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THE EMERGENCE OF COMMUNIST CHINA AS A SUPER POWER AND THE END OF HISTORY: THE INTERPRETATION OF MARXIST'S AND FUKUYAMA'S ANALOGY

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ABSTRACT

The study examines how the communist party of China has been able to produce economic prosperity in the Peoples Republic, bring political stability, industrialization and modernization to this era. The study also focuses on the rising nature of China in international economy, politics, culture and education. The research adopts secondary method of data collection due to the nature of time limit, and findings show that, Marxist philosophy and predictions that history will end with communism is more scientific as manifested in Chinese massive growth in all ramifications, which means when China emerges as the world leading economic and political power, the whole world will become communist in their own characteristics, as nations will try to copy from China. This is also against Fukuyama's assertion that history will end with American liberal democratic values. The study concludes that, China is emerging as a dominant civilization and a contemporary Empire that may replace the American status of a super power, which if it happens, and Fukuyama's argument becomes unscientific. The study recommends consolidation of the 'one belt one road' initiative into Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean for humanitarian assistance, trade, infrastructure development and cooperation among other things.

Key Words: China; Communist party; economic prosperity; Marxism

INTRODUCTION

The evolution of China as a leading economic power in contemporary global order seems to be a miracle or a trend that is rather natural. This has to do with the rapid growth of Chinese economy, its increasing global political influence, educational strength and cultural consolidation. But one major rationale for these successes are traceable and attributable to the root, which is the communist party itself. Political parties represent groups' interests and if one establishes a government, it becomes a driving force for a national political, economic and cultural development. China accounts its growth and development to its communist party as pivotal, and the subsequent plan to open up the Chinese economy in order to stand the taste of time. This argument is also supported by the father of the Chinese revolution (Mao, 1945) when he posited that:

Without the effort of the Chinese communist party, without the Chinese communists as the mainstay of the Chinese people China can never achieve independence and liberation, or industrialization and the modernization of her agriculture.

From the historical perspective of global politics, when American liberal democratic values are being amplified, forced on people by the United States and Europe to a certain extent that if you fail to accept democracy as practiced by the west you assume a pariah status in the comity of nations. The argument of Fukuyama (1992) is that, when fascism, Nazism, communism clashed with the American liberal democratic values, they all withered, especially with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, this trend was described by Fukuyama as the end of history.

It is evident that Marx and Engels (1983) did not see Fukuyama's argument as scientific. For Marx, capitalism will grow to the level people will begin to suffer and become victims of capitalism and imperialism, then people will begin to think of revolution. Albeit the revolutionary process may take long time to mature, it may not occur at the same time all over the world, states may revolutionize based on capitalist maturity in their socio-economic formation. How scientific is Marxist prediction is that, in social sciences there is difficult to make predictions as a result of changing behavior of the political man, but Marx and Engels (1983) predicted that history will end with communism, after the history of human society passes through " primitive, slave, feudal and capitalist" stages of development. Marx saw communism as the last stage to be attained by man in his historical development.

The above makes us understand that the rising nature of China proves the validity of Marxist analogy of human history and to understand why the western world is fighting communist states in the global system. If the initial revolution made by China and the consolidation of Marxist formula is what produces the China we see today, we can therefore make the inference that the whole world will become communist. Mao (1954) also believed that:

The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese communist party. The theoretical basis guiding our thinking is Marxism...the Chinese communist party is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people, without this core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious (Mao, 1954; 1957).

With the consolidation of capitalist ideology and building alliances all over the world, capitalist economies are dwindling and crumbling to dust. This is observable from the economic woes of Europe such as Spain, Italy, Greece to mention but few in recent years. This also contradicts Malthusian theory of population which asserts that for Europe to develop after the industrial revolution there was need to maintain birth control. The problem of this research work is that, China being the most populous nation in the world and a surviving communist nation is doing better economically than these nations in Europe. Is this portending that Marxism is still alive despite the disintegration of the Soviet Union? Apart from the issue of population, the west see communism as evil why is the Chinese economy and all systems prosperous and emerged as the second largest economy in the world?

The main purpose of this study is to investigate the miracle used by the communist party to make China reach where it is today, and other objectives include: (a) To have an eagle view of the Marxist and Fukuyama's analogy on the end of history (b) To look at the level of economic prosperity made by China for the last two decades (c) to look into the historical antecedents of empires' rise and collapse.

The research is also significant as: (a)it will provide and insight for understanding infrastructure driven development as adopted by China (b) The research will make us understand the living spirit of Marxism as China grows and academics to understand that history will end with communism against Fukuyama's perception seeing

the soviet's disintegration as the end of history (c) The study will be of great importance to students of international relations, development administration, public policy, history, law and political economy.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Economic prosperity in the work of Bate (2015) is usually measured based on a nation's GDP. Whether measured in total for a country or on a per-capita basis, GDP is the most familiar and widely used measure of national progress. It captures the value of all goods in the economy—whether consumed by households, governments, or businesses—and as such, it is an extremely useful single measurement of a country's well-being.

