

Chinese Rise and the Development of Conflicts with Southeast Asian Countries over the South China Sea¹

***Muntaha Ali Hussien, **Dr. Houssein Mezher Khalaf**

**Ph. D. Student, **Assistant Professor
College of Political Science, University of Baghdad, Iraq*

DOI:10.37648/ijrssh.v13i02.019

Received: 07 March 2023; Accepted: 02 May 2023; Published: 07 May 2023

ABSTRACT

The American thinker Samuel Huntington at the time thought that the global conflict under the new international order would be an economic conflict, stressing that China would be the first emerging economic power that could pose a serious threat to the United States.

That reading embodied the model of American readings at the time, which were looking at a set of transformations that China brought about in its economic system and structures, which began to show features of its impact remarkably since the early nineties, especially in light of the enormous material and human capabilities and capabilities that China possesses, and its relentless directions at that stage. Which was proceeding in full swing to implement a successive series of comprehensive and ambitious development plans and strategies, to make China, in the eyes of American decision-makers, the strongest potential competitor to the United States in the twenty-first century.

During the past three decades, China was able to deal with various international crises positively, to become a major economic power in the world, occupying an advanced position globally in terms of progress and growth, so it tended to develop and develop its military capabilities and modernize its war arsenal, especially its naval forces, commensurate with its global position. It enables it to protect its economic interests that extend across the world, and because China has become one of the largest consumers of energy in the world, it has paid great attention to protecting waterways and oil supplies that come from overseas countries from the continents, especially the South China Sea.

The China Sea occupies a very important geographical location that made it one of the most important waterways in the world, as more than 33% of international trade ships pass through it, and nearly 50% of the maritime transport of energy sources from oil and gas, and a dense network of cables passes through it. The international communication network, in addition to the mineral and fish resources that are available in it, and its containment of large reserves of oil and natural gas, which made it the focus of ambitions of many countries near and far, in that controlling it means controlling the artery of global trade and navigation, and for this China was keen to Ensuring the extension of its influence on the China Sea, especially the strategic islands that it includes, and this is what made China enter into direct confrontations and conflicts with a group of Southeast Asian countries, especially the (ASEAN) group of countries.

Keywords: *rise of China; development conflicts; Southeast Asian countries; South China Sea*

THE INTRODUCTION

Because the relationship between the structure of the international system and international conflicts at the time of their occurrence is characterized by mutual influence between the two parties, so as much as the structure of the international system affects the course of development of international conflicts, it is also affected by the way in which those conflicts are managed, in terms of which they can cause its stability or bring about changes. Slight or profound in it, the researcher chose that this study be tagged with the title: "The rise of China and the development of conflicts

¹ How to cite the article: Hussien M.A., Khalaf H.M., (May 2023); Chinese Rise and the Development of Conflicts with Southeast Asian Countries over the South China Sea; *International Journal of Research in Social Sciences and Humanities*, Vol 13, Issue 2, 220-231, DOI: <http://doi.org/10.37648/ijrssh.v13i02.019>

with Southeast Asian countries over the South China Sea", in the light of what is contained in the following objective and methodological contexts.

The importance of the study can be highlighted as follows:

The geo-strategic importance of the South China Sea at the regional and international levels, and the increase in the pace of international competition for control of this region, and the repercussions and repercussions of this competition on various political, economic, security and military levels, especially in light of the continuous and steady rise of China, which made it at the top of Major international powers competing with Western powers, led by the United States of America.

The exacerbation of regional crises and conflicts in the South China Sea region, between China and Southeast Asian countries, which have been among the hot issues and crises for many years until the present time, and their transformation into international conflicts due to the overlapping and collision of the network of international interests in the South China Sea region, which doubles It is important to monitor and trace the path of the emergence and development of these conflicts, and to reveal their various dimensions and aspects.

Severe sensitivity and the possible severity of the effects of exacerbation

Chinese disputes with Southeast Asian countries over the South China Sea affect China's relations with major countries, and international relations in general, in light of the important global position that China has become and its position at the top of the hierarchy of competing international powers at various levels and in various regions of the world.

The study keeps pace with the phenomenon that is the subject of study and research on the one hand, and its orientation to study the future of the Chinese dispute with Southeast Asian countries over the South China Sea, and its possible international repercussions and repercussions in the short and medium term, which would contribute to the transformation of the South China Sea region into a hotbed of potential international conflicts.

