
China: as an Emerging Superpower

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When China awakes it will shake the world.

Napoleon Bonaparte

Once China becomes strong enough to stand alone, it might discard us. A little later it might even turn against us, if its perception of its interests requires it.

Henry Kissinger

Abstract

The research paper aims to answer the main research question whether China can really become the next superpower towards the middle of 21st century through its economic performance, energy policy, population, nuclear capacity and ideology. The hypothesis of the research paper is that in 21st century international system will become a bipolar with hegemony of the United States and China.

With regard to the research methods, the following methods have been used: Case Study and Content Analysis. Case Studies are perhaps the most widely used research approach in international relations (IR).

In addition, to assert the main research question the Content Analysis is used. That method involves analyzing large amounts of text-based data. During research it was exercised books, analytical articles, and different research papers of international research institutes: like Carnegie Center, Center Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Belfer Center of International Affairs Harvard Kennedy School etc.

Other method is the statistical method, related to the presenting the concrete statistics, for instance, concerning GDP of China, statistics of foreign trade, energy import etc.

Theoretical context in this research is theory of international relations Realism. Particularly Hans Morgenthau's Realist Theory (6 principle) second principle – National Interest defined in terms of National Power. According to this principle nations always define and act for securing their national interests by means of power. History tells us that nations have always acted on the basis of power.

Foreign policy makers always regard power as a central fact of politics. Next theory which can be used in the research is the theory of complex Interdependence. In this regard it is interesting to

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point out, that despite ideological, geopolitical and economic competition between china and USA, both countries have very close trade relations with each other and in 2022 volume of the trade was almost 700 Billion USD.

Another theoretical context could be the geopolitical approach related to Eurasianism. As we know China is a ground power with the Eurasianist geopolitical orientation, which is in confrontation with the Atlantic (sea) power – the United States of America.

Keywords: China, Geopolitics, International System, Balance of Power, International Order, Superpower, Energy Policy, Energy Security, Ideology, Population, Taiwan Issue, The Belt and Road Initiative, The Made in China 2025, China-US Relationship, China-Russia Relationship, Unipolar and Bipolar International System.

Introduction

As a famous scholar of international relations Dr. Henry Kissinger once mentioned China is a ‘Key country for the international order’.

China has emerged as a global economic superpower in recent decades. It is not only the world’s second largest economy, but it has also been investing overseas infrastructure and development at a rapid clip as a part of its Belt and Road Initiative.

People generally see China’s growing economy as a good thing for their country and believe China is having positive influence on their country’s economic affairs, but China’s neighbors generally take much more negative stance toward China’s economic and military growth, for instance, in the Asia-Pacific region more tend to see China’s investment as a potential liability, giving Beijing too much influence on their economies.

Among the many daunting questions the planet is facing, the most important in the early 21st century, is the Chinese question and actually – how will the world adapt China rising not only economically, but also geopolitically and military?

Significantly, the first essential question is: What is China? Into what kind of conceptual framework does China fit? To answer this kind of complex question one need to master Chinas history, foreign policy, energy policy, economic targets and ideology, as well as China’s vision on international world order and Balance of Power.

To understand China itself some scholars try to unionize China with India what they call Chindia (Word that refers to China and India together in general.) China and India share a long border and

both are among the fastest growing major economies in the world. But I suppose that they have different history—China was attacked and invaded but it did not become a western colony, on the other hand, the British colonialism in India lasted close to two centuries. Some of authors emphasize China with the BRICS - (Acronym associate five major emerging economies: Brazil, Russia, China, India and South Africa). The BRICS members are known for their significant influence on regional affairs. Nevertheless, I suppose that Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa have very little in common whether culturally, politically, socially, economically, demographically or geopolitically.

