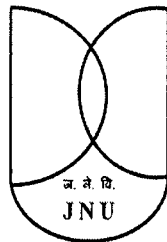


“Harmonious World”: Concept and Dynamics, 2005-2010

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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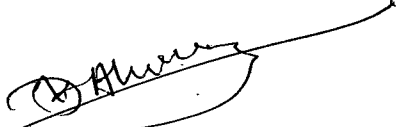


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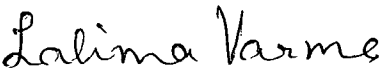
DECLARATION

I declare that the Dissertation entitled "HAMONIOUS WORLD": CONCEPT AND DYNAMICS, 2005-10 submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The Dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.


Dinesh Kumar Ahirwar


CERTIFICATE

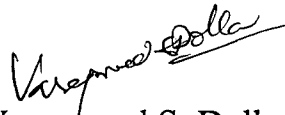
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
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In Memory of my Brother-in-Law

Late Rakesh Jatav ji

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my whole-hearted thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Varaprasad S. Dolla, without whom the dissertation would have been incomplete. I am sincerely obliged to him for irredeemable debt of what is now about one year of hard mentoring, tireless support and inspiration in the face of adversity in one form or the other. He has consistently nurtured, sustained and challenged my thinking, during my academic experience. I heartily thank the other faculty members of the Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies of Jawaharlal Nehru University.

The non-teaching staff of the Centre for East Asian Studies, SIS, JNU as well as the staff of Central Library of JNU have been very helpful and be worthy of a special mention.

Last one year, my family had gone through deep crisis, during this period my elder brother Mr Suresh Prasad stood with me and gave me all kinds of support without him this work not have been possible. I also thank my elder sister Kiran who has been a major source of motivation.

I would also like to acknowledge my classmates Kiran Poul, Sourabh Sharmah for their very helpful suggestions and also special thanks to my dear friends Sanjay Jatav, Moti Singh, Chandrasen, Lakshmi, Jyoti Shankar, Ravi Nagar, Suchitra Dagar, Amita Singh, Ranjit Dhawan, Manish, Zhou, Jasmeet, Arun, Chinmaya. Mohan, Abhay, Anoop S. Patel, Kapil Verma, and Rakesh, Madan, Kamlesh, Chandamani, and Sandeep, who have been very helpful and provided their immense support.

Last but not the least, there are no words to describe the deep appreciation and affection that I feel for my parents Smt. Sheela Devi and Shri Sunne Lal who have fostered my growth as a human being to make me the person I am today. Without their relentless support, blessings and above all their love I would have never reached this landmark in my life. I would also like to thank the rest of my family members who have always encouraged and supported me in my academic journey.

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List of Abbreviations:

ASEAN – Association of South East Asian Nations

BRIC-Brazil, Russia, India and, China

CCP- Chinese Communist Party

CNP- Comprehensive National Power

CTT-China Threat Theory

GDP-Gross Domestic Product

NATO- North Atlantic Treaty Organization

PTT- Power Transition Theory

SCO-Shanghai Cooperation Organization

WTO- World Trade Organization

UNO- United Nations Organization

UN- United Nations

Chapter-1

Introduction

1.1. Background

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent end of the Cold War changed the dynamics of the world politics in more ways than one. One of the dynamics is the emergence of a unipolar world under the leadership of the US leaving the bipolar world to consign of history. The other is the probable emergence of a multipolar world. Francis Fukuyama (1991) viewed these phenomena as the ultimate victory for liberalism, and argued that the end of the Cold War is the end of the History with the victory of liberalism over other competing ideologies the rest of the ideologies.

In total contrast, Samuel P. Huntington (1993) saw world politics moving towards a scenario of “Clash of Civilizations”, and argued that the end of the Cold War heralded the clash of different civilizations. For him, Civilizations will play a major role in the global politics. However, the contemporary world politics is yet to see the emergence of a dominant paradigm. In this context, the concept of Harmonious World emanating from a rising and confident China is worth considering for further analysis. This concept is an application of Harmonious Society (HS), which has been used to address domestic crises of China to the realm of global politics.

The concept of Harmonious World was used for the first time at the summit meeting of the Asian and African countries on April 22, 2005 where Hu Jintao called for promoting friendly co-existence of various civilizations, development, peace and prosperity, for building a “Harmonious World”. At the Summit Meeting of the 60th anniversary of the UN, Hu Jintao, in his address, reiterated the need for building a Harmonious World with lasting peace and common prosperity.

Thereafter, the concept of Harmonious World was included in the Chinese Communist Party's constitution at the 17th Party Congress held on 21 October, 2007. The party constitution directs the government to safeguard China's independence and sovereignty, oppose hegemonism and power politics, defend world peace, promote human progress, and push for the building of a harmonious world of lasting peace and common prosperity (CCP's Constitution 2007).

In addition, it expects the relations between China and other countries to be carried out on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. China's harmonious diplomacy in the international relations arena concerns mainly in constructing Chinese national identity and in building a Harmonious World in favour of Chinese national interests.

While the Chinese concept of Harmonious World and what constitutes it are laudable, there are a number of questions are raised. First, is China really committed to adhering to it, particularly in the context of its rise in international politics and given its past track record of 1962 India- China conflict and Vietnam War? Second, what is China's real strategy in advocating Harmonious World? Is it to strengthen soft power grip over world politics or is China really keen on turning a new chapter in international relations. With this brief backdrop, this study delineates various dimensions of the Chinese concept of Harmonious World.

1.2. Literature Review:

The literature on the theme is divided into the following sections: Harmonious World as a means of soft power diplomacy; Harmonious World as a means to secure peaceful rise, and Harmonious World as a new world order.

1.2.1. Concept of the "Harmonious World" as Soft Power Diplomacy

The Concept of Harmonious World as an integral part of China's grand strategy of soft power (following Joseph Nye's elucidation) diplomacy, China is

reviving its old Confucian philosophy, culture, and values that can strengthen its soft power and project an ideal image to the world, and secure its national interests at the global level. The term soft power became a very popular concept in international politics ever since Joseph Nye articulated in 1990, book "*Bound to Lead*", (Mingjiang Li: 2009:1). The Concept of the Harmonious World as the basis of China's soft power strategy can also explain its rise. China's soft power diplomacy has focused on the core of Confucianism. China's soft power is spreading slowly and it is paying more attention to it as it is establishing Confucian institutes all over the world.

The Concept of soft power for China is not new and it has been used earlier in history. How the soft power had been used in the Chinese history we can conclude from the great Xunzi military strategy. Xunzi in *The Art of the War* mentioned that it is better to attack enemy's mind than to attack his fortified cities. He said that to gain a hundred victories in hundred battles is not true excellence; but to subjugate the enemy's army without actively fighting the battle is the real and highest excellence. The best warfare strategy is to attack the enemy's plan, next is to attack alliances, and latter attack the army's plans, followed by an attack on alliance, and the next step is to attack the army, and worst among all is to attack a walled city. Xunzi's strategy explains how to win a war by following an appropriate strategy by taking care of the people of both sides. Xunzi's main focus is to win a war rather cause destruction and undertake killing through military power.

Confucius philosophy also moves around the soft power formulation and China's Harmonious World diplomacy which is in effect its soft power agenda for the international politics. (Bell 2008) argued that Confucians defended the ideal of *tian xia* (the world under Heaven), a harmonious political order transcendental to

state boundaries and governed by a sage by means of good and virtue, without any coercion. Harmonious order can and should be attained by means of benevolence. It is a kind of communism attained by entirely peaceful means, without any revolutionary uprisings. This would seem to rule out the possibility of justifiable use of force.

Ding (2008) emphasized how Beijing has wielded its soft power to accomplish its national goals in Africa, Latin America, and East Asia. This study provides a conceptual framework of the relationship between Harmonious World and soft power. Three main arguments made in the study are non-intervention in political affairs in these countries, economic benefit as win-win strategy, and public diplomacy. Paradise (2009), "*China and International Harmony: the Role of Confucius Institutes in Bolstering Beijing Soft power*". As of October 2008, a total of 326 Confucius institutes have been set up in 81 countries. For James Paradise, these are used as effective tools to cultivate soft power and create soft corner for China. China's soft power public diplomacy is aimed at its peaceful rise. The promotion of Chinese language and culture are main issues of the discussion. Three main objectives of the Confucius Institutions are: teach Chinese language, promote cultural exchange, and facilitate business ventures.

Goldstone (2010) in his article "*Chinese and Western Ideas of Harmony and their Contribution to World Peace*" juxtaposes Western ideas of harmony revolving around individual freedom, democracy, free debate, justice by independent judiciary, free market, free and open competition of media to the Chinese ideas of harmony which is derived from Confucianism and its culture. In this philosophy individuals are not basic units of the society, but it is family. This is based on hierarchy and five relationships.

All these authors argued that the concept of soft power is all about hegemonizing the ideas for exploitation and national interests. China wants to use its Confucian philosophy for projecting an ideal image which can be used for economic benefits and securing China's national interests.

1.2.2. Concept of the “Harmonious World” as Peaceful Rise

The following authors highlight various dimensions of China’s peaceful rise and the concept of Harmonious World as a part of its grand strategy. Peaceful rise has been China’s main strategy for the 21st century since Beijing based think tank Zheng Bijian (2005) advocated proper strategy to counter China’s threat theory. Bijian strategy of peaceful rise is not only applicable at the international level but also at the domestic level. Xintian (2006), “*Concept of the Harmonious world as China’s Path for the Peaceful Development*”: For the author, the concept represents the Chinese vision for the world through peaceful transition of power. This paper deals with cultural roots of the concept, its impact on the peaceful development, and some of the main hurdles.

Yinhing in “*China’s Peaceful Development, Harmonious World and International Responsibility: Achievements and Challenges*” argues that China’s development is peaceful development and it is largely based on soft power, so far it has been an increasingly apparent asset of fundamental, grand strategy of China, and finds its solid foundation in basic evolutionary character of the world politics. Harmonious world is a concept closely concerned with peaceful rise and based on changing nature of the world politics and increasing China’s responsibility.

Blanchard, (2008) in “*Harmonious World and China’s Foreign Economic Policy: Features, Implications, and Challenges*” posits that, scholars have neglected the foreign economic implications of China’s harmonious world and harmonious society doctrine. For Jean-Marc, Harmonious World implies China’s continued integration with the global economic system, acceptance of the global economic order, increased cooperation and exchange. China believes that Harmonious World can be established through economic cooperation as win-win strategy by peaceful means. These authors believe that China can rise peacefully, and the US should accommodate China’s rise in international sphere like economic cooperation, security, disarmament. China’s rise should not be seen only from the lens of China’s threat theory. China’s peaceful rise can make world more prosperous and harmonious in the 21st century.

1.2.3. Concept of the “Harmonious World” as a New World Order

The following studies delineate the concept of Harmonious World as a credible model and notion to restructure the present world order. Power Transition Theory predicts about the power shift and change of international structure. Therefore Chinese Harmonious World was depicted as the next world order.

Dellios (2009) in *“China’s Harmonious World (hexie shijie) Policy Perspective: How Confucian Values are Entering in International Society”* argues that, Confucian values have been introduced into the international society through China’s adoption of a Harmonious World (*hexie shijie*) of foreign policy perspective for the new century. Dellios considered four models for global governance: (1) Hegemonic governance (2) The United Nations system (3) The European Union model and (4) Cosmopolitan global governance. The Confucian model of governance can be added as a fifth and recent one, under the Harmonious World concept. Dellios sees Confucian philosophy as compatible with all these models.

Deng (2008), *“China’s Struggle for Status: the Realignment of International Relations”* the central argument of Yong Deng is that China’s rise has not only challenged international status quo, but also the conventional wisdom of international relations. Deng believes that Western IR theories are inadequate to explain China’s foreign policy and views that the concept of Harmonious World as China’s struggle for status quo while avoiding direct conflict with the West. Geis II, & Holt, (2009): *“Harmonious Society (he xie she hui): Rise of New China”* articulates that Harmonious society described by Hu Jintao as a scientific development concept facilitates a paradigmatic shift in China’s primary focus from the current economic growth model to a more balanced, Confucian-style approach, while dealing with various issues. They assert that Hu took this Harmonious Society beyond the domestic and regional contexts and extended it to world politics.

Jianfei (2009): *“Sino-US Relations and Building a Harmonious World”*. In this article Liu argues that the US-China economic integration is critical to building a Harmonious World. Although China and the US have differences over democracy, human rights, and humanitarian intervention, there are however areas of

convergence such as economic and security concerns in which both are learning to adjust. Hao, (2009) "*Harmonious World: The Conceived International Order in the Framework of China's Foreign Affairs*"; Hao approaches Harmonious World as the first Chinese framework of a future world order imbued with strategic maneuverability. This paper tries to expound the concept of Harmonious World with its implication for China's diplomatic strategy and policy, and illuminates China's option of diplomatic strategies to shape the world order under the framework of Harmonious World.

