

Honghua Men *Editor*

Report of Strategic Studies in China (2018)

Domestic Development, Sino-American
Relations and China's Grand Strategy

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ISBN 978-981-13-9285-6 ISBN 978-981-13-9286-3 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-9286-3>

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Working Toward Benign Interaction Between China and the Rest of the World



Honghua Men

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, China has stood at a new historical point of departure, undergoing historical changes on top of the important achievements in development since the founding of the People's Republic and particularly since the adoption of the reform and open-up policy. Socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a new stage of development. The Chinese people after suffering for long in modern history have realized a historical leap from stand-up and get-rich to get-strong. With great vigor and vitality, socialism has continued to open new vista for development in China. Socialism with Chinese characteristics has extended the route to modernization for developing countries.

At the same time, the world has entered into a period of profound transformation, which expresses in concrete terms power shift, problem shift and paradigm shift. The collective rise of non-Western countries has caught world's attention. The overall strength of Western powers is on relative decline. Traditional powers and emerging powers begin to be ushered into a break-in period of adapting to and accommodating one another and cooperating while competing with one another. The above power shift has led to rapid increase of global issues, even more enlarged international agenda, generalization of security and increased impact of non-traditional security. The above power shift and problem shift have led to paradigm shift in international relations, namely global challenges calling for concerted efforts of all countries, which to a degree moves all countries of the world toward a global awareness of sharing weal and woe, encourages cooperation among nations and increases the fundamental function of cooperation and coordination between countries based on common interest. Such changes illustrate the prospect of global governance and, to a certain extent, provide ideological and material basis for the come-back of socialist models on global scale.

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This process has created for China a sizable strategic space. China has become one of the core countries that push for change in the world and a center of gravity catching the world's attention. China is rising up to the pattern of one superpower and several other powers, with increased world influence. Most of the countries the world over expect to benefit from China's development and to share with China development and prosperity. As the world is at profound transformation, the reach and depth of China's participation in the process of globalization are unprecedented, its leading role becoming more outstanding. On improving global governance, maintaining regional and global security and operating major-country relations, China has fully displayed its self-confidence as a major country and taken up the mantle of leadership. On tackling common issues of mankind, China guided by its world vision has contributed Chinese wisdom and Chinese proposals. In an era of uncertainty, China has become an anchor of stability, an active promoter and a strategic leader of world peace and development.

1 China's Vision for World Peace and Development

On vision everything hinges from innovating on norms to making clear direction to shaping code of conduct. As China rises in an all-round way and the world is at profound transformation, there is a special value of guide light in China's vision.

Facing the future, the Chinese Dream for a great renewal of the Chinese people plays the role of strategic guidance. Xi Jinping has put forward the Chinese Dream for a great renewal of the Chinese people as well as the two centennial strategic goals. The Chinese Dream is a dream of national renewal, of happiness of the people as well as a dream of peace and development, of cooperation and win-win situation which is on the same wavelength with all beautiful dreams of the people the world over. As Xi Jinping remarks on the world significance of the Chinese Dream, the Chinese Dream brings happiness not only to the Chinese people but also to the people of all countries.

The realization of the Chinese Dream relies on moving over the "Middle Income Trap" and the "Thucydides Trap". The key of the former rests fundamentally with the CPC Central Committee firmly holding the initiative of reform, making scientific shift on development outlook, quickening the change on mode of economic development, more forcefully restructuring the economy, implementing the strategy of driving development with innovation, pushing forward the rule of law in the country, going by good and clean government and striking an optimal balance between reform, development and stability and an optimal balance among stabilizing growth, restructuring, improving people's livelihood and promoting reform so as to make Chinese economy go steady and go far. The key of the latter depends on if China can present to the rest of the world its vision that is predictable, acceptable and pursuable, if it can provide strategy and solutions for difficulties in international relations and if it can be comprehensively integrated into the international community with the aspiration of making all nations live together in peace, the spirit of being open and inclusive and

the pursuit for cooperation and win-win situation. It depends on if China can seek common ground while shelving differences, converge common interest while resolving differences with all countries, working for the broadest international support for the great renewal of the Chinese people.

