

# CHINESE EXCEPTIONALISM AND VIEW OF THE WORLD

## ORDER: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES



Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of

**BACHELOR OF SCIENCE**

in

**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

By

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**SCHOOL OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD**

**SEPTEMBER 2020**

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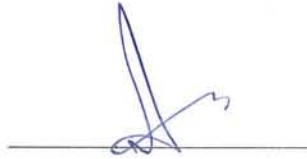
FINAL APPROVAL LETTER

This is to certify that we have read the graduate essay submitted by Mr. Farrukh Zaman Khan and in our judgment it is up to the standard of acceptance by the Quaid-I-Azam University for the grant of the degree of BS in International Relations.

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**Declaration**

I declare that, this study is the result of my research and that it has not been submitted anywhere else for any degree and that all the data quoted from other sources is properly referenced.

**Farrukh Zaman Khan**  
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**September, 2020**

To my Parents and Teachers, who believed in me

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

Things rarely happen as they are imagined. However, global pandemic hitting the world was not wildly expected, let alone anticipated. The pandemic situation was an entirely new experience for students and teachers alike. However, continuous guidance by my supervisor, Dr Nadeem Mirza kept things going. It was a daunting task which would not have been possible without cooperation and concern from my family. They really played central role. I have given my heart to this study. Still many errors are to be expected. I plead forgiveness for those.

## ABSTRACT

World orders are significant for smooth functioning of the international systems, that perform the significant function of rendering predictability to the system. World order is reinforced by will of the dominant state and acceptance of its authority, which in fact legitimize the action of dominant power. The United States came to dominate world system and international institutions. Even the dominating ideas were mostly emanating from the United States. However, twenty-first century saw the rise of other states with distinct structures, system, and ideas about the world to rise to influential power status. Of these powers the rise of China is most splendid and can prove to be consequential for future the world.

This is the situation that has made the Chinese ideas and views about world significant, especially when China is trying to figure out its position in the world. China is not any state, but it is the state that comes with a baggage of history, overwhelming ideas about everything that may be significant to life. This is what that has prompted this study to ask question about importance of Chinese World View and its ideas of its role in the world. Another important inquiry involves the study of methods that may aid China in its quest for dominant power. However, the challenges and possible inhibitions cannot be ignore while analyzing China's regional position and global requirements and responsibilities.

Chinese identity and how it defines itself will be important for not only for China but can have far-reaching impacts for the world at large. To understand China's possible view about world and evolving ideas about itself, systematic analysis is used to interpret the meaningful actions and ideas about China and about the future world.

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## INTRODUCTION

History of empires and nations' affairs suggest that peace and tranquility is not natural to human life. War appears as a constant feature in a world driven by power, and quest for security. On the other hand, human existence has experienced various patterns of interactions and developed institutions to facilitate such interactions. Modern form of political organization was vaguely provided by the Peace of Westphalia, an effort to avoid another thirty-years' war. The consequent agreements and posturing, for example, the Concert of Europe, balancing of power, notion of sovereign equality, provided world with certain principles. These agreements were the result of dominant powers' will to rule in their respective area of influence. Here, norms, values and morals of those powers played significant role.

Since the end of WWII, United states emerged as a preponderant power. Resultantly, the ideas of democracy, sovereignty, and liberal economy started to dominate the world. Even during rigid, bipolar world of the cold war, the US ideals dominated and eventually triumphed—in the words of Francis Fukuyama—at the end of century. The United States emerged as victorious power, accompanied by euphoric proclamation of unipolarity and a new world order<sup>1</sup>. However, twenty first century has witnessed the rise other powers like China, several European states, Russia, and even India.

Of these powers China, aided by its geography, resources, and history, seems to be most consequential for the future of the world. Meteoric rise of China as biggest economic power,

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<sup>1</sup> Charles krauthammer, *The Point of It All: A Lifetime of Great Loves and Endeavors: Krauthammer, Charles, Krauthammer, Daniel: 9781984825483: Amazon.Com: Books*, accessed September 5, 2020, [https://www.amazon.com/Point-All-Lifetime-Great-Endeavors/dp/1984825488/ref=sr\\_1\\_1?dchild=1&keywords=charles+krauthammer&qid=1599319856&s=books&sr=1-1](https://www.amazon.com/Point-All-Lifetime-Great-Endeavors/dp/1984825488/ref=sr_1_1?dchild=1&keywords=charles+krauthammer&qid=1599319856&s=books&sr=1-1).

with certain clout in world affair, is a unique event.<sup>2</sup> China's liberal economy coupled with authoritarian political system is an enigma for analysts and observers around the globe. This has been termed as "Chinese exceptionalism" a

measure of china's importance.<sup>3</sup>

China, like any other power, came to fore with the baggage of history, tradition, social institutions, and values. China through most of its history remained quintessential continental bureaucratic Empire. Enormity of Chinese empire was accompanied by sense of superiority in terms of culture, language, arts, and other modes of life. Thus, the Chines empire was regarded as "the Middle Kingdom", surrounded by barbarians. However, transition in Chines world view was painful and bloody; China regarded it as the "century of humiliations".

Mao's revolution united China imbued with revolutionary zeal. But it was Deng Xiaoping, who understood China, and tapped into its real potential. At the turn of the century, China was already a power to be paid attention to. China's rise is accompanied by suspicion, ambiguity and even doubt, mainly present in western scholarship. The purpose of this study is to understand that what China has to offer as a global power? It is fact of our age that China is the power that cannot be ignored, neither can we ignore the role of China in a world, where United States seems to be in a *relative* decline.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Fareed Zakaria, "The New China Scare: Why America Shouldn't Panic about Its Latest Challenger," *Foreign Aff.* 99 (2020): 52; Branko Milanovic, "The Clash of Capitalisms: The Real Fight for the Global Economy's Future," *Foreign Aff.* 99 (2020): 10.

<sup>3</sup> Benjamin Ho, "Understanding Chinese Exceptionalism: China's Rise, Its Goodness, and Greatness," *Alternatives* 39, no. 3 (2014): 164–176; Feng Zhang, "The Rise of Chinese Exceptionalism in International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations* 19, no. 2 (2013): 305–328.

<sup>4</sup> Robert S. Ross and Zhu Feng, eds., *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Politics* (Cornell University Press, 2015).

This study tries to understand the Chinese image of world, significantly known as the Chinese world order. The focus of the research would be to delineate the varying contour of Chinese view about the world, and the challenges it has, or it may face in its course to rise as a dominant power in the international system. But most importantly the study aims to inform the scholars, decision makers and leaders about the possible world that may appear in the event of China's successful march to global dominance. For contextualization, the study explores various world orders that have existed in the history. The conditions and role played by various actors will also be emphasized.

### **Research Question:**

What is the Chinese view of the world order?

What is Chinese exceptionalism and how has it affected the contours of Chinese rise?

Why and how China is expanding its influence in the world?

What are the Challenges that China is facing in its rise?

### **Hypothesis:**

*China's exceptionalism and relative decline of the United States in the international system has led to Chinese world view gaining currency in the international system.*

United States' moment of "ever-lasting victory" and the rise of new world order proved to be a short-lived illusion. The rise of multiple regional powers suggests that the United States may already have lost the status of being the *sole* manager – in the words of Michael Mandelbaum – of the international system. However, these powers like European states and Japan are yet to emerge from domineering American institutional framework. Russia is still to rise above its

defeat and is trying to make its presence felt in the international arena. India seems to be moving further toward the United States.

Among these powers it is China that is providing world with not only new model of development but is also engaging it commercially and diplomatically. Its economic prowess already has enough magnetic attraction for weaker powers. Moreover, the scholars, in recent years, have been trying to understand the identity of China in a world where United States seems to be sliding back of its international commitments. Hence, it is ever more important to carefully study and develop understanding about China's world view.

### **Literature review:**

With the increase in Chinese power and influence, various studies have directed their attention to understand Chinese world view and nature of Chinese power. However, most of these studies are historical studies of Chinese world view or has been selection of aspect of it with purpose of justify Chinese power or to influence policy toward certain policy group. In same spirit Q. Edward Wang in his article *history, space, and ethnicity: the Chinese world view*<sup>5</sup> analyze the perception of ancient Chinese dynasties and their world view. Focus of Wang is to compare the world view of Han Chinese and non-Han dynasties. He goes on to view the work of Chinese historian. It is analyzed here that modern China world view, although selective, has major input from practices and processes of dynasties that were not essential of Han ethnicity.

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<sup>5</sup> Q. Edward Wang, "History, Space, and Ethnicity: The Chinese Worldview," *Journal of World History*, 1999, 285–305.

Another book that has gained immense prestige is written by eminent scholar Yan Xuetong named *Ancient Chinese Thought, and Modern Chinese power*.<sup>6</sup> In this book Yan Xuedong study, the works of seven ancient Chinese thinkers: Guanzi, Laozi, Confucius, Mencius, Mozi, Xunzi, and Hanfeizi. Although a commendable book and great contribution to academia, that mainly inspect the way of thinking and views of mentioned thinkers on transfer of hegemonic power. However, Yan have been criticized as providing rationale for extension of Chinese nationalist and authoritarian view. Moreover, Yan Xuetong fall short of providing any method through which ancient thoughts of Chinese can be reconciled with modern realities. His major effort is to develop the Chinese version of International Relations theory. While he falls short of providing empirical evidence of application of thoughts of those thinkers in ancient or modern China.

There is another book that discusses the importance of China for the world. This book by senior army colonel in People liberation Army focus on military aspect of Chinese power. The book, named *The China dream*<sup>7</sup> is inspired by the Chinese military prowess of pre-modern Chinese empires days of glory and strength. The emphasizes here is the role the Chinese military must play to realize the Chinese dream of being a foremost power. Lui Mingfu is hawkish, even bordering on extremism, who has inspired nationalist in China. However, for Mingfu recommendations and from his formula of robust implementation Chinese military prowess. It is not hard to deduce that the book clearly is to enhance the importance of military industrial complex. The book is clearly not intended to be an academic study. This shows how difficult it is to delineate the true colors of Chinese exceptionalism. Where the Chinese government has not

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<sup>6</sup> Xuetong Yan, *Ancient Chinese Thought, Modern Chinese Power*, ed. Daniel A. Bell and Sun Zhe, trans. Edmund Ryden, Revised edition (Princeton University Press, 2013).

<sup>7</sup> Liu Mingfu, *The China Dream: Great Power Thinking and Strategic Posture in the Post-American Era* (CN Times Books Inc., 2015).



clearly defined its ideas and policies guiding the foreign policy of power whose action are visibly more consequential than any other power.

David Kang's *China Rising: Peace, power, and order in East Asia*.<sup>8</sup> Here Kang looks at broad civilizational politics. The book examines the framework of Chinese power for East Asia. This, although a scholarly work, over emphasized the Chinese power both military and in terms of idea for East Asia. While ignoring the significant Challenge faced by China in its neighboring region, this study will try to comprehensively study Chinese world view, Chinese power and the endeavor is to study the Challenges facing both Chinese world view and its power.

### **Research Methodology:**

The objective of present study is to develop an understanding, through which Chinese world view and behavior as a major power can be analyzed. Thus, the approach adopted is interpretative which aids the process of analysis. The study utilizes both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data obtained from secondary sources will aid in a process to analyze the importance of material structure—resource distribution and development—to the rise of China. Qualitative data also obtained from secondary sources will help to interpret the Chinese thought about the world and its institutions.

### **Scope of Research:**

The research mainly encompasses the times subscribing to the rise of Xi Jinping in China. However, history both ancient and modern will aid to the analysis of China's ideas about the

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<sup>8</sup> David C. Kang, *China Rising: Peace, Power, and Order in East Asia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

world; significance of these ideas in contemporary epoch and how can these ideas influence the future of world politics.

