

CHINA IS REDEFINING HER IDEOLOGY

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ÖZET

Bu makalede , Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin aktüel iç politik gelişmeleri tarihsel süreç içerisinde incelenmektedir. Öncelikle devrim kavramının Çinliler için ne anlam ifade ettiği tanımlanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, makale 1911 Cumhuriyetçi devrimi ile başlayıp günümüze kadar gelmektedir. Bu çalışma genel olarak Çin Komünist Partisinin içinde meydana gelen gelişmeler ve bunun dünya sosyalizmine olan etkisi üzerine odaklanmıştır. Makalenin sonunda ise 16.Parti Kongresinin sonuçları değerlendirilmektedir

ABSTRACT

In this article, the current political situation in the People's of Republic of China has been examining in a historical process. Initially, the terms of revolution for Chinese, has been defining. In that sense, the article started from 1911,Republican revolution and coming to present. This paper generally focused on domestic developments in Chinese Communist Party and examining its effect on world socialism. At the end, the results of 16th party congress has been discussing.

Key words: China, Communism, Mao, Party, Politics, Deng, Socialism, Revolution

1. INTRODUCTION

China's journey into the twenty-first century is a dialectic of hope and fear. China has one of the richest civilization in the world. So that, throughout the history, Chinese has been calling themselves as a Middle Kingdom. According to them, all civilizations took their root from Chinese civilization or must take it. Chinese contributed many new things into world civilization, such as gunpowder, irrigation systems, and bureaucracy. Chinese are peace and independence like society. For instance, they had pursued isolationist policy especially, during the dynastic eras.

In order to understand the current Chinese politics, one should look at the historical developments in Chinese political life. After 1840, the invasion by Western imperialist powers reduced China to the status of semi-colonial and semi-feudal society and subjected the Chinese people to two fold repression by imperialism and feudalism. From the Opium Wars, through the Movement of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, the 1898 Reform Movement and the Yihetuan Movement , the Chinese people carried out dauntless struggles and numerous people with lofty ideals were trying to explore strenuously for the road of salvaging the China and the Chinese nation. It was exactly at that time, in 1917 and 1919, two major events took place in Russia and China, that is, the October Revolution of Russia and the May Fourth movement of China. The salvoes of the October Revolution brought

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the advanced theory of Marxism-Leninism to China. Starting from the May Fourth Movement, the Chinese working class began to cut a striking figure as an advanced social force in the country.

II . REPUBLICAN CHINA , 1911 REVOLUTION

In spite of political disagreements, all Chinese agree on one thing; Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) was the founding father of modern China. Sun was China's first real professional revolutionary. Sun was impressed with the progress of the West and correspondingly disgusted with China's backwardness. He gradually returned to revolution. Sun's ideology and the ways he proposed to put in into effect clearly showed Western political and social influence. That showed that, the fear of westernization or fear of modernization in Chinese society had broken its hard shell by Sun's thoughts (Schurman and Schell, p.7).

Sun Yat-sen formulated a program known as the *Three People's Principles*. These principles were, first, nationalism, which stressed the overthrow of the Manchus, second, democracy, under a liberal republic in which people would be sovereign through representative government; and, third, livelihood, a combination of industrial socialism and land reform to ensure that cultivators owned their land (Goff, Moss, Terry and Upshur, p.192)

In 1905 Sun organized a group of students, literati, and military officers into a political party that later adopted the name *Kuomintang* (the National People's Party). Between 1906 and 1911 Sun and his followers attempted 10 unsuccessful uprisings to overthrow the Manchus. The eleventh occurred on October 10, 1911. The revolt spread quickly across central and southern China. Later he was elected provisional president of the Chinese Republic by delegates of a provisional parliament meeting in Nanking. Frightened and leaderless, the Manchus were not prepared to fight the revolutionaries. They turned to general Yuan Shih-kai, organizer of the largest and best equipped army unit. Yuan defeated the revolutionaries. On February 12, 1912, the boy emperor abdicated the throne, and the ancient dynastic principle came to end. China became first republic in Asia, but Sun did not remain president (Goff, Moss, Terry and Upshur, p.193).

Finally, one can say Sun's reformist era was the first stage of the modernization of Chinese society. Sun's main supporters were from Japan. Japanese intellectuals were supporting Sun Yat-sen. For instance, Sun tried to establish a new social, political and economic system into imperial China. In that sense, it can be said, Sun had tried to restore the China, like Meiji restoration in Japan. According to Sun, the main obstacle is the ancient traditions in order to promote the country and the society. There was a proto-

liberalism or it had been tried to establish. However, that was the first liberal regime in the Asia.

