

Original Paper

Nationalism in Globalization

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Abstract

This paper, following the method of systematic balanced thinking, studies nationalism and nation-states amidst globalization, proposing the following main points: First, moving to the center of the world stage, we should correctly understand nationalism and nation-states, and represent the moral, theoretical and technological commanding heights. Second, nationalism is a double-edged sword, the national liberation movement in history was essentially a movement against imperialism, extreme nationalism is the root of world turmoil, and national self-determination and national independence movement is not a fundamental choice for the healthy development of human society. Third, nation-states have universality and particularity of interests, the essence of nation-states is to concentrate national strength to defend national rights and interests, and to maintain social order and the rule of public life. Fourth, the People's Republic of China and the United States of America are two nation-states with distinctive characteristics in the world. The United States, as the largest emerging nation-state, highlights Protestant culture in its nationality, adheres to power politics and the rule of survival of the fittest, and pays more respect to modern laws and regulations in national governance. China, as the largest ancient nation-state, highlights farming culture in its nationality, adheres to the philosophy of living in harmony with nature, and is greatly influenced by natural forces or traditions in terms of national governance. The cooperation-competition development with "Bipolar Coexistence" of China and the United States results from the law of human social development. Fifth, to cope with the current complex and sensitive international situation, it is necessary to correctly judge and choose the future trend and power of nation-states in the world. The countries in our world are multi-ethnic and multi-religious. Peaceful coexistence, mutual benefit, free choice of residence and mutual respect are the only correct choices for the survival and development of peoples of all ethnic groups around the

world. The action and reaction of universality and nationality promote the development process of the Community of Shared Future for Mankind. Sixth, the key to national equality lies in equality of people, and the key to building the Community of Shared Future for Mankind lies in the consciousness of equality, which requires that we adhere to the unity of universality and particularity.

Keywords

Sino-US relations, competing development, bipolar connection, co-evolution

Nationalism and the establishment and development of nation-states have been a major theme of the international community since the Industrial Revolution, especially in the 20th and 21st centuries, to which international contradictions and cooperation, war and peace, crisis and development are all related. In the era of globalization, how should we view nationalism and nation-states? Will nation-states become more and more national? Or will it be inevitable to move towards a Community of Shared Future for Mankind? What are the internal and external forces driving the trend of nation-states? Is the driving force “sovereignty paramount”? Or is it a need of “shared future”? How should we deal with the relations between globalism and nationalism under the new situation? These questions merit our exploration.

1. The Definition of Nation

To have an in-depth understanding of the essence of nationalism and nation-states, we must first understand the definition of nation. The social organizational forms of mankind include families, extended families, clans, tribes, tribal alliances, nation-states, and nation-state unions, which have gone through the primitive age, uncivilized age, barbaric age, and civilized age. Each age can be divided into a low-level stage, an intermediate stage and an advanced stage. For these social organizational forms, families are basic cells; family relatives form an extended family; and extended families can also be called blood clans or phratries. A clan is a group composed of families descending from a shared ancestor and an expanded family. A tribe is a group composed of several clans in the form of teams or villages consisting of families (Bodley, 2010, p. 13). A tribal alliance is a group composed of many tribes. A dynasty is a hereditary kingdom established on the basis of tribal alliance, with the characteristics of family. A nation is a group that is different from other groups based on ethnic characteristics, history and culture, and is a huge and influential cultural community. A nation-state is a sovereign entity established by one or several nationalities, which often has different ethnic characteristics, historical culture and national interests from other entities. The consortium of nation-states is a huge and interconnected community of life established according to certain rules, which is a huge influential community of people living together. A nation often originates from a specific region, grows up in a special social background, takes shape in a given historical space, and

revolves around a superior family. The nation originates from the family cell, especially the internal connection with the tribal dynasty, which is prone to the phenomenon of "one nation is one dynasty". This kind of gregarious organization based on blood relationship formed a long primitive, misty feeling and barbaric era of human beings. It was not until the Industrial Revolution that the political entity established with the citizen as the main body appeared. The organizational forms of human society have evolved from low to high, with higher forms dominating and balancing the lower ones, reflecting the process and characteristics of nature.

The concept of nation is not "always with human beings since the inception of history", but it is a relatively recent phenomenon in human history. Political nations in the modern sense appeared quite late in human history, although communities based on special geographical environment and cultural customs and having superior leadership (tribal alliances, earliest nations, and earliest countries), such as nations like the Roman Empire in the ancient West and the Yin, Shang and Zhou Dynasties in the ancient East, had existed for thousands of years. It was not until the 18th century that the modern meaning of the word "nation" emerged (Hobsbawm, 2006, p. 3). It was even later to equate national units with political units. No matter in the 1789 or the 1793 edition of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the international community did not mention the right of ethnic groups to strive for sovereignty and independence (Dann & Dinwiddy, 1988, p. 34). China did not introduce the concept of nation from abroad until the end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th century. Liang Qichao first used the concept of "nation" (minzu) in 1899, and in 1902, "China" (zhonghua) and "nation" (minzu) were used together to form the term "zhonghua minzu" (Chinese Nation) in "On the General Trend of Changes in Chinese Academic Thinking", and the word "Chinese Nation" thus came into being, with its connotation constantly adjusted and enriched (Liang, 2006, pp. 100-109).