Scope of study would primarily be limited to the contribution of ideas, values, and norms to the development of china's Foreign policy. However, the research will not be constricted to foreign policy, as it will try to understand the concept of world order, and how China can determine the direction of world order.

### **Organization of Research:**

The present study is divided into five chapters.

Chapter One: endeavors to develop understanding about the theoretical framework of Constructivism. The chapter provides an insight into the development, role, aims, and different categories of the constructivists.

Chapter Two: *World order: Introduction and Meaning* starts by examining Cold War order and go on to look at present world predominantly considered as unipolar. From these understandings Chapter attempts to have clarity about the varying ideas of international system, international society, and world order. By viewing contribution of many scholars and observers, the Chapter tries to have vibrant and lucid understanding about the complicated idea of World Order.

Chapter three: *Chinese world view and Transforming world* tends to figure the nature of transformations occurring in the world. The Chapter start with a focus on the impact of multifold powers that seem to be on their respective rise and what kind of world might emerge out of this visible shift. Chapter significantly looks at importance the of history for Chinese state and how rising China is looking to past for the future strategy. Most importantly the idea of Tianxia is discussed.

Chapter four discusses *Chinese Exceptionalism, the perspectives, and Perceptions*, ideas and their importance and utility for China. Along with the utility of emerging strands of Chinese exceptionalist thinking for foreign policy, its impacts on both domestic and external situations is also discussed. Analyzation of various strands struggling for predominance is another significant undertaking of the chapter.

Chapter five: *Challenges and Prospects for rising China* significantly discusses the possible challenges to China's rise. Predominantly discussed challenges here are those emanating from China's neighbors; from global structure and forces; environmental and ideational challenges. The discussion of the project of China's rise to the helm of affair is done within the context of the challenges.

## CHAPTER: 1

### UNDERSTANDING CONSTRUCTIVISM

Publication of *Theory of International Politics*<sup>9</sup> by Kenneth Waltz revolutionized the study of international relations. The structural theory of international relations came to dominate the field of international relations. Waltz theory of neo-realism was based on the social analytical model of rational choice. Robert Keohane published *After Hegemony*, around 1984.<sup>10</sup> Both structural approaches placed the state' at the helm of affairs in an international system characterize by anarchy. These approaches remained pre-dominant in the international relations scholarship throughout the 1980s. These approaches informed the decision-making analysis around the world, but especially in the United States.

However, the practitioners of international relations were faced with great problem when they failed to predict the sudden demise of the Soviet Union. A great power going down, not with a bang, without any use of material force was an important event that jolted the IR scholars. The question that came to fore was, why has this happened? Why the theories of international relations were unable to predict the change in the global order? This context is significant in understanding the development of constructivism as a theory of international politics. For better understanding, in this study the reference is made to the differences between constructivism and rational choice approach. For more clarity, the Constructivist thought is juxtaposed with the critical theory (for some, it informs the very foundation of Constructivism). While discussing the

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<sup>9</sup> Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, 1 edition (Long Grove, Ill: Waveland Press, 2010).

<sup>10</sup> Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*, Revised edition (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2005).

core assumptions of constructivism, the purpose would be to examine how constructivist contrast with rationalism, what are different forms of constructivism, what are the core proposition of constructivism about the social life, and how major constructivists differ from each other? The first section provides the introduction of constructivism, in which the assumption of neo-neo debate is highlighted for better understanding. In the succeeding section core assumptions of the constructivism are discussed. In next section different forms of constructivism, its proposition about social life and contrast with rationalism is viewed.

The purpose here is to view the nature of constructivism and its rise in the discipline of international relations. It is shown how ideational structure are as important as material structure. The dominant theories of IR think of the global environment as constant feature throughout the ages. Hence, history, cultures, ideas, and values are not considered as important element in understanding global politics or major global shifts. In order to understand the theoretical premise of constructivism it is important to have the prior knowledge of contributing scholarship for example the English school (try to find a midpoint between the two extremes of International Relations) and Frankfurt school (formed the basis of critical theory).

### **What is Constructivism?**

The term constructivism was coined by Nicholas Onuf, in his book "*The World of Our Making*".<sup>11</sup> Intellectual roots of constructivism are rooted in sociology, particularly in the sociological institutionalism. Constructivism discusses the importance of ideas or ideational structures in shaping the behavior of actors. For constructivists ideas informs actors of its

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<sup>11</sup> Nicholas Onuf, *World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations*, 1 edition (Routledge, 2012).

identity. As opposed to rationalism which is also a social analytical model, the identities and interest are not exogenously given but they are formed by social interaction and consolidated by repeated practices. Same goes for states in the international realm, where states do not act out of structural compulsion, as provided by the structuralist, but ideational structures developed in the society informs states of its identity. This identity play an important role in the behavior of states. These identities are formed by the collective ideas about self and others. Sometimes, these identities are viewed as objective realities, which appears constant and un-changeable. For constructivists who has their roots in the critical theory, as informed by the Frankfurt school of thought. The actors whether individual or states are viewed as inherently social. The identities of these actors are social constructed. Hence, the focus of constructivists is the interest formation, as opposed to realist who focus on interest satisfaction.

Realist informed by the works of Kenneth Waltz view state as defensive positionalists. These defensive positionalists live under the perpetual anarchy. The anarchy is seen as objective condition in the international realm where there is no central authority to regulate the system as opposed to domestic politics.<sup>12</sup>

According to realists, the Hobbesian nature of international relations compel states to focus on survival, be distrustful and depend on self-help. On other hand liberal school of thought shares much of the assumptions with neo-realist, like they accept the anarchical nature of international environment, place state as primary actor in international relations and concede that the states are self-interested actors. However, they saw the possibility of co-operation under anarchy.

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<sup>12</sup> Martin Wight and Gabriele Wight, *International Theory: The Three Traditions*, ed. Brian Porter (New York: Holmes & Meier Pub, 1992).

According to them states are utility maximizers as opposed to defensive positionalists, who go in for absolute gain rather than the relative gains.<sup>13</sup>

Neo-realism and neo-liberalism despite their differences are based upon choice theoretical model. Both theories share the three-core assumption of choice theoretical model. First political actors both individuals or states are thought to be atomistic, self-interested, and rational. Thus, the individuals are considered as pre-social, with self-produced identities. By self-interested it is meant that the actors only care about their own interests. They are rational, as they can devise the best strategy to attain their interests. Second, interests are exogenously formed. Hence, social interaction does not determine interests. Third society is understood as strategic realm. From these assumptions it is delineated that actors are not the product of their social environment.

The above given assumption has enormous potential to inform us about the core of Constructivist theory. However, for better understanding of constructivists core and contours, it is imperative to explore the critical theory of international relations. Critical theory has its intellectual roots in philosophical tradition of Frankfurt school of thought (bunch of well learned men living under Fascism and totalitarian rule, trying to figure out why it is all happening in technologically and culturally advanced world?). Critical theory was first to challenge the philosophical edict of rationalist mode of thinking. They condemned the view that deem actors as atomistic egoist. They instead proclaim that interests are socially constructed, as actors are inherently social and that the value neutral theorizing does not make sense. Specially, in a world where knowledge reinforce the interests.

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<sup>13</sup> David Allen Baldwin, *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (Columbia University Press, 1993).

As critical theorist presented a united front against rationalist mode of thinking. They were internally divided on methodological approaches. The post-modernists inspired by Derrida and Michel Foucault and modernist inspired by Frankfurt School thinkers. Former advocated radical interpretivism and later claims critical interpretivism as methodological approaches.<sup>14</sup> Critical theory over time turn to meta-theoretical character. The constructivist differs from critical theorists, as constructivists apply empirical analysis to provide better insight in world politics. Constructivists even use neo-positivist methodology to enhance their understanding. In order to further our understanding about constructivism it is imperative to view the emphasizes of constructivism, what constructivism has to say about social life, what factors contributed to the rise of constructivism and what are the various forms of constructivism.

### **Focus of Constructivism:**

Constructivism as we have discussed earlier is essentially a social theory. Being a social theory, it provides a conceptualization of structure-agency debate. It emphasizes the role of ideas, norms, and values in world politics. Constructivism defines world in term of material and ideational forces. According to John Ruggie, “constructivism is about human consciousness and its role in world politics”. It talks about the role of social ideas (not certain set to believes), these are collectively held ideas that eventually sustain a structure or can cause structure to change. Role of language and interpretation of knowledge is important in this process.

According to Constructivists there exist no objective reality. Ideas and their interpretations give meaning to material reality. Such lenses render constructivists to question what they call social

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<sup>14</sup> Mark Hoffman, “Restructuring, Reconstruction, Reinscription, Rearticulation: Four Voices in Critical International Theory,” *Millennium* 20, no. 2 (1991): 169–185.



constructs. These constructs may appear as objective reality like sovereignty, but to constructivists sovereignty is not ubiquitous across time and space. Ultimately, it is the result of collective human agreement. Constructivists also stress the role of norms. Norms regulate the social world, but they also play a significant role in constituting the social world.<sup>15</sup>

Constructivists emphasize the role of identities in shaping political actions. It is not important what I want? Until one does not know, what I am? Therefore, it is identity that informs actors, whether individuals or states about their interests. For constructivist, these identities are formed through interaction with the social environment and are consolidated through repetition of practice.

Constructivists stress the inter-subjectivity of the relationships. When perspectives are attached to material reality, it is known as inter-subjectivity. The common example to cite here that the United States is not threaten by British nuclear weapons while Russian nuclear weapons are considered as threat to United states security. The mutually constitutive relationship between agents and structures is also emphasized by the constructivist. Here it is important to understand that (for constructivist) identities and interests of the actor are endogenously given. In Alexander Wendt famous words “anarchy is what states make of it”.<sup>16</sup>

### **Proposition about Social Life:**

Constructivism is not the monolithic tradition of enquiry. Like critical theory it is also divided between modernist and post-modernist. However, they tend to converge on three core

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<sup>15</sup> Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, “International Norms and Political Change,” *Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics*, 1999, 247–278.

<sup>16</sup> Alexander Wendt, “Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics (1992),” in *International Theory* (Springer, 1995), 129–177.

ontological propositions about the social life. To them these propositions align them more closely with the description and explanation of world politics than the assumption of rival rationalists. To rationalists like for neo-realists the distribution of material capability can inform observer about the structure of international system. But constructivist stress the significance of ideational and normative structures along with the material structures. These structures inform the behaviors of social or political actors, be they individual actors or states.

Here it is important to make a reference to Marxist thinking. As Frankfurt school main endeavor was to enquire about the failure to Marxist analysis<sup>17</sup>. Where Marxist consider the material structures of capitalist world economy. Constructivists look forward to development of knowledge the role played by shared ideas, values, and beliefs. According to Alexander Wendt, structures of shared knowledge assign meaning to material resources. Thus, attaching meaning to material structures. Shared knowledge informs about the social identities of political actors.

Secondly constructivist try to understand importance of non-material structures in producing actors' identities. As these are the identities that contribute to the development of actors' interests. For constructivists it is important to understand this process of interest formation, as it renders them capable of explaining wide ranging political phenomenon. These phenomena are mostly misunderstood or ignored by the rationalists. However, there are always certain identities that the actors try to preserve, especially the states (as political actor may have contrasting identities at same time).

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<sup>17</sup> Rolf Wiggershaus, *The Frankfurt School: Its History, Theories, and Political Significance* (mit Press, 1994).

