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Liu Chunyan
School of International Relations
University of World Economy and Diplomacy
Uzbekistan
School of Marxism, Jining Normal University
Wulanchabu, China

DILEMMAS AND INSIGHTS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL ORDER

Abstracts: *The building of a new international cultural order is an important part of the construction of a new, fairer, more equitable and reasonable international order. However, the new international cultural order is still in its construction stage, and in this process, faced with the fierce competition of international forces, the stirring of different political trends and the profound adjustment of unequal interests, the road to building a new international cultural order is long and winding, the number of troubling factors is increasing, and the difficulty is growing. In this regard, countries around the world need to make efforts to explore a model of national interaction based on mutual tolerance, mutual respect and common development, so as to avoid vicious competition among major powers; strengthen theoretical research on world politics, so as to lay the theoretical foundation and value basis for the construction of a new paradigm of international cultural order; and promote the rise of emerging market countries and developing countries as a group, so as to build a solid power base for the construction of a new international cultural order.*

Keywords: *The New International Cultural Order International force Political thinking Patterns of interest*

I. Presentation of the problem

After the end of the Cold War, multipolarity became the general trend in the development of the international landscape. However, in the first decade after the end of the Cold War, the international landscape was characterised by one superpower and many others. The developed capitalist countries of the West, led by the superpower of the United States, are striving to build a "new international order" in which the weak are prey to the strong. As we enter the 21st century, the world is experiencing the greatest changes of the century. On 25 July 2018, General Secretary Xi Jinping pointed out in an important speech in South Africa titled:"Following the Tide of the Times to Achieve Common Development" that "the world today is facing a major change that has not been seen in a century ..... The next 10 years will be a critical decade for the transformation of the old and new dynamics of the world economy, and will be a decade of international pattern and the contrast of power to accelerate the evolution." This fully reflects the

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scientific judgement of the Chinese leaders on the dynamics of the international order. Today, the world's economic landscape has undergone profound changes, the contrast of international power has undergone revolutionary changes, a new round of scientific and technological revolution and industrial change has driven the reshaping of the world landscape, the global governance system has seen unprecedented incompatibilities and asymmetries, injustices and inequalities in international relations have become prominent, regional conflicts and local wars have emerged one after another, global challenges have emerged one after another, and the future and destiny of mankind have never been more closely intertwined. In the face of these changes, the international order dominated by the Western developed countries is becoming increasingly unsustainable. The trend has been to build a new international order that is fairer, more just and more reasonable. As a result, the restructuring of the international order and global governance system has become the focus of extensive attention and research in the international community today. The international order is the most central element of the global governance system. The current international order is generally considered to include both a political and an economic order. However, along with the rapid development of the world's multipolarity, economic globalisation and information networking, the role of culture in the international political arena has become increasingly prominent and has leapt to the forefront of the interests and competition between countries in the world today. Thus, the construction of a new international cultural order as a new dimension of the new international order has reached a consensus in academic circles. However, many issues concerning the construction of a new international cultural order are still not uniformly settled. What theories and paradigms are used to analyse and study the new international cultural order? What kind of new international cultural order is being constructed? What are the main obstacles to the construction of a new international cultural order? How to build a new international cultural order that is fair, just and reasonable ..... This series of questions urgently needs to be answered. The construction of a new international cultural order is not only conducive to promoting the establishment of a new international political and economic order and building a community of human destiny, but is also a manifestation of a deeper understanding of the laws of the development of human civilisation. Therefore, this article aims to analyse and sort out the main dilemmas in the construction of a new international cultural order, in order to bring some theoretical value to the conception of a new international order.

II. Review of existing literature

Research on the international cultural order has accumulated a wealth of theoretical achievements, such as Samuel Huntington's "clash of civilisations theory", Joseph Nye's "soft power" theory and the views of the constructivist school of culture, which have each analysed the international cultural order from different perspectives and opened up horizons for the study of the international cultural order. The international cultural theory proposed by Kenichiro Hirano,