The best way to define China is rising global power with great ambitions, but fragile in many ways. That China is rising global power is beyond debate. China is presented economically in every nook and cranny of the planet. It has a growing military arsenal and expansionary ambitions—in the South China Sea and in the Indian Ocean, it is a Nuclear Power, it has a Superpower State vision presenting new era of Globalization with Megaprojects like “New Silk Road” and “Polar Silk Road” initiatives.

There are academics who suspect and doubt on China’s emerging important role in international system, due to the fact that China is fragile. The authors emphasize that China’s power is exclusively hard, but its soft power is weak. It has territorial disputes with all its neighbors. The strained ties with Taiwan and Hong Kong, moreover China is poor in resources, compared to its needs. Furthermore, China has 18% of world population, but 7% of its arable land. Ensuring good not just food supply but equally important food security is an obsession in Beijing.

Probably the most asked question by opponents is how long can CCP remain in power? No one dictatorial party has had a lifespan of more than 75 years, for example, the Soviet Union 74 years or PRI in Mexico 71 years. An above-mentioned argument must be appreciated.

On the contrary, the Peoples Republic of China is the most populated country on earth. Governed by Xi Jinping, leader of Communist Party and spearhead of China’s enormous growth. But how powerful is China really? Or does it have the potential to become world superpower? Is the contemporary unipolar world transitioning into bipolar world order where China plays a significant role?

To answer these questions precisely it is important to take into account modern Chinese history, discuss reforms and analyze ideology of the country.

For most of history China was seen as non-relevant and weak player of on the world stage. This perception was changed when Mao Zedong, inspired by Soviet Union, established People’s Republic of China (PRC). Nevertheless, Mao’s new system proved insufficient because country faced many internal problems. After Mao’s death new leader Deng Xiaoping opened the door to the world by reforming its whole system: foreign policy connections were permitted, international trade and investments were encouraged. From these changes started China’s economic growth.

This paper has four primary aims:

1. To explain the term Superpower;
2. To Analyze whether or not China fulfills the criteria of a superpower;
3. To discuss China-US relationship and its influence on the world order;
4. To synthesize the data points to answer my leading question: could China become the new world superpower?

Definition of Superpower

According to the Macmillan dictionary superpower is 'a country that has great military, economic and political power'. (Macmillan,2022)

Scholars generally agree on which state is unique superpower, for instance – the United Kingdom during the Victorian Era and the United States during and immediately after World War II but often disagree on the criteria that distinguish superpower from other major powers.

A superpower is a state that cannot be ignored on the world stage and without whose cooperation no world problem can be solved. During the Cold War, for instance, The United States could not intervene in world affairs without taking into account the position of the U.S.S.R., and vice versa. Indeed, the United States was more powerful than U.S.S.R., according most criteria (military, economic, etc.) If the U.S.S.R. could be considered a superpower despite its rival's edge, it is because in the words of John Mearsheimer, it could 'put up a real fight' and pose a significant challenge to U.S. global dominance. (Munro, 2020)

The possession of highly superior military capabilities is generally considered to be the most important element in distinguishing a superpower such the United States from a power such France or United Kingdom. Nuclear deterrence is key element in this section.

Furthermore, to have a soft power is another important factor, actually, a superior economy as well as the capacity to influence other states and institutions.

According to the Realist scholars such as Hans Morgenthau and the Neorealist Kenneth Waltz, the number of superpowers is most important factor in international politics. The existence of one, two or multiple (a unipolar, bipolar, multipolar world) superpowers determines the stability of international order as well as the prospects of war and peace. The term of superpower must be distinguished from the term 'Hegemon' which means the dominance of one state in one region or in the world at large (regional hegemon, global hegemon).

The concept of superpower was first used to describe the British Empire, which at the end of 19th

century was extended nearly one-quarter of the world's land surface and one-quarter of world's population. However, it became commonly used after World War II and during the Cold War. In the first decade of the 21st century the U.S. remained the superpower state in its economy, military enterprises and diplomatic influence. With the transformation of China into an economic power, there have been continued debates on whether it can be expected to compete the United States as another superpower.