"Nation" can be defined from many perspectives. From the perspective of mythology, "nation" is natural and innate as God's classification of mankind; from a common point of view, national identity is a natural emotion, deeply rooted and even longer than human history; from the perspective of modernization (from top to bottom), "nation" is first and foremost a political principle, and "political units and national units are congruent" (Gellner, 2006, pp. 48-49). According to the Encyclopedia Definition of European and American, "Nation means the collective name of a country's people under the same government" (Note 1). Stalin pointed out from the perspective of class analysis of political economics (from bottom to top): "A nation is a stable community of people formed in history, which is based on the four basic characteristics shared by people, namely, a common language, common region, common economic life, and psychological state manifested in national cultural characteristics" (Note 2). In fact, there is no and should not be a unified standard for classification of nations, which is based sometimes on language and ethnic characteristics; sometimes on the combination of a common land inhabited, a common language, shared historical experience and cultural traditions; and sometimes

derived from “collective identity” and free choice in that regardless of their place of residence some people are of a certain nation as long as they claim to belong to it. There are regional, cultural and social differences in national identity, which are related to living conditions, historical culture and social background. Different living conditions created under the same national banner may lead to a different national identity, and so may different historical cultures and social backgrounds. National issues call for a comprehensive study of history, region and culture, combining “top-down” and “bottom-up” approaches.

“Nations” result from the development of the organizational form of human society. The organizational form of human society has been developing and changing, evolving from simple to complex, from simple natural division of labor to complex social division of labor, and from family economy to market economy. Mankind used to live in a tribal society with limited population and extremely simple living skills (Bodley, 2010, pp. 12-13). It was not until 7,000 years ago when mankind invented scripts, improved their linguistic ability, and developed social division of labor and exchange that the lifestyle of tribal society began to change, and mankind also entered the barbaric age and civilized age. The initial division of labor and exchange within tribes developed to the division of labor and exchange among tribes, followed by production and exchange of commodities, and then there emerged the global market and world trade replacing the national market, and inter-state trade. With such changes and developments, the scale and influence of the organizational form of human society were expanding, and “nations”, as the most important and complex organizational forms of human society, started to exert an increasing global impact. Nations are historical products derived from specific regions and temporal-spatial environments, resulting from the development and changes of human society. Nations are not permanent but will change with the change of society. The emergence of nations is related to both cultural shaping and social change. They are products of a series of changes in the mode of production and exchange, reflecting the inevitable process of development and epochal nature of human society.

In the long primitive and benighted ages of mankind, given the extremely backward productivity of clans and tribes, only when people worked together, made and used tools and materials together, and hunted together in the same primeval forest, could they get the basic guarantee of survival. This stage of development saw no class distinction or exploitation, no market, and people were the owners of their own products. Consequently no national society existed.

With the development of productive forces, many great social divisions of labor occurred in tribal alliances and earliest countries when mankind entering the barbarous and civilized ages. In the first great division of labor, nomadic tribes were separated from handicraft group, resulting in slavery. The second social division of labor saw the separation of agriculture from handicraft industry, giving rise to feudalism. The third social division of labor resulted in the separation of commodity production from

capital, bringing about the capitalist system and the socialist system. These great social divisions of labor involved social transformation, and with increasing conflicts of interest among people, the national society was born. The organizational form of national society, adapting to the social state and environment where it was born, developed a unique structure specific to this social state and environment, not only able to deal with all possible conflicts within the society organized in this way, but also able to properly cope with external challenges, thus being passed down and developed. The third great social division of labor, in particular, involved political, scientific, technological and social transformation, when various administrative systems, bureaucratic systems, scientific and technological developments, economic conditions, historical situations and social backgrounds promoted the unprecedented development of national social organization forms and activities.

2. The Development of Nation-states

In the 19th century, especially at the end of the 20th century, the development of the organizational form of national society culminated. This was highlighted by the vigorous development of nation-states, which, with their great number and diversity of forms, became the main political forms of human social organization in modern times. Why did nation-states flourish in modern times?

In the development of modern capitalism, nation-states played a particularly significant role. According to common sense, especially based on the theory of free market economy, market transcends national boundaries, taking the whole world as the stage, while market players pursue the maximization of profits and the minimization of costs in the borderless world market. Only the allocation of resources via market is the most appropriate. Capitalist theory and practice should constantly dilute national boundaries and the function of nation-states. However, as a matter of fact, nation-states, on the contrary, play an indispensable role in the development of capitalism, for reasons that are historical and realistic, and keep pace with the times.

From a historical point of view, the prototype of nationalism played a certain role in inspiring the successive nation-building movements. The establishment of nation-states mainly aims to use instrumentality of states to safeguard their interests. The development of European capitalist economy from the 16th century to the 18th century, in particular, was based on territorial countries. Each country took itself as an integral whole, in need of state instruments to help promote mercantilism. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the economy was basically international trade with countries as units. Many countries strengthened national power. For example, after the climax of a long Struggle between Hamilton for a strong central Government and Jefferson for more open market, in December 23, 1913, President Woodrow Wilson signed the bill to establish the Federal Reserve System, and said that the new law was a “constitute of peace for the business interest of United States” (Note 3). In addition, for the bourgeoisie, “what exists under capitalism is the country in the original sense, that is, a special

machine in which one class, consisting of the minority, suppresses the other class, consisting of the majority” (Note 4). For the proletariat, “they need the country, not for freedom, but to suppress their enemies” (Note 5).

From a realistic point of view, individuals’ pursuit of wealth maximization dominated by free market does not necessarily increase the wealth of a state. In view of the natural deficiencies and failures in the free market, the economic role played by the state is indispensable. The government function of the state can solve some problems that the market function cannot address, and can rationalize and standardize the principle of free competition. States can also gain more economic benefits and maintain their own economic security in international competition through state power.

From the perspective of innovation, the organic combination of nation, state and economy not only can promote economic development, but also can create a great country, as advocated by Hamilton, an American federalist, who believed that in order to speed up the development of the national economy, it was necessary to set up a national bank, and the country must bear state debts, issue government bonds, raise tariffs, protect state-owned enterprises, and impose an excise tax, as these measures could not only address the problems encountered in the early development of the United States, but also shape the national integrity of the country.

