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The Evolution of US-China Relations
in Trump Era (2017-2021).

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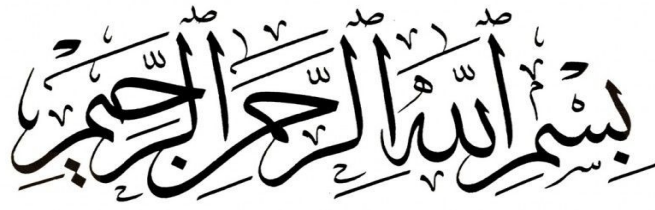
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Abstract

The China-US relationship is one of the most important relations at the level of the international system, which is governed by pragmatic benefit, a mixture of conflict and cooperation, Especially China's emergence as a superpower in the last two decades. The two countries has special features that they possess, both of them have economic, political, and military ingredients that are able to qualify them to become an essential and important actor in the regional and global system. when Donald Trump won the US presidential election in 2017 , relations between them, reached many critical junctures, especially in trade, and other political and military fields.

This research attempts to reveal the evolution of US-China relations before and after trump administration by answering the following main questions: What is the nature of the relationship between the United States and China? How has Donald Trump's administration (2017-2021) shaped and evolved these relationships? What are the future prospects for China-U. S. Relations?

The study assumes that regardless of the extent of cooperation and trade exchange between China and the United States, it remains in the context of competition and the USA will not be accepting its partner in the international system (The Liberal Order), as it seeks to remain the first superpower (Hegemonic) in the world economically, militarily and politically, and wants to exclusively rule the world without any contest to it.

Key Words: China, USA, International System , Liberal Order, Superpower, Hegemony, Trump Administration, International Relations, Cooperation, Conflict, War.

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DEDICATION

To my beloved parents and dear wife.

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List Of Abbreviations

AIIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
ES	English School
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
G-20	Group of Twenty
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IP	intellectual property

IR	International Relations
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NNT	Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSC	National Security Council
OECD	Organization For Economic Co-Operation And Development
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROC	Republic Of China
SEATO	Southeast Asian Treaty Organization
TPP	Trans-Pacific Partnership
UN	United Nations
TTIP	Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization

General Introduction

Since January 1979, the U.S.-China relationship has witnessed enormous levels of both positive and negative change, yet most often these changes have been beneficial. On the positive side, the two nations have developed a mutually productive array of ties and interactions in a growing multitude of areas, from trade and investment to social and cultural exchanges, as well as common initiatives for dealing with global threats such as climate change, Weapons of Mass Destruction WMD proliferation, and pandemics.

China has become vastly more integrated with the rest of the international community; more observant of international laws, norms, and procedures; and more open to a much greater level of social, economic, and political influence than ever obtained prior to 1979, Beijing has made enormous strides largely as a result of its opening to the outside and its adoption of market-based economic development. These advances have introduced greatly increased standards of living, improved social infrastructure, and more openness to foreign influences of all sorts. At many intervals along the way, understandings between Washington and Beijing in particular have provided a major impetus for such Chinese gains.

Many analysts ascribe the rising friction in the relationship today not only to the arguably more confrontational inclinations of the Trump Administration, but also to more assertive behavior by China under President Xi Jinping. Xi assumed the top posts in the Communist Party of China in November 2012 and added the state presidency in March 2013. Later in 2013, China began building military outposts in the South China Sea and Xi launched BRI, an ambitious effort to boost economic connectivity—and China’s influence—across the globe. In 2015, China began enacting a suite of national security legislation that shrank the space for independent thought and civil society, subjected ordinary citizens to stepped-up surveillance, and imposed onerous conditions on foreign firms operating in China. The same year, China launched its “Made in China 2025” plan, seeking to reduce China’s reliance on foreign technology and directing the considerable resources of the state toward supporting the development of “national champion” Chinese firms in 10 strategic industries. In 2017, at the end of his first five-year term in his Party posts, Xi tasked China’s military with turning itself into a “world-class” force by mid-century. Also in 2017, his government began forcing more than one million of his Turkic Muslim fellow citizens in the northwest region of Xinjiang into reeducation camps.

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In the midst of all these developments and with the accession of Xi Jinping to the state presidency position of China in 2017 for the second time, China adopted more assertive policies on security issues like Taiwan and in its relations with Japan, India, and neighboring Southeast Asian countries. China sought more influence in international organizations and expanded its influence through the Belt and Road Initiative, a global program of infrastructure investment. China also adopted more repressive policies at home, arresting lawyers, feminists, and pastors of Christian congregations, placing Muslim Uyghur residents of the northwestern region of Xinjiang into coercive "education camps," and imposing a draconian security law in the Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong.

The election of President Donald Trump in January 2017 signaled that in the coming years the United States would shift its focus from global interests to national interests in accordance with his "America first" doctrine. Indeed, Americans have become less prepared to take on the burden of maintaining a liberal international economic order, which they have been advocating for decades; instead, they place greater emphasis on their own competitiveness. Therefore, the Trump administration withdrew the United States from a large number of international accords by which they perceive inadequate American interests, including the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), the Paris Agreement on Climate Change, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Universal Postal Union (UPU), the United Nations Human Rights Council, the Iran nuclear deal, and the United Nations Global Compact on Migration, among others. In turn, this accelerated the redistribution of power in the world and highlighted the need for the transfer of global responsibility from the United States to other countries, especially those emerging in Asia in general and in China in particular.

Several factors that contributed to the evolution of China-US relations, the presidency of Donald Trump In the U.S. (2017-2021) marked a corresponding shift toward a harder line on China. The Trump administration focused at first on the trade deficit with China, unsuccessfully seeking to force change by imposing tariffs on Chinese imports. By the end of 2020, U.S. officials had defined the "strategic competition" with China as a comprehensive clash of value systems, leading commentators to call the relationship a "new Cold War," eluding to the tensions between the United States and its allies and the Soviet Union and its allies from roughly 1947-1991., however, because China did not seek to impose its own value system on the whole world.

The U.S. and China still had intense economic, educational, and other ties that made them much more interdependent than the U.S. and the Soviet Union had ever been. As the Chinese navy, air force,

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missile force, and Cyber warfare capabilities improved, the risk of an armed clash between the two countries increased.

At the end of 2020 it was clear that global problems like climate change, pandemics "COVID 19", and terrorism, could not be managed without the two countries' cooperation. It was also hard to predict how the two countries would cooperate at the same time as they competed for regional and global influence.

This dissertation aims to outline the evolution of bilateral relations between China and USA in trump era (2017-2021) by addressing, analyzing and evaluating the most important common issues between the two states during that stage, and the resulting repercussions that were reflected on the two countries in particular and the rest of the world in general.

The present thesis brings out the following main questions:

- what is meant by the concept of a "superpower" ? and What are the elements that make China attainment of superpower status?*
- What is the nature of the relationship between the United States and China? and how has Donald Trump's administration (2017-2021) shaped and evolved these relationships?*
- What are the future prospects for China-US. Relations?*

This research paper aims to understand the relations between China and the United States of America from the two angles of competition and cooperation . The best theoretical framework for studying the nature of these relations is that framework that revolves around two major trends in the theories of international relations, which are the REALISTIC perspective that enables us to study Sino-American relations in its competitive aspect, and the LIBERAL perspective, which is considered the most appropriate framework for studying the Sino-American relations in its cooperative aspect, and therefore both perspectives analyze and interpret the aspects in these relations between the two countries. In addition it requires the use of descriptive, comparative and historical approaches. Since the topic reveals the historical, political and economic events that shaped the sino-american relations during that stage.

There are multiple reasons behind choosing this topic " The Evolution Of The China-US Relationship In Trump Era". First, China's emerging both Global and Regional power, the economic and military growth rate, becoming a global influential, and Opposition to US hegemony (threatening and collision with its interests). Second, the contemporary debate (the complicated coexistence of US and China between competition and confrontation). Both countries are permanent members of the United Nations (UN.) Security Council. also they are each other's largest trading partners. Third, the

Trump's Era (2017-2021); a period of collapse paves and opens up possibilities for the creation of a new world order in the opinion of many scholars. Trump's Foreign Policy Doctrine of Uncertainty.

Overview Of Chapters

This part gives a short overview of what I will address in each chapter.

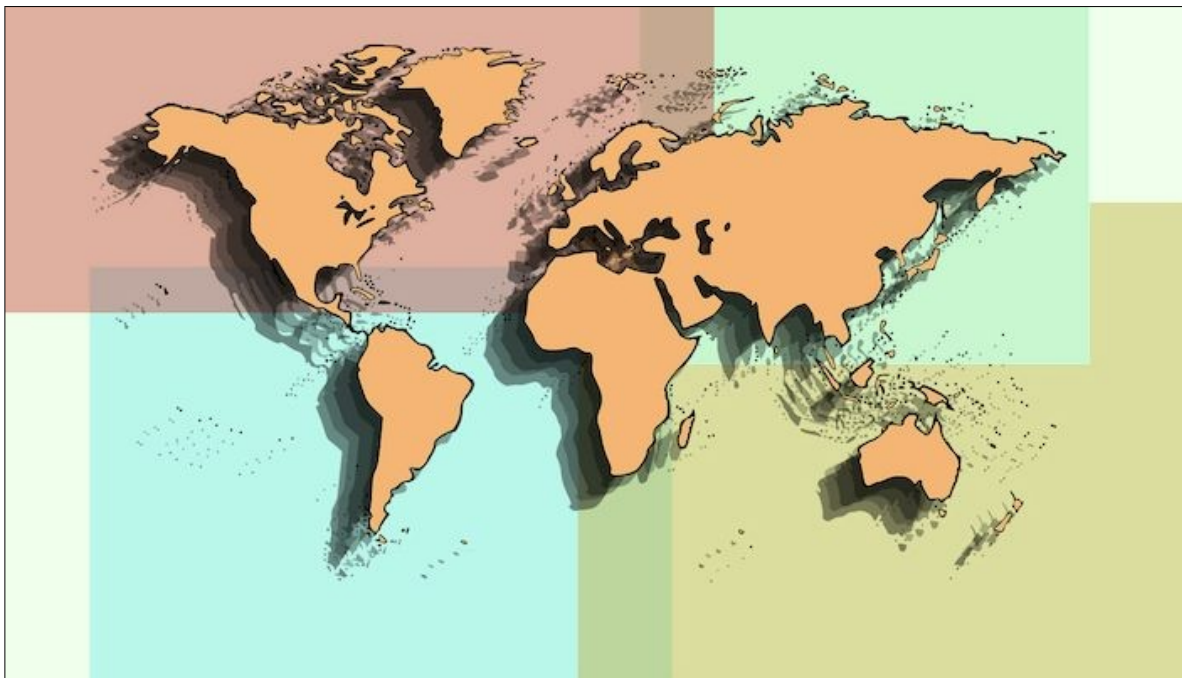
***The first chapter** (*The International Order And Theory Of International Relations*) highlights the most important political, historical and economical terms such as the definition of the international order and its institutions, and what is meant by the Liberal World Order, also address the theoretical study which in turn will help us understanding and analyzing the nature of Sino-American relations by presenting the most important two major theories of international relations, primarily drawing on both the Neorealism and Neoliberalism premise, taking the complicated coexisting between US and China as a case of study.*

***The second chapter**(*The Rise of China as a Global Power*) sheds light on how China has become a global superpower as well as a regional power by analyzing the various aspects economically, politically, and militarily, and what are the challenges that China must take in the future to keep pace with the US in all fields as a challenge to American hegemony and liberal global order also becoming an international influential while focusing on achieving the "Chinese Dream" 2049 at the same time.*

***The third chapter** (*The Evolution Of Bilateral Relations Between China and USA In Trump Era (2017-2021)*) begins by providing a brief history of the nature of the relationship between the United States and China since 1949 until 2017, taking into account the most important events and turning points on their bilateral history, and then highlights the main issues between them during Trump era (2017-2021) between cooperation and confrontation coexistence, finally sheds light on the repercussions of the evolution of relationship between China and the United States and various future scenarios.*

Chapter One:

*The International Order And Theory Of
International Relations.*



The International Order And Theory Of International Relations

Introduction

Since around 2017–2018, the world has been living through a period of progressive erosion, or collapse, of international orders inherited from the past. With the election of Donald Trump and the rapid increase of US containment China which is a consequence of this gradual erosion and also represents deep internal and international contradictions this process entered its apogee. A period of collapse opens up possibilities for the creation of a new world order; hopefully, a fairer, stable, and peaceful order than has been previously experienced. Therefore, we will shed light on this chapter by addressing the definition of the international order and its institutions, and what is meant by the term of Liberal World Order, and then we will move on to presenting the most important two major theories of international relations.

Defining the International Order

Since 1945, the United States has pursued its global interests through creating and maintaining international economic institutions, bilateral and regional security organizations, and liberal political norms; these ordering mechanisms are often collectively referred to as the international order. The best way to grasp the essence of a international order is to define each word in that term.

An order is a cluster of international institutions that help govern the interactions among the member states. Institutions are effectively rules that states themselves devise and agree to follow, because they believe that obeying those rules is in their interest. The rules prescribe acceptable kinds of behavior and proscribe unacceptable forms of behavior. The great powers write those rules, and unsurprisingly, they write them to suit their own interests. Nevertheless, those rules usually work to the benefit of the less powerful states in the system. But when the rules do not accord with the vital interests of the dominant states, they either ignore them or try to rewrite them.

An order can include different kinds of institutions, to include security institutions like NATO, SEATO, or the Warsaw Pact, as well as economic institutions like the IMF, NAFTA, the OECD, and the World Bank. It can also include institutions dealing with the environment, like the Paris Climate Agreement, and more multifaceted institutions like the European Union, the League of Nations, and the United Nations. Order does not mean peace or stability, in other words, it is not the opposite of disorder as that term is sometimes used to convey chaos and conflict. Nevertheless, it is widely believed in the West that a well-established liberal world order will facilitate peace. Nor is order a

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word that simply reflects the balance of power in a particular region or among the great powers. The international order and the global balance of power are distinct entities, although they are related. (Michael J. Mazarr).

For an order to be international, it must include at least all of the world's great powers. Ideally, an international order would be even more inclusive and contain virtually every country in the system. In contrast, bounded orders are comprised of a set of institutions that have limited membership. They do not include all of the great powers and they are usually regional in scope. They sometimes do not include a great power, but usually do. It is possible to have bounded and international orders operating at the same time. (Mearsheimer, John J pp. 7-9).

Why Do Orders Matter?

Orders are indispensable in the modern international system for two reasons. First, they manage interstate relations in a highly interdependent world. States engage in enormous amounts of economic activity, which leads them to establish institutions and rules that can regulate those interactions and make them more efficient. But that interdependence is not restricted to economic affairs; it also includes environmental and health issues. States are also interconnected in the military realm, which leads them to form alliances, and those allies benefit from having rules that stipulate how each member's military will operate and how they will coordinate with each other.

Second, orders are indispensable in the modern international system because they help the great powers manage the behavior of the weaker states in ways that suit the great powers' interests (Jack Knight). Specially, the most powerful states design institutions to constrain the actions of less powerful states and then put significant pressure on them to join those institutions and obey the rules no matter what. Nevertheless, those rules often work to the benefit of the weaker states in the system.

The Liberal World Order

For an order to be liberal, there must be a dominant state in the system that is a liberal democracy, and has huge influence within the key institutions that comprise the order.

Figure 1 shows Elements and institutions of the Liberal International Order.

Elements and Engines of the Liberal International Order

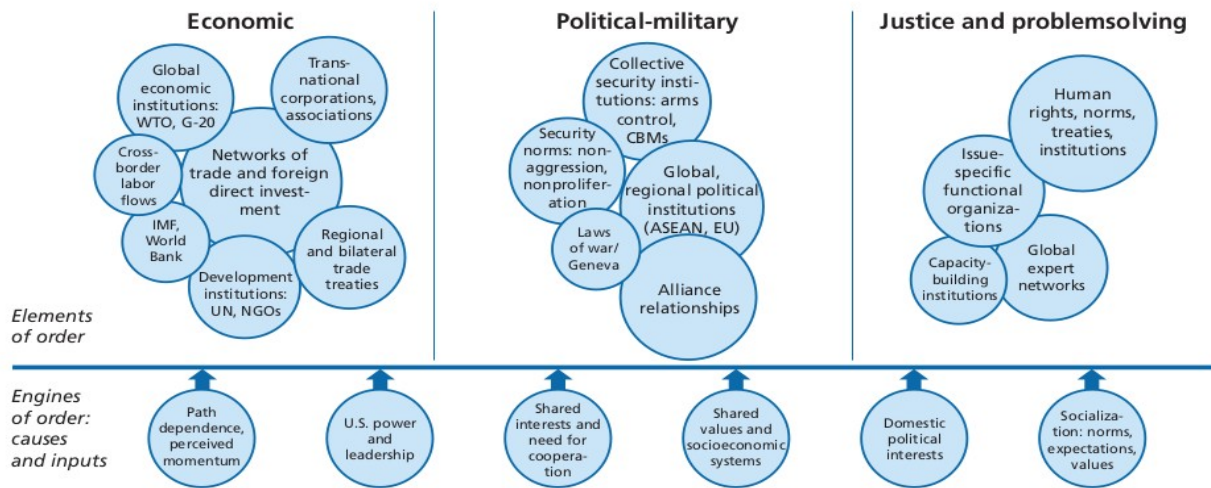


Figure 1 Elements and institutions of the Liberal International Order.

