Contesting of Perspectives (The United States and the People's Republic of China): Can China Rise as a Peaceful Dragon?

Patcharapoom Yookasem[*]

Abstract

In this present world, nobody denies China's rapid growth, in terms of economic and military, it has been starting to complement the opening up reform strategic plan since 1978. It has boosted up average 9.4 percent annual of GDP growth, and it is one of the highest growth rates in the world. So, the author compares China to the newly rising dragon. The China's government attempts to promote its economy through the industrialization, supporting the foreign direct investment (FDI), and also enhancing the economic cooperation with the third world countries; such as the Latin American, Asian and African countries, to enhance its economic growth and the win-win cooperation among China and these countries. In military terms, the government also provides the budget for the military expenditure, making Chinese military is one of the strongest in the world, especially for the application of advanced technology.

Thus, accordance with the aforementioned China's growth in terms of both economic and military capacity, this article would like to examine the perspectives of the rise of China, specifically focusing on the critiques between the U.S. and China about the hotly debated or question "Can China Rise as a Peaceful Country?"

Keywords: Peaceful Rise/Peaceful Strategic Plan/Economic Cooperation South China Seal/ People's Republic of China

[*] *Master's Candidate in Chinese Politics, Foreign Policy and International Relations, Tsinghua University, Beijing, People's Republic of China*

INTRODUCTION

China's rise as a leading economic and military power is among the most epic phenomena in the 21st century. (Jianwei Wang, 2009, p. 1) China's rapid development has attracted worldwide attention in recent years. The implications of various aspects of China's rise, from its expanding influence and military muscle to its growing demand for energy supplies, are being heatedly debated in the international community as well as within China. With its opening up reform its economy in 1978, China has averaged 9.4 percent annual GDP growth, one of the highest growth rates in the world. In 1978, it accounted for less than one percent of the world economy, and its total foreign trade was worth $20.6 billion.

China's vast territory, gigantic population, fast economic growth, attractive traditional culture, huge domestic market, and ascending international status have enabled it to be seen as a potential superpower in the coming decades. In the Mao era, China was unable to attain great power status because Mao's continuous political and ideological campaigns, aiming to revive a revolutionary spirit, had produced massive social, economic, and political upheaval in the 1960s and 1970s. China' rise began when the state embarked on an ambitious program of economic reform and modernization in the late 1970s. This program has led to profound and extensive changes in China's politics, economy, and society.
(Sheng Ding, 2010, p.265)

As China began to gain its status in the world stage in the 1980s, the Chinese leaders and strategists started to pay attention to the global affairs, particularly the U.S.'s involvement in the regional conflicts. These strategic planners have long been aware that as China comprehensive national power continues to grow, some countries have begun to worry about the China threat due to its communist ideology and low cost products in the world market. Given that U.S.'s active promotion of soft power and China's desire in diminishing external threat rhetoric, Beijing regime began to utilize Chinese culture as a powerful instrument to demonstrate its soft power. (Shao-Cheng Sun, 2011, p.54)

As mentioned earlier about the China's rapid growth in terms of economic, military and the living standard of Chinese people is getting better, it seems like China appreciates itself to be the number one with fastest growth in the world in this recent year. On the other hand, the growth of China causes the other countries to panic because the military capacity of China has been also growing, and according to the conflicts among China and the countries in these regions; Southeast Asia and East Asia, as well as the long period of irresolvable tension with Taiwan bring tension to the other countries, specifically the countries located near those hot spots and plus panic to the rest of the world.

This paper would like to examine the growth of the People's Republic of China, in terms of economics, military capability, and according to the strategic plan of China's Peaceful Rise which was stated by Zheng Bijian on November 3, 2003, in his speech "A New Path for China's Peaceful Rise and the Future of Asia." Thus, this paper would like to explain or examine about "Can China rise as a peaceful dragon? ", specifically, the contesting of the perspectives of the United States and the People's Republic of China.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF CHINA'S PEACEFUL RISE STRATEGIC PLAN

This section describes the historical background of the China's peaceful rise strategic plan, according to the statement of Zheng Bijian in 2003, which stated that China would explore the world by enhancing the cooperation between China and other countries around the world, under the main principle of China's foreign policy which is "the Five Principle of Peaceful Coexistence," which emphasized the mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and significantly China will rise in peaceful coexistence with the rest of the world.