It is precisely for these reasons that in the 19th and 20th centuries, while capitalism made great progress, the establishment and development of nation-states reached an unprecedented stage. Specifically, nation-states have gone through four waves in modern times:

The first wave of nation-state founding mainly appeared in the American continent in the second half of the 18th century. With the nation-state of America as their logo, a group of defiant Protestants held high the flag of sovereign independence and set off the first wave of national independence in America. As the American nation did not exist before the founding of the country, the American nation was only the product of the founding process, but not the ground for the founding of the country (Hobsbawm, 2006, p. 74).

The second wave of nation-state founding mainly appeared in the European continent from 1830 to 1880. In these five decades, the free bourgeoisie rose to play a leading role in European history. Advocating democratic principles, they set off a turbulent wave of national independence in Europe. Germany, Italy, Austria and Hungary all announced the founding of their nations during this period. The Ottoman Turkish Empire, in particular, split into four independent countries, namely Greece, Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria, based on democratic principles, sending the Ottoman Empire to the fossil museum of human history.

The third wave of nation-state founding appeared in every corner of the world in the first half of the 20th century. The principle of national consciousness advocated by American President Wilson and the national and social liberation movement promoted by the socialist camp objectively promoted this

wave of nation-state founding from different angles. For example, with the Versailles Peace Treaty led by Wilson after World War I, Europe alone was divided into 27 countries. In the name of national principle, some oppressed nations and internationally unrecognized nations placed special emphasis on their right to self-determination in their endeavor for independence. In the separatist movement in Western Europe, for example, 42 regions had attempted to gain independence. The Russian Revolution replaced the French Revolution to become an important ideology of national liberation movements all over the world, also playing an important role in promoting the right of national self-determination and striving for national independence. The national liberation movements in various colonies or sub-colonies were objectively influenced by nationalism in this period, with influence coming from not only the Wilson Doctrine, but also Leninism and Stalinism. After the Second World War, the national independence movement saw a further upsurge, with the number of nation-states in the world reaching more than 180. This national liberation movement was, by nature, a movement against established imperialism.

The fourth wave of nation-state founding emerged in the “Upheaval of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe” from the late 1980s to the early 1990s. Some nationalists benefited from the drastic changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Some former Soviet Union republics and former Soviet-controlled areas in Eastern Europe made full use of the opportunity of the disintegration of the Soviet Union to set off a new wave of national independence. Sixteen internationally recognized small nation-states have newly arisen all of a sudden in the world, and it seems that this internationally recognized national separation movement would not stop immediately. Of course, nationalists are not only divided but also unified. For example, in Germany, “the unification of East Germany and West Germany was a by-product of external forces beyond Germans’ expectations”. However, this wave is mainly based on ethnic division, which has not only occurred in Eastern Europe, but also spread to some post-colonial African countries. The number of nation-states in the world has culminated.

However, what does the prosperity of nation-states and nationalism bring to the world? A security dilemma has been imposed on the world, so to speak. Today’s international system is one with a serious security dilemma, which is highlighted in three aspects. First, a country raising its own security standards often makes other countries feel insecure. Second, it is never possible for any country to attempt to achieve permanent peace by conquering the whole world. Third, should peace be defined as a state of tranquility and harmonious coexistence with each other, it would be impossible to see peace in this world. Why has such a dilemma arisen? This is because the current international system is generally in the state of anarchy. The sovereignty of many independent countries making up the international system is innate. Survival is the primary goal of all countries, and they all attempt to maintain territorial integrity and domestic political order. To safeguard their own sovereignty and survival, all countries have some kind of offensive power. Countries are suspicious of each other,

worried about being violated and endangered, and as they can never grasp the intentions of other countries, strengthening themselves becomes the best way to ensure their own survival. In particular, the international situation is becoming more and more complicated, with further increase of uncertainties. Countries consider how to survive the uncertainties from a strategic perspective, and have greater motives to defend against others. Countries, especially major powers, are always looking for opportunities to seize the power overtaking their opponents and to maximize their seizure of world power. Therefore, the world for human survival and development at present is fundamentally a zero-sum game world in the state of anarchy. Changing this state requires the responsibilities and commitments of all countries.

It is noteworthy that despite the emergence of many small countries, a group of globalization ideas still glows. Arnold Pickler, a German ethnologist, has proposed the idea of “world citizens”, saying that “World citizens are by no means limited to the parochialism of small towns and cities, and their vision is not limited to the church spires in their village” (Pickler, 1984, p. 30). He calls on those obsessed with local consciousness to open their mind to the world. G. Lowes Dickinson has pointed out, “Under the illumination of art and science, the differences and barriers between ethnic groups will inevitably melt away” (Porter, 1968, p. 331). Eric J. Hobsbawm believes that the human community is gradually expanding from small to large, from families to tribes, from tribes to nations, from areas to regions or from countries to the world. If other conditions remain unchanged, with the gradual expansion of human society, nations should move forward at the same pace with the evolution of human history until the realization of a world of great harmony in the future (Hobsbawm, 2006, p. 30). These thoughts on globalization are of reference value to us.

3. The Nature of Nation-states

How should the nature of nation-state be regarded? Nation-states are closely related to individuals, families and nations. When it is difficult for a single person, a single family, a single clan, or a single nation to survive and develop in a natural state, only by uniting and acting in concert can they overcome difficulties. By then, a uniting and coordinating tool is needed. A nation-state is an instrument that unites scattered national forces into a collective force according to certain rules and contracts, a machine that defends national rights and interests, a special institution that coercively maintains social order and the rule of public life, and a political community with equal rights and obligations. Plato holds that an ideal nation-state “must possess the qualities of wisdom, courage, self-improvement and justice”. A successful nation-state depends on people’s loyalty to their homeland (their mother) and each other (their brothers and sisters). An excellent nation-state always loves life, and hopes to improve the present situation and keep making progress with wisdom and honest labor.