Mindful of the above, Xi Jinping calls for building a community of shared future for mankind which is an accurate expression of China's world vision. Since long, long ago, China has always had a world vision, through which runs a continued theme of one world, on which the vision of a harmonious world is inherited and that of a community of shared future for mankind is innovated. The four connotations of the community of shared future for mankind as called for by Xi Jinping include mutual respect of all countries and treating one another on equal footing; cooperation for win-win situation and common development; achieving common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security; all cultures tolerating and learning from one another. He points out that in the great process of promoting a community of shared future for mankind it is necessary to go by dialogue and consultation, by joint construction and sharing, by cooperating for win-win situation, learning from one another, working towards an open, inclusive, clean and beautiful world of green and low carbon economy, lasting peace, universal security and common prosperity. Xi Jinping's in-depth proposition on a community of shared future for mankind displays the high-plane of China's thinking, its aspiration for the future and its philosophical consideration for benign interaction with the rest of the world.

2 Contributing Chinese Wisdom to World Peace and Development

Chinese wisdom has profound sources, being rich in content. In promoting world peace and development, the Chinese leadership has made in-depth thinking on the plane of the historical process of human development, come up with a number of important propositions and put them into practice, which are met with positive responses from the rest of the world and by virtue give rise to benign interaction between China and the rest of the world.

- A. Chinese wisdom takes cooperation for win-win situation as interest orientation. China has firmly upheld the Five Principles for Peaceful Coexistence and brazen a trail of peaceful development. As Xi Jinping emphasizes, to take the path of peaceful development is the self-confidence and conscientiousness of the Chinese people in realizing their development objectives. It is necessary for China to better coordinate the domestic and international environment and to keep up with open, cooperative and win-win development. China pursues an open strategy for mutual benefit and win-win situation, replacing antagonism with cooperation, replacing winner-takes-all with win-win situation and calling for all countries to stay together regardless of the situation for common progress. China sets store by the spirit of mutual benefit and win-win situation and promotes the awareness of

a community of shared future for mankind. It stands for all countries taking into consideration of reasonable concerns of other countries while pursuing their own interest, promoting common development of all countries while seeking their own development and establishing a new global development partnership that is more equitable and balanced. All of the strategic thinking above is clearly win-win oriented.

- B. Chinese wisdom upholds the right approach to justice and interests in ethic pursuance. The right approach to justice and interests carries forward China's fine cultural tradition. To correctly handle the relationship between justice and interests, to give priority to justice, to prefer justice to interests, to go after justice first and interests second and to pursue interests by way of justice, all has been part and parcel of moral standard and code of conduct upheld by the Chinese people for thousands of years. The right approach to justice and interests embodies strategic planning by the CPC Central Committee with Xi Jinping as its core for China's international position and international role in the future. It means that proceeding from the great righteousness of world peace and development, China will take a more active part in international affairs, put into practice unyieldingly peaceful development, promote common development, maintain multilateral trade institutions and make greater contributions to the cause of human progress.
- C. Chinese wisdom takes new development concepts as guiding principles for practice. The concept of Innovative, coordinated, green, open and shared development is condensed expression of the thinking, orientation and focus of energy for development of China during the 13th 5-year planning and beyond. It is also the condensed expression of the experience of China's development of nearly 40 years since adopting the reform and open-up policy, reflecting the new realization of the CPC Central Committee on laws governing China's development. In relation to this and based on scientific judgment concerning the conditions of world economic development and the tendency of reversed economic globalization, China puts forward the new concept of the world economy for "innovation, invigoration, interconnection and inclusion" in order to guide globalization into a new phase and promote strong, sustainable, balanced and inclusive growth of world economy. To this end, China takes consultation, joint construction and sharing for route to cooperation, displaying the courage, sense of responsibility and mantle of leadership of a major country.
- D. Chinese wisdom takes a new model of international relations for strategic orientation. China promotes a new model of international relations and breaks the dilemma of the rise of a major country by win-win cooperation in avoidance of the "Thucydides Trap". The basis of such a new model of international relations is that China sticks to the choice of peaceful development road, endeavors to be a new type of major country and pursues major country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics, whose core it is to achieve win-win cooperation, namely to achieve win-win situation via cooperation, to build a community of shared future for mankind and to make joint efforts with all countries for a better world. In essence, it is to go with the tide of the world today, to reject the thinking of

zero-sum game and to refrain from unilateral hegemonic behaviors. Instead, it is to promote the realization of the objectives of the country by a constructive route of openness and inclusion. It is to promote the optimization of international relations by a constructive mode of coordination and cooperation.