The development of China has been starting since 1979, that the Chinese leadership has described its key goal of its strategy as being to achieve comprehensive national strength by focusing on its process of development, by which this goal requires a peaceful regional and global environment. In 1989, Deng Xiaoping, has outlined his principles for handling foreign policy and also elaborated in 1993, by President Jiang Zemin, who stated that China's need to stabilize relations with other

countries especially the United States for enhancing confidence, reducing troubles, expanding cooperation, and avoiding confrontation. (Rosemary Foot, 2006, p.84)

China has been maintaining peaceful development and stabilized itself from 1979 until during the period of Asian financial crisis of 1997-9, Beijing moved swiftly to offer economic assistance to countries affected and announced that it would not be devaluing its own currency as a response to the crisis. China started to engage far more actively with Asian multilateral security and economic organizations such as the ASEAN Regional Forum and APEC. (Rosemary Foot, 2006, p.85) And in 2010, China with another 10 ASEAN countries signed the agreement on economic cooperation which is "The ASEAN-China Free Trade Area.

China is still trying to increase its influence in the world in terms of the enhancing of the peaceful cooperation with other countries, particularly cooperation with the developing countries such as with Latin American, African, as well as Asian countries. On November 3, 2003, Zheng Bijian addressed a plenary session of the Bo'ao Forum for Asia, a "nongovernment and nonprofit international organization" dedicated to facilitating communication between Asian business and government leaders, located in Hainan, China. In Zheng speech, titled "A New Path for China's Peaceful Rise and the Future of Asia," Zheng introduced a new concept in international relations, and it also can be the notion of China's peaceful rise. Zheng stated:

> "In the 25 years since the inception of its reform and opening up, China has blazed a new strategic path that not only suits its national conditions but also conforms to the tide of the times. This new strategic path is China's peaceful rise through independently building socialism with Chinese characteristics, and China's only choice is to strive for rise, more importantly strive for a peaceful rise." (Robert L. Suettinger, 2004, p.2)

As the statement from Zheng Bijian demonstrates that China will be raised as a peaceful power and also at the same time attempting to cooperate with other countries. China will rise peacefully according to the main principles of its foreign policy; the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which are: 1) mutual respect for

sovereignty and territorial integrity, 2) mutual non-aggression, 3) non-interference in internal affair, 4) equality and mutual benefit, and 5) "peaceful coexistence."

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section describes the literature review which is related to the topic of this paper "can China rise as a Peaceful Dragon?: The Perspectives of the United States and the People's Republic of China." Thus, the literature review would be divided into two different schools; on one hand believes that China can rise as a peaceful power or dragon (China's perspective) by cooperation with the other states, and on another hand believes that China cannot rise as a peaceful power or dragon (The United States' perspective) because of its enormous military capability.

School A: School A believes that China can rise as a peaceful dragon, according to the article by *Shao-Cheng Sun* (2011, p.56), *"The Approaches of China's Soft Power Strategy,"* mentioned about China's peaceful rise that "The demonstration of China soft power has become an incentive approach for Hu Jintao to sell the harmonious world and peaceful development policy. China's utilization of soft power has given the Beijing regime a new thinking in the drafting and implementation of a foreign policy which includes the Chinese media can help to promote a gradual and peaceful development. "

Michael J. Green (2009, p.22), *"Asia in the Debate on American Grand Strategy,"* argued that "the entire thrust of the argument is that China's rise can be managed through the element statecraft of embedding an agenda for cooperation in bilateral and multilateral mechanisms that gradually reduces the "perceived need to hedge and China aims to cooperate with other countries with win-win cooperation."

Christopher Layne (2008, p.14), *"China's Challenge to US Hegemony,"* argued that "Engagement assumes that, as China's contacts with the outside world multiply, its exposure to Western (that is, mostly American) political and cultural values will result in evolutionary political change within China. The proponents of engagement believe that the forces of domestic political liberalization and economic globalization will temper Beijing's foreign policy ambitions and lead a peaceful Sino-American relationship… A China so engaged, it is said, will have strong interests in

cooperation and will not be inclined to pursue security competition with America or with its Asian neighbors."

John J. Mearsheimer (2010, p.383), *"The Gathering Storm: China's Challenge to US Power in Asia,"* argued that "A benign China can avoid confrontation by building defensive rather than offensive military forces. In other words, Beijing can signal that it is a status quo power by denying itself the capability to use of force to alter the balance of power. After all, a country that has hardly any offensive capability cannot be a revisionist state, because it does not have the means to act aggressively."