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the theory of the world system represented by Zhao Tingyang, and the moral realism represented by Yan Xuetong are major breakthroughs and enrichments in the national cultural theory system. However, as a whole, there is still an urgent need for international cultural theory to be supplemented and improved as the times go by, thus contributing to the construction of a new international cultural order. The "clash of civilisations theory" argues that the main source of conflict in the post-Cold War world is the clash of civilisations and that the world order will be based on civilisations. The countries will be divided on the basis of their civilizational affiliation. Although Samuel Huntington's views highlight the importance of cultural factors in international relations and provide a new perspective for the analysis of world conflicts and the construction of an international cultural order, he confuses the concepts of civilisation and culture, and some of these analyses are open to scrutiny. Joseph Nye's theory of "soft power" has had a wide impact on the academic world. He believes that the power of countries around the world is not only reflected in "hard power" but also in "soft power", which has become increasingly prominent since the end of the Cold War. The constructivist school, which emphasises the study of international culture at the level of the international system and analyses the social ontology of the world and the cultural attributes of the international system, is prominently represented by Alexander Winter, Joseph Lapid, Friedrich Kratochvil and Peter Katzenstein. While the constructivist school offers a new research paradigm for the study of the international cultural order, it is far from being systematic enough to provide a thorough answer to the questions of the times. Kenichiro Hirano made the earliest attempts at international cultural theory research. In "International Relations as Cultural Relations", he argues that national states are formed on the basis of cultural commonalities and that intercultural frictions are disputes arising from cultural differences. The rise of international cultural theory has had a great impact on Chinese scholars. In "A Preliminary Study of National Cultures", renowned Chinese scholar Professor Yu Xintian proposes a research framework for international cultural theory at four levels. Professor Qin Yazheng suggests that the three aspects of culture formation, the dynamics that promote culture formation and the functions of culture be included in the field of international cultural studies. The efforts of Kenichiro Hirano and Chinese scholars have laid the foundation for the establishment of an international cultural theory system and have provided some theoretical basis for the construction of an international cultural order. In "Redefining a Philosophy of World Governance", Professor Zhao Tingyang puts forward the core concept of "universalism" and systematically explains its ideas, which has aroused a great deal of reaction in Chinese and Western academic circles. He also emphasised the relevance of the traditional Chinese worldview of "the world" to the construction of today's world order in a number of articles, including "The Modern Revelation of the World System", "The Future Possibilities of the World System", and "The World View and the New World System". The moral realism proposed by Yan Xue Tong

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argues for the important role of morality in strengthening the state and building a new national order. Other scholars who have looked at the international order from a cultural perspective include Tang Yijie, Wang Zeshi, Wang Yizhou, Guan Shijie, Li Shenzhi, and other prominent Chinese scholars such as Guo Shuyong, Chu Shulong and Zhang Ji. Their findings have served as an excellent foundation for the study of the construction of a new international cultural order. Among them, the representative ones are Jiang Xiumin's " Study on International Cultural Relations in the Era of Globalization", Luo Haobo's " Cultural Consciousness and the Construction of a New International Civilizational Order", and Zhao Yingyun's " Promoting and Establishing a New International Cultural Order", etc. In these results, there are different degrees of analysis and discussion on the theoretical basis, historical examination, main principles and ways of constructing a new international cultural order, which provide important references for further understanding the new problems arising from the construction of a new international cultural order under the "great change" and finding a way out.

III. Dilemmas in building a new international cultural order

1. The international power struggle is fierce and the process of building a new international cultural order is long and tortuous

The international order is the product of a power struggle between international actors. Changes in the balance of power between states can contribute to changes in the international order. Countries or groups of countries with great power dominate the international order by virtue of their great strength and organise it according to their own interests. The international order includes not only the international economic order and the international political order, but also the international cultural order. The international cultural order is "whose order", depending on the economic, political, cultural, scientific and technological, military and other comprehensive strength of the great and powerful countries. The international balance of power has changed dramatically since the 21st century. Professor Yang Jiexian, President of the Shanghai Institute of International Studies, examines the changing trend of international power from the perspective of the "four power groups", on which there is a high level of consensus in the academic community. He divides the "four forces" into the advantaged, the defensive, the disempowered and the vulnerable. The "gaining group" refers mainly to emerging powers, the "defending group" includes mainly state and non-state actors such as the United States, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the "losing group "The "disadvantaged groups" mainly include developing countries in difficulty and the developing regional organisations such as the EU.[4] The overview of the "four power groups" focuses on the development of international power today. The "advantaged groups" are the main agents of change in the international order, demanding that the

[4] Yang Jiexian. On the "four power groups" and the characteristics of the era of international power restructuring[J], World Economy and Politics, 2010, No.3, p.5.