Obviously, nation-states have emerged around national interests. However, the interests of a nation-state are not ready-made awaiting us to discover and explain, but are constructed through social interactions. In a world of accelerated globalization, the interests of nation-states are significantly influenced by both the domestic society and the international community. To some extent, national interests are shaped not only by the unique values of historical regions, but also by the norms and values shared by the international community, reflecting universal values. In various policy fields, nation-states often need to maintain many goals and values, avoid aggression and economic collapse, improve the health and moral standards of all citizens, and have population growth. The internal affairs of various countries and regions have a decisive outline for defining their national goals and interests, but at the same time, it is not difficult to see that domestic politics is increasingly under the impact of international influences. "Meeting both domestic and global interests" is not only an ideal design, but also a consensus of the international community.

The core interests of any nation-state can be summarized as "national security, people's happiness, economic development and social construction". No country's goals or principles will ignore these contents, which reflect the universality of national interests. Meanwhile, it is undeniable that different nation-states may have different understandings and expressions of their core interests, and even contradictions may arise, which reflects the particularity of the interests of nation-states.

An examination of the present situation can find that the particularity of national interests is often greater than universality, and countries and regions generally emphasize their own local interests because they are driven by the particularity of national interests, limited vision, self-righteousness and neglect of the organic connections in the world. In a community of shared future for mankind and a world of global occurrence and development, narrow nationalism and fixed unilateralism can hardly work, as it is difficult for the world to return to the age of self-sufficiency and internal circulation before industrialization. A globalized and internationalized social life has become the common way of survival and development. Like domestic social life, international social life needs to be organized, standardized and legalized. The current international governance system and order, which have played a positive role in world peace and development, obviously needs to be improved and make progress at the same pace with the time. Some current international rules are limited to the conditions of the time when they were set, which do not and cannot fully reflect the needs of the current and future international situation. Therefore, only by deepening reform, seeking common ground while reserving differences, increasing consensus and universality, reducing prejudice and limiting particularity can we provide norms and guidelines for the behavior of countries and regions around the world.

In a word, a nation-state is a historical, modern and evolving ethnic group integrated around the basic needs of survival and development. Nation-states are historical: in the long process of evolution, some nationalities have formed a nation-state for better survival and development. This kind of nation-state

has historical roots, such as China in the East, the UK, France and Spain in the West, which are nation-states with a long history. Nation-states are modern: as political entities and independent sovereignty, some nationalities become sovereign states. This kind of nation-states, such as the United States and Australia, are new nation-states, trying to achieve the survival and development of the nations through the power of the states. Nation-states are developing: with the continuous development of human society, both the sovereignty formed in history and the sovereignty formed in modern times should and will follow the evolution law of human history. From a political perspective, the world will gradually move towards unity. From the cultural point of view, a unified world does not mean that the traditional customs and languages of ethnic minorities will inevitably die out, and does not harm people's attachment to their ancient traditions. As long as we uphold cultural diversity and treat all kinds of antiques left by ancestors with reverence, some distinctive national cultures will still maintain vigorous vitality, providing rich cultural colors for the world of great harmony.

4. China and the United States: Two Major Nation-states

All nation-states in the world are responsible for the development of human civilization and can make due contributions. Meanwhile, it is undeniable that the civilized world will follow the models created by major powers. China and the United States, as two distinctive nation-states, play a particularly important role in the development of world civilization and a community of shared future for mankind. The United States, as the largest emerging nation-state, highlights Protestant culture in its nationality, characterized by pioneering, inclusiveness and pragmatism. In terms of state governance, the United States adheres to the rule of law and survival of the fittest, and has a better legislative system than traditional nation-states. The founders of the United States are actually a group of settlers migrating to America, no different from the British King George and his supporters in ethnicity and language, but for the purpose of political sovereignty, they insisted on founding an independent country and creating a new nation-state. Therefore, the United States, as an emerging nation-state, emphasizes and pursues the meaning of an independent sovereignty as a political entity, fundamentally different from the traditional elements of nation-building (ethnicity, language, etc.). These Protestants founded the American federal system and turned a large area of North America into a settlement for a new American nation to live in peace and prosperity, and relying on the religious instinct of a constant flow of immigrants, they shaped new America into an ideal spiritual destination. These Protestants showed both aggressiveness and creativity in the process of expanding their territory. Restless and idealistic, they created America based on the principle of "politics first". Advocating power, they firmly believed that "those lagging behind will be beaten", and excelled at using guns and canons to transport civilization. Meanwhile, they have endowed America with the meaning of a new nation, within which there are countless cultural nationalities. It can be said that the number of immigrant groups equals the

number of cultural nationalities. The cultures of such nationalities enrich the new national culture; while the new national culture provides support and new space for the cultural development of various ethnic groups in America. Americans often regard America as a refuge, a place of rebirth and development endowed by God. In a brand-new space, a brand-new country and a brand-new land, everything can be tried, but most attempts are based on pragmatism. Only things that are pragmatic are reasonable and only pragmatism can provide unlimited possibilities for the survival and development of America. Therefore, from the features of pioneering, inclusiveness and pragmatism, America, as a nation-state, is characterized by distinctive Protestant features.