According to the argument from the school A believes that China can rise peacefully, by the approach of harmonious and peaceful development, the utilization of soft power, the using of the cooperation in bilateral and multilateral mechanisms with win-win cooperation, avoid confrontation by building defensive rather than offensive military forces and does not act as the aggressive power, and significantly this school scholars believe that China has strong interests in cooperation and will not be inclined to pursue security competition with America or with its Asian neighbors.

School B: The scholars in this school believe that China cannot rise as a peaceful power or dragon because of the plentiful of it's militarily capability. Accordance with *Michael J. Green* (2009, p.16), *"Asia in the Debate on American Grand Strategy,"* argued by mention the comments of Senators Obama and McCain that "McCain emphasizes distrust of China on the security side and he also stated that the U.S. shares common interests with China that can form the basis of a strong partnership on issues of global concern, including climate change, trade and proliferation. But China's rapid military modernization, mercantilist economic practices, lack of political freedom and close relations with regions with regimes like Sudan and Burma undermine the international system on which its rise depends."

Christopher Layne (2008, p.16), *"China's Challenge to US Hegemony,"* argued that "In pursuing advanced military capabilities that can threaten its neighbors in the Asia-Pacific region, China is following an outdated path that, in the end, will hamper its own pursuit of national greatness. In time, China will find that social and political freedom is the only source of that greatness…China's leaders may be

tempted to resort to force or coercion more quickly to press diplomatic advantage, advance security interests, or resolve disputes."

John J. Mearsheimer (2010, p.389), *"The Gathering Storm: China's Challenge to US Power in Asia,"* argued that "China will seek to maximize the power gap between itself and potentially dangerous neighbors like India, Japan and Russia. China will want to make sure that it is so powerful that no state in Asia has the wherewithal to threaten it. It is unlikely that China will pursue military superiority so that it can go on the warpath and conquer other countries in the region, although that is always a possibility."

Shaun Breslin (2010, p.58), *"China's Emerging Global Role: Dissatisfied Responsible Great power,"* argued that "While there is some concern that China night one day have the military might to threaten the US (with much more clear and direct concern in Taiwan), the more pressing issue is Chinese arms sales and technology transfer to others. Although China has promised to adhere to the Missile Technology Control Regime, it has not formally joined it, and stands accused of exporting technology to, among others, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Pakistan, and Syria and to contributing (through arms sales) to armed conflict and/or state repression in Burma, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Nepal, Rwanda, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda."

According to the argument on "Can China rise as a Peaceful Dragon?: The Perspective of the United States." All of scholars in this school believe that China cannot rise as a peaceful power or dragon because based on military capability, lack of social and political freedom, contributing arms or weapons to other countries, and also scholars in this school also believe that China's leaders may be tempted to resort to force or coercion more quickly to press diplomatic advantage, advance security interests, or resolve disputes.

THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

This section will present the perspective of China on its peaceful rise, by focusing on the growth of its economic power, and also the cooperation with the other countries, particularly with the developing countries for enhancing their trade and economic cooperation under win-win cooperation, and also enhancing China's peaceful rise strategic plan through those co-ordinations.

As China's rapid development has attracted worldwide attention in recent years, the implications of various aspects of China's rise, from its expanding influence and its economic fastest growth rate of the world, are being heatedly debated in the international community as well as within China. China has been growing since the opening up policy by Deng Xiaoping in 1978, it causes that China was one of the worlds largest and most advanced economic prior to 19th century. China is also the largest exporter and second largest importer of goods in the world. And in 2010, the economy of China is the fastest growing consumer market in the world.

Not only, the fastest growing of China in economic terms, but China also supports itself to cooperate with other countries around the world especially with the developing countries such as Latin America, Africa and Asia. According to *Michael J. Green* (2009, p.22) says that "China's rise can be managed through the element statecraft of embedding an agenda for cooperation in bilateral and multilateral mechanisms." And *Christopher Layne* (2008, p.14) also supports the statement of *Green* by saying that "China has strong interests in cooperation and will not be inclined to pursue security competition."

The trade and economic cooperation between China and the developing countries, for instance, according to the article *China's African Policy* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2006, p.2), this paper was launched in Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, in 2000 describes about China and African states cooperation that China would like to "Enhancing solidarity and cooperation with African countries has always been an important component of China's independent foreign policy of peace. China will unswervingly carry forward the tradition of China-Africa friendship, and proceeding from the fundamental interests of both the Chinese and African people."