In the argument of Bate, there are other nine areas to identifying a prosperous economy (like that of China). These indicators include:

- a. *Economic Fundamentals*—a growing, sound economy that provides opportunities for wealth creation
- b. *Entrepreneurship and Innovation*—an environment friendly to new enterprises and the commercialization of new ideas
- c. *Education*—an accessible, high-quality educational system that fosters human development
- d. *Democratic Institutions*—transparent and accountable governing institutions that promote economic growth
- e. *Governance*—an honest and effective government that preserves order and encourages productive citizenship
- f. *Health*—the physical well-being of the populace
- g. *Personal Freedom*—the degree to which individuals can choose the course of their lives
- h. *Security*—a safe environment in which people can pursue opportunity
- i. *Social Capital*—trustworthiness in relationships and strong communities

In the work of Harper (2008) a communist party is a political party that advocates the application of the social and economic principles of communism through state policy. The name originates from the 1848 tract *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The Chinese Communist Party is the world's largest political party, claiming nearly 78 million members at the end of 2009 which constitutes about 5.6% of the total population of mainland China (Council of Foreign Affairs, 2015). Albeit some see communism as an ideology, some see it as a system. For Adami (1983) communism is a social, political, and economic ideology and movement whose ultimate goal is the establishment of the communist society, which is a socioeconomic order structured upon the common ownership of the means of production, absence of social classes, money, and the state.

In the works of Beer (1983), communism is an ideology that deals with collective ownership of means of production, where by the state is described as having a command economy. Caplan (2008) sees communism as a system that deals with economy, politics and social values that are different from capitalist System. While Daniels (1994) also sees communism as an economic system that is collective in nature, Dirlik (1989) sees communism as a classless system of the society and state of egalitarianism. Although the end of history has been interpreted by different scholars, many communists followed and accepted Hegelian conception of the phrase. Marx was also

motivated by Hegel to see communism as the end of history. Kojève sought to resurrect the Hegel of the Phenomenology of Mind, the Hegel who proclaimed history to be at an end in 1806 (Allan, 1969).

For as early as this Hegel saw in Napoleon's defeat of the Prussian monarchy at the Battle of Jena the victory of the ideals of the French Revolution, and the imminent universalization of the state incorporating the principles of liberty and equality. Kojève, far from rejecting Hegel in light of the turbulent events of the next century and a half, insisted that the latter had been essentially correct. The Battle of Jena marked the end of history because it was at that point that the vanguard of humanity (a term quite familiar to Marxists) actualized the principles of the French Revolution (Allan, 1969).

THE ONTOLOGY OF A RISING CHINA

The Chinese economy is one that is rapidly rising and many reforms are being made to ensure that China becomes a moderately prosperous society. With the nature of the way China is moving, it is the largest economy today based on purchasing power parity (Lardy, 2015) even though China's GDP per capita is approximately one fifth of the United States, Lardy (2015) believed that if China's reforms are drastically implemented China will make a "substantial catch up".

It is also pertinent to note that China is the world second largest economy considering the global nominal GDP comparison (IMF, 2014) and China remains the world major fastest growing economy in the world, accounting 10% growth rate for over thirty years (IMF, 2013). The growth of Chinese economy has been justified by various indices and manifestations as China maintains an economic status of the largest manufacturing economy of the world, the largest trading nation of the world, the largest exporter of goods and world second largest importer of goods and services. With the nature of Chinese population similarly, China is said to be the largest consumer market in the world today (Barnett, 2013; Monaghan, 2015; report of China services analysis, 2014).

One major feature of the Chinese economy becoming a global power is that, history has shown that, in modern economic competitiveness no nation has risen to equal the United States, even the USSR at its zenith was able to produce just third of the goods and services of the United States. Japan for example with its former economic status of the world second largest economy before it was overtaken by China was only able to produce less than half of America's output. With the Chinese economy, history is changing the domineering force of the United States as by the year 2016, the IMF predicts that the Chinese economy will outweigh the American economy. The projection made by the IMF is that, "the Chinese economy would grow from \$11.2 trillion in 2011 to \$19 trillion in 2016" while "over the same period, the U.S. economy will rise from a dominant \$15.2 trillion to a trailing \$18.8 trillion (Gardner, 2011). It is imperative to note that the economic prosperity of China is not without the effort of the Communist Party of China (CPC) which is the vanguard of Chinese labor force, agriculture, discipline, reforms and the architect of what is seen of China today. The party must be given a credit for opening up and reforming the Chinese nation to what it is.