Chan (2008), "*China, the US, and the Power Transition Theory: A Critique*"; Though some scholars assert that China is a rising power, and would challenge the prevailing system, Steve Chan argues that power transition does not necessarily lead to war, highlighting how China can be dissatisfied with the existing system. Taiwan is the only issue that has the potential to turn into a hot war between both; otherwise power transition will be peacefully.

The existing literature on the concept of Harmonious World mainly deals with three aspects: Harmonious World as soft power diplomacy; Harmonious World as peaceful rise strategy; and Harmonious World as New World Order. These perspectives are from the Chinese side but they do not deal with the perceptions from the Western and non-Western countries. Moreover, the available literature neglects the role of the CCP and ideological interpretations of the concept of Harmonious World. These scholars also did not focus on theoretical analysis of the concept. The study, therefore addresses some of these critical gaps.

1.3. Definition, Rationale and Scope of the Study

The study investigates the concept of the Harmonious World focusing on its Implications for the world politics. It deals with the role played by the CCP in using the concept to legitimize its power. Besides a theoretical analysis of the concept from the vantage point of international relations, the study covers the period from 2005 to 2010. Responses from the neighbouring countries are not positive about the Harmonious World and they see it from lenses of China's threat theory and concept of the Middle Kingdom. African and Latin American countries

also consider China's policy towards them as Chinese form of the imperialism. Therefore, the study considers how Harmonious World is different from Middle Kingdom and also How Chinese policies are different from the policies of Western countries. The application of the concept at regional and global levels will also be part of the study.

1.4. Research Questions

- What is the nature of the concept of Harmonious World?
- Is the concept of the Harmonious World a strategy of soft power or is it a goal for carving a vital place and role for China in the 21st century world politics?
- How does the concept of Harmonious World differ from the prevailing concept of world order?
- What is the role of CCP in propagating the concept of Harmonious World and is this an indication of the changing face of CCP?
- How have other countries been viewing this concept and responding to it?

1.5. Hypotheses

- China's advocacy for Harmonious World is a clear reflection of its strategy to restructure the existing international order.
- The concept of the Harmonious World is a Chinese response to the recent US unilateralism in world politics.

1.6. Methodology

The research undertaken is analytical in nature. The study uses primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include: speeches, foreign ministerial reports, and government white papers. Secondary sources include: books, journal articles, seminar papers, newspapers, and online material. The present study uses

power transition theory and tries to see how power is being transferred from the West to East. In the study China is considered as an independent variable while the existing international order is considered as dependent variable and the concept of Harmonious World as the intervening variable.

1.7. Organization of the Chapters

The next chapter entitled "*The Concept of Harmony and its Practice in the Chinese History*" highlights the evolution of the concept of harmony in Chinese history and its practice in the society. It also examines how Confucius defined harmony to maintain social order in the form of Five Great Relationships. Scholarly discussion by Mencius and Xunzi on the practice of harmony in the Chinese society also forms part of the chapter. The focus of the chapter then turns to post-1840 period wherein the concept of harmony began to be debated and doubted with the defeat of China in the Opium Wars. This process eventually led to the rejection of the concept by Mao. However Deng Xiaoping's reforms paved that way for the revival of the concept. Then Jiang Zemin's Three Represents and Hu Jintao's Harmonious Society and Harmonious World further consolidated its place in the Chinese politics and foreign policy.

Third chapter mainly focuses on China's aspiration for global status. The chapter is divided into three sections: first section examines the concept of harmony as an effective tool for soft power diplomacy. The second section looks at how Zheng Bijian propagated the concept for countering the China Threat Theory. The third section considers Harmonious World as the New World Order. There are clear signs of China is advocating for an alternative paradigm for international politics through its Beijing Consensus and demand for the democratization of international institutions like UN, WTO, and IMF.

Chapter four examines the Chinese foreign relations framework for the international politics. This Chapter looks at nationalism as a factor in Chinese foreign policy in the context of its rise. It also discuss Chinese relations with the US, Russia, India, Third World and EU, with an emphasis on their approaches and responses to the Chinese concept of harmony. The central question is that how

Chinese policies are different from the Western new-liberal economic policies toward neighboring countries as well as other third world countries.

The concluding chapter highlights the findings of the study. One of the findings is that the concept of harmony has the potential to emerge as a powerful concept in the international politics.

Chapter- 2

The Concept of Harmony and its Practice in Chinese History

2.1. Introduction

The Concept of Harmony was central to Chinese philosophy and society. Chinese philosophers, and particularly Confucius and Mencius promoted the idea of harmony. The concept developed in ancient China through this concept developed through rituals and sacrifices for the natural forces. Thereafter the imperial rulers appropriated it and used it to ensure stability to the political system. The Chinese term for harmony is *he*, which means harmonising different things. This concept later developed as the guiding philosophy for harmonization of individual to family and family to society. The concept of harmony is being revived as a component of the CCP's main ideology. This is a critical turning point with serious implications for CCP. A major factor is responsible for this is the legitimacy crisis that CCP has been facing since 1978, particularly in the wake of the erosion of the Maoist ideology.

With this backdrop, this chapter delineates the origin of the concept of harmony in Chinese history and civilization, and how it has been developed through religious practice. The discussion then moves to the ascendancy of the concept in Chinese political system until 1840, and its decline thereafter until its revival since 1978.

2.2. Origin of the Concept

The concept of harmony is highly cherished in the Chinese culture, literature (poetry), religion, rituals, music, philosophy and society. Therefore the concept of harmony has to be studied in the context of Chinese society, culture, religion and philosophy. Many Chinese philosophers believe that harmony is dependent on ethical and moral fabric. In other words, ethics and morality are

viewed as means to maintain harmony and peace in the society. Harmony and morality are also seen as being closely interrelated in Chinese religious philosophy and later playing a major role in maintaining harmony in the society.

The concept of Harmony is very ancient in the Chinese history. It can be found on the inscriptions and tortoise shells from the Shang dynasty (16th to 11th BCE) and later on bronze utensils of Zhou dynasty (1066 to 256 BCE), (Chenyang Li 2006:583). The idea of harmony was in practice among different clans, cults, and tribes during these two periods. They practiced harmony on the occasions of religious functions such as offering sacrifice for nature and worshiping the natural deities. The concept of harmony between human beings and nature was developed through these religious practices.

The concept of harmony had been debated prior to Confucius. It was defined by some scholars, like Shi Bo, an eminent scholar, who explained that harmony can only be established in diversity. He considered that harmony is primarily related to diversity and without diversity harmony cannot be achieved. Thus he saw diversity as a primary condition to achieve harmony. Moreover, he explained that harmony does not mean sameness. He argued that sameness is completely different from harmony. He saw the solution to difference or diversity within societal harmony. He believed that diversity is the main component of harmony, and that the concept of harmony cannot be explained where there is sameness.

The concept of harmony goes beyond sameness. He explained that diverse things can be mixed and they would be complementary to each other. He believed that harmonious world must be a diverse world and diverse things make harmony among them rather than sameness. Harmony means existence of divergence with harmony. Shi Bo elaborates on harmony as follows:

“Harmony is indeed productive of things. But sameness does not advance growth. Smoothing one thing with another is called harmony. For this reason come together and flourish. If one uses the same thing to complement the same thing it is a dead end and will become wasted” (Quoted in Chenyang Li 2006:584).

Another scholar Yan Zi (500 BCE) saw the concept of harmony in putting different things in one and making something harmonious. Yan Zi depicted the concept of harmony of differences, and he also emphasized on differences and not on sameness. Ruler and minister must have differences and difference does not mean that, minister and king cannot work together. He elaborated further saying that those differences are very important for good governance and for a good ruler and minister. He saw the differences between minister and king as a prerequisite for harmonious rule. Harmony is the ultimate solution for the betterment of society. He compared the concept of harmony with making soup:

“Harmony is like making soup. One needs water, fire, vinegar, sauce, salt, and plum to cook fish and meat. One needs to cook them with firewood, combine (he) them together in order to balance the taste. One needs to compensate for deficiencies and reduce excessiveness. The virtuous person (junzi) eats [such balanced food] in order to purify his heart/mind (Yan Zi Quoted in Chenyang Li 2006:585).

Confucius (551-479 BC) can be considered as one of the strong proponents of harmony. He talked about the importance of ethics and morality to cultivate human self through *li* for maintaining greater harmony and peace in the society. He underscored the importance of harmony within family, and society, and harmony between human life and nature and harmony between heaven and human beings.

The Concept for harmony is generally used in music. It had been developed in the context of harmonizing the different tunes of different instruments in music. Harmony in this sense means harmonizing multiple tunes (Yao 2000:170).

The Master (Confucius) instructing the grand music master of Lu said, “How to play music may be known. At the commencement of the piece, all the parts should sound together. As it proceeds, they should be in harmony while severally distinct and flowing without break, and thus on to the conclusion, (Confucius: 12).

Harmony, as a central concept of music, shows in itself the potential of harmonious interaction among different music instruments and people who are playing them. And another aspect of music is that it influences the human heart. Music was the functioning component of the rituals of the clans and tribes; therefore these rituals practiced with music were also were the kind of institutions to make people

harmonious individually and harmonise their relationships in society at large (Yao 2000:171). Thus Confucius saw in music, an effective model and a lesson, to harmonize the society and bring order from chaos.

Confucius, the Chinese moral philosopher, did not see much difference between harmony and morality and he saw them complementary to each other. Therefore, he suggested that human nature should be harmonized through rituals. For him harmony can be obtained by regulating pleasures through rituals and humanness (*Jen*).

The Song dynasty Confucians argued that a true person should be the first to worry about the trials and tribulations of the world and the last to enjoy its pleasures. Pleasure was not denied, but pleasure must be balanced against the need for a constant, intelligent concern for self and others. The end is a world at harmony (John H. and Evelyn N. Berthrong 2004:18).

Confucius argued that when individuals constrain themselves, it leads to harmonious relations with others. He said that if individuals constrain of their desires and pleasures, and harmonize the human nature and then it would lead to harmony (John H. and Evelyn N. Berthrong 2004:18). Therefore Confucius suggested rituals and traditions to deal with the personal desires by exerting moral pressure on the individual and the society.

2.3. Concept of Harmony in Chinese History Till 1840

The concept of harmony had been part of the Chinese society for over three millennia. Confucius keenly observed the situation of his period and saw that by promoting morality in society and political system a number of problems can be solved. The concept of the harmony covers every aspect of the individual and society as Xinzhong Yao (2000) in his book "*Introduction to Confucianism*", described it as a whole concept of metaphysical, religious, natural and political elements as:

“In the metaphysical a harmonious relation between Heaven and humans refers to harmony between spirit and material, between form and matter, between mind and body, and between the one (the universal) and the many (the particular). In a religious sense, it indicates a continual process between this life and the life hereafter, between the divine and the secular, and between heavenly principles and human behaviour. In the area of naturalism, it points to the unity between humans and Nature, between beings (the living) and things (the existent), and between the social and the natural. From the perspective of politics, it effects the unity between the ruled and the ruling, between the government and the mandate to govern, and inspires the people to correct disorder and chaos in order to attain to peace and harmony (Xinzhong Yao 2000:173).”

Confucius believed that to create harmony in the society one must promote it in the individual, and to do this one has to make family environment harmonious. In other words, individual harmony will lead to family harmony and family harmony will in turn lead to social harmony. *Filial piety*, as a powerful tradition inculcating harmony in the individual and the family, is a fundamental ritual in the family which favoured cultivating moral character of the individual. It is some kind of moral education in the family. Confucius saw pivotal role for education system in maintaining harmony and peace in the society.

2.3.1. Harmony between Nature and Human

The concept of harmony between nature and humans developed through the religious belief and practice of the different clans, cults and tribal communities when they started worshiping natural forces to protect themselves from the natural disasters (Baird and Alfred 1972: 152). Worshiping of these natural forces later led to the growth of deities. This tradition of worshiping natural forces was aimed at averting natural disasters.

From this awareness of dualism of natural forces as good or bad and negative or positive, the concepts of yin-yang and Shen and Khuei emerged, (Baird and Alfred 1972: 152). This conception about the positive and negative natural forces

developed over a period of time aimed to achieve harmony between human life and nature. The realization of harmony between human life and nature brought religion into close association with political power, as the King was supposed to be the mediator between society and the natural forces and deities (Baird and Alfred 1972: 154).

Harmony between human beings and nature is very important because it is in balancing between the two that harmony is maintained. But XunZi (310-210 BC) another Confucian philosopher differed and said that heaven is nature and heaven is amoral, and heaven does not care about human behaviour at all: and actions of the heaven are natural and do not respond to the virtue of one ruler nor to the corruption of another ruler (Quoted Rainey 2010:114). Harmony between heaven and human beings is not reciprocal but that human beings should follow the natural laws and rituals. If people work according to the natural laws there will not be any disasters: if they do not follow the natural laws they are bound to face problems irrespective of their sacrifices and rituals.