Another example for China's rise as a peaceful state by the cooperation with other countries, accordance with the article *China's Policy Paper in Latin America and the Caribbean* (The Central Chinese Government, 2008, p.2), stated that "China would like to enhance solidarity and cooperation with other developing countries in the cornerstones of China's independent foreign policy of peace. The Chinese Government views its relations with Latin America and the Caribbean from a strategic plan and seeks to build and develop a comprehensive and cooperative partnership featuring equality, mutual benefits and common development with Latin America and Caribbean countries."

In accordance with these two samples which are mentioned earlier present that China has been attempting to expand its peaceful rise around the world, especially with the developing countries, by enhancing their economic cooperation, trade and investment agreement between them, and China is not only making an effort to exploit the interests from those countries, but China also supports and assists them in terms of the construction of the transportation roads, as well as other infrastructure. Thus, in this section has shown that China can rise as a peaceful state, under its peaceful engagement, and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE UNITED STATES

This section describes about the perspective of the United States on China's peaceful rise according to the current world many people believe that China would be the next superpower of the world and replace the United Stated as a peaceful superpower. On the contrary, there are many scholar believe that China cannot rise as a peaceful state because of its military capability expansion and the hotly situation of the conflicts between China and its neighbors.

As mentioned in the previous section about China's economic rapid growth and also the cooperation with the developing countries, it seems like China is trying to become a new superpower of the world peacefully, on the other hand most of the U.S. scholars assume that China cannot rise as a peaceful superpower base on its military capability rapid growth. According to most of U.S. scholar, they are still insisting on that China cannot rise as a peaceful superpower according to the article by *Michael J.*

Green (2009, p.16), says that "Cannot distrust of China on the security side because China's rapid military modernization, mercantilist economic practices, lack of political freedom and close relations with regions." And *Christopher Layne* (2008: 16) supports that not only China's military capability but also "China's leaders may be tempted to resort to force or coercion more quickly to press diplomatic advantage, advance security interests, or resolve disputes." Thus, the U.S. scholars do not believe that China can rise as a peaceful power.

Significantly, the most important evidence for supporting the U.S. scholar argument it that according to the *Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People's Republic of China 2009,"* (Office of the Secretary of Defense, 2009, p.1) stated that:

> "The People's Liberation Army (PLA) is pursuing comprehensive transformation from a mass army designed for protracted wars of attrition on its territory to one of fighting and winning short-duration, high-intensity conflicts along its periphery against high-tech adversaries, an approach that China refers to as preparing for "local war under conditions of informatization." The pace and scope of China's military transformation have increased in recent years, fueled by acquisition of advanced foreign weapons, continued high rates of investment in its domestic defense and science and technology industries, and far-reaching organizational and doctrinal reforms of the armed forces."

The statement by the Office of the Secretary of Defense shows that China nowadays is still trying to expand and develop its military technological capability and the People's Liberation Army (PLA) spend lots of budget for the military expenditure. Therefore, the perspective of the United States on China's peaceful rise would be in negative because scholars believe that China cannot rise as a peaceful state because of the growth of China's military capability in terms of its advanced technology and a huge expenditure from the Chinese government to support the Chinese military. Not only its military expansion but the U.S. scholars also believe that China might be have an aggressive assertion with its neighbors' conflicts especially, the South China Sea Dispute and Taiwan Strait, which is China has been

mobilizing its military exercises for demonstrate that China is ready to protect their sovereignty of the other states cross its border.

CASE STUDY

This section presents case study for supporting my critical argument which the belief that China can rise as both peaceful and un-peaceful state, because it depends on the global situation, specifically, in the South China Sea Disputes.

The irreparable disputes of the South China Sea included all claimants which are China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Philippines, Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam. It is the consequences of the willingness to claim over the abundant natural resources, islands, and control of one of the busiest commercial and trade sea lanes of the world. Thus, all the claimants desire to claim the Islands by their rights but the accordance with the mutual interest is not able to be reconciled, so there have been conflicts among the claimants many times. Thus the situation in this arena is still in tension until nowadays. This maritime conflict, demonstrates that China can rise as a peaceful and un-peaceful power because China performs both aggressive and non-aggressive assertiveness.