There must also be a substantial number of other liberal democracies in the system and a largely open world economy. The ultimate goal of these liberal democracies, especially the leading one, is to spread democracy all over the planet, while promoting increased economic intercourse among countries, and building increasingly effective international institutions. In essence the aim is to create a robust world order that is comprised exclusively of liberal democracies that are deeply engaged economically with each other. The underlying assumption, of course, is that such an order will be largely free of war and generate prosperity for all of its member states. (John J. Mearsheimer).

United States And The Liberal World Order

It is a liberal system in the sense that it operates on rules that are, in theory, applied to each country equally and that it encourages each country to be democratic and to open its economy to the rest of the world. It is a global system in that every country around the world is encouraged to join and

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follow those rules, even if some do not. And it is a system that promotes order in that most countries that buy into it respect the borders of other countries and seek to resolve their differences peacefully.

It was developed in an effort to avoid repeating the major man-made disasters of the first half of the twentieth century: The Great Depression¹ and two world wars . Following World War II, the United States, along with several other countries, started drafting an aspirational blueprint for what later became known as the liberal world order by establishing certain international institutions.

The United Nations was built to promote peace between countries. The World Bank would support global economic development. And the International Monetary Fund and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which later became the World Trade Organization, would support investment and trade between countries. While these institutions provided the blueprint for the liberal world order, the system was really powered by the United States. Its victory in World War II and booming postwar economy set an example for the rest of the world. The US credited democracy and free markets for its success and urged other countries to become more democratic and to build economies that were open to trade and investment.

Oftentimes, the US. would offer financial aid to other countries on the condition that they make such liberal reforms. At the same time, the United States' military strength and global network of alliances helped maintain order. If any country tried to undermine the system or threatened to invade one of its allies, the US. was ready to apply economic pressure or stop them with military force. Though it wasn't the only one.

The illiberal Soviet Union was the most powerful country to opt out of the liberal world order. While it was a member of the United Nations and other international institutions, it had no interest in becoming more liberal or democratic. Instead, the Soviet Union was focused on building its own order and promoting the adoption of its heavy handed economic model, often by threatening or even using force against neighboring countries.

The Cold War, which started in 1945 as World War II was ending, was a competition between the US. liberal world order and the Soviet illiberal order. The two leading countries used their economic, political, and military power to expand and defend their respective orders for over forty years. And while they never fought each other directly, they did fight each other indirectly through allies and proxies.

¹ The Great Depression: The Great Depression was the worst economic downturn in the history of the industrialized world, lasting from the stock market crash of 1929 to 1939, see <https://www.history.com/topics/great-depression/great-depression-history>.

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In 1991, when the Soviet Union fell apart, the order it had controlled also disappeared. And the countries within it began to join the US liberal world order instead, making it more robust than ever. Many countries in Eastern Europe that had been in the Soviet sphere of influence joined NATO, the European Union, or both, as did many independent countries that emerged from what had been the Soviet Union.

While there were still conflicts between and within countries -notably in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Africa- by the end of the 1990s, this system had produced a world that was more peaceful, more democratic, more prosperous, and healthier than ever before. The world economy had grown more than six times larger in size. And people were living more than twenty years longer on average than they had been back in 1945. But since the late 2000s, the liberal world order has become weaker and is facing challenges on every front. The liberal world order is now less liberal. Some countries are less democratic at home and less inclined to support human rights and the rule of law elsewhere.

The liberal world order is now less orderly. Some countries are ignoring the territorial integrity of others, like when Russia invaded Ukraine in 2014 and annexed the Ukrainian territory of Crimea. Also international institutions are struggling to address major problems that require collective action, like the spread of nuclear weapons and global pandemics or stemming conflict and violence within countries. And combating new sources of disorder, from Cyber attacks ² to climate change, will require new rules and international coordination, which do not yet exist.

The liberal world order is now less global. Powers like China are trying to build their own regional orders through military and security coordination and by offering loans and investments in infrastructure, enabling them to exert greater influence on their neighbors' economic and political decisions.

Historically the United States has been the principal leader and greatest supporter of the liberal world order. But that commitment has weakened in recent years. The American people have become less supportive of using the country's military on behalf of policies they believe are too costly or do not involve vital national interests. And some leaders of countries allied to the United States have grown less confident that the U.S. would come to their defense if they come under attack. The beating heart of the liberal world order has slowed. And it is unlikely there is a country or group of countries

² Cyber attacks: A Cyber attack is any attempt to gain unauthorized access to a computer, computing system or computer network with the intent to cause damage. Cyber attacks aim to disable, disrupt, destroy or control computer systems or to alter, block, delete, manipulate or steal the data held within these systems.

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that could take on the US's role and responsibilities. China is powerful but uninterested in supporting liberalism or democracy. And even if it was, its authoritarian model is unattractive to much of the world. European countries might be interested in working together to support it, but they have their own challenges and lack sufficient power.

Theory Of International Relations

A theory of international relations is a set of ideas that explains how the international system works. Unlike an ideology, a theory of international relations is (at least in principle) backed up with concrete evidence. Nowadays the two major theories of international relations are Neo-realism and Neo-liberalism.

Most theories of international relations are based on the idea that states always act in accordance with their national interest, or the interests of that particular state. State interests often include self-preservation, military security, economic prosperity, and influence over other states. Sometimes two or more states have the same national interest. For example, two states might both want to foster peace and economic trade. And states with diametrically opposing national interests might try to resolve their differences through negotiation or even war.

The aim of my work is understanding the relations between China and the United States of America from the two angles of competition and cooperation . The best theoretical framework for studying the nature of these relations is that framework that revolves around two major trends in the theories of international relations, which are the realistic perspective that enables us to study Sino-American relations in its competitive aspect, and the liberal perspective, which is considered the most appropriate framework for studying the Sino-American relations in its cooperative aspect, and therefore both perspectives analyze and interpret one of the aspects in these relations between the two countries.

Neoliberalism Vs Neorealism: Terms Of The Contemporary Debate (US–china Relations: Competition Or Confrontation!).

The Neo-realist school of thought is an International Relations' perspective that is built on several main assumptions (Mearsheimer 2013: p.79). The first assumption is that the world politics operates in an anarchic system, and great powers are the main actors within it. The second assumption is that states are uncertain about other states' purpose. Therefore some states balance their power against each other the revisionist states³ while other states are satisfied with the current system and have no intention to change it status quo states⁴. The third assumption is that the main goal of all States is maintaining their survival. States always try to maintain the autonomy of their domestic political order and their territorial integrity The fourth assumption is that states are rational actors that always come out with a strategy to perpetuate their survival. (International Relations Theories : Discipline and Diversity).

Based on the Neo-realists' assumptions mentioned above, the rising economic power of China will be a serious threat for United States' hegemony, as China's rising economy will rationally be followed by its military build-up. Moreover, as the World Bank confirmed China's position as the second-largest economy after the United States, the United States will try to balance its power against China. All United States' post-Cold War presidents including Barack Obama, have stated that they were committed in maintaining American primacy. Hence, Washington is more likely to go to prevent China from becoming too powerful (Mearsheimer 2010: p. 385). As Neo-realists assume that both China and United States are rational actors that will maximize their security in the anarchic world politics, there is no way for both countries to secure their survival but to compete in becoming the most powerful state or the only hegemonic state of the system. According to Neo-realists, a hegemonic war is the logical consequence of China's rising economy (Mearsheimer 2010: p. 387). Furthermore, the Neo-realists argue that in order to fully eradicate its poverty, China has to make a fundamental change in this Western imperialist economic regime and promote its ideology (being a revisionist power to the existing system). China also will use its newly built economic power to coerce other

³Revisionist state is a term from power transition theory within the wider field of international relations. It describes states whose objective is to change or put an end to the current system.

⁴Status-quo states strive to preserve things as they are, whereas revisionists seek to change things in international politics. When scholars categorize states as revisionist or status-quo seeking they are able to explain important outcomes in international politics, such as war and peace.

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states towards Chinese interests. The Neo-realists believe that China's economic power is worth nothing if it is not being used.

In contrast to Neo-realism perspective, Neo-liberalism offers a different view of China's threat towards United States' hegemony. Neo-liberalism shares Neo-realism assumption that states are unitary, rational, utility-maximizing actors that interact in an anarchic system. States always make decisions that prioritize their national interests. However, it also includes the role of international institutions as a framework for analyzing International Relations' issues. International institutions or international regimes are ,sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of International Relations' (Krasner 1983: p.2). International regimes give positive contributions in the anarchic global politics by helping states in obtaining international collective outcomes. States will obtain an absolute gain through collective cooperation on a global scale. The negative impacts of the anarchic international system can be mitigated through the existence of international institutions (Folker 2013: pp.114-115).

The Neo-liberalists' optimism in international institutions makes them see the prospect of China's peaceful rise in a more optimistic way, relatively to the Neo-realists. Ikenberry, a Neo-liberalist, argue that the narrative of China as a revisionist state that will challenge United States' global hegemony and bring the world into hegemonic transition period has missed the reality that despite there is diminishing gap between China's and United States' power, the liberal international order which is currently led by the United States is still alive and stands firm. It is rational for China to struggle in pursuing its national interest by utilizing its economic power in global politics however China will not pursue its interest by contesting the basic rules and principles of the existing liberal international order. Instead, China wishes to gain more bargaining power and leadership within it. In other words, China will not be a revisionist state to the current international system that goes through an ideological hegemonic war against the United States, despite the fact that China holds different ideology (communism) from the United States' (democracy) (Ikenberry 2011: p 57). Moreover, an aggressive or hegemonic China is out of the question because China needs as along-lasting peaceful international environment for its development. The Neo-liberalists argue that the current international order be defined by economic and political openness through international regimes and institutions (such as World Trade Organization (WTO) and International Monetary Fund (IMF)). Thus, it can accommodate China's rise peacefully.

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Furthermore, China's economy has already deeply integrated into the international economic system that its domestic national interests have become part of a larger quest. The deep economic interdependence between China and United States in the existing liberal international system will be the reason for both powers to avoid a breakdown of the multilateral international regime itself. As a consequence, China's rising economy will not threaten United States' global hegemony in the existing order as the international regimes should enable both the United States and China to protect their vital interests without posing large threats to each other.

Overall, a strategic peaceful partnership between China and United States within international regime framework will be more advantageous for both powers compared to a hegemonic war as it could increase the probability of sustained worldwide economic growth, peaceful resolutions of outstanding regional disputes, and successful cooperation in solving global transnational problems including terrorism and the nuclear weapons proliferation.

Balance of Power and International Relations

In International Relations an equilibrium of power sufficient to discourage or prevent one nation from imposing its will on or interfering with the interests of another. Balance of Power, theory and policy of international relations that asserts that the most effective check on the power of a state is the power of other states. In international relations, the term state refers to a country with a government and a population. The term balance of power refers to the distribution of power capabilities of rival states or alliance. The balance of power theory maintains that when one state or alliance increases its power or applies it more aggressively; threatened states will increase their own power in response, often by forming a counter-balancing coalition. Balance of Power is a central concept in Neorealist theory.

It is difficult to give exact definition to balance of power because as Martin Wright says the notion is notoriously full of confusions. Inis.L.Claude also says: The trouble with the balance power is not that it has no meaning but that it has too many meanings But essential idea is very simple but when principle is applied to the international relations, the concept of power means that through shifting alliances and countervailing pressures, no one power or combinations of powers will be allowed to grow so strong as to threaten the security of the rest as per Palmer and Perkins. and finally Hartman explains concept of Balance of Power in International Relations as a system in the sense that one

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power bloc leads to the emergence of other and it ultimately leads to a network of alliances (The Balance of Power: History and Theory) The concept of balance of power rests on the assumption that excessive power anywhere in the system is a threat to the existence of the other units and that most effective antidote of power is power.

As a policy, balance of power suggests that states counter any threat to their security by allying with other threatened states and by increasing their own military capabilities. The policy of forming a geographically based coalition of states to surround and block an expansionist power is known as containment. For example, the United States followed a containment policy towards the Soviet Union after World War II by building military alliances and bases throughout Europe, the Middle East, and Asia. As a theory, balance of power predicts that rapid changes in international power and status especially attempts by one state to conquer a region will provoke counterbalancing actions. For this reason, the balancing process helps to maintain the stability of relations between states.

Conclusion

It is widely believed that the United States led the way in building a liberal international order in the aftermath of World War II, which has had remarkable staying power over time. Indeed, it grew markedly more influential after the Cold War ended in 1989 and the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991. Western elites see this order as a hugely positive force for promoting peace and prosperity around the globe.

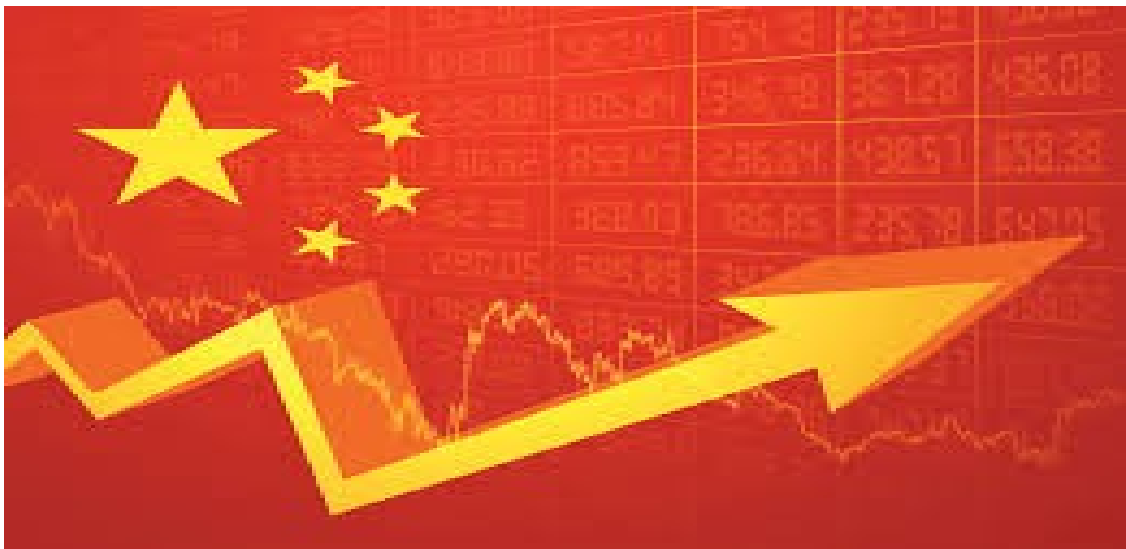
The bases that underpin the liberal international order are shifting, however, and it is under serious threat, maybe even falling apart. Major change to the existing order appears to be inevitable. In fact, when President Donald Trump ran for the White House in 2016, he emphasized his contempt for the liberal world order. Since taking office, he had pursued policies that seem designed to tear it down. It would be a mistake, however, to think that the liberal international order is in trouble today simply because President Trump had it in his gunsights. There are more fundamental problems at play, which account for why he had been able to challenge an order that enjoys almost universal support among the foreign elites in the West. be emerging as a major power.

In one hand , China appears to be emerging as a major power. It possesses a huge population and a strategic location. It has developed nuclear weapons, and the means for delivering them. It occupies one of the permanent seats in the United Nations Security Council. And, for the last two decades, it

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has been engaged in a concerted effort at economic reform and development, through a strategy of integration with the regional and global economies. That has made it a major trading nation, one of the top destinations of foreign direct investment, and increasingly a source of capital as well. It has also given the Chinese government the resources to devote to the modernization of its armed forces. In the following chapter we will show and discuss what make china a global superpower? and how does The rise of china as a global power effect the liberal international order in general and USA in particular?.