China's economic power

The rise of China as an economic powerhouse has caused concerns in its neighbors and in the West. Since Xi Jinping became leader of the Chinese Communist Party in 2012, he presented the "China Dream" which means to sustain rapid economic growth so that China can join or even surpass the rich countries of the world.

Since opening up to foreign trade and investment and implementing free market reforms in 1979, China was among world's fastest-growing economies with real annual domestic product (GDP) average growth 9,5% through 2018. (1979-2018 period of time). This means that China has been able to double the size of its economy in every eight years. The pace was described by World Bank as 'the fastest sustained expansion by a major economy in history (Congressional Research Service (CRS),2019). Economists attribute much of China's rapid economic growth to two major factors: large investments (financed by large domestic savings and foreign investments) and rapid productivity growth. China has historically maintained a high rate of savings. In 1979, when reforms had started domestic savings as a part of GDP was 32%. Productivity gains (i.e., increases in efficiency) was caused by reallocation of resources in sectors such as agriculture, trade and services.

China has become the world's largest economy, manufacturer, merchandise trader and major commercial partner of the United States.

- In Chinese economy significantly important is high-profile initiative in 2015 - "Made in China 2025". This means to upgrade manufacturing in 10 key sectors. In order to make China a major global player in these sectors.
- China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) represents a grand strategy by China to finance infrastructure in Asia, Europe, Africa, and beyond. If successful, China's economic initiatives could significantly expand export and investment markets for China and increase its "soft power" globally.
- Additionally, China is supporting Polar Silk Road initiative and strategic ambitions in the Arctic region.

'Made in China 2025'

The "Made in China 2025" initiative announced in 2015 is one of the ambitious projects of China. Aimed increasing the competitiveness of Chinese industries, Chinese brands, boosting innovation and reducing China's reliance on foreign technology. An updated version of the plan released in January 2018 said China aimed to become world's leading manufacturer of telecommunication, railway and electrical power equipment by 2025. The methods of Chinese government concerns U.S. firms and policymakers.

In an interview on November 3th, 2017 U.S. Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer marked that China's Made in China 2025 project is a "very, very serious challenge, not just to us, but to Europe, Japan and the global trading system".

China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)

China's Belt and Road Initiative also called "One Belt One Road" (OBOR) was launched in 2013 to boost economic integration connectivity. (such as infrastructure, trade and investment) with its neighbors and trading partners in Africa, Asia, Europe and beyond). At the APEC summit in November 2017, president Xi said the following:

"The Belt and Road Initiative will boost interconnected development. This initiative is from China, but belongs to the world. It is rooted in history, but it is oriented toward the future. It focuses on the Asian, European, African continents, but it is open to all partners. I am confident that the launch of the Belt and Road initiative will create a broader and more dynamic platform for Asia-Pacific cooperation" (Belt and Road Initiative 2022).

Many U.S. analysts view the BRI differently than how Chinese leaders describe. For example, Nadege Rolland, senior fellow with the National Bureau of Asian Research state the following:

"The Belt and Road Initiative is generally understood as China's plan to finance and build infrastructure projects across Eurasia. Infrastructure development is in fact the only one BRI's five components which include strengthened regional political cooperation, unimpeded trade, financial integration and people to people exchanges. It is top-level design for which the central government has mobilized the country's political, diplomatic, intellectual, economic and financial resources" (Belt and Road Initiative 2022).

The Belt and Road Initiative can provide a big boost for China's economy and soft power image. China hopes to create overseas opportunities for Chinese firms, create the new markets and stimulate economic development for poorer regions of China.

As the most scholars consider the Belt and Road Initiative is the “New Era of Globalization and puts a major focus on countries in Asia, Eastern Africa, Eastern Europe, and Middle East.” According to the Belt and Road Portal, currently 145 countries are taking part in the Initiative, together representing more than a third of the world’s GDP and two thirds of the world’s population.

