that the US will not come for the rescue of North Korea or until it comes to assist NK, he would complete the invasion. Stalin also urged Mao to help Kim in his invasion, who agreed as he was in the fresh sprit of revolution.

US had been already worried at the loss of mainland China. Strategically due to communist revolution of 1949 and Soviet atomic bomb, US was surprised and containment policy was introduced. Korea which was ignored from the policy of containment became most important part of it. China was devastated due to century of humiliation, fragmentation of provinces, long occupation of Japan, heavy losses in WW II, and unstoppable struggle in the Civil War. It was a country that had been in war since 1931. And soon Kim's adventure, invasion of North Korea, brought China face to face with the US. Though Mao had called the US a paper tiger, his strategy was outstanding; he never gave impression of fear from atomic bomb. Even he stated that Chinese are willing to face millions of casualties for the sake of communism. But in end the result of war which was not good at all by both sides. It was desperately realized by China that battle with US was not a cup of tea.¹²

Era of Mao

Post revolution China has seen three great leaders. Mao Tse-Tung, Deng Xiaoping and Xi Jinping. Era of Mao is considered foundation point of making a great nation. It would not be wrong if we say China would have not been great as it is today if Mao were not there. He called himself a teacher and also as a philosopher.¹³ But he was master strategist. He

gave direction to China and Chinese people. One of the biggest contributions of Mao in the eyes of Kissinger is he united fragmented China on the pattern of old kingdom. He said, "The Chinese people have stood up".¹⁴ This was clear message to the world that no more humiliation. Basically, being a follower of Marxist ideology, he implemented socialism in China. And lands were confiscated from land owners and it was divided among farmers. Basically, he kept the foundation of another variation of Marxism.

Marx had said that proletariat will lead the revolution. Lenin had added that as Russian proletariat is not as strong as Marx had predicted for capitalist societies like Germany and France but because it is semi-capitalist so here revolution will be protected and led by vanguard party. Mao, though he accepted the concept of vanguard, but he said as China is an agriculturist society, so here force of revolution would be farmers. And as they are mature enough so communist party will play role of guide. Remember, Mao in 1934 was made party leader, when a Chinese student secretary general of CCP graduated in revolutionary education from USSR was failed in his strategies.¹⁵ So Mao was not a person who could blindly follow communist model of Russia. Though he adopted many things from USSR model. He did not fear to confront US in Korean War. Even China in his leadership was first country who had fought the US to a draw being a nonnuclear country.

Mao had lot of contribution in reuniting China on straight line. Even one of reason for failure of USSR and success of China is that the founder of the revolution Lenin could not lead USSR for long but Mao had plenty of time to rule China. But it is also true that his policies delayed the process of China's rise and one of the biggest examples is the Cultural Revolution. When there were factions in party and to some

extent Mao was ignored by CCP, he rebelled against his own government. Young students named red guards became so violent on the call of Mao, local governments were dissolved and party leaders were humiliated. Mao stated that “learn revolution by making revolution” and “To rebel is justified”¹⁶ because it is for the greater cause to save revolution. Students beating teachers, children refused to follow parents, leaders like Deng were humiliated and his son died in those conflict. Zhou being a premier was locked in his room. It was like Boxer uprising in start of 20th century which put end Qing dynasty’s rule. And this storm could have over thrown communist rule as Deng said that Cultural Revolution suspended rule of party even for temporary. Finally, in 1968 when factions of red guard were in clash to each other and there was no way to stop them, then Mao restored party authority and brought those factions under strict discipline of party.¹⁷

Sino-Soviet Split

In the 1960s, China had growing differences with the USSR. It started with Korean War and Khrushchev’s secret speech (1956) where he criticized Stalin.¹⁸ In the 1950s it was not possible for Mao to go against Stalin who had been leading communist world since days of Lenin. He was the nominated successor of Lenin¹⁹ and was legitimized to rule and lead communist bloc. Besides, he had defeated Fascist Hitler and won World War II. On the other hand, Mao got only 4 years to rule in life of Stalin. Therefore, neither he had psychological superiority nor did he have any such experience of world affairs. However, it was different when Khrushchev succeeded Stalin. Basically, as communism is universal doctrine like Islam and political boundaries are not worth at all. In Islamic ideology it is clearly mentioned that Caliphs would be from Quraysh clan but even then, Turk Sultans being non-Quraysh and non-Arab ruled as caliph for centuries and led

Muslims. Similarly, for Mao, at least communist world was one, therefore Stalin's successor could have been from anywhere in the communist countries. This idea was already mentioned by Stalin while addressing Marshal Tito that "Take care of yourself... I won't live for much longer... it's nature's way... but you will be there for Europe."²⁰ Indirectly he nominated his successor to Tito. But later they had severe ideological clashes.²¹ So, now in Mao's eyes who else was of such caliber? Therefore, Mao was not willing to accept the leadership of Khrushchev.

So when Khrushchev criticized Stalin, Mao felt it revisionism and retreat from revolution.²² Secondly, to attack authoritative personality of Stalin means indirectly to challenge or criticize Mao's personality or policies in China.²³ Third when Khrushchev was giving more weight to Nehru than Mao, it was unbearable for him and in the last meeting Mao said to Khrushchev you are "time-servers".²⁴ Even Marshal Chen Yi's language gives impression that he had Mao's back, who said to Khrushchev your words do not make me afraid.²⁵ While leaving Khrushchev uttered the words "It's hard to make an agreement with an old boot. He can't forgive us for Stalin."²⁶ Soon after this meeting there was Sino-Indian War of 1962. In which although China defeated India but it was just a test shot to teach lesson, India as well as USSR. China did not face any difficulty to control and secure other areas except Tibet. Where Dalai Lama had rebelled which ultimately became biggest dark spot for communist China. This war added a fatal impetus to this split. And that was end of Sino-Soviet friendship.

Sino-US Entente

China, which with all obstacles was moving slowly, found great chance in shape of Nixon's call for rapprochement.²⁷ Till now Sino-US relations were severed due to history

of Korean War and US support for Taiwan and also due to Mao's orthodox communism. After Second World War as there was nationalist government of Kuomintang led by Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan who was ally of western powers. Thus, Nationalist China (Taiwan) was among five great powers which were part of Security Council of UN.²⁸ US also supported Kuomintang party in civil war. So, when nationalist lost civil wars and established government in exile in small island of Taiwan with the help of US, mainland China was denied its UN Security Council seat. Even she was not accepted as a member of UN assembly. US planted seven fleets in area to protect Taiwan along with her military force on ground. Thus, China could not annex Taiwan.²⁹

For Chinese it was too important to have back Taiwan as part of country morally and psychologically but above all due to strategic purpose. But Mao was so sharp that he was even not willing to leave situation as it is because he knew he cannot annex so he started minor conflict with Taiwan on Strait Islands. PLA started bombing on minor scale. He has multiple intentions, one was to put US on notice and tell her that they are not afraid, second was to exploit USSR alliance that they may speed Chinese nuclear program, which they were delaying.³⁰ This was strained relations of US-Sino, but when China had conflict with USSR on ideology and communist fever was gradually declining all over the world and also Mao and China were not obligated to lead that world revolution he eased his rhetoric against imperialism, even his support to Vietnam war was not on the basis of ideology but he said its due to old debt of Vietnam on us, which we had to pay. Mao told an American Journalist Snow (through whom he used to convey messages to US) that, we will morally support all proletariat movements but will not practically mobilize PLA to support them.³¹ This may be was the effect of Cuban Missile

crisis because first Mao had thought nuclear is just a threat to blackmail and get political gains. But after Cuban missile crisis, he might have realized this is something more serious than what he had imagined.

Now China after experiencing Korean War, clash with India and uprising in Tibet, later 1962 war, ideological split with Soviet, had no choice but to follow old Chinese tradition that one strong enemy should be introduced in battle to fight with another strong enemy and benefit from their rivalries. As described by Chinese Marshals “sitting on top of the mountain to watch a fight between two tigers”³² In old times Chinese diplomats did this to exploit rivalry of Russia and Britain, saying “use barbarians against barbarians.”³³ But in that case a lot of territory was lost in hand of new enemy. But not this time because there was a giant of politics and strategy who with his brilliant skills had already proved himself. He was far more advanced than both superpower country’s qualified diplomats.

Nixon, once Vice President of US, when he became president, he tried to approach China. In the 1960s US diplomats were assuming that Sino-Soviet split is basically grand communist trap to enter China in world order system and get seat of China for Beijing. But Nixon had different ambitions, he was not ready to accept a world order dominated by US to be cut off from ¼ population of world. He wrote an article in 1967 where he mentioned that “We simply cannot afford to leave China forever outside the family of nations, there to nurture its fantasies, cherish its hates and threaten its neighbors. There is no place on this planet for a billion of its potentially most able people to live in angry isolation.”³⁴

So, with Mao's changing position from superiority and realizing the ground reality of China's weakness, Nixon's concern to bring China in US bloc was justified specially after failure of US-Soviet entente. Once in the 1960s US-Soviet both pushed hard to China especially in 1962 Sino-Indian war. But now it was time for China to teach lesson to USSR. For whom it would be big setback and her claim of communist leadership would be hit. Because before that this split for some observers was quarrel of family and for others a trap. But now soon this would be realized to the whole world that China is no more with communist bloc but even it would have joined capitalist block. Secret diplomatic moves were taken through Pakistan and Romania.³⁵ Henry Kissinger as special envoy was secretly sent through Pakistan to Beijing who was well received by Premier Zhou.³⁶ And a bomb in diplomatic world was crashed with news that Nixon being first US president will visit China next year.

This was big shock for Kremlin. Who, to teach lesson to Pakistan for interfering in international affairs and humiliating China and US as well chose on going crisis of East Pakistan to level the game.³⁷ India and Soviet Union signed the Indo-Soviet August Treaty (1971) to defend each other against a third party attack.³⁸ Now East Pakistan crisis was at its peak, India was exploiting Pakistan's position and supporting exile government but Soviet was still neutral on diplomatic front and India was afraid of Chinese intervention in case India attacked Pakistan. But with this Indo-Soviet Treaty, USSR assured India that in case China intervenes, it will also. Thus, Chinese threat was neutralized for India. Soviet vetoed all resolutions in favor of Pakistan and China did not intervene in time of Indian attack in East Pakistan. Thus, China was again humiliated due to not helping her close ally. But China swallowed poisoned drop and moved forward.

Nixon was welcomed in Beijing and hosted by Mao. But cleverly Mao said though Taiwan is our core issue but for US friendship we can ignore it for time being. It was decided to first bring those agenda items on which both parties could agree and then disputed ones. And in disputed let's accept differences of each other and move ahead.³⁹ US had two country solution for Taiwan which was neither accepted by Beijing nor Taipei. However, US stand was simple that it wanted peaceful solution of Taiwan. In the response, Mao assured US spokesperson that we are not going to attack Taiwan for hundred years which was seen positively in the US. Thus, an informal was decided between both regimes of respective countries. China whose economy had been worst due to sanctions of world institutions who were under the control of US. So economic sanctions were removed and China got a seat of UN Security Council back in 1971 in result of this entente.

Issues of Succession

Lin Biao who was nominated successor of Mao, was against this entente. When American team arrived, there were posters on the streets where slogans were chanted "Down with American Imperial Capitalism and it's Running Dogs".⁴⁰ He also tried a coup against the entente but he died in plane crash. Zhou had cancer but even lost the status of second in command. Mao's wife Jiang Qing and her faction famous as "the gang of four" opposed Zhou and he was unofficially removed.⁴¹ Deng Xiaoping who, was in favor of Sino-US friendship, was brought back and made vice Premier. But on the issue of succession again there was clash in party.

Deng was exiled again and junior provincial party leader Hua Guofong was made party general secretary for whom Mao said, "With you in charge, I am at ease."⁴² Hua

first succeeded Zhou after his death and later succeeded Mao as chairman military commission.⁴³ But after death of Mao he came in clash with gang of four and to balance them he allied himself with moderates including Deng, who came back from second exile in 1977 he started his program of Chinese modernity and became most important leader in the modern history of China.⁴⁴

Deng Reforms

Till now the capital and means of production were state owned but Deng introduced mixed economy in which some firms and enterprises were privatized and to maintain competition he said provinces should come and compete with each other, he also decentralized some state functions.⁴⁵ Deng basically was revisionist, he had realized that with this situation China cannot move forward. But he was quite sharp he knew it is difficult to bring reform in this political system, if either this system can exist in current shape or will be destroyed from roots. There is no space for political reforms, which has later proved with reforms of perestroika and glasnost in USSR,⁴⁶ which led the end of the Soviet regime. So, Deng proposed to first introduce economic reforms though it was strange that Marxism basically is ideology which proposed economic model for state, it has less to do with political setup.

For Deng it was not possible to introduce political reforms and whether he wanted and could not is debatable. But he organized party and create some standards like he himself did not choose any designation and even in his life hand over power to Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang and Jiang Zemin,⁴⁷ which practice still is continued.

Unlike USSR, where leader will be succeeded only after his death. Only exception was Khrushchev. Brezhnev even when paralyzed was general secretary, Chernenko who could not speak was also leader. So, this was a trend set by Deng, that's why in China there is no one man rule in true sense, it is the party who rules. Though this may be changing with Xi Jinping's abolition of term limits.

