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# **RESEARCH PAPER**

# Analysing the Credibility of Meta-Geopolitical Framework: Implications of Kindleberger Trap on China (Post-BRI)

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# ANALYSING THE CREDIBILITY OF META-GEOPOLITICAL FRAMEWORK: IMPLICATIONS OF KINDLEBERGER TRAP ON CHINA (POST-BRI)

Ramsha Tariq and Aiysha Safdar Ali\*

### Abstract

The world had to suffer the implications of Kindleberger Trap in post-World War I due to the vacuum created at the international level to provide global public goods by the then superpowers – Great Britain and the US. The exact implications could be faced by the rest of the world in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Today, China aspires to become a global leader; thus, it must avoid the Kindleberger Trap, which can cause inferences for its stability. For this purpose, the state must provide the world with global public goods as a responsibility. The US had this responsibility until the Trump administration enacted the policy of isolation, just like the post-World War I era. This policy of the US administration created a gap at the international level that China wants to fill as a global power. This paper, therefore, examines the implications of the Kindleberger Trap on China, particularly after the initiation of China's Belt and Road Initiative. Meta-geopolitics is used as a framework to highlight areas of China's strength along with rooms that can cause a setback for China's stability at the national and international levels. This paper also analyses the domestic policies of China and how to avoid the Kindleberger Trap.

**Keywords:** Kindleberger Trap, Meta-geopolitics, China, BRI, Public Goods.

### Introduction

The 2000-year-long imperial rule ended when the Republic of China was formed in 1912 after the fall of Qing Dynasty. Later in 1927, the republic came under the control of the Kuomintang (KMT) Party, also known as the Chinese Nationalist Party. At that time, China was in the early stages of industrialization and modernization, particularly in the military sector, to prepare for war with Japan. In August 1927, a civil war broke out between the KMT Party and the Communist Party of China (founded by Mao Zedong in 1921). It lasted till 1949 due to lapses in the economic, military and political sectors; resultantly, the KMT Party was defeated and retreated to Taiwan. The Communist forces under the leadership of Mao Zedong won and declared mainland China the People's Republic of China (PRC) on October 1, 1949. Mao ruled PRC by emphasizing command economy and class struggle as the central tenets of Communism.

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Since the founding of the PRC, there have been numerous changes and developments in the Chinese economy. China has been transitioning from a socialist economy to a mixed economy. In 1978, Deng Xiaoping introduced the concept of a Socialist Market Economy, after which China underwent a series of economic reforms modernizing four sectors, i.e., agriculture, industry, science and technology, and defence. China has also transformed global supply chains leveraging its success to become the primary trading and developmental partner for economies emerging across Asia, Africa and Latin America. At present, China is a rising power; and in international politics, power is an essential factor that has been asserted for a long time in terms of military strength or physical resources (natural resources). In this regard, China's military ranks 3<sup>rd</sup> of 145 countries, and its natural resources deposits, such as coal, rare earth metals, oil, natural gas and minerals, are extensive.

In the contemporary era, geopolitics has frequently focused on specific conceptions of power contributing to the state's stability and the international system. The two considerations in this regard are global threats irrespective of political borders and the international standing of a developed state despite mounting global threats. These considerations prompt the development of Meta-geopolitics, providing a nuanced treatment of state power determinants. Meta-geopolitics focuses on the national power breaking down into seven crucial capacities: (1) social and health issues, (2) domestic politics, (3) science and human potential, (4) environment, (5) economics, (6) military and security issues, and (7) international diplomacy. These capacities provide a broad measure of a state's ability when taken together by predicting the longevity of a state and pointing out any trend that could undermine its stability. The paradigm of Meta-geopolitics can provide a basis for future policy recommendations as gaps in the seven areas can be observed that could ultimately lead to the development of future reforms.

The increasing power of China, specifically concerning the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), indicates the state's interest in filling a void in the international system after the US retreating from global commitment, particularly after Trump's America First policy, introduced in 2017. It can lead China to fall into the Kindleberger Trap, highlighting the danger inherent in shifting the balance of power. The trap attributes international system's failure to provide global public goods, such as the spread of peace, stability of international economic system, functioning supranational trade authorities, stable financial and monetary systems, effective enforcement of the law, and a relatively healthy population of consumers and laborers. In the post-World War-I scenario, as explained by Charles Kindleberger, one of the architects of the Marshall Plan, the US fell into the Kindleberger Trap, failing to provide global public goods.3 The US could not take the role of global power after withdrawing from the League of Nations and reverting to its isolationism; the international system collapsed, resulting in genocide, depression and World War II. Under the Trump administration, the US again reverted to its protectionist policies, thus failing to provide global public goods in areas like reduction of poverty, climate change, trade, etc.