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"hegemonic order" be broken down and that a new, fair, just and rational national order be constructed. The "defensive groups" are keen to preserve the existing international order in order to hold on to their vested power and interests. The "disenfranchised" are no longer the "first class" of the world, under pressure from the "advantaged" and "defensive" groups or suffering from crises and turmoil during the transition from the old to the new international order. The "underprivileged", despite their role in the construction of the international order, cannot play a decisive role in the construction of the international order because of their weakness. As a result, the old international order was gradually shaken as the "defensive groups" fell into decline. The "advantaged groups" are on the rise, but are still unable to dominate the world and a new international order has yet to be established. The international order is in a phase of transition between the old and the new. This transitional phase is also a phase in which the centre of world power is shifting. However, the shift of the world's power centres will not happen overnight, nor will it take place in calm, but will be a gradual process, full of resistance and contradictions, and may even create turbulent waves. It can be seen that, with the fierce competition and even confrontation between international forces, and the interference of many certain and uncertain factors such as economic, political, military, technological, security and humanistic factors, the construction of a new international cultural order will be a challenging and long process.

2.Different political currents are stirring each other and there are many obstacles to building international consensus

In global history, the development of political thinking has been an important force in the formation of the world system. Political trends have a direct impact on the relations between international actors. International actors do not stop at the material level, but also include spiritual elements such as ideas and culture. In the era of colonialism, the Western powers expanded globally, pursued cultural hegemony and established an international cultural hegemonic order. For example, British colonial rule over Hong Kong, China, implanted British cultural values in the territory. During the imperialist era, the two camps confronted each other, and this confrontation was not only reflected in military and economic terms, but also in cultural terms, resulting in an international cultural order mainly marked by the contest between two different ideologies, represented by the United States and the Soviet Union. After the end of the Cold War, in an era where peace and development are the main themes, the international cultural landscape has become dominated by strong Western culture and the co-existence of multiple cultures. Throughout the international cultural landscape of different periods, different schools of political thought have been reflected behind them. For example, there are several major schools of political thought that are representative of the West: liberalism, nationalism and socialism. The fusion of liberalism and nationalism led to the formation of liberal imperialism, which promoted colonialism, hegemony and power politics around the world, which in

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turn caused changes in the regimes of the colonised countries or within the opposing countries, with consequent changes in international relations and the reconstruction of the international order. For example, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe, a world pattern dominated by the developed Western countries, represented by the United States, was formed. Political trends are therefore an important factor in the construction of the international cultural order. The world is now undergoing the greatest change in a century, and the struggle between various political trends is extremely intense. In his book " Political Thought in the Contemporary World", Professor Liu Jianfei outlines and analyses some ten political trends. Although liberalism still has a place in the developed capitalist countries of the West, it has been hit hard since the financial crisis of 2008 and its explanatory power has been seriously questioned. Other new paradigms have emerged, among which the Chinese school, though not yet mature, is undoubtedly a breath of fresh air that holds out the prospect of a new international cultural order free from bullying, oppression and hegemony. However, in the current situation, the differences between different political trends remain large, the international consensus is unstable, phenomena such as the undercurrents of various ideologies and sharp confrontations still exist, and the vacillation between globalism and nationalism, liberalism and nationalism in the Western developed countries has constantly led to a series of problems such as the fragmentation of the international community, the intensification of the crisis of confidence, the obstruction of the globalization process, the failure of global governance and the frustration of multilateral cooperation, which has posed a serious challenge to the construction of a just and reasonable new international cultural order.

