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## CHINA AND NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER: THOUGHTS AND PRACTICE OF JUSTICE

An essential element for the functioning of the international system is idea forming the basis for creating rules and institutions<sup>1</sup> ruling political and economic interactions of international actors<sup>2</sup>. With the crisis of the position of the West since 2008<sup>3</sup>, one can observe non-Western actors' narrative pointing a need for a new international order in the twenty-first century. Behind that lies the idea of a "fair and reasonable international order" supported by the developing countries, and especially by the so called "emerging powers". The most important role plays the People's Republic of China (PRC), which reached the status of the second world's well-developed economy, aiming at strengthening its political position and seeking adequate justification for this process.

The general aim of this paper is to introduce the idea of justice taking China as the example to see how a new international order respecting justice may be achieved. The paper has been divided into five parts. The first part presents justice as a matter of the utmost importance in various civilisational circles. The second one describes the picture of a new international order based on the perceptions of justice. The third one refers to China as a case in order to demonstrate how China expresses its pursuit for international order. The fourth one demonstrates opportunities and challenges China faces to build a new international order. The paper ends with a summary part that embraces all the crucial conclusions for deeper comprehension of the issue.

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<sup>1</sup> Their role recognize the following theories of international relations: liberalism, the English school, normative theories, cognitivism, globalism and especially neogramscianizm. See: P. Burchill, R. Devetak, A. Linklater, M. Paterson, Ch. Reus-Smit, J. True, *Teorie stosunków międzynarodowych*, translated by P. Frankowski, Warszawa 2006; R. Jackson, G. Sorensen, *Wprowadzenie do stosunków międzynarodowych. Teorie i kierunki badawcze*, translated by A. Czwojdrak, Kraków 2006; J. Czaputowicz, *Teorie stosunków międzynarodowych. Krytyka i systematyzacja*, Warszawa 2007.

<sup>2</sup> E. Haliżak, *Nauka o stosunkach międzynarodowych a nauka o polityce* [in:] *Wielo- i interdyscyplinarność nauki o stosunkach międzynarodowych*, ed. A. Galganek, E. Haliżak, M. Pietraś, Warszawa 2012, p. 52–66.

<sup>3</sup> See: *Kryzys 2008 a pozycja międzynarodowa Zachodu*, ed. R. Kuźniar, Warszawa 2011; R. Kiely, *The BRICs, US 'Decline' and Global Transformations*, Basingstoke 2015.

## The idea of justice – various concepts of understanding

The shape of the humanity is formed by experience of many civilizations. Therefore, the same ideas can be interpreted in different ways. However, we should start from the formulation of the essence of justice. Justice (gr. Δικαιοσύνη [dikaiosyne], lat. Iustitia) is understood as the principle of social relations, which requires treating all people belonging to a particular community equally because of the qualities that are common for everyone and differently because of the qualities that make them different<sup>4</sup>. Justice is so relational; it always reveals in a relation to someone and in a relation to something. The key problem of the relationship of justice is therefore a point of reference and scope of comparison.

In the Western Europe circle of civilization, “justice” is a key word for ethical concepts, next to the category of the good, righteousness, integrity and responsibility, remains in various content-and-functional relations with the notions of order, freedom, equality, reciprocity, security, peace, mercy, happiness and prosperity. In the history of this idea the terms relating to the common good<sup>5</sup>, justice and morality along with justification for its relationship to the freedom of the individual<sup>6</sup> can be distinguished. In Russian civilisational circle it only refers to the first notion interpreted in the axiological space of Eastern Christianity<sup>7</sup>.

In the Eastern world, for example, there is an old Chinese saying: “when the great way prevails, the world is equally shared by all”<sup>8</sup>. From Confucian’s point of view, justice would be completely achieved in a “Great Harmonious World” (Da Tong), in which “virtuous, worthy, wise and capable people are chosen to become leaders. Honesty and trust are promoted, and good neighborliness cultivated. All people respect and love their own parents and children, as well as the parents and children of others. The aged are cared for until death, adults are employed in jobs that make full use of their abilities and children are nourished, educated, and fos-

<sup>4</sup> See: H. Witczyk, *Sprawiedliwość* [in:] *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 18, Lublin 2013.

<sup>5</sup> Aristotle wrote: „these regimes, which are aimed at the common good, are according to the principle of absolute justice appropriate and those that are only aimed at the good of the rulers are wrong and represent all relevant degeneration; because they are despotic, and yet the state is a community of free people”. Arystoteles, *Polityka*, translation, preface and comments L. Piotrowicz, introduction M. Szymański [in:] *idem, Dzieła wszystkie*, translation, introductions and comments M. Chigerowa, E. Głębicka, R. Kulesza, K. Leśniak, W. Olszewski, L. Piotrowicz, H. Podbielski, M. Szymański, B. Świtalska, posłowie H. Podbielski, vol. 6, Warszawa 2001, s. 85.