The benefit that this study is expected to bring to many research and scientific bodies and institutions, in addition to researchers, scholars, and those concerned in the field of political studies with regional and international crises and conflicts in the South China Sea region, and others interested in developments therein.

The current study mainly seeks to identify the rise of China and its contribution to the development of conflicts with Southeast Asian countries over the South China Sea, in addition to a set of sub-objectives, which are represented by each of the following: Exploring the relationship between China's rise and the geo-strategic importance of the South China Sea region.

Learn about the role of China's rise in the emergence and development of conflicts with Southeast Asian countries over the South China Sea.

An analysis of the impact of China's rise on its strategy in resolving its disputes with Southeast Asian countries over the South China Sea.

And shed light on China's strategies in facing the challenges of international competition over the South China Sea region.

Finally, exploring the future of Chinese disputes with Southeast Asian countries over the South China Sea in light of the continued rise of China and its repercussions on the international system.

On the other hand, the existing disputes between China and Southeast Asian countries in the South China Sea region have become one of the most issues of regional and international concern, especially since China has continued since 2013 to impose its control over the South China Sea, and aspires to turn it into a Chinese lake, by following the policies of imposing a fait accompli. Through its control of some of the disputed islands in the region, and the construction of artificial islands in the waters of the disputed Spratly Islands, which, according to some, warns of the possibility of an escalation of conflict in the South China Sea.

Overlooking the South China Sea are six countries that are in dispute with each other over parts of it, namely: (Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan, Malaysia and Brunei, members of ASEAN), in addition to China, as these disputes revolve around three essential points:

First, sovereignty, control and influence: China believes that it has the right to sovereignty over three-quarters of the sea, which covers an area of approximately three and a half million square kilometers, including islands, especially the Paracel and Spratly Islands.

Secondly, wealth and natural resources: The South China Sea contains many riches, and it contains vital and rich islands.

Third: The geo-strategic importance of the South China Sea: The South China Sea is of great strategic importance as a trade passage, especially with the growth of global trade passing through it.

In view of this, the South China Sea region is witnessing increasing regional and international tension in light of the Chinese rise and China's efforts to impose its sovereignty over most of the disputed sea, in a way that raises fears of the outbreak of armed conflict or a large-scale war, especially in light of the escalating US-Chinese disputes. The US-Chinese rivalry in East Asia is linked to the intertwined interests there on the one hand, and also comes in the context of the competition between them on a global level on the other hand. The United States considers China the greatest challenge or perhaps a threat to the United States of America, especially since China is still growing rapidly economically, at the same time that it is working to modernize its military power, in a clear direction that reflects its ambitions to change the international balance of power, and for this reason it seeks to impose its influence. On the South China Sea, and the presence also in many regions of the world outside its vital field The problem of the current study is determined in the light of the foregoing, in the need to identify the Chinese rise and how it contributed to the development of conflicts with Southeast Asian countries over the South China Sea, so that this problem can be formulated as follows:

How did the rise of China contribute to the development of conflicts with Southeast Asian countries over the South China Sea?

A set of sub-questions emerges from this question, which can be expressed as follows:

What is the relationship between China's rise and the geo-strategic importance of the South China Sea region?

What is the role of China's rise in the emergence of conflicts with Southeast Asian countries over the South China Sea?

How did the rise of China affect its strategy in resolving its disputes with Southeast Asian countries over the South China Sea?

What are China's strategies in facing the challenges of international competition over the South China Sea?

What is the future of Chinese disputes with Southeast Asian countries over the South China Sea in light of the continued rise of China and its repercussions on the international system ?

The Chinese rise had economic, political, military and security dimensions that defined the features of China's new strategic directions during the past two decades, in a way that contributed to sparking Chinese disputes with Southeast Asian countries in the South China Sea region, given the importance of its geo-strategic location for China and those countries in Its together.

And because the rise of China had great effects on the international system, it also led to an increase in international competition over the South China Sea region, especially the United States, Britain and France, as they all seek to confront the Chinese rise in that region, and this had its effects on China's disputes With Southeast Asian countries in the South China Sea, and the future of these disputes, which seems open to multiple possibilities and scenarios.

