

The Russia-Ukraine War and its Repercussions on the American-Chinese Competition as a Model

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Abstract

Objectives: The study aimed to clarify the nature and dimensions of China's stance on the 2022 Russian-Ukrainian war and to outline the war's impacts on the escalation of future U.S.-China competition.

Methods: To answer the study's questions and test its hypothesis, the study relied on the inductive method and the systemic analysis method.

Results: The Ukrainian war revealed a convergence of views between Russia and China regarding the need to restructure the international system. China's position on the war aligned with its national interests, and the Russian-Ukrainian war will have extensive and multi-level implications on the structure of the global system and regional security. Neutralizing Russian power and defining the limits of its control amidst the Ukrainian war is one of the main American strategies to compete with China. Thus, within its competition with the United States, China seeks to leverage the war to accelerate the transition within the international system towards a non-polar system, which is a shared Sino-Russian objective.

Conclusions: The study concluded that the Russian-Ukrainian war had significant impacts on U.S.-China competition, highlighting the increasing intensity of disputes between the two nations. China is working within its rivalry with the United States to expedite the transition within the international system towards a non-polar system, which is a shared goal between China and Russia.

Keywords: Russian-Ukrainian war, Repercussions, US-Chinese competition.

الحرب الروسية-الأوكرانية و انعكاساتها على التنافس الأمريكي الصيني نموذجاً

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ملخص

الأهداف: هدفت الدراسة إلى بيان طبيعة وأبعاد الموقف الصيني من الحرب الروسية – الأوكرانية عام 2022، وبيان تأثيرات الحرب الأوكرانية – الروسية على تصاعد مستقبل التنافس الأمريكي-الصيني.

المنهجية: ولغايات الإجابة عن أسئلة الدراسة واختبار فرضيتها، اعتمدت الدراسة المنهج الاستقرائي، ومنهج تحليل النظم .
النتائج: وقد كشفت الحرب الأوكرانية عن توافق في بعض الرؤى بين روسيا والصين بشأن ضرورة إعادة هيكلة النظام الدولي، وقد اتسق موقف الصين من الحرب مع مصالحها القومية، وأن الحرب الروسية – الأوكرانية ستكون لها تداعيات ممتدة ومتعددة المستويات، على بنية النظام العالمي والأمن الإقليمي، وإن تحييد القوة الروسية ورسم حدود لسيطرتها في ظل الحرب الأوكرانية يعد أحد أهم التوجهات الأمريكية لمنافسة الصين، لذا تسعى الصين في إطار تنافسها مع الولايات المتحدة إلى تعزيز دور الحرب في تسريع عملية الانتقال داخل النظام الدولي باتجاه نظام اللاقطبية وهو يعد هدفاً صينياً-روسيا مشتركاً.
الخلاصة: خلصت الدراسة إلى أن الحرب الروسية-الأوكرانية كان لها انعكاساتها على التنافس الأمريكي-الصيني في ضوء تزايد حدة الخلافات بين الدولتين حيث تعمل الصين في إطار تنافسها مع الولايات المتحدة إلى تسريع عملية الانتقال داخل النظام الدولي باتجاه نظام اللاقطبية وهو يعد هدفاً صينياً-روسيا مشتركاً.

الكلمات الدالة: الحرب الروسية - الأوكرانية، الانعكاسات، التنافس الأمريكي الصيني.

Introduction:

The Chinese-American rivalry represents a form of strategic competition between an (existing) power and a (rising) power in the international system. One of the most prominent indicators of international tension between the Chinese and American fronts is the escalation of the rivalry between them over the island of Taiwan, the manufacture of American semi-conductors, and other general trade disputes. Also, Diplomatic and security tensions have escalated between the two sides regarding Taiwan. Additionally, following the visit of the Speaker of the US House of Representatives, Nancy Pelosi, to Taiwan in August 2022, which coincided with the continuation of the Ukrainian war crisis, voices arose from both China and the United States of America against the backdrop of the US administration imposing comprehensive export controls on technology, which enhanced the levels of conflict and competition between America and China.