2.3.2. Harmony within Family (Filial Piety)

Filial piety (*Hsiao*) seems important in Confucian thought as a test of actual moral character of the individual. It is argued that without sense of the obligation toward parents who made existence possible, an individual could not be trusted to have the necessary sense of duty toward the society (Baird and Bloom 1927:168).

Filial piety is a Chinese tradition whereby respect and reverence for one's parents is circulated in, and expected from children. Filial piety is closely tied to blood relationship, particularly in family, and clan sacrifices. Confucius explained that filial piety has three parts: Parents, when alive, should be respected with rituals, when dead, parents should be buried according to rituals; there should be sacrifices according to rituals (Analects book I: 4).

“A youth, when at home, should be filial, and abroad respectful to his elders. He should be earnest and truthful. He should overflow in love to all,

and cultivate the friendship of the good. When he has time and opportunity, after the performance of these things, he should employ them in polite studies (Analects book-I: 3).”

Confucius said that filial piety is a kind of way to show respect toward elders in the family. Filial piety is also respect towards elders in the society. Confucius said that the bond between parent and child is the most fundamental of human relationship and argued that, the relationship between father and son must triumph all other considerations even laws and justice (Rainey 2010:25).

Achievement of ideal human existence also requires harmonization of inner and outer aspects of person’s life. Mencius (371-289 B.C.E.), a prominent disciple of Confucius, said that human nature is good but not human being, in order to make human being good or harmonize with society, one needs to follow the rituals. Thus, for Mencius, rituals play critical role in self-cultivation.

But Xunzi (310-210 BC.), another Confucian scholar said that, if human nature is good then what is the need of rituals (*li*). So he discarded the Mencius’ argument about the human nature and he said that human nature is bad, but that can be transformed into good human nature through the rituals. XunZi also focused on the *li* for cultivating the self for maintaining harmony and peace in the society. Human nature is what is produced by nature and not that which is learned.

Family’s role is considered to be critical in cultivating human nature and behaviour of an individual. He further advocated the need for family harmony through maintaining family relations even to the point of maintaining it at any cost. Confucius paid special attention to the family relations and suggested that three relationships out of five; husband-wife, parents-children, elder-younger, are pivotal to maintain harmony and peace in the family. Harmony is said to be necessary for the peaceful life of individuals, family, and the state (Xinzhong Yao 2000:172). The issue of relationship between husband and wife is complementary. But when there is a conflict in relationship he placed restrictions that; (i) wife should follow husband; (ii) Children follow their father; and (iii) younger ones follow elders. Confucius’ ideas on family harmony emphasized subordination of one to another in the family relationships. Though he indirectly supported subordination of wife to

husband, children to parents, and younger brother to elder brother; his focus was on harmony.

2.3.3. Harmony within Society

Confucius was very much concerned about social harmony and peace; therefore he considered harmony as the highest virtue. Confucius suggested that moral is the virtue that we need to cultivate in an individual through filial piety, dutifulness, honesty, sincerity, wisdom, moral courage, understanding, and compassion. These virtues are to be cultivated in the individual which would then lead to a harmonious society. To cultivate moral virtues requires education, leading to the articulation of human virtue (*Jen*). Education is not just learning but understanding of the practice of moral behaviour. Confucius argued for cultivating virtue among rulers and said that harmony is the mandate of heaven, but to enjoy harmony in the society through rule, the ruler must first cultivate his own virtue (Xinzhong Yao 200:174).

Mencius posited that, rituals do not create anything new in the human being but goodness and badness are inherent in human nature: therefore, through the process of socialization of individual through rituals and education, virtues can be developed and cultivated in individuals. He argued that human nature has within it the potential to grow into goodness, just as fruit tree has the potential to grow fruit (Rainey 2010:90).

Confucius paid more attention to the harmony of materiality (economic) and spirituality. He viewed that harmony of materiality is primary for spiritual harmony (social harmony), and inequality of material things can lead to disharmony in the society. Social harmony cannot be achieved through maintaining harmony in the distribution of resources; this kind of harmony is treated as a modern form of socialism. Therefore, ruler has the primary responsibility to distribute the material (wealth) among people. Confucius advised the rulers to maintain harmony between morality and materiality (Yao 2000:185).

The essence of Confucian tradition can be described through the five great virtues: those that had been developed in the Confucian tradition till the Han dynasty. These five virtues are very essential for family and society (John H. and Berthrong 2004:89) as:

Ren: humaneness; without humaneness, there would be no virtue. *Ren* was the virtue of humaneness between parents and children.

I: righteousness or the sense of justice. This was the virtue of respect and difference between ruler and minister.

Li: ritual or civility; the ability to act in a proper fashion. The mutual respect and balance that should exist between husband and wife.

Zhi: wisdom, knowledge, and discernment. The virtue of the affection that should exist between older and younger siblings.

Xin: faithfulness in thought, word, and deed. The virtue of true friendship and reciprocity.

These five great virtues of five great relationships in the society between parents and children, ruler and ruled, husband and wife, older and younger brother, friend-friend, became an essential part of the Confucian tradition. Out of the five virtues, three are related to the family, which means Confucianism's main concentration was on the family. Family was considered as the core for social harmony and one of the primary institutions for individual's growth and character formation. In these five great relationships or virtues, Confucius enunciated the priority of hierarchy to maintain social order and harmony in the society.

2.3.4. Concept of Yin-Yang

The concept of *Yin-Yang* has to be seen complementary unlike dualist system of opposites, where good fights evil, although *Yin-Yang* may be opposite but they complement each other (Rainey 2010:135). This concept is particularly related to the duality of unity of the opposites. In the New-Confucian era, this concept has been developed broadly and it includes all negative things as *yin* and

all positive things as *yang*. As neither *yin* nor *yang* dominates another, but ebbs and flows in concert with it. Philosophers of Yin - Yang theory, claimed that they had discovered a universal system which explained how all things worked and provided a blueprint for the best actions of the individual and the state. If people follow this blueprint it would lead to balance, harmony, and success; and anything against it would lead to illness, famine, social chaos, and the loss of civilization (Rainey 2010). Neo-Confucian period's social harmony came in contact with the Buddhism from India and other rival traditions in China itself. Confucianism is more practical and applicable on the society.

Matteo Ricci, who came to China more than 400 years ago, wrote after studying Chinese history, and especially after comparing the Chinese and European history, that the Chinese were contented with the status quo and cherished harmony and peace. The Chinese nation by its nature had no ambition for overseas conquest, he concluded. The thought of harmony is a major component of the Chinese culture that highlights a harmonious union of people.

2.4. Concept of the Harmony after 1840

The Chinese defeat in the opium war in 1840 demolished the concept of the heavenly kingdom and harmony between heaven and earth and the ruler and ruled. This defeat influenced the entire philosophy of the Chinese society. Confucius philosophy had been challenged by the philosophy of individualism. The Confucianism came into the twentieth century burdened with scholasticism, accompanied by extreme moralism, and was blamed for intellectual, political and social failure of East Asia in the modern time, ((Xinzhong Yao 2000:245).

China's defeat in the Opium War forced the Qing Dynasty to open the door to the world. And this influenced the Confucian scholars to introspect the reasons for their defeat. Their search for an answer culminated in doubting the efficacy of Confucian philosophy that advocated harmony and hierarchy. Social harmony and order was attacked after the 1840 and became irrelevant for Chinese scholars and politicians to deal with the present problems. The Taiping Rebellions were highly influenced by the western philosophy and tried to neglect Confucianism.

May Fourth Movement was a response to the humiliation at the Versailles Treaty, and further led the Chinese to rethink about the political and social ideas of Confucianism. The first intellectual movement of anti-Confucianism took place during 1916-20, as part of New-cultural movement. The scholars who returned from the US, Europe, and Japan supported the New-culture movement and credited all failures of China to Confucianism.

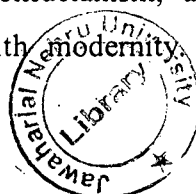
May Fourth Movement attack Confucianism from all directions. Intellectuals, student workers and peasants believed that Confucianism was a path to weakness and death, and that the only solution lay in destroying it or replacing it with Mr Science, and Mr Democracy. Confucianism is considered to be feudalistic and aristocratic by the Chinese intellectual class. May Fourth movement was led by novelists, poets, and newspaper and journal writers and academics; they shared a strong sense of patriotism and aspired for radical change but shared common enemy i.e. Confucianism and its culture.

May Fourth Movement's main idea was iconoclasm. Anti-Confucian movement was, in twentieth century, about the breakdown of the complex network of social relations that were included in the concept of *li*. Confucian world view believed in the stability as absolute virtue for the state and it was to be maintained through *li*, this indicates the complex system of rituals. This *li* is composition of the hierarchy and obligation. Chinese hierarchal order was challenged by modernity in the twentieth century.

Confucian emphasis was on the family, not the individual, as the basic unit of society. Filial piety, understood as the main teaching of Confucianism, made people subservient and dependent. It led to oppression of women and the oppression of the young by the old. Confucianism was opposed to freedom of thought, to democracy, and to science. Confucianism was the root of China's failure to fend off Western powers. Confucianism was to blame for almost everything (Rainey 2010:179).

Interpretation of the Confucian thought in the 1920s was completely at loggerheads with that of 1930s when Chiang promoted the New-life Movement in 1934, which advocated secular and rational Confucianism, and which constituted uniquely Chinese spirit and compatible with modernity. The Chinese nationalism was

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creation of the ideology which emerged from creation to perceive that inadequacy of political identity that was based on the Confucianism (Mitter 2010:117).

The assumption of the Confucian world view in the post-modern era- stasis, the need for order, hierarchy, rituals, mutual obligations, the downplaying of the individual self, came into conflict with the assumption of the nationalism as developed in the West in the context of capitalist, imperialist modernity – idea of progress, rationality, scientific categorization, hostility to hierarchy and the downplaying of modern idea of mutual obligation in favour of individualism which held that modern self was a positive and productive idea (Mitter 2010:118).

2.4.1. Mao Zedong and the concept of Harmony

The establishment of CCP in 1921 was a critical setback for Confucianism. Confucianism and its philosophy were attacked from all directions, because the Communist philosophy was completely opposed to Confucianism. The Communist philosophy of dialectical materialism was completely contrary the Confucian philosophy of ethics, morality, and harmony. Dialectics and contradictions prevailed over the old philosophy of Confucian tradition. Dialectics sees contradictions or conflicts in the society rather than harmony and endeavour to address them. Chinese philosophy was considered to be part of the superstructure of the society.

Mao, as a Communist leader, was extremely influenced by the philosophy of dialectics and contradiction rather than the philosophy of the harmony, and challenged the old Confucius' moral, ethical, and harmonious philosophy. Mao embraced the idea of contradiction which was originally developed by G. W. H. Hegel and by F. Engels and used broadly by V. I. Lenin. Mao applied these to the Chinese context in his writing "On Contradiction" in 1937, elaborated them based on Chinese conditions. Contradictions between the productive forces and relations of production, and between classes and contradictions between old and new are brought to the centre of the debate.

"The universality or absoluteness of contradiction has a two-fold meaning. One is that contradiction exists in the process of development of all things,

and the other is that in the process of development of each thing a movement of opposites exists from beginning to end (Mao 1937).

The Philosophy of dialectics or contradiction has three universal principles for development: First principle, Quantitative to qualitative vice versa; second, unity of the opposite forces, and third, negation of the negation. Mao broadly analysed the philosophy of the dialectics and contradictions and put the Chinese society in the framework of contradictions and divided the Chinese society into different classes by rejecting the Confucian concept of social harmony.

Mao's rejection of Confucius is best reflected in his "On New Democracy-1940" when he wrote that those who praise, worship, and advocate Confucius and his reading and the classics of Confucianism stand for the old ethics, old rites, and old thought against the new culture and new thought. And imperialist culture and semi-feudal culture serve imperialism and the feudal class, and that they should be eliminated. Mao's complete rejection of Confucius's philosophy of social harmony, heralded a new era in Chinese political history. He said that this philosophy is the result of feudal structure and this structure needed to be replaced by the new socialist ideology. Mao tried to eliminate the Four Olds in his great Cultural Revolution;

"Mao Zedong attacked the old Confucian culture rather than Confucius himself. There was a campaign against The Four Olds: old thought, old culture, old tradition and old custom." This campaign intensified because the contrast "Old vs. New" resonated so intensely with "Bourgeois vs. Proletarian" and "Xenophobia vs. Nationalism (Tong Zhang and Barry Schwartz 1997:197).

Mao explained that Confucius thought which includes; "The Way," "Rectification", "Benevolence", "Filial Piety", "Fraternal Duty", "The Will of Heaven", "Fate", and "Innate Knowledge" were designed to maintain slavery and feudal structure and inequality and hierarchy in the society. Confucius' influence endured long after slavery had disappeared, legitimizing feudalism and, in modern times, fascism and capitalism in the present time. Anti-Confucius campaign rejected the Confucius

traditions and philosophy. The indisputable core of Confucian tradition was its advocacy of *Jen*, the doctrine of benevolence and collective harmony and therefore propounded that any form of social harmony, collaboration, and compromise and accommodation, was to be attacked by the communist ideology.