Deng realized it was difficult time for China. There again emerged hard liners who critiqued government and party that they are on wrong path. Mao's doctrines were used against the government. But Deng who had been retired once again came to rescue his created policy. He toured Southern China and asked people if you want better future, start economic hubs. He rejected Maoist indoctrination and said, "what mattered was the result, not the doctrine under which it was achieved".⁴⁸ After almost one decade of Deng's death, China emerged as a global power.

Rising China

In economic crisis of 2008, China was only country which was not badly affected and remained stable. US who had been in decline since last years of 20th century, but still had been maintaining her posture as super power, especially after 9/11.⁴⁹ Bush claimed 21st century is American century. But with this financial crisis, she was exposed to world. Russia came on scene, and it was widely debated that Russia is rising again. China who was till then restricted, now changed her behavior, and started to behave like a regional power.⁵⁰

In 2012, exactly after one century of China's becoming republic, Xi Jinping took over power. He is considered a more proactive leader. It is said Mao had politically

consolidated China, Deng had made it economically strong, and Xi will make her powerful militarily,⁵¹ whereas “Hu Jintao and Jiang Zemin are but historical footnotes.”⁵² His vision for China has been called Asian Dream, which refers to China’s ambitions regarding Asia where they primarily want to dominate. It is widely believed that Xi is going to give back China status of middle kingdom. Till now China has pursued policy of Deng. “Hide our capabilities and bide your time; and never claim leadership”⁵³ but Xi declared that China will play a proactive role in Asia which means China has abandon Deng’s policy.

In 2014 there was conference in Beijing chaired by Xi, where twenty world leaders including Obama and Japanese prime minister Shinzo Abe participated, it was a first world conference chaired by Xi.⁵⁴ Where he told that world is moving, power is shifting from west to east, from America to Asia, from US to China. It was clear sign for world. He proposed investment of US\$1.25 trillion for foreign investment including New Silk Road for making infrastructure in Asia. Another occasion from where it could be accessed that China is no more developing country or it is pursuing policy of non-interference or passive approach in world affairs. The proposal for creating Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), US opposed it because due to this IMF and World Bank’s importance would have been decreased. But she could not do anything.⁵⁵ The most surprising thing was US position was rejected by her most important ally U.K.⁵⁶

AIIB is working as global entity in Asia. Asian Development Bank (ADB) which is backed by Japan and US is declining. According to a report AIIB has given more debt to Asian countries than IMF. While analyzing Copenhagen climate conference, it could be easily accessed that the power is shifting. European were almost ignored and United

States also was not any strong contributor. The decisions were taken by China, Brazil and India etc.⁵⁷ One, more sign could be seen as when French President Nicolous Sarkozy rang Chinese president Hu Jinto to help European Union to preserve importance of Euro, which in itself was a big indicator. A well-developed country is asking to help a relatively developing and poor country. Though the offer was declined but not on the basis that China could not help but on the expected fear of opposition of poor people of China who might think their money is being utilized to help rich people.⁵⁸

The importance of Renminbi is gradually increasing, many countries have started to use it as reserve currency including Malaysia, Japan and India. Basically, it is China who does not want to reduce the worth of dollar because there are Chinese reserves in dollar and with its decline, assets worth would also be reduced. But it is the plan of the Chinese government to build a hub in Shanghai in near future, where Renminbi will be used as convertible currency.⁵⁹ This will give benefit to whole Chinese business and dollar will lose its worth. Another indicator is an alliance of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa named BRICS. It is indirectly a sign which is countering NATO. It's a military alliance. Though there are differences in this alliance. Naturally India and Russia are rival of China but this could be an indicator at least that world is no more under the influence of US. And China's presence in this is a clear sign that it is to counter NATO.

One of biggest indicators of power is not what one country assumes himself but it's something that rivals and other countries perceive it. One of mathematical formula to measure state power in foreign policy given by Ray Cline's is "PP= (C+E+M) +) * (S+W)" Power Perceived is equal to Critical Mass (population and territory) + Economic Capability + Military Capability multiply by Strategic purpose and Will to pursue

national strategies. Which means if someone is perceived as a threat that means she has acquired that status. US's whole foreign policy is revolving around China. One of biggest factor of winning of Trump is his rhetoric against China. He stated in election campaign that "Chinese want to take your throat out, they want to cut you apart".⁶⁰ This also indicates how US public is against China. Soon after winning election Trump started an economic war with China called trade war. He also said this should have been many years ago. Due to these sanctions 20% profit of Apple Corporation has been reduced. Another company Boing has said China has to purchase 7000 airlines from US in two decades, which \$ 1.1 trillion.⁶¹

The US, a champion of capitalism and liberalism whose core principles are free markets, removal of trade barriers and enhancement of economic interdependence to remove state rivalries, has been failing to pursue these doctrines. Here it also seems that Marxist and Liberal ideas are failing as China and US are biggest markets for each other which make them interdependent but even then, power struggle is leading the US to counter China. It seems after Second World War again realism is being proved correct. The US president is not someone who follows orthodox or conservative ideology but he is one of the tycoons of the US who understands dynamics of business better. Thus, shows state is rational actor and it only thinks about its hegemony. US is not ready to accept China as regional power of Asia because in any future conflict there would be no threat to US in western hemisphere even then US is pursuing this policy.

The question we had raised at the start was whether China is going to be a super power or not? Is China still in process to become a world power? Legally or technically world power status is not some certificate, which will indicate the country is either a

super power or not. But basically, it is world order which is existing where there are institutions like UN, NATO, IMF, World Bank and WTO etc. which politically, economically and strategically control and manipulate world order. To answer above questions, we have to see whether China fits in that system or not. The absolute answer is, still not. US, and her allies are still controlling world order. But relatively speaking China is pushing this world order, which, briefly, we will discuss in Chapter 2.

Conclusion

China has already become rival super power in the eyes of the US. But it is debatable whether China will be sole super power after US. One school of thought believes it will change the shape of current world order.⁶² This argument is mainly supported by Martin Jacques Whereas Henry Kissinger believes that the world will be bi-polar, where China will dominate Asia and US western hemisphere in case of rivalry but both could enjoy equal status if they maturely decide the direction of world affairs. But there are other like Shashi Tharoor who believes that era of super power has already passed. We are in post-super power world where their world will be multi-polar. And who so dominates world, will not only be decided by economics or military but with the help of soft power.⁶³

While there is no doubt that China has risen and it will be regional power in Asia but it is not like southern hemisphere where there is no potential rival to US. Canada has everything a great power needs but she has lack of will power. Though Brazil has potential to emerge but it will take long time to become potential rival of US. Beside it there are no more big conflicts right now which could trigger war in the western hemisphere. The real potential always comes after hard push, when your limits are pushed that's why it is hard that one emerges in America as rival to US. But Asia is

different. There are various old and deep conflicts which are hard to resolve. Any one of them can trigger a war that's why struggle of dominance in various areas is a common phenomenon. India being a potential rival of China wants to become regional power in Asia, whereas China had already great influence in South Asia and is specially supporting India's enemy Pakistan, through CPEC with 46 billion dollars investment. China who wants to increase its strength in East Asia, where US has more influence than her and there is also her potential rival Japan, who is supported by US. China is also doing investment in Africa and Central Asia: the later being a sensitive point for Russia.

End Notes:

- ¹ Rasool Bux Paleejo, *Siyasi Adab Vol-2* (Hyderabad: CPSP, 2007), 35.
- ² Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order* (London: Penguin Books, 2012), 74.
- ³ Henry Kissinger, *On China* (London: Penguin, 2012), 4.
- ⁴ Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order*, 100-101.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, 102.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, 105.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, 106.
- ⁸ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991* (London: Abacus, 1995), 70.
- ⁹ Henry Kissinger, *On China*, 88.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 89.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 90.
- ¹² Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), 491.
- ¹³ Henry Kissinger, *On China*, 164.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 97.
- ¹⁵ Rasool Bux Paleejo, *Siyasi Adab Vol-2*, 132.
- ¹⁶ Henry Kissinger, *On China*, 193.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 195.
- ¹⁸ Dimitri Volkogonov, *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Empire: Political Leaders from Lenin to Gorbachev*, (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1999), 207.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 91.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 134.
- ²¹ Henry Kissinger, *On China*, 113.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 166.
- ²³ Dimitri Volkogonov, *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Empire: Political Leaders from Lenin to Gorbachev*, 230.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 233.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷ Henry Kissinger, *On China*, 214.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 89.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, 153.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, 158.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, 206.
- ³² *Ibid.*, 210.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, 201.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, 202.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, 224.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, 239.
- ³⁷ Abdul Sattar, *Pakistans Foreign Policy: 1947-2016; A Concise History*. Fourth Edition. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2017), 132.
- ³⁸ Robert Victor Jackson, *South Asian Crisis: India, Pakistan and Bangladesh; A Political and Historical Analysis of the 1971 War*, 71.
- ³⁹ Henry Kissinger, *On China*, 262-64.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 267-68.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 298.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, 330.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, 328.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 329.
- ⁴⁵ Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order*, 177.

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- ⁴⁶ Henry Kissinger, *On China*, 407.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 440.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 442.
- ⁴⁹ Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order*, 624.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 585.
- ⁵¹ Peter Frankopan, *The New Silk Roads: The Present and Future of the World*, (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2018), 148.
- ⁵² Tom Miller, *China's Asian Dream: Empire Building along the New Silk Road*, (London: Zed Books, 2017), 21.
- ⁵³ Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order*, 590.
- ⁵⁴ Tom Miller, *China's Asian Dream: Empire Building along the New Silk Road*, 14.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 21-23.
- ⁵⁶ Kishore Mahbubani, "What Happens When China Becomes Number One?" (video of lecture, Harvard University, April 9, 2015), accessed April 19, 2019, <https://youtu.be/bVklqC3p0Og?t=2063>.
- ⁵⁷ Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order*, 605.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 608.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 601-603.
- ⁶⁰ Peter Frankopan, *The New Silk Roads: The Present and Future of the World*, 152.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 171.
- ⁶² Martin Jacques, "Understanding the rise of China" (TED Talks, Jan 25, 2011), accessed April 19, 2019, <https://youtu.be/imhUmLtlZpw?t=32>.
- ⁶³ Shashi Tharoor, "Martin Jacques and Shashi Tharoor discuss China and India" (Debate, Martin Jacques, May 5, 2016), accessed April 19, 2019, <https://youtu.be/2AGjwTRX5KQ?t=3151>.

Chapter 2

Impacts of the Rise of China

Introduction

There are different responses to the rise of China. Some believe it will not rise to become the sole super power and its rapid rise would come to a sudden failure. Another view is that the rise of China is an ordinary phenomenon in this cyclic structure of rise and fall. There are countries, who once were powerful and declined. China is no exception. Her rise will not lead to a new world order or globalization but China will adopt many existing norms while also introducing some new trends. This school thinks that modernization could be seen as a sign of westernization while others believe China's rise is going to change whole world order and globalization.

In history different ideas had defined the conduct of nations. In the 6th century, it was religious spirit which inspired the Arabs to rule the world. They believed, Islam as a religion must reach to all other parts of world. In the 1800s, there were principles of enlightenment which triggered Napoleonic wars, where France believed these ideas of French revolution were important and should reach to all over Europe. So, the urge to spread ideas by the French and the fear of those ideas by other countries compelled one to behave aggressively and others to resist with force. In the 19th century, nationalism compelled Bismarck to unite Germany¹ and Mazzini and Count Cavour to unite Italy² and behave as world's great nations. During the cold war, communism and liberal democracy which forced US and USSR to confront each other for hegemony in the world order.

Now, in the 21st century, the idea of the rejuvenation of the Chinese civilization, which is different and to some extent opposite to existing modern culture, has compelled Chinese authorities under Xi Jinping to behave aggressively and thus compelled US to resist it. In 2014 while describing the goals of Chinese people in a speech he said, “Chinese people are striving to fulfil the Chinese dreams of great renewal of the Chinese nation. Chinese dream is the prosperity of the country, the rejuvenation of the nation and the happiness of the people. It reflects both ideals of Chinese people today and our time and tradition to seek constant progress. The Chinese dream will be realized to balance development and mutual reinforcement of material and cultural progress.”³

Democracy

It is surprising that being a communist country, China is not exporting communism or if she intends to do, nobody is now concerned with it because in 21st century there is no place of communism as an international ideology. The only concern is the rule of the communist party and ensuring that China does not become a democracy. Some school of thoughts believe that China will ultimately acquire democracy and she must do it for the betterment of their people and world while others argue differently. Professor of Singapore University, Kishore Mahbubani, in one of his talks in Ottawa University said that Communist Party of China’s rule is good for China as well as for the rest of world because democratic China will be more dangerous as there is a huge population and element of superiority among Hans is highly racist. That’s why democratic China will be more aggressive and out of control. And CCP is managing control over this.⁴

Zhang Weiwei, a Chinese scholar, argues that western democracy failed in China between 1911 and 1949 but the end result was only chaos, disintegration and civil war for

many years. Besides China has done better than western democracy and these political systems are meant to serve the people they are not ends in themselves. There is meritocracy in China which means selection on the basis of merit. To be a member of China's standing committee which has only seven members and is the highest governing body of China, one has to get experience of serving a province for twice and have to run it successfully. And many of the provinces are bigger than European countries. One person's medicine could be poison for another. Similarly, democracy could be good for the west but not for China.