This study aimed to highlight China's position as an active and influential force in the international arena, by following the systems analysis approach due to the ability of this approach to shed light on the role that China can play and change in the features of the future of the international system in light of the growth of its military, economic and political power, where China is witnessing Unprecedented growth rates, and politically, as China has finished building its own and regional strength, and has been striving for years to build its international standing, until it has become one of the candidate forces to contribute to the possibility of changing the shape of the new (global) international system. The study concluded that China was able to secure a position on global and regional levels

Based on the foregoing, our research was divided as follows:

The first topic: the rise of China and its strategic dimensions

The second topic: the South China Sea in the Chinese strategic perception

The third topic: the effects of the Chinese rise in the South China Sea on the international system

Conclusion, conclusions and list of references

THE FIRST TOPIC: THE RISE OF CHINA AND ITS STRATEGIC DIMENSIONS

This topic is concerned with studying and analyzing the conceptual foundations of the Chinese rise and the theories that explain it, in preparation for examining the historical path of the Chinese rise and the dimensions associated with it.

The concept of the rise of China is one of the prominent issues that have occupied the interest of academics, politicians, media professionals, and observers, but this interest has been associated with a severe state of confusion regarding the use of the appropriate description to describe China's global situation after the transformations it has undertaken and led to the strengthening of its presence and position in today's world, and whether it is true. It should be described as a rising power, an emerging power, or a super power, and other related terms (1).

There is a set of factors and elements that should be available in any country to become a (superpower). In this regard, the thinker of international relations Hans Morgenthau considered that the elements of the comprehensive power of the state are represented in nine factors, namely: the geographical factor, natural resources, and industrial energy, military readiness, population, national character, quality of government, morale, and finally the quality of diplomacy (2).

Based on the study and analysis of these factors, it was possible to classify the countries of the world into six categories: great powers such as the United States of America, rising powers such as China, India, Japan and the European Union, secondary powers such as the United Kingdom and France, middle powers such as Australia, Canada and most European countries, visiting powers such as countries The Arab Gulf, and small powers such as the Vatican (3).

The term emerging powers received great attention after the end of the Cold War era, at the international financial gathering in 1981, in reference to the countries with the largest and fastest growth in the world.

The term "rising power" refers to countries that are currently witnessing a stage of rapid development, recording high industrial and economic growth rates, and in which development is an essential element of stability.

The concept of rising powers has been linked to the concept of ascension as one of the concepts that enters into the pattern of approaches concerned with studying development trends and behaviors in different countries. Influence and influence, especially after the continuation of its development achievements, its interdependence and institutionalization of its relations, and its contribution to maintaining the growth and stability of the global economy after the serious crises it has known (4).

Some researchers consider ascent a synonym for the term "take off", while some define it as: "the rise in the hierarchical ladder of the international system after acquiring economic power, and then transforming it later into the political and strategic spheres, or the regional and then international spheres"; Or is it: "the sudden emergence of economies, after achieving industrial and commercial performance, these economies were not known" (5).

However, the Chinese transformation strategy, at least since the nineties of the last century, has deliberately surrounded its development experience and orientations with the term ascendancy, which was linked to a large extent with describing the developmental transformations and leaps achieved by the countries that were called (Asian tigers).

The term rise of China in its simplest sense refers to "an amazing success story, China moved from a peasant society, languishing in extreme poverty, to the second largest economic power in the world. What is amazing about this story is that China has managed, however, to maintain different identity characteristics. On the dominant model of the West, whether in the model of economic development, or in the model of governance, or in the pattern of involvement in the existing international system" (6).

This term: (China's Rise) or (Rise of China) appeared for the first time in Chinese discourse in 2003, by the Chinese political and strategic expert Zheng Bijian (), during his official visit to the United States in a speech carrying Title: The New Path of China's Peaceful Rise and the Future of Asia; As the head of the Chinese Reform Forum, Zeng Beijian, sought to promote this idea as part of a soft power that is issued through a Chinese foreign policy that aims to complete the rise before provoking other countries, stressing that the Chinese rise is a peaceful rise, and that China is developing by relying on its own forces, and in The level of foreign relations We have always supported the relations of cooperation and friendship between different countries (7).