3 Contributing Chinese Proposals to World Peace and Development

By its own development, China has provided the rest of the world with firm support. Since reform and open-up, China has offered positive driving force for world peace and development by its rapid economic development and the steady increase on its comprehensive national strength. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, the CPC Central Committee has spared no efforts in making the country prosperous, dared to practice and been good at innovation, continuing to deepen its understanding of laws governing China's socio-economic development, to guide new normal with new thinking and to seek new development by new strategy and leaving a solid foundation for China's socio-economic development to reach a new height. As a result, China's road ahead has become more and more promising. The road of China is to date a most successful non-Western development path to modernization, a most outstanding result in the history of world socialist development. It bears important world significance for China to have blazed a new trail. It is a difficult world problem for developing countries to achieve modernization. It is of profound understanding of all major countries that whoever innovates on development path and leads the world trend can stand out and win the prize of the world. On the one hand, the road of China has provided other developing countries with a distinct alternative to the Western road, providing a useful reference for human society to explore development path. On the other, it has also demonstrated to the rest of the world China's understanding of national development, contributing Chinese experience and wisdom to development of all countries in the world. The road of China has extended the path of developing countries to modernization, promoted diversified development of human civilization and to a degree affected the choice of road by some of the developing countries.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, the CPC Central Committee with General Secretary Xi Jinping as its core has not only been mindful of China's development but also put it in global perspective, coming up with a series of "Chinese proposals" on various items in the agenda of world peace and development. The "Chinese proposals" have put limelight on practical experience and value for the times of socialism with Chinese characteristics, embodying China's staying power, wisdom, responsibility and mantle of leadership.

- A. Chinese proposals take improving global governance for core objective. As the world is moving toward the juncture of changing global governance system, China has come up with "Chinese proposals" for improving global governance, which go along with the tide of the times, are in the interest of all countries

and contribute immensely to moving the global governance system toward more justice and equitability, advancing common interest of mankind and promoting world peace and development. It is an important content and devise of Chinese proposals to move the global governance system toward more justice and equitability. It is necessary for China's road of peaceful development to be ensured by international institutions. It is important ethic pursuance of China's foreign policy to improve international institutions to ensure peaceful development. China's conduct in G20 has reflected the above political will. The implementation of the Belt and Road initiative reflects China's efforts in shaping and institutionalizing international economic relations. China advocates that global governance should be based on equality, guided by openness and aimed at sharing. It puts forward a new concept for global governance featuring consultation, joint construction and sharing, emphasizes on a pattern of global financial governance featuring equitability and efficiency, a pattern of global trade and investment governance featuring openness and transparency, a pattern of global energy governance featuring green and low-carbon and a pattern of global development governance featuring inclusion and interconnection and moves world economy toward the path of strong, sustainable, balanced and inclusive growth. At the same time, China actively takes the mantle of leadership as a major country, helping developing countries develop through increasing assistance to underdeveloped countries with the establishment of the South-South Cooperation Fund and increasing investment on the least developed countries with practical measures.

- B. Chinese proposals build a network of partnerships with global vision. So far, China has established partnerships of various types with over 80 countries or groups of countries, attaining positive results on global, regional, bilateral and national levels. The strategic basis of China's partnership strategy is the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Its strategic direction is to maintain China's national interest and increase the country's international influence. Its strategic means are mutual political trust, cultural exchange, social interaction and security support. It is aimed at extending China's global strategy by improving bilateral relations. It takes realization of common interest for the norm and aims at mutual benefit. Its route is international cooperation, representing China's road to development featuring peace, cooperation and mutual benefit. The most directly perceivable global significance of China's partnership strategy rests with providing strategic framework for dialogue and cooperation, presenting an example of the new model of international relations.
- C. Chinese proposals take East Asia and China's neighborhood as priority areas. China is engaged in conducting open cooperation in East Asia based on convergence of common interest, building a community of shared interest and shared responsibility through institutionalized cooperation and nurturing an East Asian order of equality, cooperation, mutual benefit, mutual assistance and openness on the basis of common interest. China has a profound understanding of the important significance of building on relations in the neighborhood, sticking to the policy of building friendship and partnership with neighboring countries and bringing harmony, security and prosperity to neighbors and underscoring

the concept of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusiveness. China's policy makers have worked out a magnificent blueprint for furthering the neighborhood diplomacy, putting forward important initiatives like upgrading China-ASEAN free trade area, establishing the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and building the Belt and Road in order to elevate strategic cooperative relationship with neighboring countries.

