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RISE OF CHINA: GLOBAL ORDER AND THE REGION

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ABSTRACT

The changing world order has given rise to the debate on the emergence of China. Currently, China has become the future of 21st century, weather it would lead to possibility of stability or chaos. The main point of this research weather US will ignore the changing world order without alteration and to confront to rise of China or it will recognize inevitability of alteration then the new world order based on distribution and balance of power. Thus the future of world would represent a multipolar stability in which each player holds the sphere of influence which is commensurate to its real power.

Introduction

The modernization brought into the study of Politics by Machiavelli had lasting impact. The concept of 'Power' has ever since become the center piece of Political analysis. Today Polarity is perhaps one of the major indicators for distinguishing the relative power of actors, primarily States, in International system. The three prevailing systems on the basis of polarity namely Unipolar, Bi-polar, and Multipolar, entail distinct assumptions and predictions for stability and instability of international system. The current world order is under rigorous scrutiny by security analysts, researchers, and Leaders. There are competing explanations about the nature of the current world order. It is being debated that the world is witnessing complete transformation into Multipolarity or it is still, although ever weakening, Unipolar in which the United States is the sole dominating Power. Of course, not any of the prevailing explanations are certain in their analysis. However, the certain aspect is that the current World order is changing shapes quickly. This is because the former super power, Russia, is exerting itself fiercely in recent times. The hitherto sole hegemon, the United States, now seems to have contracted sphere of influence. Above all the emergence of new power, China, has a defining impact over the current world order. In fact, the rise of China is debated the most by scholars. The aspect that most scholars delve into is whether the rise of China would be peaceful for the world. The transition of power from one to another would bring stability or chaos in international system.

China has emerged as a formidable power on the world map. Thus, it is no surprise that analysts are talking about the rise of China. Although some researchers perceive that the prediction of future world order is not possible, the one who consider it possible are trying to predict the future by arguing either about the peaceful or turbulent rise of China. Although it is always difficult to predict in definite terms, there are some pertinent questions which require, if not definite, answers which provide rich explanations about the general phenomenon of the rise of China. How would China exert itself in

international system? How would the current Super Power react? Will the transition of power be smooth or conflict-driven? What shape will Global governance take under the new power, China? What impact the rise of china will have on regional politics? Besides, the size and scope of Multilateralism would shrink or increase in the future world order.

Rise of China: Facts

A global power has discerning features. It has world-wide concerns and thus seeks to influence the world by employing different means. It forms a web of global alliances, has global military presence and the amount of military spending exceeds all other powers, and plays a central role in international norm-setting. Besides, it also plays a crucial role in global governance by leading international institutions. Above all, the global power has the required economic strength to match its goals and global agenda and has skilled population which plays a productive role in the development of the country. It is no surprise that the United States fulfills these parameters. However, the US-led global order is witnessing change and transformation following the end of cold war. The most notable change is the growing power of China. The rise of China is not an exaggeration but it is a matter of fact. Therefore, it is important to study the aspects of China's rise before estimating its effect on the US-led world order.

The entrepreneurialism of China began in 1970s with its economic transformation.(Han, 2019) Especially, the rise began after the completion of sixth five year plan of the Communist party which ushered in economic reforms and bolstered the trade. It was the genius of Deng Xiaoping's "four modernization" of agriculture, industry, science and technology, and national defense which transformed China into a fast-rising power.(Vogel, 2011)In this way, the rise of China involves three basic aspects namely, Political, Economic, and Defense. Of these three, the economic aspect serves as a pre-requisite to all others.

Economy

China is the second largest economy in the world and the largest in the world if measured in purchasing power parity (PPP) terms. According to the UN, China has \$11.2 trillion GDP value which accounts for 14.8% of global GDP. The current GDP growth rate is 6.4% which is due to the general slow-down of economic growth which some consider it as intentional. The most astonishing fact is that China has expanded its economy faster than any other rising power as no other economy can match the pace of China's economic growth in the past thirty years. (Kliman, 2014) In 1982 when then-leader Deng Xiaoping began its reform agenda, the China's economy accounted for only 2.2% of the world's GDP. In 2012, after thirty years, its GDP roughly increased sevenfold as it then represented 14.8% of world's GDP. For most of thirty years, China's GDP growth was slightly more than 11% and it is only after 2015 that it stalled around 7%.