*Chapter Two:
The Rise of China as a Global Power*



Introduction

Over the last decade there has been a heated debate, particularly in the West, about the potential challenges an increasingly strong and assertive China poses to the Asia-Pacific region and the rest of world as well . The result is that China's role in the international system is increasingly debated, with some scholars saying that China will be the next superpower to counter US hegemony, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region. China with the world's largest population, fastest growing economy and a defense budget second only to the United States is a rising power. China's rise to power will continue to be one of the defining events of the 21 st century.

In just a few decades, China went from a country of isolation, with little global interaction, to a country of economic and political interests around the world. In the future, China is predicted to become the world's largest economy, and to be an influential player in world politics. In this chapter, we will shed light on how China has become a global superpower as well as a regional power by analyzing the various aspects economically, politically, and militarily.

What constitutes a superpower?

Superpower is about global reach. A superpower country is a country that wields to be strong politically, militarily and economically and at the same time have the power to convince other nations to do things they otherwise would not do or have an impact in other nations' decision making. According to Hart and Jones (2010) there is no commonly accepted definition of a rising power, nor is there an internationally recognized set of traits. In fact, all rising powers exist under different circumstances, which can make determining a specific definition difficult. While a specific definition does not exist, Hart and Jones (2010) do present several commonalities that rising powers usually exhibit. These include emerging economic might, aspiring influential role in international affairs, internal cohesion, and expanding military and political resources. Further, a rising power must also be able to interact with other strong states on the international level.

A superpower country is a country that has the capability to dominate and influence more than one region of the world at a particular time through the attainment of hegemony.

China's Provinces

China presents itself as comprised of 34 provincial-level administrative units (see Figure 3.1). They include 23 provinces; five geographic entities that China calls “autonomous regions,” all of which have significant ethnic minority populations (Guangxi, Inner Mongolia, Ningxia, Tibet, and Xinjiang); four municipalities that report directly to the central government (Beijing, Chongqing, Shanghai, and Tianjin); and the two special administrative regions of Hong Kong and Macau, which were returned to China in the 1990s by the governments of the United Kingdom and Portugal respectively. The PRC’s count of 23 provinces includes Taiwan, an island democracy of 23 million people that the PRC has never controlled, but over which it claims sovereignty. Taiwan calls itself the Republic of China. (Understanding China’s Political System).

Provinces have their own revenue streams, and governments at the provincial level and below are responsible for the lion’s share of the country’s public expenditure, including almost all public spending on education, health, unemployment insurance, social security, and welfare. Provinces also have the right to pass their own laws and regulations, which may extend national laws and regulations, but not conflict with them. Beijing gives provinces considerable leeway in adopting policies to boost economic growth and encourages provinces to undertake approved policy experiments. Provinces do not have their own constitutions, however, and do not have the power to appoint their own leaders.



Figure 2.1: China’s Provinces, Source: Created by CRS. Map information from U.S. Department of State and Esri 2021 Data and Maps.

Importance of a Rising Power (China as an example).

In order to fully understand the importance of a state's increasing power and the need for stability from the domestic population, we must first understand what a rising power is and its importance in international affairs. According to Hart and Jones, there is no commonly accepted definition of a rising power, nor is there an internationally recognized set of traits. (Andrew Hart and Bruce Jones, 65), In fact, all rising powers exist under different circumstances, which can make determining a specific definition difficult. While a specific definition does not exist, Hart and Jones do present several commonalities that rising powers usually exhibit. These include: emerging economic might, aspiring influential role in international affairs, internal cohesion, and expanding military and political resources.

Further, a rising power must also be able to interact with other strong states on the international level. China displays a number of these characteristics and can be categorized as a rising power because of its economic strength, expanding military, and increasing role on the international level. According to realists, a nation's interests are shaped by the amount of power it holds and therefore it is within every state's interest to attempt to expand its amount of power, so it can seek greater national interests, thus leading to more international influence. (Randall, 2) The transformation to a rising power is a slow process and can take decades for a state to achieve. With additional power, states continue to seek more political and economic influence and may even expand its military. In China's case, this rise to power began with the reform of its markets in 1978, which accelerated the growth of the Chinese economy and eventually led to increased economic, military, and political influence. (Hart and Jones, 64-66) The more power a state has the more influence it can exert in the global arena and over weaker states. Not only can rising powers upset the balance of power in a region, they can use their new influence to apply political, economic, or military pressure to smaller weaker states. This is why a rising power, especially if it is a close neighbor, can be such a dangerous threat to smaller, often weaker states.

China's Emerging Global Vs Regional Power

China As Global Power

'The re-emergence of China as a great power is arguably the single most important development in the post-Cold War world. The rapid economic growth of the People's Republic of China (PRC) over the past decade, coupled with high levels of defense spending, have stimulated much interest, as well as trepidation, amongst policy-makers and analysts across the world. Although the continued augmentation of Chinese power is not predetermined, the profound effects of China's growing process cannot be underestimated' (Rex 1999: 3).

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Since the early 1990s, scholars such as Bernstein and Munro (1998) have called for the containment of China because of its phenomenal growth. Today, some people are even speaking about a second Cold War looming between China and the United States. This has been because China is perceived by many to be the next superpower that will challenge US hegemony, both in the Asian region and, perhaps, the world.

China's economic growth started in the early 1980s, the result of the reforms that Deng Xiaoping¹ initiated from 1979 onward. Since then, China has become one of the world's fastest growing economies, and the world's number one emerging market. After a brief period in the 1980s of deflation, Beijing rebounded in 1992 to again become the world's fastest growing economy. The strength of China's economy could be seen during the economic crisis³ that hit East Asia in 1997/98, as relatively speaking, the financial crisis had little impact on the Chinese economy.

However, it must be remembered that to become a "superpower", one should not just measure economic performance. The real threat to China's status as an emerging superpower does not come from outside its borders, but from inside. Politically, people are still suppressed and poverty is still part of the lives of millions. Religious and minority freedoms, such as in Tibet and Xinjiang, as well as for religions such as the Uyghur Muslim, remain suppressed. Environmental degradation, urbanization, continuing rapid population growth and an inefficient state-owned sector in the economy are all aspects hampering the Chinese elites' ambitions to become an emerging superpower.

In addition, one of the key contributors for China in its striving to become a potential superpower is its military, the People's Liberation Army (PLA). The military obviously plays a fundamentally important role in Beijing's striving towards greatness. Militaries are very important in terms of how a state may project its power, and much of this depends on a state's economic success and ability to fund such a military. It should be remembered that when reforms were initiated in China, military modernisation⁴ was not overtly part of the initial process - it was Beijing's economic success that enabled the Chinese leaders shift their focus more towards military modernisation. Since the mid-1980s, this has become one of the top priorities on Beijing's agenda. No matter from what angle one looks at China's future role, if China continues on the path that it is now pursuing, it will be a force to

1 Deng Xiaoping, also known by his courtesy name Xixian, was a Chinese revolutionary leader, military commander and statesman who served as the paramount leader of the People's Republic of China from December 1978 to November 1989.

3 The 1997–98 Asian financial crisis began in Thailand and then quickly spread to neighbouring economies. It began as a currency crisis when Bangkok unpegged the Thai baht from the U.S. dollar, setting off a series of currency devaluations and massive flights of capital. See <https://www.britannica.com/event/Asian-financial-crisis>.

4 China's 'World-Class' Military Modernisation, see <https://www.e-ir.info/2022/04/22/chinas-world-class-military-modernisation>.

be reckoned with in the future. As (McAlvang 1997: 15) put it, 'China's army, at 3 million troops, is in fact twice as large as America's active duty armed forces at 1.5 million troops'.

China as a regional power (China’s Opposition to US and Other “Hegemony” in Asia).

Chinese leaders have been pretty consistent in saying that China does not seek dominance in Asia. These declarations seem self serving and disingenuous to many foreign and some Chinese observers, and so it might be more useful to assess what China opposes in Asia in order to come up with insights on what China’s rise may actually mean for the Asian order and US leadership in Asia. Here the answer is pretty clear—China has long opposed large powers establishing strong positions along the periphery of China. This opposition appears to have its roots in a wary Chinese view of international powers and competition. This perception is a result in considerable measure of the widely held and officially reinforced view of China’s having been victimized and exploited by foreign powers in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Mao Zedong ⁵repeatedly confronted US and Soviet power in Asia for security and revolutionary reasons. Deng Xiaoping, while focused on pragmatic economic reform, saw opposition to Soviet dominance in Asia as China’s top foreign policy priority. In the post cold war period, China’s leaders saw opposition to US “hegemony” in Asian and world affairs as an important policy priority. They avoided costly confrontation with the United States but worked through diplomacy, rhetoric and other means to promote a “multi-polar” regional and world order where US power and influence would be weaker than in the past.

While still seeking a multi-polar world, China’s leaders in recent years have seen their policy goals and interests best served by muting opposition to the United States and US leadership in Asian and world affairs. In general, China’s goals in Asia have been:

- To promote stability and a “peaceful environment” conducive to domestic Chinese economic development and political stability.
- To seek advantageous economic contacts and relationships.
- To reassure China’s neighbors about the implications of China’s rise.
- To isolate Taiwan.

5 Mao Zedong , Father of Modern China (December 26, 1893 – September 9, 1976), also known as Chairman Mao, was a Chinese communist revolutionary who was the founder of the People's Republic of China (PRC), which he ruled as the chairman of the Chinese Communist Party from the establishment of the PRC in 1949 until his death in 1976.see <https://www.thoughtco.com/timeline-of-mao-zedongs-life-195741>.

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- To gain regional influence relative to other powers (e.g. Japan, India, and the United States).

Over the past decade, China's leaders have adjusted their policies and approach to Asia in ways that appear to accord with changing circumstances and the costs and benefits for Chinese interests

China at this time also endeavored to reassure Asian neighbors alarmed by Chinese military actions in the 1995-1996 Taiwan Strait crisis by proposing a "New Security Concept" that promoted "good neighbor" relations with most in Asia—Taiwan and the United States were the main exceptions.

By mid 2001, before the terrorist attack on America, China decided to reduce sharply its rhetorical and political opposition to US "hegemony" in Asian and world affairs. The continued strong public opposition to the United States in Asia had not been popular with Asian governments unwilling to choose between China and the United States. It also ran the risk of significant push back from the newly elected George W. Bush administration that had a decidedly more wary view of China's rise than its predecessor.

By late 2003, Chinese officials began formulating a new public approach focused on China's "peaceful rise" in Asia that was designed to reassure most concerned powers Taiwan remained the main exception—that China's rise would not be adverse to their interests. Reassuring the United States seemed particularly important, and China remained remarkably discreet in dealing with most differences with the United States.

China's Soft Power

Although it is clear that China has become more powerful over the last few decades, there is still a debate in academia and policy circles as to China's actual intent as a rising power. Perhaps China does not intend to be a full global power as the United States currently is. Several academics take this view including Sheng Ding, who suggests that China's rise to power is based on soft power and therefore is not a threat to other nations. (Sheng Ding,,285) Soft power is defined by Nye as, "The ability to get what you want through attraction rather than through coercion or payments." (Joseph Nye *ibid*) In other words, to spread diplomacy through policies, values or even cultural means. Ding presents the argument that, "In recent years, not only has China stayed away from military conflicts, but China has also become ever more compliant with international rules and norms." By becoming a member of the World Trade Organization and participating in global missions such as anti-piracy missions, China has established itself as a global partner.

China itself has denied reports that it wants to be a global hegemony and insists it is peacefully developing. A recent Chinese government publication explains that, "peaceful development is a

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strategic choice made by China to realize modernization, make itself strong and prosperous, and make more of a contribution to the progress of human civilization.” (China’s Peaceful Development,)China does not want others to feel threatened by its power, especially its neighbors in Southeast Asia. China relies on relationships with its regional partners to stay strong in order to bolster its continued rise to power. David Kang also believes that China is not a threat to its neighbors because, “East Asian states actually believe China’s claims and hence do not fear...China’s rise.”(David C. Kang,553) These arguments, however, fail to consider recent Chinese aggression in the South China Sea and how China’s neighbors to the south have begun to react to this behavior. It also does not account for China’s drastic increase in military spending. Even though China’s rise to power has been peaceful up to this point, there are no guarantees that China will continue down this path as it becomes more powerful and continues to strengthen its military. Rising powers in the past have been known to become more aggressive as they continue to gain power. Past examples of rising powers include the Soviet Union and the United States. Both of these previous rising powers, for example, got drawn into a nuclear arms race as they were competing for global hegemony. China has begun to show aggressive this behavior as a rising power. It has become increasingly aggressive over territory in the South China Sea and the East Sea. As China’s power continues to increase, so does it influence over other states, possibly leading to conflict or tensions. Southeast Asian states are growing increasingly nervous over China’s aggressive behavior. This anxiety is partly due to China’s past of invasion, conquest and control of many of these countries, which include Vietnam and Burma.

Many Southeast Asian countries find it hard to trust Chinese claims of a peaceful rise due to its aggressive past and current threats. A goal in many Southeast Asian countries has been to “keep larger outside countries from using their relative military strength or political influence to dominate regional affairs or to undermine the freedom of action...” In order to confront this rising threat, regional states have begun to utilize state alignment strategies.

China’s Economic Rise

Prior to the initiation of economic reforms and trade liberalization nearly 40 years ago, China maintained policies that kept the economy very poor, stagnant, centrally controlled, vastly inefficient, and relatively isolated from the global economy. Since opening up to foreign trade and investment and implementing free-market reforms in 1979⁶, China has been among the world’s fastest-growing economies, with real annual gross domestic product (GDP) growth averaging 9.5% through 2018, a

⁶ China's Economic Reform see : <https://www.thebalance.com/china-economic-reform-3305479>.

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pace described by the World Bank as “the fastest sustained expansion by a major economy in history.” Such growth has enabled China, on average, to double its GDP every eight years and helped raise an estimated 800 million people out of poverty. China has become the world’s largest economy (on a purchasing power parity basis), manufacturer, merchandise trader, and holder of foreign exchange reserves. This in turn has made China a major commercial partner of the United States. China is the largest U.S. merchandise trading partner, biggest source of imports, and third-largest U.S. export market. China is also the largest foreign holder of U.S. Treasury securities, which help fund the federal debt and keep U.S. interest rates low.

As China’s economy has matured, its real GDP growth has slowed significantly, from 14.2% in 2007 to 6.6% in 2018, and that growth is projected by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to fall to 5.5% by 2024. The Chinese government has embraced slower economic growth, referring to it as the “new normal” and acknowledging the need for China to embrace a new growth model that relies less on fixed investment and exporting, and more on private consumption, services, and innovation to drive economic growth. Such reforms are needed in order for China to avoid hitting the “middle-income trap,”⁷ when countries achieve a certain economic level but begin to experience sharply diminishing economic growth rates because they are unable to adopt new sources of economic growth, such as innovation. Figure 2.1 shows the Growth rate of real gross domestic product (GDP) in China from 2011 to 2021 .

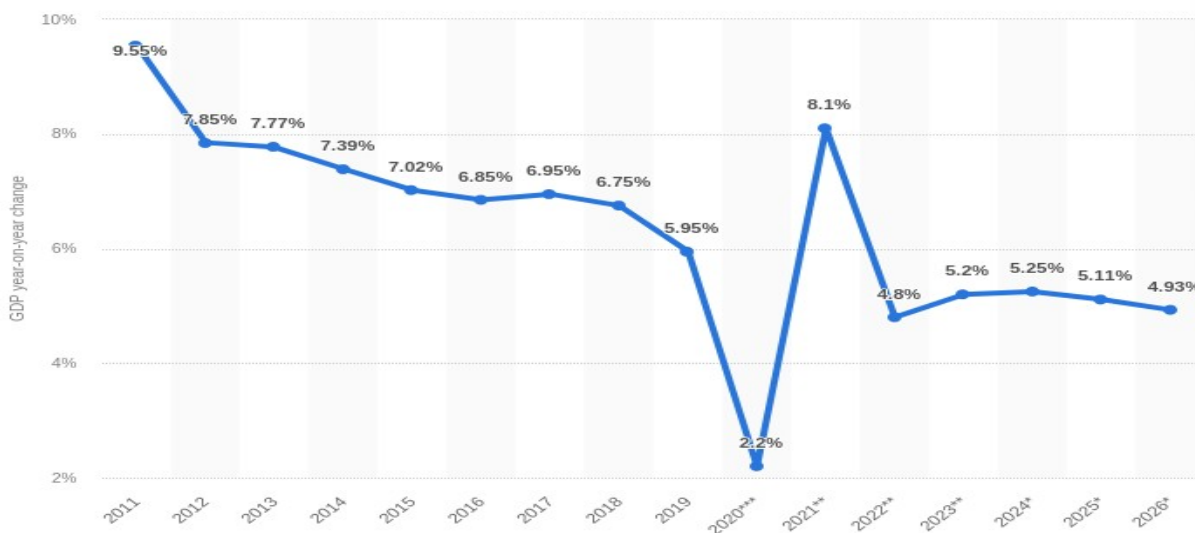


Figure 2.2 : Growth rate of real gross domestic product (GDP) in China from 2011 to 2021 with forecasts until 2026.