<sup>6</sup> W. Lamo, *Sprawiedliwość* [in:] *Encyklopedia socjologii. Suplement*, Warszawa 2005.

<sup>7</sup> See: P. Frank, *Istota i wiodące motywy filozofii rosyjskiej*, translated by E. Matuszczyk [in:] *Niemarksistowska filozofia rosyjska. Antologia tekstów filozoficznych XIX i pierwszej połowy XX w.*, part 1, ed. L. Kiejzik, Łódź 2001, p. 35–36; A. Zwoznikow, *Sprawiedliwość, prawość* [in:] *Idee w Rosji. Leksykon rosyjsko-polsko-angielski*, vol. 5, ed. A. De Lazari, Łódź 2003.

<sup>8</sup> Dai Sheng, *Liyun, Liji. The Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24)*. 戴圣:《礼记·礼运篇》.

tered. Widows and widowers, orphans and the old without children, the disabled and the diseased are all well taken care of. Every man and woman has an appropriate role to play in society and in the family. They hate to see resources lying idle or cast away, yet they do not necessarily keep them for themselves. They hate not to make use of their abilities, yet they do not necessarily work for their own self-interest. Thus intrigues and conspiracies do not arise, and thievery and robbery do not occur therefore doors need never be locked”<sup>9</sup>.

In order to build the above described perfect world of equality, fraternity, harmony, welfare, and justice, Confucianism argues that the first thing is to promote public ownership of power, in particular the supreme power. It is essentially against the monopolization of power by one or a few people. Under this framework, everyone is able to get the concern and help from others, while they have to make their own contributions to the community. It goes without saying that, in Confucian’s eyes, it is shameful not to work for the whole society and not to try his/her best. In fact, everyone is quite different in terms of body and intelligence, so the requirement is doomed to be diverse.

It is worth noting that the ideal of “Da Tong” does not necessarily follow a conviction that everything in the world should be homogenized. Another value proposed by Confucianism is “Gentlemen seek harmony but not uniformity”<sup>10</sup>. Actually, in order to achieve harmony, we need to respect and accept differences. In doing so conflicts could be avoided while co-existence and co-development appear. Although this value is usually emphasized in the field of culture, it is also applicable for political issues. According to this principle, internally, states are entitled to choose systems and roads with their own characteristics, while externally they are allowed to pursue those universal values in their own ways. In other words, justice in international relations places more emphasis on abstract harmony than on specific differences.

In addition to Chinese traditional culture, the official ideology of the People’s Republic of China is vital to mention, as well. According to the Marxist Political Economy, surplus value shows the inequality between capitalists and workers, so capitalism is not a really equal system for all the people<sup>11</sup>. It is argued by Marxism that Scientific Socialism is the wayout. In the expected society, everyone is free to enjoy the true democracy, liberty and equality<sup>12</sup>. In other words, justice is the common virtue for all kinds of socialism, especially for Marxist political parties and states.

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>10</sup> *Zilu*, Lunyu, the Pre-Qin Period. 《论语·子路》.

<sup>11</sup> See: K. Marx, *Capital*, Jiangsu People’s Publishing LTD, 2013. 卡尔·马克思:《资本论》,江苏人民出版社,2013年版.

<sup>12</sup> In addition to Marxist Political Economy and Scientific Socialism, Chinese also benefit from Marxist Philosophy in terms of building international order. For example, the argument of productivity is the most basic dynamic for social development and its decisive function on economic and political architectures proposed by historical materialism, reminds Chinese to pay special

## International order with justice

It is necessary to discuss justice in international relations, because injustice seems to have appeared on the world stage for a long time. In the western reflection the issue of equitable international relations was not considered until the 90s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. An increased interest emerged only with the acceleration of globalization processes<sup>13</sup>, which require a new justification. Behind that lie economic processes resulting in injustice, which according to J. Stiglitz consist of: 1) blatant unequal treatment of countries (the rich countries have different standards of cooperation to each other and very different – much more severe – towards developing countries); 2) unfair advantage (the rich states offer developing countries to open up markets, but developing countries do not have the knowledge, capital and infrastructure to successfully advertise and bring their products to the markets of rich countries); 3) ubiquitous hypocrisy (the rich countries: take decisions unilaterally promoting democracy talk about development but at the same time block the transfer of technology and opened patents, provide financial support for development but impose conditions how the support is to be used – (it goes without saying that, the conditions are imposed, taking into account the interests of those who give and not those who take)<sup>14</sup>.