Liberalism was the unfamiliar thought in that period in Asia. Because, many big countries, such as Russia, Japan and China were ruling by the imperial system, in which the people were calling as a servant not a citizen or individual. But the fact that, Sun Yat-sen was the main key person in the restoration process of Chinese state and society. Sun opened the China to world and he started the reformation and modernization process. Despite of those developments, Sun could not succeed in altering the semi-colonial and semi-feudal social nature of China.

2. 1. The May Fourth Movement

On May 4, 1919, students demonstrated in Peking to protest the awarding of shantung to Japan at the Paris Peace Conference. This became known as the May Fourth Movement, a wide-ranging outburst of social and intellectual protest that had been fermenting for some time. This movement paved the way for the revival of the Koumintang and rise of the Chinese Communist Party, founded in 1921. Immediately, the May Fourth demonstrations in Beijing became a nationwide protest movement as students, merchants, and workers. They forced the government to refrain from signing the Paris Treaty and to dismiss blatantly pro-Japanese officials. The movement also inaugurated a new era of political and intellectual activism in China (Goff, Moss, Terry and Upshur, p.195).

3 . FROM LIBERALISM TO SOCIALISM

The year of 1949 was the another turning point of China. During the May Fourth Movement in 1921, Chinese Communist Party founded. At the first times, Chinese Communists and the nationalist were in cooperation. Later, the wind turned. They separated their ways. Chinese Communist saw the nationalist as main obstacle. Especially this competition increased after the death of Sun Yat-sen. The reason of cooperation was most probably is charismatic effect on the communist even on Mao. When Chiang Kai-shek came to power, this good sentiments to nationalists changed. And big struggle began.

This struggle ended with the victory of the communists in 1949. And Chiang Kai-shek and his followers fled to Formosa (Taiwan). Later they proclaimed the state of nationalist China. In mean time, socialist state was founded in mainland by Mao and his friends. This was the new era for the Chinese. Because Mao and his friends were presenting welfare and riches. Later, it

would be called as a “*Democratic Dictatorship*” . At first stages of socialist China, people had believed in Mao. But they disappointed.

It should be noted that, the role of Soviet Union and also Soviet Communist leadership is too important in the shaping of Chinese communism. Stalin was reluctant in order to give support to communist. During the World War II, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, after extracting concessions favorable to Soviet Union, reorganized the Kuomintang as the only legal government of China. This competition between the two leaders, continued during the Khrushchev era. This competition would cause oust of Khrushchev from the power. The Mandate of Heaven gradually started to transform to dictatorship. Mao collectivized all properties of society. Late 1950s displayed the change Socialist thought in China. The real face of competition between the Soviet Union and China was the leadership of Socialist world and third world countries. Mao criticized the Soviet type of Communism. And he set up new principles under name of Maoism.

This new type of Socialism reflected Chinese characteristics. The basic tenet was the peasants, not workers. Because China was not industrialized country. So that, workers were not main actor in the revolution. But Soviet Union was an industrial state and her society was too. So that the main actor of Bolshevik revolution was the workers. The new interpretation of that socialism caused a new chaos between Soviet Union and China. Because less developed countries or Third World countries enjoyed the Maoism. Like China, those countries did not have the worker class, rather they have peasant class. For instance, Maoism became very popular in these countries . One of the official policies of China was to support the freedom fighters on the world. Whereas, Soviet Union was supporting the independence movement in the world. Also Mao issued Guerilla Warfare at that time. Those developments affected relations between two socialist state. And they separated their ways. That showed, there was no any consensus on the socialist thought. Also, China, militarily started to become a power and threat to Soviet Union

4 . 16th CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS

After more than half a century in power, and for the first time in China’s history, the Chinese Communist Party is on the verge of leadership change that involves neither the death nor the overthrow of incumbent. At the party’s 16th congress, which began November 8,2002 Jiang Zemin, a man once widely dismissed as a lightweight, gave up his 13-year tenure as party chief and moved into semi-retirement. This congress was the historical turning point of China’s democratization and liberalization processes. In this congress approximately fifty percent of Chinese ruling elite retired (The

Economist,11/09/2002,p.41). After a 20- year transition, the world's last major left-wing dictatorship, the communist Party of China, has transformed itself.