⁷ The middle-income trap refers to a situation whereby a middle-income country is failing to transition to a high-income economy due to rising costs and declining competitiveness. Few countries successfully manage the transition from low to middle to high income.

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The Chinese government has made innovation a top priority in its economic planning through a number of high-profile initiatives, such as “Made in China 2025,” a plan announced in 2015 to upgrade and modernize China’s manufacturing through extensive government assistance in order to make China a major global player. However, such measures have increasingly raised concerns that China intends to use industrial policies to decrease the country’s reliance on foreign technology (including by locking out foreign firms in China) and eventually dominate global markets. In 2017, the Trump Administration launched a Section 301 investigation of China’s innovation and intellectual property policies deemed harmful to U.S. economic interests. It subsequently raised tariffs by 25% on \$250 billion worth of imports from China, while China increased tariffs (ranging from 5% to 25%) on \$110 billion worth of imports from the United States. Such measures have sharply decreased bilateral trade in 2019. On May 10, 2019, President Trump announced he was considering raising tariffs on nearly all remaining products from China. A protracted and escalating trade conflict between the United States and China could have negative consequences for the Chinese economy.

China’s Belt and Road Initiative

First announced in 2013, the PRC’s OBOR initiative is a signature foreign and economic policy advanced by Xi Jinping. Beijing uses OBOR to support its strategy of national rejuvenation by seeking to expand global transportation and trade linkages to support its development and deepen its economic integration with nations along its periphery and beyond. The PRC implements OBOR by financing, constructing, and developing transportation infrastructure, natural gas pipelines, hydropower projects, digital connectivity, and technology and industrial parks worldwide. PRC leaders have touted the economic benefits of OBOR and invited foreign partners to join, promising wealth and prosperity to those nations that participate. Since its creation, as many as 140 countries have signed OBOR cooperation documents, up from 125 countries from last year. OBOR related spending is difficult to estimate because there is no comprehensive list of projects. However, public reporting indicates a steady decline in OBOR lending since its estimated peak in 2016-2017.

In support of its national strategy, the PRC pursues a range of goals through OBOR to include strengthening its territorial integrity, increasing its energy security, and expanding its international influence. Given that the Party views the PRC’s security and development interests as complementary, the PRC leverages OBOR to invest in projects along China’s western and southern periphery to improve stability and diminish threats along its borders. Similarly, OBOR projects associated with

pipelines and port construction in Pakistan seek to decrease the PRC's reliance on transporting energy resources through strategic choke points, such as the Strait of Malacca.

The PRC has continued to advance OBOR during the COVID-19 pandemic, while putting new emphasis on health as an area of engagement. The PRC conducted a virtual ministerial-level meeting in June with 25 other countries to discuss OBOR cooperation in a post-COVID-19 environment. The PRC has framed much of its pandemic support as part of its Health Silk Road, and offered financing to countries for medical equipment and technology.

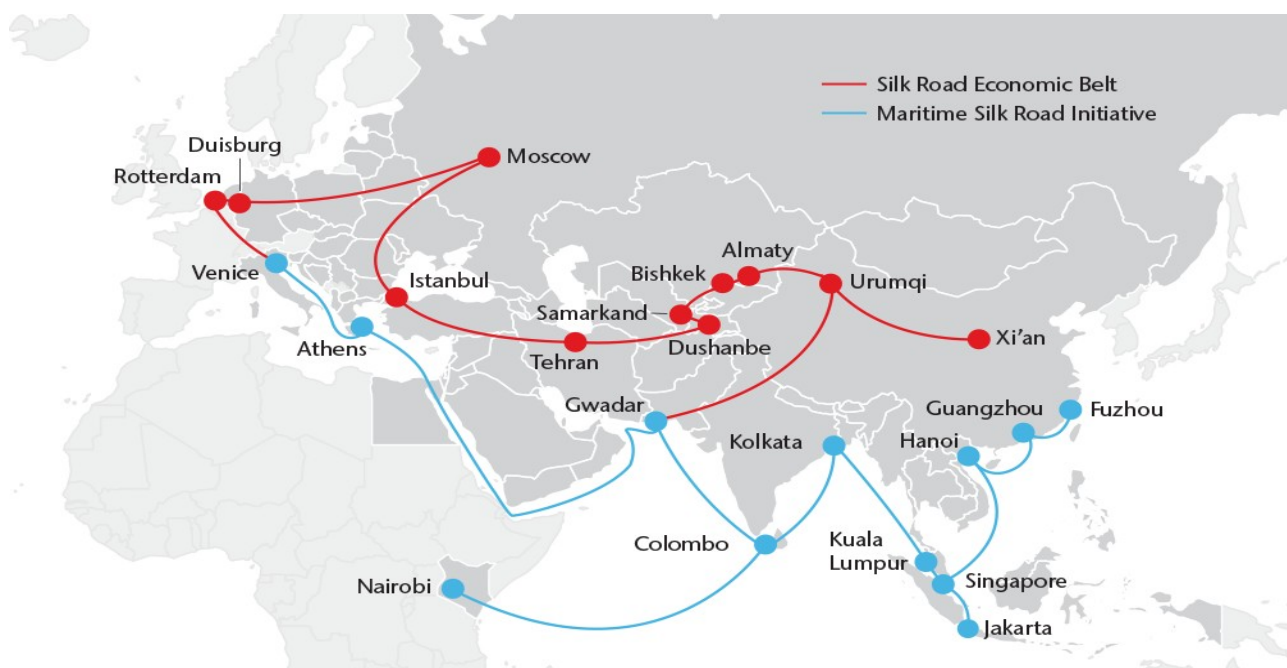


Figure 2.3 China's Belt and Road Initiative

China attempts to use the economic influence it accrues through OBOR to encourage participating countries to support Beijing's priorities and objectives on a range of other matters. The PRC applies military, intelligence, diplomatic, and economic tools to counter perceived threats to OBOR's long-term viability, although the party-state lacks the expertise necessary to assess comprehensive risks in most OBOR participating countries. China's leaders have tried to counteract negative perceptions of OBOR to attract potential investors as well as reduce suspicions of Beijing's intentions. In the wake of domestic and international criticism of OBOR, the PRC has attempted to appear more responsive to partner-country input, and open to wider participation. In April 2019, China hosted leaders from 37

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countries and delegates from over 150 countries to the second Belt and Road Forum in Beijing. During the forum, PRC leaders attempted to respond to criticism and concerns over corruption, debt sustainability, environmental effects, and the CCP's underlying goals associated with OBOR.

As the PRC's overseas development and security interests expand under OBOR, the CCP has signaled that its overseas military footprint will expand accordingly to protect those interests, which the CCP recognizes may provoke pushback from other states. Some of OBOR's planned economic corridors would transit regions prone to violence, separatism, armed conflict, and instability, putting OBOR-related projects and PRC citizens working overseas at risk. OBOR activities have also generated local and popular concern about corruption, labor, and environmental issues, contributing to the security challenges. The PRC's defense and security outreach has sought to extend its ability to project military power to safeguard its overseas interests, including OBOR, by developing closer regional and bilateral counterterrorism cooperation, supporting host-nation security forces, and other means.

Made in China 2025

The "Made in China 2025" initiative, announced in 2015, is one of several recently announced ambitious projects aimed at increasing the competitiveness of Chinese industries, fostering Chinese brands, boosting innovation, and reducing China's reliance on foreign technology by making China a major or dominant global manufacturer of various technologies. According to Chinese media, the initiative intends to "transform China from a manufacturing giant into a world manufacturing power" by 2049. For example, the plan states a goal of achieving 40% of domestically manufactured basic components and basic materials by 2022 and 70% by 2025. An updated version of the plan released in January 2018 said China aimed to become the world's leading manufacturer of telecommunication, railway, and electrical power equipment by 2025, and that China's robotics, high-end automation, and new energy vehicles industries would globally rank second or third by 2025. The methods the Chinese government plans to use to achieve its goals have raised concerns among U.S. firms and policymakers because they appear to involve large subsidies, protection of domestic industries, directed policies to purchase technology and IPR from abroad, increased pressure on foreign firms to transfer technology in order to do business in China, and what appears to be a goal of deliberately reducing foreign participation in China's markets.

In an interview on November 3, 2017, U.S. Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer stated that China's Made in China 2025 initiative was "a very, very serious challenge, not just to us, but to

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Europe, Japan and the global trading system.” The USTR’s 2017 annual report on China’s WTO compliance focused heavily on the initiative, stating that Made in China 2025 differed from industry support by other WTO members in the level of ambition and scale of resources dedicated to obtaining its goals, and the USTR report warned that “even if the Chinese government fails to achieve the industrial policy goals set forth in Made in China 2025, it is still likely to create or exacerbate market distortions and create severe excess capacity in many of the targeted industries.” (USTR, 2017 Report to Congress on China’s WTO Compliance).

China’s Military: The People’s Liberation Army (PLA)

China’s military modernization is a major factor driving some observers’ concerns about China’s rise, China’s intentions toward the United States and its allies and partners, and the role China aspires to play in the world. China’s military progress also informs the widely-held view that the United States and China are engaged in a “great power competition.” Congressional actions on these issues could shape, and be shaped by, U.S. defense strategy, budgets, plans, and programs; U.S. policy toward China, U.S. partners and allies in the Indo-Pacific, and the region more generally; and U.S. defense industrial policies, among other things.

The People’s Republic of China’s (PRC’s or China’s) ruling party, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), is modernizing, reforming, and reorganizing its military, the People’s Liberation Army (PLA), to defend the Party’s interests and meet defense requirements set by China’s leaders. These interests and defense requirements hav expanded in recent decades as China’s economic and geopolitical power and ambitions have grown.

The CCP’s national defense priorities include defending the Party; protecting what it views as China’s sovereignty, territorial integrity, and unity; protecting China’s growing overseas interests; deterring nuclear attacks and maintaining a nuclear counterattack capability; and deterring and countering acts it views as terrorism. Some of the Party’s national defense objectives, such as safeguarding the CCP’s control over the country and deterring nuclear attacks, have been in place for several decades. Others are more recent, such as safeguarding China’s overseas interests and its interests in space and cyberspace.

China presents its military posture as purely defensive, serving only to protect China’s legitimate sovereign interests. It calls its national military strategy “active defense,” a concept that prescribes the ways in which China can defend its interests and prevail over a militarily superior adversary. This

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strategy allows for the use of offensive operational and tactical approaches, and the PLA has and continues to develop capabilities to wage offensive operations across a range of domains.

China's current military modernization push began in 1978 and accelerated in the 1990s. Xi Jinping, the General Secretary and "core leader" of the CCP, Chairman of the CCP's Central Military Commission, and State President, has continued to make military modernization a priority and has linked military modernization to his signature issue: the "China Dream" of a modern, strong, and prosperous country. In 2017, Xi formalized three broad goals for the PLA: to achieve mechanization of the armed forces and to make significant progress toward what the United States would call a "networked" force by 2020.

- to "basically complete" China's military modernization process by 2035.
- to have a "world-class" military by 2049, the centenary of the establishment of the PRC. Xi has initiated the most ambitious reform and reorganization of the PLA since the 1950s, in an effort to transform the military into a capable joint force as well as to further consolidate control of the PLA in the hands of Xi and the CCP.

After decades of modernization supported by steady defense budget increases and other policies that promote military-technological advances, the PLA has become a formidable regional military with growing power projection capabilities. China's armed forces are improving capabilities in every domain of warfare, have superior capabilities to other regional militaries in many areas, and are eroding U.S. military advantages in certain areas. China's missile force, in particular, can put at risk a large range of targets in the region, including U.S. and allied bases.

China's Strategy And Xi Jinping's Foreign Policy

China international strategy and foreign policy was established on its pre-existing thought about civilization and economic soft power in which China believes civilization started in China which set the foundation of China exceptionalism unlike the United states and EU which expending control over their neighbors using aggressively approach. Since the Chinese empire was built on the foundation idea of civilization and commercial pull and for decades remain in that direction, it can be arguable that China approach when it becomes a superpower country in future will be totally different from United States today strategy since China tend to be more concern on economic growth and national interest and not ready to carry any burdens that will affect it economic growth.

China's National Strategy

The PRC's strategy aims to achieve "the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation" by 2049 to match or surpass U.S. global influence and power, displace U.S. alliances and security partnerships in the Indo-Pacific region, and revise the international order to be more advantageous to Beijing's authoritarian system and national interests. This strategy can be characterized as a determined pursuit of far-ranging efforts to expand the PRC's national power. Despite challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic, Beijing continued its efforts to advance its overall development including steadying its economic growth, strengthening its armed forces, and taking a more assertive role in global affairs. In response to both long and short-term economic trends, the CCP unveiled a new economic strategic task, or a new "development pattern," called "dual circulation"⁸.

The PRC has characterized China's view of strategic competition in terms of a rivalry among powerful nation states, as well as a clash of opposing ideological systems. Beijing views the United States as increasingly determined to contain the PRC, creating potential obstacles to its strategy. Additionally, the PRC's leaders are increasingly willing to confront the United States and other countries in areas where interest diverge.

Foreign Policy

The PRC's foreign policy seeks to build a "community of common destiny" that supports its strategy to realize "the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation." Beijing's revisionist ambition for the international order derives from the objectives of its national strategy and the Party's political and governing systems.

In 2019, the PRC recognized that its armed forces should take a more active role in advancing its foreign policy, highlighting the increasingly global character that Beijing ascribes to its military power.

In 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic was a driving force behind the PRC's foreign policy efforts, as Beijing sought to deflect any culpability for the virus and its initial spread, and to capitalize on its narrative of domestic success and foreign assistance.

⁸ According to the dual circulation model, China plans to emphasize both growing exports (international circulation) and expanded domestic demand, powered mainly by rising consumption (internal circulation), with the two reinforcing each other.

Economic Policy

The PRC's military modernization objectives are commensurate with, and part of, Beijing's broader national development aspirations. The PRC's economic, technological, political, social, and security development efforts are mutually reinforcing and support Beijing's strategy to shape international and regional environments that accept and facilitate Beijing's interests.

The PRC's economic development supports its military modernization not only by providing the means for larger defense budgets, but through deliberate Party-led initiatives such as Made in China 2025 and China Standards 2035⁹, as well as the systemic benefits of the PRC's growing national industrial and technological base.

In the rollout of the PRC's 14th Five Year Plan (2021-2025), the Party announced a shift to a new "development pattern" of "dual circulation". Dual circulation is focused on accelerating domestic consumption as a driver of economic growth, shifting to higher-end manufacturing, and creating "breakthroughs" in key technologies along critical high-end global supply chains, all while emphasizing "mutually reinforcing" foreign investment in these key technologies to provide the capital and technology necessary to advance domestic technological innovation in support of the PRC's security and development objectives.

Defense Policy and Military Strategy

The PRC has stated its defense policy aims to safeguard its sovereignty, security, and development interests. The PRC's military strategy remains based on the concept of "active defense."

China's leaders stress the imperative of strengthening the PLA into a "world-class" military by the end of 2049 as an essential element of its strategy to rejuvenate the PRC into a "great modern socialist country." In 2020, the PLA added a new milestone for modernization in 2027, to accelerate the integrated development of mechanization, informatization, and intelligentization of the PRC's armed forces, which if realized would provide Beijing with more credible military options in a Taiwan contingency.

9 China is set to release an ambitious plan to write global standards for the next generation of technology, a move that could have enormous implications for tech industries worldwide. see <https://www.china-briefing.com/news/what-is-china-standards-2035-plan-how-will-it-impact-emerging-technologies-what-is-link-made-in-china-2025-goals/>.

The Rise of China as a Global Power

In November 2020, the CMC issued the “Chinese People’s Liberation Army Joint Operations Outline described as the “top-level law” of the PLA’s combat doctrine system in the “new era” that would strengthen the requirements and procedures for joint operations, combat support, national defense mobilization, and political work, among others.