The application of double standards in politics has become the complement of the unjust economic relations. According to P. Buhler the instrumentalisation of law and the ability to construct the legitimacy of punishment by geopolitical power leads to impunity i.e. weaker countries do not attempt to hold the rich states responsible<sup>15</sup>. However, an international order which is an organized form of specifying the conditions of coexistence of its participants should be taken as a reference point<sup>16</sup>. At the same time it constructs a certain geopolitical order in a given historical period reproducing hierarchy systems, alliances and antagonisms among

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attention to the power transition among states, which would be the original dynamics for the change of international order. This is the similar case for the utilization of dialectical materialism.

<sup>13</sup> See: J. Mandle, *Globalna sprawiedliwość*, translated by M. Dera, Warszawa 2009, p. 10.

<sup>14</sup> See: J.E. Stiglitz, *Wizja sprawiedliwej globalizacji: propozycje usprawnień*, translated by A. Szeworski, Warszawa 2007, p. 22–43.

<sup>15</sup> „Denying the legitimacy of the International Criminal Court, whose statute was adopted at a conference in Rome in 1998, the United States has not only received from the Security Council a renewable each year immunity to prevent prosecution by the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court all American citizens participating in peacekeeping operations, but have also made, owing to effective pressure, hundreds of bilateral resolutions to exempt US citizens from jurisdiction from the ICC”. P. Buhler, *O potęgę w XXI wieku*, translated by G. Majcher, Warszawa 2014, p. 130.

<sup>16</sup> See: M. Pietraś, *Pozimnowojenny ład międzynarodowy* [in:] *Międzynarodowe stosunki polityczne*, ed. M. Pietraś, Lublin 2007, p. 295.

international actors<sup>17</sup>. Standards and institutions operating on their basis regulate social relationships allowing some predictability and repeatability of collective behavior to be based on a specific content<sup>18</sup>. The primary causative factor of variation and evolution of governance is a clash of values, interests and vision of the main actors in international relations. In this way, the content of the idea is a generalization describing the relation of social and political forces determining the boundary conditions of reproduction processes of social, political and economic developments in the particular period.

Based on this benchmark, the first factor for considerations relating to justice is a recognition of diversity among individual countries conditional upon a variety of factors: geographical (geographical location), economic (level of wealth), historical (social changes over time), political (political system), cultural-civilisational (the prevailing value systems), geopolitical (the role in international politics), geo-economical (role in the international division of labor and capital). Therefore, global international order does not treat everyone fairly acting as a manifestation of the rivalry of various institutions and relationships. Thus, the problem is to create the conditions for keeping a minimum of justice. It is about finding those spaces that allow some equitable social relations. It is a prerequisite for the continued existence of the globe in a situation of multiplying opportunities for mutual harm, including destruction. The world needs new rules or will sink into chaos.

As far as the global justice is concerned, the achievement of liberal international order is the development of human rights normative space. It consists of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economics, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which form the so-called. "International Bill of Rights"<sup>19</sup>. Thanks to them,

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<sup>17</sup> See: J. Potulski, *Wprowadzenie do geopolityki*, Gdańsk 2010, s. 58.

<sup>18</sup> Such as the Westphalian order to justify its sovereignty and territoriality as an expression of the growing importance of the Protestant over Catholic countries; the Viennese order – an order and balance where the States of the Holy Covenant defend monarchism, feudalism and Christianity; Yalta-Potsdam order – was founded on the values symbolized by the United Nations system and guaranteed by the five permanent members of the Security Council.

<sup>19</sup> Until 1999, the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights signed by 141 countries, and 146 – the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The United States refused to ratify the international conventions on human rights. Did not support the idea of creating the International Criminal Court and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ratified until 1992, and even then with reservations limiting the impact of its provisions to the internal situation. The Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural signed in 1976, has not been ratified; and was not even debated in the Senate. There have been signed by the United States: the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951, the Inter-American Convention on Human Rights 1969, the Convention on the Rights of Women of 1979, the Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the Convention on landmines in 1997. See: J. Mandle, *Globalna sprawiedliwość...*, p. 94.

the European ideas symbolized by the French Revolution would gain universal importance. It should be noted that in a situation of moving the centre of civilization from the euroatlantic area to Asia and the global political awakening, attempts to normative justification of global justice regulating the distribution of rights and responsibilities without the participation of the non-Western countries, are exposed to the accusation of Eurocentrism. Their primary limitation is the reliance on methodological individualism<sup>20</sup> what results in a rejection of the possibility to transpose the principles of justice to international relations derived from the distinction by J. Rawls<sup>21</sup>. That is why the international relations are affected by divisions based on the use of religious cultural artefacts<sup>22</sup>, in the form of a Manichean vision of an international order based on divisions, for example: in the Christian and pagan world, the world of civilization and barbarians, the world of communism and capitalism, and now the world of democracy and non-democracy.