The most fundamental feature of China's economy is trade. The sevenfold growth of China's economy is due to ever increasing exports. The export-driven economy of China relies heavily on trade. In thirty years of China's ascent, trade plays a fundamental role. The share of China in global trade has increased faster than any other rising power. In 1982, China accounted for only meager 2.2% of global commerce. After the series of economic reforms and opening up into the world, China's share of Global trade increased to 12.4% in 2017. This staggering increase in the share of global trade is perhaps the fundamental reason of China's formidable rise.

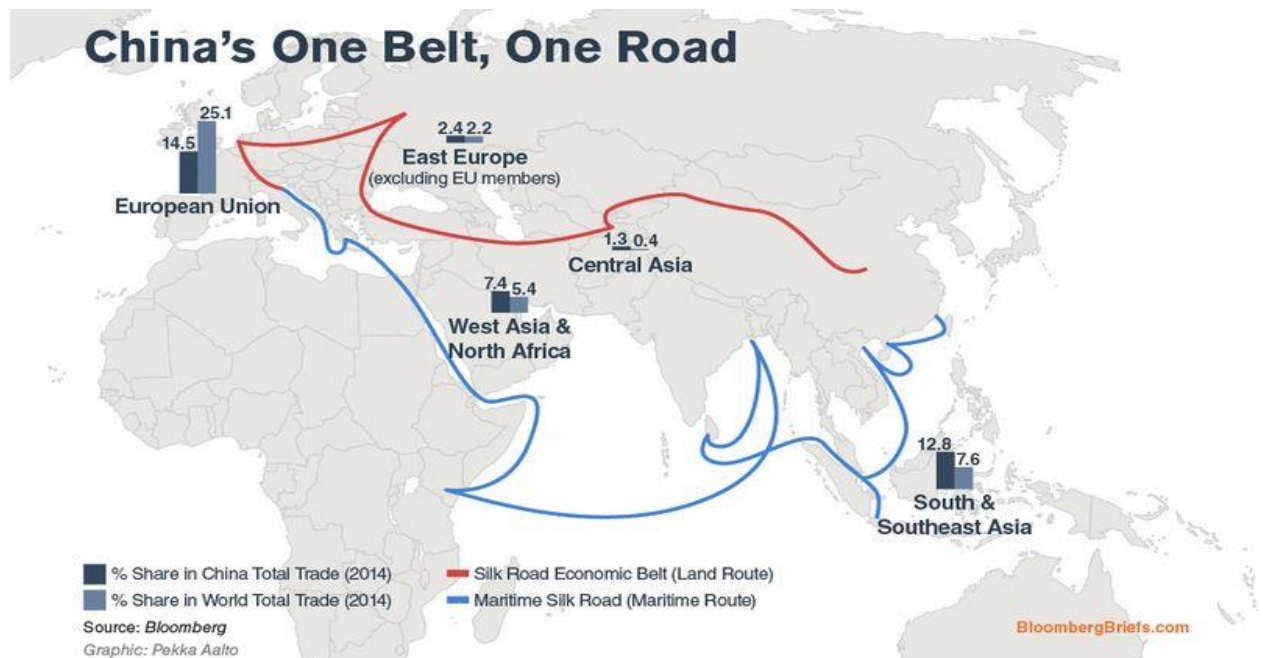
The economy of China is facing slow-down in recent times. As mentioned earlier, China's growth rate has stalled to 6.4%. However, the slowing down of economy is intentional as the current leadership intends to transform the economy and make it stand on strong footings. On the one hand, China seeks to further reform its economy and it is not afraid of slow-down. On the other hand, China is expanding its global economic outreach through BRI. Together

these two initiatives are meant to further strengthen the economy of China and sustain its growth.

One Belt, One Road; the outreach of China's Economy

The Belt and Road initiative (BRI) is a foreign policy and economic strategy of China. It is an ambitious trillion dollar project which economically links two ends of Eurasia, Africa, and Oceania. In 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping announced the launch of Belt and Road initiative which connects the regions through land and sea. There are two Belts under the BRI project which are following;

- Silk Road Economic Belt
- Maritime Silk Road



Source: (Bloomberg)

Besides, there are five key areas of Cooperation under the project. The BRI project intends to coordinate development policies, establish foreign infrastructure and facilities networks, strengthening investment and trade

relations, enhancing financial cooperation, and deepening social and cultural exchanges. Since 2013, the Chinese state-owned companies have invested in the BRI projects. The BRI contains six flagship corridors which are following;