The rapid rise of China as an alternative hegemon poses a major challenge to the United States' dominant position in the international system. China's competition is widespread around the world, so China has quickly consolidated its economic, technological, and military power and begun to threaten the United States' global hegemony. . Therefore, many scholars talk about the declining monopoly of the United States on the international system and how this affects the future of Chinese hegemony. For example, some of these scholars predict a hegemonic war between the United States and China in the international system, such as during the superpower transition.

The war in Ukraine has shown that the greater the risks of global geostrategic confrontation, the more global collective security frameworks show their weakness and inability to manage international crises, which is what the Russian-Ukrainian war has made prevalent since February 24, 2022. The models of global and European security engineering have changed significantly. On the other hand, the role of the NATO association has been activated, and images documenting the Russian military invasion have strengthened the perception of a collapsing international security system as well as boosted the feeling of weakness and strategic confusion caused by the structural changes in the international system. From here, the study seeks to demonstrate the repercussions and effects of the Russian-Ukrainian war on the American-Chinese rivalry.

Study problem: Strategic competition has become the new model for Sino-American relations, and the administration of former US President Trump described China, in both the 2017 National Security Strategy of the United States and the US Department of Defense's summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of the United States of America, as a revisionist state and a strategic competitor. For America, Chinese scholars generally interpret America's use of these qualities as a turning point in its strategy towards China, and the administration of US president Joe Biden has adopted a hardline view towards China in the National Security Strategy for 2022, which considered China, the only competitor with the intention of reshaping the international system, and that China's foreign strategy has advanced from maintaining secrecy to also striving for achievement, and that China has become more assertive, especially in light of the South China Sea disputes (Al-Zawahra, 2022). China had positions supportive of Russia in its war with Ukraine, and therefore the study came to examine the repercussions of the Russian-Ukrainian war on the American-Chinese competition for hegemony over the international system.

Importance of the study: The importance of the study comes from two aspects:

Scientific (theoretical) importance: The importance of the scientific study is demonstrated by explaining the repercussions of the Russian-Ukrainian war on the American-Chinese competition for hegemony over the international system, and highlighting the developments that previous studies have overlooked as well as clarifying them with regard to the subject of the study, and the fact that the Russian-Ukrainian war is still ongoing. Its effects on international relations and the international system were not centered realistically in light of the alliances and tensions that resulted from the differing international positions on the course of the war, especially the Chinese position, which was supportive of the Russian endeavors, further deepening the American-Chinese rivalry.

Practical (applied) importance: This study represents a reference for many researchers in political science, as it is a study that focuses primarily, on the repercussions of the Russian-Ukrainian war on the American-Chinese competition for dominance over the international system in a period that witnessed many points of disagreement and political tensions between the two countries regarding positions on the war. And secondarily: focusing on disputes regarding trade matters

and the Taiwan issue.

Objectives of the study: The study aims to explain the repercussions of the Russian-Ukrainian war on the American-Chinese competition in dominating the international system, and the following sub-objectives branch out from this objective:

- Stating the nature and dimensions of the Chinese position on the Russian-Ukrainian war.
- Explaining the effects of the Ukrainian-Russian war on the escalation of the American-Chinese rivalry.
- Extrapolating the future of the American-Chinese competition in light of the repercussions of the Russian-Ukrainian war.

Study hypothesis: There is an inverse relationship between the repercussions of the Russian-Ukrainian war and the level of American-Chinese competition for hegemony over the international system, in light of the political and economic differences between the two countries.

Study methodology: For the purposes of answering the study's questions and testing its hypothesis, the study relied on the following approaches:

- The inductive approach: It is an approach that is based on studying historical facts and analyzing the present and its data in order to predict what the future developments of political events may be (Ali, 2017). This approach helps in extrapolating and analyzing the repercussions of the Russian-Ukrainian war on the nature of the American-Chinese competition.