In the past 13 years, guided by President Jiang Zemin, the Communist Party has avoided the change wrought in nearly every other one-party state- the Soviet Union, Taiwan, Mexico, Hungary, Poland . All are now multiparty. In fact the role of the Party Congress is considered one of legitimacy. The meeting attempted to show the Chinese and the world that broad consensus and harmony exist among the 2,200 delegates from all over China, described by officials as “ *advanced model figures and backbone leaders*” for the changes (Marquand). At the end of Congress delegates elected Hu Jintao as a new leader of People's Republic of China. This was the new era for the Chinese society. Next spring, Hu will take the presidency from Zemin. Some writers are criticizing Hu Jintao as a head of People's Republic of Capital (Landry,p.42)

After taking power in 1978, Deng Xiaoping championed the idea that leaders should be chosen on the basis of merit and not just party loyalty (Chandler). This intention bodied in the 16th Party Congress. In that congress, China's leadership decided to reshape the political structure in China. This means that “ the elder's ruling class will change”. Today, the main subject matter of Chinese domestic politic is the power of *fourth generation*. As far as it is known, fourth generation, includes predominantly those leaders born in the 1940s and early 1950s. When one looks at the other generations, one sees Mao as a first generation, Deng as second generation and Zemin as a third generation.

The concept of political generations in China has often been based on the distinctive political experiences of elites , such as the “*Long March generation*” , “*the anti Japanese war generation*” and “ *the socialist transformation generation*” (Further Information, p.6-10) A generation named and defined by a major historical event is certainly not unique to China. Many Western scholars use events such as the Depression, the holocaust, and the Second World War as a way to show How societies reconstitute themselves after such big events (Gold, p.594).

China's fourth generation of leaders is comprised of those who were young during the Cultural Revolution . Most of them were either in high school or college in 1966 when the Cultural Revolution began. The members of the fourth generation grew up in a political environment characterized by *idealism, collectivism, moralism* and *radicalism*. A majority of them served as Mao's “*Red Guard*” the most active participants in the Cultural Revolution. They were taught to sacrifice themselves for socialism and

revolution. But as time passed, their faith eroded. The experience of Russia and the financial crisis in Asia shocked the socialists and liberals. These made them wonder If Adam Smith might have been as wrong as Karl Marx. As a result, new leaders are far more interested in discussing issues than defending “isms”.

Under the light of above, 16th Party Congress became a hope for Chinese society and world socialism. It was supposed to be the most orderly transfer of power in China’s modern history . In a scenario planned years ago by then –paramount leader Deng Xiaoping, President Jiang Zemin was to step down as General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party at the 16th Party Congress. Hu Jintao , newly elected general secretary of the party, took Jiang’s place and he will become next spring, as a president (Dexterand Rose, p.73) .

Jiang Zemin said “ We must make a reform” an important objective of this reform is to develop socialist democracy with Chinese characteristics, which will help to consolidate today’s democratic, united, dynamic, stable and harmonious political atmosphere (China Daily, 05/31/2002). Zemin said, the 16th Party Congress “is of historic significance and will immensely encourage the whole party and Chinese people of all ethnic groups to keep pace with the times, blaze new trails in a pioneering spirit and continue confidently to propel the great cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics forward (Eckholm)

Foreign capitalists, who have pumped more than \$430 billion into China’s booming economy since Tiananmen, are not so much worried about the handover itself as about what happens afterward. The optimistic case, as put by Christian Murek, chairman of the American chamber of commerce in Beijing, is that the “new leadership could be a big plus” for economic reform. “If anything, alot of people here see the possibility that change will breathe new energy into the process” James McGregor, an American businessman who has worked in China for years (Chandler). Although Zemin mentioned that private property is to receive the protection of the state, the national constitution does not reflect this and currently guarantees protection only for state property (Kynge and McGregor)

The policies put forward by the party leadership with Jiang Zemin at the core have resulted in spectacular success said He Zhaosu, a party official from Tianjin and delegates to the 16th Communist Party Congress, “ Looking to the future,” he said, raising his voice a few octaves, “we must not pause in our work to raise the spirit of the masses and make greater contributions to our nation’s development”(Kahn) “The party and the private business people are coming closer together. They are unifying to build a new China.” said

Guo Fenglian, a national icon who was the leader of the “*iron girls production brigade*” in China’s model commune, Dazhai, during the Cultural Revolution (Kynge and McGregor).