Today, China has its share of international responsibilities, particularly after its active role in regional and global affairs since the initiation of BRI. In this regard, China must overcome the significant capacity gaps to become a true global leader. The framework of Meta-geopolitics implies that setbacks can be overcome in one capacity, but persistent frailties in more than one capacity can prolong systemic shocks. China can fall into the Kindleberger Trap if it does not overwhelm capacity gaps in mounting domestic politics, such as the single-party system and high corruption level (billions of dollars lost annually to corruption). Moreover, the country faces social and health issues due to the population explosion. The economic sector is another issue due to the significant income gap between rural and urban residents. China needs to address these critical institutional and reform gaps to ensure sustainable growth.

# All-encompassing Approach to Geopolitics

States in the modern world face a variety of decentralized interrelated threats. Regarding threats challenging to pinpoint by states focusing on one geographic area as the source of security threats is not an option. Threats that states face in contemporary times are highly diffused; therefore, an all-encompassing approach to geopolitics must be considered in relation to the world's complexity. While analysing the international system according to geography, some unevenly distributed capacities that demonstrate strategic relations between states need to be studied. The seven areas of state capacities identified by the Meta-geopolitics paradigm can analyse the state's power in the international system. Because of the interconnectedness in today's world and the complexity of international relations, a state's strength cannot be solely based on its geographical location. The seven dimensions of state power – social and health issues, domestic politics, economics, environment, science and human potential, military and security matters, and international diplomacy – must be considered to understand power relationships in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Meta-geopolitics offers a multidimensional view of power in this regard and differs from traditional geopolitical concepts.

Traditional Geopolitics
(Geography, Physical Terrain)

Metageopolitics
(Seven Additional Capacities)

Figure 1.1: Multidimensional View of Meta-geopolitics

(Source: Authors' Compilation)

Meta-geopolitics differs from traditional geopolitics as it does not focus only on the state's geographical location or physical terrain. This concept also differs from critical geopolitics as it does not focus primarily on perceptions. Instead, Meta-geopolitics falls between the two strands of geopolitics and discusses seven capacity areas through which the state's geographical location and perception of a leader could be shaped to enhance the strength of a country at the national level with a firm internal image.

# Concept of Meta-geopolitics

The concept of Meta-geopolitics includes tools of hard and soft power that the state can employ for power projection. In addition, the framework asserts relative weaknesses and strengths of each capacity according to which the state can predict its ability to project power in the future. Demographic factors, population growth, scientific and human potential, and the health sector are considered to help gauge whether a country would increase, retain or lose its present geopolitical position. A state's geopolitical strengths and weaknesses can be assessed using the seven capacities mentioned above that provide a different picture of geopolitics in the 21st century. Social and health issues are related to geopolitical realities of population growth, social and ethnic division, healthcare system and spread of infectious diseases. The capacity area of domestic politics is linked to the structure and type of government with their respective policies and internal challenges that political order faces. The economics of a state is related to GDP growth, vital economic sectors, infrastructure and poverty. Science and human potential industry are connected to the skills and education of population by investing in research and development areas as a part and percentage of GDP. Military and security issues are linked to internal and external threats to the state's defence capability. International diplomacy includes diplomatic relations and initiatives with key regional and global players. In addition to these issue areas, environmental problems, either manufactured or natural, can disrupt the efforts of a state by affecting other capacity areas as well to a great extent.

The framework of Meta-geopolitics, after evaluating state power in seven capacity areas, reveals constraints that a state might face in one or more geographic factors. A state's economic development can slow down despite natural resources if the level of education among its population is low or if the population is overgrowing. In international diplomacy, constraints a state might face in its course of action are due to other states, be they foes or allies.<sup>4</sup>

Capacity Number	Capacity Area	Theoretical Understanding	China Specific
1	Social and Heath	Demographic Factor (Health and social issues due to population explosion)	<ul> <li>1.4 billion population, which is equivalent to 18.47% of the world's population.</li> <li>Population aging, heart and respiratory disease, discrimination in rural and urban residents</li> </ul>
2	Domestic Politics	Type of Government	Socialist, centralized, and single-party rule
3	Economics	Economic Growth and Development	<ul> <li>Annual growth rate 9.5%</li> <li>World's 2<sup>nd</sup> largest economy (after the US)</li> </ul>
4	Environment	Environmental Degradation	Air pollution (due to the burning of coal in energy plants and massive industrialization)     Water Pollution
5	Science and Human Potential	Quality of Human Resource	• 2.23% of GDP invested in R&D
6	Military and Security Issues	External and Internal Security Challenges	<ul> <li>Dispute in the South China Sea</li> <li>Economic Security</li> <li>Tensions with Taiwan</li> </ul>
7	International Diplomacy	Activity in International Organizations and Community	Relations with resource-rich nations (mainly through BRI)     Vaccine Diplomacy