Nevertheless, the Chinese view the term "the rise of China" as one of the foreign terms, which were previously used by some foreigners in discussions that dealt with the changes that China has been going through since the nineties of the last century, which moved to the Chinese language and became circulating on the tongues of people as a term that has a positive connotation, as it made it Many Chinese scholars and specialists have national goals (8).

In 2005, the Chinese reformulated this term to become (China's Peaceful Rise), as a broad title for a comprehensive strategy for the rise of China and its transformation into a balanced international economic, political, social and military power without any confrontations or clashes with any of the regional or international powers, which It enjoyed the support and endorsement of former Chinese President Hu Jintao. The aim of adding the word “peaceful” is to reassure regional and international powers that Chinese growth will not pose any threat to international peace and stability, which is what the five main axes of the strategy express

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Bearing in mind that the term Chinese rise does not appear in the official Chinese discourse, as Chinese official documents use another different term, which is: (the great resurgence of the Chinese nation), which is an expression that differs from the rise of China in terms of concept, as the rise refers to a poor and weak country that is developing To become a strong and prosperous modern country, while revival means reviving the spirit, personality and historical glory of the great Chinese nation, in addition to the previous meanings that the Chinese ascension bears (9).

The beginning of the Chinese rise was linked to the reform policies that Deng Xiaoping embarked on in 1978, after the bad state of the Chinese economy and the devastating crises that followed it, the last of which was the Cultural Revolution (1966-1974), and the unrest that led to it, while countries were Neighboring China, such as Korea and Japan, is achieving significant economic growth, and this prompted the Chinese leadership to reconsider China's position and directions. Economic reforms based on gradualism and pragmatism were initiated, and under slogans such as: socialist market economy, peaceful development, and China relied at that stage on Three elements: reforms, the appropriate environment, and the strategy of development through export, which are the foundations on which the Chinese rise was actually built (10).

These Chinese discussions are inseparable from the Chinese themselves' vision of the significance and concept of the Chinese rise in light of what they view as (difficulties and obstacles) that countries other than China have not experienced, which include the difficulties that the international environment brings, as the Chinese thinking is based on the relationship of China's rise to the world. external about two things (11):

first order; It is represented in how they view and treat relations between China and the current international system in which Western countries dominate the world, despite the fact that China benefited greatly from this system, in terms of creating in them motives for advancement and modernization coupled with the feeling of injustice they were subjected to in the modern era.

second order; What they call (the international environment for the rise of China), as many Chinese believe that the international environment that China faces has harms and benefits at the same time, and that China must make tremendous efforts to maintain a relatively long-term peaceful international environment, and this will not be achieved for China unless It possessed some ingredients and conditions, including: China's possession of the deterrent force that enables it to preserve its territorial sovereignty and protect its strategic interests, and enjoy the freedom to determine strategic options in dealing with regional and international issues and crises in light of what is required by China's development and security, in addition to the need for China to have the full ability to Confronting non-traditional intercontinental threats.

The appropriate regional environment factor was one of the most important factors that helped the rise of China, and even if it were not for the availability of this environment, it would not be possible to talk about any rise of China. Kong and Taiwan, which created suitable climates that contributed to the success of Chinese export development plans. China was able to strengthen its relations with these countries and benefit from its relations in achieving the goals of reform policies.

However, the Chinese are still engaged in continuous discussions about the significance and meaning of the Chinese rise, in the belief of the majority of them that this rise is not a reality as much as China is already on its way towards achieving it, so the number of poor people in China is still comparable to the population of a European country (12) Thus, the moment of eradicating poverty in China may be the moment when it is possible to talk about the transformation of China's rise into an already existing reality.

And if it is clear that the rise of China has made it a major power, the pattern of this rise still raises many controversial issues, about whether it will continue in a quiet manner or whether it will turn into a violent rise, and

about its repercussions on the nature of the current international system, and whether It will lead to reviewing it or to preserving it, and other issues that require a great deal of reflection, anticipation, and careful and deep reading.