Third proposition of constructivist life is that the agents and structures are mutually constitutive (discussed in above sections). Constructivists deviate from proposition of rationalists about the social life. For rationalists' identities and interests are exogenously given. Rationalists based their analysis on material structures thus ignoring the underlying ideational, normative, and historical forces. These normative and ideational structures shape actors' identity, thus it interests in three important way, that is through imagination, communication, and constraint.<sup>18</sup> For realist ideas only provides rationalization to action informed by desire for power. But constructivists contend that such rationalization is only effective because they have moral position in social context.

### **Rise of constructivism:**

It is significant to have the hindsight version of factors that contributed to the rise of any theoretical perspective. E. H. Carr analysis of the prevailing situation during the interwar years, significantly propelled realism to the virtual dominance as International Theory. This dominance was aided by the scientific approach adopted by the practitioners of International relations and social sciences. Rise of constructivism as the theoretical perspective is attributed to the end of cold war and failure of structuralist theories to either predict or explain the orderly alteration re-shaping the world order. Here we will try to describe the factors contributing to the rise of Constructivism in a holistic manner.

Leading rationalists facing trials from critical theory, challenged the critical theorists to come up with framework that can substantively analyze the International Relations. While critical

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<sup>18</sup> Scott Burchill, Andrew Linklater, and Richard Devetak, *Theories of International Relations*, 5 edition (Red Globe Press, 2013).

theorists were suspicious of motives behind this challenge. But constructivists took it as an opportunity to validate the investigative power of non-rationalist perspectives.<sup>19</sup>

Secondly, as we have discussed that end of the cold war was watershed event that propelled Constructivists, along with other approaches to the center-stage of International theories. However, it is important to know that not only did Structuralists faced a major setback, but certain assumptions of critical theory were also proven incorrect. Like the abruptness of change in global order demonstrated that a change might not be driven by theory. As critical theorists assumed that, it was theory that drove practices. This obstruction in critical theory framework also boosted the Constructivism rise. This inspired critically inclined practitioners to move away from narrowly defined meta-theoretical critique.

The role of new generation of scholars rising from the ranks of critical theory is also significant here. These were the people who saw the room for innovation. These scholars went on to develop the empirically informed theoretical model. Mainstream scholars also embraced this change in thinking about the world politics. End of cold war was also important because it contributed to raising new questions about world politics. Human right issue came to fore. The debate about the international role of non-state actors took place. The dynamic contributing to international change were taken seriously.

### **Categories of Constructivists:**

Constructivists can be divided into three categories<sup>20</sup>, based on their varying subject matter and problem-solving approaches. First of these categories is systematic constructivists. Alexander

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<sup>19</sup> R. B. J. Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory*, First Edition edition (Cambridge England ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Wendt scholarly works represent systematic constructivism in potent manner. Systematic constructivists focus the interaction between the states. They tend to ignore the domestic factors and account of world politics is derived from state behavior in international realm. Systematic constructivists are considered as the nearest followers of the neo-realism. Systematic constructivists like Wendt also believe in the role of ideas and resulting identity in informing the interests of the state. However, he draws a line between social and corporate identity of state. Theoretically this form of constructivism suffers from the inadequacy of getting confined to narrowly defined realm.

The second category of the Constructivists are termed as Unit-level constructivist. Peter J. Katzenstein writings can be cited as representing Unit-level constructivists. Unit-level constructivists are the inverse of systematic constructivist. Such constructivist views the domestic realm as constitutive of national policies. This line of reasoning enables unit-level constructivists to explain the variant identities, interests, and actions among states. Unit-level constructivists suffers from the flaw when accounting for resemblances between the states.

In contrast to systematic and unit-level constructivist, the holistic constructivists, the third category, seek to bridge the gap between two areas. For holistic constructivists, the domestic and international are the two faces of single social and political whole. The social and corporate identities are brought together for the purpose of analysis. Names of John Ruggie and Friedrich

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<sup>20</sup> Barney G. Glaser, "Constructivist Grounded Theory?," *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung. Supplement*, 2007, 93–105.

Kratochwil can be cited as practitioners working on holistic form of constructivism.<sup>21</sup> Focus of holistic constructivist is on the changes in International system, whether these changes are in the form of tectonic shifts international system or in the form of changes occurring in modern state system. Friedrich Kratochwil focus on the changing ideas about international security to explain the end of cold war, represents the latter version of field of analysis.

Systematic Constructivists	Unit-level Constructivists	Holistic Constructivists
Focus interaction between States.	Inverse of systematic constructivists. Concentrate on relationship between domestic social and legal norms.	Seek to bridge the gap between the systematic and unit-level constructivists. Domestic and international are two faces of single whole.
Nearest followers of neo-realists.	Focus on varying identities, interests, and actions among state	Focus on changes in international system.
Deficiency: Confines study to narrowly defined realm.	Deficiency: Difficulty in accounting for similarities between states	Represented by the writings of John Ruggie and Friedrich Kratochwil.
Example: illustrated by Alexander Wendt writings	Illustrated by writings of Peter J. Katzenstein.	

<sup>21</sup> Friedrich Kratochwil and John Gerard Ruggie, "International Organization: A State of the Art on an Art of the State," *International Organization* 40, no. 4 (1986): 753–775.

**Table 1: Categories of Constructivism****Conclusion:**

International system has been subjected to tectonic shifts over the period of last century. The world has seen transformation from empires to state, based on ideas of a nation. International institutions gained an enhance importance, while the role of NGO's increased manifold. With such development the role of states, aided by behavioral change of individuals in society, came to focus. These eventful changes in behaviors, and ideas demanded synchronous set of principles, and methodology to aide analysis and research.

The constructivist school of thought emerged out of this context. When rationalists, both neo-realist and neo-liberalist, assumption failed to predict the patterns of international events. The world where history, values, and norms were not considered as constituting factors left a vacuum for inquiry. Constructivism highlighted the importance of Ideas, and the role ideational structures play in interest formation. This led to the evaluation of mutually constitutive relations that exist between agents, and structures. Change in identity is here subjected to change in ideas. These changed ideas are potent enough to inform us about the changes in the structure.

The practitioners of constructivism differ, as any other school of inquiry, among each other. However, constructivist subscribe to role played by ideas, norms, and values in the creation of knowledge. Role identity play in the formation of interest. And, that identities and interests are not endogenously given as maintained by rationalists.

## CHAPTER 2

### CONCEPTUALISING WORLD ORDER

World Order, like many other International Relations concepts, is a disputed term. The debate, and scholarship around this concept has attracted many theorists and practitioners. Henry Kissinger has in his seminal work, *World Order*, adopted a historical approach, which is supplied with cultural and geographical references to make sense of the world order. Nonetheless, there are other scholars who approach the term from different angles, for example Samuel Huntington's civilizational approach.<sup>22</sup> While the term has been subjected to debates in strict theoretical circles. The purpose here is to understand and comprehend the meaning of this highly contested term. For this purpose, a brief reference to the history would be made, with purpose to obtain empirical understanding.

The events and happenings of twentieth century can be of great help to understand the working, and especially the changes in the world order. The Cold War and Post-Cold war era would be of great aid to the understanding. World War I for the first time saw the search for Peace to be maintain for the benefits of all. This notion was supplied by inherent American idealism, and its power, off course, at the turn of century.

To provide the context of the situation it is important to know that a truly global order was only made possible by the advancement in Communication, and technology. Westphalian principles, that form the bases of world order, was an arrangement to quell the violence ridden Europe after thirty-years' war. These arrangements were the regional affair, without the consciousness that

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<sup>22</sup> Henry Kissinger, *World Order*, Reprint edition (New York: Penguin Books, 2015); Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, a edition (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011).



those concepts of sovereign equality would one day form the basis for the global order. Moreover, at that time every region or continent had its own order, generally viewed as the world order. China can be cited as an example, which considered itself, the center of world.

The greatest contribution of Westphalia is it envisaged a world diverse in polity and philosophies of life and try to formulate rules to provide for engagement and interaction in a non-partisan manner. With this context in hindsight it is much easier to approach the question of world order. The brief look at the Cold War and Post-Cold War period is to provide the operational example of world order at world. This will further aid our understanding about the question of world order.

### **The Cold war Order:**

The turn of Twentieth Century saw massive shift in the order and conceptualization of the world. The start of century was marked by end of Vienna arrangement in Europe; massive impact considering the colonial empires of Europe, this was compounded by increasing animosities and strict alliances being perpetuated in the absence of balance of power. These shifts indicated the end to Concert of Europe, which was instrumental in providing space for pursuance of national interest and prevented the breakout of general war.<sup>23</sup> Away from Europe, United States was also on rise, both in term of economic and military power.

Europe trapped in existential commitments—the alliances—stumbled to war. Which proved to be disastrous and according to some historian a cause for another great catastrophe, that is, World War II. Peace achieved through Paris Peace Conference and Vienna settlement proved to

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<sup>23</sup> Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (Simon and Schuster, 1994).

be short-lived, fragile, and ultimately disastrous. The American idea of Collective Security, with weak and self-contradictory institutional structure, proved unable to hold European powers back from seeking vindication of their ideals.

The inter-war years were the story of American unavailability to Europe, thus the world, the revolutionary favor of Soviet Union, the rise of ultra-nationalism and failure of allied powers to act together. This was generally the order of inter-war year, which led to great convulsion of World War II. Which proved that Roosevelt was not wrong in calling it “age of infamy”.<sup>24</sup> World War II, not to indulge in detail discussion, proved that world need a functional order, supported by Great powers, directed to limit the conflict, enforced through institutional commitment, and practiced through the participation of all the world.

However, the post-World War II era, or what latter came to be known as Cold war was hardly what was imagined or discussed during preceding conferences between allied power. After the turbulence of World War, world got caught up in power struggle between two camps, led by United States, and Soviet Union. This conflict rapidly got defined in ideological dimension of capitalist world and Communist world. Capitalist world prided itself for: promotion of democracy, human rights, sovereignty, and inviolability of territory. While Communists led by Soviet Union sought to be the inspiration, for some instigation, of world revolution. Which would ultimately lead toward world without states, and conflicts—generally referred as Utopia.

Despite these claims some have defined the Cold War as a narrow conflict based on the power calculation of the prime actors. Important feature of the Cold war invention was Nuclear weapons, and overwhelming capacity of both United States and Soviet Union to destroy each

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<sup>24</sup> Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Infamy Speech,” *Washington, DC*, 1941.

other. In this Context United Nations was formed, and international order was based on concepts of international law, respect for territorial integrity. This render the two competing camps to cooperate with each other.

So, the comprehensive understanding of the cold war order would be: it was a political struggle for dominance between two camps, hence, the world was bi-polar, it was a global conflict, in a way that it consumed every activity of the world, the conflict was conducted under the shadow of nuclear weapons, thus we don't see a war on the scale of previous wars, and it was competition but with cooperative mechanism, which expressed itself in multiple arrangement particularly in the direction of non-proliferation.

There was another important dimension with potential to inform us about the world order, and that was the significance of ideas and cultures. As it was the ultimate triumph of western—capitalist—ideas over the Communist ideas. However, the strength of United States economic power also played an important role in this regard.

Hence the cold war era is important to provide the students with possible and plausible information about the ways of world order. In this background the triumph of American led order means that it was American institution, ideals, values, and view of the world that prevailed over that of Soviet Union.

### **Unipolar World:**

After the collapse of Soviet Union, America emerged as preponderant power, what later came to be known as American unipolar moment or generally Post-Cold war era. Thus, America emerged as single most important military, economics, and cultural power. Some scholars, like Francis

Fukuyama<sup>25</sup>, proclaimed it as the ultimate triumph of democratic liberal ideals. Following this United States declared the commencement of 'New World Order'. This proclamation saw America embark on democratization scheme with varying results.