- China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)
- Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor (BCIM)
- The New Eurasia Land Bridge Economic Corridor (NELB)
- The China-Mongolia-Russia Economic Corridor (CMREC)
- China-Central Asia-West Asia Economic Corridor (CCWAEC)
- China-Indochina Peninsula Economic Corridor (CICPEC)

The largest of these projects is CPEC which is worth \$68 Billion. Furthermore, the BRI also includes two financial initiatives which cover the financial aspects of the BRI project. These two institutions include,

- Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB)
- Silk Road Fund

The BRI includes creation of railways, energy pipelines, and highways. This infrastructure development is intended to enhance the productivity as well as connectivity of the regions. In addition, the BRI project includes the completion of 50 Special Economic Zones modeled after Shenzhen Economic Corridor.(Chatzky & McBride, 2019) Moreover, in order to tackle the ever increasing maritime trade, China invests in Sea port development.

The BRI project is a xi Jinping's brainchild. The ambitious project is planned to make china more assertive. This is no surprise then that the ambitious BRI is a departure from Deng's vision of "Hide your Strength, bide your time". Till now, more than sixty countries have signed the project which account for two-thirds of the World's population.This Staggering global outreach is meant to achieve geopolitical goals as well as reap economic benefits through enhanced economic connectivity.(Chinese Belt & Road Initiative, 2018) The geopolitical aspect will be discussed later. For now, it is

suffice to argue about the economic intentions behind the project. As it is well known, China has export-driven economy. This heavy dependence on exports requires that the country has excess to foreign markets. The BRI serves this purpose as it enhances Chinese excess to foreign markets. Not only it provides excess to world's markets but it also explores excess to fresh markets which were hitherto untapped. The BRI project is also a component of the commitment of Chinese leadership to restructure the economy. This restructuring is aimed at transforming the economy to enable to withstand the so-called middle-income trap. In this scenario, although countries' overall quality of life improves in the wake of rise in the low-skilled manufacturing, however, countries then struggle to shift to producing high-value goods and services. The BRI project counters these threats as it provides new export and import options, developing the Chinese economy. In sum, the BRI provides new investment opportunities, offers export markets, and enhances incomes and domestic consumption.

The BRI project, however, is not without opposition. The staunch opposition within the region comes from India. Globally, the US, UK, and Germany are wary of the project. These opponent countries consider the investment under the BRI project a Trojan's Horse which is threatening for the partnering countries. It is argued that many countries lack the capacity to repay Chinese debt and thus they are on the risk to default on heavy Chinese debt.

Made in China 2025: Economic reforms

Many observers are analyzing slow-down of China's economy. Since the growth rate has plummeted to 6.8%, economic experts are keen to explain this stagnation or slow-down. It is argued that this slow-down of China's economy is intentional and it comes in the wake of economic reforms initiated under the Xi's vision of 'Made in China 2025.' (Kania, 2019) Currently, China has a heavily state-controlled economy. The state-owned corporations are at the center of economic affairs. The overall vision of the proposed economic

reforms is to transform the Stat-controlled economy into mixed-economy. This transformation will result in less reliance on government spending, state-owned corporations, and low-priced exports. Instead, the intended mixed-economy will rely more on private investments, innovation, competition, and domestic consumption. Besides, Peoples Bank of China is eagerly taking measures to promote Yuan as a global reserve currency. This will attract foreign direct investment (FDI). Since per capita income is low in china, the domestic consumption remains low. Thus in order to consume its overproduction, China solely relies on low-cost exports. And China knows the fact too well that export-driven economy is at the risk of international trade practices and rules. Thus, the reform agenda is intended to increase domestic consumption. For that China is trying to increase per-capita income through promoting entrepreneurialism. Besides, it also tends to discourage overproduction. In this way, the plummeting of growth rate is understandable as a rational step towards discouraging overproduction. In addition, China wants to rule in technological sphere. Already China is holding patents and the largest share in intellectual property. Indeed, China has become leading force in solar technology. In sum, the overall vision of economic reform is to consolidate the economy and forestall risks of collapse.

Political Side of China's Ascent

A global power has the basic feature of political influence in the world. China's ascent in recent times has enhanced its political effectiveness not only in the region but world-wide. First of all, China is home to 1.3 billion people. This large population undeniably makes it a relevant actor in the world as the large Chinese diaspora is living abroad.