On the other hand, Martin Jacques believes that democracy is not central to modernity. It's only one feature of it. Further, he argues that when there was an industrial revolution in Europe, no country was democratic. While comparing democratic India and authoritarian China he argues that in 1950 when both countries newly emerged as independent countries, both had the same GDP. But today China has four-five times bigger economy than India.⁵ He also gave references of many polls where it is declared that Chinese public is happy with state authorities. "According to a survey conducted by Tony Saich of Harvard's Kennedy School, in 2009 no less than 95.9 percent of Chinese were either relatively or extremely satisfied with the central government."⁶ Otherwise government would not have such leverage to exercise such vast plans like BRI.

Chinese state has a parental relation with her society. They consider state as head of family. Therefore, it enjoys more legitimacy than any western state.⁷ And Chinese family institution is different than west. In China elders are concerned about their kids and there is strong check and balance of children by elders. That's why education ratio of China is higher than US. Because in US due to liberal norms kids are free to do whatever they like, there is no any restriction by parents even if they try to do, it is illegal

constitutionally. So, when there is freedom there is space of anarchy, misdeeds and failures. Contrary to this there are less possibilities of these acts in China. Likewise, China having parental relations with public, though have authority over them but at end result it is beneficial for society. Chinese state is more sensitive about public opinion than any other country.

Neo-Colonialism

The exploitation of the weak by the strong is as old as history. Throughout history, whoever had been in power, took benefit of their privileged position and exploited the weakness of others. Domestication of animal and making slave to women was an experience through which men learnt to take benefit from his physical power and mental sharpness. This way, the two classes: master and slave took place and then feudal and peasant and later proletariat and capitalist.

China's rise has again raised this question about whether China could and would colonize the developing world or not? Some argue, that China, throughout history, has never remained as colonial power. Instead, she had been colonized. So, she feels the pain of weak states. But here the question arises whether the US was not colonized and later became colonizer? And this is also questionable that whether China remained colonizer throughout history or not? Martin Jacques and Henry Kissinger has written that instead of colonies, China had tributary states where neighbors had to acknowledge suzerainty of the Middle Kingdom. Though it is not possible in the 21st century that head of states go to Beijing and kiss the hand of general secretary of CCP but instead tributary states will be under influence of China. They will oblige Chinese norms, culture and follow their foreign policy.⁸

Jacques also mentions that if China followed old tradition of tributary state on global scale, certainly, Us, India and Europe would not be in this category. The possible countries will be the Africa, Central Asia, South Asia, New Zealand, Australia, Latin America, South and Eastern Europe. But he believes neighbor states of East Asia are more likely to be candidates of this system. China believes they were her tributary states in past so they could be under her influence in the future.⁹

Now here, first let me elaborate that Chinese Neo-Colonialism would be for new economic world order and the mean to achieve the goal would be financial trade and debt. But whether it would be successful or not is a different question. Japan is a potential rival of China and it has its own unique culture as well as following western model. Central Asia is under influence of Russia, where Putin is trying to make greater Russia. Belarus has agreed to join Russia, Ukraine is being merged with Russia.¹⁰ These countries are also against China. There is common saying in Central Asia that “In 2030 we will wake up and find ourselves speaking Chinese.”¹¹ African countries have also lot of grievances against Chinese. “The evidence of growing Chinese presence is everywhere: Chinese stallholders in Zambia, Chinese lumberjacks in the Central African Republic, Chinese tourists in Zimbabwe, Chinese newspapers in South Africa, Chinese geologists in Sudan, and Chinese channels on African satellite television.”¹²

In 2005, Moeletsi Mbeki, deputy chairman of the South African institute of international affairs, said that the relationship of Africa with China is not good as Africa sells raw material to China, which in return sell manufactured things, and this is a sign of colonialism. China is using reserved resources of Africa which could be useful for African industrialization later.¹³ President of Zambia Michael Sata fought 2006 elections

on anti-Chinese rhetoric like Trump. He said, "Zambia is becoming a province – no, a district - of China."¹⁴

In South Asia, Sri Lanka has also become Anti-China, her new government is pro India. One of biggest reason of downfall of President Mahinda Rajapaksa was his "allegedly corrupt relation with China."¹⁵ Modi was invited as first prime minister to address parliament since 1987 by new government.¹⁶ Sri Lankan sea port, Hambantota has become one of the biggest reason for criticism against China in world.¹⁷ Sri Lanka has also given airport of Hambantota to Indian government on lease, which will help them to counter Hambantota seaport controlled by Chinese.¹⁸ Among East Asian countries, Vietnamese people hate China. Malaysians have recently suspended most deals with China.¹⁹

But China has also become successful in debt trap famous as China's creditor imperialism. Unlike IMF and World Bank Chinese loans are easy because they see short term goals as current economic growth, whether that investment would be useful or could generate revenue or not, but China seeks long term goals such as natural assets, for instance they gave loan to Sri Lanka for Hambantota port which could not generate revenue, but China asked Sri Lankan government "it's fine, give this port to us for lease of 99 years" which is almost for a life. This way it is annexing territories.²⁰

For this China has created several banks, such as AIIB, with investment of 100 billion and expected target is 800 Billion. NDB, it is made along with BRICS countries. In Africa, China has agreed to give 2 billion to African development bank. Recently China has joined EBRD, which is for development of Eastern European countries. China has also become 48th member of Inter-American development bank for Latin American

countries and contributed 350 million dollars.²¹ China is providing huge loans for project under BRI without transparency which is difficult for world to absorb. Details of BRI would be in next chapter. Us Secretary Rex Tillerson's comment in this regard is notable. He concluded: "China is aiming to define its own rules and norms."²²

Chinese Racism

China's behavior towards race is too different, unique in nature, sensitive and dangerous for world. This could resemble with Nazi Germany. Hitler gave the concept that German race is superior. He believed that history is struggle between races, contrary to Marx and Hegel, among former believed its struggle between classes, and later conflict between ideas. He said there are two categories of races, one is Aryan and other is non-Aryan. Aryan is superior race; they have contributed in human civilization remarkably and non-Aryans have not. Germans are pure race among Aryans. English, French and Italian are also Aryan but they are not pure. That's why Germans are legitimized to lead all Aryans. Germans have destiny to run the world and make sure all Aryans come under single rule. They also need land for space to live freely. Other races which are weak must be eliminated. This was pure blood theory of Hitler which triggered WWII.

Although in case of China, situation is not like Germany. No Chinese leader has previously claimed such thing but few aspects are worst here. In case of China, notion of superiority is among Chinese public and state is controlling it. In case if Chinese state followed public ambitions, result could be devastating. Chinese do not only believe that they are different culturally and socially, which is a common definition of any nation or ethnicity, but they also believe they are different biologically than rest of the humans. To

support this, they have come up with a research, which concluded that Chinese do not belong to same species as other humans:

In 2008, an important discovery was made of skull fossils of a hominid-Xuchang Man- at the Xuchang site in Henan province, which was believed to date back 80,000-100,000 years. An article in the China Daily claimed that “the discovery at Xuchang supports theory that modern Chinese man originated in what is present-day Chinese territory rather than Africa.”²³

They do not believe that Chinese have migrated from Africa like all other humans and they are not decedent of those Homo sapiens but their evolution has taken place separately in China. As some evolutionist believe that evolution has taken place differently in China. Like Japanese they believe “in polygenism and holds that origins of the Chinese civilization are discrete and unconnected with that of other branches of human-kind. In other words, the notion of China and Chinese civilization is bolstered by a widespread belief that the difference between the Chinese and other people is not simply cultural or historical but also biological.”²⁴

What matters here, is not the actual fact about whether Chinese are separate biological entity or not but what the Chinese believe. Han is the biggest race of world. Generally Chinese are 1.2 billion but they have not diversity like India, US and Brazil and 90% of Chinese are Han. They don't even assume minorities as separate race, they accept them as separate nation but not a separate race. To some extent historically these all East Asian countries belong to same ethnicity so there could be trouble for those people. But fortunately, unlike European or particularly German belief to reunite their race/nation.

Planned migrations are always dangerous for local inhabitants so this could leave a huge impact on neighboring countries of China. Beside it, Chinese not only consider

themselves superior but they also hate others. Usually it is assumed that racism is a western phenomenon against blacks but in actual it is a universal phenomenon. No race has been escaped from this, even not those who had suffered from this notion.²⁵ Although Chinese had suffered racial discrimination at the hands of the Japanese. But even they are not exempted from it

Today in China, situation is worse than white racism because in west white racism is being discussed, appreciated, negated, and condemned whatever end result is. But in China, it is not even discussed as it is assumed as an established notion in discourse which is more dangerous than white one. Sun Yat-sen declared yellow and white races as superior and talked about their clash. He wrote:

Mankind is divided into five races. The yellow and white races are relatively strong and intelligent. Because the other races are feeble and stupid, they are being exterminated by white race. Only the yellow race competes with white race. This is so-called evolution...among the contemporary races that could be called superior, there are only the yellow and white races. China belongs to the yellow races.²⁶

Chinese behavior towards Africans and South Asians is so discriminatory. They even do not share seat in public transport with them. In Hong Kong they are not given flats on rent. They have been rejected for jobs in Hong Kong due to their ethnicity. Police also used to discriminate them. Even in hospitals they are treated discriminately.²⁷ One black girl was even not served by Chinese waiters due to her color. She was called by her colleagues as stupid.²⁸ In 1988, while a conflict between Chinese and African students in Heihai University in Nanjing, 3000 Chinese students marched in protest against Africans and in compulsion government sent them to their home countries because government was unable to protect them.²⁹ This is the condition in authoritarian China, what would be situation when there would be democratic regime. One can imagine.

Chinese are in two extremes, due to rule of 2000 years, they have superiority complex but along with humiliation of 100 years, they are affected by inferiority complex. Backward and poor Chinese are different but rich and powerful Chinese will be totally different and dangerous, argues Martin. This whole scenario tells us how identical driven are Chinese and this will leave a huge impact on small and weak neighbors.

Culture

Whether China will adopt culture of west or it will export her own culture? And if she exports her own culture how would world respond? Many believe that China is becoming like western while adopting notions of modernity but this analysis is challenged by other school of thought. Big buildings, automatic vehicles and Coat-Pant are not signing of substantive westernization. There is difference between westernization and modernity, argues Martin Jacque. He believes China for sure will become modern but will not adopt western norms. Furthermore, he insists China is not going to follow western culture but her unique culture is going to affect whole world. He writes:

As China draws countries and continents into its web, as is happening already with Africa, for example, they will not simply be economic supplicants of a hugely powerful China but also occupy a position of cultural and ethnic inferiority, or subordination, in an increasingly influential Chinese-ordered global hierarchy.³⁰

I don't agree that modernization and westernization are two different things. Western is just a term to appreciate contribution of west as physics laws are named upon Newton. As in this modern world, so much is contributed by west from pen to aero plane, majority of things surrounded by us are manifestation of west. But current modern world is basically contribution of whole human kind since his evolution. So, whatever world we have now is result of collective efforts, all positive elements produced by all old

civilizations are also adopted in this modernity. But no doubt more than 90% things used in our daily life are produced by western world that's why we call modernity as westernization.

Moreover, in this modern world things have become too mingled that we cannot differentiate what elements of modernity belong to west and what belong to other parts of world because West has developed versions of other models that's why they are also considered as part of west. For example, the monitor system in schools of west was basically adopted from Hindustani education system. Golf, a modern game specially played in west, is developed version of Chinese game,³¹ which was known in China as "chiwan, or hit ball."³² Similarly, football is not invention of England but it was also played in China first. "According to FIFA, the international body that governs the sport, football is first attested in Han-dynasty China (206 BC-AD 220), where a game that evolved players kicking a leather ball filled with feathers into a net held up by two bamboo rods was known as chju."³³ Thoughts of Ibn Khaldun can be traced in western thinker's works. Christianity is also not western product. But west is stuck with it. And it is essential ingredient of western civilization. Similarly, mysticism is also eastern product but it is widely accepted by west.

There are multiple examples of different contributions of different regions in this current western culture but the only difference is those all are polished and nurtured by the West as per requirement of modernity. So, the West and modernity are almost synonyms to each other, this can be questioned that what we call the western culture is only contribution of the West or not? The absolute answer is Big No! Moreover, this culture is so powerful that it has potential to absorb all things in it and good features of



China will be absorbed as well. So, this process of modernization cannot be reversed just because China is becoming economic super power. Beside it, China is too unique in her features so it is possible that world may adopt her few features but it's not possible that all norms of today are going to be replaced by her.

Language

Language is an important feature of soft power. Rising powers also try to make hegemony of their language. China is also trying to do the same. It is sponsoring Mandarin language, currently it is No:1 language in term of speakers in world. But China is also promoting her to become important foreign language. China has opened huge number of institutes to teach Mandarin language in overseas. In 2006 while a survey in US, 2400 schools said we would teach Mandarin if sources were available. In Chicago only, 20000 school students are learning Mandarin. In US only, 1600 public and private schools teach mandarin language. In US, 27500 schools teach one foreign language, * where Mandarin's ratio has been increased from 1% to 4% between 1997 and 2008. UK also offers almost same picture. "With only 2233 entries for GCSE in 2000, and 3726 in 2004."³⁴ David crystal writes, if in middle ages any one had assumed that Latin would not be a language of education in future, this would have been considered irrational. Similarly, today it can be assumed for English but it can also be changed like Latin, Martin Jacque suggests.³⁵

He writes that with decline of US as global power there would be decline of English as an international language. I think he is undermining that now a days English is source of globalization whether US remain powerful or not, English has become integral part of every modern feature like technology, modern education etc. He is right when he

suggests that global use of language is assigned with the power and reach of nation state but once any language is adopted, it is difficult to replace it now a days unlike past when direct colonization was possible and world was too remote. Now a days English may be replaced in some areas of Africa and Latin America but no language can give tough time to English overall as foreign language, because it has also become part of other languages as well. And I am afraid everything we see in our surrounding is invented by west and has an English name, even we don't have names for them in local languages such as Air condition, Bus, Car etc.

