

China's Ambition to Reordering East Asia: Security Analysis

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Abstract: With China's newfound economic strength it is now able to assert itself regionally. In the twenty-first century with many crises soon to peak; food, water and fuel scarcity to name but a few issues of regional security are as pressing as ever. China's ability to strongly influence its neighbors as a result of economic dependencies or through direct military projection power will significantly reshape the region over the coming decades. This study looks at issues of China's ideology and its influential capacity to explore how its regional agenda is likely going to look. From this analysis, an assessment of the regional security environment is made and it is deduced that while other regional states and international powers will seek to obstruct and minimize China's influence, it is now nearly inevitable that China will become the new regional hegemon and it will become relatively free in its actions to assert its agenda regionally.

Key Words: China, East Asia, foreign policy, security policy, influence

INTRODUCTION

From the 17th century, China society has been led by minority groups, the Manchu clan which maintained power and managed the internal and external balance and environment of the country. Despite the fact that the country was divided into separate economic areas, there is political unity and harmony to be found within the history of China. Its considerable experience in the formation of alliances which have stabilized the country and insured its place among other regional powers, represent a side of China which may still be relevant today. Under the Confucian philosophy, Chinese thinkers did not center on knowing the truth behind nature but on understanding the nature of change that might lead to a systematic balance within the environment. For this reason, the philosophical foundations of China, of which some have spread regionally into most of East Asia, centered more on the restoration of harmony in the human society keeping the systematic balance in order.

In East Asian societies, state governance has historically been centered on the employment of "order" within the region—a balance between the classes, rather than directly between the state and society. Allegiances though, did not become a part of the systematic process of governance - which was constantly being threatened and this had an impact on the social and political structures of the land. Security was in the hands of the governing elites, who exercised power based on "divide and rule" politics. This study will explore how by employing such a style of governance regionally, China is seeking to use its overwhelming economic-and perhaps in the future-military power and whether this will

strengthen or limit China's influence on the modernizing and sovereign societies of East Asia. Despite its historical adaptation of such policies, China emphasized local and regional autonomy within the country with the government unifying society both physically and spiritually.

Furthermore, it is evident that Chinese society was determined to divide the state between those who were rulers and those who were being ruled. It became the foundations in creating a "balanced order" within a society and although it presented a clear definition of social structure, it became a setback in terms of sustaining stability and security. The governing structure of China was focused more on ruling norms and notions and is distinctive in the limited capacity of its central government to mobilize the people and keep them cohesive and unified. The division between loyalty and betrayal became vague, creating complex societies over the course of Chinese history. This became particularly clear in the 19th century when rapid internationalization meant the situation worsened into structural crises for East Asia.

This study explores China's ambition to reorder East Asia into a multipolar world through openness and reforms of which China might control and influence the other states. It centers on the argument that China's ambition to reorder East Asia could be beneficial in the long run not just to China but also to those states that can benefit from Chinese strength and development. Moreover, China could leverage the playing ground between the strong and weak states. Therefore, the potential aspects of China's influence and role in the security of East Asia will be explored. The strength of

China's ambition to reorder East Asia will be explored as well as the consequences of the different ways in which reordering could be achieved. Essentially, China is an important, distinctive position that may allow it to improve the state of governance within the countries of East Asia, promote cooperation and develop collective security and stability. Such a role would lead to a new state of governance within and beyond China where the region could represent one whole unit and the rulers and the ruled could become one.

In connection to the doctrines dictated by neo-realism, China has acknowledged "united front thinking," where in anarchy remains the basis for thinking when it comes to power. Accordingly, security strategy has been aimed at the balancing of power by means of chaos and through the disintegration of the state. This strategy is said to have fixed or enhanced the systematic balance of "pre-war thinking" by preparation against the attacks of the enemy. In this philosophy, the process of governing was ruled by "memories of periods of chaos, wars between alliances of Chinese states that eventually resulted in the unification of the Chinese empire." (Radtke, 2008). National disintegration paved the way towards integration whereas wars became a signal that there was a systematic balance to the society. Additionally, the use of a new approach of management that reaches the regional level could result in the formation of a new society. The concept of "functional region" might not require anarchy instead promoted equality and increased interaction between the regions and states could result in stability. As Vaeyrynen stated,

The driving force in functional regions is the economy, the environment or culture... Indeed, the transition from physical to functional regionalism is due to the increase in the interaction capacity of the system. (Radtke 2008)

If this is the case, then the process of regionalism might then be the promotion of regional order that could encourage survival of the state. New economic arrangements might secure inclusive club goods and encourage the enactment of free trade between countries and regions-promoting a state of interdependence that can nourish security and the economies of the region. However, as it is bound to affect the state of governance of other countries in East Asia, could China's power cross this line and allow it to act in way beyond their rights?