From the foregoing, it is clear that the concept of Chinese ascension differs in terms of China's view of its experience linked to its national history and its distinctive identity, as it sees in the transformation that it made a kind of rebirth of the Chinese nation, while the concept of Chinese ascension from the other point of view that expresses the vision of others from Outside, it refers to that strategy that China followed to transform and move from a poor country to a developed country at all political, economic and military levels, until it became the first and largest economic power and the second most powerful military country in the world. (13)

THE SECOND TOPIC: THE SOUTH CHINA SEA IN THE CHINESE STRATEGIC PERCEPTION

Views differ on the experience of the Chinese rise since 1980. Some consider it positive as a state of accelerated growth, while others see it as negative as a state of widening differences, and its relations to the global capitalist system vary between dependence and independence, as in its social content that fluctuates between capitalism and socialism. , and the political system that attracts with democracy on the one hand, and with autocratic forms of government, and therefore, the analysis and interpretation of the phenomenon of the Chinese rise will not only relate to China alone, or the continent of Asia, but rather go beyond that to the global system and its future.

Theoretically speaking, the rise of China constituted a distinctive model for testing the multiple and different assumptions on which prevailing international relations theories are based, such as realism, liberalism, or constructivism, in addition to partial theories that can be used to approach the Chinese rise, such as the theory of power transfer, or the theory of absorbing rising powers. Or the theory of peaceful rise (14), however, all partial theories do not deviate from the scope of the three major theories: realism, liberalism, and constructivism.

(a). Realist Theory:

The pioneers of the realist school in the West were divided into two teams. The first team adopted an offensive and pessimistic viewpoint in explaining the rise of China. It worked to promote a lot of what it called (the Chinese threat), a description that sees the rise of China as a threat to the international system, in the context of its endeavor to transfer power from American hegemony to Chinese hegemony, based on China's relentless tendencies to develop its military capabilities, and its negative position on democracy and human rights, and that its rise in any case must end in an international struggle for hegemony (14).

From this standpoint, the pioneers of this trend from the realist school went on to say that the rise of China will not be peaceful, especially as it challenges the interests of the current hegemony and other great powers in the international system, along with China's aspirational efforts towards achieving more external expansion (15).

Contrary to this trend, the other team emerged, which adopted an optimistic defensive viewpoint, as it saw that the rise of China would be peaceful, and that China did not have a history of aggression or global expansion, and therefore, China's trends towards international powers would be purely defensive (16).

However, most realists viewed the rise of China as harmful if not threatening, and predicted that China would have more expansionist goals than it currently has (17).

Within the framework of the realist vision, much reliance was made on the theory of power transfer in the international system. According to the founder of this school, Hans Morgenthau, states reflect three main frameworks in their international policies: either retaining power, increasing power, or showing power, and in the case of China, its acquisition of power will eventually lead to its defiance of the regional and international systems (18).

Organski had put forward the theory of power transition in an attempt to explain international politics in a hierarchical system of power in light of the ratios of power resources and the possibility of war between them, so that power is concentrated in the hands of a few nations, and the dominant nation is Those that sit at the top of the hierarchy of the system, and they control the largest percentage of the resources in it, but they do not represent the dominant power (Hegemon Power), given that they cannot alone control the behavior of other powerful actors, but they maintain their position as a dominant force.

From another standpoint, Robert Gilpin went on to formulate another concept of (hegemonic war), as the only way to solve the problem of imbalance in the structure of the international system, the redistribution of power and the building of power relations, and the more the power of the rising state increases, It is trying to change the rules of the international system (19).

From the Chinese point of view, it was very important to prove the invalidity of the Chinese danger theory, and even to know the motives behind its proposition. Therefore, Chinese policies tended to promote the principle of China's peaceful rise, and most of China's responses were purely defensive, emphasizing that China cannot replace the Soviet Union. It does not have ambitions for hegemony, does not seek to export its ideology, does not adopt anti-Western rhetoric, and all its military expenditures are completely defensive and do not deviate from the usual limits, in addition to that it rejects all forms of domination (20).

(B). Liberal Theory:

Quite the opposite of realistic interpretation came the liberal readings, the pioneers of liberal theory - including Fobin Lkenberry, J. Mearsheimer (J. Mearsheimer) - in the rise of China is a threat to the international system that is dominated by the United States, but they see that the rise of China will be a catalyst in strengthening US-Chinese relations, given that the behavior of the rise of China depends a lot on the rules of the free market and economic openness, and therefore, the Its rise will contribute to the liberalization of the Chinese economy, and strengthen China's membership in international institutions, in light of theories of economic interdependence.