- The descriptive methodology is often intertwined with analytical methodology in many scientific research papers. This combination of both the descriptive and analytical methods is employed through many steps, starting with the researcher's observation of a problem or scientific occurrence, then describing it in a detailed scientific way. Then, the researcher begins to collect data and information regarding his observations. After that, they enter a very important step in research, which is to formulate the research questions, followed by analyzing their data using different statistical methods, and creating results that aid them in breaking down the subject of their research. This approach was employed in analyzing China's positions on the Russian-Ukrainian war and its role in deepening the American-Chinese rivalry. (2006, Al-Qasabi)

Terminology used in the study:

- The international system: It is described as an entity with a nature subject to continuous change, and that if it appears to be in a state of growth or development at one stage, it may appear that it is on the verge of collapsing at another, and the system tries to maintain its normal performance in one way or another, but in all cases, there remains its constant state of change. Dougherty, 1976).

- Competition: It is a political process through which two or more parties seek to achieve the same goal. Competition is a state that brings together two or more international parties characterized by a peaceful nature, far from any manifestations of violence, tension, and conflicts that may affect the relations between the two countries (Atwan, 2004).

- The Russian-Ukrainian War: It is an invasion launched by Russia against Ukraine on February 24th, 2022. The campaign began after a long military buildup as well as Russian recognition of the unilaterally declared Donetsk People's Republic and the Luhansk People's Republic. This was then followed by the entry of Russian armed forces into the Donbass region in eastern Ukraine on February 21st. February 2022 (Bushaya, 2022).

Theoretical framework:

Hans Morgenthau, who is one of the most interested individuals in the realist theory, presented a comprehensive conception of the concept of power and its role in shaping international politics in his famous book (Politics Among Nations), where he considers international politics as a struggle for power, and the national interest being that of preserving national survival, including... Defending the physical, political and cultural entity of the state (Morgenthau, 1978), As for Friedrich Schumann, one of the advocates of the realist approach to analyzing international relations, he says: "The international system consists, at its core, of strong, sovereign, independent states that possess the political components of power, and do not recognize the existence of a higher authority among the international units," as these states work to secure Its national interests through means of combat and undermining the security and stability of other countries, where

the goal of self-preservation is a final and highest goal that is not subject to any reservation or any compromise. (Dougherty, Pfaltzgraff, 1971: 69).

The United States and China possess the elements of political, economic, and military power as active forces in the international system, which has contributed to the escalation of competition between them at various levels. As a result of American policies that are harmful to Chinese interests, China has put forward initiatives, including the Belt and Road Initiative, the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, and the Making... In China 2025, which certainly threatens the global hegemony of the United States of America, which has lasted for more than seven decades, (Layne, 2018: 96) points out that since the beginning of the Great Recession, China has successively ranked first in the world when it came to exports in trade, and in Industrialization, based on these facts, he argues that the Great Recession and China's rapid rise as a leading economic power have revealed the reality of American decline, i.e. the end of the unipolar era or Pax Americana (Layne, 2012: 204).

Although China repeatedly claims that it does not seek to replace American hegemony in the world, its political behavior makes clear that its ultimate goal is to be a global hegemon. All rising powers in history have always sought to first control the region in which they are located, and then It seeks to expand its power globally (Mearsheimer, 2014).

Given that it is more difficult for the leaders of a declining hegemon to accept the reality or possibility of their states' diminishing influence and status (Chan, 2008: 50), the United States has every reason to prolong its hegemony in the post-1945 world, which has served its own interests (Layne , 2018:105), and although China claims that the Belt and Road Initiative aims to promote peace and development in the world, many analysts in America consider it a Chinese version of the Marshall Plan that seeks to promote Chinese investment around the world for the sake of global hegemony. (Rolland, 2018).