China, as the largest ancient nation-state, highlights farming culture in its nationality, reflects history, perseverance and modesty, and adheres to the philosophy of living in harmony with nature, and is influenced by more natural forces or traditional inertia in terms of national governance. As a nation with a long history, the Chinese Nation boasts a continuous history of civilization and development spanning over 5000 years. Since ancient times, every Chinese has been extremely proud of this fact, having a strong sense of national pride. The big family of the Chinese Nation always has numerous ethnic minorities, with highly integrated blood, geo-culture and spiritual elements (Danzhu, 2021). Ancient China (Zhonghua) was synthesized by the multi-national names of “Zhongguo” and “Huaxia”, reflecting the coexistence of many nationalities. After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, 56 ethnic groups were identified and classified nationwide from the perspective of historical and cultural customs, forming a united multi-ethnic nation. Unity refers to political unity, and the Chinese Nation is a national entity of political unity. Pluralism is cultural pluralism, as the Chinese Nation includes 56 ethnic groups. “Fifty-six ethnic groups are grass-roots cultural ethnic groups, while the Chinese Nation is a high-level political nation”. This is no different from other multi-ethnic countries in the world. In the united pluralistic pattern of the Chinese Nation, despite their different cultural customs, ethnic minorities have jointly developed the splendid and vast territory of the motherland, making indelible contributions to Chinese civilization. They always pursue and cherish the concept of peace, harmony and concord, showing their hard-working, persevering, faithful and sincere character. The Chinese Nation also has noble sentiments that “the world is a big family”, that they should glorify their ancestors, and that they should treat their guests well even when they do not have enough food for themselves. In the process of traditional historical development, Chinese people used to have a sense of content that they were in the center of the world, thinking that China was the world, the world was China, and all places outside China were wild places. As a result of this vision, China missed out on its correct positioning for a long time in modern times. In light of such characteristics as history, tenacity and vanity, the Chinese Nation has a strong rustic color. World civilizations are diverse and equal, without distinction of high and low. The Chinese civilization and other national civilizations in the world have jointly created the world civilization.

China and the United States, due to their different histories and cultural genes, hold different attitudes towards things and problems. Americans' concern with ideology is deeply influenced by Christian values, which maintain that if one does not go to heaven, he will go to hell, one is either right or wrong, a party either wins or loses, and a country either chooses to support the United States, or become its enemy. With regards to the skeptics of the Vietnam War, they should either fight for the United States or get out, with no interim choices. China's oriental values focus on harmony and balance instead of the extremes of black and white and uphold the Doctrine of the Mean. Because of different values and cultural norms, China and the United States have differences and fight for them. Different cultures and different ways of thinking certainly lead to different ways of doing things. No one, no company, no country can change the cultural differences between the East and the West at once. Among the differences, however, common values of human civilization can surely be found. The remarkable achievements of the United States not only result from the hard struggle of the American people to fully leverage their own advantages, but also come from global market and human historic civilization progress, just like the rise of other countries. The remarkable achievements of the People's Republic of China not only result from the hard struggle of the Chinese Party and people to fully leverage their own advantages, but also come from global market and human scientific and technological progress, just aslo like the rise of other countries.

Both China and the United States have their own difficulties and problems in the process of development. The political system of the United States is changing from a democratic country to a country ruled by rich people. Some major political and social decisions are guided by money; Although Americans still hold a strong belief in equality of opportunity, but the wealth of the richest 100 households in the United States is equivalent to the total wealth of 90% of American households. China is still in the process of economic transformation and governance reform, and the Gini coefficient reflecting the income distribution gap also remains higher. Both China and the United States should take a positive attitude towards solving problems in their bilateral relations, trust and interact with each other, respect each other in exchange, learn from each other, and benefit from each other in balance, reflect human wisdom and promote the development of civilization. At present, there is a special need to seek common ground while reserving differences, sort out doubts, and jointly plan and build a win-win pattern of economic and trade relations; Correctly positioned and exchanged interests to jointly promote the sustainable and healthy development of the global economy; both China and the United States should strengthen exchange ideas to jointly promote deep global modernization; and maintain a peaceful and stable international environment.

China and the United States are objectively in a state of "Bipolar Coexistence": One is a big country in the Western Hemisphere while the other is a big country in the Eastern Hemisphere; one is the largest emerging nation-state in the world, while the other is the largest ancient nation-state in the world; one is

the largest developed country and the other is the largest developing country. “Bipolar Coexistence” is a regular phenomenon in the development of human society, which was profoundly discussed by Marx in the article “Chinese Revolution and European Revolution” (Note 6). Hegel once marveled at the law of “Bipolar Coexistence” as one of the basic mysteries of nature. In his view, the simple term “Bipolar Coexistence” expresses a great and inalienable truth in all aspects of life. Let’s leave aside whether “Bipolar Coexistence” is such a universal principle, but it really merits our special attention that China and the United States, while competing with each other, check and balance each other, complement each other, and depend on and cooperate with each other, which has an irreplaceably significant impact on the global economic and political order.

In addition to the two major nation-states of China and the United States, some other countries also have their own characteristics, and all countries play an important role in the international system. But, so to speak, today’s international system is a by-product of the survival and development of big powers. Improving the security dilemma of the international system requires the joint efforts of the whole world, especially the responsibility and the commitments of big powers.

5. Correctly Handle the Relationship between Nation-states and the International Community

We are in an age of seismic changes in science and technology and society. The intelligent society is having a profound and long-term impact, with the fourth social division of labor: data production and information separation, the Internet and logistics network replacing many traditional communication methods. These major changes are urging modern nation-states to move towards a new crossroads. We should be responsible to our future generations, to the planet on which we live, and should correctly judge and choose the future direction and driving force of nation-states in the world.