CHINA AS TODAY

The Establishment of Modern-Day China: The Republic

of China (ROC) was established in 1912 after the Qing Dynasty which marked the end of 2000 year of imperial rule. Over the course of its history, the republic has undergone many trials and tribulations: foreign invasions and both civil and military unrest. Towards the end of the Qing Dynasty, there were frequent invasions from foreign nations as well as internal civil unrest. In response to this political situation, the Qing imperial court instituted various reforms including the drafting of a constitution in 1906, establishment of a national parliament and provincial administration in 1910. However, due to a lack of political liberalization and modernization, reformists instigated a revolution. (Zheng, 1999). Many revolutionary groups emerged but, the most influential and organized one was founded by Sun Yat-sen who was both a republican and an anti-Qing activist. This movement gained support overseas especially by regional military officers and reformers who were living as diaspora. Sun's philosophy was conceptualized in Tokyo in 1905 and it is centered on the three principles of 'nationalism, people's livelihood and democracy.' The principle of nationalism led to the overthrowing of the Manchus as well as an end to foreign control over China. The Republic of China was established immediately after the outbreak of the revolution in 1911. This took place in Wuchang in Hubei province which led to a regional uprising. It spread to neighboring cities and eventually to the entire country. However, the revolt was short-lived following the election of Sun Yat-sen as the provisional president of the RoC in 1912. Under his leadership, the RoC reached major political milestones. For example, there was consolidation of the regime in an aim to achieve unity with the northern states (Zheng, 1999)

After the death of the Sun, Nanjing took over in 1928 where he accomplished various reforms with nationalist leadership. During this time Japan developed an interest in China due to its vast raw material and the large population. As a result, the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out as the Japanese continued to push towards northern China and its coastal provinces-a conflict exacerbated by a desire for control of Korea.

Domestic legitimacy and foreign policy: During the era of Mao Zedong in 1949, the ideology known as 'Mao Zedong Thought' was the foundation of the Chinese political legitimacy. Mao's considerable charismatic influence allowed his philosophy to become emphasized in the Chinese political system. Mao believed that it would be impossible in the world's most populous country to lead solely on the basis of formal government administration. He would have to instill in the people certain principles and a commitment to certain types of

authority that would enable him not only to remain in power but also to remold the country over which he ruled Lieberthal 1995.

After his death in 1976, however, china gradually shifted from Maoist ideology towards more successful governance. This emergence has been considered by many scholars as a significant contribution to the major developments in the Chinese politics where collective governance is the foundation for party rule, as opposed to Mao's ideology. (See Rosen 2003)

Recently, China is worried about its future direction. According to Chinese intellectuals, it is not enough that their country is on the rise for nothing is constant and the state will always face the possibility of downfall. The leaders of the Communist Party of China (CPC) hold the view that, a nation's experience of continuous economic growth could be largely determined by its legal reform framework. This reflects an implementing of major structural changes to the security system in order to enhance growth, as well as, decrease corruption and injustice within the state. In relation to this China's foreign policy objectives are comprised of the following: to initiate and improve domestic political stability to initiate and improve sovereign security, territorial integrity and national unification and to initiate a sustainable economic and social development. (Jacobson, 2013) These three main objectives would make sure that China retains its position as a powerful state with its socialist system intact. However, to be able to retain its dominion as a state power, it needs to thoroughly consider its position with the other countries, in particular with: Japan, North Korea, the United States, as well as with those neighboring countries in the Southeast Asia.

Part of China's main foreign policy strategy is to secure its domestic reforms in order to gain respect internationally. Therefore, China could seek to maintain its cooperative relations with the United States to improve its image since the United States has gained respect from many countries in East Asia. However, Xi Jinping during his visit to Washington in 2012 also stressed the need for nations to "respect each other's core interests" (Jacobson 2013). and to avoid crossing beyond the lines. Conversely, Barack Obama is concentrating more on rebalancing the system of powers of East Asia by slowing down the rise of China and by doing so maintaining the supremacy of the United States within the region.

Regarding its relations with Japan, the situation of territorial disputes currently remains as complicated as ever. In this case, there is emotional significance that connects the disputed islands with both societies of China and Japan. Should there be a loss of life because of interactions between the vessels of both countries; an

armed conflict could take place which could in the worst-case scenario, lead to inter-state war. There have been massive demonstrations and attacks to both parties which have worsened the situation. In addition, Japan's purchase the islands coincided with a period of politically sensitivity in China which saw such a purchase as a violation of sovereignty and thereby provoked a patrol of the area and infringement of Japanese territory. Xi Jinping believes that, China should avoid further corrosion between the ties. In this regard, the overwhelming tie is the need for economic cooperation between the two most powerful economies of Asia.

As North Korea continues to pursue missile and nuclear programs despite Chinese opposition, Chinese leaders remain determined to maintain relations with North Korea's Kim Jong-un. However, any inability in stopping North Korea's aspirations could reflect China's incompetence as a responsible major power in East Asia. It is likely that this issue will affect Chinese relations with other regional players, particularly: Japan, South Korea and the United States by creating a non-influential image of China. With China's long-standing policy of "no war, no instability and no nukes" (Jacobson, 2013) limiting its ability to threaten North Korea militarily, even as the countries become distanced, Beijing has to find some way in which it can project its power diplomatically and in doing so gain approval and respect from neighbors.