In 2020, the PLA remained primarily oriented toward “safeguarding” its perceived “sovereignty and security” interests in the region, while emphasizing a greater global role for itself, such as through delivering COVID-19 aid abroad and the pursuit of overseas military facilities, in accordance with the PRC’s defense policy and military strategy.

Xi Jinping's Foreign Policy

“Greatest Chinese dream is the great Rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.” --Xi Jinping, 2012

“In recent years, some public opinions at home and abroad have raised the question of whether what China is doing is still socialism.... We say that socialism with Chinese characteristics is socialism, that is, no matter how we reform and open up, we must always adhere to the road of socialism with Chinese characteristics...The belief in Marxism, socialism and communism is the political soul of the communists and the spiritual prop of the communists to withstand any test. The party constitution clearly stipulates that the highest ideal and ultimate goal of the party is to realize communism.” -- Xi Jinping, January 2013¹⁰

Since 2012, Xi Jinping (his family name, Xi, is pronounced “shee”) has been China’s top leader. He holds a troika of top positions: Communist Party General Secretary, Chairman of the Party’s Central Military Commission, and State President. Some foreign observers refer to him as “chairman of everything.” In 2018, China’s unicameral legislature, the National People’s Congress (NPC), amended the PRC constitution to include a reference to “Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era,” putting Xi’s guiding philosophy on a par with the philosophies of two powerful predecessors, Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping. Another constitutional amendment removed term limits for the state presidency, opening the way for Xi to stay in the position indefinitely after the conclusion of his second five year term in 2023.

President Xi has sought to rally China’s citizens around a “China Dream of Great Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation.” The China Dream incorporates a pledge to build “a moderately prosperous

¹⁰http://translate.sogoucdn.com/pcvtsnapshot?from=auto&to=zh-CHS&tfr=translatepc&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.qstheory.cn%2Fdukan%2Fqs%2F2019-03%2F31%2Fc_1124302776.htm&domainType=sogou

The Rise of China as a Global Power

society in all respects” by 2021, the centenary of the Party’s founding, in part by doubling China’s 2010 GDP and percapita income for both urban and rural residents. It also includes a pledge to make China, “a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious” by 2049, the centenary of the founding of the People’s Republic of China. ¹¹

Externally, Xi has promoted his vision of a “community with a shared future for mankind” (also translated as “community of common destiny for mankind”). In a January 2017 speech at the U.N. office in Geneva, Xi described the “community with a shared future” as an effort to “establish a fair and equitable international order.” In such an order, he said, there should be no interference in countries’ internal affairs, and all countries should “have the right to independently choose their social system and development path,” an implicit rejection of U.S.-led democracy-promotion efforts around the world. Appearing to address the United States directly, he stated, “Big countries should treat smaller ones as equals instead of acting as a hegemony imposing their will on others. No country should open the Pandora’s box by willfully waging wars or undermining the international rule of law.(Building a strong army through reform).

The Thucydides's Trap

“When China awakes, it will shake the world.”

- Napoleon Bonaparte

“Once China becomes strong enough to stand alone, it might discard us. A little later it might even turn against us, if its perception of its interests requires it.”

- Henry Kissinger

China and the United States are heading toward a war neither wants. the reason is Thucydides's trap, a deadly pattern of structural stress that results when a rising power challenges a ruling one. This phenomenon is as old as history itself. about the Peloponnesian war that devastated ancient Greece, the historian Thucydides explained: "it was the rise of Athens and the fear that this instilled in Sparta that made war inevitable."over the past 500 years, these conditions have occurred sixteen times. war broke out in twelve of them. today, as an unstoppable china approaches an immovable America and both Xi jJinping and Donald Trump promise to make their countries "great again," the seventeenth case looks grim. unless china is willing to scale back its ambitions or Washington can accept becoming number two in the pacific, a trade conflict, cyberattack, or accident at sea could soon escalate into all-out war. in destiOned for war, the eminent Harvard scholar graham Allison explains why Thucydides's trap is the best lens for understanding U.S.-China relations in the twenty-first century. through

¹¹(The term “democratic” refers to Chinese-style “socialist democracy” under uncontested Communist Party rule.) The “China Dream” includes a “dream of a strong military.”

The Rise of China as a Global Power

uncanny historical parallels and war scenarios, he shows how close we are to the unthinkable. yet, stressing that war is not inevitable, Allison also reveals how clashing powers have kept the peace in the past -- and what painful steps the united states and china must take to avoid disaster today. (Allison, Graham,2019).

Conclusion

China as a nation has a fascinating and complex history which was shaped by its involvement in peaceful act and also warlike act. Like some western countries, china has experienced a period of peace, war and successful trade with its neighboring countries. Its economic growth and military expansion have created tension within western countries and has been included in list of countries with major military power because of the number of nuclear weapons it possessed.

The idea of superpower was established in 20 th century as a result of the involvement of nuclear weapons technology in countries security. However, in becoming a superpower a nation needs to integrate more of a traditional approach which involves the capacity of maintaining a sufficient diplomatic, military and economic resources that can reshape or set an international order or world order thereby, making themselves a major actor among other world actors.

However, John J. Mearsheimer argues “that china will end up in a conflict with the United states if it tries to maximize its share of world power” of which Kenneth Waltz countered argues that China will not divert from its tradition of defensive realism as a superpower meaning that it just involving itself to gain enough power to protect its security and maintain a solid defensive stance within its territories and interest from the pressure imposed by the United states and its surrounding neighbors, In the next chapter, we will discuss the development of bilateral relations between China and the United States by looking at all the main issues and events that occurred during the Trump era (2017-2021).

Chapter Three:
The Evolution Of Bilateral Relations Between
China And USA In Trump Era (2017-2021)



Introduction

In recent years, relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China are involved in a prolonged stand-off over trade, and in competition that is spilling from political and military areas into a growing number of other spheres, including technology, finance, and education. The two lead the world in the size of their economies, their defense budgets. Both countries are permanent members of the United Nations (UN.) Security Council. In 2018, they were each other's largest trading partners. The China-US relationship is one of the most important relations at the level of the international system, which is governed by pragmatic benefit, a mixture of conflict and cooperation, Especially China's emergence as a superpower in the last two decades. The two countries has special features that they possess, both of them have economic, political, and military ingredients that are able to qualify them to become an essential and important actor in the regional and global system. when Donald Trump won the US presidential election in 2017 , relations between them, reached many critical junctures, especially in trade, and other political and military fields.

In this chapter, we will first focus on the nature of the relationship between the United States and China, taking into account the most important events in their bilateral history, and then we will address the main issues between them during the Trump era, finally we shed light on the repercussions of the relations between China and the United States and various future scenarios.

The Nature of Relations Between China and Usa (Brief History).

China-U.S. relations have gone through four periods since the founding of the People's Republic:

Containment: 1949-1971

For twenty-two years (1949-1971), the United States tried to disrupt, destabilize, and weaken China's communist government. Washington believed that the PRC (hereafter, "China") was an aggressive, expansionist power that threatened the security of its noncommunist neighbors.

The United States constructed an off-shore line of military alliances along China's eastern and southern borders. These included the U.S. alliances with Japan, South Korea, and the Nationalist government of the ROC on Taiwan. With its allies, the United States formed the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) that included Thailand, the Philippines, and South Vietnam, and the

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ANZUS Treaty that linked Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. The United States maintained military bases and in some cases stationed significant numbers of troops in many of these countries, especially Japan and South Korea.

During these years, the United States also became involved in the war in China's southern neighbor, Vietnam, with the aim of preventing the spread of communist government from North Vietnam into South Vietnam. The United States encouraged its allies to refrain entering into diplomatic relations with China. The United States prohibited Americans from visiting China. The United States cut off trade and orchestrated an international embargo of China.

By being even tougher on China than on its main communist rival, the Soviet Union, the United States pursued a so-called "wedge strategy." This strategy aimed to encourage a split between the two communist allies of the PRC and the Soviet Union. It was successful, because such a Sino-Soviet split did occur, becoming evident in around 1960 and worsening thereafter.

Rapprochement: 1971-1979

China and the United States began to move closer to one another in the 1970s. The Americans were seeking to bring an end to the war in Vietnam while China wanted to find support for its resistance to pressure from the Soviet Union. After an initial secret visit to China by National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger in 1971, President Richard Nixon's visit to China in February 1972 marked the breakthrough to rapprochement. President Nixon and Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai signed the Shanghai Communiqué. The Communiqué said that the United States:

acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain that there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position. It reaffirms its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. With this prospect in mind, it affirms the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military installations from Taiwan. In the meantime, it will progressively reduce its forces and military installations on Taiwan as the tension in the area diminishes...On this basis, U.S.-China unofficial relations began to develop, with trade, educational, and cultural exchanges.

Engagement: 1979 to 2016

In 1979 the two governments established full diplomatic relations. To do this, the United States had to break its formal diplomatic relations with Taiwan, although it maintained "people to people" ties that were the equivalent of diplomatic relations. The U.S. Congress passed the Taiwan Relations

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Act. The Act commits the Strategic competition is the frame through which the United States views its relationship with the People's Republic of China (PRC). The United States will address its relationship with the PRC from a position of strength in which we work closely with our allies and partners to defend our interests and values. We will advance our economic interests, counter Beijing's aggressive and coercive actions, sustain key military advantages and vital secure partnerships, re-engage robustly in the UN system, and stand up to Beijing when PRC authorities are violating human rights and fundamental freedoms. When it is in our interest, the United States will conduct results-oriented diplomacy with China on shared challenges such as climate change and global public health crises.

United States to help maintain Taiwan's self-defense capacity and to consider coming to its defense if it is attacked by mainland China.

On the U.S. side the Nixon visit marked the beginning of a policy of "engagement" toward China, based on the idea that bringing China into the global economy and world institutions would lead the country to adopting economic and political reforms and accepting the international status quo. On the Chinese side, the establishment of normal diplomatic relations with the United States coincided with the adoption of "reform and opening" policies in China.

The following period saw rapid development of trade and investment ties with the West, including America. China also opened itself to Western tourism, and developed extensive ties in academic and cultural fields. The two countries cooperated in a number of issues, such as working for the denuclearization of North Korea. They failed to achieve that goal in Korea, and many important issues remained unresolved in U.S.-China relations.

One of the most important was the issue of human rights. The event that fixed human rights as a core U.S.-China issue was the violent crackdown against student demonstrators in Beijing on June 4, 1989—the so-called Tiananmen Incident. The U.S. and its allies imposed certain sanctions on China after the incident.

The entry of China into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001, however, made it illegal for the U.S. to use trade sanctions to bring pressure to bear on China over human rights. China's entry into the WTO in 2001 also laid the basis for greatly increased Chinese exports to the U.S.

The "new Cold War": 2016 to 2020.

With the accession of Xi Jinping to the position of Chinese Communist Party General Secretary in 2012, China adopted more assertive policies on security issues like Taiwan and in its relations with

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Japan, India, and neighboring Southeast Asian countries. China sought more influence in international organizations and expanded its influence through the Belt and Road Initiative, a global program of infrastructure investment.

China also adopted more repressive policies at home, arresting lawyers, feminists, and pastors of Christian congregations, placing Muslim Uyghur residents of the northwestern region of Xinjiang into coercive "education camps," and imposing a draconian security law in the Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong.

In the U.S., the presidency of Donald Trump (2017-2021) marked a corresponding shift toward a harder line on China. The Trump administration focused at first on the trade deficit with China, unsuccessfully seeking to force change by imposing tariffs on Chinese imports. By the end of 2020, U.S. officials had defined the "strategic competition" with China as a comprehensive clash of value systems, leading commentators to call the relationship a "new Cold War," eluding to the tensions between the United States and its allies and the Soviet Union and its allies from roughly 1947-1991. The comparison was imperfect, however, because China did not seek to impose its own value system on the whole world.

The U.S. and China still had intense economic, educational, and other ties that made them much more interdependent than the U.S. and the Soviet Union had ever been. As the Chinese navy, air force, missile force, and cyber warfare capabilities improved, the risk of an armed clash between the two countries increased.

At the end of 2020 it was clear that global problems like climate change, pandemics, and terrorism, could not be managed without the two countries' cooperation. It was also hard to predict how the two countries would cooperate at the same time as they competed for regional and global influence.

Donald Trump Administration and his Foreign Policy.

the second decade of the 21st century ended with remarkable changes in the world. Most prominently, the foreign policy shift of the United States under the Trump presidency has brought new dynamics to international relations. For generations, Washington has shaped international politics as a team player, bringing together a significant group of countries thanks to their shared interests established after World War II. Since President Trump took office, the United States has withdrawn itself from a large number of international agreements and embarked on a new strategy for conditional participation in allied commitments. Such a self-interest-oriented approach of the world's greatest

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power has resulted in a growing sense of insecurity in countries that have been protected for decades under the U.S. umbrella. When the United States initiated a trade war with China in 2018, the allied nations were urged by Secretary of State Mike Pompeo to show how willing they were to pursue U.S. interests worldwide. Undoubtedly, the United States is now standing at the forefront of a new group of countries that are resisting further Chinese rise in the name of safeguarding the “liberal world order.”

The election of President Donald Trump in January 2017 signaled that in the coming years the United States would shift its focus from global interests to national interests in accordance with his “America first” doctrine¹. Indeed, Americans have become less prepared to take on the burden of maintaining a liberal international economic order, which they have been advocating for decades; instead, they place greater emphasis on their own competitiveness. As a result, the Trump administration withdrew the United States from a large number of international accords by which they perceive inadequate American interests, including the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), the Paris Agreement on Climate Change, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Universal Postal Union (UPU), the United Nations Human Rights Council, the Iran nuclear deal, and the United Nations Global Compact on Migration, among others. In turn, this accelerated the redistribution of power in the world and highlighted the need for the transfer of global responsibility from the United States to other countries, especially those emerging in Asia.

Bearing in mind the unpredictability of President Trump’s policy, Trump’s conviction was that the United States has long been the victim of bad trade deals and unfair trade practices. Washington has already adopted an aggressive stance that seeks to alter existing agreements to establish and promote free and “fair” trade with all major partners. In this regard, the process of renegotiating trade agreements that Washington deems detrimental to U.S. interests has begun. The North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement have been scrutinized and amended. To achieve the same objective, President Trump launched re-negotiations with Beijing to cut huge U.S. deficits in its trade with China. After several unsuccessful rounds of talks with Chinese officials, the Trump administration waged a trade war with China in March 2018, citing unfair Chinese trade practices and U.S. intellectual property theft.²

1 A President Trump has set the goals of deficit reduction, infrastructure building, improving public education, greater investment in social security, and adopting a smart immigration system that will allow talented foreigners to come and stay.

2 Trump believes that the United States has already lost in economic competition with China because China enjoys a trade deficit of \$500 billion per year and intellectual property theft of \$300 billion, mainly due to the irresponsible policies made by previous administrations. See Jeff Smith, “China’s Belt and Road Initiative: Strategic Implications and International Opposition,” The Heritage Foundation, August 9, 2018, <https://www.heritage.org/asia/report/chinas-belt-and-road-initiative-strategic-implications-and-international-opposition>

The Major Issues Between China And The Us During Trump Era.

One China Policy And Taiwan.

Taiwan, which officially calls itself the Republic of China (ROC), is an island democracy of 23 million people located across the Taiwan Strait from mainland China (Figure 3.1). It is the United States' tenth-largest trading partner. Since January 1, 1979, the U.S. relationship with Taiwan has been unofficial, a consequence of the Carter Administration's decision to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC) and break formal diplomatic ties with self-ruled Taiwan, over which the PRC claims sovereignty. The Taiwan Relations Act, enacted on April 10, 1979, provides a legal basis for the unofficial U.S. Taiwan relationship. It also includes commitments related to Taiwan's security.



Figure 3.1: Taiwan at a glance : **Area** 12,456 square miles (slightly smaller than Maryland and Delaware combined), **Form of Government** Semi-presidential republic, **Population** 24 million, **GDP** \$611 billion, **GDP Per Capita** \$25,893, **Life Expectancy** 81 years, **Religions** Buddhism (35%), Taoism (33%), folk (10%), Christianity (4%), none or unspecified (18%), **Languages** Mandarin Chinese (official), Minnan, Hakka dialects, indigenous languages. (Sources: CIA World Factbook; Taiwan Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting, and Statistics.).

The PRC considers unofficiality in the U.S.-Taiwan relationship to be the basis for the U.S. PRC relationship. The PRC continues to threaten the use of force to bring about Taiwan's unification with

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mainland China. Beijing codified that threat in 2005, in the form of an Anti-Secession Law. The United States terminated its Treaty of Mutual Defense with Taiwan in January 1, 1980, but on the basis of the Taiwan Relations Act, it has remained involved in supporting Taiwan's military. Initially, support was focused on arms sales, which Taiwan Relations Act calls for "to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability." Starting in 1997, the security relationship broadened to include dialogues, training and military education opportunities for Taiwan military personnel, and support for other "non-hardware aspects of military capability."