2.4.2. Concept of the Harmony in Post-Mao Period

After Mao's death, Deng Xiaoping moved away from the Cultural Revolution's destructive approach to Confucianism and showed more tolerance to some of its tenets. He started four modernizations to make the society more prosperous. Deng, during his economic reform programme, advocated that individual should get rich as evident in one of his most famous slogans during the economic reforms "Getting Rich is Glorious". Deng's reforms began to nudge China on the path of capitalism and leading to ideological vacuum that still haunted the CCP political elites even to this day. Though China has been doing well in its growth, social unrest against the government has been on the rise in China. Deng's economic reform benefitted one class of China while other classes were affected.

After 31 years of drastic changes, China is now in new era and the left leaning ideological trend has largely vanished. The Confucian classics have become popular. The traditional etiquette and the rites of passage and schooling are now restored. Confucianism has returned back to China" (Tong: 2009).

Deng's economic reforms, opening up, and socialism with Chinese characteristics which led back to old Confucianism, were measures to deal with the problems those arose after the economic reforms. The CCP's ideology is now more influenced by the harmony rather than contradiction and class conflict. The revival of Confucianism in the CCP's ideology is unique experiment in the China. These complexities have paved that way for a determined search for an alternative but this not has been way as John Delury pointed out

This revival of traditional values was by no means universal. On the contrary, many intellectuals and students in the 1980s embraced Western political values and cultural idioms. Instead of appealing to the classical ideal of "harmony," for

example, social critics discussed the need for China to be more tolerant (*kuanrong*) and pluralistic (*duòyuan*), like Western countries (John Delury 2008).

2.4.3. Jiang Zemin's Three Represents and Concept of the Harmony

Jiang Zemin's "Three Represents" further prepared the way for Confucianism to make inroads into the Chinese political landscape. Jiang Zemin's idea of Three Represents proposed in January, 2000 was added to the party's constitution at the 16th Party Congress. He emphatically said that the CCP always represents these three principles: the development trend of China's advanced productive forces; the orientation of China's advanced culture; and fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people. As part of the First Represent, he claimed that the Party always represents the development trend of China's advanced productive forces. These productive forces will lead China to emerge as advanced and modern, and prosperous country.

On the Second Represent, he argued in favour of the advanced culture to direct Chinese political system. Culture was always part of the society and the CCP always represents the orientation of China's advanced culture which means that its theory, line, programme, principles, policies, and all its work must embody the requisites for guiding the development of national, scientific, and popular socialist culture geared to the needs of modernization and development of society.

In regard to the Third Represent, the CCP represents the broad masses of China contrary to earlier alliance of four classes (working class, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeois) under the leadership of CCP. Broad masses include rich and poor, and all sections of the society. Therefore, the CCP is now no longer a party of one class but has become a party of the entire society of China. The Three Represents provides new direction to CCP ideology, moving towards the Confucius' moral, ethical, and harmonious philosophy. It was in the context that interest in Confucianism began to grow, for instance, toward to the end of 20th century more than 200 books were published on China and for the revival of the old

tradition; this was the period after a long time to make Confucianism popular again in China (Hua and Guo 2007:5).

2.4.4. Hu Jintao and Concept of the Harmony

The reform programme initiated by Deng Xiaoping and the Three Represents of Jiang Zemin further emboldened Hu Jintao to introduced the concept of harmony while addressing the summit meeting of the UN in 2005, he coined the term “Harmonious World”. The term Harmonious World opened a new debate in the international politics, as this new concept will have a bearing on the direction of world politics in the 21st century given the Chinese rise in the international politics. Hu Jintao’s concept of harmony has two sides: first, Harmonious society for internal politics, second, the concept of Harmonious World for the external politics.

The Concept of harmony at the internal level or for the domestic politics reflects the fact that for Hu Jintao, harmony is a critical solution to solve the Chinese domestic problems. China is facing the problem of great disparity within the society, and such political crisis, can be solved with the help of old Confucian philosophy. Even the CCP is facing the legitimacy crisis that is to be managed from the Confucian philosophy, and hence, the CCP is moving away from Communism to Confucianism.

Hu Jintao’s propagation of harmony at the external level can counter Huntington’s hypothesis about world politics based on the promise of the “Clash of the Civilizations”. The Chinese concept of harmony can provide an alternative solution for the problem of the world politics. World politics has become more complex and to resolve the international issues, the idea of the harmony between the diverse things could be one of the solutions.

2.5. Summary

Examining the 5000 year old history of China, it becomes apparent that the concept of harmony is not freshly coined political jargon, but a product of social and political traditions. After having had its origin in the realm of music, the concept was debated by Confucius and Mencius which was later appropriated and used by the imperial rulers to ensure stability of the political system. The concept of harmony began to lose its political values with the defeat of Qing dynasty in the hands of the British in 1842.

Thereafter during the May Fourth Movement, it was rejected and blamed for being the cause of weakness and backwardness of China. The CCP then led a major attack on Confucianism and tried to destroy it completely in the Great Cultural Revolution by destroying Four Olds: old customs, old habit, old culture, and old religion. And Five Great Relationships was considered feudal in nature and promoting hierarchy in the society.

After Mao's period, Deng's reforms paved the way for its revival. Jiang Zemin with his Three Represents made a departure from ideology to Confucianism. Hu Jintao took the concept of harmony to a higher plane through the concept of Harmonious Society and Harmonious World to deal with domestic and international issues. With this historical analysis of the concept of harmony as a backdrop, the next chapter will detail how China uses this concept to achieve its global aspirations.

Chapter- 3

Harmonious World and China's Aspiration for Global Status

3.1. Introduction

In sociology, status is a social form of recognition that often leads to privileged treatment that may or may not lead to material gain. But in international relations status is rather neglected. Constructivists often refer to the status but do not elucidate how status matters in IR (Yong Deng 2008:1). In international relations, status and power are closely related. The more power a country has the better status it commands. Given China's rise both in soft power and hard power, it aspires for a better international status. Until recently;

China's struggle for status has been a struggle for great power recognition by balancing acceptance and autonomy, compliance and revisionism, and power and legitimacy and globalization and nationalism (Yong Deng 2008:2).

Since 2006, China has been propagating the concept to Harmonious World to aspire for international status in the 21st century. China's Harmonious World diplomacy is to ensure favorable environment for achieving global status. China's struggle for global status is also about creating an environment that allows the Chinese government to continue reforms at home; increase power and recognition abroad to secure China's core interests; reassure other states of China's nonthreatening intent; and projects its influence in Asia and beyond, (Yong Deng 2008:21).

This chapter analyses China's aspiration for global status by promoting the concept of Harmonious World in the beginning of the twenty-first century. The Chinese strategy of Harmonious World is divided into three parts as Harmonious World as soft power diplomacy; Harmonious World as peaceful rise; and Harmonious World as new world order. The focus in the forms part is China's strategy of soft power in

the regions such as Africa, Latin America. Chinese policy in these regions is economic interests' driven rather than their domestic problems. In the second part, Harmonious World as Peaceful rise is seen as an integral component of China's grand strategy to deal with China Threat Theory and Power Transition Theory. Harmonious World as a tool to promote a new world order forms part of the third section. Prior to that, a brief discussion on the broad context in which China came up with the concept of harmony and a theoretical analysis on it.

3.2. The Context

The end of Cold War sounded a death knell to the rivalry between the two superpowers i.e., US and erstwhile USSR at the international level, leading to the domination of the liberal democratic model led by the US. This historical event completely changed the direction of global politics. The American leaders declared that they had won the Cold War, and tried to shape world politics. Francis Fukuyama claimed that this was the "End of the History" and characterized it as the ultimate victory of liberalism.

Samuel P. Huntington on the other hand made another interesting hypothesis after the Cold War, and predicted that the 21st century world politics witnessed the end of ideological confrontation and the beginning of "Clash of the Civilizations". He argued that the disintegration of the USSR and failure of the communist ideology implied the end of clash of ideologies. He claimed that:

It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in the new world will not be primarily ideological or economic. The great divisions among the humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation-states will remain the most powerful actors in the world affairs, but the principal conflicts of the global politics will occur between nations and group of the civilizations. The clash of the civilizations will be the battle line of the future (Huntington 1993:1).

He described that there are six main civilizations which will be confronting with each other in the coming period. The 9/11 made Samuel P. Huntington's hypothesis

more credible. The context of international relations at the end of Cold War was that it was on the threshold of end of an era, and the beginning of a new one. It was in this context that China began to propose the framework that has been used in its domestic politics. Following Huntington's hypothesis of Clash of the Civilizations, a Chinese scholar posited that China's rise and the rise of Confucian Civilization are going to clash with the Western Civilization (Yong Deng 2008).

The Chinese President Hu Jintao's model of "Harmonious World" as post- Western model for the 21st century is not only for China but also for the whole world. Hu Jintao's concept of the Harmonious World is like "Middle Kingdom", the well-known old model of the China. Some of the scholars predict that concept of the Harmonious World is reformed model or revival of the "Middle Kingdom". China's Middle Kingdom was dismantled after the Opium War in 1840, heralding in the Chinese history a century of humiliation. China's rise and its utopian idea of building a Harmonious World is not just revival of China but also its model of the "Middle Kingdom". Therefore the concept of the "Harmonious World" poses a direct threat to the Western model.

Hu Jintao mentioned the term "Harmonious World" in his speech at the 60th anniversary of the UN, and advocated building Harmonious World with lasting peace and prosperity. Harmonious world is an application of concept the Harmonious Society, aims at addressing domestic issues and the legitimacy crisis to the international issues.

3.3. Theoretical Analysis of the Concept

Hu Jintao's concept of Harmonious World is intended as a Chinese alternative model for international politics in the 21st century. The Chinese concept of Harmonious World is a clear sign of China's rise and the possible power transition from the West to the East.

A.F. Organski in his book, *World Politics* (1958), explained power transition from a historical point of view. He believed that the international system is hierarchical,

and that in each historical era, a single dominant state leads the international order with other coalition powers. Moreover, he said that a rising dissatisfied power will displace the hegemonic order and will establish the new international order that will fulfil its interests at the international level. If a rising power goes to integrate hegemonic existing order, then there will be no possibility of a war between the rising and the established power. War becomes inevitable when rising power is dissatisfied with the international system.

Power transition theory suggests that war is caused by a rising latecomer challenging the existing hegemon, in a bid to capture the position of power in the international order. Power transition theorists focused on power parity and dissatisfaction with the status quo as important elements which effect systemic changes. Power parity is a scenario in which a potential challenger develops more than 80 percent of the resources of the dominant power. In such a context as Zhiqun Zhu (2006) logically and empirically demonstrated that the dominant power may initiate a preventive war, before a challenger becomes too powerful.

China, as a rising power with different political and economic system, seems to have clear intention to change the existing international order, although it is being benefitted from the same system. Some scholars argued that when China is benefitted by the same system why it intends to change the international order. But Western scholars argue that China has problem with international system because of its different political system.

In the power transition from Britain to US there was no change in the international structure, whereas power was transferred from Britain to the US. Ikenberry (2008) considered that was the power transition between two countries which were following the same ideology and same political structure. But in the power transition from the US to China or from West to East there is huge difference of ideology, civilization, and economic model, and humanitarian values and society.

Therefore, China's rise with high economic growth and, 1.3 billion population, its emergence as the second largest economy (overtaking Japan in 2010) in the world is a clear sign of China's rise. China seems to use its concept of Harmonious World to restructure the international system. This also shows its confidence to influence

the international system. The concept of Harmonious World as a strategy for the new century shows China's clear reflection of dissatisfaction with the international order.

According to power transition theory, China will try to restructure the international economic order, human rights discourse, democracy, disarmament, and the UN. The Chinese concept of Harmonious World and Beijing Consensus are projected as an alternative for international economic order. It could be argued that harmonious world is China's first conceptual illustration of the future world order, which is a concrete strategic design with maneuverability. Gerald Chan (1999) argued that China, with different political system and a different civilization has different perceptions about the international issues such as: human right, democracy, economic order, and sovereignty etc. China will try to define human rights debate and democracy according to the east-Asian values.

China's rise or rise of Confucianism (Confucian civilization) has a great potential to emerge as a trajectory of the world politics in the 21st century and it would decide the future discourse of International politics. China's rise with 1.3 billion population, huge territory, consistent high economic growth rate of 10 % and military modernization, heralded a new debate in the world politics.

China's rise is explained merely from a Western perspective. G. John Ikenberry (2008) in his article "Rise of China and Future of the West" analyzed China's behavior in international politics, future of the US in particular, and West in general. Yong Deng (2008) argued that there is no theory in the international politics that can explain China's rise and its behavior in the coming period. He mainly argued that all the theories are Western and that they are biased toward the West, and these theories do not explain the China's behavior.