In the US-driven global order, international organizations play an important part. China holds important influence in these organizations as well. Most notably, it is one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. By default of permanent member of the UN Security Council, China holds veto power which is a most powerful political tool to protect interests of the

state. Since 2001, it joined WTO which opened up foreign markets for the Chinese products. The inclusion provided China with tariff-free access which increased its exports.

Besides, although China has become more assertive in recent times, it may still be cautious about showing assertiveness worldwide. However, it leaves no space to other powers in Asia-pacific. China intends a total hold in Asia-Pacific. For that it takes part in many regional organizations such as SCO and encourages participation of the regional countries into regional investment banks such as AIIB.

The recent ambitious project known as BRI also aims at enhancing Chinese political influence. Through BRI, China intends to use its growing economic prowess to achieve its ultimate political aims without provoking a military conflict as it hides military dimension of the project. The BRI also provides china a political hold over land and maritime routes. Since China is the largest trading partner and BRI further enlarges Chinese trading clout in the region and beyond, the trading partners find it inevitable to be sensitive to Chinese political interests.

Hard-power component; Military aspect of Chinese Ascent

Military strength is a key for a Global power. However, China had kept Military modernization last on the priority list. Deng Xiaoping's maxim, 'Hide your strength, bide your time' preached China to strengthen its economy first before building up its army. Therefore, China deliberately delayed its military modernization. It is, therefore, no surprise that national defense was last in the four modernization heads proposed by Deng Xiaoping. However, despite the weak alacrity for building up its military, China modernized its military rapidly in 1990s and the 2000s. Since 1990s, China tripled its military spending. Today, China's military spending is estimated around \$300 billion and stands only after the US which roughly spends \$800 billion. (Mastro, 2019)

Due to deliberate delay in Military modernization, China's military spending has increased slower than its share of global GDP and trade. However, after the world witnessed exponential growth in China's military spending, the pentagon published a whitepaper to the US senate which notes that "China has fiscal strength and political will to support defense spending growth at comparable levels."(Department of Defense, United States, 2016) Besides, the global economic reach and increasing political influence emboldens China to enlarge its military strength. Thus the tripling of military spending comes as no surprise.

In Sum, China first began to develop its economic, political, cultural power and only later it began to develop its Military power. Besides, even after it began to supplement its soft power with hard, it still adamantly projected itself as a less threatening power. In this way, it kept its hard power limited only to the region, especially dominating Taiwan, than projecting power more broadly. Similarly, it has not challenged the US in a military conflict. The Chinese A2/AD doctrine is also framed to limit the US' ability to intervene in Asia than projecting its power worldwide.

China among great powers and World order

The fact of China's rise leads us to probe the viability of the current world order. It also urges one to investigate the possibility of new world order. To do all that it is important to trace the answers to the following questions which are undoubtedly pertinent. It is tempting to know, how does China see the US-led world order? Is China trying to coexist with the US or is it intended to replace it as a global power? How does America see China's rise? Is the US ready for confrontation or can it successfully cooperate? Lastly and most importantly, will the emerging world order bring stability or will it infuse instability? To find out explanations to these questions, the article navigates, briefly, through history and expounds the three world orders of the past; First, the world order that emerged after congress of Vienna in 1815. Second, the world order that emerged after WWI. Third, the current order that emerged

following the WWII. The reason behind analyzing these shifts is simple; the demise of an order and the emergence of successive orders provide valuable insights for today. Hence, it then probes the place of China in current situation and the response that it receives from the other players in international system. In sum, the analysis will estimate the viability of the current order and the possibility of new order, its ability to bring stability or instability in international system.

Shifting Orders in the past and instructive insights

If we analyze world orders of the past through all the possible levels of analysis, a stable world order, argues Richard Haass, is a rare thing. (Haass, 2019) A world order emerges after turbulent conditions and a desire for change. In order for the World order to persist, it needs continuity of specific conditions that underpinned the order in the first place. These conditions involve many important things; it needs a firm distribution of power and general acceptance of the norms and regulations that govern the international system. In addition, stability of the order depends on a state craft which is favorable for the persistence of the order in place. Although state craft is essential, individuals and effective institutions are necessary for the order to persist as they play crucial role to adjust the order with ever changing conditions. However, even then, the best workable order reaches its end. This is because conditions do not remain same; the balance of power turns into imbalance, new powers emerge in the system, State craft faces turbulence or new actors emerge in international system which are anomalous for the order in place, and the individuals make mistakes and take steps that work against the order. In result, the altered conditions halt the functioning of the order as the order favorable to certain conditions cannot work in the totally changed conditions. Notwithstanding, the adaptation of the order in place can render stability to the order itself.