The argument that China cannot rise peacefully can be reflected by the Chinese aggressive assertiveness, for example the case of Vietnam's fishing boats which were attacked, Vietnamese local authorities reported the arrival of Chinese fishing boats in Vietnamese waters in greater numbers that in the past. The head of Phu Yen Province Border Guard Headquarters stated that, "every day between one hundred and twenty and one hundred and fifty fishing boats of China were operated within waters from Da Nang City to the Truong Sa [Spratly] Archipelago… Previously Chinese fishing boats have violated our waters, but this was the first time there were so many boats." The number reportedly rose to two hundred on some occasions. Vietnamese fishermen formed groups of five to ten boats for protection from larger Chinese craft that sometimes used weapons to intimidate them. (Carlyle A Thayer, 2011, p.15)

Another example is the China's aggressive assertiveness to the Philippines, in case of On 25 February, three Philippines fishing vessels, F/V Jaime DLS, F/V Mama

Lydia DLS, and F/V Maricris 12, were operating in the waters off Jackson Atoll one hundred and forty nautical miles west of Palawan. According to a report prepared by the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), the fishing vessels were approached by a Jianghu-V class missile frigate, Dongguan 560, which broadcast over its marine band radio, "This is Chinese Warship 560. You are in the Chinese territory. Leave the area immediately". Then the frigate repeatedly broadcast, "I will shoot you". As the fishing vessels began to withdraw, the Chinese frigate fired three shots that landed 0.3 nautical miles (556 meters) from F/V Maricris 12 left the area but then returned three days later to recover its anchor that it cut in its hasty departure. The F/V Maricris 12 spotted three Chinese fishing vessels exploiting marine resources in the area. The Philippine government reportedly did not file a protest with the Chinese Embassy over this incident. The Chinese ambassador to the Philippines, Liu Jianchao later denied that any Chinese vessel had fired on Filipino fishermen. (Carlyle A Thayer, 2011, p.13)

In case of the Philippines, from my criticism, the incident of Chinese aggression caused the Philippines to move to strengthen relations with the United States as a response to Chinese pressure, despite its troubled relationship with its former colonial master. Foreign Secretary Albert del Rosario pointed to "China's aggressive action" and visited Washington in June 2011 to obtain assurances of U.S. support. While there, he pressed the United States to clarify its position over the Mutual Defense Treaty (MDT) of 1951.[1] (Leszek Buszynski, 2012, p.149) The reason that the Philippines persuaded the U.S. to come into this regional conflict caused China become more aggressive because the U.S. is a non-claimed state in this arena, thus the U.S. should not involve in this dispute.

Therefore, as mentioned in the previous paragraphs demonstrated that China cannot rise as a peaceful state because according to the case study about the South China Sea disputes, China has demonstrated the aggressive assertiveness with Vietnam and the Philippines, in terms of use of forces, and China also makes this conflict more intense because China has set the militarily bases on the South China

[1] *"The Mutual Defense Treaty between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States of America was signed on August 30, 1951 in Washington, D.C. between representatives of the Philippines and the United States. The overall accord contained eight articles and dictated that both nations would support each other if either the Philippines or the United States were to be attacked by an external party."*

Sea in the area claimed by China to protect itself from the invasion by the other claimants and especially, protect its interests from the non-claimed state which is the United States.

On The other hand, the argument that China can rise peacefully can be reflected by the cooperation between China and ASEAN members which is in November 2002, the Declaration of Conduct (DOC) was signed after seven years of negotiation, the DOC was to be a guideline for inter-state behavior until final agreement could be reached on a more formal Code of Conduct (COC). Under the terms of the DOC, the signatories agreed to build trust and confidence, respect freedom of navigation and over flight, resolve territorial and jurisdictional disputes by peaceful means, and exercise self-restraint "in the conduct of activities that would complicate or escalate disputes" and refrain from occupying uninhabited features. (Carlyle A. Thayer, 2011, p.12)

The DOC makes it clear that all relevant parties should move toward the COC on the basis of general consensus. China has been committed to this promise and maintained dialogue with ASEAN countries on the COC as part of the process of implementing the DOC, which further demonstrates China's determination to safeguard peace, stability and development in the South China Sea. The future direction and ultimate goal of the COC are to guarantee peace, enhance cooperation and promote friendship, which are consistent with the DOC and are in the common interests of all countries and their people in the region. (Wu Shicun, 2013)

Thus, the Declaration of Conduct between China and ASEAN countries which was sign in November 2002 was the signal of China that it will rise as a peaceful superpower by cooperation with the ASEAN countries for reduction of the conflicts by peaceful means and enhancing the cooperation between them. So, it can be described that China can rise peacefully according this case study if without the intervention of the non-claimed state which is the United Stated, because the U.S. is the most important that can mobilize the tension in this issue.