The Belt and Road Initiative is not simply seen as a Chinese plan to build roads and railways across Eurasia, Africa or the Indo-Pacific region, but as China's grand strategy for the coming decades and its means of writing new rules that reflect Chinese interests (Kuo, Kommenda. 2018). In fact, China has established a link between The Belt and Road Initiative and the concept of China's core national security interests. For example, Wei Feng, the Chinese Defense Minister and Commander of the Pakistan Navy, announced in 2018 that "China is ready to provide security guarantees for the One Belt, One Road project" (Smith, 2018). Therefore, Eisenman asserts that while there is no precise definition of its scope and contents, the Belt and Road Initiative is China's attempt to create a new central era of globalization using traditional tools of Chinese statecraft as well as new types of economic incentives and debt financing arrangements. The Belt and Road Initiative reflects China's increasing relative power in the world as well as China's growing ambitions to shape global economic governance (Tekdal, 2017: 378) It "embodies how China flaunts its global ambitions. (Chellaney, 2018).

Previous studies:

A study for **(Muhammad, 2023)**, titled: "Russian-Chinese military rapprochement, and the possibilities of a military alliance." The study aimed to attempt to evaluate the extent of Russian-Chinese military rapprochement, in the context of the deterioration of Russian-American-Western relations after the Ukrainian crisis, and the shift of Russian interest to the East within circles of interest. Its foreign policy is within the framework of emphasizing the Chinese presence in the South China Sea, which contributed to the Russian-Chinese rapprochement in the face of the unilateralism of the leaders of the United States of America.

A study for **(Stephanie, 2023)**, titled: "Strategic Competition and Relations between the United States and China: A Conceptual Analysis." The study focused on a statement of interest in the "strategic competition" between the United States and China after China was declared a "strategic competitor" to America. The study concluded that since 2010, "Strategic competition" has become an objective to be pursued in US-China relations rather than something to be managed.

A study for **(Al-Jumaili, Khalil, & Abbas, 2023)**, titled: "The Chinese-American strategic competition in the South China Sea and the Pacific Ocean: The mutual threat." The study sought to provide an analytical vision of the dynamics of the strategic competition taking place between the United States of America and China in the regions of the Pacific Ocean and the South China Sea, and to study the reflection of this competition on mutual policies and procedures between the two

powers. The research concluded that the United States is determined to continue protecting its interests, competing with and containing China as well as preventing it from expanding in the South China Sea and the Pacific region by increasing its military presence and enhancing security cooperation with its allies in the region.

A study for **(Al-Abed, 2023)**, titled: "The repercussions of the Russian-Ukrainian war on international relations." The study aimed to shed light on the Russian-Ukrainian war, which cast its shadow on international relations from a practical and intellectual standpoint, mainly because it affected the overall interactions in the current international system. The study concluded that the war has strengthened the division between the East and the West and represents the beginning of a test of influence between the great powers to become an international issue in which all the involved sides are concerned with achieving their national interests, and its repercussions on the international environment and its future effects remain dependent on diplomatic and military developments as well.

A study for **(Abdo, 2022)**, titled: "American policy towards Russian military intervention in Ukraine and its repercussions on NATO." The study specifically examines the dimensions of the American policy, its determinants, characteristics and features towards Russian military intervention in Ukraine, and its repercussions on NATO. The study reached several conclusions using the analytical and deductive approach to decision-making, including: that Russia cannot retreat in Ukraine or leave it to become part of the European Union or NATO, and that Russia did not fully achieve its military goals as it had planned.

Blackwell's study **(Black will, 2017)** titled: "China's strategy towards Asia: maximizing power and replacing America, the major goals of China, and how America can confront them"; The study aimed to identify the most important axis of the Chinese strategy in Asia, and the American response to it. The study adopted the systemic approach and the study concluded that China has four strategic goals: maintaining order internally, maintaining high rates of economic growth, calming the surrounding environment, and developing China's role in the international system. China represents the greatest challenge to what it called "vital American interests".