The Belt and Road Initiative combines three initiatives:

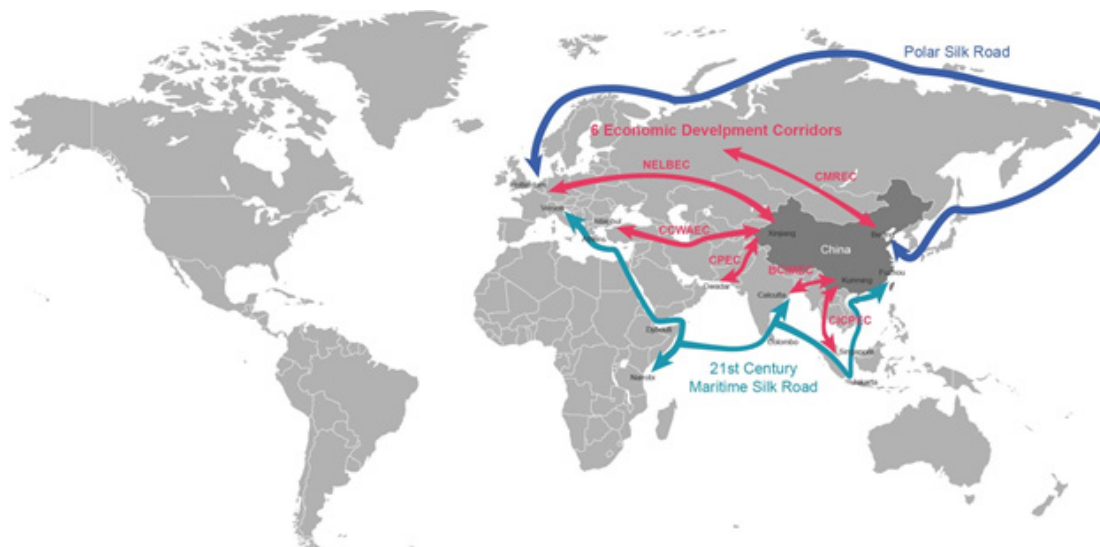
1. The (land based) Silk Road Economic Belt comprising six development corridors.
2. The 21st Century Maritime Silk Road.
3. The Polar Silk Road.

The Silk Road Economic Belt is a long-term vision for the infrastructural development, connectivity, economic cooperation of Eurasia comprising six corridors:

1. New Eurasian Land Bridge Economic Corridor (NELBEC).
2. China-Mongolia-Russia Economic Corridor (CMREC)
3. China-Central Asia-West Asia Economic Corridor (CCWAEC)
4. China-Indochina Peninsula Economic Corridor (CICPEC)
5. Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor (BCIMEC)
6. China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. (CPEC)

The 21st Century Maritime Silk Road connects China to Southeast Asia, Indonesia, India, the Arabian Peninsula, Somalia, Egypt and Europe encompassing the South China Sea, Strait of Malacca, Indian Ocean, Gulf of Bengal, Arabian Sea, Persian Gulf and the Red Sea.

The fully fund of the Belt and Road Initiative project is USD 4 to 8 trillion.



The Polar Silk Road-On January 26, 2018 the Peoples Council of China published a white paper titled “China’s Arctic Policy.” A document is China’s Arctic strategy to develop “Polar Silk Road”

under the “Belt and road Initiative.”

The Arctic is situated at a special geographical location. The Arctic Circle is about 21 million square kilometers belonging to Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden and The United States. States from outside of the Arctic region do not have territorial sovereignty in the Arctic, but they do have rights of scientific research, navigation, overflight, fishing and resource exploration.

China is an important stakeholder in Arctic affairs. Geographically, China has defined itself as a “Near Arctic State” (Grieger, 2022).