What concern us here is the change in world order where America tried to create the world in its own image. Where triumph of American ideals provided it with legitimacy and there was no power left to confront American ambitions. Hence according to Henry Kissinger, world order is essentially a spread of power—that is acceptable, and this power recognized as just. But management of global arrangements depends on the strength of shared values, and significantly, on the commitment of world powers to those values.

The matter here is the stability of world order, there was debate about the stability of unipolar order. Where the excessive balance of forces is essentially at the will of single power. This situation also raises the question of challenges to this status quo power, and how those challenges can play out on the global stage.

In the preceding section, the focus has been to develop the functional understanding of the world order. Hence the effort has been to look at global forces: institutional, material, cultural, and ideological; to inquire about the function of world order. However, the focus from now onward would be to build the conceptual understanding about the world order, how it has been seen by scholars of world politics.

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<sup>25</sup> Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man*, Reissue edition (New York: Free Press, 2006).

### **Definition and Meaning:**

For functional clarity, we have viewed the global orders of past century, which has been the subject of much debate. After the fall of empires, the global decolonization, state emerged as principle actor in international system. The system which is generally regarded as functioning under the Westphalia style anarchy. This anarchy was characterized by struggle for national interest, the essential zero-sum game, and need to balance the power. This stream of thought flowed from American Scholarship, which was essentially Hobbesian in nature. But in the later period of Cold war, Bull introduced the significance of international institutions, rules, and tendency to cooperate, if only under the anarchy.<sup>26</sup>

We have viewed that kind of political order in place in divided world what came to be known as West and East. The attention has been paid to the role of ideas and institutions of individual society, that eventually were important factor in determination of victorious power and its policies. The important point which must be emphasized here is that the Post-Cold war era placed the US at the pinnacle of political hierarchy but still its project of creating world in its image depended on the domestic forces of different region. Thus, it became apparent that world order encompasses both the political and social structure of the world. Hence, the order is something more than just configuration of States in international system, but it exist on individual human level.

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<sup>26</sup> Hedley Bull, Andrew Hurrell, and Stanley Hoffman, *The Anarchical Society*, 3rd edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Richard Haass, "How a World Order Ends," December 23, 2019, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2018-12-11/how-world-order-ends>; G. John Ikenberry, "The Next Liberal Order," July 21, 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-06-09/next-liberal-order>.

This social structure of the world requires something more binding than just the force of military and economic power. This social structure of the world is underpinned through values, norms, and behaviors. However, it is not to say that universal values or priorities has focus the forces on cooperation. The priorities held by African nation are committed to values of human rights, rather than peace and security which stands as the primary focus of UN charter. The overall balance of among these tendencies help to create some space for cooperation toward these goals and objectives. It is this order in social life which stand in contrast to opposing forces of chaos, destruction, and instability. That is one reason why the war in Syria, or Iraq always carry the risk of instability spilling into international order.

### **International Order:**

With the evolution and transformation of human ideas and practices of political organization, the concept of international order has also evolved and transformed. The international order has always depended on forms of political organization and their interaction among them. In modern era, state system is the dominant form of political organization<sup>27</sup>.

States are defined based on their possession of fixed territory and population; these states have government, which has rule making ability, and thus it enjoys internal sovereignty. These states also declare their independence from external actors which is regarded as external sovereignty. These states interact with each other and are impacted by action of each other. Most states set their priorities: economic, political, social, or strategic with respect to each other. Thus, these

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<sup>27</sup> Richard Tuck, *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant* (Oxford University Press on Demand, 2001).

states define their interests with respect to each other. This is generally regarded as International system.

There is another concept generally confused with international system, that is of International society. International society is challenging concept, an international society is considered to exist when there is certain common interest or set of values that are common to set of states. The states may have political or economic interaction but that does not imply that those states are part of international society. Historically, international societies were established among mutual civilization and culture. Elements of civilization can be common language, common belief system or common ethical codes. It is in the sense of international society the West is considered as common entity; this was especially the case during the cold war.

These concepts of international society, concept of states and international system are important for the definition and understanding about the International order. International orders perform the function of sustaining pattern or goals of international life. These goals involve:

- To uphold the international system and international society. Various challenges have arisen to the society of state, the most recent challenge has been the rise of non-state actors that have tried to overthrow the international system. Before the fascist ideologies of Nazi Germany and Italy tried to establish the universal empire.
- The preservation of general peace. The occurring of war has always been regarded as the malfunction in the international system. General agreement and institution of the world are always directed to the maintenance of peace, for example, the main objective of UN is the Maintenance of Peace and security in the world.

- The third goal is to maintain the independence of sovereign states. Hence the territorial integrity of the state is always observed as the foremost.

There are also some other goals which are considered necessary for the survival of international order, like the sanctity of Human life, at least to prevent general loss of life, the obedience of agreements and respect of the property right: represented in concept of sovereignty itself. This is what generally is meant by international order. We will see that world order is something more than just order among the states. However, it must be kept in mind the above given conceptions are the predominantly the views of Hedley Bull. Our efforts would be to include wide ranging definition of world order to better understand the definition of world order.

### **World order:**

As it has been discussed earlier that defining world order is not easy. It was Hedley Bull who pointed to domestic dimension of world order. As according to him the order flows from domestic institutions. It can be implied with significant empirical evidence, that, throughout the history the institutions, norms, knowledge, and values of pre-dominant actors have been emulated or applied by means of force to the international order. This can be understood by the definition of Henry Kissinger, as world order for him is the mixture of what he calls just arrangements and distribution of power which is thought to be applicable to the world.

Another political theorist Steve Chan adds another dimension of normative ideals to the political patterns and strategic conduct<sup>28</sup>. He grounded his conception on the ability to predict the future, which is determined by regular pattern and mutually accepted mode of interaction. The most

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<sup>28</sup> Zhimin Chen, "China, the European Union and the Fragile World Order," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 54, no. 4 (2016): 775–792; Rosemary Foot, *China, the United States, and Global Order*, 1st edition (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).



interesting study in this regard have been provided by Andrew Hurrell. He delves into the problems of social order and political order to reflect on the possible characterization of the world order. His consideration of social order follows the intellectual tradition of Hedley Bull. He particularly considers the difficult topic of order as fact, and order as value. It is extremely hard to make this distinction or disentangle facts from values in this case. But do suggest that world order is the combination political, social, and international order.

Andrew Hurrell provide the important framework to understand the political order.<sup>29</sup> As examined, states were provided as forming the core of International political order. He classifies the political order in terms of minimalist, pluralist, and solidarist conceptualization. Minimalist classification is the classical idea of evolution of world order. Which fallows from order which was based on the idea of coexistence of states, but the power was the founding principle of this order. Where the balance of power system played the role of management of conflict. The pluralist conceptualization is skeptical about the ability of international law and cooperative measures to maintain peace. It does recognize the presence of actors other than states that are essentially different from each other and recognize that there would be violence in the system. This pluralist system tries to mitigate conflict by recognizing differences and managing them. The core of idea of solidarisms recognize the presence of international community. This community is thought to be capable of moving in line with broader political and moral purposes. Hence it can narrow the gap between law, power, and morality.

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<sup>29</sup> Andrew Hurrell, *On Global Order: Power, Values, and the Constitution of International Society* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

International Society	International Order	International System
Certain interests or set of values are common among certain number of states	Based on functional role to uphold international system and international society.	Based on States that satisfy the defined criteria of being a state, that is, those states have population, specified territory and sovereignty: internal and external.
Mutual civilization and culture.	Job is to provide institutions and agreement to preserve peace and sovereignty of states.	These states define their interests with respect to each other.
For example: Greek city states formed International society. Western Europe and the US, known as West.		Two or more states may not form international system. China during warring states period did not form system with states in Greece.

**Table 2: Different Concepts related to World Order**

### **What is world order then?**

During this chapter, both empirical and theoretical approaches have been adopted to understand the meaning of world order. World order is a complex term, the term has evolved in term of meaning and understanding. Since it is well established that states play central role in the international system—the meaning of which we already explored—they are sometimes thought to be basic, and most important constituent part of world order. However, it would be better to understand world order as a constituent whole of political, social, and global institutional forces. Nonetheless, it is important to bear in mind that power is important factor that contribute largely to world order.

The normative structure, the values, domestic institution when backed by power can become a predominant way of operation in international interaction. So, the philosophy of powerful state always has the potential to alter certain aspect of international life. Example of which can be seen at the entry of US to international system, where it significantly altered mode of interaction followed under traditional European order of things. It must be added here the world order are not the natural conditions. It is participatory concept which require extraordinary skill to maintain, and there are always alternative world views not contend with their condition and trying to create a world more suitable to their requirement.

The purpose of world order is to maintain peace, and in some way's social justice<sup>30</sup>. The effectiveness of any order can be calculated from effectiveness and efficiency of its founding principle. The European order that followed Napoleonic wars came to end when it failed to

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<sup>30</sup> Hurrell.

guarantee balance of power, and when its conservative moral principle was scrapped<sup>31</sup>. But the loss of prudent statesmanship, obscurity of diplomatic means and over dependence on military matters was also contributive factors.

Hence through our study we have tried to understand the contributive factors of world order, we have discussed the importance, and purpose of world order. But we have also distinguished between international order and world order, the bottom line of which was the interplay of domestic: the norms, values, and ideas; material forces: military power, economic power; and the consensus of international players.

Regardless of this there remains the question of contemporary world order that demands our attention. The order which survived the competition of the cold war, which predominantly represent the Western democratic states is known as liberal democratic order. Core feature of liberal order is predominant democratic system, free market economy, protection of private property, moral and ethical obligation of international law, institutional arrangement for the protection of human rights, and protection of international peace and security, through mechanism of collective security. The market or financial aspect of the order is underpinned by global financial and legal institution.

The spread of information technology has added revolutionary dimension to the appeal of liberal democratic order. However, this order is hinged upon the commitment of Western nations led by America. It was American idea, supported by American institution and material power to promote liberal order. Which was subsequently supported by policies like marshal plan,

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<sup>31</sup> Michael Broers, *Europe After Napoleon: Revolution, Reaction, and Romanticism, 1814-1848* (Manchester University Press, 1996).

reconciliation with Germany and Japan, and defense of democratic states. The disintegration of Soviet Union, thus, the loss of agency to communist ideas hinted the eventual victory and universalism of liberal order. Still, in recent years it has been observed that American primacy in this hierarchy has been threaten by the relative rise of the rest.

Apart from American relative decline there has emerged serious transnational challenges that require exclusive global attention. Transnational challenges include international terrorism, climate change, environmental problems—including contagious diseases, and nuclear proliferation, such challenges cannot be ignored. Despite the severity of such mater, the frictions seem to be appearing on global scale. The world especially the predominant powers like US seems to be preparing for great power competition. This could seriously cloud the functionality of prevailing order.

## CHAPTER 3

### CHINESE WORLD VIEW AND A TRANSFORMING WORLD

#### Introduction:

World Order is not a simple concept to understand, neither do it concern the ordinary citizens of the world. However, the happenings of world significantly effect behaviors, even the nature of the states. These states in turn do contribute to the construction of the world as we know it<sup>32</sup>. It has been the effort to reconsider the working of the world; the role of power and ideas, and how the complex synthesis of power and ideas contributed to the outlook of the world. Since World War II the bipolar order of cold war year was replaced by predominant American power. The rise of preponderant US gave substance to the coming of truly global liberal democratic order.