Education

Chinese universities still are not of such a caliber so that they can create world leadership, although they are getting better. "In the Times Higher Education World Universities Rankings for 2010, US universities accounted for seven of the top ten and UK three. In the top 30, there were three Asian universities, with Hong Kong University 21st, Tokyo University 26th, and Pohang University of Science and Technology of China 28th. There were six Chinese universities in top 200, with Peking Universities 37th, University of Science and Technology of China 49th, Tsinghua University 58th, Nanjing University 120th, Sun Yat-sen University 171st, and Zhejiang University 197th."³⁶

Medicine

Although Chinese medicine which has no potential to become rival of allopathy, is practiced in China frequently. Chinese medicine is essential part in every Chinese hospital along with western medicine. Usually Chinese medicine is given to patients with combination of western medicine. There are lot of medical practices used worldwide such

as homeopathy, Ayurveda etc. but today medical issues are too complicated such as side effects of electro waves which cannot be simply treated with herbal products. According to international medical protocols medical officer's, simply known as a doctor, job is to diagnose the disease which he even does with the help of labs or with the help of fellow doctors, such as radiologist, ecologist etc. prescription of medication is authorized to pharmacists. Contrary to Pakistan where medical officer does everything. So, medicine is a complex subject. It is beyond the access of Chinese herbal medicine. There is no chance for China to create their medical department as distinguished and rival to allopathic.

Soft Power

Soft power is something which can be promoted by economical advantage, says Martin. He argues China is investing in film industry, sports and in short span of time chop and stick would be fashion instead of fork and knife. It is fact that Jacky Chen as a hero of Hong Kong film industry and Kung Fu as a sport are Chinese products, which enjoy a lot of privilege in west. But I believe these have also become part of western modernity. There is no point in using them as unique features of Chinese civilization but it is true that China is developing its interest in soft power. "In 2010, Sotheby's international head of Chinese ceramics and works of art said that in the previous five years, the number of mainland clients had increased at least threefold and price had tripled or quadrupled. These changes reflect the growing global influence of Chinese art and artists."³⁷

China also won 32 gold medals in Olympics held at Athens in 2004 though behind the US but ahead of Russia.³⁸ But still China is of no match to west in soft power.

One, because of its quality, second because the image of China is not of developed country, still it is perceived as developing country.

Conclusion

No doubt China is rapidly growing economically for almost three decades and now she is going to be no: 1 in economic terms. The policy of Deng to remain passive in international affairs, which China had been adopting for long, has been abandoned by the leadership of Xi Jinping. As usual rise of China will bring some new trends in social, economic and political system but it seems those might be absorbed in current existing norms. The arguments: China's rise would bring dramatic changes especially in cultural terms, does not look like to happen because China has no special feature to introduce that can be accepted by world. Much of China's culture and philosophy emphasize its uniqueness, not its universality.

This is not the time, when super powers used to dictate other countries regarding development. In 21st century, no country would be allowed to fall in trap of any super power. Until existing powers and other emerging rivalry powers like India, are completely defeated, which is not likely to happen due to economic interdependence and nuclear deterrence. And now a day's conventional battles would not be decisive to a level where a country can dominate or dictate others. The only way now a days to leave a huge impact on globalization is technology and soft power.

End Notes:

- ¹ Gurav Garg, "Unification of Germany" (video lecture, Study IQ Education, Jan 16, 2017), accessed May 1, 2019, <https://youtu.be/OC1-N5d8Pw0>.
- ² Mahipal Singh, "Unification of Italy" (video lecture, Study IQ Education, Jul 19, 2017), accessed May 1, 2019, <https://youtu.be/RnTuf9DZMZA?t=22>.
- ³ Kishore Mahbubani, "What Happens When China Becomes Number One?" (video of lecture, Harvard University, April 9, 2015), accessed April 19, 2019, <https://youtu.be/bVklqC3p0Og>.
- ⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵ Martin Jacques, "Western liberal democracy would be wrong for China"
- ⁶ Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order* (London: Penguin Books, 2012), 617.
- ⁷ Martin Jacques, "Understanding the rise of China" (TED Talks, Jan 25, 2011), accessed April 19, 2019, <https://youtu.be/imhUmLtlZpw?t=32>.
- ⁸ Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order*, 568.
- ⁹ Ibid., 568-69.
- ¹⁰ Prashant Dhawan, "Greater Russia - Will Belarus Merge with Russia?" (video lecture, Study IQ Education, Feb 23, 2019), accessed May 1, 2019, <https://youtu.be/9zbbJWnoq3A?t=5>.
- ¹¹ Tom Miller, *China's Asian Dream: Empire Building along the New Silk Road*, (London: Zed Books, 2017), 51.
- ¹² Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order*, 422.
- ¹³ Ibid., 428.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., 29.
- ¹⁵ Tom Miller, *China's Asian Dream: Empire Building along the New Silk Road*, 121.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., 120.
- ¹⁷ Prashant Dhawan, "China's Debt Trap diplomacy, How China uses money to control and colonise countries?" (video lecture, Study IQ Education, Dec 28, 2017), accessed May 25, 2019, <https://youtu.be/V4hUg2A5D4U?t=8>.
- ¹⁸ Prashant Dhawan, "India Buys 'World's Emptiest Airport - Hambantota Airport" (video lecture, Study IQ Education, Jul 7, 2018), accessed May 25, 2019, <https://youtu.be/fMM1C2LXy3w?t=20>.
- ¹⁹ Prashant Dhawan, "Malaysia to Cancel \$20 Billion China Backed Project" (video lecture, Study IQ Education, Jan 27, 2019), accessed May 25, 2019, <https://youtu.be/WzCLSahz-LU?t=122>.
- ²⁰ Prashant Dhawan, "China's Debt Trap diplomacy, How China uses money to control and colonise countries?"
- ²¹ Ibid.
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order*, 298-99.
- ²⁴ Ibid., 569.
- ²⁵ Ibid., 308.
- ²⁶ Ibid., 314.
- ²⁷ Ibid., 324.
- ²⁸ Ibid., 326.
- ²⁹ Ibid., 327.
- ³⁰ Ibid., 341.
- ³¹ Martin Jacques, "Understanding the rise of China"
- ³² Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order*, 504.
- ³³ Peter Frankopan, *The New Silk Roads: The Present and Future of the World*, (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2018), 22.
- ³⁴ Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order*, 545.

³⁵ Ibid., 546.

³⁶ Ibid., 546-47.

³⁷ Ibid., 551.

³⁸ Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order*, 552.

Chapter 3

Belt and Road Initiative: Challenges and Responses

Introduction

After the financial crisis of 2007/2008, US economic decline has become an open secret. China which was reluctant to behave aggressively has opened her wings especially under President XI Jinping. Although rise of China had already created discontent in the West, after this economic crisis it started to perceive China as a threat and potential rival. Not only, did the West feel China as a threat, but China also abandoned her passive foreign policy, which was designed by Deng Xiaoping. The leadership of China under XI Jinping is proactive and has got attention worldwide. The idea of rejuvenation by China is perceived as a threat to existing values of the West, and its proactive foreign policy as a threat to global world order.

In 2014, while describing the goals of Chinese people in a speech Xi said:

Chinese people are striving to fulfil the Chinese dreams of great renewal of Chinese nation. Chinese dream is prosperity of country, the rejuvenation of nation and the happiness of the people. It reflects both ideals of Chinese people today and our time and tradition to seek constant progress. The Chinese dream will be realized to balance development and mutual reinforcement of material and cultural progress.¹

The close concept related to his idea is “twin centenary goals.” The two deadlines have been proposed in this regard 2021 as Golden Jubilee of CCP and in 2049 as Golden Jubilee of PRC. There are few main targets to achieve till 2021 as China wants to double its per capita income from US\$6000 to US\$12000, switch from coal to clean energies,

build an air craft carrier, a space station and to become internet power, while the target for 2049 is, to surpass US and become world's largest economy.²

There are lot of signs which could be considered as manifestation of China's rise and its efforts to become as dominant global power such as China's debt trap diplomacy a New Creditor Imperialism. It is investing money in different banks which are for the development of developing countries. As AIIB is established by China and she has invested 100 billion dollars in it.³ It is aimed to fund the infrastructure needs of the countries in Asia, which ADB notices that there is \$ 800 billion infrastructure funding gap in the region.⁴ It headquarter is in Beijing and China has veto power in decision-making. Beside it, New Development Bank (NDB), which is the outcome of the Fortaleza declaration of the BRICS countries, is made to "mobilize resources for infrastructure and sustainable development projects."⁵ It headquarter is in Shanghai, China. Its authorized capital is 100 billion, with initial subscription capital of 50\$billion equally contributed by the five members, (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa). New countries can join it but share of current nations would be 55%. It is also seen as brother organization of AIIB.⁶

Inter-American Development Bank was established in 1959, for financing development projects in Latin America and China has also joined it as 48th member having contributed \$ 350 million. It has also agreed to give loan of \$ 2 billion to African Development Bank as part of Africa Growing Together Fund.⁷ Moreover it has recently joined European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). "China's Debt to GDP ratio reached 257 % in 2017 and the IMF anticipates that by 2020 China's domestic credit to GDP ratio will rise to 300%."⁸ This way it is providing huge loans to developing

countries. Unlike World Bank and IMF, her loans are easy, because they don't see whether that country could afford such loan or not, but instead they look at their assets. So, China is more interested in grabbing land, ports, islands etc. The famous example is Hambantota port of Sri Lanka. When the government of Sri Lanka was unable to pay back loans, China asked them to give that port for lease of 99 years. This happened because while granting loans, China did not see whether project for which loans are taken would be productive or not as the IMF and World Bank do often.

Besides this, China is also making a grand project: Belt and Road Initiative. China is making infrastructure and developing Sea Ports, Airports, Islands etc., for economic as well as strategic purpose under this project. China is giving her 100% to make it successful, this project is called by president Xi as "project of the century" and if it becomes successful nobody is going to come in the way of China to become No 1. Under this grand project almost 8 economic corridors are being proposed, among them one of crucial project is CPEC, which is between China and her most important ally Pakistan. So, for both countries it is essential to make it successful as symbol of BRI's success. This grand project is mainly sponsored by AIIB, which is considered as rival of ADB and World Bank.⁹

Belt and Road Initiative

Usually it is assumed that this project is the brain-child of Xi Jinping and is sign of his aggressive foreign policy but long before him many projects were under way as "Eurasian land bridge." No doubt, he has initiated this project in a systematic way and all projects which were already in progress, are brought under this project. But it is portrayed by Communist Party of China that it's key feature of Xi's Asian Dream.¹⁰ This project is

called by Chinese as revival of ancient silk route which was developed in 5th century B.C and connected China with Europe by road and sea. The goods were exported from China via India and Middle East to Rome. The silk was sent in excess, so traders and people started calling it, "Silk Road" but as technology developed, big ships were constructed and the usage of sea route went more common than land route. The ships used to travel via Red sea to Egypt and then after land route again through Mediterranean Sea.¹¹

The effort to construct this same route in a new way is called One Belt One Road or Belt and Road Initiative. The new peripheral policy of Xi also known as its neighboring policy "is the construction of a networks of roads, highways and proposed railway and pipelines. The ultimate object is to connect China with Europe up to Baltic Sea, with all central Asian states, with Pakistan, with South East Asian states, with North East Asian countries, Russia and even beyond to make this connectivity, China has proposed revival of ancient silk route."¹²

There are two parts of this project, one is named as Silk Road Economic Belt (S.R.E.B) – a land route through central Asia it is based over land, which Xi proposed to build in a speech in Kazakhstan in 2013, and after a month in Indonesia he proposed second part 21st Century Maritime Silk Road (M.S.R) - "a web of sea lanes through the South China Sea and Indian Ocean."¹³ Though there is word, road but it is based on Sea. This project was first named as One Belt One Road and later dubbed as Belt and Road Initiative to make it more attractive.