Tale of the world orders in history

It is a norm in research fraternity that scholars search for parallels to the existing order in the past. This article does not only look for parallels but it analyzes the shifts from one order to the other that is because the goal is to generalize about the viability of the existing world order and possible contours of the future order. The order in perspective, first, is the order that followed the congress of Vienna in 1815. The nineteenth century world order emerged out of turbulent period of revolutions and disruptions, e.g. French Revolutions, and subsequently Napoleonic wars that engulfed Europe. The great powers of the time, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and United Kingdom, gathered in Vienna in 1814 and 1815 after defeating Napoleon. The congress of Vienna heralded a system called 'Concert of Europe' which provided the underlying conditions for stability for the next hundred years. The concert of Europe established a balance of power and created norms and rules to ensure that France never again become interventionist. Most importantly, the Congress of Vienna made an impressive move to integrate France into the established order which was missing in the successive two orders as it was evident from Germany's exclusion from post-WWI order and somewhat Soviet's exclusion in the cold war. The order technically lasted until WWI. And it lasted because each player had its own reason to support the order. The overall conditions gradually changed. The foremost change was the shifting of balance of power which was the foundation of the Concert as the unified Germany and Japan rose in the second half of the nineteenth century, the tsarist Russia and Ottoman empire declined, and France and United Kingdom gathered more strength.

The two successive orders present the similar story. Following the WWI, the rules of the established order did not integrate Germany and thus infused cult of nationalism and fascism. Thus, the world order established for certain Statecrafts witnessed a different statecraft altogether such as Germany which

was embolden to take bold interventionism under its fascist and nationalistic cult. As a result, WWII erupted and marked the demise of the order.

Third, the order established after WWII reigns even today but it is ever weakening. Some scholars even term that the US-led world order has already reached its end. However, it is naïve to argue that the post-WWII order has reached its ultimate end but it is weakening and conditions that nurtured the order in the first place are quickly changing. It would not be wrong to say that we are on the verge to witness another shift. The liberal order that emerged in the aftermath of the WWII comprised of democracies, functioning institutions, free trade, and free flow of investment. The role of institutions was immense such as the UN and its power body called Security Council. The financial institutions helped to handle the monetary affairs in the order. And large trade transactions among the states ensured that the states remain committed towards the order. Interestingly, the bipolar cold war power politics played between the two rivals was the essence of the established order; alliances were not only economic-driven but they were largely ideological and thus were rigid. The end of cold war marked the triumph of liberal order which caused dispute within the research fraternity; one popular scholarship looked this triumph as ‘end of history.’(Fukuyama, 1992) Another termed it as a short-lived ‘unipolar moment.’(Walt, 2011)

Decaying order and shift

Indeed, the signs of decay are visible for long now; not democracies but authoritarianism is on the rise. The institutions which made the core of the liberal order do not hold eminence as WTO is unable to control theft of intellectual property and composition of the UN Security Council does not represent the real distribution of power in the world. The current order is unable to deal the challenges associated with globalization and the corollary that follows is the rise of nationalism and populism. The European Union is facing threats to its integration as it faces Brexit and issues pertaining to sovereignty and immigration. These are the real signs of a decaying order but

why is all this occurring? The explanation is similar to the reasons of the decay of the two preceding orders. The fundamental conditions have changed which were the blood and flesh of the Post-WWII order. First, the current World order is unable to handle power shifts; the rise of China and the revisionist Russia do not fit properly in the existing order. The China's case is discussed later. Russia has become more assertive in recent times especially in Eastern Europe and West Asia. Its use of force in Georgia in 2008 and Ukraine in 2014 and its intervention in Syria is evident of the fact. Second, the order is unable to handle the destabilizing effect of globalization. The spread of technology has empowered even those actors who work to dismantle the order. This is true for the situation in West Asia and even elsewhere. The state has weakened and actors playing at below the state-level have become stronger. Third, institutions are becoming weaker. The UN Security Council is case in particular. The statecraft and institutions are unable to take steps to control the destabilizing effects of globalization such as climate change and cyber-attacks. Finally, the leading power of the order, the US, is itself relinquishing the leading role. The US has shown reluctance in Syria as it had allowed other powers to cross its own laid red-line. The US was unable to act meaningfully when chemical weapons were used in Syria. As a result, the other powers and even partners of the US were left with no other option than to act independently. The Saudi-Led forces intervened in Yemen. Russian assertiveness is also one of the effects of the US squeezing role. This relinquishing of leadership is more likely to materialize under Trump administration as the President Trump's actions to withdraw from numerous international agreements and security pacts. (Xuetong, 2019)