CHINA'S INFLUENCE IN EAST ASIA

The objectives of china: Recently, China has been committed to ensuring that drastic improvements are being made to its military forces. Military modernization has been centered on the idea of power projection capabilities which might enhance its dominion over the globe and in particular around East Asia. For this reason, they had been building naval forces that, they say, can "project power out to the so-called Second Island Chain in the Western Pacific." (Mearsheimer, 2010). There is also plan to build what they call the "blue water navy" that could be capable of operating as far as to the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean. This necessitate for a "far sea defense" that aims to project power and capability to a level that no other neighbor in Asia could be able to counteract. With their aim built around the formation of a formidable offensive force, it is possible that China is in pursuit of achieving regional hegemony which is a key target to other superpowers. Regional hegemony enables the country to be able to assure the protection and continuance of its power within the region and even the world. As John Mearsheimer stated.

The best way for any state to ensure its survival is to be much more powerful than all the other states in the system, because the weaker states are unlikely to attack it for fear they will be soundly defeated (Mersheimer 2010).

The state might be able to guarantee its survival and ability to face any threat by obtaining hegemony within the system. In this case, they could be able to prevent external superpowers from controlling the region such as the United States which has had considerable influence over the 20th century.

If China should aim to be a regional hegemon within East Asia (if not around Asia), then they should prevent other hegemonies from achieving supreme control and power over Asia and its respective sub-regions. This has been the case of the United States where it gained regional hegemony and is seeking to prevent other states, including China, from achieving the comparable power. However with a powerful economy to support it and a debt crisis restricting its main rival, it might be China's turn to gain power towards becoming the state of regional hegemony. Its aim would center on building its power and maximizing the power gap between it and the other superpowers of Asia: Japan, Russia and India. The first step in achieving a hegemony power state would be to pursue military superiority over its counter parts. This entails laying claim of supremacy to the other states within the region. For this reason, China may aim to dictate the boundaries of other countries despite a short-term to relations with them. As a result, it is heightening its fight for the ownership of islands around Japan, Korea, as well as in Southeast Asia.

Currently, China can perform a number of steps to dictate its position of dominion over East Asia amidst U.S. opposition. For instance, Chinese officials have instructed American policymakers to keep off the borders of the South China Sea in 2010. (Mersheimer, 2010). And thus, previous to the sinking of the South Korean naval vessel, the two countries conducted their joint naval exercises further east in the Sea of Japan, according to the dictates of China. Accordingly, it is evident that China wanted sole ownership of the hegemony state power within the region, for it could be impossible to gain hegemony if other ruling hegemonies existed. However, there are other superpowers around the world and around East Asia in particular which want to gain control and supremacy over their respective borders and beyond. For China to gain regional hegemony, it should seek to weaken other forces thus, strengthening its own relative power over the region, in doing so, becoming the sole regional hegemon. By dominating East Asia and by

challenging other ruling powers around the region, China is initiating a plan to dominate the greater region and areas beyond its borders.

The military contribution to china's objectives: The past years had been dedicated to improving China's military power for stronger defense amidst rivalries over the dominating powers of Asia. Its Second Artillery which controls its nuclear and conventional ballistic missiles, had been developing a range of offensive missiles that can target moving objects of the enemy. Its artillery is centered on forming short-range ballistic missile units. This also includes upgrading older missiles as well as the methods used in countering ballistic missile defenses. Currently, they are centered on improving the fatality of these weapons with new variants that differ in ranges, accuracies and payloads. Some missiles, such as the DF-21D that have a range beyond 1,500 km could be capable of attacking large ships and aircraft carriers, as well as carrying a warhead that can be maneuvered. Likewise, some nuclear forces are being modernized such as Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs). Among these is the CSS-10 Mod 2 that can range more than 11,200 kilometers this reaches almost all locations in farther regions like North America. They are also developing road-mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles that can carry multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRV).

Meanwhile, China's PLA Navy or PLAN was considered as "the largest force of major combatants, submarines and amphibious warfare ships in Asia." As stated by the Department of Defense of the United States of America, "China's naval forces include some 79 principal surface combatants, more than 55 submarines, 55 medium and large amphibious ships and roughly 85 missiles-equipped small combatants." (Department of Defense, 2013).

The navy is making improvements and modernizing its submarine force as priority. This will entail the manufacturing of the JIN-class nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines (SSBN) a project that shall be continued until the end of the decade. This project will be capable of launching ballistic missiles that have a range of 4,000 nm. There are also some nuclear-powered attack submarines (SSN) that are being developed, these have land-attack and guided-missile attack capabilities.

Meanwhile in terms of its air force, China currently has about 500 combat aircraft and they plan to modernize their 2nd and 3rd generation aircraft into 4th generation aircraft. They are also upgrading their H-6 fleet for greater range and arming aircraft with cruise missiles as well as enabling aerial refueling operations. The same

modernization goes for its ground force wherein its projects are centered on developments for a greater ability to deploy forces across a wide range of distances. To achieve its military objectives, advanced new technology will be necessary and this will enhance joint military training between China and other military forces. Accordingly, China has allotted a total of \$166 billion in 2012 for military spending alone-10% of global military spending. Even the united states pacific commander robert williard had commented on china's development in its military forces: "I would contend that in the past decade or so, China has exceeded most of our intelligence estimates of their military capability and capacity every year. They've grown at an unprecedented rate in those capabilities." (Funnell, 2013).