It was the liberal democratic order with US at helm, which signaled the unipolar world. Here the US, the only power, wielded major influence. At the turn of century the endurance of US authority was significantly tested by rising demands of emerging powers—to speak in sense of economic—for recognition of their status, which meant US should give away some power, and the economic crisis of 2007-08 which dealt a tangible blow to US position. Moreover, the disastrous interventions—of coalition of western power—led by US proved a sign for diminished capability of West for the management of world.

This downward curve in the capability of US in specific and West in general was accompanied by unambiguous increase in wealth and power of non-western powers, conveniently known as

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<sup>32</sup> Robert W. Cox, *Approaches to World Order*, vol. 40 (Cambridge University Press, 1996).

the rest. Various scholars, especially the realists, has speculated about the coming of multipolarity. The term multipolarity is contested phenomenon. Where it is clearly visible that significant increase in power and wealth of states such as China, India, Brazil; only to leave out Russia, Japan, South Africa, warrants a comprehensive view of the world that might be on the horizon. .

Another stark realization the world face today is the enormous rise in power and international clout of China. Especially when China's curious mix of market economy with authoritarian political system, with Chinese Communist Party (CCP) at the helm. The rising suspicion about China's phenomenal development and rise in power is not without substance. The quantitative study of Chinese economy shows a visible rise. Chinese growth since 1979 on average is estimated to be 9.5%. The purchasing power parity of China is calculated to be \$25.36trillion (2017) for US it is \$19.49trillion for same year. Chinese export for 2017 was \$2.16trillion while US export was \$1.55trillion<sup>33</sup>. This trend in Chinese economic rise is followed by growing Chinese political activism, epitomize by enterprise such as Belt and Road initiative informally known as BRI, and technologically build up especially military buildup.

International Relations experts has already recognized China as a regional power. The rise in Chinese power has important implications for the world. This rise in Chinese power and authority is not only limited to material domain, but it has important ideational underpinnings. Which view the world quit differently? The chapter is divided in to two major themes. The first one concerns the world and China's position in it, and the second one concerns the Chinese

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<sup>33</sup> "East Asia/Southeast Asia :: China — The World Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency," accessed July 9, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>.

world view and its possible implication for the world, at least in China's own increasing sphere of influence.

### **World in the Twenty-First Century:**

World of 21<sup>st</sup> century is thought to be different than the world of preceding centuries. Proper analysis of rapidly changing world has important implications for both discipline of International Relations and policy makers of modern China. Comprehensive understanding of the world discloses that there is no doubt about universality of liberal economic system conveniently know as capitalism. This is unprecedented achievement. Never in history had any system has such universal success. It can be termed as the triumph of western ideals.

However, this seeming victory is not ultimate triumph. Modernity encompassing development has undoubtedly rendered world more prosperous. But it is not controlled by absolute dominance of the West. Which emerged as first to develop huge power after the industrial revolution. When much of the outer world was colonized by dominant Europe, the agency of large portion of diverse population was taken away, and decisions for whole world were made from few capitals of Europe. This world was interconnected but under the overwhelming power and authority of the west. This global shift was not only in mode of production, but it was reinforced by the ideological revolutions of 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Thus, it signaled a macro-transformation which according to patterns outlines by Buzan<sup>34</sup> caused significant changes in mode of power. Like most of the transformation global modernity was uneven in origin and outcome. Unified economy supported by technology and communication

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<sup>34</sup> Barry Buzan and George Lawson, *The Global Transformation: History, Modernity and the Making of International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139565073>.



help to create a global economic system. This material power supported by ideational forces—most of world ideals, values, and principles of subsequent era like liberalism, nationalism, socialism etcetera originated from the West—sustained Western predominance through for most of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. As power was effectively dominated by Britain and United States successively.

Any keen observer of global politics will be observed that world is much different than that of previous century. Simple analysis of the world centered on one or many superpowers cannot be far from what the world is. It is common today to predict the coming of multipolarity, the assumption based on traditional view of international relations. Where since the development of discipline there has always been dominant power, significantly contributing to the International system and society.

However, twenty first century saw the rise of other states to the status of noticeable power. This was followed by decline in United States capability to direct and manage the process. Trump leadership has vividly demonstrated this theme of world politics. This has been seen by some as decline in American hegemony.<sup>35</sup> Still, the discussion around this topic cannot be reduced to United States. As there are important implication for whole world. These implications are not only restricted to political and military dimension, but they have the potential to affect the normative structures of the world.

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<sup>35</sup> Cooley, "How Hegemony Ends the Unravelling of American Power."

### **Emerging World order, and the Rising Rest:**

It has been observed that much cheered Unipolar moment is over. The world on the horizon cannot be explained referring of any superpower. It has been established that capitalist system has acquired a universal character. Hence, no major conflict seems to be on horizon. From this premise it has been said that cooperative tendencies will acquire more value. However, the story is incomplete because the promise of universal liberal democratic system is still nowhere to be seen. Chinese authoritarian system stands in contrast to democratic political system.

The speculation for coming multipolar order seems to be too simplistic. Power for our memory has been unevenly distributed. However, the erosion of material supremacy has followed with the erosion in ideational legitimacy and domestic will to manage the international system. Rise in populist-nationalist leaders signals the public loss of faith in their capability regarding outer world. While on other hand the rapid increase in authority and wealth of countries such as India, China, and Brazil are observable. This is happening in the background of eroding institutional guarantees inherited from post-world order.

Many non-western powers, most of which have colonial history, are rising in term of power and wealth. Power seems to move away from central control, that is, the power seems to be more equally distributed. It is not to say that equality has been established, but the idea of hegemon stabilizing the world is becoming unattractive, even it seems to have lost the legitimizing thrust.<sup>36</sup> In the world of no super power there is expected to be erosion of collective commitments to the world.

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<sup>36</sup> Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan, *The Making of Global International Relations: Origins and Evolution of IR at Its Centenary*, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108647670>.

The criteria for being a great power is going to be decided by the influence of any power in more than one region. In the case of United States, it will continue to have a dominant position in western hemisphere, where as its space for maneuvering in, for example, South East Asia will be checked by China's presence. Barry Buzan has termed this system as deeply pluralist in nature. Where there is not only the diffusion of wealth and power, but also cultural authority.

### **Chinese World View:**

It has been established that the power, authority, and wealth is more evenly distributed in today's world; where China has turn out to be a significant actor, whose international power and clout has increased internationally<sup>37</sup>. In recent years, the interest in Chinese outlook has increased globally. The interest in China is not only driven by its huge economic power or military strength. But it is due to its unique history, its conception of itself as morally superior, its historic role, its geography and its huge demography: which comprised of 90% Han Chinese, this further provide China with strength and aspiration of a single large group is much easier to manage and manipulate.

These factors combined with relative decline of American power, and its pacing away from global responsibilities warrants a keen look at Chinese world view. This topic has recently attracted number of scholars in their quest for predicting future of our world. The purpose here is to explore the Chinese idea of world. we will begin by looking at the brief recent history of China: to gain idea about its position in world that we have tried to view in detail. This is

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<sup>37</sup> Barry Buzan et al., *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*, 91 (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

followed with the effort to understand the idea of ‘Tianxia’, as this concept of Zhao Tingyang<sup>38</sup> has attracted wider audience both within Chinese official circle and in outside study of China. There is no idea without suspicion and speculation, but the effort here is to outline the concept as normative ideal to provide for our study about Chinese stance in following Chapters.

### **Historical overview:**

China is the country of great Historical importance, especially for Asia. It has a long history of concentrated empire playing a dominant role to its periphery. China had a patron-client with its peripheral states, defined by the concept of suzerain-state system. The practical hegemonic status of ancient China to neighboring states tended to develop the cultural, psychological, and political concept of ‘the middle kingdom’, ruled by divine mandate by God king. This view of Chinese self-came to stark realization after the dominance to European power was exerted on China. China was never colonized in formal sense, but it faced the impact—disastrous in its manifestation—of imperialism.

External fragility of China was followed by internal Chaos. Ensuing civil tensions left it more vulnerable. China was united—after a bloody civil war—under the leadership of Communist party being led by Mao. China entered International Arena with strong sense of betrayal on the part of Western Countries, this led China to seek an ally in Soviet Union. China, although a developing Country, saw itself a major power. It was led into war with US over Korea. It was not long when China refused to accept Soviet Union predominance and embarked on a campaign to

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<sup>38</sup> Tingyang Zhao, “Rethinking Empire from a Chinese Concept ‘All-under-Heaven’ (Tian-Xia, ),” *Social Identities* 12, no. 1 (January 2006): 29–41, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630600555559>.

promote its own ideology. This led China to play an independent role, challenging both superpowers.<sup>39 40</sup>

China acquire nuclear weapon in a brief time after its history. However, Moa ambitious plan like 'great leap forward' and 'cultural revolution' of 1960's and 70's did China more harm than good. However, Deng policy of 'reform and opening' took China away from controlled economy to market economy. This change in Chinese policy was welcomed by western world, which was symbolized by Kissinger (Nixon's national security advisor and secretary of state) visit to China. After this China embraced Deng's plan which came to be known as Liberal economy with Chinese Characteristic.

China has made significant move from poverty ridden backward economy to that modern capitalist economy. This enormous growth of China has led CCP to more dominant position. Which has turned to embrace Chinese tradition and Culture, which was rejected by Mao. Experts have observed revival of Confucianism in China. This China of 21<sup>st</sup> century is emerging to be a challenge for western world. The appeal of its model of growth and development has already started to attract under-developed states and has emerged as enigma for western world: according to western thought liberal economy enviably lead to popular demand for representation. This revolution of Deng is appearing to be an important event than Soviet demise.

### **Chinese World View: All Under Heaven—Tianxia:**

It has been fairly established that Chinese sense of unique civilization, its cultural dominance, and history of political supremacy has provided it with distinctive view of world. Even during

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<sup>39</sup> Jonathan Fenby, *The Penguin History of Modern China: The Fall and Rise of a Great Power, 1850-2009*, 2009, <https://www.overdrive.com/search?q=F7FECEBF-11F4-4B2A-AC92-207B42C14B7A>.

<sup>40</sup> Odd Arne Westad, "Restless Empire: China and the World Since 1750," n.d., 424.

the era of relative weakness, it maintained a distinct position. This quest of unique—somewhat more ethical and moral—identity springs from China’s consciousness about its civilization and culture.

Chinese world view, or Chinese world order was centered on domination by China, but it was benign hegemony. Without any major thought to sovereign or territorially bounded nation-states. It was a hierarchical system based on the superiority, this superiority was embedded in traditions of morals and ethics, unlike that of West. Concept of order in China was constructed around the narrative of benevolence: for the protection and benefits for its followers, and peace.<sup>41</sup> It has been defined as ‘Kingly way’ based on notion of righteousness and benevolence as opposed to western ideas of democracy and equality.<sup>42</sup>

In recent years CCP has revived the Confucian traditions and views about state and society. Confucius emphasized the ethical behavior on behalf of both society and state. Where state is required to deter unethical behavior. In Confucian tradition family formed the most unit of a society, thus only an ethical society can produce ethical ruler. This according to Confucian thought is in the benefit of all. Confucian is a Chinese leading philosopher, who lived through the era of warring states. The revival of Confucian thought has started a debate in China about possible Chinese world which oscillates between Radical Confucianism: which want to take Chinese society to its ancient roots, and New Confucianism: according of which Chinese Culture has all elements of modernity.

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<sup>41</sup> Amitav Acharya, *The End of American World Order* (Cambridge Malden, MA: Polity, 2014).

<sup>42</sup> Kang, *China Rising*.

However, Zhao Tingyang idea of Tianxia or All under heavens has attracted wide attraction in Chinese society and world at large. It has been subject of a lot of debate, as it is going to focus of our attention.