After eight years of relative stability in the cross-Strait relationship during the administration of former Taiwan President Ma Ying-jeou (2008-2016), tensions between Taiwan and the PRC leadership have risen under current President Tsai Ing-wen of Taiwan's Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). The main point of disagreement is the long standing issue of Taiwan's sovereignty. Beijing insists that President Tsai commit to the notion that Taiwan and mainland China are parts of "one China."

Since President Tsai's election in January 2016, Beijing has progressively increased pressure on her government. Among other moves, it has established diplomatic relations with three countries that previously recognized Taiwan, pressured host countries to force Taiwan's unofficial representative offices to change their names, blocked Taiwan's participation as an observer at international meetings, stepped up deployments of the PRC military near Taiwan, reduced the number of mainland Chinese tourists visiting Taiwan, demanded that other countries return Taiwan citizens accused of crimes to the PRC, rather than Taiwan, and, for the first time, tried a Taiwan activist on charges of attempted subversion of the PRC state.

When the Carter Administration established diplomatic relations with the PRC on January 1, 1979, it terminated formal diplomatic ties with self-ruled Taiwan, over which the PRC claims sovereignty. In joint communiques with China signed in 1978 and 1982, the United States stated that it "acknowledges the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China," but did not state its own position on Taiwan's status. Under the U.S. "one-China" policy, the United States maintains only unofficial relations with Taiwan, while upholding the 1979 Taiwan ReThe One China policy is a key cornerstone of Sino-US relations. It is also a fundamental bedrock of Chinese policy-making and diplomacy. However, it is distinct from the One China principle, whereby China insists Taiwan is an inalienable part of one China to be reunified one day. The US policy is not an endorsement of Beijing's position and indeed as part of the policy, Washington maintains a "robust unofficial" relationship with Taiwan, including continued arms sales to the island so that it can defend itself. Although Taiwan's government claims it is an independent country officially called the

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"Republic of China", any country that wants diplomatic relations with mainland China must break official ties with Taipei. This has resulted in Taiwan's diplomatic isolation from the international community. The Taiwan Relations Act which provides a legal basis for the unofficial relationship and includes commitments related to Taiwan's security. China frequently reminds the United States that, for Beijing, "The Taiwan question is the most important and sensitive one in China-US relations." Beijing is particularly wary of U.S. moves that the PRC sees as introducing "officiality" into the U.S.-Taiwan relationship, and regularly protests U.S. legislation supporting Taiwan, U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, and U.S. Navy transits of the Taiwan Strait. The United States objects to PRC efforts to isolate Taiwan internationally and to the PRC's real and implied threats of force against Taiwan, including bomber, fighter, and surveillance aircraft patrols around and near the island.

After his November 2016 election victory, President Trump recommit the United States "one china" policy, including its commitments under the Taiwan Relations Act to provide for Taiwan's legitimate defense needs, Trump Administration language on Taiwan has evolved since 2017. In a first for a high profile U.S. government presents Taiwan, along with Singapore, New Zealand, and Mongolia, as Indo-Pacific democracies that are "reliable, capable, and natural partners of the United States."

In 2018, President Trump signed the Taiwan Travel Act, stating that it should be U.S. policy to allow U.S. officials at all levels, to travel to Taiwan for meetings with counterparts, and to allow high-level Taiwan officials to enter the United States under respectful conditions to meet with U.S. officials,

In May 2019, the United States hosted a meeting between the U.S. and Taiwan National Security Advisors, the first such meeting publicly disclosed since the United States broke diplomatic relations with Taiwan in 1979.

On February 9, 2017, Trump Affirms One China Policy After Raising Doubts; U.S. President Donald J. Trump says he will honor the one china policy in a call with President Xi. After winning the presidential election, Trump breaks with established practice by speaking on the telephone with Taiwanese President Tsai Ing-wen and questioning the U.S. commitment to its One China policy. Washington's policy for four decades has recognized that there is but one China. Under this policy, the United States has maintained formal ties with the People's Republic of China but also maintains unofficial ties with Taiwan, including the provision of defense aid. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, visiting Beijing in March 2018, describes the U.S.-China relationship as one "built on non confrontation, no conflict, mutual respect, and always searching for win-win solutions".

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On July 12, 2019, in apparent response to Tsai Ing-wen's³ visit to New York City and the Administration's July 8, 2019, arms sale notification, China's Ambassador to the United States, Cui Tiankai, wrote on Twitter :

“Taiwan is part of China. No attempts to split China will ever succeed.

Those who play with fire will only get themselves burned. Period.” (Cui Tiankai).

In response to the Administration's August 20, 2019, notification of the proposed sale of F-16C/D Block 70 fighter planes to Taiwan, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Geng Shuang said China might sanction US. companies, stating, “China will take every necessary measure to safeguard its interests, including sanctioning American companies involved in the arms sale this time. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC).⁴

South China Sea Dispute.

“We are strongly committed to safeguarding the country's sovereignty

and security, and defending our territorial integrity.”

-- Xi Jinping.

The South Sea, also called the South China Sea, is a semi-enclosed marginal sea in the Pacific Ocean. It is located north of China and the island of Taiwan, east of the Philippines, south of Kalimantan Island and Sumatra Island and west of the Malay Peninsula and the Indo-China peninsula. States and territories with borders on the South China Sea, include mainland China, Taiwan (China), Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei and the Philippines. The South China Sea contains over 230 small islands, atolls, cays, and shoals, collectively known as the South China Sea islands.

3 Tsai Ing-wen (Chinese: 蔡英文; pinyin: Cài Yīngwén; born 31 August 1956) is a Taiwanese politician and academic serving as the President of the Republic of China (Taiwan) since 2016. A member of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), Tsai is the first female president of Taiwan.

4SECRETARY TILLERSON: Well, thank you very much for Mr. Wang for welcoming me to Beijing. It is a delight to be here and to have the opportunity to continue our discussions which, as you noted, began in Bonn. U.S.-China relationship has now over 40 years ago with the historic opening between the U.S. and China, and through that period, it has been a very positive relationship built on non-confrontation, no conflict, mutual respect, and always searching for win-win solutions. We look forward to building upon the important and lengthy telephone discussion that occurred between President Trump and President Xi, and we know that there will be many opportunities for us to explore areas of mutual interest but also to address areas of differences between our two countries. And I know there will be a spirit of cooperation in these discussions that you and I will have and in the discussions that I hope to come between our two leaders, and I look forward to this conversation today to explore further those areas. And again, thank you for welcoming me. <https://2017-2021.state.gov/remarks-before-his-meeting-with-chinese-foreign-minister-wang-yi/index.html>.



Figure 3.2: Disputed islands in South China and East China Seas

Territorial disputes on the South China Sea islands began in the mid-late 20th Century (Figure 3.2 shows the Disputed islands in South China and East China Seas). Since the 1970s, neighbouring countries in the South China Sea, such as Vietnam, the Philippines and Malaysia, began to conduct activities in the South China Sea islands and claim sovereignty over the Spratly Islands, for the following two reasons.

On the one hand, the South China Sea is rich in natural resources including oil, gas and fish. On the other hand, the South China Sea, as a strategic road connecting the Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean and a major shipping lane connecting Asia and Oceania, Europe and Africa, plays a significant role in national defense and economics. The 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) sets up the legal systems for a continental shelf and exclusive economic zones. Article 121 of UNCLOS states that as long as territory can sustain human habitation or economic life of their own, they shall have a corresponding continental shelf and an exclusive economic zone. This provision will undoubtedly broaden the scope of jurisdiction of a State, expand its economic interests gained by using the sea and potentially aggravate the rivalry for activities on and sovereign rights over, the South China Sea, among States surrounding it. Six countries lay overlapping claims to the East and South China Seas, an area that is rich in hydrocarbons and natural gas and through which trillions of dollars of global trade flow. As China expands its maritime presence and constructs military outposts on artificial islands, it has been met by growing assertiveness from other regional claimants, including Japan, the Philippines, and Vietnam. The increasingly frequent standoffs span from the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands, on China's eastern flank, to the long stretch of archipelagos in the South

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China Sea that comprise hundreds of islets. The United States has also ramped up its military activity and naval presence in the seas, signaling Washington's heightened role in the disputes, which, if not managed wisely, could turn part of Asia's maritime regions from thriving trade channels into arenas of conflict.

China's policy goals in the South China Sea in 2020 have remained unchanged: to press its territorial and jurisdictional claims and undermine those of the Southeast Asian claimants. In pursuit of those goals, Beijing continues to employ the PLA-Navy, China Coast Guard (CCG) and maritime militia. During the pandemic, China has stepped-up its activities in the South China Sea to show audiences at home and abroad that its political will and military/paramilitary capabilities are unaffected. The Chinese government has denied that it has taken advantage of Covid-19 to push its claims.

In recent years, China has undertaken drastic efforts to dredge and reclaim thousands of square feet in the South China Sea. It has deployed anti-ship and anti-aircraft missile systems on the Spratly Islands, according to the U.S. Department of Defense, and constructed military infrastructure on several artificial islands, such as runways, support buildings, loading piers, and communications facilities. China's land development has profound security implications. The potential to deploy aircraft, missiles, and missile defense systems to any of its constructed islands vastly boosts China's ability to project power, extending its operational range south and east by as much as 1,000 kilometers (620 miles).

in response, Washington has protested against Beijing's extensive land reclamation efforts, warning that island development and a military buildup could lead to regional conflict. The U.S. military deployed surveillance aircraft over the Chinese-built artificial islands in 2015 and sent warships to sail within 12 nautical miles of disputed features in the Paracel and Spratly island chains to emphasize the importance of freedom of navigation in the contested waters.⁵

The Trump administration has accused China of taking advantage of the pandemic to push its claims and in April called on Beijing to cease its "provocative actions" and "bullying behavior". More significantly, the United States has taken a more explicit stand on the legal basis of China's claims. On 1 June, the United States submitted a letter to the UN which rejected China's maritime claims in the South China Sea as being inconsistent with UNCLOS. (Letter from US representative at the UN to the

⁵ The Pentagon has increased the frequency of Freedom of Navigation Operations (FONOPs) in the South China Sea. In the first seven months of 2020, the US Navy conducted seven FONOPs in the Paracels and Spratlys, compared to eight in 2019, five in 2018 and four in 2017.

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UN Secretary-General,)On 13 July, US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo issued a major statement which endorsed the 2016 Arbitral Tribunal ruling.(U.S. Position on Maritime Claims in the South China Sea) Specifically, the United States rejected as unlawful China's nine-dash line, its claims to offshore resources in the EEZs of Vietnam, the Philippines, Brunei, Malaysia and Indonesia. Pompeo stated that "The world will not allow Beijing to treat the South China Sea as its maritime empire. America stands with our Southeast Asian allies and partners in protecting their sovereign rights to offshore resources, consistent with their rights and obligations under international law."

To challenge what the United States considers excessive maritime claims and to assert the U.S. right to fly, sail, and operate wherever international law allows, the U.S. military undertakes both freedom of navigation operations and presence operations in the sea. In June 2019, Chinese Minister of National Defense Wei appeared to refer to those operations when he complained that "some countries outside the region come to the South China Sea to flex muscles, in the name of freedom of navigation." (Global Times via Ministry of National Defense of the PRC)He declared that, "The large-scale force projection and offensive operations in the region are the most serious destabilizing and uncertain factors in the South China Sea."

US-China Trade War

U.S.-China trade and economic relations have expanded significantly over the past three decades. In 2018, China was—in terms of goods—the United States' largest trading partner, third-largest export market, and largest source of imports. China is also the largest foreign holder of U.S. Treasury securities. The economic relationship has grown increasingly fraught, however. In 2017, the Trump Administration launched an investigation into China's policies on intellectual property (IP), subsidies, advancing technology, and spurring innovation.

Beginning in 2018, U.S.-China Trade War Escalated, The Trump administration imposes fresh tariffs totaling \$34 billion worth of Chinese goods. More than eight hundred Chinese products in the industrial and transport sectors, as well as goods such as televisions and medical devices, which will face a 25 percent import tax. China retaliates with its own tariffs on more than five hundred U.S. products. The reprisal, also valued around \$34 billion, targets commodities such as beef, dairy, seafood, and soybeans. President Trump and members of his administration believe that China is "ripping off" the United States, taking advantage of free trade rules to the detriment of U.S. firms

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operating in China. Beijing criticizes the Trump administration's moves as "trade bullying" and cautions that tariffs could trigger global market unrest.

After trade talks break down, the Trump administration raises tariffs from 10 to 25 percent (Robert Lighthizer) on \$200 billion worth of Chinese goods. China retaliates by announcing plans to increase tariffs on \$60 billion worth of American goods. President Trump says he believes the high costs imposed by tariffs will force China to make a deal (Trump says China took advantage of US) favorable to the United States, while China's Foreign Ministry says the United States has "extravagant expectations." Days later, the Trump administration bans U.S. companies from using foreign-made telecommunications equipment that could threaten national security, a move believed to target Huawei. The U.S. Commerce Department also adds Huawei to its foreign entity blacklist. (chain)

President Trump stated that beginning on September 1, 2019, the United States would impose 10% tariffs on nearly all remaining imports from China. His Administration later exempted some goods from the 10% tariffs and delayed the imposition of tariffs on other goods, but on August 23, 2019, the President also announced his intention to raise the tariff rate for these remaining imports from 10% to 15%. The President Trump has sometimes suggested what some observers characterize as an ambivalence toward the trade relationship. In reference to the persistent large size of the U.S. trade deficit with China, the President stated on August 1, 2019, "If they don't want to trade with us anymore, that would be fine with me. We'd save a lot of money". (Donald Trump flunks Trade Policy).

According to U.S. trade data, U.S. exports of goods and services to China totaled \$178.0 billion (7.1% of total U.S. exports) in 2018, while imports from China amounted to \$558.8 billion (17.9% of total U.S. imports). As a result, the overall bilateral deficit was \$380.8 billion, up \$43.6 billion (12.9%) from 2017, U.S. goods exports to China totaled \$120.8 billion in 2018, a 7.3% (\$9.4 billion) decrease from the 2017 level. The value of U.S. goods imports from China was \$540.4 billion over the same period, up 6.8% (\$34.4 billion) from 2017. The decrease in U.S. exports and increase in U.S. imports resulted in a \$43.8 billion (11.7%) increase in the bilateral trade deficit, to \$419.6 billion. Exports to China accounted for 7.2% of all U.S. goods exports, while imports from China accounted for 21.1% of all U.S. goods imports (Chad P. Bown).

President Trump has raised concerns about U.S. bilateral trade imbalances, particularly with China. Some policymakers view the large U.S. trade deficit as an indicator of an unfair trade relationship resulting from Chinese trade barriers, such as comparatively high tariffs, and currency manipulation. Others view conventional bilateral trade deficit data as misleading, given multinational

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firms' growing use of global supply chains. Supporters of the latter view note that products may be invented or developed in one country and manufactured or assembled elsewhere using imported components from multiple foreign sources—and then exported. Conventional U.S. trade data may not fully reflect the value added in each country, and thus are often a relatively poor indicator of who benefits from global trade. Economists generally agree that the overall size of the trade deficit stems largely from U.S. macroeconomic policies and an imbalance between saving and investment in the economy, rather than from foreign trade barriers.

In January 15, 2020 'Phase One' Trade Deal Signed by President Trump and Chinese Vice Premier Liu He ⁶, a breakthrough in the nearly two-year trade war between the world's two largest economies. The deal relaxes some U.S. tariffs on Chinese imports and commits China to buying an additional \$200 billion worth of American goods, including agricultural products and cars, over two years. China also pledges to enforce intellectual property protections. But the agreement maintains most tariffs and does not mention the Chinese government's extensive subsidies, a longtime concern of the United States, though Trump says these could be tackled in a future deal. Days before the signing, the United States dropped its designation of China as a currency manipulator.

Other Issues

For the past two years, the United States and China have been engaged in a battle over U.S. claims that China has failed to live up to its commitments that it made when it joined the World Trade Organization in 2001. These include restrictions on foreign investment, theft of intellectual property, and subsidies and preferences given to state-owned enterprises. In the course of the dispute, the United States raised its average tariffs on \$360 billion of Chinese imports from 3% to over 20% and China retaliated raising its average tariffs on \$110 billion of US imports from 6% to close to 20%.