With the large growth of China's military forces, the question on whether it intends to take the place of the United States as the most influential dominant power over East Asia is reinforced. Recently, China's power has impacted significant influence across the borders of East Asia. With its significant economic growth by 2006, it was able to pursue its ambitions in claiming sovereignty over the South China Sea and the East China Sea. In addition, new strategies have been fixed aimed at laying claim over the surrounding land and sea. The People's Liberation Army Navy of China is being modernized through the procuring of weaponry capable of destroying the enemy rapidly regardless of distance. As Toshi Yoshihara stated.

Long-range, precision-strike weaponry deployed on the mainland can influence events, perhaps decisively, at sea. The anti-ship ballistic missile-a maneuverable ballistic missile capable of hitting moving targets at sea-is just one member of a large family of missiles in China's arsenal that could perform maritime-strike mission the PLA boasts large numbers of shore-based fighters, bombers and cruise missile units that can launch salvos of anti-ship missiles. (Yoshihara, 2013)

Furthermore, China would enhance maritime surveillance and services in line with its military expansion. Consequently, ships can be dispatched to the South China Sea in its dispute with the Philippines or towards the East China Sea in its disagreements with Japan regarding their claim on Senkaku Islands as well around the Korean peninsula as and when any conflicts arise.

Both the military and nonmilitary forces of China enable it to deal with political disputes, especially with the forces of the other weaker countries. Such power could persuade weaker forces to assent with the wishes of China, whether or not it is reasonable for them to back

down or acquiesce. Such was the case with the Spratly Islands where the Philippines could not deter the Chinese vessels from what they considered to be their property. To promote apprehension from the Philippines, China exercised a series of non-military elements at the Scarborough Shoal in 2011. Meanwhile in Northeast Asia, China was also able to conduct some routine monitoring of the waters surrounding the Senkaku Islands, after Japan's decision to nationalize the islands on September 2012. As Toshi Yoshihara stated, "Employing non-navy assets in clashes over territory reveals a sophisticated, methodical strategy for securing China's maritime claims." (Yoshihara, 2013).

Although it may appear to be unethical and disrespectful to the others, China's strategy of using non-military assets was systematic and it ensured that the cases remained localized without the disruption of other nations like the United States. It also probes the capacity of the assailant in terms of defense and maritime surveillance. For China, the use of both the military and non-military forces could enable them to claim sovereignty over land and sea while keeping the others at bay from what they claim to be their property. However, China's tactics appear to be insignificant enough that they do not become prominent issues within the international community.

Meanwhile, many weaker states find it unacceptable to be under the influence of China's supreme power. The highly strategic methods employed by China in keeping the other nations at bay are leaving weaker forces to unable to face its projected power. Reliance on U.S. (as well as other stronger forces) intervention could only be the tool for weaker forces to use in keeping Chinese forces unable to fulfil their agenda. If this is the case, then it is very questionable whether China's supremacy in the region would prove to be beneficial to all actors, particularly to weaker states. However, despite a compromised security structure it must be stated that if China gains sole supremacy over the entire region of East Asia, it could influence surrounding countries significantly and regional competitiveness could rise to a higher level. As a new geopolitical order starts to envelope East Asia, China envisions a more resounding role of ruling the entire region by means of trade and political forces. By reordering the region's state power, China hopes to take the perceived place of the United States as the leader of East Asia.

China's role in the security of east asia: There has been a frequently changing dynamic between many of the countries of East Asia; postwar relations between the countries have always been characterized by

partnerships, competition and conflict. (Koo, 2009). There is the coexistence in economic cooperation despite rivalries and political circumspection on either side of international borders.

China and Japan: Currently with Japan, one of the largest causes of tension is regarding the Senkaku Retto (Rocky Hill Islands) as they are known in Japan (the Diaoyutai-Fishing Platform Islands in China and Tiaoyutai in Taiwan). Now the islands are effectively being controlled by Japan, but China challenges that sovereignty claim. The importance of the uninhabited Senkaku Islands to both countries has heightened tensions and exacerbated a rivalry that became pronounced in the late 19th century. It appears that there is an emotional importance attached to their claims, as well as “symbolic, political, economic and historical significance.” And the discovery of oil and gas deposits within the continental shelf means that it has become more difficult for both states to come to mutual agreement.

According to China, the Senkaku Island was indeed transferred to Japan through the Treaty of Shimonoseki. However, Japan should have returned them to China under the provisions of the Cairo Declaration in 1943, the Potsdam Proclamation in 1945 and the Article 2 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. (Koo, 2009.) On the other hand, Japan insisted that the islands were unclaimed territories therefore, were “legitimately incorporated as part of Okinawa Prefecture.” (Koo, 2009) Japan added that the incorporation took place long before it defeated China, thus, becoming their own territories before the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed, as such, Japan believes the islands are not to be treated as “spoils” of war. This dispute had unfolded in multiple stages but the case has only worsened since it was first discovered that there were abundant oil and gas deposits under the seabed of the islands. Still, it affected the relations between the two countries, even to the point of becoming a full-scale military conflict and thus, ending the mutual economic dependence between China and Japan. These two Asian giants have become the most important economic partners for each other. However, as much as they had become partners economically, they too have become enemies politically, thus the term “cold politics and hot economics” was coined. As Gerald Curtis once noted.