Within this perception, the pioneers of liberal theory adopted the theory of peaceful power transition, and that China could advance peacefully without destabilizing the international system. As a serious dilemma in international relations, of course, the peaceful rise of China does not depend on China alone, but rather through China's work with the rest of the international community, and everyone must contribute equally to creating conditions conducive to achieving international peace, and securing China's peaceful rise However, there were liberals who were less optimistic, and were somewhat skeptical about the repercussions of China's rise, and saw that it would be a greater cause for increasing tension in Sino-American relations, especially with regard to the clash of the strategic interests of the two parties in the South China Sea region, and they argued that China will not It has no reasons to resort to the use of force and to enter into a war against the United States, if it sees that the United States actually threatens its rise and interests, especially since such tendencies are supported within the structure and ideology of the Chinese regime (21).

Within this perception, Chinese nationalism was considered one of the factors that China could employ to enhance political security at home, to unify the popular position and divert its frustrations abroad, by implementing expansionist policies using military tools, and this is what China can find a source for in its geographical history and memory. The historic lands that were taken from it, and its ambition to restore it within the framework of its new status as a great power after a century of humiliation.

In this context, it is necessary to address the Chinese point of view, which the Chinese expressed using the term China's peaceful rise, which Chinese leaders deliberately used in their official speeches since the beginning of the current century, and as an essential pillar of China's foreign policy, referring to five main elements 22):

1. That China has benefited from world peace to enhance its developmental rise, and in return, China will work to promote international peace through its rise.
2. China's reliance on its own capabilities, and on its great and independent efforts.
3. China's peaceful rise is based on the policy of opening up and the effective rules of international trade.
4. Bearing in mind that achieving the Chinese rise requires multiple generations.
5. Emphasizing that the rise of China will not stand in the way of any country or endanger any country, nor will it be at the expense of any nation to another.

(c). Constructivist Theory:

The constructivist theory falls within the framework of the new realism, and most of the constructive interpretations presented by the pioneers of the new realism put China in front of specific options that diverge between two directions, but they end up in a state of balance of power in any case.

Kenneth Waltz is the most prominent representative of this trend, as he presented a model for explaining the Chinese rise in the light of his theory of balancing and bandwagoning behavior, in his structural model based on the balance of power, which he presented in his book (Theory of International Politics) (Theory of International Politics). In Waltz's model, accommodative behavior is the opposite of equilibrium, as he defines it as joining the stronger side, while equilibrium is alliance with the weaker side. He argues that equilibrium behavior is more common than accommodation; Because balance, in his view, is the behavior resulting from the system, whether it is international or

regional (23), he believes that China, in its rise, tends to the behavior of balance in building and configuring its international relations.

In an attempt to provide a realistic scientific explanation for the formation of alliances, Stephen M. Walt reconfigured the balance of power model in another model he called the Balance of the Threat theory, in which he argued that when countries form alliances, they are motivated not only by the distribution of Capabilities, as the theory of the balance of power argues, are driven by the balance of threats (24), and therefore, this model gives a scenario for the rise of China based on the balance of forces and mutual threats among them.

Walt presented his model, in an attempt to avoid the drawbacks of the balance of power theory, which assumes that poor distribution of capabilities constitutes an imbalance of power, and argues that the formation of alliances and entering or preparing for war comes in response to threats and that the distribution of capabilities is important and may be a factor of threat, but it is not the only one who does it; Because, according to his opinion, there are other factors that are a criterion for the threat.

According to Walt's model, when states face an external threat, they have two options: either to balance (alliance with other forces against the source of the threat), or to follow accommodation behavior (alliance with the source of the threat), and then Walt determines the states' choice of balancing or coping behavior By choosing an alliance either against the main source of threat (equilibrium), or with the main source of threat (conciliation).

In any case, all the economic, military, technological, cultural, diplomatic and political transformations that the Chinese rise embodies do provide a partial explanation for the concern among decision-making circles in China's neighboring countries, especially the countries of the Southeast Asian region, about whether China It seeks to use its military power equally with its enormous economic power and the manifestations of other Chinese powers, which could be a threat to regional security and stability for the countries of the region, especially since China presents a model that is not much different from the rise of powers in the history of international relations, and it also has border disputes with the countries of the region. Specifically in the South China Sea.

