

## Lecture 4 (讲座四)

# China in IR, geopolitics, globalization, hegemony

在国际关系中的中国，地缘政治，  
全球化，霸权

## Part1. Identity of China 中国的认同

## Identity of China 中国的认同

- ▶ China中国 is Civilization 文明 (one of several, not unique)
- ▶ China中国 is Big Space 大空间 (one of several, not unique)
- ▶ China中国 is Culture 文化 (one of several, not unique)
- ▶ China中国 is Power 权 (one of several, not unique)
- ▶ China中国 is Pole 极 (one of several, not unique)
- ▶ China中国 is Hegemony 霸权 (one of several, not unique)
- ▶ China中国 is Empire 帝国 (one of several, not unique)
- ▶ China中国 is Tianxia 天下 (one of several, not unique)

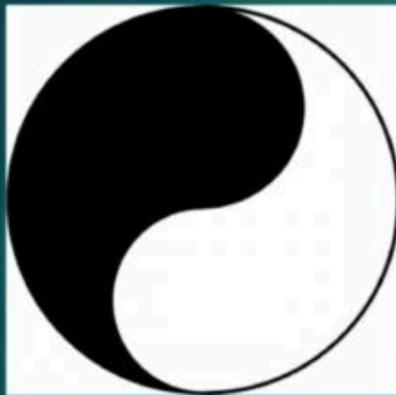
## Identity of China

### 陰陽



- Relations are most important (constitutional)
- Harmony should prevail
- All oppositions are relative
- Order is based on ethics
- There is neither pure subjectivity nor pure objectivity
- Dao is everywhere and nowhere
- Matter and spirit form fold 折
- Symmetry: center/periphery not top/bottom
- Extremities are dangerous
- Time is circular
- Inclusiveness not exclusiveness

## Western identity 西方认同



- Relations are secondary
- Competition (struggle) should prevail
- All oppositions are radical and irreducible
- Order is based on power
- There is pure subjectivity and/or pure objectivity
- Transcendence with God or without God
- Matter and spirit are two natures
- Symmetry: top/bottom
- Extremities are constitutional
- Time is linear
- Exclusiveness not inclusiveness

Chinese identity is very strong:  
formally and informally

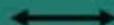
### ▶ China State 中国

- ▶ National identity supported by State

### ▶ China Town 唐人街

- ▶ Ethno-cultural identity supported by Tradition

Chinese at home  
中国人



Chinese outside  
华人

Dialectical relation  
辩证关系

## Chinese identity 中国的认同: existential level 存在论层面

### Chinese Dasein 汉的此在

die Existentiale:

- ▶ Being-Chinese (Chinese Self, Selbst 自)
- ▶ Being-in-the-Chinese-World (在中国 世界)
- ▶ Being-With (relations 关系, 陰 陽 yin/yang dialectic)
- ▶ Being-toward-Chinese-death (往终: 向死而生)
- ▶ and so on

## Chinese identity 中国认同: civilizational level 文明层面

### Chinese Logos

**Confucius 孔子 Laozi 老子 China buddhism 佛教**

Tianxia 天下 Empire 帝国 Ethical Order 伦理秩序 Meritocracy 尚贤制

**Mao Zedong 毛泽东 Socialism 社会主义 Chinese Modernity 中国 现代**

Deng Xiaoping 邓小平

Empowerment through flexibility (use of globalization)

**Great Synthesis 大合成**

**Xi Jinping 习近平**

**Confucius + Socialism + Chinese Growth + Tianxia + Chinese Post-Modernity**

Eternal Order of Heaven and Earth

Traditional society  
Modern society  
Future society

## Key Western thinkers who correctly interpret the reality

- |       |   |  |
|-------|---|--|
| right | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ <b>René Guénon</b> – traditionalism (defense sacred Tradition/radical critic of Modernity)</li> <li>▶ <b>Martin Heidegger</b> – new ontology</li> <li>▶ <b>Carl Schmitt</b> – political realism</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>New Right</li> <li>Eurasianism</li> <li>Geopolitics</li> <li>Sociology of hierarchy (Louis Dumont)</li> <li>Conservative Revolution</li> </ul>  |
| left  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ <b>Karl Marx</b></li> <li>▶ <b>Mao Zedong</b></li> <li>▶ <b>Antonio Gramsci</b></li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>New Left (critical theories of colonial discourse)</li> <li>Post-Modern deconstruction of Modernity</li> <li>New Anthropology (Boaz, Levy-Strauss, Descola, E.Kohn)</li> <li>Structuralism</li> </ul> |