There is a huge disconnect between the economic and political relations of China and Japan... Japanese business enthusiasm for the China economic miracle continues. But at the political level, there is no talk of integration. (Koo, 2009).

With Japan’s increasing economic reliance on China, Japan seems to be losing some of its power over China and other territories. With this there is the possibility that the Senkaku Islands case may worsen; given the fact that China has been increasing its power and dominion over the region. It could be a test between the supremacies of the two superpowers in East Asia which would prove as to whether or not China can become a regional hegemon over the coming decades.

Furthermore, China’s usefulness as a counterpart in terms of trade, finance and security could persuade Japan to come into a mutual agreement with China if the latter should continuously gain power. Both China and Japan are united in believing that many of their problems are as a consequence of American policy towards East Asia during the cold war and may thus signal that both Asian countries can come into mutual agreement. If this should happen, then it could be a diplomatic contest between the Asian superpowers which might reorder regional power and create a new regional hegemony in East Asia. There is however, much more to be done for China to become a regional hegemon and a strong Chinese policy towards Japan is indicative that China is committed to that goal.

China and the Korean peninsula: China and Korea’s past relationship is characterized by close diplomatic relations, however, since the dividing of the Korean peninsula and the events of the Korean War, China has had to find a difficult balance between embracing valuable economic ties with the south and political, ideological and security links with the north. Nevertheless in the recent years China has been concerned over issues such as North Korea’s nuclear weapons program. With his assent to power, Kim Jong-un has not reversed the nation’s aspirations for a nuclear weapons program which suggests a desire to continue with previous policy. However, China shares in the desire of the United States to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula this is set out in the former’s policy of “no war no instability and no nukes.” (Glaser and Billingsley 2012) In spite of China’s close ties with North Korea, maintaining regional peace is their first priority. With the collapse of the six party talks, there have been rising tensions within the Korean Peninsula with North Korea threatening to launch missiles towards South Korea, as well as the United States. Despite actions that oppose the international community’s overarching policy, Beijing continues in its support for Pyongyang while the Washington bolsters the security of Seoul.

China’s People’s Liberation Army (PLA) is currently at its Level One readiness, which is the highest. Pyongyang in mid-March of this year declared a “state of war” against South Korea which has urged China to send

military troops to its borders with North Korea. Besides troop movements, China had also prepared fighter jets, which are to be used in the case that the conflict escalates into war in the Korean Peninsula. There are also tanks and armored personnel carriers deployed to the city of Ji'an, which is the border between China and North Korea, it is likely that troops positioned here are to prevent a massive influx of refugees in case of a collapse of the Northern regime. Furthermore, China has sent jets to patrol other border regions and performed live-fire naval exercises-conducted in the yellow Sea in april of this year. Such exercises appear to be in opposition to the US-South Korea military drills that lasted until May of this year. While the United States had deployed the USS Fitzgerald near to the coast of North Korea, North Korea has mobilized its short and medium ranged missile arsenal. (RT News 2013, 1)

China longs to preserve stability within the Korean Peninsula. War would trigger a number of negative consequences leading to many political crises. Among these is the possibility that should the conflict worsen into a complicated war, many Korean refugees would enter the border of China resulting in immediate security and social problems. For this reason, China is obviously against the nuclear program of Pyongyang as it perceives this to jeopardize peace and stability within the land. It may also occur that if North Korea can develop nuclear weapons that can inflict mass destruction, other countries will start developing their own nuclear weapons and further threaten the security environment. This will have a harmful impact not only on China but also on the security environment of East Asia. Moreover, the nuclear nonproliferation treaty could collapse and this would affect global security.

From the perspective of China, the threat of a reunified Korean Peninsula is that it can compete with China's position and reduce its relative regional power. If this should happen, then a reunified Korea could develop into a superpower that can prevent China from pursuing its dream of becoming a regional hegemony at least in East Asia. The war in the Korean Peninsula paved way for the United States to impact the region and display its military forces as the ruling hegemony within the region. The situation, however, is very slow to develop and it is likely that if China wants to increase its influence then it will look to do so by targeting the southern part of East Asia where they may gain more supremacy and authority over the territory.

Disputed Taiwanese sovereignty: Since the middle of the twentieth century the issue has been a huge problem for Chinese relations with the international community. The

bottom line of the conflict lay in the Cairo Declaration where Republic Of China (ROC) wanted to acquire Taiwan from Japan towards the end of the World War II. However, Taiwan could not be passed from Japan without a necessary international legal procedure. This process entailed Japan relinquishing formally Taiwan to China. "Undetermined Taiwan Sovereignty" became a prerequisite for China's peace treaty with Japan. As a result, the United States became involved in the issue of Taiwan's sovereignty when it became concerned with the peace treaty between the two states. Consequently, it involved itself in determining what territory Japan would retain.