From the foregoing, it appears that the concept of power is a pivotal concept in interpreting the Chinese rise, whether through what is expressed in the different viewpoints presented by the existing theoretical interpretations, or through what is reflected in the actual reality and is consistent with the existing theoretical interpretations of international relations and their various transformations

THE THIRD TOPIC: THE EFFECTS OF THE CHINESE RISE IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA ON THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

In his book "War and Change in World Politics", Robert Gilpin started from the argument that the international system is established for the same reasons for which any social or political system is established, as the actors establish social relations and establish social structures in order to achieve a certain set of political, economic or other interests. ().

Gilpin also made several assumptions that establish an understanding of international political change, and are related to the behavior of states, namely (25):

. The international system is stable (in equilibrium) if no country believes that it is better to try to change the international system, and if the more powerful countries in the system accept the existing regional political and economic arrangements, with the possibility of minor changes that do not affect the existing state of equilibrium .

. States seek to change the international system through regional, political and economic expansion, until they reach the level where the costs of change are equal to the potential benefits, or the latter exceed the costs.

. The international system shifts from a state of equilibrium to a state of imbalance as a result of changing the interests of states, especially because of the divergent growth of world powers. The greater the economic and technical developments and the potential benefits in a state, the more the growth of this state causes a shift to a state of imbalance in the international system. .

. If the international system is unable to address the state of imbalance resulting from the increase and acceleration of the growth of some countries, this system will change, and a new system and new balances will be established in its stead.

Gilpin's assumptions are close to the Chinese rise model, as there is no doubt that China has become one of the major and active powers on the stage of international relations and events, due to its human, military and economic capabilities, and other ingredients that qualify it to play an active role in the international arena ().

For this; In recent years, the issue of Chinese rise has occupied a wide space and field in contemporary research and studies. Indeed, China's diplomacy and international orientations have become a hotspot of great interest by researchers, due to its extreme complexity and ambiguity surrounding the reality of its goals, not to mention the regional and international challenges facing it. China, and in view of the major shifts that the rise of China could lead to in the international balance of power, and the position of the major powers regarding that, and this in turn raises very important and very urgent questions about the effects of the Chinese rise on the international system (26).

It is clear that China was very careful from the beginning of achieving accelerated growth in the manner of shock growth, given the dire consequences of this mechanism in all respects. The stages and methods that China has taken in its rise since 1978 indicate that China has chosen a gradual strategy in its growth - crossing The river jumps successively from one rock to another - and it seems that the choice of this strategy was not only motivated by the desire to avoid shock setbacks at the internal level, but also in order to avoid the reactions of international powers that could fear the rise of China ().

Moreover, the Chinese were keen to emphasize the peacefulness of the Chinese rise, so they paid attention to the smallest details that would affect the way others viewed this transformation, starting with the term itself (the rise of China), describing it and expressing it as a synonym for the meaning of peaceful development, and verifying Match this meaning in Western languages (27).

Despite the Chinese keenness to improve their political and economic relations with the United States, and their keen awareness of the importance of winning American support and cooperation with the United States as it is on its way to growth, with China's commitment to its pragmatic approach that Washington can accept (), international observers, especially in the West, They did not find anything in the rise of China that they could be reassured about.

From the point of view of Western observers, whatever expression China uses about its accelerated growth, its rise will only lead to one result, which is its transformation into an effective international power, which has what qualifies it to be a superpower within very short time limits, and this in turn will lead to In the event of a change in the pattern of Chinese discourse itself, especially in light of China's continued development of its capabilities and military forces; John Mearsheimer stressed that if China becomes an economic power, it will certainly seek to translate its economic power into military power and try to dominate East Asia

US National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski also stressed that China will emerge in the near future, with its relatively successful economic transformation, as a competing geopolitical power in the Pacific region. This alone is capable of having an important impact on the region, which is likely to lead to an important shift in the balance of power in Asia ().

In his book (The Great Chessboard), Brzezinski predicted that China is on its way to becoming the prominent regional power in East Asia, after it has already become the geopolitically dominant force over land space and has military and economic power that makes its immediate neighbors - with the exception of India perhaps - appear before it as dwarves. Hence, it would be natural for China to impose its regional presence as dictated by its history, geography, and economy (28).