5.1 Actively Clarify Nationalism

Nationalism exerts an important influence on the development of modern international community. In particular, Wilson’s doctrine of national self-determination and nationalists advocate national independence, tribalism and communitarianism, incite the founding of states with a single nation and the splitting of communities where different ethnic groups live together. This doctrine and nationalists have three effects. First, they respond morally to the anger and resistance of the colonized people against colonists, rulers and oppressors. Secondly, they undermine the hegemony of established imperialists. Thirdly, under the new situation, they further play and realize the strategy of “divide and rule” of both the old imperialists and new imperialists against the original colonies and semi-original colonies. In particular, the Wilson Doctrine and developing Western nationalism have exerted a great influence on the neighboring Islamic world. First of all, using the national concept of “one nation, one country”, they have disintegrated the imperial system of multi-ethnic coexistence in the Islamic world that had lasted for many centuries. Then they use the “view of sovereign states” to disintegrate the

newly established nation-state view of the Middle East countries. After that, they erode the newly formed principle of “Sovereignty Supreme” among Middle Eastern countries through various kinds of new interventionism (Tian, 2019, pp. 89-107). Western nationalism of this type is undoubtedly the root cause of the chaos in the Middle East today. In fact, “countries founded after the lifting of colonial status (mainly after 1945) are not adequate to be called nations; and the movement that led them to be freed from colonial rule is not enough to be called a nationalist movement” (Hobsbawm, 2006, p. 135). The vast majority of these new independent countries are inventions of imperialism. Their history as countries is no more than several decades, and they have always been a certain religious and cultural region. The typical nationalist movement is different from the Wilson Doctrine of national self-determination. The typical nationalist movement is spontaneous, mainly used to oppose the excessive uniformity caused by colonial conquest and administration. The local people hated colonists with different skin colors, costumes, living habits and interests. Sometimes, colonist administration’s failure to handle the relationship between commonality and nationality also gave rise to the local people’s national sentiments. Under such circumstances, the Palestinian National Liberation Movement and the Zionist Movement came into being. Therefore, Wilson’s Doctrine of national self-determination and its nationalism is a new imperialist view of states after the old imperialism with strong deceptive and ulterior motives.

The Wilson Doctrine promotes the principle of national self-determination internationally, while at home, it publicizes and strengthens the concept of “American exception”, developing a strong culture of American supremacy, planting the power gene among the people, strengthening national identity and solving social contradictions. As a new nation-state, the United States has been manifesting the nature of a great power since its founding. As early as in 1846, the United States provoked the Mexican War and expanded its territory with power. The United States sends troops to wage a war almost every four years on average to safeguard its interests. From the late 1940s to the early 1950s, the United States launched an anti-communist and xenophobic movement represented by McCarthyism. American nationalism education is a national policy of the United States as a new nation-state. Especially in the 9/11 era, the 9/11 incident was turned into an important theme of American nationalism education, with the propaganda film “God Bless America” substantially enhancing the concept of American supremacy and its fighting will. All Americans repeatedly watched the rolling 911 disaster report, again and again witnessing the crash of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, symbols of national economic and military strength, by planes, as if they really saw the devil image in Christian culture, all of them in moving sorrows. This kind of propaganda has virtually enhanced the people’s sacred responsibility of defending, strengthening and fighting for the United States, and inspired their spontaneous strong desire for “American exception”. The American nationalism featuring “American exceptionalism” has been engraved into the public’s subconscious. In the name of patriotism, in the name of combating and

preventing terrorism, the United States willfully launches wars abroad. McCarthyism becomes popular. The country strives to make enemies in efforts to seek legal reasons for maintaining huge military expenditures and political purposes. The U.S. government also specially sent 6,000 national flags into space to arouse people's patriotism. American nationalism has indeed reached unprecedented heights in the United States. However, the strengthening of nationalism in the United States cannot become a driving force for the strong and sustainable development of the United States. Extreme nationalism, in particular, will eventually be as unpopular as McCarthyism.

Nationalism and national independence movement are not the fundamental choices for the healthy development of human society. Nationalism is a double-edged sword, which, if not properly handled, will become a massive destructive power to any country. Nationalism cannot fundamentally solve social contradictions but is very likely to widen the gap between the rich and the poor, aggravate social conflicts and exacerbate social disorder. World Bank working paper once reported that "ethnic fragmentation is negatively related to the share of local spending in welfare" (Note 7).

Internationally, the practice of delimiting political territories according to national territories and taking culture and language as the basis of national territories cannot ultimately solve the problems of national equality and national development. Sovereign independence does not automatically address all problems. Once independence is completed, all kinds of conflicts are more likely to break out. People of all ethnic groups participating in the independence movement may start to fight against each other, and ethnic groups joining the independence movement and staying out of it are also dissatisfied with each other. Even the nationalism of ethnic minorities may lead to "chauvinism of ethnic majorities", with unequal or even intolerable practices adopted towards ethnic minorities in their territory. Perhaps only barbarians can realize the ideal of combining state boundaries with ethnic boundaries. "It is impossible to realize a world of independent nation-building among all ethnic groups" (Hobsbawm, 2006, p. 74). Even during the upsurge of nationalism in the 19th and 20th centuries, some new nation-states built on the ruins of old empires were still composed of many nationalities, such as Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia (Hobsbawm, 2006, pp. 132-135). During the Soviet period, all ethnic groups in the Soviet Union lived together and were generally peaceful. After the upheaval in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, some countries established on the basis of national independence, ethnic hatred, religious conflicts and territorial disputes continued to increase, and wars broke out at one time. For example, Armenia and Azerbaijan, two small countries in the Caucasus region, have fought three wars in the past 30 years. The same is true of major countries, and the conflict of Russian- Ukraine is a clear example. If ethnic conflicts are not handled properly, the harm will be endless. Today, with the in-depth development of globalization, any nation-state adopting a closed-door approach, a single self-righteous approach or a conservative approach would not promote its own development, or the healthy development of all mankind.

5.2 The Key to National Equality Lies in Equality of Personality

A nation-state is made up of people. As a person has personal dignity, a nation-state has national dignity. No matter how many people a nation has, no matter how big a country is, they have the same personal and national dignity. Influenced by geography and resources, a country's national strength can be different. Only when people are equal can there be national equality.