No sooner than the breaking out of the Korean War, than the US proposed that the UN govern Taiwan. This was aimed at preventing the People's Republic of China from acquiring it. For this reason, US engaged negotiations with Japan to woo it to renounce any right to Taiwan. Consequently, China, the US, Britain and the Soviet Union jointly decided the status of Taiwan. The alliance between these four nations cooperated to form the 'Allied policy to Japan which advocated Taiwan issue to be decided by negotiation. However, the alliance system that supported negotiation immediately collapsed when the Korean War broke out and led into the Cold War. America pushed for unsuccessful negotiations in its pursuit for unilateral foreign policy. In this the US aimed for making Taiwan a UN trustee. Meanwhile, the US government lacked a clear policy to deal with the government of Chiang Kai-shek.

As the four nations failed to resolve the question of Taiwan, it was passed on to the UN. It is through this that China was able to follow formal legal procedures to acquire the sovereignty of Taiwan. The San Francisco Peace Treaty followed and was formally signed in 1951. However, due to strong opposition of other countries, China was not involved. Similarly, the Sino-Japanese Peace Treaty was signed in 1952. The treaties specified that Japan relinquish the sovereignty of Japan, though they did not specify the successor. Even though the peace treaties did not resolve the sovereignty issue, it enabled the Republic Of China (ROC) to effectively implement administrative control over Taiwan. (Bruce 2007) This sequence of events is particularly demonstrative of China's troubled relationship with the international community. China's policy today reflects a feeling of entitlement towards Taiwan but it has resoundingly failed to gain support internationally.

CHINA'S AMBITION TO REORDER EAST ASIA

The emerging Asian order: Since the People's Republic

of China was founded in 1912, it has undergone countless changes, over the course of the 20th century China has achieved internal stability and is looking to use its power and position to impact the region. (Wang, 2013). Internal changes went on until the 1970s when China advocated the need for a new international political and economic order that should be based on both reform and openness. China proposed that, the Western world should be replaced as the dominant power in the Eastern world. This means that the dominant power should decrease while the power of the developing world increases to create a new order that would largely benefit a multipolar world. Since in some ways Western power can be seen to be undergoing a relative decline in recent years, China believes that it is now the right time to build a world order that exists and functions through its leadership of reform and openness.

According to Chinese intellectuals, the present world is full of injustice and unfairness that needs to be addressed. Developing countries can therefore work towards improving their own region in order to reach such goals. Subsequently, China insists that there is a need to establish an entirely new system or improve the current order through reformation and transformation. This, however, cannot take place without deminishing the Western powers from their dominion over the developing countries of East Asia. As stated,

China believes strongly that sovereignty is the organizing principle in conducting international relations and that sovereign rights should override individual rights-taking the form of human rights or civil rights-if there is any conflict between them. (Wang, 2013).

Following such Chinese principles, it is evident that the power of a nation should be more important than the rights of the individuals. Moreover, sovereignty as well as territorial integrity is also important in that it allows the creation of a new order. Other countries should not oppose or obstruct because it is the responsibility of the powerful to make sure that their world is in the right order. China believes that the interference of the Western world only confirms their true purpose. Their core purpose entailed "taking advantage of indigenous problems and tensions to topple the governments they dislike and to prop up dissenting forces in the pursuit of their own strategic interests." (Wang 2013) China needs to create a new world order that would improve the present order of the system. Thus, institutions and hierarchies should be added to the system of reformation to take place and thus, create a new multipolar world.

However, for a multipolar world to be created, Chinese intellectuals believe that the citizens of the developing nations should not be empowered. Instead, they should be ruled by a stronger state power for instance China which should control them by means of authority. Such as with China itself, unifying such a large number of people cannot be done liberally. This will then disregard other human rights or civil rights, as well as freedom, ethnic relations, labor rights or other public policies that would allow individuals to gain rights as citizens of a liberalized world. As it stands human rights issues are amongst the most frequently raised concerns of those western powers who are seeking to maintain their dominance over the region. Developing countries are being eroded by the inadequacy of the present order. Therefore, for them to gain their strength, they could avoid the current superpower hegemony towards the ruling power of the new multipolar world. If, China as the ruling power would perhaps implement reform and openness in the developing world. For this reason, China has started a series of reforms in its intention to gain a rightful place as being the sovereign power of the new order. The rise of China has made way for the redistribution of global power-increasing openness and reform, thereby reinforcing the developing countries of the multipolar world order. If it is successful, then a new environment would come about that could increase cooperation and competition through globalization.

The ambition to reorder east asia: A shift of power from West to East would greatly influence the financial and security development and governance of both the developed and developing countries by creating an "open" environment that could improve relations between domestic and global systems. This has been demonstrated by the case of China as when it gained economic growth and power through a series of reforms and openness, which started in their own domestic market, its globalization flourished. As Zhang had implied,

By opening its economy to the global system, China has benefited from accessing the world market as well as from understanding the benefits of enhancing its management capacity and improving its own economic system (Zhang 2013)

Therefore, the way forward for China is to develop from the traditional system to a new system as well as being independent. This would continue to give the developing country the opportunity to know more about

the other prevailing systems, thereby helping them in the reformation of their own system.