- D. Chinese proposals take the Belt and Road for key-link. The Belt and Road has become the largest platform for various countries in achieving common development by win-win cooperation. It meets the needs for development of China, other countries along the line and world economy, riding on the tide of regional and global cooperation and accorded with positive responses and enthusiastic participation of more sixty countries along the line and concerned international organizations. Through the Belt and Road, China has closely linked up with other countries along the line and achieved connectivity with them by infrastructural construction, based on which it conducts extensive financial, trade, investment and other cooperation, promotes development of countries along the line and enhances interconnection among all of them, injecting great dynamics to the recovery and strong growth of world economy.

In sum, Chinese proposals have a profoundly command of the new pattern created by China's rise and transformation of the world, which complement one another, giving the place in the sun to development issues in the global macro policy framework and contributing Chinese wisdom to opening a new era of globalization. They are the secret key to constructing a community of shared future for mankind and building a better world.

Transformation of the International Order and China's Strategy



Xi Xiao

Shaping the international order is a major issue of strategic significance. As China's rise has become an important driving force for the transformation of international order, its policy orientation and future strategic direction are attracting special attention from the international community, and have caused a tremendous impact on the strategic adjustment of world's major countries. As a key topic in the field of international studies, China's relationship with the international order has always been extensively and thoroughly researched by the academic circles at home and abroad. In the current context where the international order continues to change and China's peaceful development is gaining momentum globally, the relationship between the two has become one of the core issues to explore the relations in the international community.

Scholars at home and abroad have made ongoing research on the above relationship, but there is still room for improvement. So far, there are limited publications on the transformation of international order and China's peaceful development from the theoretical, historical and empirical perspectives, while a great deal of macro views and policy analysis have been contributed, with few results in the thorough combination of top-level design and countermeasures. Given this, in-depth interdisciplinary research is essential.

1 International Order Theories

The pursuit of order is timeless. China's ancient world view *tianxia* represents its earliest reflections on building a world order. In 1311, Dante's political ideals for establishing a world order in *De Monarchia* can be regarded as the roots of Western thoughts on this issue. Of course, in the strict sense, the analysis from the perspective

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of international relations in the international order theories didn't start until the 1950s and 1960s. Hedley Bull's book *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* is considered as a milestone. Since then, major schools of international relations have proposed respective theories on the creation of international order, leading to everlasting academic debates.

In realism's understanding of the international order, it tends to focus on the international system, structure and power, which is in contrast to the liberalism's view. The above two theories, based on their own logic, interpret the evolution of international order. In the eyes of realists, the balance-of-power order is an inevitable trend characterized by objective regularity; while liberals argue that the liberal constitutional order centering on human rationality as well as freedom and democracy is a just and reasonable order. However, the academic circles are increasingly questioning the regularity of the realistic balance-of-power order and the legitimacy of the liberal constitutional order. From the perspective of theoretical evolution, the reason why realists support the balance-of-power order and highly respect its regularity is closely linked to the theorization efforts made by some leading theorists such as Hans J. Morgenthau and Kenneth N. Waltz. In particular, it is noteworthy that Henry Kissinger has a lifelong emphasis on the relationship between balance of power and international order. In his doctoral dissertation *A World Restored*, published in 1957, Kissinger points out that a long-term and stable international order relies on two pillars: the first is the widely recognized international legitimacy, and the second is the existence of balance of power. For the international order, the first pillar is the foundation. A legitimate international order is not established to prevent the occurrence of conflicts, but to limit the scope of conflicts. In Kissinger's view, there are two kinds of contemporary world order—Western order and non-Western order. The former originates from the *Peace of Westphalia* and remains intact till now; and the latter is now being participated and shaped by non-Western powers. At the heart of the issue is whether the former can withstand the intervention of the latter.¹ Unlike realists' attention to power and conflict, liberalists focus on ideology, values, laws, institutions, morality and principles in its theoretical analysis of world order, mainly discussing the paradigm of international politics for the ultimate purpose of "seeking a just world order". To this end, liberalists contemplate to find a solution and strive to establish a world order by means of collective security, supranational organizations, international institutions and world law, etc. Since the 1980s, with the rise of neorealism and (neo) liberal institutionalism, the focus has shifted from the international order to international institutions. In the latter's view, international institutions are so resilient in the international order that even if hegemony is declining, they can continue to demonstrate their effectiveness by reflecting the interest appeal of all states, affecting the measurement of national interests and internalizing domestic politics. In a distinctive study, John Ikenberry summarizes the types of international order, and suggests that the three orders—balance of power, hegemony and constitutional order—appear as a progressive trend. The constitutional order, in particular, is built on the core elements of legal and political institutions, such as "distributing rights"

¹Kissinger (1954, 2014).