Max Weber already distinguished material rationality from formal rationality indicating that in the former one the selection of targets is based on value-rational activities that define their own criteria to justify what is rational based on different models of ethics. By contrast, the latter one makes the basis for target-rational activities understood as technical matching of possible means to reach one's goals<sup>23</sup> and is wrongly identified with rationality itself. In fact, the moral preferences for the concept of good life are the basis for potential conflict not only within a given political system, but also in international relations. Political theory based on the assumption that we will never be able to go beyond this kind of conflict, is an unrealistic utopia. As far as uniformity is possible, it can be achieved only by brutal oppression<sup>24</sup> as contrary to that "social justice is a virtue that appears in response to the possible emergence of a conflict between rationally justified values"<sup>25</sup>. The

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<sup>20</sup> The latter is based on the recognition that human beings as indivisible atoms, integral in their being, come into relationship, in which justice is possible. Extraindividual beings are only nominal names, so in the ontological sense, a creation of eclectic, diverse form, which consist of various minorities causes that the functioning of fair relations between them cannot be justified. Empowerment therefore relates to individuals, but not states, nations, or civilizations. See: M. Soniewicka, *Granice sprawiedliwości, sprawiedliwość ponad granicami*, Warszawa 2010, p. 17–18.

<sup>21</sup> See: J. Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*, „Critical Inquiry”, Autumn 1993, vol. 20, Issue 1, p. 36–68; J. Rawls, *Teoria sprawiedliwości*, translated by M. Panufnik, J. Pasek, A. Romaniuk, Warszawa 2009.

<sup>22</sup> See: A. Karpiński, *Religijne artefakty kulturowe problemem metodologicznym analizy zjawisk społecznych*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Koszalińskiej Wyższej Szkoły Nauk Humanistycznych. Problemy Nauk Społecznych” 2011, z. 8, p. 59–69.

<sup>23</sup> See: M. Weber, *Gospodarka i społeczeństwo. Zarys socjologii rozumiejącej*, translated and introduction D. Lachowska, Warszawa 2002, p. 61.

<sup>24</sup> Analysis of threats for international relations created by the essentialization of particular ideology as an universal. See: J. Sapir, *Nony XXI wiek. Od „wieku Ameryki” do powrotu narodów*, translated by M. Wilk, Warszawa 2009, p. 154–160.

<sup>25</sup> J. Mandle, *Globalna sprawiedliwość...*, p. 30.



above mentioned reasons justify an attempt to find the minimum sufficient conditions for functioning of the new international order<sup>26</sup>.

## China's Positions on New International Order

“China's Positions on International Order” is a special document aiming to uphold the world peace and promote common development. It is pointed out that “China calls for multilateralism and claims for democratization of international relations: 1) to keep and respect the diversity of the world; 2) to foster a new thinking on security featuring mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination; 3) to promote a balanced and sustainable development of global economy and society; 4) to respect and encourage its important role of UN and Security Council”<sup>27</sup>. It is concluded that “Chinese people are ready, together with other people in the world, to make joint efforts to promote the international order in the 21<sup>st</sup> century to become more fair and rational”<sup>28</sup>.

These official ideas were further developed in details in “harmonious world” initiative. It is argued that to build a harmonious world, China advocates that “politically, countries should respect each other and treat each other as equals, and work together to promote democracy in international relations: 1) economically – countries should cooperate with each other, draw on each other's strengths and make economic globalization a balanced and win-win process that benefits all countries; 2) culturally – countries should draw on each other's strengths, seek common ground while putting aside differences, respect the diversity of the world, and promote progress in human civilization; 3) in terms of security – countries should trust each other and strengthen cooperation, settle international disputes and conflicts peacefully rather than resorting to war and jointly safeguard world peace and stability; 4) in terms of the environment, all countries should help each other and make concerted efforts to better protect our only home – the Earth”<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> This methodological deficiency was noticed in theoretical reflection by communitarianism (Michael Walzer, Mervyn Frost, Thierry Nardin, Robert Jackson) stressing that no way of life should be regarded as merely competent, and no culture or the state should impose the normative foundations of the world order. Universal principles of justice do not exist, but international ethics cannot ignore the fact that countries differ in terms of strength and opportunities, and thus obligations as well. This way morality makes an indelible component of international relations. J. Czaputowicz, *Teorie...*, p. 407.

<sup>27</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, *China's Positions on International Order*, 2006-08-24. [http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/ziliao\\_674904/tytj\\_674911/zcwj\\_674915/t24778.shtml](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/ziliao_674904/tytj_674911/zcwj_674915/t24778.shtml) (accessed: 5.12.2015).

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>29</sup> The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, White Paper on China's Peaceful Development, 2011-09-06, <http://politicp.people.com.cn/GB/1026/15598625.html> (accessed: 16.12.2015).