Essentially, as China's power rise continues in the coming years, then power might be shifted from the West to the East or from the developed to the developing world. However, the Western countries, such as the United States, will not give up their dominion over East Asia willingly. China had insisted that its rise would be peaceful as its aim is to build a harmonious world and with this, there is the question of how China would build a new multipolar world without provoking conflict and war. Other strong forces are likely to interfere with China's plans and for China to create a new world order, they will have to at times be patient and accommodate wishes of the other strong forces.

Meanwhile, China has initially supervised and implemented activities of public procurement over the past ten years. (Mitterchhoff 2012) The Four into One Platform is a new reform initiative of China in terms of the laws governing public procurement of products and services in their market. Its aim is to collapse segregated regimes into one that is more centralized. This new reform process could initiate suppliers to enter into China's bifurcated, multiarticular environment that would connect them with the global world. As its administrative system is divided into Xitong, they would have to enter the monopolized world according to the dictates of the Chinese leaders. This new platform presents both reform and openness within the financial environment. As a result, it could influence the security environment by creating a system that invokes over-reaching Chinese authority within the region.

As China becomes a leading player in the world market, it has to take "a more active role in participating in and promoting the process of multilateral negotiations." (Zhang 2013) This would enable them to gain dominion over the system which would require them to create a new order. Therefore, they have to respect the supremacy of other strong forces within the system or else they would not be able to achieve their desired end of building a new system through integration. However, with the constant rise of China's power and supremacy in East Asia, they can reorder the region by means of international reforms and policies that would shift the powers from the developed to the developing worlds. Nevertheless, it could be impossible for them to be solely in dominion over the region, for the stronger forces would neither tolerate a change of dominion nor allow their own forces to weaken. At this point it is helpful to note that there is little evidence of a strong enough desire regionally to develop interdependence and cooperation, intrinsic

rivalries have all but obstructed the effectiveness of regional institutions in bringing together East Asian nations. APEC and ASEAN are perhaps two of the best examples of regional cooperation efforts but their effectiveness and level of integration cannot be compared to what is seen in the European economic region. Whether it takes a regional hegemon to break this deadlock or a universal abandoning of such ambitious desires remains to be seen, clearly at this stage China's intention is to lead by authority.

Consequences of a reordered east asia: There are positive and negative consequences to China's pursuit of reordering East Asia. In terms of the potential for positive outcomes, first, China could be able to create a peaceful and harmonious system in East Asia. Second, reform and openness would lead to financial and security developments of both the developed countries and the developing countries. Third, creating a multipolar world could lead to a new international political and economic order that might largely benefit the countries of East Asia. Fourth, creating a new multipolar world could decrease injustice and unfairness within the region. Fifth, the sole sovereignty of a dominant superpower could encourage a just new world order. Sixth, with increased globalization and the initiative for reforms and openness, cooperation could be enhanced which would then lead to financial and political security. Seventh, China's rise could be peaceful and harmonious, thus, might prevent war and conflict with the other countries inside and outside of the region. Eighth, the security of the weaker states, such as those in Southeast Asia, could be enhanced considerably as an effect of bilateral ties between them and a 'ruling' China. Ninth, East Asia could become rapidly modernized with the support of China. Tenth, security within the region may be improved as all the countries could work harmoniously towards improving their state of security from the assault of superpowers from other regions.

If a new multipolar world will be created, then the developing countries would be developed in terms of their finance and the economy, which could then improve their state of power and security. The weaker states of the Southeast Asia could arise, enabled by the expansion of a leader state. The developing countries of South Korea and the Philippines may not retaliate against China since they share in its economic growth. The new multipolar world and the system could be transformed into one that ushers in a ruling order of China, initiating change and development for the benefit of many actors.

On the other hand, if China should continue its ambition to reorder East Asia and create a new multipolar

world, it also has the potential to inflict harmful effects onto the region. First, a system built on reform and openness may hinder weaker countries in their development since it could result in enhanced regional competition to their detriment. Second, with further development of the developed countries, growing superpowers would seek to counter Chinese interests. Third, in replacing the dominant superpower within East Asia, there is the possibility of political retaliation which could escalate to the point of war, increasing the possibility of inter-state conflict and instability. Fourth, many countries could seek to combat China's supreme authority, disregarding freedom, human rights and civil rights, which might then lead to economic and humanitarian crises across the region. Fifth, many countries would envy the sole dominion of China within the region, hindering cooperation. Sixth, countries that had some relations with the Middle East, such as Indonesia and the Philippines, could become places of conflict, the powers of the Middle East would possibly try to combat China in its attempts to dominate the states. Seventh, Western countries that had been the sources of the traditional system may not allow their control to be so easily overthrown by China, creating further conflict in the region. Eighth, with the traditional political norms centered on liberalization and freedom, many countries could fight for their rights and freedom or seek assistance from other superpowers outside the region. Ninth, creating a harmonious world may not be practically possible nowadays, since each actor might seek equality and fairness which the multipolar world cannot guarantee.