Tensions were somewhat reduced on December 13, 2019, when the two negotiating teams reached what they called a "Phase One" deal whereby China agreed to increase its purchases of U.S. farm, energy, manufactured products, and services by at least \$200 billion and to strengthen its protection of intellectual property. In return, the United States agreed to cut the tariffs it had imposed in September 2019 on \$120 billion of Chinese goods from 15% to 7.5% and to suspend tariffs on an additional \$160 billion of Chinese goods that it had threatened to take into effect December 15. However, it left in place earlier tariffs placed on \$250 billion of Chinese goods. Meanwhile, bilateral tensions continued to simmer with respect to issues involving Huawei, China's actions in Xinjiang, the South China Sea,

⁶ [https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/files/agreements/phase%20one%20agreement Economic_And_Trade_Agreement_Between_The_United_States_And_China_Text.pdf](https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/files/agreements/phase%20one%20agreement%20Economic_And_Trade_Agreement_Between_The_United_States_And_China_Text.pdf)

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Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Nonetheless, on January 15, 2020, Vice Premier Liu He and President Trump signed the “Phase One” deal, declaring it to be a first step in reaching a final, more comprehensive agreement, and making clear that the two governments would continue to negotiate solutions to their outstanding differences. The U.S. business community and allied governments gave a huge sigh of relief in what was seen as a truce, calming intense bilateral friction. But celebrations were short, as other issues took center stage.

During his presidential election campaign, Donald Trump routinely condemned China for what he and others believed were unfair trade practices and decried its trade surplus with the USA . Promoting an “America First” foreign policy agenda marked by US nationalism, protectionism, and unilateralism⁷, and appealing simultaneously to large corporations (through tax cuts) and the US manufacturing and agricultural sectors (through shoring up jobs), he vowed to take a hard line on China in response to its reported currency devaluation, export subsidies, and theft of US intellectual property (Long 2016).

Tariff war and currency manipulation

As president, Trump oversaw the establishment of economic policies that launched a trade war, placing tariffs and non tariff restrictions on Chinese imports. In early 2018, his administration imposed tariffs on imported solar panels and washing machines and later on steel and aluminum. Although the tariffs applied to imports from many countries, Chinese goods were seemingly the primary target. In retaliation, China imposed tariffs on an array of products from the USA. From July to December 2018, the tariff war escalated in a tit-for-tat fashion. After fragile progress of negotiations in early 2019, the Trump administration raised tariffs from 10 to 25% on \$200 billion worth of Chinese goods in summer 2019 . China retaliated with its own tariffs. In August 2019, China suspended the purchase of new US agricultural products, and the U.S. Treasury Department declared China a “currency manipulator” (U.S. Department of the Treasury 2019). The two countries made progress in repairing trade relations in fall 2019 and agreed to a trade deal in January 2020. However, despite the deal, in which China promised to import more US agricultural goods, it has not met its purchasing targets, especially in the wake of COVID-19 (Birmingham 2020).

⁷**Nationalism** is an ideology that emphasizes loyalty, devotion, or allegiance to a nation or nation-state and holds that such obligations outweigh other individual or group interests. **protectionism**, policy of protecting domestic industries against foreign competition by means of tariffs, subsidies, import quotas, or other restrictions or handicaps placed on the imports of foreign competitors. **unilateralism**: a policy of taking unilateral action (as in international affairs) regardless of outside support or reciprocity also.

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China's decreased importation of agricultural products from the USA has harmed US farmers. These products include soybeans, grain sorghum, pork, cotton, and cattle hides. Although China purposefully targeted the US agricultural base in the hope that farmers would pressure the Trump administration, farmers continued to support the president. Based on surveys of corn and soybean farmers in 2018, three factors account for their support (Zhang et al. 2019): First, the Trump administration has given billions in assistance to offset profit losses. Second, farmers believe that decline in profits in the short term will lead to better gains in the long term. Third, China has been inconsistent over time in its purchases of agricultural goods, according to farmers. Thus, despite Chinese efforts and some economic setbacks, farmers could continue to support the president.

US-China Technology War

Intellectual Property Rights

The Trump Administration considers Chinese Intellectual Property Rights violations to be a major source of U.S. economic losses. U.S. firms cite lax Intellectual Property Rights enforcement as one of the biggest challenges to doing business in China, and some view the enforcement shortfalls as a deliberate effort by the Chinese government to give domestic firms an advantage over foreign competitors. In 2018, the U.S. National Counterintelligence and Security Center described China as having "expansive efforts in place to acquire U.S. technology to include sensitive trade secrets and proprietary information." It warned that if the threat is not addressed, "it could erode America's long-term competitive economic advantage."

The U.S. government's first charges against a state actor for cyber-enabled economic espionage were against China. In May 2014, the Obama Administration Justice Department indicted five PRC military officers for hacking into and stealing secrets from U.S. firms in the nuclear power, metals, and solar products industries. All those indicted remain at large. In September 2015, the Obama Administration and China reached a bilateral agreement on cybersecurity during President Xi's state visit to the United States. Under that agreement, Presidents Xi and Obama pledged that neither country's government would conduct or knowingly support cyber-enabled theft of intellectual property for commercial purposes. In February 2018 testimony to Congress, the U.S. intelligence community assessed that PRC cyber activity continued, but at "volumes significantly lower than before" the 2015 agreement. In October 2018, however, the cofounder of cybersecurity firm CrowdStrike asserted that

after a lull, China was "back to stealing intellectual property on a massive scale."¹⁰³ In 2019, the intelligence community's testimony to Congress stated, "China remains the most active strategic competitor responsible for cyber espionage against the US Government, corporations, and allies.

Huawei , 5G

The Trump administration has also attempted to thwart Chinese theft of intellectual property and espionage. In May 2019, it banned US companies from working with Huawei, a large Chinese multinational telecommunications and electronics company, over concerns it was stealing intellectual property and spying on companies and the government . A month later, it targeted five supercomputing companies—Chengdu Haiguang Integrated Circuit, Chengdu Haiguang Microelectronics Technology, Higon, Sugon, and the Wuxi Jiangnan Institute of Computing Technology—over fears they were using their technology for military purposes . In June 2020, President Trump proposed visa restrictions on Chinese students and scholars associated with China’s “military-civil fusion strategy” in the belief that the Chinese government used them to acquire intellectual property illegally from the USA . In late July 2020, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) arrested Chinese students who had not disclosed they had connections with the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) when applying for admissions and student employment positions at various US universities.Chen, and Dondeti contend that “the trade war is not, in fact, about trade but about technological dominance, and that both sides might fall into a ‘Thucydides’s Trap,’ the pattern of large-scale conflict when a rising power challenges a dominant one” (Chen et al. 2020).

As Bloomberg writer Tim Culpan noted in his article "The technological cold war has begun," the technological war has begun between the United States and China. The Donald Trump administration has banned Huawei, the technology company that aims to become a global leader in 5G technology in telecommunications, from entering the United States' 5G market. Google has announced that it will not allow the latest models of Huawei phones to use Android applications, while microchip companies such as Qualcomm Inc, Broadcom Inc, have announced that they will stop selling their products to Huawei.

The first contact point of the technology war between the United States and China was on the axis of "Huawei and spying". Donald Trump has accused Chinese students studying within the United States of spying. The number of Chinese students in the United States constitutes 30% of the total number of foreign students. Chinese students who returned to the country at the first step by the

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decision of the Chinese government, recently have begun to stay in the United States and working in technology companies, even rising to important levels. The fact that Chinese Apple employee was caught fleeing to China with a driverless vehicle project that Apple planned to produce and kept its information confidential, have made Chinese students controversial within the United States. The investigations on alleged violation of U.S. sanctions on Iran and data theft by the daughter of the owner of Chinese company Huawei and its Chief Financial Officer, have been aggravating the technology wars more and more.

On July 22, 2020 U.S., China Closed Consulates in Diplomatic Escalation; The United States orders China to close its consulate in Houston, Texas, alleging that it was a hub of espionage and intellectual property theft. China condemns the order and retaliates by closing the U.S. consulate in Chengdu. In the same week, Washington indicts two Chinese hackers for allegedly stealing coronavirus vaccine research and sanctions eleven Chinese companies for their reported role in human rights abuses in Xinjiang. Meanwhile, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi blames the United States for tensions. (Wang Yi)

On July 23, 2020 Pompeo Said Engagement With China Has Failed; U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo delivers a speech, titled “Communist China and the Free World’s Future,” signaling a profound shift in U.S. policy. He declares that the era of engagement with the Chinese Communist Party is over, condemning its unfair trade practices, intellectual property theft, human rights abuses in Xinjiang and Hong Kong, and aggressive moves in the East and South China Seas. He calls on Chinese citizens and democracies worldwide to press Beijing to change its behavior and respect the rules based international order. (Communist China and the Free World’s Future).

U.S. President Trump has blacklisted Chinese company Huawei's products for allegedly posing a security risk to his country. Trump, who first began his chain of sanctions by raising the tax imposed on 200 billion dollars’ worth of products imported from China, from 10% to 25%, has banned American companies from using Huawei equipment. Trump's decision has drawn support from the giant companies of Silicon Valley. U.S. giant technology companies such as Intel, Broadcom, Qualcomm and Xilinx, as well as Google, have announced that they suspended their dealings with Huawei and would not supply products.

Despite the Trump administration's threat of sanctions, China plans to play a leading role in about 10 technology-dominated strategic sectors in the fields of technology and manufacturing. The Beijing

Administration aims to become self-sufficient 60% by 2025 in the production of materials and key parts of aerospace, aerospace and information technologies.

TikTok , Wechat And Cybersecurity

Some believe TikTok and other apps developed and owned by Chinese companies pose a serious security risk to the United States because Chinese companies are governed by China's Cybersecurity Law. Others believe that TikTok is caught up in increasing trade tensions between China and the United States.

TikTok is a popular video-sharing smartphone application (app) owned by ByteDance Ltd¹², a privately held company headquartered in Beijing, China. The app is under intense scrutiny by the U.S. government as a potential privacy and security risk to U.S. users. A major concern is that ByteDance is subject to Chinese laws that require companies operating in China to turn over user data when asked to by the national government. On August 6 and August 14, 2020, President Trump signed Executive Orders aimed at stopping U.S. persons and entities from doing business with ByteDance and requiring ByteDance to divest from any holding used to support the operation of TikTok in the United States. Researchers differ over how TikTok's collection of user data compares with other social media apps and whether TikTok poses a unique threat to the privacy and security of its U.S. users, including many minors.(Donald J. Trump).

WeChat, another Chinese-owned app, is often mentioned in conjunction with TikTok, but the two apps are quite different. TikTok has a single function—short video—while WeChat has multiple—voice and data messaging, social media, and digital payment. WeChat is used in the United States primarily by the Chinese language community, whereas TikTok is used more widely. On the same day as the TikTok order, President Trump also signed an Executive Order prohibiting any U.S. individual or entity from engaging in any transaction related to WeChat and its owner, Tencent Holdings Ltd. While issues with the two apps are often conflated, their functions, technical capabilities, and the data collected from their users are different. Only TikTok is discussed in this report.

Some believe TikTok and other Chinese-owned apps pose a serious security risk to the United States because Chinese companies are subject to China's laws that require compliance with

¹² ByteDance Limited operates as a multinational internet technology holding company. The Company operates a range of content platforms that inform, educate, entertain, and inspire people.

government requests for data. Others believe that TikTok has fallen into “the crosshairs of a global technology battle” based on technology trade protectionism.

Human Rights

After consolidating power in 2013, Xi Jinping intensified and expanded the reassertion of party control over society that began during the final years of his predecessor. Since 2015, China's government has enacted new national laws that strengthen the role of the state over a wide range of social activities in the name of national security and authorize greater controls over the Internet and ethnic minority groups. Government arrests of human rights advocates and lawyers, which intensified in 2015, were followed by Party efforts to instill ideological conformity in various spheres of society. In 2016, Xi launched a policy known as "Sinicization,"¹³ by which China's religious populations, particularly Tibetan Buddhists, Muslims, and Christians who worship in churches that are not registered with the government, are required to conform to Han Chinese culture, the socialist system, and Communist Party policies.

Xinjiang And Uyghurs Muslims

Uyghurs (also spelled “Uighurs”) are a Muslim ethnic group living primarily in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) in the far northwest of the People’s Republic of China (PRC). They have garnered the attention of U.S. policymakers, particularly since 2018 following reports of the mass internment of Uyghurs in “reeducation” centers. The detentions are part of a PRC government effort to systematically transform the thought and behavior of Uyghurs and forcefully assimilate them into Chinese society, which some observers believe is destroying Uyghur culture and identity. The U.S. government has responded by implementing targeted restrictions on trade with Xinjiang and imposing visa and economic sanctions on some PRC officials. Uyghurs speak a Turkic language and practice a moderate form of Sunni Islam. The XUAR, often referred to simply as Xinjiang (pronounced “SHIN-jyahng”), is a provincial-level administrative region that comprises about one-sixth of China’s total land area and borders eight countries. The region is rich in minerals, produces over 80% of China’s cotton, and has China’s largest coal and natural gas reserves and a fifth of its oil reserves. Xinjiang is a strategic region for the PRC’s Belt and Road Initiative, which involves

¹³Sinicization, sinofication, sinification, or sinization (from the prefix sino-, 'Chinese, relating to China') is the process by which non-Chinese societies come under the influence of Chinese culture, particularly the culture, language, societal norms, and ethnic identity of the Han people—the largest ethnic group of China.

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Chinese backed infrastructure projects and energy development in neighboring Central and South Asia.

All or parts of the area comprising Xinjiang have been under the political control or influence of Chinese, Mongols, and Russians for long spans of the region's documented history, along with periods of Turkic or Uyghur rule. Uyghurs played a role in the establishment of two short-lived, semi-autonomous East Turkestan Republics in the 1930s and 1940s. The PRC asserted control over Xinjiang in 1949 and established the XUAR in 1955. Uyghurs once were the predominant ethnic group in the XUAR; they now make up roughly half of the region's population of 24.8 million, according to official sources. The government long has provided economic incentives for Han Chinese, the majority ethnic group in China, to migrate to the region; Hans now constitute up to 40% of the XUAR population and the majority in Urumqi, the capital.



Figure 3.3: Xinjiang Uighur considered itself as "Autonomous" Region (XUAR). The map shows the economic and geostrategic importance of the Uighur region.

PRC officials describe the Xinjiang camps as "vocational education and training centers" in which "trainees" undertake a curriculum of "standard spoken and written Chinese, understanding of the law, vocational skills, and deradicalization." In July 2019, a Xinjiang official claimed that the majority of those who return from the camps "find suitable jobs that they really like, and they can earn a satisfactory living." (State Council Information Office of the PRC).

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In July 2019, at the second Ministerial to Advance Religious Freedom hosted by the Department of State, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said, "China is home to one of the worst human rights crises of our time; it is truly the stain of the century." (David Brunnstrom and Lesley Wroughton,2019).

The Administration was reported to be considering sanctions under the Human Rights Accountability Act against officials in Xinjiang, but these actions reportedly were set aside during the U.S. China bilateral trade negotiations, possibly for fear of disrupting progress.

On July 8, 2019, 22 nations at the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) issued a joint statement to the UNHRC president and U.N. High Commissioner on Human Rights calling on China to "refrain from the arbitrary detention and restrictions on freedom of movement of Uyghurs, and other Muslim and minority communities in Xinjiang" and to "allow meaningful access to Xinjiang for independent international observers."

On January 21, 2021 U.S. Designates China's Abuses of Uyghurs as Genocide, on Trump's last day in office, Pompeo declares that China is committing crimes against humanity (Determination of the Secretary of State on Atrocities in Xinjiang) and genocide against Uyghurs, a Muslim ethnic group primarily from China's Xinjiang region. The United States is the first country to apply those terms to abuses the Chinese government has committed over the past few years. The Chinese government denies genocide is taking place. The Joe Biden administration affirms Pompeo's declaration; by the end of the year, it bans all imports from Xinjiang.

Hong Kong

Hong Kong, a former British colony, reverted to PRC sovereignty in 1997 under the provisions of a 1984 treaty in which China promised the city a "high degree of autonomy" and stated that Hong Kong's social and economic systems would remain unchanged for at least 50 years. In June 2020, China imposed a sweeping National Security Law on Hong Kong that many see as breaking those promises. The Trump Administration ended Hong Kong's separate trade treatment and sanctioned certain officials.