### **The Tianxia system:**

China's power and authority worldwide has given rise to a lot of speculations about nature of its conduct and foreign policy direction. While official line of Chinese authority is extremely vague regarding this query. However, the academic work of Zhao Tingyang, a celebrated philosopher and academic at the institute of philosophy at the Chinese academy of social sciences in Beijing. His work exploring the idea of 'Tianxia' has a lot to offer. This body of his work is thought to have gain interest in Chinese official and academic circles.<sup>43</sup>

Zhao has traced the concept of Tianxia or All Under Heaven from the ancient Zhou dynasty. Which faced with difficult circumstances first explored the politics based on the idea of universally accepted system, political institutions which benefits all nations, and harmony between all nations and culture living peacefully under the heaven. The epic success of Zhou dynasty over much larger Shang dynasty was the marvel of ancient Chinese History.

According to Zhao the world today is not facing the problem of 'failed state' but that of 'failed world'. He rejects the Western idea of 'internationality', which has failed to ensure cooperation and only tried to limit wars, while conflicts are still raging in the world. This state of affair can be changed by focusing on 'worldness' provided by Chinese philosophy of world politics. The solution of problem is sought in the creation of world institutions representing the interests of all nations instead to being the tool of domination for the few.

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<sup>43</sup> Tianxia Tixi and Zhidu Zhexue Daolun, "The Tianxia System: World Order In A Chinese Utopia," n.d., 5.

Tianxia system is envisioned as providing a philosophical basis for world institution, where the western system of analysis impedes the thinking about world institution by being inherently restricted to nation state as highest form of analysis. According to this line of thinking world ought to be starting point for political thinking, not state, as provided by Western thought. Thus, the western view point is incomplete as it stops at nation-states. While tianxia system is based on the hierarchy of world, states, and families. Here it is not individual that is considered as the foundation of society, but it is family. This family single the harmonious relationship between members as opposed to self-interested individual<sup>44</sup>.

The concept of world has three broad meaning here.

- The Earth or all land under sky.
- Establishment of universal agreement; a common choice beneficial to all
- Development of global institution for global order.

Chinese philosophical tradition thinks of the world as political body, opposed to western thought which think of it as a scientific object. For Chinese philosophical thought relation among things define their meaning, for Western philosophy it is essence of things that define the meaning. Keeping aligned to this philosophical tradition world is formed by relations between physical world, psychological world, and world of international institutions.

The cardinal principle of tianxia system is inclusion of all, and exclusion of no one. Nothing is regarded as foreign or pagan; binary of 'self and other' does not exist. From this principle it is inferred that internal peace and order cannot be guaranteed in condition of external chaos and

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<sup>44</sup> Zhao, "Rethinking Empire from a Chinese Concept 'All-under-Heaven' (Tian-Xia, )."



disorder. For this purpose, it is important to achieve the 'world for all people', where there is no foreign or pagan. Thus, tianxia system imagine a system without hegemony. This world is characterized by harmony and cooperation. However, harmony of diversity is stressed.

For harmony to develop the best way is create a consensus. To achieve this consensus to form a harmonious relation two strategies have been identified. These strategies depend on the maximization of common good. Zhao has termed them as 'Confucian equilibrium' and 'Confucian improvement'. Concept of Confucian equilibrium is based on development of harmonious equilibrium where the interest to two actors are aligned in the way an actor A benefit if actor B benefit, A stands to lose if B loose. Confucian improvement is based on the premise of mutual achievement, for example, the promotion of B objective becomes A strategy to achieve its own objective. This concept of Confucian stand in contrast to Pareto's improvement.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Zhao Tingyang, "A Political World Philosophy in Terms of All-Under-Heaven (Tian-Xia)."

## CHAPTER: 4

# CHINESE EXCEPTIONALISM: THE PERSPECTIVES AND PERCEPTIONS

### Framework:

The devolution of power and authority in the world is certainly an established fact, with strong empirical underpinnings. This visible decentralization has raised questions about the possibilities of future world. Where the economically potent China is thought to play not only vital, but a determinative role. This possibility of Chinese seminal role has attracted observers like policy makers, academics, military experts, and politician. Having wide ranging disposition based on their identity, interests, historical experience, and theoretical understanding. The debate about the possible China's role in evolving world is not restricted to international observers but has been a subject of intense internal debate; the growing Chinese power demands a clear vision and ambitions about the world.

Whereas the debate continues to move from the peripheries of international attention to the centrality of question about coming world and China's role in it. The very nature of question signals the divisiveness of opinions and view. Which has been observed in intense debate about China's peaceful rise<sup>46</sup> and possible threat to world peace and security observed in subtle Chinese behavior in world politics<sup>47</sup>. The very trajectory of China rises and threat to American

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<sup>46</sup> Zheng Bijan, "China's Peaceful Rise to Great-Power Status," *Foreign Aff.* 84 (2005): 18.

<sup>47</sup> Denny Roy, "Hegemon on the Horizon? China's Threat to East Asian Security," *International Security* 19, no. 1 (1994): 149–168.

power is animated by historical memories of German power and development of Fascist ideologies. The rising China is at least estimated to be Hegemon on rise, destined to Challenge American position in the world<sup>48</sup>.

Where the international opinion seems to be split on the opinion. The observers continue to base the analysis of future Chinese role on the interpretation and understanding of Chinese history and culture. This approach to study China, accurately to develop understanding about possible Chinese world has found champions not only in Chinese intellectual and policy elite but also outside the borders of China. Comprehensive study of the approach dependent upon the historical lessons, the emphasis on Confucius morality and Chinese culture has potential to inform about the possibility of China's behavior as influential power.

The focus on these elements of ancient Chinese history and culture has given rise to notion of Chinese exceptionalism. This angle of viewing China as Exceptional may have informed the discussion of Chinese policy makers, while claiming important inferences from their statements as well. Yet it is not seen as significant contributor to Chinese foreign policy. But the growing focus within influential circles about Chinese future goals has raised the value of this view. It is important to appreciate the value to such thinking in policy decisions as exemplified by influential role played by American Exceptionalism.

This approach has found interest outside the borders of China<sup>49</sup>, and attracted the attention of influential public attention given the likes of Yan Xuetong<sup>50</sup>. In the course of the study, effort is to briefly view the elements of Chinese exceptionalism while being cognizant to the role of

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<sup>48</sup> Richard Bernstein and Ross H. Munro, "The Coming Conflict with America," *Foreign Affairs*, 1997, 18–32.

<sup>49</sup> Kang, *China Rising*.

<sup>50</sup> Yan, *Ancient Chinese Thought, Modern Chinese Power*.

history. However, the scope would not be restricted to mere description of exceptionalism thought but also to filter out the role played by selective adoption of history, the importance of myth making, and through the understanding of this process identify the competing thoughts derived from same source of Chinese History and Civilization.

The purpose here is not only to analyze the Chinese thought about possible future of the globe—exceptionalism is significant here—but also to dissect the other perspectives, like growing orientalism or possibility of nationalism, their possible influence. This task requires a proper attention to the structure of the world as well. Participation and interaction of other actors would be significant for development of Chinese thought and direction. Context of debate on China rise is important. This context will be followed by brief description of Chinese exceptionalism, followed by examination of another intellection stream derived from same source. To conclude the chapter the outlined thoughts would be subjected to contemporary structure to determine the satisfying approach likely to be adopted.

### **What is Chinese Exceptionalism:**

While thinking or talking about China it is common to use phrases like ‘the Middle Kingdom’ or ‘Century of Humiliations’. General reference to phrases like these direct towards two conclusions: the importance of these phrases for understanding China and that both phrases refers to some idea of historical periods. It is this reference to history for search of China’s destiny in world that provide utility of certain historical facts and stories that we choose to tell ourselves about ourselves<sup>51</sup>. This is how any countries idea of uniqueness about itself and it

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<sup>51</sup> Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1972).

purpose in the world is constructed, which came to known as Exceptionalism. The availability of material power help to project it.

Chinese exceptionalism is not unique with respect to its construction. It is, like in several other cases, the mixture of facts and myths. However, the individuality that exceptionality provide to decision-makers about their role in shaping the world has been observed as significant influence especially during crossroads. Hence it is very difficult to just ignore such thinking as elusive intellectual exercise. The significant of Exceptionalism as topic can be guessed from noticeable debate about American exceptionalism in foreign policy literature.

The most common themes used to define Chinese exceptionalism are claims about mutual respect and political equality. The official discourse has increasingly referred towards concepts such as 'peaceful development' and 'harmonious world', that are regularly stressed in official statements. Keen observers have pointed in direction of China's Historical ideas about foreign policy, and its culture, political tradition, social relations as the source of these concepts. Barry Buzan has noted 'inward looking type of national exceptionalism' that tend to be more defensive<sup>52</sup>. While others such as Feng Zhang has pointed toward the historical roots and manifestation of Chinese exceptionalism that varied according different historical periods. The distinction has been drawn between Imperial China (defined by Imperial Sino-centrism), Revolutionary PRC (motivated by great power entitlement), and Contemporary China.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Barry Buzan, "China in International Society: Is 'Peaceful Rise' Possible?," *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 3, no. 1 (2010): 5–36.

<sup>53</sup> Zhang, "The Rise of Chinese Exceptionalism in International Relations."

### Emerging Exceptionalism:

The emerging exceptionalism is no longer limited to the struggle for great power status or being acknowledged as consequential power. New sets of principles indicate the proclamation about the unique qualities of Chinese great power. The example of this new mode of thinking is exemplified by Zhao Tingyang highly influential work, *Tianxia*. The focus of this new exceptionalism is based on three broad concepts, that is, Great Power Reformism, Benevolent Pacifism, and Harmonious inclusionism. Here it is important to briefly describe these concepts to see their potential for defining strategy for not only China but also for world where China will hold major stakes.

Great Power Reformism	Benevolent Pacifism	Harmonious Inclusionism
China will not indulge in great power politics informed by zero-sum game.	War is discarded as tool of national policy.	Involves inclusion of everybody.
Chinese practice will redefine the meaning of being a great power.	It is proclaimed that China understand the suffering aggressive power can inflict on weaker states.	Diversity is not only celebrated but regarded as moral obligation.
Global politics will reform by peaceful foreign policy of China.		“harmony with differences”, no one should feel threatened or insecure.

**Table 3: Chinese Concept of Exceptionalism.**

The selective use of history is certainly an apparent factor in the constructing of Chinese exceptionalism. Where the China wish the world to see rising China not as threat but through the lens of emerging new opportunities for world Peace, economy, and commerce. Here through projection of China as different and unique power form rest, especially the Western power, it is insinuated that it is not an aggressive or exploitative power; a power with no ambition to preach its system. However, the Chinese exceptionalism has been, quite justifiably, seen as vague, unclear, and without fixed direction. Some has seen China as Hegemon on horizon, but it is too simplistic to assert that. Here—just to make the point—the glaring contrast have been observed in Chinese and American exceptionalism.

### **Varying threads of Chinese Thoughts:**

The understanding of history and historically informed structures like civilizations, cultures, values, and political identities are liable to distortion and are highly subjective. The efforts to chart out the possible Chinese outlook and influence the world has also undergone the same process.<sup>54</sup> The focus on harmonious and inclusive world is not the only stream of thought vying for influence on policy elite. There are other perspective originating from Chinese Past, that might tend to see China as unique civilization reclaiming it past glory or take a lesson from Chinese humiliations at the hand of foreign power and assert more nationalistic claim resembling those of European nationalist thought as China essential a unique and superior power. The underlined perspectives, orientalism, and nationalist each has different emphases on China's Past than the endeavor to outline Chinese Characteristic of foreign policy and international relations.