It seems impossible for China to create a new multipolar world in East Asia by merely using cooperation and integration. Building a peaceful and harmonious system cannot be done nowadays without sharing power and authority with the ruling power. Therefore, there could be a number of superpowers within the region, which would have significant influence over other developing nations. In the coming years, these superpowers could continue with their aim of being superpower hegemonies within the region resulting into retaliations with one another based on their initiatives. Thus, the only way for them to work harmoniously could be by cooperating within the trade and financial systems much like how the situation between China and Japan existed in the late 20th century. Although they had been fighting their rights over the Senkaku Islands, they had become economic partners that beneficially eased the tension over the case of the disputed islands. This is also the case in the relations between China and the Philippines, as well as between China and South Korea. In

this case, China's strong power and influence towards the weaker countries appear to be strong factors towards peace and harmony. If this should happen in the new multipolar world, then China could gain in power and authority while other developing countries would retain their positions as followers of China. Thus, a harmonious world could be built between China and the weaker states.

However, in relation to stronger states, there is the possibility that each one could work for the development of their forces, with China influencing the extent of their development. For China to maintain its position as the sole superpower hegemon of East Asia, it should prevent other strong powerful states from developing further. For this reason, it is evident that China's position of becoming the superpower hegemon could encourage the development of the weaker states while impacting the development of the stronger states. Such a scenario would represent a significant change from the current environment and as such its effects can be assumed to be extremely widespread, likely creating both benefits and harmful effects in the region of East Asia.

CONCLUSION

Analysis provided about the macro and micro impacts of Chinese foreign policy shows an extremely complex environment where external actors can strongly influence the actions of other states. China's ambition to reordering East Asia has not been demonstrated through aggressive military actions but through its diplomatic actions, its ability to express itself through the influence of its wealth and through its military projection power. As China's economy grows to overtake that of the U.S. it is stripping the US of its dominance in the region and this effect is taking place on several levels. Firstly, the U.S. is becoming of less relative importance to other nations in the region; as China's trading power grows so too does the desire amongst other countries to connect their economies through trade and, in addition with their export and import demands more saturated by the China there is less reason to look farther afield. Secondly, closer economic ties with China have been demonstrated as a factor which can heavily influence the resolution of other disputes and as such are preventing the escalation of crises within the region. While trade agreements exist, such as for WTO signatories, that restrict the ability for one country to impact the trade of another, regional states benefitting from the successes of China's economic growth, such as Japan are seeking to avoid conflict. A cooling of regional relations and the stabilizing effect it can have will diminish U.S. importance and call into

question the need for the U.S. to present so much military presence. Thirdly, the investment in military infrastructure which China is now able to make does not appear to reflect a desire to aggressively approach region conflicts, instead it seems to remain in line with China's 'no war' public position-this is reflected in its continued favoring of the deployment of non-military assets. By having a sizable force available within the region, it is unlikely that Chinese interests can be bullied or harassed by other nations and while it does not seek to police its external environment on its own authority, something the U.S. could be accused of, its military capabilities could see it become even more influential within international organizations such as the U.N.

While its regional importance will undoubtable grow for the foreseeable future the benefits of such growth regionally a questionable. First and foremost China will continue to act in its own interests and this may come at the expense of the region in the form of regional security, growth, etc. Issues such as the sovereignty of the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands, disputed maritime borders, Taiwanese sovereignty, North Korean nuclear policy and many others such as, Tibetan independence and civil rights concerns within China, too numerous to explore thoroughly in the scope of this study, are likely to become increasing the sole domain of Chinese policy makers. Whether the resolutions of such issues will be peaceful, desirable internationally or even just is extremely questionable. In addition, Chinese values stemming rationally from the need to manage such a large population, naturally put a large emphasis on the state over the individual if this was to be extended regionally it could potentially result in a humanitarian disaster with smaller states being exploited for their resources and/or man power while not receiving fair representation.

Failures of the region to integrate in a comparable way to Europe are representative of a distinct distrust between nations and of rivalries that seem often to take precedence over the potential gains from cooperation. The ASEAN represents one of the most distinctive successes of regional cooperation efforts and the problem of this for China is two-fold. Firstly, China is not a Southeast Asian country and is not directly part of the organization, as such, its authority as a regional leader is severely questioned by its outsider status to such the noteworthy organization. Secondly, the ASEAN is representative of as regional desire to succeed despite Chinese (as well as Japanese and South Korean) successes and while the greater organization (ASEAN+3), primarily established for economic benefits, includes China, the key concept remains that Southeast Asian

nations can flourish cooperation between themselves.

It is clear that now China is in a position of domestic stability and strong economic growth it is seeking to increase its influence both regionally and globally, its priorities are diminishing U.S. hegemony within Asia and securing a stable environment. There is no evidence to suggest any colonial aspirations exist despite a buildup of military strength. Instead, China is seeking to solicit the approval of the international community in positioning itself as the regional leader. In the long run, such positioning seems inevitable, however, China's path to leadership will be obstructed continually by the interests of other states.

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