Since President Xi Jinping became the top leader of China, “Community of Common Destiny” is taking the lead to represent China’s latest perspectives on international order. It is argued that international society need to make efforts to “build partnerships in which countries treat each other as equals, engage in mutual consultation and show mutual understanding ... create a security architecture featuring fairness, justice, joint contribution and shared benefits ... promote open, innovative and inclusive development that benefits all ... increase inter-civilization exchanges to promote harmony, inclusiveness and respect for differences ... build an ecosystem that puts mother nature and green development first”<sup>30</sup>.

When it comes to the term of justice, the authors would like to point it out in the following aspects. Firstly, justice fundamentally originated from the modern notion of sovereignty, which means the supreme power within specific territory and the equality among nations. Based on the two features, on the one hand, sovereignty is closely related to the principle of non-interference, which follows that “the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries are inviolable and their internal affairs are not subjected to interference”, and “all countries’ right to independently choose social systems and development paths should be upheld, and that all countries’ endeavors to promote economic and social development and improve their people’s lives should be respected”<sup>31</sup>. On the other hand, sovereignty requires nation-states to consult with each other in international affairs. This is regarded as an important form of democratization of international relations as well as a new type of partnerships among different states.

Secondly, justice must be guaranteed by common security<sup>32</sup>. In terms of international anarchy, security is a persistent concern for any country. However, unfortunately, human beings have been trapped in the security dilemma for a long time. “In the age of economic globalization, the security of all countries is interlinked and has impact on one another”<sup>33</sup>. In other words, each country has its right to seek and enjoy security but is prohibited to do it at the cost of others’ interests. It should be a non-zero game in the field of security. In addition, although everyone concerns security, it is never avoided that somebody, states or non-state actors, made a trouble from time to time. As far as this situation is concerned, justice needs an international authority to put it into practice. Nowadays, UN and its Security Council exactly

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<sup>30</sup> Xi Jinping, *Working Together to Forge a New Partnership of Win-win Cooperation and Create a Community of Shared Future for Mankind*, Statement at the General Debate of the 70th Session of the UN General Assembly, New York, 28 September 2015, [http://newp.ifeng.com/a/20150929/44757725\\_0.shtml](http://newp.ifeng.com/a/20150929/44757725_0.shtml) (accessed: 14.12.2015).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>32</sup> See: Wang Gonglong, “*Harmonious World*”: *New Thinking and New Paradigm of International Order*, “Contemporary International Relations” 2007, no. 3, p. 56–62. 王公龙:《“和谐世界”:国际秩序的新构想和新范式》, 现代国际关系, 2007年第3期, 第56–62页。

<sup>33</sup> Xi Jinping, *Working Together...*



play the leading role. Within the framework of UN system, both diplomatic and coercive actions are more legitimate and widely accepted.

Thirdly, justice should be build upon common development. It is often argued that the gap between rich and poor is growing instead of reducing. However, against the background of globalization, not only developing countries need assistance from developed ones, but also the further developments of the developed countries need resources and markets of the developing ones. Here, justice means no matter rich or poor country, both have the rights to achieve increasing development and finally come into a win-win future. North-South cooperation becomes much more important and urgent, because a balanced development of the world is impossible to depend upon a growing gap between the rich and the poor. The North-South relation is not only an economic development issue, but also a matter of world peace and stability<sup>34</sup>.

Fourthly, justice means equality among different civilizations. "Each civilization represents the unique vision and contribution of its people, and no civilization is superior to others". Therefore, "Different civilizations should have dialogue and exchanges instead of trying to exclude or replace each other"<sup>35</sup>. There is no universal culture, and everyone is entitled to inherit and develop its own culture. Even though there are common values for the mankind such as peace, development, equity, justice, democracy and freedom, it is dangerous to argue that there is only one model in the world. "We should respect all civilizations and treat each other as equals. We should draw inspirations from each other to boost the creative development of human civilization"<sup>36</sup>.

Finally, justice requires different countries to take differentiated responsibilities to build an ecosystem. We live in the same world, in which no matter the developed or the developing countries, both benefit from its health and damaged by its disease. Therefore, all the countries on the earth are responsible for environmental pollution. On the one hand, developing countries need to adjust their traditional ways to accomplish modernization; on the other hand, developed countries have to burden their historical responsibilities during the past industrialization. It is more and more urgent for both parties to work together to "reconcile industrial development with nature and pursue harmony between man and nature to achieve sustainable development of the world and the all-round development of man"<sup>37</sup>.

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<sup>34</sup> Xi Jinping, *Carrying Forward the Bandung Spirit to Promote Win-win Cooperation*, speech delivered on the Asian-African Summit, Jakarta, 22 April 2015, [http://newp.xinhuanet.com/politics/2015-04/22/c\\_1115057390.htm](http://newp.xinhuanet.com/politics/2015-04/22/c_1115057390.htm) (accessed: 5.11.2015).