China in the Decaying liberal order; the possibility of future order

The rise of China is undoubtedly a biggest sign of the decaying order as it transforms the balance of power which has had rendered stability to the order for so long. The case of China complicates the situation for two reasons; One, China is well part of the liberal system and takes benefit from it. Second, it

undermines the order in some areas by disrespecting the established norms and rules of the US-led liberal order.

The fact that China takes benefit from the order through participating in it is evident in many ways. It is a permanent member of the UN Security Council and thus holds veto power. This empowers China to set agenda in international system and occlude moves which are against its or its allies interests. On many instances, China used its veto and acted unilaterally against the will of international community; recently it was the only one to block the resolution in Security Council regarding a Pakistan-based organizations' proscription.(Abi-Habib & Schwirtz, 2019)In addition, China is member of financial institutions such as World Bank and IMF and utilizes their money for domestic infrastructure development. It also became member of WTO in 2001 and thus it gained access to foreign markets which in turn bolstered the export-driven economy of China.

However, China does not see whole order as beneficial to its interests and it intends to alter the parts of the current world order. In turn, it exploits the existing gaps in the order to its own favor. First, there are regions which almost fall outside the existing order because of the low interest from the US. China increases its influence in those regions through deep economic and political ties. For instance, it intends to establish its sphere of influence in Africa, Central Asia, and Southeast Asia. And it is so committed in this regard that it intends to completely dominate the Asia-Pacific. Besides, it maintains cordial relations with regimes which the existing order has ostracized such as North Korea, Iran, and Sudan. In turn, this enhances its political power. Second, China intends to establish new rules and norms in areas in which the existing rules are nonexistent, ambiguous, or weak. These areas include technology, internet regulations, and Maritime. In realm of technology, China wants to establish such rules about artificial intelligence which benefits its own companies. In the field of internet, China is promoting the notion of "Cyber-Sovereignty." Besides, it manages the negative effects of globalization

through its sheer capacity of its system. The inherent capabilities and incapacities of the respective economic systems of China and Western powers to manage the dislocating effects of Globalization are key to understand the success of China. Market-driven nature of Neo-liberal capitalism with no strict regulation and control makes its respective Nation-state vulnerable to the negative effects of globalization. Whereas, State-capitalism practiced in China, enjoys the degree of control and strict regulation that makes it better to handle the negative effects of globalization. It, therefore, still follows globalization-template, at least in economic terms. Moreover, it, unlike western states, wants cyberspace to be governed primarily by States instead of group of stakeholders. In this regard, China has held World internet conference since 2014 which promotes Chinese view of internet regulation. In maritime field, China exploits the lack of consensus in the law of sea. For instance China, in Contrast to the US, considers that freedom of seas does not extend to warships and thus it opposes innocent passage of navalvessels through country's territorial waters.

This novel strategy of China has provided it the needed impetus to rise faster. As a result, it is one of the powerful challengers to the existing world order. Since the order is decaying and China continues to rise stronger through exploiting existing gaps, the possibility of the future world order depends upon what choice does the US takes in reaction. If the US takes the choice to resurrect the old order and keep on prolonging its hegemony, the China is then left to force change in the order. The result would be confrontation and possibly the collapse of the order at some point in time. In contrast, if the US incorporates China's view of the World order, the result would be multipolar stability and persistence of the parts of existing world order and alteration in some other parts. As the world orders of the Past could not resist change in the fundamental conditions, it holds true for the existing world order. The Post-WWII US-led liberal order is facing fundamental change in the conditions that underpinned its stability. The US retreat from leadership invites emerging powers, lesser powers, and allies to act independently. Thus, the order built on

US-supremacy, efficient institutions, economic interdependence faces fundamental changes. Since the conditions have changed, it remains no more viable to offer stability without necessary alteration. Of course, the Choice of alteration is to be taken by the leading powers of the order which constructed it in the first place. And this Choice would be the most important choice in 21st century which would determine the possibility of stability and instability.