According to the Realist theory, China will try to become militarily advanced and become a global hegemon and that will lead to direct confrontation with the US. Realist sees that war is inevitable between the US and China, and argued that international politics has always been a ruthless and dangerous business and is likely to remain that way for a century. The concept of Harmonious World is quite different from the Realist and Neo-realist theories.

3.4. Hu Jintao and Conceptualization of “Harmonious World”

At the Summit Meeting of Asian and African leaders in Jakarta on April 22, 2005, Hu Jintao called for global efforts “to promote friendly co-existence of various civilizations, equal conversation, development, peace and prosperity for building a “Harmonious World”. This was the first time the concept of “Harmonious World” was used. This was further elaborated when Hu Jintao visited Russia on July 1, 2005 wherein it was mentioned in the Joint declaration of China and Russia.

On September 15, 2005 at the summit meeting celebrating the 60th anniversary of UN, Hu Jintao’s address was entitled: “Build a Harmonious World with Lasting Peace and Common Prosperity” elaborating China’s position on the current international situation and major global issues, and making specific suggestions on strengthening the role of the UN, pushing forward UN reforms and promoting international development cooperation.

Hu Jintao pointed out that the 21st century opens up new prospects for human civilization and development: The concept of Harmonious World as Hu Jintao defined, constitutes four core issues such as: Multilateralism, economic cooperation as win-win situation, global harmony with respecting different civilizations and common prosperity with lasting peace, and UN reforms. A Harmonious World should accommodate all kind of civilizations and honor everyone’s human rights.

The four core issues of a Harmonious World can be further delineated. First, uphold multilateralism to realize common security. His main focus was on peace for common security and argued that peace is a prerequisite for any society’s security and its development. All countries should avoid war and all countries should come forward to maintain peace for global security. He argued that “we should abandon the Cold War mentality and politics and construct mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and cooperation, and collective security mechanism for world peace and security.” The UN as an international body has to play a central role to maintain world security and peace, and we should promote peaceful settlement of

international disputes or conflicts through consultations and negotiations. He advocated that forceful interference in a country's internal affairs, and willful use or threat of military force where to be avoided.

Second, uphold mutually beneficial cooperation to achieve common prosperity, adding that without universal development and common prosperity, our world can hardly enjoy peace or tranquility. Hu Jintao's main focus was to make mutual cooperation through building trust between countries. Therefore China follows the policy of five principles of peaceful coexistence and good neighborly policy toward its neighbors and the rest of world.

Third, formulation of co-existence in harmony is different from the formulation of "peaceful co-existence", because peace refers to a state in which no wars are fought, while harmony refers to mutual assistance and cooperation for mutual benefit for win-win diplomacy. Fourth is the UN reform. For him, Harmonious World can be built with democratization of the UN. The UN as an international system must represent the world through democratic institutions and process.

3.5. Harmonious World as Soft power Diplomacy

Soft power, as a concept, has become very popular in international politics since Joseph Nye articulated it. According to Joseph Nye (1990), soft power is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payment. He considers three things as sources of soft power of a country; culture, political values, and foreign policy. Culture is indeed a potential source of power. Following this, Chinese leaders believe that their culture can be used to strengthen soft power of China. In international politics on the issues of political values, China aims to strengthen its soft power though; it has been suffering from the legitimacy crisis at home.

"If culture, ideology and values can be used for coercion and military and economic strength can be used for attraction and appeal, a better approach to soft power is how the resources of power are used rather than associating sources of power as soft or hard. In essence soft power lies in the soft use of

power to increase a state's attraction, persuasiveness and appeal (Mingjiang Li 2009:7).”

Since the end of the Cold War, China's rise has become a global phenomenon. This is seen as a threat to interests of the Western countries leading to the propagation of China threat theory. Therefore, China is seeking an alternative path that can help in its rise by creating a good image at the international level. China as a communist country with human rights issues and lack of democracy has a negative image.

The Chinese president, Hu Jintao while addressing at the Central Foreign Affairs Leadership Group on January 4, 2006 indicated a clear aim to increase China's international status believing that influence depends on both hard power and soft power. Hard power consists of economy, science and technology, and defence; and soft power, culture.

The CCP's 17th Party Congress, emphasized on the urgent need to build China's soft power to deal with international challenges. Harmonious world, as a concept defined from the Chinese old Confucius's philosophy, talks about the harmony of the individual, society, and harmony of different civilizations in the world. To build a Harmonious World accepting different ideas, religion, and civilization in the world, is important. The Harmonious World is projected as a model for the world driven by the Chinese philosophy to create a soft image for China as

Mo Zhi (470-390 BC.), the founder of Mohism and advocate of doctrine of non-offence, argued that offensive use of force would sow the seed of long-standing conflicts like theft and murder. Taoism a Chinese native religion has always supported the preservation of life and avoidance of injury by advocating non-activity and non-intervention (Sheng Ding 2008: 195).

China, as a great and one of the oldest civilizations with East Asian values, has a great amount of soft power that can create positive and suitable environment for China's rise and its development. A rising power that focuses on developing and wielding hard power will often lead to conflict with other countries. Foreign policy, based on hard power, is very limited in scope to fulfil national goals in the rising process. Hard power based foreign policy includes military threat, political isolation, economic sanction as well as imposing its political and cultural values on others (Sheng Ding 2008:195).

How China perceives its national interests at the international level and the ways in which it acquires are critical. First and foremost condition for China is to defend its national interests and that Chinese leaders and scholars find solution in soft power. Because China's rise at the international level is a direct challenge to the reigning super power.

Against, this backdrop, Beijing carefully designs its foreign policy in order to fulfil its national interests, in creating positive international image. The basic goals of Chinese foreign policy are to preserve sovereignty, territorial integrity, and to create a favourable international condition for reforms, and opening up and modernization (Sheng 2008:195).

China conducted Olympic Games successfully in 2008 by spending US \$45 billion, to create a positive image for itself. In this international event, China had shown that now she has become a responsible international player in the international political arena. The establishment of the Confucius institutes across the world could also be described as the Chinese cultural strategy for promoting soft power. On December 11 2007, Chen Zhili, national official in charge of Confucius Institute said that the establishment of the Confucius institute would play a prominent role for building a positive image for China. Chen claimed that it is building around 400 Confucius Institutes in more than 60 countries. These institutes not only spread Chinese language but also the cultural and social understanding about it in the rest of the world.

Sheng Deng (2008) argued that China is promoting soft power mainly in the global south. China's main focus is Africa, Latin America, and East Asia, aimed at creating favourable environment for trade. China follows the policy of non-intervention in political affairs in these regions as it is stated in the Beijing Consensus, unlike the US policy of intervention in political and social affairs. Africa became the new arena for the economic expansion in the 21st century. China is pursuing good neighbourly policy with its neighbours and making harmony, security, peace, and mutual trust as the base. East Asian countries have also witnessed a major perceptual change regarding China's rise.

3.6. Harmonious World as peaceful Rise

China's rise is accepted by several countries at the beginning of the 21st century. The question is, will China rise peacefully? Since 2004, the theory of China's Peaceful Rise is promoted by Zheng Bijian under the leadership of Hu Jintao. Zheng Bijian, working on the domestic and international issues advocated the idea of China's peaceful rise. He described the concept of peaceful rise and promoting it at the international level. Even CCP came out with a white paper on China's peaceful rise.

Mankind has only one home - the earth. Building a harmonious world of sustained peace and common prosperity is a common wish of the people throughout the world as well as the lofty goal of China in taking the road of peaceful development (White Paper on China's Peaceful Development Road. 2005).

The concept of peaceful rise is offered as an alternative to the power transition theory, with its prediction about the inevitability of war between rising power and existing super power. This concept also counters China Threat Theory. Peaceful rise, as a grand strategy of China, suggests China's cooperative behaviour in the international system. Peaceful rise as a Chinese grand strategy is to demonstrate that is basically a status quoist power without any intention to challenge or restructure the international system. The issue is whether China will remain peaceful after it emerges as a great power. This has started new debate in the international politics. Will China establish its own international order in which its interests can be served? Will that world order be Harmonious?

Lyne (2008) asserts that the rise of China will be one of the great dramas of the 21st century, and if the US continues to retain its influence in East Asian region, conflict will virtually be certain. He discussed China's rise and its implications and suggested strategies for the US to contain China. He mainly discussed two strategies which are containment and engagement, and suggested that both should be taken into consideration. He said that China's peaceful rise as Beijing claims is doubtful, from an historical point of view. The emergence of new poles of power in the international system has been geopolitically destabilizing. He observed that

China is pursuing peaceful policy today in order to strengthen itself to confront the US tomorrow.

China's peaceful rise, as a concept, has to be seen from the lens of ways to dispose of Western China's threat theory. China will follow the road to peaceful development, making great efforts to achieve peaceful, cooperative, and harmonious development. China's Peaceful Rise consists of the following elements (White Paper on China's Peaceful Development Road, 2005):

Striving for a peaceful international environment to develop itself, and promoting world peace through its own development;

Achieving development by relying on itself, together with reform and innovation, while persisting in the policy of opening-up;

Conforming to the trend of economic globalization, and striving to achieve mutually beneficial common development with other countries; and

Sticking to peace, development and cooperation, and, together with all other countries, devoting itself to building a harmonious world marked by sustained peace and common prosperity.

Deng Xiaoping assured that China will never seek hegemony in the world, when he started the reform programme. China, keeping in view the changes in the international situation, has held the twin-strategy peace and development stating that it did not seek hegemony in the past and nor does it now, and will not challenge in future when it becomes stronger (White Paper 2005). Zheng Bijian (2005) articulated China's peaceful rise as:

“By integrating China's modernization drive with economic globalization, we mean that China will take an active part in economic globalization and will not change the international order and configuration through violence. Independently building socialism with Chinese characteristics means we will mainly rely on our own efforts to solve our problems, without causing trouble to others” (Zheng Bijian 2004:2)”

Those who see China in a positive sense tend to think of China trying to erase the memories of a century of humiliation, weakness, and suffering. They see China's rise as an opportunity not just for China but also for the rest of the world. China's

modernization and economic development, and trade with other countries provide enormous benefits for inside and outside China (Zhiqun Zhu 2008:1).

China's development is an important part of the global development because China's development opens opportunities for the rest of the world. China made contributions to the sustained development of humanity at large and based on past experience and the fruits of civilization of mankind. China adopted a scientific outlook on development to transform its society as modern and advanced. Bingguo (2010), the Chinese State Counsellor defined Chinese peaceful rise in the international relations by making its intention clear as:

First, the peaceful nature of development, China will not engage in invasion, plundering, war or expansion that Western powers used to practice. Our strength will be harnessed to serve world peace and integrate development with peace.

Second, the independent nature of development, independence is the fundamental feature of China's diplomacy. And self-reliance is our fine tradition. Over the past 30 years and more, in our efforts to develop the country, we have mainly relied on reform and opening-up, our own wisdom and hard work, expanding domestic demand and transforming the economic growth pattern.

Third, the scientific nature of development, according to the requirement of the Scientific Outlook on Development that puts people first and pursues comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable development, we have intensified efforts to promote sound and fast economic development and the building of a harmonious society with a view to securing a sound domestic environment for peaceful development.

Fourth, the cooperative nature of development, China is a member of the international community. It best serves our own and others' interests to cooperate with others, and share interests and responsibilities. In external relations, we advocate friendship instead of animosity, cooperation instead of confrontation, trust instead of suspicion, and treating each other as equals instead of imposing one's will on others.

Fifth, common development, China's national interests are consistent with the common interests of mankind. In developing itself, China aims to achieve common development with other countries and never does anything at the expense of others. We know full well that if a country wants to develop itself, it must let others develop too. If a country wants to have

security, it must make others feel safe too. And if a country wants a better life, it must let others have it too, (Bingguo 2010).

Steve Chan (2008) also argued that power transition from the US to China can be managed peacefully and that there is less possibility of the war on the power transition, but Taiwan is the hot-spot that can convert into war between two countries. War can happen on the Taiwan issue but not because of China is dissatisfied with the international existing order. G. John Ikenberry (2008) argued that the US will be able to manage China's rise at the international level because of the rise of the rest. Multilateralism will be the prominent idea for the 21st century world politics.

Peaceful Rise for Domestic Level

Harmonious Society, peaceful development, and scientific development are the ideas to deal with the domestic crisis, which resulted after the opening up in 1978. China has made great progress in uplifting about 250 million people out of poverty and reducing unemployment, improving the quality of life, and feeding nearly 22 % of the world's population on less than 10% world's arable land. Living standards of the 1.3 billion people are consistently being improved providing minimum allowance to 22.05 million urban and aid to 60 million disabled people. Its top priority is to enable the 1.3 billion people basic substance i.e., better clothes, better food, better housing. We cannot spend huge amount of money on weaponry (Dai Bingguo 2010).