<sup>35</sup> Xi Jinping, *Working Together...*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem.*

## Opportunities and Challenges

Order could be changed but it takes time and costs<sup>38</sup>. Taking China as an example, the opportunities and challenges to build a new international order with justice are as follows:

Firstly, China is becoming a powerful state in international relations. In fact, with its broad territory and large population, China was seldom excluded out of the great powers especially after the Second World War. However, in the past, China was much more an incomplete power, which influence was limited to the sphere of politics or military. At present, it seems to be a new time for China to project its impact on different issues<sup>39</sup>. With the rapid growing of economy, China's comprehensive strength achieves a high level. The whole world starts to listen to China carefully, of course including its pursuit of new international order<sup>40</sup>.

Secondly, China is actively participating in global multilateral regimes. It is the fact that China was never alert to and limited its activities on multilateral level, in particular during the era of Cold War. However, it was changed since the middle of 1990s. Since then, China has been getting more and more involved in international affairs. China has been the member of almost all the important multilateral international organizations. This is certainly related to the growing of China's power and influence, but at the same time it also follows that the international society are willing to accept China as one of them. What is more, with the process of the reforms in UN, IMF and WB, China would not be just an ordinary member, but obtain much more decision-making power and discourse rights, which offers approaches for China to express its own vision of international order.

Thirdly, China is willing to be a responsible stakeholder of international system. Strength and willingness are twin elements for action. It is one thing for China to be asked or required to provide the public goods, while it is another thing for China to take actions itself. There were cases that some states would not like to take the lead, at least for some time, in international relations. The good news is that China starts proactively to get involved in international political, economic and security affairs. What is more important is that China not only complies with existing reasonable

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<sup>38</sup> See: Shi Yinhong, *U.S. Power, the Rise of China and World Order*, "International Studies" 2007, no. 3, p. 28–32. 时殷弘:《美国权势、中国崛起与世界秩序》,《国际问题研究》,2007年第3期,第29–38页。

<sup>39</sup> See: Ye Zicheng and Jiang Liqun, *The Transition of PRC's View of International Order*, "Literature of Chinese Communist Party" 2011, no. (6), p. 72–78. 叶自成, 蒋立群:《新中国国际秩序观的变迁》,《党的文献》,2011年第6期,第72–78页。

<sup>40</sup> See: Wang Yiwei and Ni Shixiong, *Balance of Power and International Order: Thinking in the Post-Cold War Era*, "World Economics and Politics" 2001, no. 2, p. 15–20. 王义桅, 倪世雄:《均势与国际秩序:冷战后时代的思索》,《世界经济与政治》,2001年第2期,第15–20页。

rules of international relations, but also tries to offer some new ideas for an ideal future. With the lasting efforts, China is quite likely to create something new in terms of international order. In fact, the world has seen some of those new notions contributed by China.

Fourthly, China is fighting for justice with other developing countries together. Building more just and rational international order is not only the goal of China. It actually reflects the common demands and wishes of developing world. Although developing countries may be different and diverse in international affairs, they are absolutely a community of shared interests in terms of new and just international order<sup>41</sup>. Meanwhile, building and keeping good relationships with developing countries is a long-standing policy since the establishment of PRC. Even if China is not regarded by some countries as a developing one in terms of its growing power, China still insists that is in one of the developing groups forever. Just as what has been mentioned in former paragraphs, other developing countries ask for justice in international relations but their voices weakened and even neglected due to their strengths. However, their Chinese friend is able to do something significant in international order. In other words, other developing partners give China much more support and confidence to challenge those injustices in international relations.

Finally, the interdependence between China and developed countries becomes much more balanced. In the past, China often emphasized that it needed capital, technology and management experiences from western countries to promote its economic and social development, while at present, in addition to “bring in” strategy, China places more emphasis on “go global” strategy. Especially, against the background of global financial and economic crises, developed countries really appreciate China’s role and function in international affairs. No matter the creation of G20 or the reform of IMF and WB, it is clear to see the changes of the West’s attitudes towards China. We are entering a new era in which emerging economies like China could talk with the dominant developed group at a more balanced level. In some sense, developed countries have to sacrifice some dominance to get the help and support from China in global governance, and this is exactly the very time when China asks for justice for itself and the whole developing world.

However, challenges always go parallel with opportunities, and even within opportunities. Therefore, in order to make the above opportunities work effectively, China should face and deal with some challenges. First of all, judging from the historical experiences from the rise of past great powers, it seems to some states that China, with its growing powers, is granted to struggle for the dominance and

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<sup>41</sup> See: Ni Shixiong, Zhao Shuguang, *The Change of International Situation and Reconstruction of World Order*, “Jilin University Journal Social Sciences Edition” 2010, no. 1, p. 17–25. 倪世雄, 赵曙光. 《国际形势的变化与世界秩序的重建》. 吉林大学社会科学学报, 2010年1月, 第50卷, 第1期, 第17–25页.

to be a new hegemony in international system. The case of the tribute system in ancient East Asia, in which China was located at the center is also cited. What these arguments would like to do is to remind the world to be alert to the potential threat of China. As a matter of fact, the “China threat theory” not only exists in the developed countries, but also spreads around the developing world. Even though China always argues that it would commit itself to uphold the current international system rather than replacing it with a totally new one, the rest of the world still choose to wait and see China’s promises and actions.