On July 14, 2020 Trump Ended Hong Kong's Special Status Two weeks after Beijing passes a new national security law for Hong Kong, President Trump signed an executive order ending the city's preferential trade status with the United States. He also signed legislation to sanction officials and businesses that undermine Hong Kong's freedoms and autonomy. Chinese officials threaten to impose retaliatory sanctions on U.S. individuals and entities. They denounce what they call U.S. interference

in China's internal affairs as a reaction, including Washington's announcement a day earlier declaring most of Beijing's claims in the South China Sea illegal. (The New York Times).

The Coronavirus “COVID-19”

The Coronavirus, also known as COVID-19, which began in Wuhan, China mid November 2019, spread rapidly. The first case in the United States was reported in the State of Washington on January 15, the same day that the Phase One agreement was signed.

Both governments were slow in responding to the outbreak of the new virus, blaming each other for its rapid and devastating spread. On January 30, the World Health Organization declared it a public health emergency of international concern. Trump and senior members of the administration have attempted to brand the outbreak as the result of a "Chinese virus" as they ramp up accusations that Beijing failed to identify, stop or warn about the virus early on. (Al Jazeera 2020).

Tensions have been rising for weeks between Washington and Beijing over who is responsible for the outbreak. China continues to deny that the virus originated there while top US officials, including Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, have pointed the finger directly at Beijing. US officials have long been skeptical about information coming from China, including the number of cases it has publicly reported, but the diplomatic row between the two countries has escalated in few days. Despite his initial praise for Chinese President Xi Jinping, Trump has struck a more critical tone regarding Beijing's handling of the outbreak and efforts to shift blame onto the US.

In January 31, 2020, The Trump administration bared all non-U.S. citizens who recently visited mainland China from entering the United States amid an outbreak of a new coronavirus that was first reported in the Chinese city of Wuhan. By March, the World Health Organization (WHO) designates the outbreak a pandemic, after it spreads to more than one hundred countries. Leading officials in both China and the United States blamed the other side for the pandemic. A Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson claimed that the U.S. military brought the virus to China, while President Trump makes repeated references to the “Chinese virus,” which he says spread because of failures by the Chinese government. In April, top officials in both countries change their tones by highlighting areas for cooperation amid the crisis. Still, Trump faults the WHO for being biased toward China and halts U.S. funding to the organization.

As April came to a close, the bad blood between the US and China only worsened. Trump mused on Twitter that the WHO was “funded largely by the United States, yet very China centric,” and

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deemed their early recommendations in combating the coronavirus as “faulty.” Trump later announced that the US would halt funding to the organization, accusing it of “pushing China’s misinformation about the virus”.⁸

In an April 27 press briefing, he told reporters that the US was “not happy with China...because we believe [the virus] could have been stopped at the source.” This was a far cry from his tweets flattering China’s handling of the virus as recent as one month prior. The next day, Chinese Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Le Yucheng spoke to NBC News in a sit-down interview to defend China’s reporting of the virus, deny a cover-up, and instead question the US government’s domestic handling of the disease.

Inside the Trump administration, an all-out effort appeared to be underway to identify the cause of COVID-19. A statement by the US Office of the Director of National Intelligence issued on April 30 maintained that the virus originated in China and “was not manmade or genetically modified.” The statement noted that it was investigating “whether the outbreak began through contact with infected animals or if it was the result of an accident at a laboratory in Wuhan.” Yet within hours, Trump claimed that he had been given definitive evidence that the virus was indeed from a lab, only adding to the swirl of rumors surrounding COVID-19.

On March 13, 2020, President Trump declared the Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic to be a national emergency.¹ As COVID-19 spread across the country, businesses closed, state lockdown orders were put in place, and social distancing measures were adopted in an attempt to slow the spread of the disease. Economic activity skidded to a halt, resulting in a rapid decrease in both employment and gross domestic product (GDP). On June 8, 2020, the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) declared that economic activity had peaked in February and a recession began in March 2020.

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Most recessions are caused by either an aggregate demand shock (a sudden change in the amount of goods and services desired at a specific price point) or an aggregate supply shock (a sudden change

⁸ Amid the COVID-19 outbreak, President Trump referred to the disaster as the “Chinese virus” (Rogers et al. 2020) and later, at a rally in Tulsa, Oklahoma, as “Kung Flu.” He said that the US government is determining if the virus originated from the Wuhan Institute of Virology. He has also accused the World Health Organization (WHO) of acting like the “public relations agency for China” and has withdrawn US funding from the institution (Al Jazeera 2020).

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in the amount of goods and services sold at a specific price point), but the pandemic caused problems to both aggregate demand and supply. COVID-19 caused a swift decline in productive capacity and aggregate demand following the implementation of social distancing measures and individual concerns about the spread of the virus.³ The unemployment rate increased rapidly and consumer spending plummeted as individuals either lost income, ceased patronizing in-person stores and restaurants, or both. As demand for certain goods and services (such as gasoline as people began to telework at unprecedented rates) dropped, demand for others rose quickly and supply chains could not meet that demand. Grocery stores experienced shortages in food, toilet paper, and cleaning supplies and personal protective equipment became scarce.⁴ With time, some of these supply chains have corrected but problems continue to arise as the public health crisis evolves. The combination of aggregate demand and aggregate supply problems makes the economic dynamics of this recession unusual and the path of the recession and recovery difficult to predict.

The recession caused by COVID-19 is unprecedented in many ways. By many measures, this recession is the deepest since the Great Depression. The peak unemployment rate of 14.7% in April 2020 was the highest monthly rate recorded by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in US (COVID-19 and the U.S. Economy) since 1948 when the series started; the second quarter of 2020 annualized decline in gross domestic product (GDP) of 31.4% was the highest single quarterly decline in real GDP recorded by the Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) since that series started in 1947. The rate of decline in economic activity was also very rapid—seemingly overnight states put lockdown orders into effect, trade and travel were disrupted, and commerce screeched to a halt. The economy has improved since the worst months of the second quarter of 2020 but is still not fully recovered until 2021.

Future Prospects for China-US. Relations

Since Donald Trump took office as U.S. President in January 2017, the future direction of U.S.-China relations seems to be clearer. Unfortunately, President Trump's "America First" policy has resulted in the U.S. withdrawal from a large number of international agreements and a new U.S. strategy for conditional participation in allied commitments, which makes Washington appear less credible to the international community. Furthermore, the Trump administration is inclined to apply the mindset of comprehensive confrontation when dealing with Beijing, which could strengthen Sino-American rivalry and ultimately lead to a new Cold War. However, The most possible scenario is that

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the two countries would stay on the current track and move ahead in cooperation and competition. This scenario is not based on any historic luck, but on the following four factors:

The first is that the two countries and peoples also benefit more from the stable and progressive relations, especially their economic and financial cooperation. These mutual benefits would, in turn, reinforce the respective domestic support for a stable and better relationship between both countries. A total confrontation or a collapse of relations is simply unimaginable, as the stakes are too high for both sides.

The second is that both countries will build up more positive factors to outweigh the negative. The United States is China's largest export market, and is providing China with huge and stable external demand. It is China's second largest trading partner in services, a key partner in technology and cultural trade, and China's largest contract-awarding market. The two countries have already integrated various kinds of governmental, semi-governmental and non-governmental networks, which may continue growing in number and influence.

The third is that through close communication, both countries can generally prevent their differences and crises from getting out of control. China-U.S. relations have never been lacking in events and surprises in the past four decades. However, their relations could always move ahead after differences and crises were properly handled.

The fourth is the international imperatives that keep the two together. Soviet expansionism played an important role when President Nixon visited China to jointly counter the Soviet threat, when President Carter decided to establish diplomatic relations with China, and when President Reagan finally sought a quasi-alliance with China. The terrorist attacks in 2001 and global financial crisis in 2008 brought President G. W. Bush and President Obama respectively to China, seeking help to fight against the most pressing threats. Given the fact that the world is full of uncertainties and challenges, it is possible that common threats and mutual needs would bring the two countries even closer.

Another possible scenario is that China-U.S. relations will suffer major setbacks, but will not fall into total confrontation. This could happen if the two countries mismanage the negative factors. In this case, the most devastating and destructive factors are usually of the political and strategic nature.

Ideal as it might be, the best scenario seems to be clearly improbable. In the most unlikely situation, China and the United States fully agree on and implement the principles of major-country relations or even become allies as they did during WWII. The two countries understand each other's domestic governance issues and coordinate their respective policies so as to support each other. On international agendas, China and the United States see eye-to-eye on major international issues and hotspot issues. Furthermore, the two countries work in tandem to the fulfillment and solution of these

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issues. Overall, China and the United States jointly push forward global governance, regional architectures of economic and security cooperation, and bilateral win-win cooperation. Such good relations between them will definitely lead to a more peaceful, stable and prosperous future of the world. However, whilst these are visions worthy of pursuit, they can hardly be achieved in the foreseeable future.

The worst scenario is not only a nightmare for China and the United States, but also to the Asia-Pacific region and the rest of the world. In this worst scenario, China and the United States confront each other strategically, politically and economically. In terms of strategic conflict, they compete for global and regional leadership, advocate for conflicting positions on major world issues, and tussle for support from countries in the world in general and in the Asia-Pacific region in particular. In terms of political conflict, they engage each other in head-on collisions on global and regional leadership, human rights and development. Each aims at the diminishment of the other's political and social system, similar to what happened during the Cold War. In terms of economic confrontation, they wage trade wars, currency wars and mutually reinforced retaliations. In the worse scenario, a real war might even break out between them over the Taiwan or South China Sea issues.

Conclusion

This chapter summarized the most important turning points and events in the history of the bilateral relationship between USA and China since 1949, and then highlighted the main issues between them during Trump era (2017-2021), where these events showed the nature of this complicated coexistence between competition and cooperation and the significant changes that have accrued during that stage which was marred by uncertainty and unpredictability because the President Trump's "America First" policy that has resulted in the U.S. withdrawal from a large number of international agreements, in which officials had defined the "strategic competition" with China as a comprehensive clash of value systems, leading commentators to call the relationship a "new Cold War".

In other hand we can conclude that China does not seek to replace the United States as the world leader, but will keep working with it for favorable conditions to achieve its own national revival. China's general principle of dealing with the United States under President Trump's leadership is to seek progress while maintaining stability. China strives for overlapping interests and coordination with the United States just as pragmatically as President Trump. Therefore, we have good reasons to be

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cautiously optimistic so long as the two countries keep to the path agreed upon by both countries, which is very likely to be further consolidated in the future.

At the end the U.S. and China still have intense economic, educational, and other ties that made them much more interdependent than the U.S. and the Soviet Union had ever been.

General Conclusion

The second decade of the 21st century ended with remarkable changes in the world. Most prominently, the foreign policy shift of the United States under the Trump presidency which has brought new dynamics to international relations. For generations, Washington has shaped international politics as a team player, bringing together a significant group of countries thanks to their shared values established after World War II(the international liberal order). By strengthening collective hard power, the United States is protecting both the community as well as the interests of its own at forefront.

Through what we have seen previously and by studying and comparing the evolution of the U.S-China relations before and during the stage of Trump administration, we can conclude that the Chinese leadership has shown a much more robust and stable approach than its American counterpart. Decision-makers in China have warned about the dangers that a trade war may have on global economy, urged everybody to sit at the negotiating table, accepted U.S. demands on the negotiation table as long as they would not threaten China's economic and political stability, and refrained from countermeasures when Washington introduced excessive tariffs on Chinese products. When all diplomatic mechanisms were exhausted, China adopted a smaller range of countermeasures against the United States, where President Xi is fully aware that China is now at a critical moment, and he outlined China's stance when addressing the CPC cadres in early September 2019 that "For those risks or challenges that jeopardize the leadership of the Communist Party and China's socialist system; for those that endanger China's sovereignty, security and development interests; for those that undermine China's core interests and major principles; and for those that deter China's realization of a great national rejuvenation, we will wage a determined struggle against them as long as they are there. And we must win the struggle". (Robin Fu,)

through all these factors and events discussed before, it can be said that the President Trump indicated early on that his view of those core issues(trade, tech, military and human rights issues) was very different from his predecessors. Broadly speaking, President Trump's vision of 'America First' has promised a refocusing of US priorities on domestic and regional issues, a re-negotiation of international positions to promote American interests at the expense of other nations, and a withdrawal from international action and leadership based on values. This approach promises a weakening of the current world order. China's priorities have also been shifting, albeit more gradually up to now. For much of its recent history, it has focused on its 'peaceful rise', characterized by economic development and engagement combined with studious non-intervention in regional and

General Conclusion

international security or political issues. While this strategy has served it well for decades, China today has already risen, and its scale and the scope of its global interests demand a more comprehensive engagement strategy with the world, captured by President Xi Jinping's 'China Dream', which promises the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. The complementary visions of America First and the China Dream set the stage for a geopolitical playing field across which the US is retreating and China is advancing, however, on the other hand many scholars see that There is no doubt that today China's influence is growing especially in the Asian region which means It plays a big role in influencing the politics of Asia, but on the global scale, its influence is not as high as the United States and other superpowers that dominated the world.

By the end of this study, we could reach the answers to our questions. First, all rising powers exist under different circumstances, which can make determining a specific definition of the superpower country difficult. While a specific definition does not exist, scholars do present several commonalities that rising powers usually exhibit. These include: emerging economic might, aspiring influential role in international affairs, internal cohesion, and expanding military and political resources. Further, a rising power or a superpower country must be able to interact with other strong states on the international level. China displays a number of these characteristics and can be categorized as a rising power because of its economic strength, expanding military, and increasing role on the international level.

Second , Since the establishment of diplomatic ties, China-U.S relationship has been moving forward steadily despite some twists and turns such as the Donald trump era (2017-2021) which often seemed like a competitive relationship. However the two sides have conducted extensive exchanges and cooperation in political, economic, military, cultural, people-to-people and sub-national areas as well as on international affair. It is always one of the most important bilateral relationships in the world.

Finally, Through what we have seen from this research we can say that the most possible scenario is that the two countries would stay on the current track and move ahead in cooperation and competition . Therefore, we have good reasons to be cautiously optimistic so long as the two countries keep to the path agreed upon by both leaders and decision-makers , which is very likely to be further consolidated in the future.

The Large number of unreliable sources; most of which were websites and magazines also the conflicting opinions, ideologies, pragmatic benefit, made the research and seeking the truth more difficult and limited my research process.

General Conclusion

This study could be a valuable source for both literature and civilization students as well as who study, economic, history and politic science to gain a deeper understanding of global issues especially between great powers such as USA and China. also provides a solid foundation for understanding the relationships between individuals and organizations and countries. On the light of this research, I shall propose the following topic for future dissertations: Future Prospects For China And Us Relationship (The Post-Trump Era, Impacts And Different Scenarios).

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الملخص

تعتبر العلاقات الصينية الأمريكية من أهم العلاقات على مستوى النظام الدولي . والتي تحكمها المنفعة العملية ، وهي مزيج من الصراع والتعاون ، ولا سيما ظهور الصين كقوة عظمى في العقدين الأخيرين. يتمتع البلدان بسمات خاصة يمتلكانها . فكلاهما له مكونات اقتصادية وسياسية وعسكرية قادرة على تأهيلهما ليصبحا لاعباً أساسياً ومهماً في النظام الإقليمي والعالمي. عندما فاز دونالد ترامب بالانتخابات الرئاسية الأمريكية عام 2017 ، وصلت العلاقات بينهما إلى العديد من المنعطفات الحاسمة ، لا سيما في التجارة وغيرها من المجالات السياسية والعسكرية. يحاول هذا البحث الكشف عن تطور العلاقات بين الولايات المتحدة والصين قبل وبعد إدارة ترامب من خلال الإجابة على الأسئلة الرئيسية التالية: ما طبيعة العلاقة بين الولايات المتحدة والصين؟ وكيف شكلت إدارة دونالد ترامب (2017-2021) هذه العلاقات وطورتها؟ وما هي الأفاق المستقبلية لعلاقات الصين والولايات المتحدة؟

تفترض الدراسة أنه بغض النظر عن حجم التعاون والتبادل التجاري بين الصين والولايات المتحدة ، فإنه يظل في سياق المنافسة ولا تقبل الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية شريكها في النظام الدولي ، حيث تسعى إلى أن تظل القوة العظمى الأولى في العالم. اقتصادياً . وعسكرياً وسياسياً ، وتريد أن تحكم العالم حصرياً دون أي منافس لها

الكلمات المفتاحية: الصين ، الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية ، النظام الدولي (النظام الليبرالي) ، القوى العظمى.الهيمنة ، إدارة

ترامب ، العلاقات الدولية ، التعاون ، الصراع ، الحرب