Table 1.1: Capacity Areas of Meta-geopolitics: China Specific

(**Source:** Authors' Compilation)

China has a dynamic labour force of 800 million, as stated in 2019, 5 with massive spending on human potential, science and technology, but at the same time, the issue of inverse population is challenging the state due to which 'three children' policy was introduced in May 2021 to cope up with the situation. Economically, China is the second largest country in the world, and the technology sector investment is benefitting the industrial sector as well. Still, it is causing environmental implications as air and water pollution has increased, affecting citizens' health. The transparency of the centralised government structure is also a challenge for China as domestic policies are critical considerations behind the external incentives of a state.

Table 1.2: Internal Strength and Weakness in Capacity Areas

Internal Strength		Internal Weakness	
•	Population – Labour Force	•	Inverse Population - Health Issues
•	Science and Human Potential	•	Domestic Policies - Lack of transparency
•	Economy	•	Environment

(Source: Authors' Compilation)

The international diplomacy of China in the external domain is a strength for the state in all sectors, particularly after the initiation of BRI; it has benefitted economically around the globe and supported its soft image in the international community. However, external security threats China faces in the South China Sea due to the presence of the US and its regional alliances can affect the influence of the state's soft policy as China has adopted an anti-access and area denial strategy.

Table 1.3: External Strength and Weakness

External Strength		External Weakness	
•	International Diplomacy - BRI	•	External Security Issues - South China
			Sea

(**Source:** Authors' Compilation)

All seven sectors' strengths contribute to China's power at the international level. The weaknesses in internal and external sectors can be mitigated so that China can stay strong by playing its active role due to its strength at the national level, particularly after BRI, which shows China's aspirations to be a global power. The framework of Meta-geopolitics, through its seven elements, analyses the capacity areas of China for the state to not fall into the Kindleberger Trap in the future.

# Meaning and Concept of Kindleberger Trap

Kindleberger Trap highlights the danger inherent in shifting the balance of power. It attributes the failure of international system in the provision of global public goods, as mentioned above, such as spread of peace worldwide, stability of international economic system, functioning supranational trade authorities, environment, stable financial and monetary systems, effective enforcement of the law, relatively healthy population of consumers and laborers.

Global Public Goods

Global Peace and Security

Enforcement of Law

Stable Financial System

Healthy Population of Consumers and Laborers

Figure 1.2: Global Public Goods

(Source: Authors' Compilation)

The global order cannot function effectively without providing global public goods by powerful states. The world had witnessed the Great Depression of 1930, which occurred due to a shortage of global public goods when Great Britain lost its capability, and the US reverted to its isolationist policies and refrained from the responsibility of providing global public goods. As a supply of global public goods, China has been expanding its role in the world, which is also a foreign policy hallmark of Xi Jinping, particularly after the initiation of BRI. According to the Kindleberger Trap, domestic politics motivate external incentives of powers that aspire to be hegemons at the global level. US domestic political considerations after the election of Trump shifted to an 'America First' policy as the US was unwilling to sustain its role as a supplier of global public goods due to frustration among American citizens. The active part of China in global governance is also based on its domestic policies.

# Establishing Link Between Meta-geopolitics and Kindleberger Trap

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the scope and vision of every idea and concept have broadened. Geopolitics is now coming up from new and different fronts. It is not limited to the traditional scope, focusing only on geographical limitations and constraints. It is not limited to the scope of ideas related to a particular state's space, position and power.<sup>8</sup> In the modern era, where every traditional notion and security context is shifting and

changing, the Meta-geopolitics framework is more appropriate than the conventional or critical strand of geopolitics. This approach takes more relevantly the shift today. Following the shift in international politics, a state adapts to changes. Meta-geopolitics provides a multidimensional view of the state's power through the prism of interlocking national and international capacity areas.<sup>9</sup>