THE RISE AND FALL OF GLOBAL EMPIRES

One significant factor which we must understand is that, the history of human development has waxed and waned. Many empires have risen, ruled the world but in the long run crumbled to dust. Civilizations, ideologies, systems and economies had risen to their zenith but collapsed as a result of historical forces and development. The peak of development always result to underdevelopment, this is the reason why the present president of China (Xi Jinping) in his new political theory envisaged a moderate prosperity for China.

When a nation, civilization, economy or an empire rose to the highest level, other empires may rise by destroying the existing one. In an intellectual summation of this trend, Harold (2002) has listed about seven great empires that rose to the highest level but later collapsed. These empires according to Harold (2002) includes: the mandarin China, the imperial Germany, Austria-Hungary, the ottoman turkey, the imperial Japan, British Empire and soviet Russia. Signs are never hidden in their entirety. Some of these signs are positive while others are otherwise. But if there is a sign that a nation will rise or fall these can be perceived by other nations.

In our understanding, the American empire will not last forever as the great empires of the past have also fallen according to Richard (2002). Where is the Assyrian empire, the Babylonian empire? The Roman Empire? Richard (2002) argues that: “you can find what is left of them in museums, in ruins and in a few ancient stone buildings frequented only by modern tourists”. In his inference on empires that have risen and fallen, Richard (2002) believes that “it is possible that the United States could be returned to ashes”.

This is from the historical point of view that American civilization like all other civilizations will not stay forever. Other systems could overshadow it and establish other systems that the world will copy from. This next empire and system is the Chinese new empire that is just unstoppably emerging.

CHINA: COMMUNISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS

China has been a communist society since hitherto Mao’s era after the revolution of 1949. Between 1958 and 1961, Chairman Mao proposed a socialist reform for China which is popularly known as “the Great Leap” and simple Chinese pinyin means “*Da yuejin*”. This reform was meant to change China as an agrarian society to a socialist economy (Gregor, 1999). The Chinese did not find it easy because the policy has resulted in a depopulation of the Chinese population as famine emerged and many people died.

Consequently, with the demise of Chairman Mao, subsequent Chinese leaders tried their possible best not to repeat the mistake made under Mao, hence in 1963, Zhou Enlaiproposed yet another reform for China (Hsu, 1991). This reform model was known as “the four “modernizations”. This reform was implemented by Deng Xiaoping in 1978. The principles of this reform made China to open up its economy and accept socialist market economy, which allows the Chinese to call their own system as “communism with Chinese characteristics” (Yuhuai, 2001).The major provisions of the reform includes: agricultural reforms, industrial consolidation, National Defense policy and greater initiative in science and technology.

With the strengthening of Chinese economy based on the Chinese characteristics, Jiang Zenminin 2002 proposed his own “three represents”, translated in Chinese as “*san gedaibiao*”. The reform was to establish under the supervision and representation of the communist party, the following variables: (a) social productive forces in Chinese economic production (b) Chinese advanced culture and its development (c) interest of the majority and political consensus.

The subsequent reform of Hu Jin Tao was to continue from where his predecessors stopped. He established his own reform policies which he called “The Scientific Outlook” known in Chinese as “*kexuefazhan guan*”. The reform was to deal with (a) scientific socialism for better China (b) sustainable development (c) welfare economy (d) increased democracy and (e) create harmonious society of China.

The reforms of China therefore, have shaped the nation to be a communist state with Chinese characteristics. This is not the purely Marxist, communist or socialist state as envisaged by Marx himself or Lenin or Stalinist Russia. It is also notable that China is not a capitalist state, but a mixture of communism and socialist market economy delivered by the opening up policy. This system is healthier for China considering the fact that Xi Jinping has proposed his own reform policies of the “Four Comprehensives”(Si *gequanmian*)and the “One Belt one Road Economic Initiative (Yi *daiyilu*).

THE COLLAPSE OF AMERICAN EMPIRE AND EMERGENCE OF CHINA AS A SUPER POWER

The Chinese communist system is creating a prosperous economy in China and gradually increasing Chinese global influence. One notable factor is that, even though the chines have opened up economically with a socialist market economy, the Chinese system and democratic practice is quite different. The American liberal democratic values have waxed and earned a greater influence all over the world, including the most conservative Middle Eastern political geography, which was swept by Arab revolution seeking for more democratic values and practice.

The argument remains, should China emerges as a super power, would China practice American model of democracy or there is going to be changes in the Chinese democratic practice? There is therefore the need to understand if really China could become a super power or not.