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<sup>54</sup> William A. Callahan, "Sino-Speak: Chinese Exceptionalism and the Politics of History," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 71, no. 1 (2012): 33–55.

The **orientalist** view tends to see China not only possessing unique Character but as a unique Civilization with unbroken link to pristine political and moral values. This view tends to state China not as a nation state but as a Civilization-state. According to orientalist the China is not only distinct in term of its culture, but it is on its way to establish hierarchical-tributary System of ancient China<sup>55</sup>. This system is seen as not only inducing more stability but is also floated around as just. The advocate of orientalist version of Chinese History sees imminent end of western world and then rise of new world order based presumably on Sino-centrism. This line of reasoning is embodied in Martin Jacques book, that recently has earned widespread attention in Chinese society, after being translated into Chinese language.<sup>56</sup> This view of China's future does not suggest path away from hegemony. This model is increasingly seen as expansionist.

With growing rise in material power, the new lobby advocating nationalist spectrum of political thought have arisen. The **nationalist** focusses the Chinese history of humiliation at the hands of foreign power when it was feeble and unable to defend itself. The tend to take a realpolitik view of current situation and proclaim that pacific attitude of china would be weak of Chinese power.<sup>57</sup> The martial element is stressed from the Chinese past. This school emphasized the China-model of future with more focus on racial element, supported by military power. The analyst has identified that the nationalist writings and arguments are supported by military establishment of China. That demands not only modernization of military to meet the challenge

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<sup>55</sup> John Agnew, "Looking Back to Look Forward: Chinese Geopolitical Narratives and China's Past," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 53, no. 3 (2012): 301–314.

<sup>56</sup> Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order: Second Edition* (Penguin Books, 2009).

<sup>57</sup> Mingfu, *The China Dream*.



to American power. Nationalist see economic rise as insufficient, with military power build for defense of China with limited and peaceful objectives in sight.

### **China in the World: Overview**

China cannot be viewed divorced from external world, the structure of contemporary world, and the importance of pattern that develop from interaction between independent states among themselves. The importance of geography and demography cannot be ignored either. China's rise was made possible by inclusion of China in market economy, where China enjoyed privileges accorded due to its high poverty rate and lower development.

The opening up of China was Strategic decision of United States that resulted in major success in the context of the Cold War. The United states, though not as strong, is still an influential power. That has extensive alliance system based on security to much of the region close to China, for example, East Asia, Southeast Asia, and others. The United states emphasis on free market economy has helped not only China to grow but has extensively proved help for countries like ASEAN members<sup>58</sup>. Thus, the policies, thinking, and action of United States would be important for China. If United States tried to solve problem without adjusting to the new world, as demonstrated by trump administration,<sup>59</sup> the situation is expected to exacerbate. That might play in the hands of nationalist or orientalist camps.

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<sup>58</sup> John Ravenhill, "Understanding the 'New East Asian Regionalism,'" *Review of International Political Economy* 17, no. 2 (2010): 173–177.

<sup>59</sup> Chad P. Bown and Douglas A. Irwin, "Trump's Assault on the Global Trading System: And Why Decoupling from China Will Change Everything," *Foreign Aff.* 98 (2019): 125.

While it is important to emphasize the strategic importance of China's proclamation of peaceful rise and political equality for all. This perception of China being an accommodating power has contributed to worldwide thrust in China. The behavior of China has been observed as that of status-quo with vested interest in maintenance of international system. The same thinking seems to be behind China proclamation as pacific power that accept the diversity and hope to create the harmony to the benefit of all. Hence, it appears that China has vested interest not to be aggressor or expansionist. China also realize the importance of soft power in age of widespread communication.

The geography, especially the policies of China's neighbor like Japan, South Korea, India, Australia etcetera would have their own importance.<sup>60</sup> There are several sensitive issues like Taiwan, and other islands in China South China Sea and East China sea that are regarded as important to Chinese interest. The issues like Taiwan are related to pride of China and heavily influenced by public opinion. The states neighboring must be conscious to China great power status. The effective management of relations with China is important. Rise of great power on neighborhood is always concerning. However, there are strategies that can limit great power ambitions. The first step in this direction will be to recognize China as a great power and strive to develop cooperative regimes and institution. This will move China away from confrontational course.

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<sup>60</sup> Has China Won? Mahbubani vs Mearsheimer - YouTube, interview by Tom Switzer, accessed July 21, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZnkC7GXmLdo>.

## CHAPTER: 5

### CHALLENGES AND PROSPECT FOR RISING CHINA

Rising powers, the subsequent challenges faced by both established powers, the established orders, and upcoming power is recurring phenomenon faced by world. There are efforts to define growing Chinese power and influence in realist terms, as a threat to both existing power and global order. However, it is too simplistic reading of the situation facing the world with the rise of China. There is strong tendency to view Chinese rise in the image of Cold war: two great power competing incessantly for global power and influence. This parallel with Cold war is not only dangerous but is also naïve in its manifestation.

Although China's political system is contrary to that of western political system. China is widely seen as attracting the authoritarian tendencies from around the globe. Which in American mindset might represent the kind of struggle between democracy and non-democracy, ultimately defined in term of struggle between good and bad, right, and wrong. However, a keen look at China reveals different reality poles apart from simplistic view of yet another power anxious to held world hostage to its way of life and mode of thinking.

China is a huge geographical entity, with overwhelming history as not only a great power but rich culture, civilization, and philosophy of government. China roughly borders East Asia, Southeast Asia; to its south and east, and Central Asia and South Asia to its west. China is demographic giant that like any other power has its own internal struggles and inefficiencies. However, on external front China has tried to present itself as benevolent power that abhor the

traditional method of rising power.<sup>61</sup> By most estimates its behavior is not close to revisionist powers of 20<sup>th</sup> century like Germany and Japan, neither it is ideologically motivated with perpetual sense of insecurity like Soviet Union.

China commands an overwhelming presence in region. The country that benefits from global economic and monetary rules. Where the focus has been on the development of its own population and mitigation of poverty and hunger. The country whose economy is symbiotically related ASEAN countries of Southeast Asia.<sup>62</sup> There are certain disputes with its neighboring East Asia, specially the historical and psychological dispute with Japan: regarded as a major power and notable United States ally. The competition is there with respect to sharing of East China Sea, the right to certain Island and claims of exclusive economic zones in the area. Most significantly Taiwan, which is regarded as possible flash point in the area. Taiwan issue can channel nationalist tendencies in China prompting dangerous policy decisions.

Apart from this China has significant domestic challenges. There is significant concern within China about unequal development with potential to further alienate the western region already seen as region most affected with ethnic tensions and sense of depravity. The Chinese elites are determined to carve an opportunity out of this Challenge. A significant facet of ‘One Belt One Road’ project is related the development of western China.<sup>63</sup> The effort is to integrate the estranged population in Chinese national project, apart from revitalization of investment to keep

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<sup>61</sup> Buzan, “China in International Society.”

<sup>62</sup> Evelyn Goh, “The Modes of China’s Influence: Cases from Southeast Asia,” *Asian Survey* 54, no. 5 (2014): 825–848.

<sup>63</sup> Peter Ferdinand, “Westward Ho—the China Dream and ‘One Belt, One Road’: Chinese Foreign Policy under Xi Jinping,” *International Affairs* 92, no. 4 (2016): 941–957.

average economic growth, considered to be important for not only global influence but also for the legitimacy of Chinese regime.

On regional level, China face immense challenges. Asia is not an easy region to navigate, which seems to be plagued by historical rivalries leading to suspicion and distrust. The Asia states increasingly defined their Identity on nationalistic foundations and varying versions of history. These differences are reinforced by different definition of political and social systems. Korean peninsula does not only remain divided but has strong tendency to plunge into Crisis potentially leading to Conflicts. Southeast Asian countries had difficult times adjusting with each other. Most of these countries face unstable governments and weak state institutions, the ethnic conflicts further Complicates the situation.<sup>64</sup> The Same situation persist in countries like Afghanistan and Pakistan. Border disputes, internal instability and weak institution make Asia prone to proxy wars, bilateral challenges, and national hatred. These centrifugal forces not only destabilize the region but make it harder for China to project its influence without being pulled into polarizing disputes.

On global level the major challenge for china is to manage its relationship with United States. It seems almost natural that United States, a status quo power, shall see China as revisionist power. That present a threat not only to United States but will also seek to alter the global order. Most of the realist have perceived China as threat. However, for China the situation is more Complex, the China must manage its relation with United states not only to preserve its power but also for economic stability of the world, to further its image as non-traditional rising power, to maintain global good will and for potential stability in its own region where United States play an

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<sup>64</sup> John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens, eds., *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, 7 edition (Oxford, United Kingdom ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

important role. The growing demand for China to bear the International responsibility is another important Challenge. In addition, the global concern for environmental Change its impact on the future of the world cannot be ignored.

With the rise in Chinese power the questions have been asked regarding the possible Chinese ideas about the future of world, where China may have power to shape it<sup>65</sup>. Various responses to these queries have arisen simply from the fact that growing power needs coherent and clear ideas about the possible world and the role that power might play in bringing about the world. our work has been an effort to identify some of most influential ideas being generated with in China. However, it has been repeatedly emphasized the there is only a vague response from Chinese official Circle to this question. We will try to find out the significance of ideational Challenge for China.

China undoubtedly face a lot of Challenges. These challenges and Chinese response to them will determine the prospect for China to raise to upper echelon of power. It is important to recognize the coming decades will be important for both China and the World, where the intensification will be witnessed in global politics. The challenges for China arise from regional level, global level and at ideational level. At regional level, the focus would be on adjoining regional forces, economic, military, and other, and possible challenges and response expected from China. On global level, the challenge of possible competition with the United States, international responsibility and environmental crisis will be discussed. On ideational level the focus will on discrepancies in ideational explanations and structure of China.

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<sup>65</sup> Yufan Hao, CX George Wei, and Lowell Dittmer, *Challenges to Chinese Foreign Policy: Diplomacy, Globalization, and the Next World Power* (University Press of Kentucky, 2014).

## **Challenges on regional Level:**

### **Relations with ASEAN Countries:**

For any power to be recognized a major power it must manifest its ability to be respected in its immediate neighbor. This ability is manifested is regional power capacity to significantly impact its neighbors' decisions, and ability to influence their preferences. The influence can be of different type: exercised through coercion, inducement, and persuasion. Germany used coercion to force its neighbors respect its position leading to unnatural alliance between potential enemies united against Germany. China claims to be non-traditional power, proclaiming to respect other sovereignty and right of equal treatment. Hence, preferred mode for China is to persuade and induced its neighbors to see their interest aligned with that of China. This strategy worked well in Southeast Asian countries, where China have been able to emerge a main actor for trade, investment, and technological innovation.

ASEAN countries have deepened institution arrangement with China by organizing Subsequent summits culminating in ASEAN plus three or APT (consisting of China, Japan, and republic of Korea)<sup>66</sup>. Over the years China has emerged as major market for ASEAN countries, the growing Silicon Valley has deepened it ties further. However, territorial disputes like Spratly and Paracel and tension over economic Zones, navigational rights and resources exploration persist in South China Sea. In recent years Chinese diplomatic efforts were rewarded with relative calmness over these issues.

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<sup>66</sup> David Roland Holst and John Weiss, "ASEAN and China: Export Rivals or Partners in Regional Growth?," *World Economy* 27, no. 8 (2004): 1255–1274.

**Tensions in East Asia:**

It has been anticipated by experts the East Asia presents a major regional challenge for China. While looking at Korean peninsula China has done well in keeping North Korea close and preventing it from destabilizing the region and recognizing South Korea as major economic especially technological partner. Thus, accommodating South Korea while stabilizing North Korea. However, the main worry for china in the region is Japan, and this says much as Taiwan is considered as part of same region.