and “restricting power”. This highlights the strategic value of “strategic constraints” to the leading countries. From the dispute over the origin of international order, Ikenberry criticizes the traditional thought of the above two order theories. As he points out, no version of neorealism is able to fully recognize that the institutional strategy is playing an increasingly important role in the order building by leading countries and the post-war order; while liberalism is less concerned about the imbalance of power among states and the resulting constraints on international cooperation. On this basis, Ikenberry seeks to explore the institutional path of building an international order by disengaging from realism’s fixation with the role of power and liberalism’s much-exalted theory of rationalism and contractual system. Specifically, great powers want to secure their leading positions and turn the temporary absolute power into enduring dominance. The motive of creating a legitimate post-war order significantly boosts the appeal of constitutional arrangements. At the cost of restraining their own power, leading countries seek the recognition of rules and institutional processes from other players to ensure the vitality and predictability of the post-war order.²

Constructivism studies the international order as a process, and proposes different thoughts for building an international order. For example, Alexander Wendt is known for his systematic research which involves three cultures called Hobbesian, Lockean and Kantian cultures. From a certain perspective, the three cultures actually represent three types of international order. The first reflects an “order of natural state” in which the law of jungle prevails; the second implies an order that recognizes sovereignty and mutual competition; and the third suggests a “collective security order”. Wendt argues that cultures are at the core of international relations, and on the surface are norms and institutions which are built on the interactions and practices among countries. In other words, international institutions and order are changeable by this logic, which provides an antidote for the security dilemma from one country to another. Robert W. Cox believes that the concept of international order is derived from specific historical conditions—the institutionalized nation-state system. In his articles, Cox particularly highlights the status of social forces in the production process, downplays the sole role of states in international order, and regards social forces and a combination of all stakeholders as a source of international order. In his view, all of the above forces have a decisive influence on the trend of war and peace.³ In a nutshell, the core logic of constructivism is that an order is established by rules, and rules are derived from knowledge construction. In constructivism’s view, a new international order will be shaped based on the new and reasonable knowledge restructured through interactions among countries.

Chinese scholars have conducted in-depth theoretical analysis of the creation and evolution of international order. Shi Yinhong believes that the international order is built on three basic elements, i.e. worldwide distribution of international power, the system of international norms and the system transnational values. The relationship between China’s rise and the future world order is largely about how to deal with these three elements. In Chen Yugang’s viewpoint, exploring the international order is

²Liu (2010), Keohane (2004), Song (2003), Ikenberry (2006).

³Wendt (2000), Cox (1986).

actually finding out how and based on what principles states—the basic components of international relations—are organized. One of his findings is that the international order is characterized by conceptual integrity and its overall control of international relations, together with its defining features. Men Honghua has made an in-depth analysis of the relationship between (neo) liberalism and international order. From his standpoint, neoliberalism is “the most idealistic” theoretical paradigm that is devoted to the building of international order. Between neoliberalism and the international order, there is an essential connection that cannot be ignored, which can be reflected by the order concept advocated in the creation process of the Versailles-Washington System and the Yalta System, as well as by the framework of the post-war global international organizations (e.g. the League of Nations and the United Nations). He concludes that it is the liberalists’ relentless pursuit of ideals that gives rise to the international order of that time.⁴

In the analysis of international order, both Chinese and Western scholars emphasize the connection between regional order and international order (world order). Most Western scholars build a bridge between the two orders with a focus on the regional one, paying much attention to the influence of regionalism on transforming the contemporary international order and shaping a new world order. Men Honghua points out that the international order can be categorized into global order and regional order by geography. Generally, the former is the widely recognized international order; while the latter is created during the interactive process among regional states and can be regarded as an “order pattern” existing between the former and the domestic order.⁵ Scholars at home and abroad emphasize that, to gain an insight into the trend of international order, key developments in the financial order and the regional order deserve close attention due to their profound impact on the global order.

On the whole, most of the existing international order theories are based on the international political experience of European and American countries, rarely taking into account the international cooperation in other regions. It is difficult for these theories to embrace the impact and theoretical appeal in the wake of the rise of non-Western powers in recent years. In the Chinese academic circles, reflections and critical thinking can be easily found in the international order theories, but theoretical construction is far from sufficient. In other words, with the acceleration of global transformation, the international order theories have ushered in a new era of development, yet the academic community has not responded positively and overwhelmingly.

⁴Shi (2014), Chen (2014), Men (2004).

⁵Falk (1997), Men (2014).