The reality is that China's GDP, however big it may grow, must be shared among 1.3 billion people. China's per capita GDP is only \$3,800, ranking about 104th in the world, even lower than many African countries. By the United Nations' standard of one US dollar a day, 150 million Chinese are still living below the poverty line. Even by the standard of 1,200 yuan per capita income, over 40 million Chinese are still in poverty. Today in China, 10 million people have no access to electricity and each year, employment must be provided for 24 million Chinese. China has a huge population and a weak economic foundation (Dai Bingguo 2010).

The rural-Urban gape, imbalance in the industrial structure and underdevelopment of productivity, are issues that are yet to be addressed. The Chinese Governments promotion of Confucianism has advantages at the domestic level; the affirmation of harmony is meant to reflect the ruling party's concern for all classes (Bell 2008:23). Chinese widening gap between rich and poor increasing and that can result in bad consequences. The call for harmony is an implicit recognition that things are not so harmonious, so conflict must be resolved peacefully and not through class struggle (Bell 2008:24).

3.7. Harmonious World as New World order

This concept of the Harmonious World seems to be contradictory in itself, as we can see the meaning of the harmony as discussed in the previous chapter. Can Harmonious World replace the existing international order? If China dominates world politics in the 21st century, it will try to restructure the international system. Hu Jintao's concept of the Harmonious World is clear reflection of his intention to restructure the international system. According to the power transition theory, scholars concluded that the concept of the Harmonious World reflects the challenge, or it has the hidden agenda to restructure the international system.

Some scholars argue that after a century of humiliation, China would like to establish its rightful place. Yong Deng (2008) points out that China's rise and its aspiration for the international dominant power is not new for China because China was dominant power in the past.

China poses a major challenge to the United States and the rest of the world simply by virtue of its status as a new global economic superpower. Such rising powers can disturb the existing international order and trigger security as well as economic conflicts. The most notorious cases are Germany in the late 19th century and Japan and Germany again in the early 20th century. There are, of course, more benign cases as well, notably the United States in the late 19th century and the European Union and Japan in the second half of the 20th century (C. F. Bergsten etc. 2008:10).

China International Economic order as Beijing Consensus

We know we have to play the game your way now but in the ten years we will set the rules. (Chinese ambassador to the WTO during China negotiation to enter in it).

In 2004 Joshua Cooper Ramo argued that China projects its economic model as an alternative for the Washington Consensus of 1989 by proposing Beijing Consensus. According to Ramo, the Beijing Consensus would be then anti-Westernization strategy, a combination of soft and hard power. China's rise is already reshaping the international order by introducing a new physics of development of the power. Ramo (2004) sees that engagement and containment are out-dated in regard to China. For him, China has already become new power basis.

Washington consensus was a hallmark of the end of history arrogance; it left a trail of destroyed economies and bad feeling around the globe. China's new development approach is driven by a desire to have equitable, peaceful high-quality growth. Critically speaking, it turns traditional ideas like privatization and free trade on their heads. It is flexible enough that it is barely classifiable as doctrine. It does not believe in uniform solution for every situation (Ramo 2004:4).

Beijing Consensus is considered as a pragmatic idea and the best path for modernization. Beijing Consensus is like the Washington Consensus, contains many ideas that are not about economics, but they are also about politics, quality of life, and the global balance of power. This model sets China and its followers against the development ideas and power needs.

Beijing Consensus is simply three theorems about the place of a developing country in the world. The first theorem is repositioning the value of innovation. Second, it looks beyond per-capita GDP and focuses instead of quality on life. It demands a development model where sustainability and equality become first consideration, not luxuries. And finally, Beijing Consensus believes in the theory of the self-determination, one that stresses using leverage to oppose hegemonic power.

Mark Leonard (2008), concluded that "the first thirty year of the people's republic of China reforms program have been mainly China joining the world, while the story of next thirty year will be about how China reaches out and shapes the world (C.F. Bergsten 2008:12)"

China poses two major challenges to the global economic order. First, China's rejection of the compromise proposed for the Doha Round in July, 2008. This was the historic failure of the multilateral initiative. Doha Round is first a failure of a multilateral negotiation in the post-war period and placed the entire WTO system in jeopardy. Second, China's pursuit of bilateral and regional trade agreement with neighbouring countries is almost political (C.F. Bergsten 2008:15). China has become major contributor to the developing countries irrespective of their political and economic systems and with no pre-conditions.

On foreign aid, China has already become a major donor (depending on how aid is defined) and poses a direct challenge to prevailing norms by ostentatiously ignoring the types of conditionality that have evolved throughout the donor community over the past quarter century. It rejects not only the social conditions (human rights, labor standards, and environmental norms) that have become prevalent but also the basic economic criteria (starting with poverty alleviation and good governance) that virtually all bilateral and multilateral aid agencies now require as a matter of course (C. F. Bergsten 2008:20).

3.8. Summary

China's aspiration for global status is seen in its foreign policy as it advocates for building a Harmonious World with lasting peace and common prosperity. This chapter dealt with the Power Transition Theory's assumption that a rising dissatisfied power will displace the hegemon and will set the laws, rules, and institutions according to its interests. Harmonious World is China's clear strategy to restructure the international system.

The Power Transition Theory's formulation of power shift from the West to East is seen as the Chinese demand for democratization of international institutions and system. Therefore power shift from the West to East is occurring. China's rise as economic power and demand for the democratization of international system also integrates China with the existing international system. China joined the WTO and

other international institutions that make China more integrated to the international order. China is rising and the power is being transferred but its aim completely different from the all previous power transitions. China's soft power strategy in itself is a sign of changing power politics in favour of East. Therefore, China's soft power diplomacy does not only secure the economic interests by creating a favourable environment but also transform international politics.

Second, Harmonious World as China peaceful rise is a clear strategy to dispose the Western negative perceptions about the China's rise. China's advocacy for peace and harmony is a clear strategy to deal with the international situation and also reflects signs of power transition from West to East. China's peaceful rise is China's grand strategy that addresses Chinese concerns about world peace and harmony.

Third, Harmonious World as new world order, China demands restructuring the international system by introducing Harmonious World at the international level. Hu Jintao's demand for democratization of the international system and institutions is the Chinese vibrant strategy to restructure the international system. China's Harmonious World is guided by the harmonious philosophy of Confucius that had been part of Chinese long historical traditions and sustained harmony in the Chinese society for centuries. China's advocacy of harmony is the guiding philosophy of Harmonious World. In the 21st century, China's domination will be based on Confucianism.

Chapter- 4

Harmonious World and Chinese Foreign Relations with Select Countries

4.1. Introduction

Hu Jintao's concept of the Harmonious World is increasingly occupying an important place in Chinese foreign policy. It functions as a framework for Chinese foreign policy in the 21st century. It is used at two levels: on the one hand, China uses it to maintain harmonious relations with its neighbouring countries i.e., policy of good neighbourliness to deal with regional issues and to convince neighbouring countries that they should work in harmony for regional peace, prosperity, and development. On other hand, China uses it to maintain harmonious relations with the Western countries and Third World countries.

China shares common civilization, culture, and history with its neighbours, which play a major role in maintaining harmony in China's periphery. However, China's relations with neighbouring countries cannot be maintained in the sense of previous Middle Kingdom's hierarchical model. China is in an advantageous position in this region, although some countries share Western values by adopting Western political system. China's relations with Western countries are very necessary to maintain harmony and peace in the world.

With this backdrop, the chapter delineates China's relations with select countries such as the US, Russia, India, neighbouring countries, developing Countries, and the EU. Prior to that, to put this in perspective, a discussion on Harmonious World and Chinese foreign policy and nationalism is in order.

4.2. Harmonious World and Chinese Foreign Policy

China's foreign policy of harmony reflects a sign of its approach to international relations. There are core principles which form the bedrock of Chinese foreign policy. One of them is to democratize international institutions by respecting diversity of civilizations and their values. According to it, no country has a right to force any country to adopt a particular model and system. China's argument over the issue of human rights and democracy is that they are to be defined within the framework of sovereignty and their specific civilizational values, culture and history (Chan 1999).

Deng Xiaoping in his speech at the UN General Assembly in 1974 clarified the Chinese intention and argued that China is not a super power, and it does not seek to become a superpower, if one day China changes its intention and becomes a super power, it too plays the tyrant in the world, the people of the world have right to expose it, oppose it and working with the Chinese people to uproot it (Quoted in Bingguo 2010). CCP demands for the democratization of international relations but at the same time it is undemocratic at domestic level as Scott posits:

Another term rolled out by the PRC is 'democratisation of international relations'. This is ironical, given the restrictions on application of democracy within China, but that is a matter of national sovereignty and domestic jurisdiction in Beijing's eyes. However, when it comes to the international system, to global structures, to the international order, then China reacts against American dominance. As a term 'democratisation of international relations' is a wider term, getting away from the Great Power realpolitik undertones of 'multipolarity'. It suggests a more general egalitarian process at large for the twenty-first century (Scott 2008:82)."

China's economic growth within the framework of socialism with Chinese characteristics has catapulted it to second largest economy in the world after the US by surpassing Japan in 2010. To maintain high economic growth and keep spreading its influence, China needed a suitable framework, which is found in the concept of harmony.

More than 30 years of reform and opening-up has brought about earth-shaking changes in the country: from "taking class struggle as the key

principle” to focusing on economic development and building socialist modernization on all fronts, from planned economy to socialist market economy through reform across the board, from a closed society and over emphasis on self-reliance to opening up and international cooperation, from emphasis on ideology in external relations to advocating harmonious co-existence of various social systems and development models and developing external relations in an all-round way (Bingguo 2010).

David Scott (2008) articulates the Chinese strategy for the 21st century and its peaceful rise and development, is to establish Harmonious World. The Harmonious World concept is the clear reflection of China’s programme for 21st century. The Harmonious World is an ideation and theory of the international relations which insists on the rational, moral and standard actions on international issues. Chinese framework of the Harmonious World is its agenda for restructuring international institutions and the prevailing definitions of human rights, democracy and UN reforms. China has Grand Strategy to restructure the international order and redefine international relations. China’s strategic intention can be defined in two words: peaceful development, i.e. harmony and development at home and peace and cooperation abroad (Bingguo2010).

The idea of the harmonious world will vigorously push forward the whole new thought of mutual safety and prosperity, also protecting the verities of the human culture; it will be one of the most important theories of establishing the international cooperation relations.

Gerald Chan (1999) tried to explain the Chinese perspective on the international relations by criticizing the Western domination in the theory of international politics. He clearly described the Western bias toward their interests in international relations, and argued that values must play an active role in international politics. China’s Harmonious World is the Chinese form of international relations, although China could develop a theory in international relations. The Harmonious World factor plays a major role in theory building and perception formations on international relations. The Harmonious World is a kind of Chinese perspective on international relations and theories, and it can also be argued that it is a strategy to

create favourable environment to get hard and soft power at international level. Multilateralism and the establishment of multipolar world constitute strategy of China to challenge the unipolar world and one single country domination.

4.3. Harmonious World and Nationalism

Middle Kingdom (*Zhong-Guo*) is an old Chinese model of governance of some parts of East Asia, in which the Chinese considered themselves as centre of the world, and claimed to be superior to the rest of the world. Yong Deng (2008) argued that China's rise as Harmonious world is some sort of revival of Middle Kingdom. China is trying to regain its old status that was lost around one and half century ago. Simultaneous ending of century of humiliation and the present rise of China is become a thing of pride for the Chinese and leading to the strengthening Chinese of nationalism at the international level.

“History at play since the rise of China is granted by nature, this history of superpower status make Chinese people very proud of their country they believe China's decline is a historical mistake which they should correct, in which the rise of China is a long term historical process, that is inevitable for the twenty first century, (Quoted in David Scott 2008:17).”

Shi Yinhong (2002) viewed that, a rising China is certainly one of the most fundamental and profound facts in global politics. Although the Chinese present leaders do not claim to challenge or restructure international order and institutions, they seem to have a hidden agenda.

4.4. Sino-US Relations: Issues of Contention and Cooperation

The Sino-US relations in the post-Cold War period have been a complex mix of contention and cooperation on many issues. The 1989 Tiananmen incident fundamentally changed the American view of China (Zhu 2006:90), and led to trade embargo and sanctions on China. With the End of the Cold War, all the major differences between China and US suddenly resurfaced, because China was the

only big state that was led by a communist party. Leaders of both the countries have yet to search for a new foundation upon which they can work together. Brzezinski (2009) sums up the nature of Sino-US relations:

"Thirty years ago, we had a common threat in the Soviet Union and therefore we had a strategic interest in coming together. Today we have a common interest in preventing massive instability and conflict in the world" and making the world function within a restructured international system (Brzezinski 2009)."

At the turn of the century, the 9/11 incident led to changes in the US foreign policy strategy. The US realized that terrorism is a more critical threat than that of rising China. However, China's rise has been a major issue of debate among the US leaders and academics. US are deeply divided over the issue of whether it should stop China's rise or cooperate with it in the international order.