3.The difficulty of adjusting unequal patterns of interests plagues the construction of a new international cultural order

National interests are central determinants of interstate relations and drive the establishment, maintenance and transformation of national cultural orders. The competition between different international cultural orders revolves not only around the competition of national powers, institutions, rules and discourses, but also around the pattern of interests. The pattern of interests is generally considered to include three main areas: security, wealth and authority. Security traditionally refers primarily to state power, sovereign unity and territorial integrity. Wealth is primarily concerned with economic development, social development and the well-being of the people. Authority refers primarily to the power, status and interests that a country possesses in the international arena that are recognised and respected by others. In the international system, all countries, big or small, strong or weak, pursue their own interests, but they are not free to do whatever they want in the pursuit of their own interests. They are bound by international rules and regulations and unwritten tacit agreements and conventions on a range of issues such as what benefits they seek, how much they obtain and in what way they obtain them. As these rigid and flexible constraints

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are recognised and followed by countries over a longer period of time, a pattern of interests gradually emerges. There are international and regional systems of interest at different levels. Once the pattern of interests is formed, countries pursue their interests, distribute them and regulate conflicts of interest within the system. However, as the US and Western countries intensify their vicious hegemony, the pattern of interests dominated by the US and Western countries has increasingly reduced the space for emerging countries and other small and weak countries to survive, seriously violating the security of other countries, trampling on their dignity and undermining their interests. For example, the United States has interfered directly in the internal affairs of Iraq, Syria, Libya and other small and weak countries, pushed for the expansion of NATO to the east and deployed troops and missile defence systems in these countries, exaggerated the "China threat theory" and "Russia threat theory" to suppress the development of China and Russia, started a "colour revolution" and so on. These acts of the United States are a serious violation of international norms and have exacerbated conflicts and chaos in the world. As a result, there is a growing call for a redistribution of power, benefits and ideas among emerging and other small and vulnerable countries. However, there is still a long way to go to establish a new international cultural order. This is because, on the one hand, the existing mechanisms, means and forces are still not effective in checking the US and Western countries, and on the other hand, the US and Western countries still have a power advantage for a certain period of time and are unwilling to give up their Cold War mentality and ideological struggle. This makes the adjustment of the national pattern of interests a major obstacle. Without a fundamental change in the unreasonable pattern of interests, there is no way to talk about a just and rational new international cultural order.

IV. Revelation

How to resolve the current dilemma of building a new national cultural order is a major and urgent issue that cannot be avoided in world politics. To this end, it is necessary for all countries of the world to participate together, to oppose cultural conflicts, cultural hegemony and cultural colonisation, to advocate mutual tolerance, mutual respect and mutual learning, and to promote common development. First, countries around the world need to strive to explore a model of national interaction based on mutual tolerance, mutual respect and common development, to go beyond the old model of great power conflict, and to avoid vicious competition among great powers. The world today is in a period of great transition and risk, with humanity facing common challenges such as climate change, rapid population growth, resource shortages, ideological revival and epidemic pandemics, and a shift in the centre of world power. In such a period of great transition and change, whether or not a peaceful transition is made and a new, just and reasonable national cultural order is constructed is a matter of the future and destiny of all countries in the world and of the well-being of mankind. We advocate an inclusive world system that includes the majority of the world's

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countries and rejects mechanisms that can only satisfy the interests of a few countries, and even more so when a few countries base their claims on the economic interests of the majority. Secondly, we should strengthen the study of world political theory and build as soon as possible a new paradigm of international cultural order that is adapted to the development of the times and meets the needs of human development, so as to lay the theoretical foundation and value basis for maximizing international consensus and promoting the joint progress of all countries in the world for the benefit of humanity. Oppose cultural unilateralism and the segregation of cultures from each other. We advocate the equal treatment of different cultures and subcultures and oppose cultural discrimination, especially the cultural supremacy long practised in the United States and Europe. We advocate the normal interaction, exchange and integration of different cultures and sub-cultures, and oppose the complete ideologisation of culture, the push towards cold war, and the weaponisation and instrumentalisation of culture and values. Thirdly, it will promote the rise of emerging market countries and developing countries as a group, contribute to a more comprehensive and balanced global development, and provide a solid power base for the construction of a new international cultural order. In addition, countries are actively creating cultural exchange mechanisms, focusing on promoting inter-governmental cultural exchanges, social and civil cultural exchange activities, and promoting the democratisation of international relations through interconnection and mutual trust for mutual benefit. This shows that the construction of a just and rational new international cultural order cannot be achieved without worldwide economic multilateralism and pluralistic cooperation, without the interaction or linkage of different countries and societies around the world, and without the exchange and dialogue between different cultures. Only in this way can we continue to strengthen the foundation of the community of human destiny and maintain world peace and stability, development and prosperity.

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