## Part 2. China and IR 中国 和地缘政治

### Western IR theories are based on Western identity

- ▶ Liberalism in IR leads to World Government with full spectrum domination of Western values (individualism, capitalism, materialism, human rights ideology, hedonism, gender-politics, alienation – cyborgs, Artificial Intelligence)
- ▶ Realism in IR is a bit better: it recognizes (at least) the right of China to preserve her Sovereignty, but limits the nature of China as civilization
- ▶ Marxism in IR is unacceptable because it proclaims the necessity of dissolution of Second World system (Semi-Periphery) in global Capitalism One World system wit the center in Rich North
- ▶ English School is rather interesting (above all Barry Buzan)
- ▶ Post-Positivist theories are useful in order to deconstruct Western (imperialist) narrative in IR
  - ▶ Main authors: **John Hobson**, *The Eurocentric Conception of World Politics: Western International Theory, 1760-2010*
  - ▶ **Stephen Gill**, *American Hegemony and the Trilateral Commission*.
    - ▶ As well A. Wendt, M. Onuff and so on.

### Versions of Chinese IR

- ▶ Chinese model of Globalization (Chinese equivalent of liberalism). Main difference: Chinese (not Western) values are taken as universal principles
  - ▶ Zhao Tingyang (赵汀阳) - Tianxia Tixi - 天下体系 - Middle Empire
- ▶ Chinese realism
  - ▶ Yan Xuetong (阎学通) theory of moral realism (王道外交)
- ▶ Chinese analogues of British School
  - ▶ Zhang Weiwei (张维为) China model (中国模式)
  - ▶ Qin Yaqing (秦亚青) - I Ching (易经) in IR Theory 关系理论 - relations, process (过程)

## Part 3. China and Geopolitics 中国和地缘政治

### New formula of XXI century

Who controls Eastern Europe controls Heartland, who controls Heartland rules the World.  
(Mackinder)

谁控制东欧，谁就统治心脏地带；谁控制心脏地带，谁就统治世界

Who controls Rimland controls Heartland, who controls Heartland rules the World.  
(Spykman)

谁控制 Rimland (周边)，谁就统治心脏地带；谁控制心脏地带，谁就统治世界

Who controls China, controls Rimland, who Rimland controls Heartland,  
who controls Heartland rules the World.

谁控制中国 谁控制 Rimland (周边)，谁就统治心脏地带；谁控制心脏地带，  
谁就统治世界

### Geopolitically China is ambivalent being Rimland

- ▶ China has Land Power dimension (North, West, rural area, Traditional Empire, Chinese Communist Party)
- ▶ China has Sea Power dimension (East, Cost, capitalism, trade, modernization, globalization, G-2 project)
- ▶ Han is the core of China identity. It is Central (中国), balance

## Part 4. China and Unipolarity

### 中国和单极化

## The meaning of Unipolarity

- ▶ Western hegemony in
  - ▶ Strategy
  - ▶ Civilizational values
  - ▶ Technology
  - ▶ Liberal democracy
  - ▶ Universal type of social organization (cosmopolitanism, individualism)

## Unipolar World let to China as Civilization no place

- ▶ Unipolarity imposes on all humanity the same (liberal Western) identity
- ▶ Difference between American pragmatism and new form of ultra-liberalism:
  - ▶ **American pragmatism** is based on "black boxing" [ ] of ontology of both subject and object. That (roughly) reminds Chinese relationism and duality play of Dao (it is somehow comparable with phenomenology)
  - ▶ **Ideological liberalism** is based on normative prescription of nihilistic nature of subject. You can not choose Your identity (as in pragmatism) You should not have ANY identity at all.
- ▶ So pragmatism (and realism in IR) can tolerate the China (as special type of society – "black boxing" [ ] everything that differs from Western values). Liberalism **can not** and **will not**.
- ▶ So China is doomed in the context of unipolar globalization.