On the other hand, the spokesman, Mr. Ji, insisted that the enrolment of new members in the party, an apparent reference to private entrepreneurs, would not change the body’s character. Workers peasants, intellectuals and men and women in uniform will still be the backbone of the party, he said (McGregor) The state sector, according to Jiang Zemin’s speech, plays a “*dominant role*” in the economy, while private enterprise is merely “an important component part” (Kynge and McGregor).

On the policy front, Jiang’s continued influence is likely to spell a stable transition. Leaders in Beijing broadly agree that China must continue its economic opening. Hu, known as a consensus builder, is unlikely to challenge Jiang openly. Hu will try to make this as seamless a transition as he can, says Kenneth Lieberthal, a China expert at the University of Michigan (Dexter and Rose). One China watcher compares task to reconstructing a classical dining table. At present, the table is supported by one central pillar in which the Communist party, the government, the big banks and the state-owned enterprises are all intertwined. But the design must be to turn those four constituent parts into free standing legs to support the ever expanding table. (Financial Times, Nov.08.2002)

China has moved away from the emphasis on workers’ power that characterized the orthodox communist 1950s, toward the power of managers in the 1980s. Today, increasingly, focus is on the power of capital and those who produce it (Marquand) Poverty has many faces in China, where most people are still subsistence farmers. Rural China, home to two-thirds of the country’s population, is another world: it can afford neither schooling nor basic healthcare, and incomes are much lower than in the cities. But if rural poverty is commonplace, urban poverty is perhaps even harder to bear, because those in the cities can see firsthand the gap between them and the elite (Xueqin, p.23-26) The Chinese see their government and the nation’s elite as conspiring to sell them out to imperialist like Americans (Xueqin, p.23-26).

5. THREE REPRESENTS THEORY

At the Party school, Zemin put a new concept into Chinese domestic politics, which is known as Three Represents Theory. Zemin said that China has entered a new development era of building an overall well-to-do society, in which the country should accelerate the pace of socialist modernization. He said that in this new era, all Chinese Communist Party members and people

from all works of life should devote themselves to the cause of building the socialism with Chinese characteristics (China Daily,05/31/2002).

- Socialist Democracy is an Important Objective

Promoting socialist democratic politics is an important objective of China's socialist modernization drive , Jiang said at the graduation ceremony of the Party School of Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. Jiang said while continuing to adhere to the *Four Cardinal Principles*, reform of the political system must continue to be pushed forward actively and appropriately in line with requirements of economic and social developments. He pointed out that what China needs is socialist democratic politics with Chinese characteristics. And China will never copy the Western political systems (China Daily,05/31/2002). *The Four Cardinal Principles* mentioned in Jiang's speech are: adherence to the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and the leading role of the Communist Party of China

- Acceleration of Socialist Modernization

The Chinese top leader said China needs new ideas and breakthroughs in the fields of reform and opening-up, so as to improve the national economic scale and the overall national strength. Jiang said in this new era China should upgrade its economic efficiency , rely on scientific and technological advances, and improve its management and supervision to ensure the quality of economic growth (Xinhua News Agency, 05/31/2002).

- Perfection of Socialist Ownership

According to Zemin, it is basic to the socialist economic system that have public ownership as the core, developing together with various kinds of ownership. Within this system, China will be able to gradually eliminate the impediments to the development of productivity, generated from an irrational ownership structure, he said. For Zemin, Chinese Communist Part has arrived at this economic system through a long period of building socialism, and will stick to it. Zemin urged the Chinese people to deepen their understanding of this economic system and perfect it through practice. This will be done according to the requirements of liberating and developing productivity (Xinhua News Agency, 05/31/2002).