Henry Kissinger commented on China's rise thus: Should the United States use all the means and strategy to delay as long as possible the emergence of the China as a major power? Engagement and Containment are the two possible strategies to deal with China's rise. On this issue there is no clear consensus in the US. The Democrats believed in and support engagement while the Republican tend to contain China. Ikenberry argued that the US grand strategy to deal China should be built around the motto that the road to the East runs through the West. It must sink the root of this order as deeply as possible, giving China greater incentive for integration in exiting international order than for opposition and increasing chance that the system will survive even after US relative power has declined, (Ikenberry 2008:25).

Layne (2008) suggests that the best way to make China integrated in the international system is to stay away from the influence of area of China in East Asia. China's rise poses a threat to the US and international order but if it is integrated then it will no longer be a threat to the international system of US. As scholars such as Paul Kennedy and Robert Gilpin have described about world politics, it has been marked by a succession of powerful states rising up to organize the international system. A rising power can create and enforce the rules and institutions of a stable global order in which to pursue its interest and security,

(Ikenberry 2008:26). US do face challenges to protect its international economic and political order. The Washington Consensus as liberal economic model, the ten-point strategy for economic and political development that has formed the cornerstone of US-led multilateral institutions since the end the World War II, is now confronted by a striking alternative model in China's Beijing Consensus (Bergsten 2008:3).

China's Beijing Consensus, proposed in 2004, is projected as an economic model for the development of the Third World countries, and also as an alternative model to the Washington Consensus. Political philosopher John Rawls made the following suggestion to the US to sustain the international order and to safeguard its interests in the present globalization period:

“Political institutions should be conceived behind a "veil of ignorance" -- that is, the architects should design institutions as if they do not know precisely where they will be within a socioeconomic system. The result would be a system that safeguards a person's interests regardless of whether he is rich or poor, weak or strong. The United States needs to take that approach to its leadership of the international order today. It must put in place institutions and fortify rules that will safeguard its interests regardless of where exactly in the hierarchy it is or how exactly power is distributed in 10, 50, or 100 years.(Quoted in Ikenberry 2008: 37).”

Realists go on to note that as China becomes more powerful and the United States' position erodes, then two things are possible to happen. First is, China will try to use its growing influence to redefine the rules and restructure institutions of the international system in favour of its interests. Second, Another view, the drama of China's rise will feature an increasingly powerful China and a declining United States locked in an epic battle over the rules and leadership of the international order (Ikenberry : 2008).

The US-China relations in the 21st century are crucial for the entire humankind. If China and the US fail to manage their relations in the coming decades it will have disastrous effect on the entire world. Steve Chan (2008) predicted that there are many issues of contention between the two. Among them Taiwan is the main issue

that can lead to war and he is optimistic about the China's rise and peaceful power transition.

Offensive realist Mearsheimer (2005) argued that China directly challenges the US national interests and claimed that war between the two is inevitable. Some Chinese scholars posit that China's rise cannot be explained from the Western theories and their perspectives alone as all of them are biased. The US based scholar Ikenberry (2008) said that an important point for the US leaders is to fear in mind that it may be possible for China to overtake US, but there is less possibility that China will ever manage to overtake the Western order. These views show the stability of Western international order, Ikenberry elaborates further:

Fortunately, such an order is in place already. The task now is to make it so expansive and so institutionalized that China has no choice but to become a full-fledged member of it. The United States cannot thwart China's rise, but it can help ensure that China's power is exercised within the rules and institutions that the United States and its partners have crafted over the last century, rules and institutions that can protect the interests of all states in the more crowded world of the future. The United States' global position may be weakening, but the international system the United States leads can remain the dominant order of the twenty-first century(Ikenberry 2008:37).

For the safer and secure world US-China relations in the 21st century have to be structured the idea that both countries have common interest in protecting the international system. China's integration to the international system would lead to peace and prosperity of the world.

4.5. China-Russia Relations in the in 21st Century

In April, 1996 the Russian President, Boris Yeltsin and his Chinese counterpart Jiang Zemin signed an agreement for establishing a strategic partnership. The relations moved from constructive partnership toward a strategic partnership. Thus China and Russia saw themselves as the natural allies, and share common interests and supported multi-lateralism in international politics. The

Russia-Chinese strategic partnership is not only alive but appears to be taking on some practical manifestations (Bellacqua 2010:1). China and Russia have similar views on a number of international and regional issues and have worked together on occasions where their respective interests were aligned.

Governments of both nations are stable, authoritarian, and administratively centralized, yet both are challenged to keep their distant regions under control. China and Russia are both proud, sensitive countries, eminently conscious of their global position, status, and degree of influence. They are equally conscious of their impact on global affairs and often vote the same at the UN Security Council, where both are permanent members with a veto (Bellacqua 2010:2).

The Sino-Russian relations seem to be going along well against the perceived US unilateralism. However, they also have many issues of contention, as China is rising whereas Russia's gradual decline at the international level is a matter of major concern. Influx of many Chinese into the scanty populated regions in Russian Far East is one issue of contention.

China and Russia are very active in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). This is seen by many as a direct challenge to NATO and the West. Except China and Russia, other members are not interested in power balancing or challenging the international order.

Sino-Russian strategic partnership overall does not conform to the traditional power politics model and does not negate the impulse on both sides to form a robust alliance to counter U.S. power (Deng 2008:143). The SCO provided platform for China-Russia leadership for multilateral cooperation and for regional affairs, and also to deal with regional issue i.e., security, terrorism in Central Asia, extremism, drug trafficking, and illegal trade.

China became the second largest energy consumer in the world and this requirement can be fulfilled by the huge amount of the energy resources in Russia and Central Asia' regions. Energy cooperation became very important for China's rise and Russia's development. China is heavily dependent on Russia for military technology and equipment. However, China- Russia relations are not limited only

to regional security, energy, military equipment trade but both have also great influence over other international political and non-political issues.

China-Russia relations are very important and perhaps no other country plays such an important role in this regard to balance US more than Russia. The former Cold War rival to the United States, and former Communist “big brother” (*laodage*) to China, Russia’s relations with each impact Sino-U.S. relations in significant and determinative ways (Christopher Marsh and Lowell Dittmer 2008:124). In the 21st century, several geostrategic shifts have been indicating that a Sino-Russian partnership may be emerging in the new era. The U.S.-Russian post-Cold War relations have ended, and relations between the two have become so soured that US and Russia are beginning to talk of a new Cold War (Christopher Marsh and Lowell Dittmer 2008:124).

4.6. China-India Relations in the 21st Century

China and India, two of the few oldest civilizations of the world linked by mountains and rivers, geographically share long-standing friendly exchanges in their history. China has a long history of relations with India both in cultural and religious terms. Although the Himalayan mountain range formed a natural barrier and put limits on the frequent visits and communication between two civilizations, after 1950 China and India came closer and identified themselves as the “Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai (Indians and Chinese are Brothers) and signed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in 1955. In 1962, the war between the two left both deeply suspicious of each-other’s intentions.

As the new century starts, China and India are tied up in massive economic cooperation and have begun to prepare the ground to resolve long standing political issues. China and India are simultaneously rising in their spheres. China’s rise at the international level as economic and military power is seen by some in India as a threat to its security. India’s rise is also seen in China similarly. They are moving closer by resolving some of their differences, which can change the course of Asia and the world.

China and India do understand that their national interests can be accomplished without posing a threat to each other. During Wen Jiabao's visit to India in 2005, they established Strategic Cooperative Partnership. When Hu Jintao visited India in November 2006; the two countries signed a joint declaration entitled "Ten-Pronged Strategy" for strengthening strategic cooperative partnership. That the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited China later is a new milestone in bilateral relations. China-India relations have gone beyond bilateral dimension and acquired global and strategic importance.

Issues of the contention between the two are Tibet and border dispute. India government's position on Tibet is an accommodating one and is influenced heavily by national security and economic concern (Eisenman 2007: 138).

Both countries also share several similar interests and goals vis-à-vis the international system, including: territorial sovereignty, military development, environmental standards, human rights standards, and access to energy. The interest in territorial sovereignty applies to Taiwan, Tibet, and Xinjiang for China, and to Kashmir for India. Paradoxically, agreement over the principle of territorial sovereignty brings both together, but differences over specific territorial questions still present points of contention. Military development and modernization remain key objectives for both countries in their pursuit of becoming stronger players on the world stage. China and India share a critical interest in ensuring that environmental and human rights standards for their own development remain at the levels that the developed countries faced. In addition, high tensions with Taiwan provide China with a good reason to resolve old quarrels with India, (Eisenman 2007:141).

The Chinese concept of Harmonious World and the Indian commitment to Panchsheel can play a vital role in their bilateral relations. Some indications can be seen in their approach to multilateral institutions. Both China and India are working on multilateral institutions like BRIC, SCO, and India-Russia-China triangle.

Lam and Lim (2009:9) considered three challenges in China-India relations due to their rise: first, rising powers view each other with suspicion. Second, can China and India harmonize their relations with small neighbors like Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh who are often wary of them? And third: issue of good governance for India and China, both countries need to have good political

leadership in the years ahead.

The recent trend of India forging strong ties with US has put some pressure on China to normalize relations with India. Cordial relations between the two are critical for the peace in Asia and the world.

4.7. China's Relations with Neighboring Countries

China tried to maintain good relations with the East Asian and South East Asian countries in the 21st century. To work with its neighboring countries and to create a favorable environment for harmonious development and peace, the Chinese leadership made efforts to formulate an integrated policy known as the policy of Good Neighborliness. From the last decade, China sought to search for common ground for economic and security stability in its peripheral regions. Hu Jintao follows the Good Neighborliness policy to maintain harmony and peace in the region.

Ding Dou (2009:13) applied three approaches to examine the East Asia-China relations. First, through the realist theory of international relations, which tried to see China rise from the power shift, it must influence the neighbouring country and make intent potential danger of its rise. And he argued that claimed that history does not necessarily repeat itself and it is highly unlikely that an Asian hierarchy with the Middle Kingdom at its core will be reinstated.

Second: for an institutional approach, the process of China's emergence as a major power, trade partner of ASEAN has made the relation much more complex. This supports New Liberal argument of China's economic development and also development of the East Asian countries in the period of the globalization era.

Third, constructivist approach, focused on China's attempts at constructing its new identity of harmony and peace. China's identity is being transformed from a Maoist revolutionary state to a developmental state and a good global player, which abides by and benefits from the norms and rules of international society.

China's relationship with the neighbouring countries is mainly focused on the peaceful means and wants to resolve regional issues through harmony and dialogue. Bergsten (2008) describes its relations as follows:

China has generally emphasized non-military aspects of its comprehensive national power in reaching out to its neighbours, adopting a three pronged approach of setting aside areas of disagreement, focusing on confidence-building measures, and engaging in economic integration and multilateral cooperation to address shared concerns and promote regional stability to allow China to focus inward (Bergsten 2008:220).

China's foreign relations with neighbouring countries are cooperative and constructive, and follow the policy of engagement and economic assistance and development.

4.8. China's Relations with Third World Countries

Since the 1955 Bandung conference, China identified itself as a third world country and referred to itself as leader of the third world. However, now with its economic growth and political agenda China can hardly be considered as a developing country. China's remarkable rise at the international level is uncertain but its influence on global affairs is growing and its action to safeguard its interests affects interests of the international community (Eisenman 2007: xiii). And sharing historical experience with Asia, China sees itself as one of the developing countries.

During the early years of the Cold War, pitting two ideologies and power blocs against one another, China chose to focus on the so-called "Third World" of developing nations to promote its own ideological and political agenda. By the 1980s and 1990s, with the decline of ideology and rise of economic reform and pragmatism, China's relationship with the developing world became subordinated to a priority interest in establishing constructive political and economic relationships with the developed world .This was done to promote domestic development and stability, and to return China to the ranks of the world's great powers (Eisenman 2007:4).

In the Cold War period, China's relations with the third world countries were influenced by ideology. But after 1978, China's relations with third world countries have been centred on economic interests because of the availability of natural resources and raw materials in these regions i.e. Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Beijing's main strategy is to ensure China's rise by paying attention to these regions and maintaining cordial relations with these countries. But this has not been easy as the Chinese had encountered competition from other countries. This is highly clear, when Chinese state counsellor stated on the clash of economic interests by quoting a Chinese saying:

“Scooping rice from the same pot, the ladles may inevitably knock against each other”. As we live in a global village, frictions and clashes of various kinds are inevitable. It is nothing alarming. What matters is the principles that one follows in trying to tackle the problems: A tit-for-tat tactic or making a fuss of a minor problem, or rather, a totally different approach? We have our basic principles in our external relations, which have proven effective over the past decades (Bingguo 2010).

Although national interests are supreme for every nation, they are not to be perceived only in Zero-Sum Game. According to the realist theory, every nation tries to fulfil its national interests by gaining power. When one country rises, its area of influence increases leading to clash of interests with other countries. The Harmonious World has to deal with the realist theory perception of clash of interests. China's policies vis-à-vis third world countries particularly in the Africa and Latin America do intersect with the US interests and interests of other Western powers.