Therefore, in my point of view and according to my criticism analysis China can rise both as a peaceful and un-peaceful dragon but it depends on the circumstance of the world. Based on the case study on one hand, demonstrates that China would like to solve the problem by peaceful means by the agreement which was signed with

the ASEAN countries in November 2002 called "Declaration of Conduct," which is China promises that China will safeguard peace, stability and development in the South China Sea, build trust and confidence, respect freedom of navigation and over flight, resolve territorial and jurisdictional disputes by peaceful means, and exercise self-restraint. It means that China can certainly rise peacefully in this case because China also would like to support and promote its peaceful coexistence policy.

On the other hand, I think China cannot rise as a peaceful dragon as well, based on this case study about the expansion of the Chinese military capability and the exercise of China's military along the South China Sea water. And the China's aggressive assertiveness with the Philippines and Vietnam in the South China Sea, China had attacked the Vietnamese and Filipino fishing boats because China was afraid that Vietnam and the Philippines would invade the water is a partly of China's sovereignty and territory. Significantly, the most important event that makes China more aggressive behavior, is that the Philippines has brought the United States to the South China Sea dispute through the Mutual Defense Treaty which was signed in 1951 and essentially, the U.S. is a non-claimed state in this arena. Thus, all of the reason which is mentioned in earlier can demonstrate that China cannot rise as a peaceful dragon.

CONCLUSION/SUGGESTIONS/PREDICTIONS

China's peaceful rise nowadays is still remaining on the stage of argument between the perspectives of the United States and the People's Republic of China. The peaceful rise of China based on shared interests was an idea by Zheng Bijian in 2002, China's peaceful rise is a logic development; it is an opportunity for further cooperation between China and other countries in the world by the main principle of this peaceful rise plan based on the Five Principle of Peaceful Coexistence.

In the past over 30 years, China has experienced great transformations due to reform and opening-up. It is now at its critical development juncture. Its fundamental national interests lay in stability at home and peace abroad. By peaceful rise, China is learning how to further integrate itself to international system, and how to be a responsible country in the world community. Therefore, China's peaceful rise is logic

for development; it is an opportunity for further cooperation between China and other countries around the world; and significantly, it is an enthusiastic contribution to world peace and stability.

During the China's peaceful rise there is question still remain, because many countries around the world are in a state of panic about the whether China can rise as a peaceful dragon as it stated it the Five Principle of Peaceful Coexistence. According to my critical analysis I am asserting that China can both rise peacefully and un-peacefully depending on the situation or the circumstance of the international order. On one hand, I believe that China can rise peacefully, because of the initiative of the cooperation between China and the rest of the world, particularly with the developing countries, as well as the cooperation with the United States for anti nuclear proliferation of North Korea. It certainly means that now China is supporting the peaceful and stability in this international world. On the other hand, China can also rise un-peacefully, because now China has the fastest growth not only in terms of economic but also in terms of military expansion, especially for its advanced militarily technological weapons and the Chinese government also spends lots of budget for the military expenditure. And important event is China's military exercise along the South China Sea, the border between China and Taiwan and the area is near Diaoyu Islands, it causes the panic to the rest of the world because they are afraid that there will be the next World War. Thus, according to the expansion of military capability and the military exercises assumes that China also cannot rise peacefully.

For the suggestion, it seems that most of the aggressive assertiveness for China's military action is based on the intervention of the United States, I think the best way for the peaceful rise of China, the United States should not interfere or come into the conflict. For example in the South China Sea disputes, China is more aggressive because of the Philippines brings or persuades the U.S. (through the Mutual Defense Treaty which was signed in 1951), to come into this regional conflict in which the U.S. is a non-claimed state, and does not have any interests in this region. So, after the U.S. intervenes in this region China is more aggressive by its military exercises.

In case of the prediction of China's peaceful rise, as to whether it can rise peacefully, I assume that the tendency of the China's peaceful rise in the future can be

both. Because of now China is attempting to encourage and support the cooperation between China and the countries around the world, and in the conflicts between China and the competitive states, China is also trying to find the way of cooperation, such as the conference management, and the contract agreement between the involved states because China would like to encourage its policy of peaceful rising. On the contrary, I assume that China can also rise un-peacefully because its military expansion destabilizes the world, many countries need to be aware of its rise, and significantly the interference of the non-involved state in the regional conflicts makes China more aggressive assertion to response the intervention from that intervened state.

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