While examining a state's strength, these capacity areas provide a broad spectrum. The interlocking national and international capacity areas give a clear picture of every development or even drawback in the main sectors of a state. China is critically analysed through the framework of Meta-geopolitics to avoid the implications of the Kindleberger Trap. While Kindleberger Trap is an imminent danger that the world might face again after the disastrous decade of the 1930s.<sup>10</sup> Now, the same situation is evident, where, due to US unilateral adventures and Trump's isolationist policies, China is trying to fill the void with its full power. It is all for providing global public goods like international cooperation, peace and security, international trade, environment, etc. These public goods are essential worldwide as they benefit everyone from all regions.<sup>11</sup> China can provide global public goods only if it strengthens its capacity areas. The areas under the framework and the global public goods are correlating. The capacity areas of China under the framework and approach of Meta-geopolitics provide a clear view of how to focus on policies to provide global public goods to the world and avoid the trap.

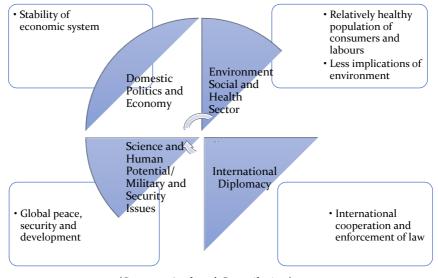


Figure 1.3: Link between Meta-geopolitics and Global Public Goods

(**Source:** Authors' Compilation)

There is a direct link between a state's policies under the Meta-geopolitical framework and Kindleberger Trap. To avoid the trap, China needs to focus on capacity areas as mentioned under the framework of Meta-geopolitics. In this way, the country can strengthen its interlocking national and international areas while avoiding the

implications caused by the trap. The Kindleberger Trap will not only affect China or the US but will directly affect the world.

# Critical Evaluation of Seven Capacities of Meta-geopolitics: China Specific

The Meta-geopolitical framework lists seven capacity areas of a state that, if managed well, would help the country to have a strong and stable standing at the international level. The capacity areas are majorly related to internal capacity building and sectors of a state, including social and health sectors to domestic and economic policies. The other areas related to environment and international diplomacy are also linked to these internal capacity areas. States need sound domestic policy and politics to overcome setbacks concerning the linked areas.

### a. Environmental Factor

China is the world's largest coal producer, and the country's two-thirds energy consumption is based on coal resources. After becoming a signatory of the Paris Agreement in 2016, the government banned the construction of power plants based on coal which automatically declined the consumption of coal comparatively. In 2018, after the ban expired, the construction of power plants began to increase again, and this time, three times more power plants were built as compared to the rest of the world. These energy demands are not only linked with economic growth but with urbanization as well. Urbanization is always at the backhand of a rapid increase in industries and energy consumption as much is required to fulfil the demand. The rise in urbanization leads to rapid industrialization due to energy requirements. The growth in the industrial sector results in environmental degradation due to the emission of harmful gases, as Chinese industries are coal incentivized.

BRI has also made the country the largest financer of fossil fuel-powered infrastructure. In 2012, the concept of ecological civilization by Xi Jinping was added to the constitution of Communist Party. The purpose was to pave the way for China in environmental governance at the international level. Through this ecological civilization, China is committed to building a sustainable future.

#### b. Political Factor

The politics of China is governed by one party system. The country's political system is a parallel hierarchy consisting of Chinese Communist Party, the state (or government) and the People's Liberation Army.<sup>13</sup> Due to parallel hierarchy, there are certain challenges to the political system of governance in China as information in the system is shared within a chain of command rather than sharing information horizontally. There is the issue of overlapping jurisdiction among competition officials. It creates an environment of bureaucratic competition within the chain of command where officials compete for recognition from higher authorities rather than focusing on an issue or area of jurisdiction. Another critical challenge to China's governance and

political system is widespread corruption. Different forms of corruption are involved in the system, from job appointments to any approval of a deal or agreement.

### c. Economic Factor

China is one of the largest economies in the world and the world's biggest exporter. It is estimated that the country's GDP will grow at the rate of 5.7% until 2025, with an annual increase of 4.7% till 2030.<sup>14</sup> If China's economy grows at the same rate, it might replace the US by 2030, which stands at the number one position in the global economy.<sup>15</sup> The Chinese economy was pushed through the Sino-US trade war that started in 2018 when President Trump announced a ban on imports under his isolationist policies.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, in 2019, the world faced a pandemic that started in Wuhan, China. Covid-19 affected the manufacturing and production sector of the state at large as factories had to close due to the lockdown. It impacted not only exports but also the national population. During this period, China had to face various external and internal challenges to its economy. However, through its post-Covid-19 recovery strategy, China emerged from the pandemic-induced recession.