This is second big overseas investment project after "Go Out" policy launched in 1999 by Jiang Zemin. BRI is an ongoing project, 68 countries have joined this initiative and all these countries control 40 percent of world GDP worth as 21 trillion dollars.¹⁴ The

expected expenses of this project are 8 trillion dollars. New Silk Road Economic Belt connects Xian province of China to Venice city of Italy. It will cross from Xian via Urumqi city of China, Istanbul and Moscow to Venice. And Maritime Silk Road connects Fusan city of China to Venice via Kuala Lumpur Malaysia and Nairobi- Kenya. The former connects Asia to Europe only, while later also connects Africa as well.¹⁵

Usually it is assumed this project only includes roads but in actual it consists of many other projects as well, such as Gas pipelines, Oil pipelines, Sea Ports, Airports, Railway networks etc. The land “belt” runs from China through South and Central Asia into Europe. While the Maritime “road” connects coastal Chinese cities with Africa and Mediterranean. The key projects of BRI include 12,000 km railway track which connects London and Xiwu city of China. And another project is highway under CPEC which connects Kashgar city of Xing Jiang province China to Gwadar city of Baluchistan, Pakistan. And a Pipeline from Turkmenistan to China which will eventually pump 55 billion cubic meters of gas per year to Shanghai.¹⁶

Infrastructure is just a part of BRI to start the projects, which China is building on its own, while seaports are main projects which could also be used for strategic purposes as well. Some of these are Gwadar port in Pakistan, Chittagong in Bangladesh, Sittewe in Myanmar and Hambantota port in Sri Lanka. There are also different railway lines such as one which connects China to Russia, and then while crossing Poland and Germany will reach till Spain. Another railway line which is proposed under BRI will connect China with Tehran, others connect to Myanmar and Bangladesh. In this regard few Trains are already working. One of them is connecting China with Germany. It has been working before OBOR for 7-8 years. It takes 12-13 days to reach Duisburg city of

Germany from China. Another one which is running from North China to Madrid City of Spain started under OBOR. It also takes 13-14 days to reach Madrid from China. These trains are efficient than ships. It is nominal because goods are not shifted from containers to one ship then others. Trains are also fast than ships so they also save time. Thus, the journey, which was completed in 35-36 days in ships, now it is being completed in 13-14 days in trains. Through this, China is exporting cheap electronic devices like laptops, mobiles etc. in market of Europe so China's products have flooded European markets. Another train which has been started under OBOR connects China with Tehran.¹⁷

Why China wants BRI?

The basic aim of this project is connectivity and cooperation between China and Euro-Asia along with Middle East, Africa, Central Asia and Europe. This project also aims to help land lock countries to connect with world. Beside this it "plans to improve connectivity and create new trade routes on land and sea, it called for greater financial cooperation and integration of cross-border markets, proposing an increased use of Renminbi for trade settlement"¹⁸ which will help Renminbi to replace dollar as international trade currency. China needs this project for multiple reason. As China needs energy reserves of gas and oil because it is a fast-growing economy there is huge population of almost 1.4 Billion. So, China's energy needs are increasing day by day due to its fast-growing industrialization. Due to this China needs gas reserve of Central Asia and gas and oil of Russia, without this Chinese need would not be fulfilled. For this China has also signed agreements with Russia to buy its oil.¹⁹ So through new proposed gas and oil pipelines this need would be meet. There is also regional disparity in many regions of China. South and Eastern China are lagging behind from Western China.

Former regions are less developed with high poverty ratio. The land route projects connect East China to Europe and Sea route connects China to rest of the world. Thus, both regions would be developed due to these projects.²⁰

There is manufacturing boom in China currently. Made in China products have captured world market. China is manufacturing a lot of products but to sale these products for a long time is unsustainable. Because world economy would be collapsed one day or there would be economic depression so there would be reduction in consumption of these products. So Due to these conditions China is feeling difficulty to sale its products in such conditions China would get difficulty in selling its products and domestic consumption of China is not as much as production. So, China wants alternative markets for which it is going to those areas which are under development or where other countries have not tapped yet like Middle East, Africa and Central Asia. The economy of these countries is still less developed and use of consumer products is low. China through OROB wants to increase her access over there. So, as China captured markets of South Asia and western countries, and made in China products dominated there, same will happen in these regions as well. This project would benefit trade economy of China because economic cooperation would be enhanced due to infrastructure connectivity.²¹

Moreover, China wants to utilize its foreign exchange reserves which were worth as US\$3 trillion in 2016.²² Bear in mind that the worth of US dollar is still maintained on the reserves of dollars which China has bought, so right now she can't pull her assets because with that the value of dollar would be decreased and with that the value of Chinese foreign reserves as well. So, China is proposing to invest that money gradually in BRI, with this her assets would be productive.

China also claims that they are doing this due to cultural heritage. They want to revive their old silk route and this way this would be also cultural rejuvenation. Because men to men contact would be increased. Standardize and link trade facilities is also a goal of this project. This means for example trains which are running in China are on broader gauge, whereas trains in Central Asia are on meter gauge, so in this condition one train from China could not reach to Russia via Kazakhstan. So, under OBOR all trains would be on same broader gauge and then can easily go from China via Central Asia to Russia and Europe. This way all procedures would be standardize. This also happens in shipping. If there is a big ship, it can't stop on small ports because there are not all facilities to unload goods. They don't have such capacities. So, China through this initiative will develop such capacities in all proposed ports. This way all trading facilities would be standardize and linked to each other. Thus, the same ship which starts from one place will reach to its final destination. It can give consignment to those areas which come in route. There would be no need of changing the ships. Financial integration which means China is thinking to develop one economic zone of East Asia and Central Asia like EU. Although this is a futuristic plan which can take 50-70 years but this is also considerable agenda under this project.²³

Global dominance is also an unmentioned motive of China. If such kind of projects go successful, China will counter Europe and US. It would dominate economic world order. Beside this, the partner countries who would get benefit from this project, will be on board with China in international affairs. This way China's foreign policy would be dominating. Moreover, China's this project will also counter US's TPP project

as Xi proposed his “idea of a Free Trade for Asia-Pacific----- essentially a more inclusive version of the Trans-Pacific Partnership.”²⁴

Resources: From where will the money come?

To complete this project, China has made AIIB which will finance these infrastructural projects. Besides this, China Development Bank (CDB) will also contribute in these projects. On the other hand, a special fund of \$ 40 billion is kept in the name of Silk Fund. Moreover, there would be deals with partner countries who are part of these projects. Under those deals China would develop infrastructure of those countries and in return Chinese companies will be allowed to operate these projects for specific time period. Till now almost \$ 160 billion dollars for project has been approved and the total estimated amount is 8 trillion dollars which will be needed till the project is finalized but there is no specific time, it is an ongoing project, it can take twenty to thirty years and more amount could be invested.²⁵

China Pakistan Economic Corridor

This project is important in a sense that among 8 corridors this is only project which connects two countries China and Pakistan. Otherwise all the remaining corridors connect more than two countries and in some cases two continents.²⁶ The basic idea of CPEC is to connect Gwadar port of Pakistan to Kashgar region of China. It would not only be a highway but there would be different infrastructures as per requirement like Railway network, airport etc. collectively all these projects are called CPEC. Because it would not be possible to construct roads everywhere. So where, it'll be possible, would be constructed, but where roads would not be possible, railways or airports would be built

there. The cost of project is \$ 46 billion and consisted on 3000 km from Gwadar to Kashgar. This project will short the route of China from 12,000 km to 3000 km which China is using currently for her oil imports from OPEC countries such as Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Iran.²⁷

This project is consisted on highways, pipelines, airports, railway lines and development of Gwadar port. It is among 8 economic corridors build under BRI. This project is unique and important from other corridors mainly. Because China is taking it as a test project as China has cordial relations with Pakistan and its only neighboring country with China share no disputed territory.²⁸ Chinese workers and engineers have also been working in Pakistan for many years. They have also worked in other projects here.²⁹ So it would not be new experience for them. Second China want to make sure that this project must become successful because whole world will see that China pay regard to her allies and friends. This will encourage them to join this project and become friends of China and if it fails, whole world will say if Pakistan did not get benefit how would others.³⁰

Why China Needs CPEC?

Currently, the route through which China imports her oil from Middle East is too long, as mentioned above it is almost 12,000 km. The oil comes from Middle East after crossing Strait of Hormuz, it goes through Arabian Sea and after crossing Strait of Malacca it reaches South China Sea and via it reaches to different cities of China like Hong Kong, Shanghai and Trapani port and this oil reaches in eastern part of China where 94% percent population of China lives. China is divided through Hu Huayong line between west and east.³¹ The eastern part which is less than 50% territory have majority of

population, it is well developed and the western part consist of only 6 % population is less developed and backward region of China. Now China want to develop this region, as well as want to encourage migration in this region. Thus, due to proposed route of CPEC, the oil will come from Gwadar to China which is near Strait of Hormuz. As a result, China does not need to cross Strait of Malacca and South China Sea, where there are a lot of problems and China is anxious about those issues. Therefore, China is already preparing for alternative route to avoid any issue in near future. However, this way China's oil will first reach to Western part and from there it will go to Eastern region, so China will need to build connectivity between east and west as well. Thus, western region will be developed and in case of war with India, in current stage, it would take a lot of time to mobilize its army from east to west but after development and connectivity, it would be easy to mobilize army.³²

Another factor which is triggering China is Muslim unrest in Xingjian province by Uighur Muslims where Kashgar area is situated. While developing this area, China is trying to sooth the pain of Muslims and also making sure army's physical presence to maintain state writ against ETIM a faction of Uighur "terrorists", "the most direct and real threat to our security" said a Chinese official.³³ Beside it, this project is considered as incentive by many scholars to Pakistan for helping them to control Muslim extremists through Pakistani and Afghani Taliban. To cut their supply and training and to not help them militarily. Many economists of China claim that 80% of investment in CPEC would be wasted so why China is investing such huge amount is a question of concern. Whether Gwadar port would be used for commercial purpose or naval purpose is not clear yet.³⁴ Chinese are purchasing lands in Gwadar. Recently another development regarding CPEC

is involvement of Saudi Arabia as third partner with 10\$billion. This is beneficial for Pakistan because its negotiating power has increased, and the dominance of China would be reduced relatively, but not completely and Saudi is doing this because in return Saudi needs help of Pakistan in Yemen war.³⁵

Difficulties in China's ways

There are various difficulties in South China Sea for China. She claims that the Sea belonged to her, whereas other countries like Philippine, Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei and Vietnam also claim their right, because huge amount of oil and gas reserves are found there. Thus, they all are fighting for claim on South China Sea but China does not consider their claims as legitimate. She is building artificial islands over there to maintain their legitimacy. Philippine registered a case against China in International Court of Justice which gave decision in favour of Philippine but China did not accept its decision. Thus, if this dispute does not resolve, there will be issues while building Maritime Silk Road. Because East Asian countries are reluctant to join this, especially Philippine. Another dispute on South China Sea is between Japan and China over Senkaku islands. This is also a hindrance in Maritime Silk Road.³⁶

Second challenge is India, which is located between maritime and economic belt projects. So, if India is not on board in these projects. It would be difficult for China to make it successful, and still India has not joined it. Because the exact details of BRI are still sketchy or not available. China has not given details about these projects such as how many railway lines would be proposed? What would be capacities of Sea ports? How these economic projects would not be used for strategic purposes? Especially the details of projects near to India are not shared with Indian government.³⁷ So, India is concerned

about its details. Second concern of India is territorial integrity of Indian Kashmir is violated under CPEC. India claims that territory of Kashmir is integral part of India. Gilgit Baltistan is also part of Kashmir and internationally this is recognized as a disputed territory. So, Pakistan has no right to build such heavy projects on this region.³⁸ Thus, India thinks China is not respecting its sovereignty. Beside this, strategically it is also threat to India. Because when giant like China would invest in Kashmir under CPEC. It would be difficult for India to fight case of Kashmir diplomatically on international front against both Pakistan and China.

Another concern of India is String of pearls. This term is invented by defense strategists of India. Basically, the Sea ports which China is developing near India under BRI, will surround it completely like a pearl of string. As port of Gwadar is in east of India, Male port of Maldives and Hambantota port of Sri Lanka in South of India, Chittagong port of Bangladesh and Sittewe port of Myanmar in its east. This way India is surrounded by those seaports which are in the possession of China, and in case of Sino-India war, these commercial ports could be used for defense purpose of China. Naval ships would be loaded or these ports will be used for shipping of military equipment etc.³⁹ Moreover India's another concern is dominance of China would be increased in Indian Ocean with these projects, which India does not want. India herself wants to continue its dominance in Indian Ocean, because it is said 21st century is of Indian Ocean as 19 century most of trade was happening through Atlantic Ocean. In 20th century trade was done through Pacific Ocean. Similarly, the importance of Indian Ocean will be increased in 21st century.⁴⁰ So, for India it is necessary to counter these projects instead of becoming its partner.

The Chinese companies who are working over there are facing difficulties due to differences of culture and language. Chinese usually do not speak English language. The workers who are working in these projects are often punished criminals. So, where ever they go they create trouble. For instance, they have been involved in fights with locals in Pakistan. There is also differences on priorities and needs. If a country needs road instead of railway, China ignores its need and builds railway there. Other countries who does not want seaport but oil pipeline, there China is developing seaport. Beside this is a grand project involving almost half of world countries, so keeping on board and on same page to all these countries, is itself a big problem.⁴¹

Different status of economies is another issue, there are countries like Central Asia, which are less developed, if railway lines are build but there would be lack of passengers who will travel in it. So, the expected outcome in revenue would not meet the needs. Despite this issue, China is giving her 100% to make this project successful. The project is related to personality of president Xi Jinping. So, he personally took initiatives to make it successful. He has asked Modi several times personally to join it. The proponents of this project say that it can be beneficial for whole world and could reduce poverty of billion peoples. But critiques say China is doing this more for geo political hegemony. US is also concerned about many countries like South Korea, Philippine and Israel who are core allies of US but have joint this project.

Many European countries welcomed this project but England, France and Germany have criticized this project. Recently, Italy from G7 countries has agreed to sign on to this project.⁴² Through the belt and road initiative, China hopes its economic interests, influence and importance will continue to grow on the global stage.