Whereas, for Taiwan China has been able to use its influence the world to curb their relations with Taiwan. However, China is far from solving the tensions with Taiwan. Taiwan renewed nationalistic posture has angered China immensely, strengthening the hands nationalists. According to nationalist China's military power can easily prevail over Taiwanese resistance. This might prove true, but it represents a normative challenge. China's attempted military solution for Taiwan will symbolize death of peaceful rise policy.<sup>67</sup>

The most serious problem to Chinese power and rise is presented by Japan. The best strategy for rising power is not to get entangled in unusual conflict, British and American rise can historically example of this policy. China has tried to accommodate it neighbors by applying economic tools and adept diplomacy. However, in the case of Japan, a significant economic power itself, the relations have remained rather cold. The importance of Japan is enhanced by its being the principle American ally and linchpin of American policy in the region. Chinese indifferent attitude towards Japan arise from historical as well as psychological reasons. The nationalist sentiments have prevented China to explore avenues to get on cooperative footings with Japan.

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<sup>67</sup> Ravenhill, "Understanding the 'New East Asian Regionalism'"; Christopher M. Dent, *East Asian Regionalism* (Routledge, 2016).



China relations with Japan will be most significant for decades ahead, where America can try to use Japan as a leverage against China. So, the analyst and observers must keep a keen look at development between China and Japan.<sup>68</sup>

### **Focus to the West:**

To the west of China lies rugged, underdeveloped, and instable region. The instability here comes from various ethnic groups imaging themselves to be subjugated by China's power. However, region further the Chinese border like Central Asia and South Asia are no less instable and less prone to Conflict. In recent years China has focused its attention to the western part of country and regions beyond. This policy of China is embodied in its ambitious 'One Belt, One road' program. Started from Central Asia, focused at European markets; away from the tensions of East Asia and extended to Pakistan via CPEC.

Central Asian states view China as balancer against Russia, and an opportunity to diversify their economy. while Russia is the major power of the region China have been able to utilize the paranoid focus of Russian on threats coming from West to its advantage. China maneuver the space for itself in Central Asia, entering institutional arrangements with Russia. Still the China efforts in South Asia shall not pass easily, as India view China's activities disturbing Indian power in its region, thus raising questions over India status as a great power. China's moves in South Asia are regarded as significant Indian moves toward US. This may not be entirely correct analysis though.

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<sup>68</sup> Denny Roy, "The Sources and Limits of Sino-Japanese Tensions," *Survival* 47, no. 2 (2005): 191–214; Gilbert Rozman, "China's Changing Images of Japan, 1989–2001: The Struggle to Balance Partnership and Rivalry," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 2, no. 1 (2002): 95–130.

### **Conclusion of Regional Dimension**

Regional dimension to China's rise is extremely important and Asia is no ordinary region. As observed by Aaron Friedberg that Europe past can be Asia's future. Hence it is important for China to play a stabilizer role in the region while preserving its status as non-partisan power. Moreover, China must appear as influential regional power to be respected at global level. Thus, Asia present a definite challenge, but the growing economy and wealth of a region add to China's prospects to become a global power on the back of emerging Asia, epitomized by phrase 'Asian Century'.

### **China on global Stage:**

#### **The American Challenge:**

The principle challenge to China's rise at global level comes from American power. The question here is about overall structure and power. The good news for China on global level is that, although America is major contributor to the global structure, but it is not the only one. The global structure depends on various institutions, multilateral agreements, rules, and regulations. However, it is almost natural for United States to feel threatened by China's rise. Realists is United States predict Chinese growing power as principle threat to American dominated world. These assertion by realists are understandable. But here the important factor for world observers is that they do not see China as a kind of revisionist power that United States might see in China.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Rosemary Foot, "Chinese Strategies in a US-Hegemonic Global Order: Accommodating and Hedging," *International Affairs* 82, no. 1 (2006): 77-94.

Although all the major powers recognized that China's rise will demand certain reforms in global power arrangements and international institutions, but the important factor here is the same aspiration being shown by other powers. These powers seem to demand for themselves the greater role in the region. Therefore, China has enough space to not appear as an aggressor even if the United States come to see it in belligerent manner. This policy will limit America's ability to construct an alliance directed against China. Hence, must recognize American power, continue to press for co-operation with American allies.

The other significant problem for China regarding American is more of Structural economic nature. Even though China has seen extraordinary growth rate lifting millions to the status of middle-class. Still China is dependent for majority of its exports to United States and to the allies of US. Roughly US consumes 40% of Chinese exports. It was the liberal integration-oriented policy of United States that helped China to utilize on it and grow immensely. The isolationist pulses in American as represented by Donald Trump can significantly hurt China. It is evident now that the world wars on the model of those fought in 20<sup>th</sup> century might not be possible, but lack of prudent policies can destabilize the world. China must seek to circumnavigate its structural economic discrepancies otherwise it can limit the space for China's rise.

The most important question not only for rising China but also for other rising powers is that international responsibility.<sup>70</sup> Most of these powers like China, India and European Union demands more role in the international system yet tend to shy away from the question of international responsibility. For China, this factor is most important because US has played important role is providing security and thus stability to regions neighboring China, and the

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<sup>70</sup> G. John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China and the Future of the West-Can the Liberal System Survive," *Foreign Aff.* 87 (2008): 23.

world at large. Asia rise was result of tapping into its inherent potential, but the rise would have been much more grueling, would have took more time if not for United States taking over global responsibility. As much as China might resent the American presence in its neighbor and belittle it as hegemonic; the closer study suggests overwhelming benefits of American international role. With greater power comes greater responsibility, Chinese policy makers must have taken notice of this principle. If China wants to be a great power, it must show a will for much greater responsibility.<sup>71</sup> This question of international responsibility will become more important, may even occupy the status of central question for the foreign policies of many major powers. On other hands the recognition of significant role played by United States might prompt them to coopt America. However, there are large number of intervening factors that are not the scope of this topic. For America it is not possibly to abruptly turn away the world, similarly the world cannot simply shun America to oblivion. For China must realize the dual nature of situation, and try to promote well-adjusted policies, a herculean task.

### **Environmental Challenge:**

Environmental challenges are not China specific; they effect the whole world some visible other invisible. These environmental challenges require strong cooperation from whole world to counter them. They are like a wild card in international relations. They are either lead toward either cooperation or confrontation. The ongoing world pandemic has shown both cooperative and confrontational tendencies. The point here is that the world needs major power to cooperate in the face to ecological changes.

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<sup>71</sup> Jeffrey W. Legro, "What China Will Want: The Future Intentions of a Rising Power," *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 3 (2007): 515–534.

**Ideational Challenges:**

Another significant challenge facing China today is that of its precarious ideational structure. It has been discussed time and again that although historical interpretation has aided the rhetoric of Chinese official, but they are mostly vague with no defined method to achieve those goals. Moreover, it is not clear that what will China support a globalized world or postcolonial view of world which view West as having hegemonic influence over world. Although the statements for sovereign equality and political diversity be way to attract powers; mostly those that view China model of development as attractive.<sup>72</sup>

Chinese model: a politically authoritarian state ruled by a single party that has successfully adopted liberal market economy without adopting the liberal political system. This model of China inspires some to emulate it while most democratic country is puzzled and cannot figure it out. The authoritarian political model of China is also seen with suspicion but skillful ability of China to adopt varying ideational position has made them more flexible and adjustable.

For realist observers China is authoritarian power that want to take advantage of participating in international system by increasing its wealth and power, without paying the cost of social and political convergence. For liberal the convergence of social and political circles is important without which the international system is destabilized. The problem for China is to convince world of its promised harmony where Chinese history can be used to refer to hegemonic tendencies. This vague Chinese position about its objectives and ambitions has in past aided

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<sup>72</sup> William A. Callahan, "How to Understand China: The Dangers and Opportunities of Being a Rising Power," *Review of International Studies* 31, no. 4 (2005): 701–714; William A. Callahan, "Chinese Visions of World Order: Post-Hegemonic or a New Hegemony?," *International Studies Review* 10, no. 4 (December 1, 2008): 749–61, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2486.2008.00830.x>.

Chinese endeavors. However, China must in future figure of clear and coherent strategy as it will be focus major studies analyzing the world under China.

## CONCLUSION

The global understanding of the world and shrinking of the space as an effect of scientific, technological, and ideational revolution produced predominant powers aiming to dominate world affairs. The origin of these revolutions brought immense power to Europe, which dominated the world through 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, by means of colonization and development of spheres of influence. Europe internal power struggle was felt throughout the world. Great Britain, because of its material power combined with ideational force, dominated world affair, until the two world wars seeped the energies of Europe. With the downfall of European powers, rose the United States.

The demise of one power always give rise to other power with means and will to dominate the world affairs. The norms, values, and identity of rising power have significant impact on the world. America after the World War II and triumph after the Cold war tried to make the world in its own image. This pattern of international Affair has inspired the attention being given to China, as it emerges as a significant economic power with crucial standing in its region. The rise of China is deemed to have a significant impact on the future of the globe as whole.

The speculation of Chinese power, its values, interests, and identity has started a debate about what the world would be like if China is to dominate it? What Changes can be expected? And how will China react to different challenges and conditions? The rising power, thus the stature of China, and understandable declining American ability to dominate and steady the world has provided credibility to such questions.

The dominance of western world over every aspect of the power gave it immense ability to dominate and even dictate. However, with modernization of the world elsewhere has caused the

power to be diffused, thus the veto of western world over world decision is being questioned. China enormous rise has made it focus of attention of the world. The Chinese scholars as well as keen international observers have looked to Chinese past to construct an imaginary image of China and the world it might dominate.

The history of China found newfound attention both within it and outside of China. The Chinese scholars has looked backward to ancient ages, mostly in a selectively manner, to present an image and possible view of China about the world. The most noteworthy in this regard is Zhao Tingyang concept of Tianxia, or All-Under-heaven. Tingyang presents the benevolent face of China, taking inspiration from pluralistic teaching of Zhao dynasty (1046 BCE-256 BCE) and refining its vision to suit the modern world. Zhao idea of Tianxia coincide with the concept of Chinese exceptionalism, which has found repeated appearance in the statements of Chinese officials, however the Chinese government has not officially recognized it. The rhetoric of world harmony, sovereign equality, and recognition of diversity constantly informs the Chinese policy documents and official statement. This has made foreign policy experts to look for Chinese exceptionalism that may inform its behavior as American exceptionalism did for United States. American exceptionalism was important for the understanding of American decisions and actions.

The other important factor is Chinese efforts explained by various scholar, mostly from China, to see China rise as peaceful and beneficial to the world. This idea is contested by scholars, mostly realists, who see Chinese rise as Challenge to West, specifically United States. Nonetheless, realists understanding, and prescriptions are not limited to outside world but has a significant position in Chinese official and intellectual circle. Realists are augmented by nationalists: seeking to create a strong united China, and orientalist who imagined the establishment of



tributary system that existed before Western arrival to China. Hence, it is not only Chinese identity that is contested but also its purpose. This Contest can have important implications for whole world, as China rise to forefront.

The empirical analysis of the world suggest that China has undoubtedly gained a significant position in global matrix, but it still has a lot of Challenges to overcome. These emanate from every direction, they arise from near and abroad, from domestic scenarios and from external happenings, these challenges are of both material and ideational nature. Ambiguous and vague Chinese ideas about the world seems to further complicate the situation. However, the world is certainly contemplating and observing China. How the world especially Western world define, and perceived China would be important, but the very position of China, global forces may propel it to play determinant role; the reason to have a close look at China.

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