- Emancipation of the Mind

Jiang Zemin called on the whole party to adhere to the ideological guideline of emancipating the mind, seeking truth from facts, and upholds the spirit of

marching in step with the time. According to him, the whole Party should keep in mind the profound changes that have taken place in the world's political, economic, cultural and technological spheres since the publication of the "*Manifesto of the Communist Party*" written by Karl Marx and F.Engels some 150 years ago, as well as fundamental changes in China's socialist construction, in people's working and life conditions and in social environment, so as to make correct judgments on how the changes challenge the work of the party. He said it is wrong and harmful to negate the scientific nature of Marxism and deny the achievements of the fore runners of socialism. But he also emphasized that the Chinese Communist party must develop Marxism and apply it to practice (People's Daily,05/31/2002)

6. CRITICS TO JIANG ZEMIN

When Zemin welcomed capitalist to join the party last year, radical members saw this a "betrayal". Fourteen Old Guard Communists wrote a letter to Jiang accusing him of violating party discipline and destroying party unity in a manner that would eventually lead China into a soviet Union like collapse. Whereas, Zemin had said "If we do not make a reform,China could become another Soviet Union tragedy"

"The economic elite love money, not democracy," wrote Kang Xiaoguang of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Unless China create a real middle class, it will be just another capitalist dictatorship."(Kahn,Nov.10.2002) He may be right, but China's Communist Party seems unable to escape the paradox of its continued existence. For many, China's workers' paradise has become a workers' hell. More than half of state workers have been laid off with more to come as the World Trade Organization reaches further into China. Socialism is dead. So that the rapidly xenophobic Mao Zedong is increasingly popular. In ordinary Chinese homes, where Mao's gleaming portrait hangs in the living room like an altar, workers gather to discuss his virtues. Once again chanting "long live Chairman Mao", they see foreign investors stealing China's wealth, China's rich mingling freely with expatriate businessmen and China's elite sending their children and cash to the United States (Xueqin, p.23-26).

The Communist Party is now conducting a systemic attack on socialists who do not adhere to the party line. In a state where workers have no rights, no capital and no voice, they still have one innate power-the power of violence. On the other hand Jiang Zemin would not agree that his party has abandoned the poor. China, he argues, is still in the primary stage of socialism (Kahn) China's official urban unemployment rate is now close to 5 percent, or about 7 million. Western scholars believe the urban unemployment rate to be

approximately 25 percent, but the real figure may be more than twice that (Xueqin, p.23-26)

In speeches and press conferences by top leaders, and in off-the-record interviews with party officials, it is clear that China's leaders are seeking new non-marxist pathways to deal with a globalized economy and with problems of banking and ownership not anticipated in earlier eras. In elite party circles, this is not only well understood, but it is the way officials speak. "The problem of the Chinese Communist Party are forcing us to change and evolve," says one senior party member. "These problems have no answer from classical Marxism. Some of us may not like that, or want to say it. But it is the reality of China (Marquand, 11/14/2002).

The main question is how far China will move from rule by a main figure – Jiang- toward the collective rule represented by the core of the Fourth Generation, Hu Jintao. Chinese sources say that, in the final hour, Jiang is emerging as the "**power behind the throne**" due to his ability to stack the standing Committee with as many as four proteges (Marquand, 11/14/2002). On the other hand, Zemin has in recent months been orchestrating, or at least tolerating, a series of letter-writing campaigns within the bureaucracy aimed at building support for a "**Keep Jiang**" movement. State-run media, which are mostly under his control, have also been singing Jiang's praises in what looks like an effort to portray him as indispensable (The Economist, 08/31/2002, p.29-31).

In his essay, Mr. Bao, who was a leader of the liberal reform faction that was purged after the turmoil of 1989, writes that the party represents only its own interests, and offers nothing to China's peasants and workers who were promised the moon in 1949 when the Communists came to power. Mr. Bao urged that Mr. Jiang should step aside entirely. He rubbished the notion that Mr Jiang should stay on for the sake of stability. "If China's stability actually depends on any single person, then the situation must be very dangerous already, and very tragic (The Economist, 08/31/2002, p.29-31). "Please note", urges the party official, "that in the 16th Party Congress, there is no mention of an international movement. Chinese communism is a "**world struggle ideology**"

But we don't think it is very vital today. Not many nations are communist any more. The task today is to nationalize communism, to combine communism with traditional Chinese virtues (Marquand, 11/14/2002).

7 . HU JINTAO , A NEW BOSS OF CHINA

A merchant's son who dances the fox-trot, Hu survived a decade-long leadership trial by persuading elders that he is the perfect party mandarin, pragmatic and flexible, yet discreet and fiercely loyal. He is the enforcer who, as China top official in Tibet, imposed martial law in 1989 to quell unrest. He is the nationalist who supported anti-American protesters after a U.S. bomb destroyed the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia in 1999. He is also the innovator who installed broadband internet access at the Communist party School and encouraged academic debates about democracy and separation of power (Kahn,Nov.15.2002).