According to European Parliamentary research Service (EPRS) China’s Arctic research interests are strategic, going far beyond efforts to, gain a better understanding of the impact of climate change on the region, on the China and for the better forecasting. Scientific information is needed to foster China’s geostrategic ambitions related to shipping, resource extraction.

There are concerns about China’s Arctic strategy internationally, and it is often perceived alongside Russian militarization of the Arctic as a dual threat to the establishing of international order.

As Chinese officials announced China will construct Polar Silk Road in between 2021-2025 year (Five-year plan).

The Polar Silk Road refers to Arctic shipping routes connecting three major economic centers: North America, East Asia and Western Europe. (see map)

If the global temperatures continue to rise in line with current trends by 2030 the Arctic may be free from the ice during the summer. This opens up new routes for shipping and that is a main reason of the Arctic Silk Road project.

There are three potential routes across the Arctic: the northeast passage around Eurasia, the North-west passage around North America and the central arctic ocean route.

For China they offer a shorter and cheaper alternative to current shipping routes, which reach major markets in Europe via the Indian Ocean and the Suez Canal.

Considering all of the facts, China’s rapid economic development strategies and initiatives such as the Belt and Road Initiative, Made in China 2025 and the Polar Silk Road are China’s effort to develop and grow its economic and political power internationally.

China’s energy power

China has emerged as a truly global actor, impacting every region and every major issue area. Furthermore, China is the world’s largest consumer of energy, for this reason stable energy supply and energy route diversification are the key points of country’s national security strategy.

The Arctic holds 13% (90 million barrels) of the world's undiscovered conventional oil and 30% of its undiscovered conventional gas resources, according to assessment conducted by U.S. geological survey (USGS). (The US geological survey, 2022)

In August 2012, China Communications Constructions Company won the contract to construct an LNG terminal in the Kamchatka Peninsula, which will extend Russia's LNG shipments to Asia.

China-Russia Yamal Energy (partners: China, Russia, France) is the world's largest liquefied natural gas (LNG) project. In which Chinese companies are stakeholders and provide significant financing. For this participation, China has secured long-term LNG supply approximately 195 billion cubic feet gas per annum.

Payakha oilfield- is Russia and China's second Arctic Silk Road energy Project after Yamal. Payakha lies in the region of Krasnoyarsk. In 2019 the China National Chemical Engineering Group and Russian Neftegazholding signed a deal on development Payakha oilfield. The project includes crude oil port, 410 km oil pipeline and crude oil processing facilities.

Another gas pipeline between Russia and China is Power of Siberia 1 or China-Russia East-Route Natural Gas Pipeline with length 3000 kilometers and with 38 billion cubic meters export capacity per year.

Apart from Russia Central Asia energy resources are significantly important for China. China's key energy strategy is diversification. The Central Asia-China Gas Pipeline (known as Turkmenistan-China Gas Pipeline) system from Central Asia to China.

China's other energy importer are Middle East region, Brazil and Venezuela.

The country is the world's largest emitter of greenhouse gases and coal of China is major cause of Global Warming. Furthermore, China is world's largest renewable energy producer.

To summarize China's energy strategy one could conclude that China is trying to avoid the risk of energy dependence in order to bypass political pressure and for this purpose China makes an effort to diversify energy resources in all possible ways.

China as a regional and world power

With the world's largest army and rapidly expanding economy, China has ambitious to become a global superpower.

China is the largest and the most powerful country in East Asia with growing influence. Some scholars argue that one long-term aim of Chinese government is to displace U.S. in the region.

In recent years China has adopted a more assertive foreign policy. This has resulted in tensions of

its neighbors including renewed territorial disputes with Japan, South Korea and Vietnam in the South China Sea.

When Chinese influence has increased in East Asia relations with the United States have become strained. In October 2015, US bombers flew close to the artificial islands which were created by china in disputed areas in the South China Sea.

Despite strain in their relationships China, Japan and South Korea expanded trade agreements.