On the other hand, the world has still been facing the effects of the pandemic, where most people are affected directly due to restrictions on economic activities worldwide. China's post-covid strategy helped the economy not suffer like the rest of the world, and other countries or democratic economies could not replicate China's timely measures.

### d. Social and Health Factors

It is one of the seven capacity areas of Meta-geopolitics and plays a vital part in the development of any state. Over the years, China's health sector/ system has dealt with numerous challenges and infectious diseases. The outbreak of Covid-19 although pushed healthcare systems worldwide to the brink of collapse; some even collapsed. China took preventive measures on time, including various standard operating procedures for the general public. No people-to-people contact and a ban on inter-city and intra-city travel were significant. All these measures were strictly observed to restrict the virus's transmission at large. It reduced the burden on the health sector, and despite being where the pandemic originated, the death rate in China remained low compared to Europe or the rest of the world.

Along with the fight against Covid-19, China's social and health sectors remain focused; however, the state is facing population aging due to its previous childbirth policies to counter the population growth. China recently introduced a three-child policy to overcome the population aging issue.<sup>17</sup>

### e. Science and Human Potential

Science and human potential are important capacity areas for the development of a state at domestic and international levels. China has given special attention to its science and technological development in recent years. The latest five-year plan of

China, approved in March 2021, has science and technological self-reliance as an important factor. <sup>18</sup> China is investing in the research and developmental sector a lot. The US-China relations have been strained due to the trade war, thus making the country rely on itself for the technology and research sector. The ban on exporting microchips to China used in smartphones was a wake-up call for Chinese policymakers at large. Adopting a self-reliance policy has helped the country advance in the technology sector. The shift has been from traditional industry towards the technology sector, particularly after the covid outbreak.

# f. Military and Security Issues

China is facing internal and external security challenges. The internal security challenge majorly sprouts from the complicated Taiwan issue. In addition to the Taiwan issue, China's internal challenge in the liberal world is the undemocratic government. The security challenge at the domestic level is also related to the political structure of China. On the external front, the issue and security challenges in the South China Sea have Chinese policymakers' attention. The claim of China over some islands in the region is leading to confrontations among the neighbouring states. The land and area of jurisdiction under claim are important in terms of strategic security, shipping, fishing and hydrocarbon resources. Moreover, the presence of the US in the South China sea region is a major security threat to China.

Along with China's traditional security challenges, there are several non-traditional security challenges on the surge. Most importantly, the environmental issue is affecting not only the population of the state but as well as the economy. <sup>20</sup> The most recent non-traditional security challenge that the country has faced is in the form of a virus. The effect and consequences of a pandemic have a direct blow to the economy of the state. In addition to that, the population is directly and indirectly affected. But with a stronghold of policymakers and firm steps taken by the government, the pandemic has been contained in the country compared to the rest of the world.

China's security challenges vary in nature and might be internal, external, traditional, or non-traditional. But the nature of each challenge or issue is different from the other in many ways. The state's policy in these areas strengthens the state on national and international fronts.

## g. International Diplomacy

International diplomacy for a state is an important area to focus. It is because states do not live in isolation and must cooperate and connect with other states. A rising power like China at the international level is as important as its presence at the regional level. Through its international diplomacy, China is institutionalizing its soft power presence globally. Through this, it is also creating and aiming to create harmony with other states. China's BRI is one such development through which China is pursuing its soft image at the international level. China has been spending 10 billion dollars to maintain its global soft power presence.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to its soft image and the presence of China through BRI, vaccine diplomacy is another important diplomatic front in the world. The surge of a pandemic has hit almost every state in the world, from the underdeveloped, developing, and developed worlds. Most developed states of the West could not bear the hit and significantly suffered. This pandemic also created a sense of nationalism in western countries. Policymakers were more evidently starting vaccinations for their state benefit. The US, in one instance, even refused to send any batch of vaccine to India when India was suffering badly due to the uncontrollable health consequences of the virus. On the other hand, China actively supplied vaccines to its neighbouring states and allied BRI countries. China provided Covid vaccines to 53 countries free of cost. Li increased China's soft power image and influence and strengthened its position better than most western states that withdrew to help the world at such a crucial time.

# Under Meta-geopolitics to avoid Kindleberger Trap

Under the seven capacity areas in the meta-geopolitical framework, China presents the state's strengths and partial drawbacks. There are some areas where the country is performing to its best. In contrast, China needs to formulate more active policies in two capacity areas, i.e., domestic politics and environment.