Many scholars have written extensively on the emergence of China and its opportunity to become the world super power. Herring (2008:1) for example has stressed on the fulfilling profile and promising chances for China to become the next super power. The rise of China and its refusal to be alienated and the initiative to ally with nations in central Asia to counter balance the strength of NATO is also becoming a reality (Zakaria, 2008:10).

The second argument on the emergence of China as a super power is that, scholars are optimistic that by the year 2020, China will direct the world economy and the Chinese Renminbi will replace the dollar as the world reserve currency (Leika, 2012). This assertion was shortened by some observers to the year 2016, but in this year (2015), the Chinese purchasing power parity (PPP) has already surpassed that of the United States. In another related literature, Jacques (2006), believed that by the year 2021, China is going to be a super power militarily and its

GDP will be about \$24 trillion, which will equal the GDP of the United States. This shows that, the rise of China will cover both economic and political power in its emergence as a super power.

In a research conducted in 2009 by pew research Centre, findings show that about 15 out of 22 countries accepted the fact that China will be the next super power in the near future, due to its rapid economic economic growth and spreading influence across the globe (Jacques, 2006).The neighbors of China also uphold the belief that China will emerge as a future super power. The former premier of Singapore Lee Kuan Yew held the same opinion when he posits that Chinese leaders:

Have transformed a poor society by an economic miracle to become now the second-largest economy in the world. How could they not aspire to be number 1 in Asia, and in time the world? Huge and increasingly highly skilled and educated workers to out-sell and out-build all others...avoid any action that will sour up relations with the U.S. To challenge a stronger and technologically superior power like the U.S. will abort their 'peaceful rise (Guttman, 2001; Meredith, 2001).

One major observation made by the Chinese themselves, especially as made by the Chinese foreign policy adviser Wang Jisi is that, the American super power status is really declining as affected by a series of unfavorable variables such as poor economic recovery, financial disorder, high deficits gaining close to GDP levels and rising level of unemployment (CNN, 18 July, 2014; The Guardian, 1st January, 2014). Marxist philosophy of historical materialism on the other hand, explains how human society started and passes through different stages in history. But for Marx, this development will end up in communism (Marx and Engels, 1983:69). For Kaleb (2009), in spite the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Marxist theoretical analogy is still alive as major weaknesses of Marx are unfounded. The validity of Marx's philosophy will continue to shape human history, as communism will serve the end of history.

CONCLUSION

It is evident that empires emerge and wither alongside their culture and civilizations. When Fukuyama believed that history has ended with American liberal democratic values, Fukuyama himself knew that that is not the end, but he was influenced by the wave of democracy around the world. He never thought of American decline nor to think of civilizations replacing civilizations.

If really China will emerge as the next super power, Marxist thoughts on historical teleology could be validated, as the historical movement of human societies from primitive, slave, feudal, capitalist stages of production and finally ends in a revolution to establish communism and socialism. It is also embracing the fact that if China becomes a super power tomorrow, it will replace the American values and establish its own cultural, economic and political values.

If China should continue to practice communism with Chinese characteristics, all nations will try to be communist with their own characteristics as a model of development. Ibn Khaldun (1958) in his "Almuqaddamah" is of the view that, culture of the dominant people replaces the culture of the dominated. A typical example of this

happened in almost all reigned empires. In Egypt for example when the barbers were dominated by the Arabs, the barbers became Arabized and Islamized. When the Arabs entered Africa, Islam was accepted, when the British entered Africa, Christianity replaced African traditional religion.

The rise of American empire has also Americanized other cultures and civilizations; the European influence in the world has Europeanized people and cultures. The inference is that, should China emerge as a super power, the Chinese culture and civilization will replace that of the United States and the end of history will be redefined not according to Fukuyama's thoughts but according to Marxists or Chinese characteristics.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to have perpetual economic growth and development of china, there are fundamental areas that china needs to distinguish it or do better to achieve its dreams. Some of these recommended areas include the following:

One, china needs to consolidate its major reforms especially the four comprehensives to make sure that it becomes a reality. Achieving such reforms will make china a prosperous society and a paragon among states.

Two, China must continue to pursue peaceful diplomatic ties with members of the international community, as this is one distinguishing feature that helps in the expansion of china.

Three, the one belt one road initiative should fully incorporate Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. These regions have both human and material potentialities that if china continues to pay attention to, will further create mutual benefits between the regions and china.

Four, china must try as much as possible to win the trust of its neighbors and settle long standing political impasse, especially the issue of south-china sea and other related islands.

Five, china should also continue to help in the reformation of third world nations, especially in areas that have to do with poverty, education, agriculture and infrastructural development.

Six, as china is taking the responsibility of global leadership, it must try as much as possible to curtail the level of conflicts, wars and violence around the world through diplomatic, dialogue and prevention mechanisms, so as to preserve a peaceful world system.

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