In 2014 Vietnam accused of violating its international waters as China tried to expand its oil exploration in oil-rich area. (BBC, *China's international influence,2022*)

At a 2014 meeting of the Association of South East Asian nations (ASEAN) the ten member countries (China is not a member country) appeared to back down from challenging China's increasing influence in the area.

China has an important relationship with North Korea. China is regarded as North Korea's ally and trading partner. The North Korean economy is almost entirely dependent on trade with China. And the two countries signed military treaty -The Sino-North Korean Mutual Aid and Cooperation friendship treaty-in 1961.

Furthermore, there are ongoing China-US tensions over Taiwan or The Republic of China. China do not recognize Taiwan as an independent state. Taiwan seceded from China in 1949.The strong political, military and economic support for the Taiwanese government has prevented reunification from China. In 2015 the leaders of China and Taiwan met for the first time after 60 years.

In addition, China with cooperation Russian federation is founder of Shanghai Cooperation Organization in 2001.Which is intergovernmental organization mainly focused on regional security issues, its fight against regional terrorism and religious extremism.

China is a military power, with the world's largest army (2,2million personnel), a nuclear power and the permanent member of United Nations Security Council (One of the permanent 5 P5) and has an opportunity to veto any proposal put forward by the Security Council. Its contribution to UN has increased. Furthermore, China is the world's largest economy, however the UN recognized that per capita income is low.

Additionally, China is a member of G8 and G20 economic groups. Summits or meeting of the leaders of G8 and G20 offer the opportunity for China and other group members to develop closer economic ties to expand trade.

To complete this section, in my personal opinion, China become the regional and global power as a result of its cooperation and foreign policy strategy in a regional and global level. China is trying

to displace the United States hegemony in both areas and has an ambition to construct its own international order.

China-Russia Relationship

Who is China's closest ally? – Russian Federation and Pakistan. When researching New World Order, experts always ask the important question -who is China's closest partner? The future of Chinese-Russian relations?!

From my point of view, the future international order will be bipolar with U.S. and China's hegemony. If China will become a superpower obviously the main question will be about its allies.

The February 4th 2022 visit was Vladimir Putin and Xi Jinping's first in-person summit after Coronavirus pandemic and it marks a new era in ties between Beijing and Moscow that continue to strengthen politically, economically and militarily.¹ In a joint declaration "The sides oppose further enlargement of NATO and call the North Atlantic alliance to abandon its ideologized Cold War approaches" the statement said.

In the face of sanctions threatened by the West after a potential Russian invasion on Ukraine, Chinese political and economic support would signal a geopolitical shift that could upend American foreign policy. (Joint Statement of Russian Federation and the People' Republic of China,2022).

Alexander Gabuev, Moscow Carnegie Center researcher considers that the relationship between Russia and China has been building at a new pace recently. A lot of these dynamics will depend on Ukraine, after military conflict Russia will have more rely on China to offset western sanctions. Trade already hit a record high in 2021, the Power of Siberia gas pipeline is running and there are already plans for a second pipeline.

Ziayi Jhou- Stanford U.S.-Russia relations researcher points out that China-Russia relations become more deeper, concrete and strategic. Over the last six years Russia's role as an energy provider to China has also grown considerably and it is now the second largest supplier of crude oil to China and the third largest provider of natural gas (pipeline and liquified natural gas LNG combined).

There is also talk form Russian leadership about switching to China's yuan in its financial system instead of using euros or dollars to protect against new sanctions

Putin's visit to china is about to shaping a new world where Russian and Chinese core interests: security concerns or territorial aspirations are respected and can be redefined through mutual support and coordinated actions in response to the West (Standish,2022).