2 Relationship Between the Rise of Great Powers and the International Order

Great powers often play a key role in building and reshaping the international order. This evolution rule can be boiled down to “power shift—changes in interests—changes in goal—changes in strategy—transformation of order”. It means that the rise of hard power and soft power of major countries will increase their needs for interests and drive them to pursue new international goals, which in turn will make them adjust and redesign their national strategy, actively or passively, ultimately leading to the transformation of international order. In this sense, great powers are “actually driving such transformation”, accompanied by strategic influence at the regional and global levels. From 1900 to date, it has been normal to see changes in the international order and tug-of-war between great powers. Power and concept both play a part in the building of international order, with the former as the foundation and the latter the catalyst. Currently, the world continues to change and surprisingly remains unchanged at the same time. On the one hand, with further globalization and regional integration, global governance, regional community and other concepts begin to appear and receive wide recognition; on the other hand, the established concept of hegemony is still active in the field of international politics. One of the consequences is that traditional concept competes with innovative thinking, and the international order is reshaped at the global and regional levels.⁶

The relationship between the rise of great powers and the international order has always been at the heart of the studies of international order and even international relations. For centuries, scholars have been looking into the rise of great powers and the changes in international order. Among many insightful publications, John Ikenberry’s *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars* is recognized as an iconic one. Ikenberry points out that not all power shifts will lead to wars and overthrow of the old order. More decisively, it is the inherent nature of international order itself that defines the choice of rising powers—to challenge the order or to be part of it.

More scholars study the above relationship from the perspective of the current international order. They argue that through a historical lens, today’s international pattern is evolving in the opposite direction to the development trend more than one hundred years ago, mainly manifested by “the rise of the East” and “the decline of the West”. Henry Kissinger describes it as “a change never seen in the past four hundred years”. A major trend in the current world is the overwhelming collective rise of newly industrialized countries. With the increasingly rise of the East, the international political and economic order built in favor of the West is bound to undergo substantial changes. There is a trend of equilibrium between the two worlds. Although emerging countries certainly do not attempt to overturn the Western hegemony, they do want to work together to unleash their potential, with the determination and ability to change

⁶Men (2016).

the world power structure in a peaceful and progressive manner.⁷ This group of rising powers is affecting the transformation of global governance structure, which, to some extent, has been seen as “the most critical driver”. In light of this, its relationship with the international order has gradually received attention from domestic and foreign academic circles, and has sparked heated debates in recent years with a focus on the impact of changes in the distribution of international power. Naturally, the rising powers have different governance concepts from their established counterparts in the West, which is intensively and profoundly reflected in their propensity for global governance.

In this sense, many scholars still focus on the United States, the major creator of the existing international order. Zhu Yunhan attributes the basic feature of the current order to “a highly centralized power structure”. He believes that this feature can also be identified in the four areas of security, production and exchange, finance and ideology, with the US playing a paramount role in framing the structure. Through years of observation and research, Ikenberry finds out that the East-dominated order is increasingly rising while the West-led one is declining, and the US era is drawing to a close. He advises the US government that “The US should keep in mind that its leadership over the Western order empowers it to shape the environment in which China makes its key strategic choices. If it wants to maintain the leadership, the Washington government must work harder to strengthen the rules and institutions that underpin that order, making it more inclusive and harder to be disrupted. The US must try to consolidate the foundation of this order, encourage China to be part of it rather than opposed to it, and increase the chances of survival for the system even if the relative strength of the US is declining”. In an epic book *Power and Responsibility: Building International Order in an Era of Transnational Threats* published by the Brookings Institution in March 2009, the US policy-makers and the academic community of international relations rethink and redesign the international order, global governance and the US foreign strategies in the post-Bush era, and offer suggestions on how to “build a rule-based international order with responsible sovereignty as its main actors”.⁸

Most scholars agree that the international order is changing in a peaceful direction, and its future will inevitably be the result of long-term game among great powers. Therefore, building the regional order in a peaceful manner makes sense from the perspective of international order building. From his viewpoint of regionalizing the world order, Barry Buzan believes that since the 19th century, there have been no more special historical conditions on which the West can depend to dominate the world and then incubate the superpowers under the unbalanced distribution of global power. In other words, the identity of the US as a superpower is so unparalleled, materially or socially, that no great powers can gain the absolute superiority over global dominance. However, the regional perspective is more helpful to look into the changes that are taking place in the international system and the global society. In Huang Renwei’s view, the transformation of global order is impossible without

⁷Zhang (2012).

⁸Zhu (2001), Ikenberry (2008), Jones et al. (2009).