- What distinguishes this study from previous studies:

The previous studies that were presented, including the study (Muhammad, 2023), which aimed to try and evaluate the extent of the Russian-Chinese military rapprochement, and the study (Hassan, 2023), which aimed to clarify the nature of the Strait of Hormuz and the means followed by Iran in achieving its strategic goals in the Strait, in addition to the study (Al-Jumaili, Khalil, & Abbas, 2023) which aimed to provide an analytical vision on the dynamics of the strategic competition taking place between the United States of America and China in the Pacific region and the South China Sea, and the reflection of this competition on mutual policies and procedures between the two powers. As well as the study (Al-Jumaili, Khalil, & Abbas, 2023). -Abed, 2023), which shed light on one of the most important historical events witnessed in the twenty-first century, the Russian-Ukrainian war, a study (Abdo, 2022), which identified the dimensions, determinants, characteristics, and features of American policies towards Russian military intervention in Ukraine, and Stephanie's study (2023), which showed that despite the great interest in the "strategic competition" between the United States and China after China was declared a "strategic competitor" to America, the meaning of this concept and its origins, As well as the various analytical and political functions are still not well understood, and Blackwell's study (Black will, 2017), which clarified China's strategy towards Asia, stating that the Maximization of their power, and the replacement of America, are the major goals of China. and how America can confront them.

While the current study deals with the Russian-Ukrainian war and its repercussions on the American-Chinese competition for hegemony over the international system, this study is similar to previous studies in examining topics related to the subject of the current study in terms of dealing with the political aspect of the two Chinese countries, while this study differs in that it addresses the repercussions of the Russian-Ukrainian war on US-Chinese competition for dominance in the international system.

First: The Chinese position on the Russian-Ukrainian war

Russia began the military operation in Ukraine on February 24, 2022, This was preceded by electronic attacks on the Ukrainian government's websites, with the closure of Ukrainian airspace, and movement towards Ukraine from three axis:

the north, from Belarus, the south, the peninsula, Crimea, and from the east of the Donbass region (AlSaud, 2022). The Ukrainian war was revived, at an international level. The conflict between Russia and the United States of America (Crosbie, 2022).

The following is a presentation of China's positions on the Ukrainian war:

– **The Chinese position on the Russian-Ukrainian war at the political level:** China announced its official position on the war between Russia and Ukraine, during a statement issued by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2022, which included five specific points directed at all parties participating in the war, and affirmed its position, calling for respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries, adhering to the goals and principles of the United Nations Charter, and continuing to oppose all hegemonic powers. Firmly, to protect the legitimate rights and interests of small and medium developing countries, it also called for a vision of comprehensive, cooperative, and sustainable common security (Zahir, 2022: 247). China supported Russia in that the security of the state cannot be guaranteed at the expense of the security of other countries, and called for the necessity of taking Russia's legitimate security demands seriously. (Al-Zawahra, 2022).

China expressed its understanding of the “special and complex historical context” of the Ukrainian issue, declaring China’s vision for Ukraine to become a bridge between the East and the West, and clarifying its neutral position in the Security Council towards the Russian-Ukrainian war by abstaining from voting, and that China has always rejected the Security Council resolutions in accordance with Chapter Seven, which support Allowing the use of force and sanctions. In return, China exercises its role and membership in the Security Council as a responsible power that has always fulfilled its international obligations, played a constructive role in protecting global peace and stability, and committed itself to the path of sound development to build a society and a shared future for humanity, China criticized the Security Council because it must play a constructive role in resolving the Ukraine issue, and give the highest priority to peace, stability, and regional security at the level of measures aimed at calming tensions, or at the level of promoting a diplomatic solution instead of further escalating the situation (Abdel-Fattah, 2022).

– **The Chinese position on the Russian-Ukrainian war at the diplomatic level:** In his tweets, the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman attacked the United States and highlighted the reality of American military interventions since World War II, accompanied by the phrase "History does not forget" as well as a statistical statement that showed that (81%) of the wars that took place between the years 1945-2021, amounting to A total of (201) armed conflicts, out of (248), in (153) countries around the world, were led by the United States of America (Abdeen, 2022).