To tackle climate and environmental concerns, the state needs to implement its environmental policies more effectively. China is an industrial state, and industries run on coal which emits hazardous gases. China is cutting its dependence on nonrenewable energy sources as part of its commitment to the Paris Climate Agreement and other environmental accords. It is a step ahead of the rest of the developed world, particularly the US. Also, rapid urbanization and industrialization are resulting in the loss of biodiversity and ecosystem. The balance between nature and human civilization is necessary to be attained. In addition, under BRI projects, different industries are set up across the world in partner countries. The environmental protocols for these industries are a major part of the deal. Implementing protocols related to the environment nearby is one of the action steps that must be taken seriously and effectively. It is one of the capacity areas that need to be fully tackled in case of any concerns, as non-traditional environmental threats also affect state security. It is also one of the essential global public goods, and if China aims to become a global player, then it needs to strengthen its environmental policies to an extent. An ecological hazard in one place will not only stick to that part of the land or country. It will affect the environment nearby and the climate as a whole. Major players often contribute to such environmental degradation due to rapid industrialization and urbanization, and the rest of the world also has to face the consequences. Therefore, the provision of this global public good in contemporary times is of utmost importance and necessity. China can provide this global public good if the state prioritizes its environment-related policies on the national and international front, which is evident in recent times. The commitment that China is showing to the protection and safety of the environment is more than its counterparts.

Domestic politics is also important, along with the capacity area of the environment. Domestic politics determine the outlook of policies of any state at national and international levels. China's domestic political structure is different from the liberal world. It is not democratic according to the western model, and the government works through a centralized party rule. This type of government is termed as authoritative in the West as it is against liberal concepts. But this type of system also serves China with one of the strongest economies, social, technological and health sector. The debate of whether such a form of government is necessary for a state appears to be invalid before all statistics and reports of how well the economy of China is functioning due to its domestic policies. It is easy to observe the recovery of China in all fields after the pandemic as well. The domestic policies of China did help the country get back on track compared to the developed world of the West. The partial setback that the domestic policies or politics of China are facing or may face in the future, even more, is the evil of corruption. To tackle this evil, the accountability of corrupt institutes and leadership and government transparency is the only way out. The media must be given access and the right to hold such corrupt links accountable before the people of China. It has also been the agenda of Xi Jinping. The only difference is that instead of dealing with corrupt ministers behind closed doors, they must be held accountable in front of everyone. It will boost and increase the trust of the general public of their government and present a lesson for anyone who thinks of corrupt activities in the system.

### Conclusion

History has not ended, and following the world wars and Kindleberger Trap's implications, the world can find itself in another. This same scenario was evident recently when President Trump implemented more nationalist and isolationist policies. In this scenario, the rising China is mirroring this image. On the one hand, China is wary of liberalizing its domestic politics and structure, but on the other hand, it is adopting a liberal approach for the rest of the world. Xi Jinping is more supportive of international cooperation and free trade than Trump could ever be. Under Trump's administration, the US withdrew from all the multilateral treaties and cooperation, whereas China has a more multilateral approach. It is working at every international front to rise and fill the void that the US is creating. China is providing global public goods to the world after the withdrawal of the US from all such forums. The recent COVID-19 episode clarified that the US priority is not international cooperation.

China needs to strengthen its capacity areas under the Meta-geopolitics framework to protect the world from another Kindleberger Trap and its implications. The world is moving from traditional concepts of geopolitics to meta-concepts. Everything in today's world is about meta, which provides a more 'beyond' version. The beyond of conventional and critical geopolitics is Meta-geopolitics. It provides an allencompassing view of a state's capacity to stand in the international system. China, to prove its strength in the liberal international system, must focus on interlocking national and international capacity areas under the Meta-geopolitics approach. Otherwise, providing global public goods to the world will become impossible, which

may cause another fall into the Kindleberger Trap. Due to globalization, the implications this time might be two-fold than it was before.

China is trying to add its own values to the liberal world order without totally disrupting it. It is trying to fill the gap that the US has created under the Trump administration. The West is also facing nationalist sentiments where the people are moving away from the globalization trend. The liberal order created by the powers is now the one to revert from the liberal ideas without changing the order. In this regard, to save the world from the imminent danger and consequences of the Kindleberger Trap, China must strengthen its capacity areas and the major players to cooperate. Cooperation between the US and China on the international front can avoid the emergence of the trap. It can be another way to save the world from the implications of this imminent danger.

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