In fact, the rise of China is a challenge to the West in terms of both power and ideology. The latter element makes China’s power more uncertain. With the misunderstanding on communism and communist party, in particular the bad impression on Soviet Union, Western countries as well as other developing countries with capitalism fear hate the so-called “dictatorship”. To some of them, a rising China may be a threat while a rising communist China doubles the possibility and the sense of threat. However, it is not likely for China to change its fundamental system. Marxism as the dominant ideology and Communist Party as the leading core will continue to be strengthened in China. China aims to become a powerful state and nation in international relations, which would be based on the socialism with Chinese characteristics. In this sense, it is hard to imagine that Western countries would regard China as a member of their family. This natural exclusion leads to a lot of obstacles and difficulties for China to change the international order which is dominated by the West, and this situation would also not be changed in a short term.

In addition to the difference of political ideology, the diversity between East and West is also another challenge. Frankly speaking, sometimes Chinese are very proud of their culture with about 5000-year history, so that they firmly believe that Chinese culture is attractive in essence and doomed to be the most influential element of China’s soft power. However, what is good in Chinese culture is not necessarily the same thing in other cultures. The opposite understanding on the symbol of dragon is a case in point. Besides, what Chinese choose from tradition thoughts may be perceived by other countries in other ways. For example, China advocates the idea of “rule by virtue” instead of “ruling by force” in international relations. In terms of its original mind, it is to say that nation-states should develop relationships between themselves and deal with the international affairs on the basis of widely accepted international rules and moralities, rather than getting used to compelling others to do something by coercion. This is actually a way to a harmonious world, but some foreign scholar is very skeptical of this idea and value, because it was argued that the thought of “rule by virtue” in itself meant a hierarchical authority with China leading on the top<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> See: Satoshi Amako, *Chinese View of International Order in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, “Foreign Theoretical Trends” 2015, no. 5, p. 69. 天儿慧, 王铮: 《中国21世纪的国际秩序观》, 国外理论动态, 2015年第5期, 第69页.

Actually the above distrust not only exists between China and developed countries, but also among developing partners. On the one hand, as far as the emerging economies are concerned, all of them want to rebuild the international order, so that they could be much more represented in global governance system and even to be one of the decision-makers. Achieving this goal is emerging countries' absolute gain, but they are going to concern the relative gains soon. The problem among emerging countries lies in that they are all great powers and all have great ambitions in international system. It will take the developed world time and even pains to accept China's rise and its requirement for justice, it will also be the case for other emerging great powers to do so. On the other hand, the better China develops the bigger gaps between China and less developed countries become. Even though some would welcome this result, because they could get much more assistance from China without promising any political conditions, some arguments about China's New Colonialism has been mentioned for a long time. To those least developed countries, it is good news that China is striving for a just international order on behalf of developing countries. But the question remains there, namely justice usually means different things to the rich and the poor, then when China becomes one of the rich group, is justice still the same thing between China and its developing friends?

Therefore, the above problems are possible to weaken and destroy the unity among developing world, and then do harm to their common efforts of struggling with developed countries. Furthermore, developed countries also notice the gaps between China and its developing partners. With their advantages in the field of capital and technology as well as their dominant power in international regimes, developed countries are making use of various problems faced by China to damage its image, reduce its influence, and make its partnerships in trouble. Just as developing countries have common goals to create a new international order, developed ones also have common interests to protect their leading and dominant roles in international politics and world economy. It is right to say that the West was heavily hit by a series of crises, but it is early to conclude that we have entered a post-Western era. China in order to make significant changes in international order not only needs to face directly the hegemony of U.S., but also has to deal with the whole developed world.

## Conclusion

Fair international order means the developing countries are facilitated and allowed to have a real impact on political decisions taken by international organizations, the departure from the domination of Western powers, especially the US, in the process of resolving political issues, especially the reconstruction of economic relations to enable the developing countries overcoming the development gap that separates

them from the developed world. The process of political, economic and cultural emancipation of the South is therefore based on the idea of the unfair nature of the current order, which requires the abolition of the exploitation of “the poor” by “the rich”<sup>43</sup>. It is emphasized that in thinking about social life on earth the usage of such qualifications as *better* or *worse* nation, *the underdeveloped* or *developed*, or *random* etc. cannot be applied. Thinking that way, the *worse-better* needs to be replaced by *other*. Recognition of nations as superior and inferior people, “not yet ready”, better and worse is the basis for the development of racist or fascist attitudes<sup>44</sup>. In the Western thought there are different theoretical approaches towards the idea of justice. Confucianism focused on the advantages of the interest of society over the interest of individuals seems to be similar to Aristotle’s. However, modern European philosophy has rejected this approach because Capitalism requires domination of rights of individuals. An example of this philosophy is a promotion of the idea of human rights as universal to all mankind. The creation of a fair international order needs a return to Aristotle’s and Confucius’ thoughts.