There are four major drivers behind the improved China-Russia ties. First, both countries want to maintain peace along their 4200-kilometer border and do not want to go back to the years of costly

and risky confrontation. Second, the two economies naturally complement each other. Russia has huge natural resources but needs technology and capital. Trade between the two neighbors has grown from \$10.7 billion in 2001 to \$140 billion in 2021 and will expand when the Power of Siberia will reach its full capacity 36 billion cubic meters year and the launch of new projects like the Power of Siberia 2 with 50bcm /year capacity. Beijing wants to have an access to secure land routes for trading, while Moscow wants decrease its dependency

on European markets and monetize its natural resources the global energy transition takes its toll on hydrocarbon prices in coming decades (Gabuev,2021).

Third both China and Russia are both authoritarian regimes. They do not interfere in each other's domestic politics. And, moreover, as two permanent members of United Nations Security Council, Beijing and Moscow cooperate in multiple issues. It is the parallel confrontation with the United States, however, that is driving Beijing and Moscow even closer together.

Furthermore, Russia and China are developing new weapons together and expanded the scope of military drills.

Putin and Xi's another drive is to make their countries great again and push back against American global leadership is another ingredient in secret sauce of the Russia-China entente.²

China-U.S. relationship-from a Unipolar to a Bipolar Superpower system

China is rising power. What are the international implications of China's rise? Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs (Harvard Kennedy School) researches US-China relationships.

U.S. defense policy makers will need to enforce a liberal international order. Weak neighbors like Vietnam and Laos are expected to accommodate Beijing trying to benefit from Chinese economy. India will become more important for U.S. strategy (including more military presence) as a link between Australia and Thailand, the Middle East and Central Asia, and the Pacific and Indian Ocean. But there are risks in the US-India alignment against China.

China seeks three strategic aims: a secure periphery, security environment and the successful resolution of Taiwan issue. Beijing sees U.S. as a threat to all three. Avoiding armed conflict will become more difficult. China will continue working for a dominant regional position. It is significant that China-US rivalry has multiple dimensions, including technological, security - defence, ideological, and that suggests that drivers for conflict will be hard to manage for both side (Lyons,2022).

Technological and therefore economic dominance are key dimensions of competitions between

China and U.S. As the scholars suggest a new transatlantic agenda related to China is needed.

U.S economic competition with China intensified under Obama administration enhancing military presence in the Indo-Pacific region. However, Trump administration declared an era of great power competition with China, implemented trade sanctions against Beijing and was warning against increased Chinese investments, particularly in the technological sphere (SCIC,2022).

For a long time, the United States refused to recognize China's communist government. Diplomatic relations, initiated Nixon administration's ping-pong diplomacy, leading president Carter's recognition of the one-China policy and the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1979, when Deng Xiaoping's china, after economic reforms, have started trade with United States. Henry Kissinger's ideas and influence were decisive in this diplomatic development. Kissinger, who was National Security Advisor and then Secretary of State under President Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford, is a firm supporter of international relations. He believed that China will be an emerging power. Furthermore, Kissinger considered that the United States have to move closer to China. He made his first trip in secret in 1971 and then organized President Nixon's trip in 1972¹ in China.

From the Chinese point of view, the United States military presence in Asia is perceived as a threat on all fronts. China is faced with the United States allies or partners all along its maritime borders: South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, Singapore and Vietnam host around 60000 soldiers. It was same along its land borders: Afghanistan, Pakistan, Mongolia and India are allies or even friends of United States. This is what concerns Chinese government.

When talking on China-US relationships, there are two main questions/concerns: what happens when China becomes a Superpower? And is armed conflict between the two countries inevitable?

To start with the last one the recent book by Graham Alison "Can China and America Escape Thucydides' Trap?" is inspired by the example of the Peloponnesian War between Sparta-a declining power and Athens-a rising power for domination of Greek world in the 5th century BCE. It is usual for declining nations and rising nations to clash with each other for world domination. Therefore, it would be normal for China and United States to be in a conflict situation soon or later. This pessimistic hypothesis is shared by Samuel Huntington, John Mearsheimer and Robert Gilpin (North America Research Program,2017).