"Equality of people" is the most important theme in political and social life. In the long history of human development, no matter how dangerous the environment is, no matter how cruel wars are, no matter what position they are in, mankind have a desire to pursue equality. The pursuit of "equality of people" is an important embodiment of human civilization, the fundamental guarantee of human self-respect and sustainable development, and also an eternal theme of mankind. However, apart from the primitive equality in human primitive society, it seems that mankind has never reached equality. Even when the capitalist revolution was in full swing, when the slogan of equality and freedom was hollered everywhere, "equality of people" only meant the equality of white people. With the passage of time, even with the expanding of the meaning of "equality of people", it only refers to the equality of political participation, and the participants must have a certain economic status.

Why is it so difficult to realize "equality of people"? Apart from the fact that the degree of human civilization has not yet reached a sufficiently high level, there is also a certain difference in the understanding of "equality of people", as people now think "equality of people" includes all kinds of equality including ability.

In fact, "equality of people" mainly refers to "equality of personality". Personality here is the basic pattern of a person, consisting of the psychological characteristics and behaviors of an individual adapting to society with regards to people, things and themselves. Equality of personality is the right and qualification to participate in political, economic and social activities in accordance with law, ethics or other social norms. People are equal, and should enjoy equal rights and qualifications and respect each other, no matter what kind of family they are born into, what academic degree they obtain, what achievements they score, and whether they are physically healthy or not. Individual abilities, however, are different, which is a natural phenomenon, not completely controlled by human will. But this should not affect people's personality. Despite the connection between personality and ability, personality is not equal to ability. Sometimes, the power of personality can exceed general ability, overcoming unimaginable difficulties. Ability can shape personality sometimes, but it cannot replace personality.

The key to national equality is equality of people; while the key to equality of people is the equality of personality. The nation-states may be strong or weak, but they all have the same national dignity. Upholding national equality must always be backed by the idea of the equality of people, and uphold the equality of personality, and the equality of national integrity.

5.3 The Key to Equality of National Dignity Lies in the Balance of Human Nature

Humans are all born with a desire to achieve a certain purpose. Desire is fundamental to life and death, which, as a release of instinct, constitutes the most intrinsic and basic element of human behavior. Moreover, human desires are diverse and infinite, and the needs of survival, enjoyment and development constitute a complex structure of needs, changing with the changes in social and historical conditions in which people live. Human nature is both good and evil, distinguished by whether one's desire is appropriate or not. Desire is a double-edged sword without distinction between good and evil. The key lies in how to control it. Driven by desire, people constantly occupy objective objects, thus forming a certain relationship with the natural environment and society. Through more or less satisfaction of desire, a human being, as a subject, grasps the unity of objects and environment. In this sense, desire is the fundamental driving force for people to transform the world and themselves, and is also the driving force for human evolution, social development and historical progress. Man is a product of desire, life is a continuation of desire, and states are tools of desire. Desire is the beginning of all human activities and a fundamental force for the emergence and development of all mankind and society. However, excessive expansion of desire can easily lead to the breeding of evil thoughts; while excessive selfishness will eventually lead to heavy losses. Starting from the nation-state and taking the greedy desire of the nation-state as the premise, launching war in a planned and targeted way will surely cause disaster to the world. Only by deeply understanding this problem can we control human desires, grasp the source of everything, give positive energy to desire and realize the true equality among people.

A nation-state composed of people and ethnic groups also has desires, and similarly nationalism is a double-edged sword. It is not uncommon in the international community for a nation-state to wage war in a planned and targeted way premised on its own desire. Wars among nation-states, by nature, are struggle of desire among nation-states. Therefore, it is necessary to control desire from human nature through conscious thoughts of balance and compulsory measures of balance, thus enhancing the positive energy of desire, reducing its negative energy, and safeguarding world peace and stability.

5.4 The Key to a Community of Shared Future for Mankind Lies in Consciousness

Human beings share the same future, forming an objective community. Without positive subjective consciousness and dynamic expression, however, this objectivity may not be of substantial significance. In an environment of fierce competition, given the rising consciousness of self-protection, it is difficult but commendable to emphasize community consciousness. Considering the destiny of mankind, we must highlight the sense of community.

Community consciousness is a self-consciousness or reflection of the Community of Shared Future for Mankind, and an understanding of human values based on modern perception. The Community of Shared Future for Mankind is a community of homeland, interests, development and values, a

collective sharing prosperity and losses, and a global pluralistic and integrated pattern gradually formed in historical development, in which no one is dispensable. Human society is an integral whole, all depending on the global village, and sharing the earth as a common home, the same universal values, the same development vision and the same mission. Only when the world is good, the country is good and the nation is good, can everyone be happy. Human society is diversified, consisting of many nation-states, languages, cultures and traditions. The global village contains pluralism, and pluralism forms unity; unity cannot be separated from pluralism, and pluralism cannot be separated from unity. The relationship between the global village and nation-states is the relationship between a collective and members of the collective, and the relationship between nation-states is the relationship between different members in the collective. Respecting the existence of each member and the existence of mankind as a whole is the premise of the Community of Shared Future for Mankind, while safeguarding the earth, the common home of mankind, is the paramount common politics of mankind. To maintain and develop the Community of Shared Future for Mankind, we need to constantly enhance our consciousness as a community of interests, a community of development, a community of commitment and a community of shared future. Consciousness guides action, “The residents of a country will form a nation-state where there is a flexible and lasting political community that plays a role in both internal and external environment” (Meinecke, 2012, p. 36). Similarly, a Community of Shared Future for Mankind consistent both internally and externally will emerge when there is a flexible, lasting political community that really plays a role in the global environment. First of all, people need to have an integral wish to develop a Community of Shared Future for Mankind, and then strengthen this wish, and through an effective mechanism, the wish will converge into a river, constantly injecting new vitality. Only when everyone in the whole world recognizes and is satisfied with it, can the Community of Shared Future for Mankind materialize into a living and meaningful reality. In today’s international politics, people have always pursued the principle that God helps those who help themselves. “In a natural world, countries always act according to their own interests, and will not subordinate their own interests to those of other countries or the interests of the international community” (Mear-sheimer, 2008, p. 36). Against the historical backdrops of today’s world, interest conflict is still at the core of all conflicts, whether it be between individuals, nations, political parties or countries, and it is also at the core of global conflicts. It is necessary to constantly explore ways to get along with nation-states and maintain and coordinate individual interests, national interests, state interests and global interests. All nation-states form an inherent community of shared future, which determines that we should not only fully realize an equal union in politics, but also promote “the appreciation of other forms of beauty with openness, and having beauty represent itself with diversity and integrity” on the basis of “letting every form of beauty preserve its uniqueness” (Xi, 2020, p. 377)—meaning that each nation-state appreciate not only its own development and national culture, but