Soft version of Unipolarity:  
multilateralism or G-2 project



Part 5. China and Hegemony  
中国 和 霸权

Part 5. China and Multipolarity  
中国 和多极化

## Theory of Multipolar World 多极世界理论

- ▶ Civilization as main Actor
  - ▶ Civilization=culture is **Relative Absolute**
- ▶ Relations between civilization\$
  - ▶ realist perspective Inter-Civilizational choos/ Civilization as Sovereignty
- ▶ The Pole 极
  - ▶ The Pole 极 = Big Space 大空间 + Civilization 文明
  - ▶ The Pole 极 = Idea 思想 + Power 权
  - ▶ The Pole 极 = Autarchy 自给自足 + Sovereignty 主权
  - ▶ The Pole 极 = Hegemony 霸权 + Culture 文化
  - ▶ The Pole 极 = Force 强 + Authority 权威

## Theory of Multipolar World for China

- ▶ **China**中国 is **Identity** 身份 + **Sovereignty** 主权
- ▶ China 中国 is Civilization 文明
- ▶ China 中国 is regional hegemony (霸权) in Southern Asia and Far East
- ▶ China 中国 is **much more** than the State – Tianxia 天下
- ▶ China 中国 is Pole 极(in all senses)

## Civilizations



## Chinese IR theory can be based on Multipolarity

- ▶ Chinese Multipolar theory can include (not exclude)
  - ▶ Chinese globalization theories
    - ▶ Zhao Tingyang (赵汀阳) - Tianxia Tixi - 天下体系 - Middle Empire (if Tianxia is applied to concrete geographical zone - Southern Asia and Far East)
  - ▶ Chinese realism
    - ▶ Yan Xuetong (阎学通) theory of moral realism (王道外交) (if it recognizes the legitimate reality of Supra-National regional body - Civilization)
  - ▶ Chinese analogues of British School (with relativization of Western rules for Club)
    - ▶ Zhang Weiwei (张维为) China model (中国模式) fully compatible with TMW
    - ▶ Qin Yaqing (秦亚青) - I Ching (易经) in IR Theory 关系理论 - relations, process (过程) (with adding dimension of the ontology of Civilization)

## Multipolar World (多极) 4+ formula



## 3 meaning of XXI century geopolitical axiom

**Who controls China, controls Rimland, who Rimland controls Heartland, who controls Heartland rules the World.**

**谁控制中国 谁控制 Rimland (周边), 谁就统治心脏地带; 谁控制心脏地带, 谁就统治世界**

1. China can be controlled by USA/NATO (by Sea Power). That means the West will rule the Rimland, Heartland and the World
2. China can be controlled by Russia (USSR) - Land Power. Today it is simply impossible (no desire, no resources, no ability).
3. China can be controlled by China herself - Rimland. But Rimland is ambivalent. If in China Land Power wins that means creation Chinese-Russian-(potentially Europe) Eurasian alliance. If in China pro-Western forces win (Sea Power) the balance will be in favor of West (Globalism, Unipolarity, global Capitalism)

## Geopolitics of XXI century

- ▶ There is new vision of dualism Sea Power vs Land Power.
- ▶ No more bipolar (USA/West vs Russia) system: Russia alone can not any more be second Pole.
- ▶ The meaning of Sea Power is the same. New feature: Sea becomes Global. Everything is now the Sea (capitalism)
- ▶ The meaning of Land Power has changed. It is not anymore Heartland as Russia (USSR) alone. It is Multipolar World as the whole. So China, Europe, Latin America, Islamic World, Africa – all these civilizations are (should become) the Poles.

## From the fundamental Decision of China depends the fate of World Order

- ▶ It is the China who should make the Decision in the State of Emergency on the World Scale.
- ▶ Russia can not choose. The destiny of Russia is to be Heartland. It is Land Power. Our geography and history has already made the Choice. We will fight against the Sea Power, Unipolarity and Globalization until the end. Or we will disappear.
- ▶ It is time to China to make Decision. China CAN choose.
- ▶ And from the choice of China depends the destiny of Rimland (Belt & Road project), of Europe, of Russia-Eurasia and of the World.