China in the Region; Pakistan's situation

One important sign of the decay of the existing World Order is the regionalization of Politics. One scholarship has put forward the contours of regional security complexes in which regions are shown as independent unit free from outside hyper-influence.(Buzan & Waver , 2003)Perhaps, this holds even more true for Asia. China has shown alacrity in completely dominating Asia-pacific; this is evident from militarization of South-China Sea and China's efforts to undermine US alliance system in the region as it convinces South Korea to cooperate with North Korea and it improves its own relations with Japan. China, through BRI, has looked to achieve regional economic integration and Pakistan is one of its biggest partners. Pakistan is expected to gain much through this partnership but there are implications which it is likely to face.

The partnership between the two has become stronger after CPEC which is worth \$68 billion. The overall situation of Pakistan's economy is fragile and is in dire need of such investment that could break the freezing condition and could further the growth at a self-sustaining pace. CPEC seems that very investment and thus self-justified.(Aneel, 2017) Another justification for embracing the CPEC lies in the changing geo-political trends and the contour of world's political economy particularly in post-2008 crises. The dynamics of geo-politics are changing rapidly in south-Asia and elsewhere in the world; China is a new reality with ambitions stretching across the world, the conservative trends of 2016 USA's Polls, Brexit and increasing strength of the right throughout Europe, USA's increasing protectionism in the face of its

dealing with NAFTA, under this exclusionary trends in the West, China seems a strong and plausible actor in the world politics that is embracing non-exclusionary and anti-protectionism policy. Thus, any deal coming from China was to be embraced wholeheartedly and CPEC is justified for the fact that where west is leaning towards exclusionary and Protectionist policies, CPEC is a helping FDI for a fragile economy like Pakistan that sees no other plausible alternative.

However, there are some problems. The condition of Uighur Muslims poses a moral compulsion for Pakistan to take stand. (Haider, 2005) China, however, is sensitive to the issue and tolerates no intervention in its internal affairs. The Prime minister of Pakistan has ignored commenting on the issue in recent time but how long can it ignore? If the issue goes at international forums, Pakistan will have to take a side. If it sides with authoritarian regime in China and turns blind eye on the handling of Uighur Muslims, it will be blamed for selective morality. In turn, it will lose moral strength to support Kashmiri struggle. On the other hand, if Pakistan speaks for Uighurs, it will undoubtedly disturb China and may end up destabilizing the bilateral relations between the two. Therefore, Pakistan has to face this difficult choice and cannot ignore the issue for long.

Conclusion

The existing World order is facing fundamental changes in the conditions that underpinned its stability for so many decades. The pillars of the order are facing decay; the order built on US-supremacy, efficient institutions, economic interdependence faces fundamental changes. The changing conditions, in addition, involve rise of new powers (China) and assertiveness of the older ones such as Russia. In turn, the balance of power which provided stability to the order has changed into imbalance. Besides, the destabilizing effects of globalization and spread of technology in the hands of non-state actors is challenging the very statecraft which structured the order. In the heyday of the existing order, technology was the tool completely controlled by

the state. Today, the reality is different as non-state actors are using technology against the statecraft. In addition, the US which played lead-role in constructing the order is itself on the retreat. In addition, the regionalization of politics is exacerbated by China's efforts to promote regional connectivity. These changes confirm decay of the existing order and provide possibility of a new one.

Of the fundamental changes in the condition, the foremost change is the rise of another power in the system, China. Its economic, military, and political ascent makes it an undeniable contender for power-sharing in the future world order. After recognizing fundamental changes in the conditions, the alteration in the order becomes inevitable because the order, as evident from the rise and fall of the world orders in history, cannot survive in altered conditions. It loses viability when conditions change and thus alteration becomes necessary, otherwise, as it is seen in the past, it collapses completely. However, this leads us to the matter of choice. Of course, the choice of alteration is to be taken by the leading powers of the order which constructed it in the first place. And this Choice would be the most important choice in the 21st century which would determine the possibility of stability and instability. If the leading power, the US, ignores the fundamental changes in circumstances and pushes the existing world order to persist without alteration, perhaps without power-sharing with china, it would confront the rise of China. The result would be deadly power competition and confrontation in the world. In contrast, if it recognizes the inevitability of alteration and accepts China's sphere in the world, the new world order would be based on the real distribution of power and thus balance of power will prevail. As a result, the future world order would represent a multipolar stability in which each player holds the sphere of influence which is commensurate to its real power.

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