Rising Discontent against CPEC

One of the expectations of Pakistan from this project is, the unemployment ratio will be decreased and many people will get job opportunities. But what China is doing, they have made clear that they will not offer skilled jobs to Pakistanis. Because it will affect overall the implication of project. So, China is bringing her own people to Pakistan to run this project. This way the expectation of Pakistan is not meeting, that's why the discontentment is increasing in Baluchistan mainly. People are protesting peacefully as well as militarily.

The separatist groups are attacking Chinese and other people, especially Punjabis who are working in this project. Recently there was attack on Chinese consulate in Karachi by Baloch freedom fighters in protest to CPEC. While the Punjabi workers were killed in bus after checking their identity cards. In result, special force is created to protect Chinese and this way military presence has increased in Baluchistan, which is also opposed by Baloch leaders.⁴³ So the increasing military presence is another rising discontent against CPEC.

Another discontent against CPEC is regarding economy. This project also proposes that both countries can explore each other's markets. But the question arises by the economists or critics of this project that what will Pakistan explore in China? Pakistani products lack potential to compete Chinese products. So, there would be no benefit to Pakistani economy, instead Chinese product would capture Pakistani product and thus small industry of Pakistani will also come in decline. So, this project is creating a social divide and political tensions.⁴⁴

For creating infrastructure there would be resettlement of people. Their houses would be demolished, forests would be cut, for this there must be an alternative resettlement plan for local inhabitants, which Pakistan has not generally and if there is any sketchy plan that is also not implemented properly. When project would reach certain point, China would ask Pakistan to clear population from further route and army would be sent to dislocate local people and when people would be overthrown from their houses without rehabilitant plan, there would be discontent.⁴⁵ China needs to address these concerns and take discontent factions on board like Baloch rebels, Sindh and Pashtun nationalist etc.

China is concerned about the security of their workers. China has also proposed government to make separate ministry to look after CPEC. This shows how Chinese are sceptical about the ability of Pakistani government to implement the project. The bulks of projects would be completed till 2025 and till then what would happen God knows.

World Response: Counter Strategy of US, Japan and India

US as a global, India and Japan as regional rivals of China, are so worried about China's BRI and CPEC projects. Not only this project will boost economy of China but it would have strategic privileges against these countries. So, for them it is essential to counter her through different means or strategies. AIIB which is sponsoring BRI, is potential rival of Asian Development Bank, where Japan is main stake holder. Whereas the ports which are developed under BRI are encircling India strategically. And overall global dominance of China is threatening the leadership of US. China is already dominating in South China Sea. It is making artificial islands on disputed areas; China is also not following court of conduct. So now again if China dominates Indo-Pacific region it would also be threat for

India, US and Japan, which could create trouble for freedom of navigation and thus their trade activities can also be affected. So, how these countries are countering China and BRI, we will see in this portion.

In the Shangri-la dialogue held in Singapore, Indian Prime Minister Modi declared India's vision in Indo-Pacific region, it will be proactive. Keeping this in view, Rimpac exercises were started by US, India, Japan and Australia. These exercises are basically symbolic move to give China a message that we also do exist in this region but they are also avoiding direct confrontation. There is no mention of China.⁴⁶

In this regard efforts are also made to cancel Chinese projects wherever possible and install their projects. Such as Bangladesh chose Japan's Martabali port project instead of China's Sonadia port project.⁴⁷ Beside it, new projects are also offered to same countries to reduce influence, in this regard Japan is helping Sri Lanka to build Trincomalee port project which will counter Chinese presence in Hambantota port.⁴⁸ Beside this, India has also purchased Hambantota airport from Sri Lankan government on heavy price just to keep an eye on the Hambantota seaport.⁴⁹ India is also trying to promote its Indo-Pacific strategic interest through Indian Ocean naval symposium and Indian Ocean rim for region cooperation. With former, there would be naval cooperation between littoral states and with later, there would be cooperation among Indian Ocean countries.⁵⁰

The most important project of China under CPEC is Gwadar port which gives strategic advance to China over India. So, India is making Chabahar port in Iran with 20 billion dollars investment, as well Salma dam in Afghanistan with 300 million investment.⁵¹ This way India is making close relation with Pakistani neighbors. In

Afghanistan and Baluchistan, India is also trying to create unrest to disturb Pakistan. Modi in his speech of 2013 discussed about the Baluchistan issue, being first head of state level figure who addressed the crisis.⁵² This way, India is exploiting grievances of Baluchistan. India has also access in Duqm port of Oman for military presence, whereas in Mauritius India is developing Agalegs island. This way presence of India is increasing in indo-pacific region. India has also secured logistical facility in Singapore for her Indian navy and same in Vietnam, which will help her for naval ships to refuel and rearm. It has also signed agreement regarding logistical facilities with France and US, where French and US military bases could be used by India such as Comoro islands, reunion islands.⁵³

India along with Indonesia is also considering developing Sabang port near Malacca strait which is crucial position because worlds one third oil crosses from this region including China. Adenoma and Nicobar Islands are already developing by India which are also relatively near to Malacca strait and from this India can track submarine activities of China.⁵⁴ India with the help of Japan, is also trying to connect north eastern part of India with south East Asian countries through India's strategic road project,⁵⁵ which will help India to flow her trade in these countries and thus the influence of China will also be reduced.

Another symbolic move is Malabar naval exercise by India, US and Japan to control China's aggression. ASEAN countries are those which will be first affected by rise of China. They are already worried by China because of her aggressive activities in South China Sea. They are small and weak states, so US is also trying to exploit their fear and grievances to counter China. If India gets membership of ASEAN, it will also reduce

China's influence. The recent visit of South Korea's president Moon to India could be seen in this regard. The trade between India and South Korea has reached 20 billion in 2018 and India is 13th largest partner of South Korea. India's companies such as FDI, Novelist and TATA are proposing to invest 3 billion in South Korea.⁵⁶

Another move by India and Japan is Asia-Africa Growth Economic Corridor (AAGC), to counter BRI. This project was proposed in meeting of African Development Banks by India in 2017. This project aims to develop infrastructure and digital connectivity in Africa. There are four pillars of this project.

a) Enhancing capacity and skills, b) Develop quality infrastructure and institutional connectivity, c) Development and cooperation projects, d) People to people Contact.⁵⁷

Through this Japan and India would have better relations and easy access to African countries and will help each other in growth and development which will help African countries to renegotiate with China and its influence would also be reduced.

Conclusion

After the economic crisis of 2007-8 the relations between world powers are changing rapidly, US is declining its influence where as China is increasing. India and Japan are being used by US to counter China. With this power relationship China has abandoned its passive foreign policy which it was continuing since long. There are lot of manifestations of rise of China most important among them is its New Creditor Imperialism through which it is hijacking banks of almost all continents and grabbing assets through giving

loans. Another most important and biggest ongoing project of world is BRI right now. And under that CPEC is a test project which is crucial for China.

US and Japan in general and India in particular, are against BRI/CPEC and are taking measures to either fail it or counter it as per requirement. The internal weakness of Pakistan is being exploited by India such as unrest in Baluchistan and Waziristan, recent clashes of PTM with Pak Army and coverage to its leader Manzoor Pashteen by voice of America could be seen in this regard. Attack by Baloch separatist elements on Chinese embassy or on bus of Punjabi workers are also encouraged by opponent countries of BRI and CPEC. Weather the project would be complete or not is matter of time but it is for sure if it becomes successful China as a global power and Pakistan as South Asian power would be rise.

End Notes:

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- ² Ejaz Hussain, *China Pakistan Economic Corridor*, 2.
- ³ Tom Miller, *China's Asian Dream: Empire Building along the New Silk Road*, (London: Zed Books, 2017), 24.
- ⁴ Prashant Dhawan, "China's Debt Trap diplomacy, How China uses money to control and colonise countries?" (video lecture, Study IQ Education, Dec 28, 2017), accessed May 25, 2019, <https://youtu.be/V4hUg2A5D4U?t=8>.
- ⁵ Tom Miller, *China's Asian Dream: Empire Building along the New Silk Road*, 23.
- ⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷ Prashant Dhawan, "China's Debt Trap diplomacy, How China uses money to control and colonise countries?"
- ⁸ Ibid.
- ⁹ Tom Miller, *China's Asian Dream: Empire Building along the New Silk Road*, 23.
- ¹⁰ Ibid., 21.
- ¹¹ Mahipal Rathore, "CHINA - One Belt One Road - OBOR - SILK ROUTE - STRING OF PEARLS" (video lecture, Study IQ Education, Sept 17, 2016), accessed May 30, 2019, <https://youtu.be/c8Kc7Ve50Xo?t=4>.
- ¹² Ejaz Hussain, *China Pakistan Economic Corridor*, 3.
- ¹³ Tom Miller, *China's Asian Dream: Empire Building along the New Silk Road*, 18.
- ¹⁴ South China Morning Post "Belt and Road Initiative explained" (documentary, South China Morning Post, Sept 14, 2018), accessed May 30, 2019, <https://youtu.be/8mlIfNoLMaM>.
- ¹⁵ Mahipal Rathore, "CHINA - One Belt One Road - OBOR - SILK ROUTE - STRING OF PEARLS"
- ¹⁶ South China Morning Post "Belt and Road Initiative explained"
- ¹⁷ Mahipal Rathore, "CHINA - One Belt One Road - OBOR - SILK ROUTE - STRING OF PEARLS"
- ¹⁸ Tom Miller, *China's Asian Dream: Empire Building along the New Silk Road*, 20.
- ¹⁹ Mahipal Rathore, "CHINA - One Belt One Road - OBOR - SILK ROUTE - STRING OF PEARLS"
- ²⁰ Ibid.
- ²¹ Ibid.
- ²² Tom Miller, *China's Asian Dream: Empire Building along the New Silk Road*, 20.
- ²³ Mahipal Rathore, "CHINA - One Belt One Road - OBOR - SILK ROUTE - STRING OF PEARLS"
- ²⁴ Tom Miller, *China's Asian Dream: Empire Building along the New Silk Road*, 14.
- ²⁵ Ibid.,
- ²⁶ Ejaz Hussain, *China Pakistan Economic Corridor*, 18.
- ²⁷ Gaurav Garg, "CPEC – China Pakistan Economic Corridor + South China Sea issue" (video lecture, Study IQ Education, Oct 9, 2016), accessed May 1, 2019, <https://youtu.be/uTRkgIiQ15o>.
- ²⁸ Ejaz Hussain, *China Pakistan Economic Corridor*, 18.
- ²⁹ Andrew Small, *The China Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geo Politics*, (Haryana: Penguin Random House, 2015), 190.
- ³⁰ Ejaz Hussain, *China Pakistan Economic Corridor*,
- ³¹ Ibid.
- ³² Gaurav Garg, "CPEC – China Pakistan Economic Corridor + South China Sea issue"
- ³³ Ibid.
- ³⁴ Andrew Small, *The China Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geo Politics*, 177.
- ³⁵ Gaurav Garg, "CPEC – China Pakistan Economic Corridor + South China Sea issue"
- ³⁶ Prashant Dhawan, "Saudi Arabia to Join CPEC" (video lecture, Study IQ Education, Sept 22, 2018), accessed May 25, 2019, <https://youtu.be/usSL3ojXtyc?t=2>.
- ³⁷ Gaurav Garg, "CPEC – China Pakistan Economic Corridor + South China Sea issue"
- ³⁸ Mahipal Rathore, "CHINA - One Belt One Road - OBOR - SILK ROUTE - STRING OF PEARLS"
- ³⁹ Gaurav Garg, "CPEC – China Pakistan Economic Corridor + South China Sea issue"
- ⁴⁰ Mahipal Rathore, "CHINA - One Belt One Road - OBOR - SILK ROUTE - STRING OF PEARLS"
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² Ibid.

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- ⁴² Prashant Dhawan, "Italy to join China's BRI" (video lecture, Study Iq Education, March 10, 2019), accessed May 1, 2019, https://youtu.be/ZUJ7QMf0k_g.
- ⁴³ Saurabh Pandey, "China Pakistan Economic Corridor – Corridor of discontent" (video lecture, Study IQ Education, Jul 06, 2018), accessed May 25, 2019, <https://youtu.be/uJ8rWy1nI3I?t=3>.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid.
- ⁴⁶ Saurabh Pandey. "Countering China in Indo-Pacific Region" (video lecture, Study Iq Education, June 25, 2018), accessed March 28, 2019, <https://youtu.be/Uvddds3fPXk?t=2>.
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- ⁴⁹ Prashant Dhawan, "India Buys 'World's Emptiest Airport - Hambantota Airport" (video lecture, Study IQ Education, Jul 7, 2018), accessed May 25, 2019, <https://youtu.be/fMM1C2LXy3w?t=20>.
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- ⁵¹ Gaurav Garg, "CPEC – China Pakistan Economic Corridor + South China Sea issue"
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- ⁵³ Saurabh Pandey. "Countering China in Indo-Pacific Region"
- ⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ Saurabh Pandey. "Countering China in Indo-Pacific Region"
- ⁵⁷ Prashant Dhawan, "World's Largest Mobile Phone Factory now in India - India South Korea Relations" (video lecture, Study Iq Education, Jul 9, 2018), accessed May 30, 2019, https://youtu.be/-k5Pf_h3kr4.