The Chinese Foreign Minister announced China's confirmation of abandoning the Cold War mentality, in light of political readings that considered the Western attack on Russian interference in Ukraine to carry messages to China and warnings regarding the Chinese position on the Taiwan region, as China directed a boldly worded letter to the United State's attempt to put pressure on China, by amplifying the passage of its warships through the Taiwan Strait with the intention of sending a message in support of Taiwanese independence (Farouk, 2022).

– **The Chinese position on the Russian-Ukrainian war at the security and strategic levels:** China did not declare explicit support for Russian annexation, recognition, or military measures, because if it did, its arguments with regard to the independence claims from Taiwan and other regions would be lost, and, with regard to Taiwan specifically, some voices emerged hypothesizing that China would do what Russia presented in Ukraine. However, China will most likely not take the step of reclaiming Taiwan militarily, since it is fully aware of the disastrous repercussions of such behavior, such as the recognition of Taiwan by important countries in the world, in addition to providing military aid in light of American pledges to protect it. Here, a large-scale war may break out that will exhaust China, It may lead to stopping positive developments in favor of China in terms of its role, status and influence on the global level, and that the vast majority of countries in the world recognize the one-China policy. The statement of the Chinese-Russian summit in February 2022 emphasized this point, considering Taiwan as an integral part of China (Abdeen, 2022).

China and Russia share a close political, economic, and military partnership that aims to find a mechanism for managing Chinese relations with Russia to demolish the unilateral global system that prevailed after the Cold War, and to reproduce

a new multipolar system. Therefore, China resorts, with Russia's help, to networking Russian and Chinese interests, ensuring that they are not defeated by the current global hegemony. Western countries, or the United States exploiting the dispute between them and using one party against the other. In line with this, the two parties are working to network economic and commercial interests in the region, which was translated through the cooperation agreement between China and the Eurasian Economic Union (Bakir, 2022).

In February 2022, a Chinese-Russian strategic partnership was held that emphasized confronting hegemony through unilateral American sanctions. Russia also confirmed its support for the Chinese position on the issue of Chinese sovereignty over Taiwan. The most important provisions of the agreement stipulated (Ziadi, 2022:6):

- These revenues are made through the new pipeline linking Sakhalin Island in the Far East of Russia with Heilongjiang Province in northeastern China, through the Sea of Japan.
- Gas sales between the Chinese and Russian sides are settled in Euros instead of US dollars.

Second: The Ukrainian war and the escalation of the American-Chinese rivalry.

Russia expressed a positive position on Chinese moves in the Ukrainian conflict, and following the issuance of the Chinese initiative, on February 24, 2023, the Russian Foreign Ministry published a statement in which it said: (We share Beijing's proposal for a settlement, and are committed to respecting the Charter of the United Nations, international and humanitarian law, and comprehensive security, in a way that does not enhance the security of one country at the expense of another country, or one group of countries at the expense of another, and we, along with China, see that any restrictions imposed outside the scope of the UN Security Council are illegitimate and a tool in unequal competition and economic war) The Russian Foreign Ministry confirmed that "Moscow is open to achieving the goals of the military operation through political and diplomatic means" (Mahmoud, 2023), and US Vice President (Camilla Harris) announced her concern about China deepening its relations with Russia since the beginning of the war, and said that any step China offers to Russia would only support Russia in continuing its military operations, further complicating the situation in Ukraine. US President Joe Biden described the initiative as irrational, and stated, "Russian President Vladimir Putin applauds it, so how can it be good?!" (Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2023).

American national security documents, warned of the escalation of the major threat that is China, in the document titled "Interim National Security Strategic Guidance," issued by the administration of US President Biden in March 2021, only two references to Russia as a competing power that poses a challenge to the United States were included. At the same time, the document contains fifteen references to China, all within the framework of the preparations required to confront threats, as China has become the only challenger capable of linking economic, diplomatic, military and technological power, and thus limits US policies. The most dangerous consequences of the Russian-Ukrainian war are the dramatic changes in the structure and dynamics of global relations, and this is confirmed by the warnings of the American security and intelligence services that China and Russia represent the greatest threat to the interests of the United States, especially China in the long term, as they form anti-American and anti-Western alliances (Mahmoud , 2023).