For Henry Kissinger and other realist academics such Michael D. Swaine and Charles L. Glaser such result in nuclear age must be prevented at all costs. Yes, it is possible to avoid a conflict to establish dialogue with China. As Kissinger mentioned in his book "World Order" – there must be created

¹ North America Research Program *U.S. Visions of China, from Henry Kissinger to Donald Trump* November 2017. https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/nardon_us_visions_of_china_2017_.pdf Accessed February 8,2022.

modernized international order which will be a combination of Balance of Power and a partnership diplomacy (Kissinger,2015).

What kind of superpower will China be? – Chinese President Xi Jinping in an address to United Nations General Assembly claimed that historically Chinese emperors generally eschewed the use of force. It is true that country's dynasties enjoyed stable relations with some of their East

Asian neighbors for extended period of time. But at the height of their power the emperors were quite aggressive expansionists, too. The Han Dynasty and the Tang dynasty had armies matching from Central Asia to the Korean Peninsula. The most acquisitive was Qing (1644-1912) which controlled Tibet and conquered today's Xinjiang.

Generally speaking, China's historic statesman didn't really expect the world to "go Chinese", but they did promote their civilization. Historically, the Chinese considered themselves better than other people because they believe that their civilization was civilization. This formed a worldview in which Chinese sat atop the hierarchy. They did not believe in equal relationships. What becomes clear from an examination of China's history is that the Chinese do not just to be a great power - they believe they deserve to be (Shuman,2022).

With economic, political and military rise of China the current international order is transitioning from a unipolar to a bipolar system with the hegemony of United States and China. Currently the United States promotes strategic relationship with Japan, France, Germany and India. This smart diplomatic strategy leaving China and Russia no sufficient strategic allies.

Specialist use the term of "bipolarity" to describe a state of politics when two powerful countries far outstrip all others. These two countries are called "superpowers" (Council on Foreign Relations,2020).

This emerging new world order is very different form the bipolar world that existed during the Cold War. There was no interdependence between the former Soviet Union and the United States. There was democratic West and communist state.

The new bipolar world means several things. In many regions: in Africa, Asia, Latin America China is developing ties like big infrastructure projects, invested in roads.

This emerging bipolar world is dangerous because it has set off a new arms race (Dempsey, 2020).

Conclusion

In the final analysis can be concluded that relations between China and the United States -the

two strongest states in the system-will play a central roll in determining future world order. Understanding the path of China, the circumstances under which historical decisions were made, and their effects on the course on China's economy can be made a culmination of the research: that China has demonstrated its hegemonic intensions. With the 'Belt and Road Initiative', 'Made in China 25', the 'Polar Silk Road' Project, its territorial intentions in the South China Sea and its recent actions against Taiwan illustrate that China is not only a regional power but the global superpower.

China has shown an interest towards becoming a major actor in global politics and reshaped world order that was set by current superpower the United States. China is not only economic but military power. It has the largest and fastest growing economy among Asia countries.

On a global scale, China has started to play a more significant role in international politics and came to present itself more, for instance, China belongs to promising contracts with Latin America, with Middle East, and Africa which exclusively guarantee the access to important resources and therefore to ensure further economic growth.

In 2009 China formed BRICS association, is a member of World Trade Organization (WTO) and G20 and also Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (Shanghai Pact). Those are well indicators of great political power. Moreover, China as a permanent member of United Nations Security Council belongs to the elite club of recognized powerful nation-holding a veto right, which only four other countries have, underline China's political importance on the world stage.

In a period of only a few decades China has transformed into a global center of economic activity, through increased production and investments as well as reformed import and export policy.

All things considered China's unprecedented rise transforms current world order from unipolar to bipolar system. In this case, as Dr. Henry A. Kissinger pointed out the main goal of the international system will become to avoid conflict between two major superpowers, because in the nuclear era "it risks getting out of control".

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