Conclusion

Current century could be considered as century of China. It has been growing rapidly and it will continue to grow for a long time. In the 21st century, China has started to become world's no. 1 in various fields. For instance, in 2009 it became world's no.1 engine of global economic growth and auto maker. In 2011, it was known as world's no. 1 manufacturer. In 2012, it was no. 1 trading nation in the whole world. In addition, in 2014, it crossed US and became no. 1 economy in GDP. In 2015, it became no. 1 country having largest middle class. Moreover, in 2016, it became no. 1 in terms of large number of billionaires and in solar power capacity. In 2004, China's GDP (PPP) was 5760 billion dollars compared to US's 12,275 bn. In 2014 US's GDP (PPP) was 17,393 billion and China was slightly ahead with 18,228 billion and by 2024 the expected difference will increase in China's favor with US at 25,093 bn as China, at 35,596 bn. In 2030, China is predicted to be world's largest economy with 34% of total share comparatively with 15% of US which would be on third number after India.

This all shows China has already risen and whatever the little progress is remaining to be a super power would be completed in short span of time. According to China's twin centenary goals, China wants to double its per capita income from existing \$6000 to \$12000, which will raise China's status from a developing country to a developed country. China also wants to build an air craft carrier, a space station, to switch from coal to clean energies, and to become internet power. These are goals which China intends to achieve before 2021 which is hundredth anniversary of Communist Party of China and till 2049 on the 100th anniversary of People Republic of China, she wants to surpass US economy and become equal power, if not greater.

Thus, rise of China has frustrated US and would further continue to aggravate the said super power. In result, US has imposed tariffs of billions of dollars on Chinese goods and started a trade war but there are strong possibilities that this confrontation would not turn in war due to nuclear deterrence and economic interdependence. China will push this world's order while becoming part of current institutions and introducing new ones such as Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, BRICS etc.

China, being a civilizational State, would try to impose its culture and ethos through soft and hard power but in this mission, it would be difficult for her to become successful, for example, mandarin would not be able to replace English as international language or Chinese culture would not be able to replace western culture from the world, including non-English countries. Their seafood is not appealing enough to replace the western junk food or Chinese music, literature, poetry, movies, sports etc. are less likely replace western ones but it is possible that Renminbi could replace dollar as exchange currency in world market and as a reserve currency. Still, there is hope that, due to abundance of economic resources, China might become successful relatively in African countries where western culture has not reached properly.

BRI, which is most expensive project of 21st century with investment of 8 trillion dollars, could help China to impose strategic liabilities on small countries, along with providing economic opportunities, like Hambantota port of Sri Lanka is on lease for 100 years to Chinese and same can happen with Gwadar port. All the ports, that are being developed by China under BRI, can help her navy to use them for strategic purposes. In both cases, if China helps to uplift economy of under developed countries, she will gain faith and bundle of allies and if she becomes successful in capturing assets of those

countries, they will still be in influence of China due to her loans, famous as China's creditor imperialism.

True, China has become giant in economy and would soon be world's largest economy but to become no. 1 military power, China still needs time and effort because US is too ahead than her and real status of super power goes to those countries who are military powers along with economic back to sponsor a war. China might become Asian military power but to be a global power it still needs support of Russia. But, in case, if China becomes no. 1 in artificial intelligence then there are high chances that it may become military power too.

In nutshell, China's rise would bring some changes but would not be able to shake the foundation of western civilization neither from English countries nor from non-English ones, including her neighboring East Asian countries like South Korea, Singapore etc.