Of course, all the countries are entitled to express their ideas of international order with justice. In this field, China, based on its rich traditional thought, argues that the justice in a new international order should be reflected in the following aspects. Politically, states are required to respect the basic principle of sovereignty, including non-interference in others’ internal affairs and treat each other equally at the international level. Economically, states ought to commit themselves to the common development of the whole international society; in particular the developed ones should help the developing ones to achieve the win-win prosperity. Culturally, states have to accept the diversity of different civilizations, and learn from each other by dialogues and communications<sup>45</sup>. For security issues, states should seek the way to achieve common security, especially prohibiting the illegal use of military force<sup>46</sup>. For ecological issues, states must hold a view of common home, and burden separate responsibilities based upon capability and history. All in all, from the point of view of China, a new international order with justice would be achieved by building a new type of international relations and the Community of Human Destiny<sup>47</sup>.

However, saying is one thing while doing is another thing. In order to change those injustices in international relations, China has to make good use of opportu-

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<sup>43</sup> P.A. Świtalski, *Idea sprawiedliwości w stosunkach międzynarodowych: nowe wyzwania*, „Sprawy Międzynarodowe” 2012, nr 2, p. 79–80.

<sup>44</sup> A. Karpiński, *Wstęp do nauk o mądrości. Część pierwsza*, Gdańsk 2015, p. 37.

<sup>45</sup> See: Wang Hongxu, *Chinese Traditional Cultural Basis for Harmonious World Idea*, “Journal of the Party School of the Central Committee of the C.P.C.” 2011, no. 1, p. 97–98. 王红续: 《和谐世界理念的中华传统文化基础》, 中共中央党校学报, 2011年第1期, 第97–98页.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 98–100.

<sup>47</sup> See: *International Order and the View of International Order*, ed. Chen Yugang, Shanghai 2014, p. 308–320. 陈玉刚: 《国际秩序与国际秩序观》, 上海人民出版社, 2014年版, 第308–320页.



nities and deal with challenges seriously. In terms of power, China becomes more capable of making some changes in international order, but the rise of China also leads to a series of China threat theories. Besides, the balance of power at present is relatively beneficial for China, but it does not necessarily follow that the advantage would not be reversed in the future<sup>48</sup>. In terms of institutions, China is holding more decision-making powers and playing more important roles in key regimes of global governance, but it always takes long time to change any systems with peaceful means especially in international anarchy. In addition, the more China involves in current international system, the more existing norms and rules impact on China's interests and actions. It is not excluded that China would become one of the vested interests someday. In terms of identity, China insists on its role as developing country to win the supports from the Third World, and emphasizes that it is a constructive participant instead of a challenger to the existing international system to reduce the resistances from the developed world. However, it seems difficult for China to explain where it stands and takes actions for whose interests at the same time. Therefore, there is actually a long way to go for a widely accepted international order and international justice.

## STRESZCZENIE

### CHINY I NOWY PORZĄDEK MIĘDZYNARODOWY – ROZUMIENIE SPRAWIEDLIWOŚCI I JEJ STOSOWANIE W PRAKTYCE

W stosunkach międzynarodowych idee mają znaczenie w funkcjonowaniu systemu międzynarodowego jako punkt odniesienia, uzasadnienia i legitymizacji aktywności aktorów. Kryzys dominującej pozycji Zachodu przejawia się m.in. w upowszechnianiu narracji aktorów niezachodnich dotyczącej zmian ładu międzynarodowego w XXI wieku. Ich wyrazem jest idea „sprawiedliwego porządku międzynarodowego”, do której nawiązują państwa rozwijające się, a szczególnie mocarstwa wschodzące. Celem artykułu jest przybliżenie chińskiej interpretacji idei sprawiedliwości w kontekście zmiany ładu międzynarodowego oraz możliwości i wyzwań stojących przed Państwem Środka w dążeniu do jej implementacji. Chińska Republika Ludowa, która osiągnęła status drugiej gospodarki świata, dąży do umocnienia swojej pozycji międzynarodowej i poszukuje adekwatnych uzasadnień dla tego procesu.

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<sup>48</sup> See: *International Order: Views from China*, ed. Qin Yaqing, Beijing 2007, p. 16. 秦亚青: 《中国学者看世界1: 国际秩序卷》, 新世界出版社, 2007年版, 第16页.