The last twenty years have seen enormous shifts in Beijing's foreign policy objectives and methods. While in the past, ideological and military concerns dominated Beijing's foreign policy aims in the developing world, the focus of Chinese foreign policy today is mainly business. China's furious pace of economic development has shaped a strategy in the developing world based on the country's need for energy, markets, and political support in the international community (Eisenman 2007: X).

China's economic policy toward third world countries is different from the policies of Western rivals because China does not believe in interference in their political

system unlike Western countries. China follows this kind of strategy in foreign policy for these regions as Bingguo stated: First, We follow the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, thus we reject interference in others' internal affairs and use of threat or use of force and pressure. Second, win-win strategy of opening-up and never adopt the beggar-thy-neighbour policy. We believe in respect, develop and protect the common interests and strive to make the pie of common interests bigger and better. Third, we demand for settlement of disputes and conflicts through dialogue and negotiation and by seeking common ground while resolving differences (Bingguo 2010).

Some of the Third World countries are mostly worried about new liberal policies of capitalist countries given their experiences during the colonial period. The new liberal economic policies are leading to their exploitation of their natural resources in the name of development, spreading democracy, and securing human rights. In the prevailing scenario, China and India have better opportunity to spread their influence in these regions.

4.9. Harmonious World and EU: Emerging New International Models

The relations between China and EU are mainly based on economic interests. Both sides have benefitted from their partnership which is acquiring broader dimensions covering political and strategic concerns. The EU-China partnership is helping to shape a new international order (Grant 2008:1). The Harmonious World and EU's global governance seem to be competitive concepts of the international relations in the 21st century.

First decade of 21st century has witnessed the failure of neo-liberalism and Washington Consensus, leading the international community to seek new framework of international politics. The EU's 'Global Governance' strategy appears to be the most likely to catch on, although China's 'Harmonious World' concept is increasingly gaining popularity around the world (Youming 2010). Rosita Dellios (2009) considered that there are four models for global governance:

(1) Hegemonic Governance; (2) the United Nations System; (3) the European Union Model; and (4) Cosmopolitan Global Governance, and Confucian Governance may be included as the fifth model for global governance.

In the EU model, twenty seven members have agreed to share their sovereignty under supranational authority; therefore Westphalian model of the state is thereby overtaken by the notion of joint management of common sovereignty. EU as the supranational organization is fighting against globalization in order to protect their interests in forming a legal framework.

Martin Ortega argued that global governance is 'the management of global problems and strive for global objectives through the concerted efforts of international player'. He considered five key elements in global governance: (1) management; (2) global problems; (3) global objectives; (4) concerted efforts; and (5) states and other international actors (Youming 2010)

Youming (2010) argued that, in China, it is well accepted that EU is not different model of global governance from Western model because of its integration to international system and its parameter of democracy and human rights. But at the same time EU members view that Chinese Harmonious World is only about its China's peaceful rise strategy and a part of the soft power diplomacy. There are differences between the two on the core values, like human rights and democracy. Although China does not deny but there is no standard of human rights and democracy in China. The Chinese argued that everything cannot be defined from the Western paradigm, of human rights and democracy.

4.10. Summary

Hu Jintao's Harmonious World with lasting peace and common prosperity, is the Chinese framework for the international relations. The concept plays a critical role not only in promoting harmonious relations between China and West but also between China and the rest of the world.

Chinese has been factoring the concept of harmony in its relations with the US, Russia, India, Third World countries and EU. It is a powerful concept that addresses both the complex and contentions issues in its relations with these countries and regions. Thus the concept has been quite effective in achieving the Chinese national interests.

Chapter-5

Conclusion

Hu Jintao's advocacy for building a Harmonious World became an issue of a major debate raising many questions in international politics in the first decade of the 21st century. As Power Transition Theory indicates that a dissatisfied rising power will try to replace the existing dominant power. China's advocacy for Harmonious World is seen as its strategic tool to achieve this.

The concept is also seen as the tool for China's soft power diplomacy that can create and enhance its positive image and favourable environment to fulfil its national interests. These perspectives are interlinked and are highly relevant to understand Chinese intention to build a new international system which would be suitable for accomplishing its national interests.

At the heart of the concept of harmony is the role of CCP. Though CCP has sole power over Chinese government in following Leninist principles of democratic centralism, Marxist-Leninist and Mao's thoughts and four cardinal principles of Deng Xiaoping, it gave its consent to promote the concept of harmony. The CCP's leadership's advocacy of harmony as an integral component of its ideology raises the question about its socialist ideology because Confucian harmony and class struggle are contrary to each other. The CCP, facing legitimacy crisis on its domestic front, had no option but to believe Confucianism and use it to address the growing unrest in China by articulating the concept of Harmonious Society. Following this, the CCP and the government applied the concept of Harmonious Society to the international politics as Harmonious World.

Thus the concept of "Harmonious World" was born with lasting peace and common prosperity consist of six agendas: (1) a 'win-win' strategy; (2) peaceful rise and development; (3) the respect for diversity; (4) cooperation and coordination; (5) peaceful coexistence, and (6). UN reform. The essence of Harmonious World is that differences can be resolved through dialogue; tensions can be defused through consultation; common development can be reached through economic cooperation;

and cultures can be enriched through exchanges. Another objective of Harmonious World is to counter China Threat Theory. Chinese diplomacy centred on harmony is believed to be an appropriate strategy to counter the negative perspective of China.

The concept of harmony has its roots in Chinese history. It originated from the realm of music and was later developed by Confucius and his disciples. They advocated for its utility to the Chinese society to maintain social harmony and peace through five great relationships although they are based on hierarchy. In the Confucian harmony, morality was the central virtue for individual and society that has to be developed in an individual to achieve the highest virtue of harmony. Harmony has been developed and sustained for hundreds of years in the Chinese society.

The imperial rulers belonging to various dynasties used the concept to maintain political and social order and found it to be quite effective. However, the Chinese approach to the concept began to change with their defeat in the hand of British in 1842. Since then many Chinese viewed it as discriminatory, exploitative and hierarchical.

In this period, Confucian harmony has been blamed for the entire crisis in China and characterised it as feudal in nature. At the same time it also has been used by some Chinese scholars who were influenced western individualism, to encourage nationalism against the Western imperialism. In the New Life Movement nationalists tried to revive its social order by going back to Confucianism.

Thereafter, Mao challenged Confucian harmony and talked about class struggle. Mao completely opposed harmony during the Cultural Revolution and almost destroyed it. Mao's idea to destroy the Confucian social harmonious order of the Chinese society was to achieve the materialistic (economic) harmony. His legacy continued until his death. However, later CCP's leadership under Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin paved the way for its revival.

Hu Jintao explained that a Harmonious Society at domestic level constitutes democracy, rule of law, equality, justice, credibility, caring, vitality, stability, orderliness and harmonious co-existence. The concept of Harmonious World is an application of Harmonious Society to international politics. A Harmonious World stands for upholding multilateralism, to achieve common security of people, promoting cooperation for mutual benefit, to realize common prosperity, and encourage tolerance. It accommodates all kinds of civilizations and honours everyone's culture.

The Concept of Harmonious World has three facets. First, Harmonious World as the Chinese soft power diplomacy strategy which is aimed at creating a positive image of China at the international level. To accomplish this aim, China established a number of Confucius Institutes across the world. Securing its economic interests is a critical component of this strategy. It is also a clear sign of its strategy to dominate the international politics.

Second; China's peaceful rise strategy is also part of the strategy to manage its rise. China follows a comprehensive strategy to ensure its rise in the 21st century. Peaceful rise is a strategy to sustain its rise at international level. Third, China uses Harmonious World to establish a new world order. Harmonious World is in itself as model for global governance with Confucian philosophy at its core. China's demand for new international economic order in the form of Beijing Consensus is an alternative for the Washington Consensus.

Revival of Confucianism and harmony in China by the leadership of CCP is an extraordinary change in its ideology. Its basic principles which include class contradiction and historical materialism, Marx-Lenin and Mao's thought now coexist with harmony and peace. The CCP's advocacy of harmony is to deal with the legitimacy crisis in its domestic politics, because economic reform led to economic inequality, disparity. The CCP has been forced to search for a solution in its history to deal with these crises. This resulted in CCP's ideology moving away from its dialectical materialism. The CCP's ideological leap from Communism to Confucianism shows a clear departure from the communist ideology but not from

all ideology. China's ideological departure is the beginning of the decline of communist ideology.

The revival of Confucianism in CCP's ideology underscores two points. First, China moving away from Communist ideology is very positive sign of its integration with the international system, because it will lead to economic and political liberalization, and its integration to the international institutions. In this case, Francis Fukuyama's hypothesis of "End of History" will be completed with the end of ideology of CCP. Second, CCP's search for harmony in its history made Chinese people aware about their glorious history and Middle Kingdom superiority complex, thus paving the way for the rise of nationalism challenging the international system.

Though Communist ideology originated in the West, it posed more challenge to the Western international order between 1950 and 1990. Cold War politics was more dangerous than post-Cold War politics. The West does not have problem with China, if it comes with its values and integrates with the international order. For the West, CCP with communist ideology is more dangerous than CCP with Confucianism.

Therefore, the clash of civilizations between the West and East seems less harmful for West than the ideological conflict between liberalism and communism. It is seen that the clash of the civilizations is more accommodative in terms of power transition rather than ideological conflicts. As we have observed that power transition in the period of the Cold War, which was rivalry between two different ideologies for domination, was more dangerous and intense than the previous power transition between Britain and US, and later power transition between China and US. Though US and China constitute two different political systems and cultures, they share many common interests and have established robust cultural and economic linkages between the two societies.

According to the Power Transition theory, China, as a dissatisfied rising power, will try to replace the present superpower which could lead to war. The present study finds that China's advocacy of Harmonious World is part of its strategy to replace the US dominated existing order. The projection of Beijing Consensus as an

alternative economic model and Harmonious World as a political model backed by Confucian philosophy, are indicative of this strategy. The power transition is significant in the US-China case because the Chinese political and economic structure is different and the CCP is playing a major role but it becomes less dangerous when CCP follows Confucianism rather than the communist ideology.

The Concept of Harmonious World seems compatible with Neo-liberal theory of the international relations, and believes in the win-win situation, economic cooperation, and development. From the Neo-liberal perspective, economic interdependence enabled China in its integration with the international order and prevented it from direct confrontation with the West, particularly the US. The fact, the United States became the largest partner for trade, investment, management, and technology needed for China's modernization.

The concept of harmony, an important component of Chinese foreign policy in the 21st century is highly pragmatic in nature, wherein leadership is more conscious about China's peaceful rise and peaceful power transition. China's grand strategy is its peaceful rise. Therefore, it promotes harmony in its foreign policy to sustain its economic rise. China has cordial relations with the neighboring, Western, and third world countries. China's relations with the US are most important dynamic of the study.

Sino-American relations in the 21st century have a very interesting twist because US strategy is to protect its status while China is aspiring for its place without direct confrontation. However, China and US will try to manage relations peacefully because their views on terrorism, disarmament, environmental, and other non-traditional security issues are identical while they differ on the human rights issue, democracy, Taiwan, Tibet, and UN reform. Given these convergences and divergences in the Sino-American relations, the US is doing its best to maintain lead over China. Moreover the US also does not attach any importance to the Chinese concept of harmony. It does not factor it in its approach to China.

In regard to Sino-Russian relations, they share a constructive, cooperative, and strategic partnership to address much relevant regional and global issues. SCO is a major platform for both countries to collaborate on the regional and international

problems. Though Russian concerns over NATO's expansion in Eastern Europe facilitate close proximity to China, Russia is wary of China's rise and its use of concept of harmony in international politics.

As regard Sino-India relations, they are rising powers in the international politics. Both understand the international scenario and are working towards forging strategic cooperative partnership. Economic relations are important for both, and provide a framework for collaboration. Yet, India is cautious about China's rise and its concomitant framework of Harmonious World. However, it does not have any alternative framework.

The concept of harmony is also used *vis-à-vis* other countries. China's amazing rise became an economic engine of East and South East Asian countries despite their concerns about its regional hegemony. Chinese relations with the third world countries are focused economic cooperation and mainly on energy resources and raw materials. China does this without interference in domestic affairs. However, these countries are concerned about the Chinese economic policies. China's relations with EU are also centered to its economic cooperation, trade and development. EU projects its own model as an alternative model for global governance and therefore becomes a rival model for Harmonious World.

Thus, the present study examined the concept of harmony, which has considerable potential to help China challenge the international system. The study also found credible indications of China projecting the concept of Harmonious World as a strategy to restructure the international order. These two processes might strengthen China's grip over international politics in the years to come. However, it remains to be seen how Chinese will use the concept of harmony in the international politics in the foreseeable future. This will depend on the unfolding of its relations with major powers such as US, Russia and India.

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