Figure 1

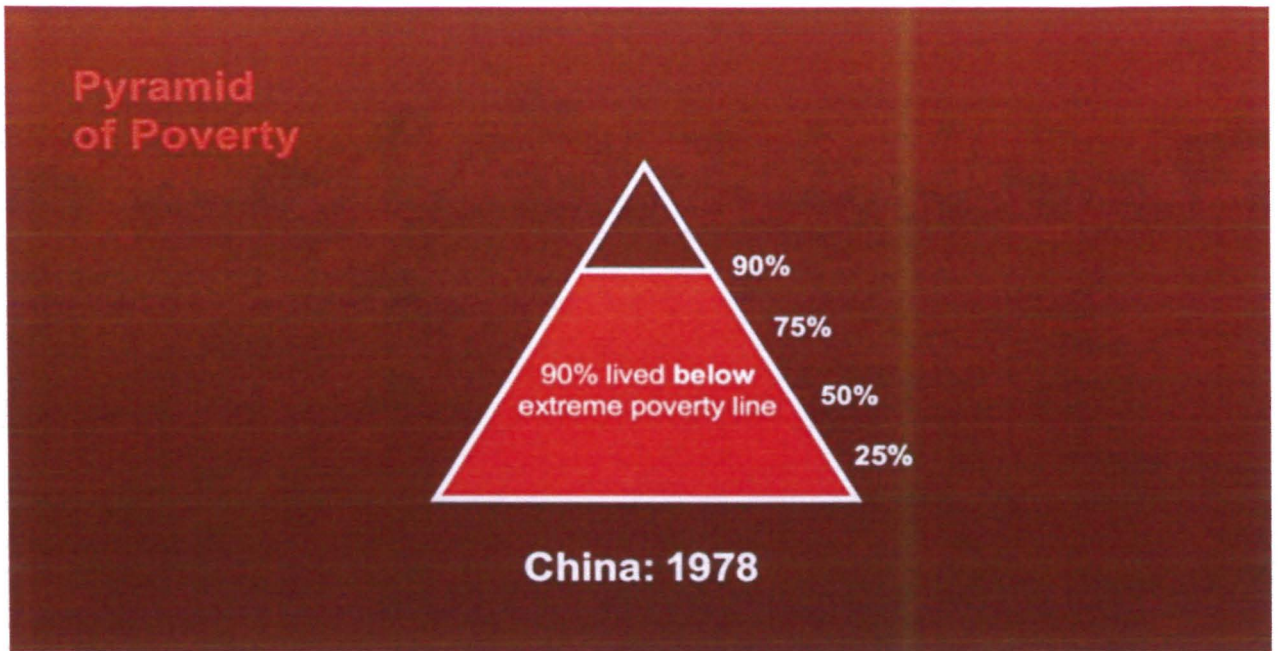


Figure 2

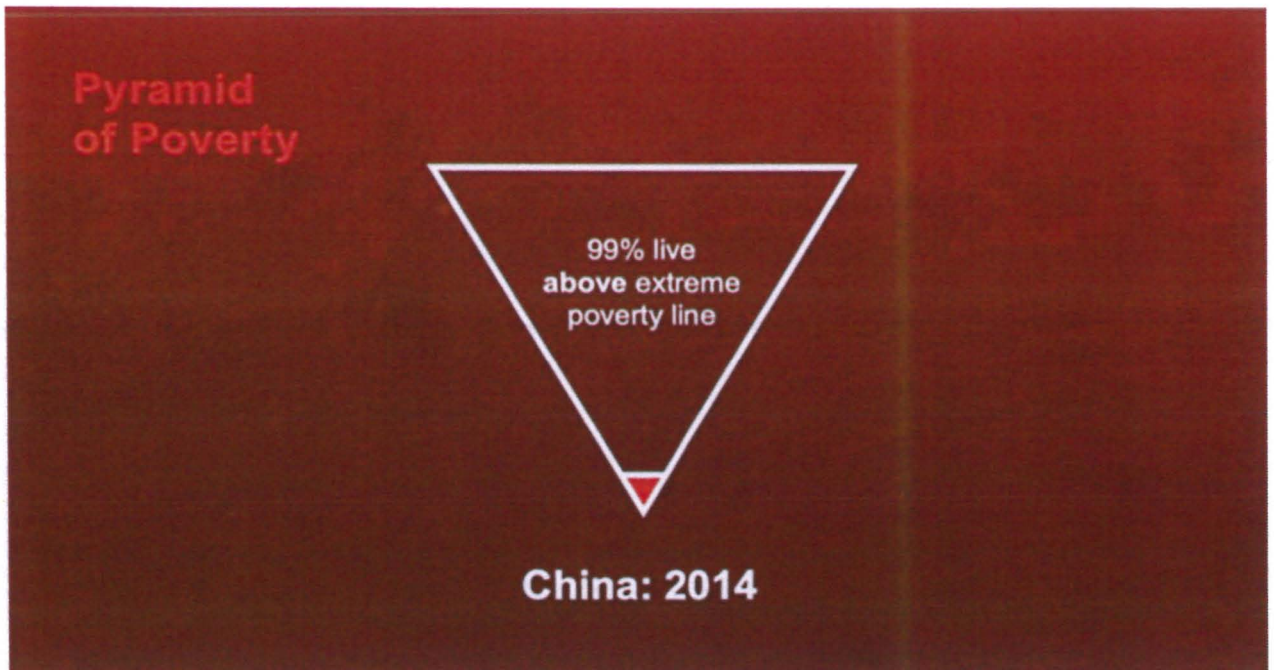


Figure 3

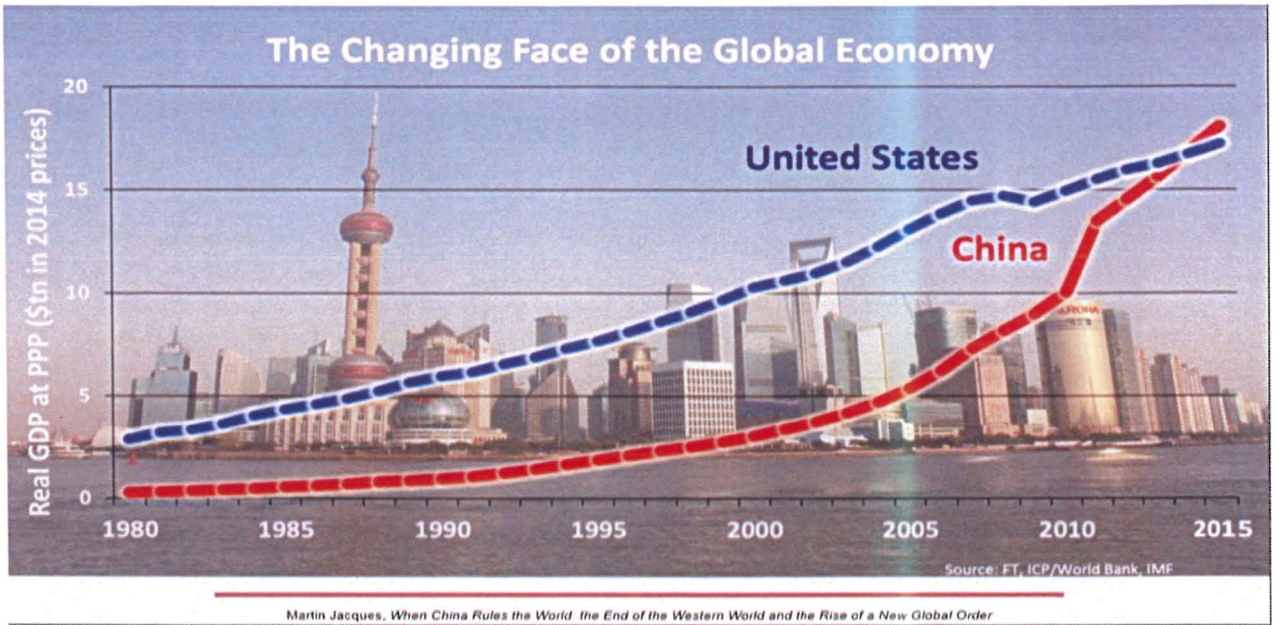


Figure 4

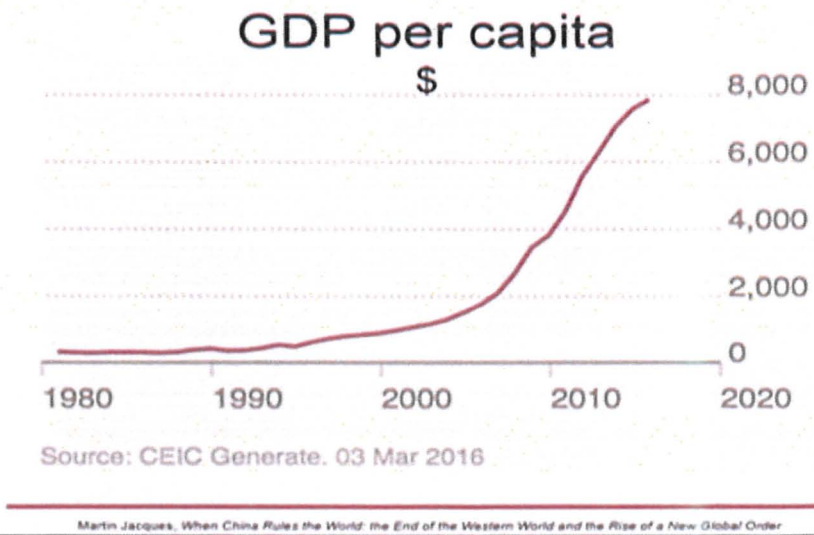


Figure 5

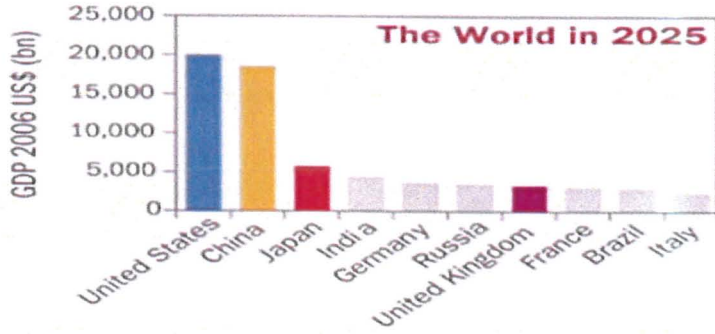


Figure 6



Figure 7

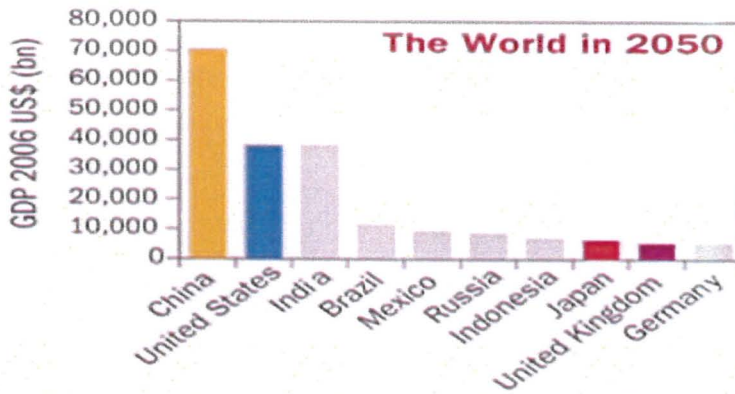
Projected size of national economies



TED

Figure 8

Projected size of national economies



TED

Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11

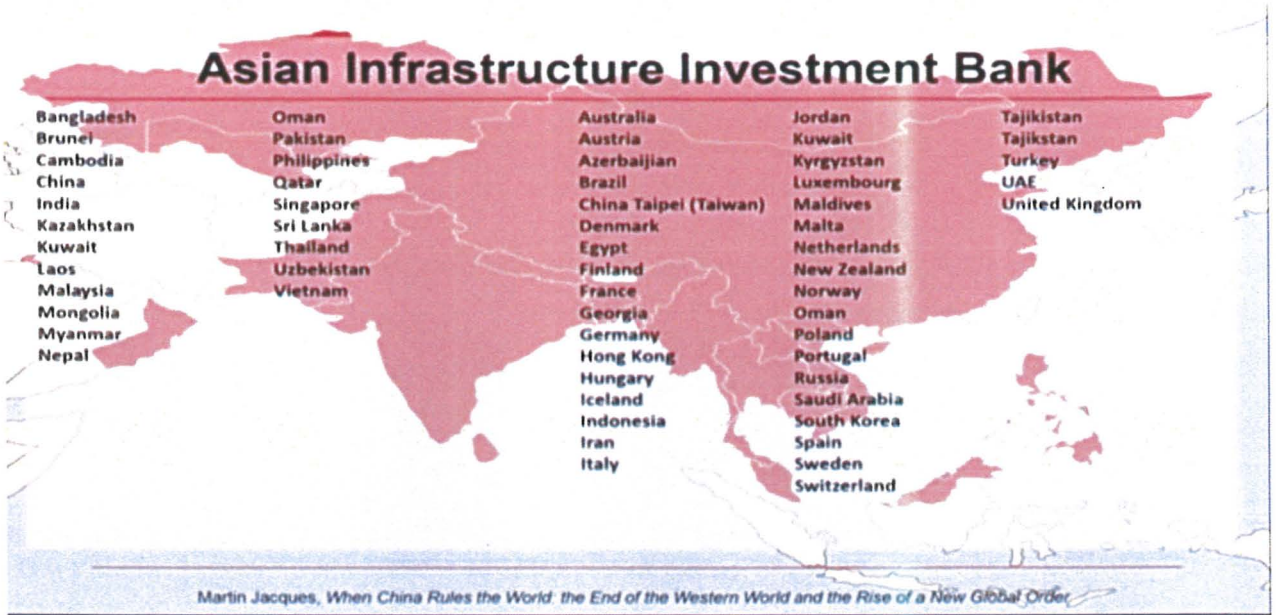


Figure 12

Chinese brands in the top 100

Source: FT

Rank 2016	Rank 2015	Change	Brand	Brand Value 2016 (\$m)	Value change 2016 vs 15
11	11	0	Tencent	84,945	11%
15	15	0	China Mobile	55,923	-7%
18	13	-5	Alibaba	49,298	-26%
22	22	0	ICBC	33,637	11%
29	21	8	Baidu	29,030	-27%
46	41	5	China Construction Bank	19,617	-11%
50	70	20	Huawei	18,652	27%
57	68	11	Ping An	16,910	6%
59	62	3	China Life	16,712	-4%
62	50	-12	Agricultural Bank of China	16,111	-19%
71	65	6	Bank of China	13,801	-16%
72	61	9	Sinopec	13,206	24%
83	71	12	Petrochina	12,343	-18%
93	New	N/A	Meitai	11,405	N/A

Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: the End of the Western World and the Rise of a New Global Order*

Figure 13



Figure 14

THE ANCIENT SILK ROUTE



Figure 15

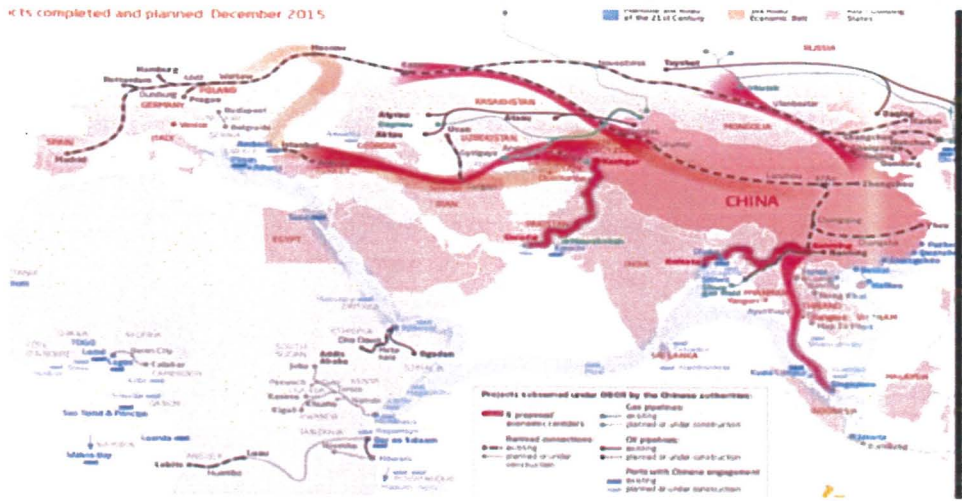


Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18

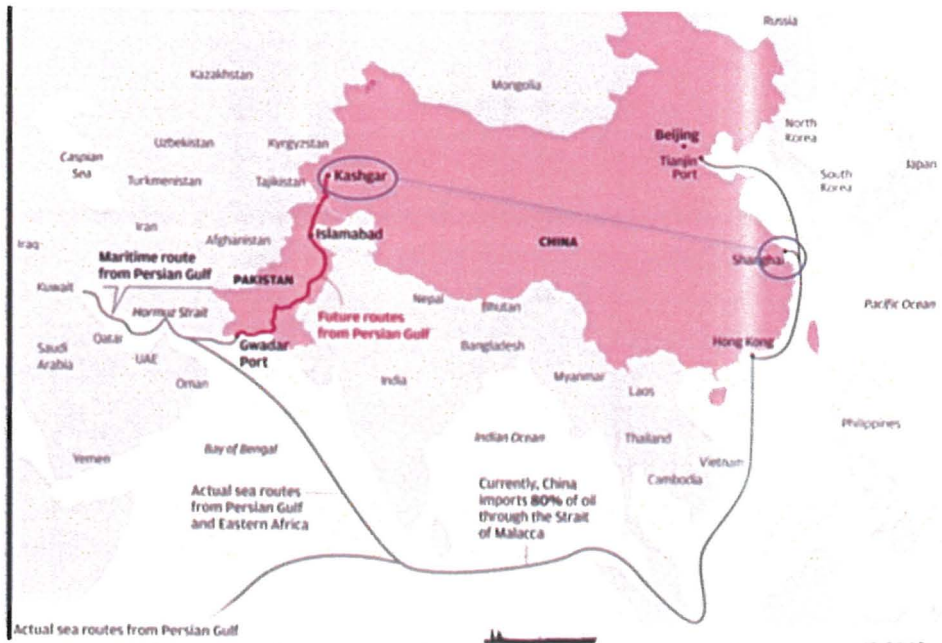


Figure 19



Figure 20

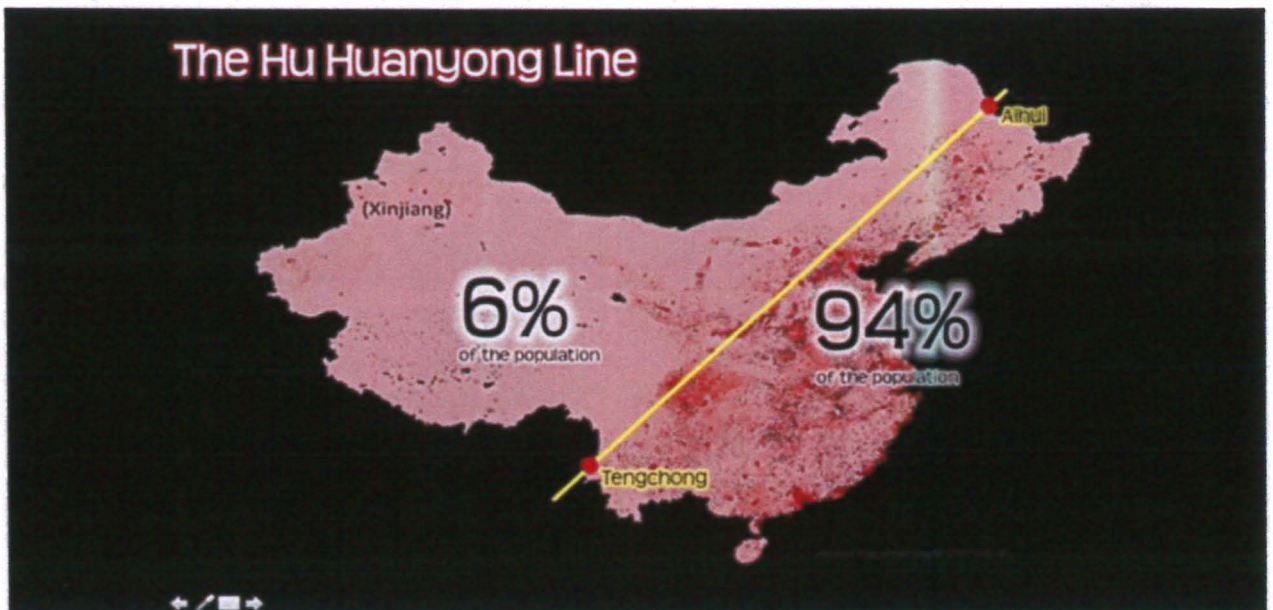


Figure 21

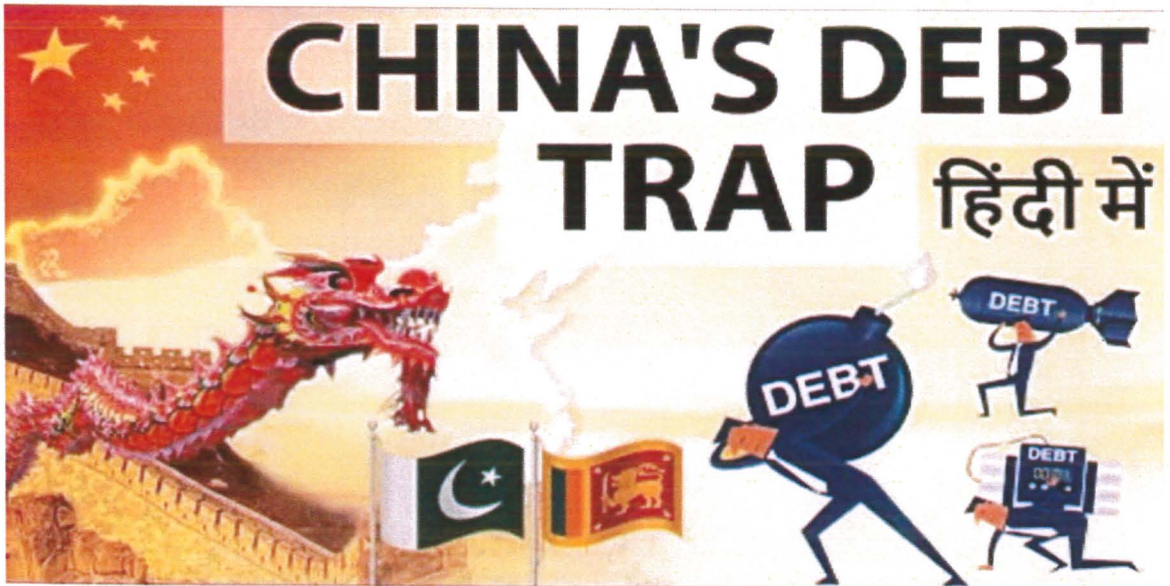


Figure 22



Figure 23



Figure 24



TED

Figure 25



TED

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