At the international level, China may not seek to harness the advanced technology of the major countries in its favor, but it seeks to restore its historical role through a balanced development of its national structure, which will achieve for it in the short term an important regional role that may be a prelude in the farther to a global role ().

The coincidence of China's active economic and commercial growth with its continuous development and modernization of its military capabilities is what most worries the West. China ranked eighth among arms-exporting countries in the period (1998-2002), and became the fourth largest arms-exporting country in the world in 2000, ahead of major countries such as Germany, and after an exceptional increase in the volume of its arms transfers since 2001, China formed what 5% of all armament operations in the world.

Therefore, it can be said that some Western readings have almost really come close to the reality of what the Chinese rise could lead to, although China as a historical model does not give any indications of a country with an expansionist tendency, and as far as this seems to have been fully present in the awareness of the rule of The political culture of Chinese society, and more present in the awareness and understanding of the ruling elite in China, as an awareness that combines history and the present time and indicates that China does not tend to be a global power in the foreseeable time, as much as it seeks to achieve international respect for itself, but it is at the level The regional will not hesitate to seek to impose its regional centralization and employment ().

The impact of the Chinese rise on the international system has already become imminent, and most of the fears of China's neighboring countries and Western countries are justified and can be relied upon, after China has become in

the ranks of the most prominent military powers in the world, as it has embarked over the past two decades on modernizing its military capabilities and modernizing its army. Liberation, and the development of its capabilities to wage rapid wars even against adversaries advanced in military technology, and even China, with its military arsenal, is already capable of confronting the superpower itself - the United States - if necessary, especially in the South China Sea region and Southeast Asia. Generally().

In this direction, most specialists in international relations point out that the international system that moved from the era of bipolarity to the era of unilateral domination of one superpower - the United States - has already begun to transform, due to the Chinese rise, to a model of spreading power in one way or another, and moving to a status quo. The governed balance of power between a number of equal international powers ().

It has become likely that a new world order has begun to take shape, and that China represents the largest and strongest player in the face of the current international powers, given its enormous capabilities and capabilities at all economic, military and technological levels (29).

The researcher also believes that the international system cannot be a fixed and compelling authority in any way, as much as it is a product of shifts in the balance of power, so the Chinese rise cannot be neutral in its international behavior, regardless of the type of this behavior - that is, whether it is expansionist or Peacefully -, just as the actual reality reveals the impact of China's rise until today, albeit indirectly, on the international system, and therefore it is expected to have a greater impact in the future, perhaps to the same extent as the resistance of the superpowers to the continued rise of China, in a brief manner. It can be said that the rise of China has opened the door wide for the birth of a multipolar international system

From this pivotal historical point in the contemporary history of China, it is possible to study and analyze the historical path of the Chinese rise.

At least several aspects are extremely important, especially in the framework in which this study deals with researching and analyzing the repercussions and repercussions of the Chinese rise on the international system.

CONCLUSIONS

By reviewing the historical path of Chinese rise in the South China Sea, we have come to the following conclusions

First: After the failure of the Cultural Revolution led by Maozi, which had negative effects on the Chinese economy, and the departure of Maozi, Deng Xiaoping emerged as the leader of China. He adopts it, including welcoming foreign investments in his country and increasing decentralization and material incentives. In 1978, Ping began implementing a package of reform policies based on openness to the outside world, under the slogan of the New Choice, which aimed at building an economic, scientific and technological base that would enable China to fight The experience of competition in the global market, and he has adopted a policy of openness to the outside world, especially the United States of America.

The reform plan at this stage was based on the application of the principle of disintegrating the applied unity of the administrative system, which included all of China's economy, which was subject to exclusive ownership, which is the state, as if it were a single company, which demonstrated great success in the agricultural and industrial production sectors.

Second: This stage of the Chinese rise continued until the mid-1980s, to begin another stage that extended until 1991. This stage was characterized by the transfer of reform programs from rural areas to cities, after the great success achieved in the countryside, by relying on microeconomic methods. In this stage, China expanded the volume of freedoms granted to state-owned enterprises in the direction of easing the restrictions of centralization. It also included price liberalization, which had a negative impact on the Chinese economy. Inflation rates escalated as a result of price liberalization, and migration rates increased from the countryside to the cities.

Financial support and sponsorship: Nil

Conflict of Interest: None

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