“People think Hu will fulfill their own dreams: The liberals see a reformer, the conservatives see a hard-liner,” said Wu Guoguang, an expert in Chinese politics at the Chinese university of Hong Kong. “ Sooner or later he will have to make some choices and people will see his real colors. But it may take years for that to happen” (Kahn, Nov.15.2002). It is interesting that.Hu's daughter works for J.P Morgan and she is also a naturalized U.S. citizen (Xueqih,p.23-26). Hu has given no indication that he is closet liberal impatient to revive political reforms. Indeed, the indications are otherwise. As party chief in Tibet he imposed martial law in 1989 and organized the brutal suppression of anti-Chinese unrest (The Economist,11/09/2002,p.41-44)

No one knows for sure how Hu will govern now that, at least in a titular sense, he has no higher authority. Bu his past suggests that he values power over vision (Kahn). Even if the inscrutable Hu Jiantao turned out to be Chinese Gorbachev, he would find change hard to promote. To a greater extent than is usually realized, China's leadership is collective, with the Standing Committee and the wider Politburo exercising considerable power over the nominal leader: it took Jiang five years to establish himself , and he was nearly ousted in 1992 (The Economist,11/09/2002,p.15-17)

8 . GENERAL EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

As a result, Chinese Communist Party Congress wrote a history. The third generation re-defined the mission of the party and re-structured the party cadre. Those developments are not usual situation for China. Before all, the newly elected leadership of Chinese Communist Party, became a hope for the Chinese society and the World Socialism. Although new leadership carries liberal motifs , new leadership is still socialist. At least, they are calling themselves like this.It can be said that,16th Party Congress will be remembered as milestone in World politics.

The new leadership will probably move in that direction, partly because the fourth generation is the most capable, most confident, and least dogmatic elite generation in the Chinese Communist Party history, mainly because the new leaders' legitimacy will depend largely on political progress in China. The new leaders' main task is to prevent the Chinese Communist Party's sudden fall from power, which has occurred in many Communist or Leninist one-party regimes during the past decade. Members of the fourth generation have already participated in the policy making process and many have served as advisers to Jiang Zemin and Zhu Rongji. The following are the three main areas of possible political change. The top priority for the fourth generations of leaders will be institution building.

On the other hand, China's new leaders are unlikely to lift the ban on any opposition party in the near future. Instead, they will encourage more political participation from various interest groups through the existing groups through the existing channels and will allow more civil liberties. The rapid commercialization of the Chinese media and the recent permission for foreign media firms such as AOL-Time Warner and Fox News to enter the Chinese market will contribute to the freedom of the press.

At the same time, this congress has displayed another important thing. That is separation between two wings. Those are liberals and conservatives. This means that, finally, the -so called- homogeneous Chinese Communist Party started to change its structure. At the same time, this change brings utility and conflict among the Chinese politicians. This creates complex in the party. This domestic developments in Chinese Communist Party, will affect world socialism. During the criticizing of American policy in the World, new face of Chinese Socialism is smiling to the third world countries. The U.S hegemony over the less developed countries, is primary point of critics. Some times U.S. violates the international laws. No any states can force the U.S. in order to obey international laws. So that, many writers are missing the bipolar system like in the Cold War period.

The dissolution of Soviet Union caused the end of Communism. At the end, the big state of communism, namely evil empire had collapsed. Many western writers expected from the China same thing . Unfortunately, it did not happen. Instead, China started to develop her economy. Because China had learned lessons from the history, especially from the collapse of the Soviet Union. China partly succeeded economic development. The economic liberalization is not enough alone in the improvement of China. The political liberalization was essential for China. But the Tiananmen incident was a bad experience for China, China delayed the political liberalization for a moment.

With the Dengist era, China started to exercise –limited- free market economy. After the Cold War period, China accelerated her free market economy. In the economic sector, China exercises free market rules. But in political arena China is not altering the socialism based state structure. This free market based socialism excited the less developed countries. Up to now, Western scholar has been criticizing the communism in terms of economic weakness. But today China eliminated this weakness. One can say, 16th Party Congress was the turning point of the Socialism in the world. Chinese socialism has become a hope for the hopeless countries. Today many states search for balancer against America. In the past, China wanted to export its regime to world. But she could not achieve this. Today a new chance has appeared to the China.

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