also the development and national culture of other countries, so as to truly recognize each other and effectively promote the construction of a “shared” material world and spiritual home.

5.5 Correctly Handle the Relationship between Uniformity and Pluralism

Everything is composed of uniformity and pluralism. Uniformity and pluralism, or consistency and diversity, or universality and particularity, are the relationship between opposites and unity in the development of things. Uniformity is the internal connection and inevitable attribution of pluralism, while pluralism is the foundation of uniformity and the inevitable requirement of prosperity and development. Uniformity and pluralism exist in all aspects of things, which contradict each other, depend on each other and transform each other, jointly promoting the development of things.

In terms of globalization and nationalism, uniformity is concentrated in the concept of universality. Human beings share common genes, and human society is a big family with genetic relationship with each other. Moreover, mankind is related to all life in world. Buddhism maintains that “all beings are equal”, while Christianity advocates “equality and fraternity”, which reflects universal values. Pluralism is concentrated in the concept of nationality, with different understandings of the same thing, and different national cultural phenomena within the same society, reflecting the particularity of nation-states.

Different nation-states have different national cultures and characteristics, but share the same responsibility for promoting the development of human civilization. To correctly handle the relationship between “one” and “many”, commonality and difference, it is necessary to “uphold the unity of uniformity and pluralism” (Xi, 2021, p. 18) and adhere to the cooperation-competition development among all ethnic groups. “We should not only respect differences and accommodate pluralism, but also face up to commonness, promote integration, respect differences without strengthening differences, and maintain national characteristics without imposing characteristics on others.

Nationalism and nationalization are the transitional products in the process of globalization. Nation-states have highlighted state and national interests in globalization, becoming an international phenomenon. Nation-states will continue for a long time until national interests are more integrated.

In today’s world, while encouraging countries and regions to promote national culture, we should actively explore and promote the global community culture based on the Community of Shared Future for Mankind: peaceful coexistence, joint planning and development, joint establishment of rules, and common progress. The governance of nation-state calls for more positive guidance. We should actively clarify the thoughts of nationalism, dilute nationalism, promote national culture, create and promote community culture, and actively build a “mutually beneficial and symbiotic” environment for international political governance. Nations are important, but the global community is more important. Nations are proud, but the Community of Shared Future for Mankind is even prouder. Nations are great,

but the civilization of all mankind is even greater. Only when researchers abandon national prejudice and study the relationship between the world and countries can they gain true insights. Only when strategists abandon national prejudice can they truly seek benefits for the whole world. Only when all nations and countries embrace the world can all mankind truly build a community of shared future. Only by actively exploring new ideas, new mechanisms and new ways, combining external forces with internal dynamics, and effectively solving global development problems, can the Community of Shared Future for Mankind progress steadily with far-reaching influence. While emphasizing the Community of Shared Future for Mankind all the time, China first “needs to deeply understand the historical inevitability, extreme importance and realistic pertinence of the consciousness of the Chinese Nation as a community” and set a good example for the world.

Generally speaking, our world is one with multi-ethnic and multi-religious countries as the main model. National sovereignty and territorial integrity are widely valued, while globalization and international political and economic systems and mechanisms are weakening the influence of nationalism and nation-states. All ethnic groups and countries are getting more and more closely connected. Mutual respect, peaceful coexistence, mutual benefit, and free choice of residence are the only correct choices for the survival and development of peoples all over the world. The action and reaction of universality and nationality are promoting the special and great development process of the Community of Shared Future for Mankind.

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Notes

- Note 1. *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana* (Vol. 37). (1907-1934). Barcelona, pp. 854-867.
- Note 2. *Sidalin quanji* [A Complete Collection of Stalin's Works] (Vol. 11). (1955). Beijing: People's Press, p. 286.
- Note 3. *Carl H. Moore* [The Federal Reserve System: a history of the first 75 years]. (1990). McFarland & Company, Inc., Publisher, pp. 1-3.
- Note 4. *Lun shehuizhuyi—Liening zhuanji wenji* [A Special Collection of Lenin's Works on Socialism], (2009). Beijing: People's Press, pp. 215-219.
- Note 5. *Makesi engesi xuanji* [A Collection of Selected Works of Marx and Engels] (Vol. 3). (1972). Beijing: People's Press, p. 30.
- Note 6. *Makesi engesi wenji* [A Collection of Selected Works of Marx and Engels] (Vol. 2). (2009). Beijing: People's Press, p. 607.

Note 7. *Alberto Alssina, Reza Baqir, William Easterly* [Public Goods and Ethnic Divisions]. (1997). World Bank working paper, pp.1-3.