The United States claims to defend democracy and individual freedom (the American model), while China, for its part, seeks to make the world safe for its model of communism and claims to be the guarantor of the general well-being of the world, which is sometimes referred to as the "community of shared future" or the "China model." The ideological clash has not led to China systematically trying to undermine democratic systems on a large scale (as it did in Hong Kong) and replace them with an authoritarian regime. China appears more interested in ensuring that its foreign partners support the Chinese Communist Party's rule in China, and support it politically in Chinese sovereignty disputes. There is economic cooperation with China, as China is trying to promote its "model" throughout the world (AlSaud, 2022).

The United States, for its part, often presents its competition with China as a global ideological struggle (autocracy versus democracy), yet in practice it has much less resonance or effects than it did during the Cold War, and the US focus on the promotion of an American model of liberal democracy for Third World countries, which emerged in the two decades following the collapse of the Soviet Union, during the past decade. Also, in the first two years of the new Biden administration, American officials did not publicly or forcefully challenge the legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party,

Biden's administration has pursued a more modest ideological agenda when it comes to issuing declarations in defense of individual freedoms and human rights abroad. US Secretary of State Antony Blinken's May 2022 speech treaded a fine line in this regard, but did not challenge the legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party. However, one Area where there may be an emerging ideological conflict is the battle to establish rules and standards adopted by international institutions, particularly with regards to digital communications and emerging technologies as well as international law (Al-Atrush, 2022).

China announced, in a statement, on August 3, 2023, that it is ready to maintain contacts with the United States regarding a possible future visit by the Chinese Foreign Minister (Wang Yi) to America, without specifying a specific date for this visit. However, the US Secretary of State made a visit to China on the 18th and 19th. June 2023, a visit that was scheduled to take place in February 2023, but it was postponed following the Chinese balloon accident in 2023, which America shot down and said was being used for espionage purposes. This visit restored hopes in the possibility of improving relations between the two countries, especially since it is the first American official visit during the administration of US President Joe Biden to China, five years after the visit of former US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo in 2018 (Mahmoud, 2023).

The Ukrainian war will inflame, rather than ease, tensions between the United States and China, and for the United States, improvement will hinge on China's ability to distance itself from Russia, and its willingness to comply clearly with the international sanctions that China will continue to publicly oppose, even if Chinese banks and companies comply. For China, the United States will need to halt the mounting sanctions regime on Russia, as Chinese officials have drawn parallels to the current US investment and export bans facing some Chinese technology companies, while offering other bilateral concessions, Such as eliminating tariffs to secure a more cooperative stance. This is unlikely to happen, given the close strategic relations between China and Russia and the personal relationship between Chinese President Xi Jinping and Russian President Vladimir Putin, and any withdrawal of economic support to Russia will be viewed by Chinese officials as a threat to economic stability. In addition, domestic political considerations will prevent US President Joe Biden from making concessions that are perceived to benefit Chinese economic and strategic interests (Mahmoud, 2023).

The current political situation between China and the United States indicates that the two countries are on opposite sides of the Ukrainian crisis. The United States and China will remain dissatisfied with each other's response to the war, contributing to a deterioration in relations that further erodes future bilateral trust and space for compromise. This will accelerate the current division in China's political and economic relations with Western democracies, and China's alignment with Russia in the Ukrainian war undermines Chinese statements about the necessity of adhering to the principle of sovereignty in its traditional sense, and its commitment to the "rules-based order." This will also strengthen the arguments of the camp stating that China, along with Russia, will turn into "Revisionist" forces in the global system, It represents a real threat to the "rules-based" order, especially in the Indo-Pacific region, and China's standing alongside Russia will strengthen the international trend supporting the idea of dividing the world between a democratic camp, led by the United States and Europe, and an authoritarian camp led by Russia and China (Al-Atrush, 2022).

The United States will not accept the possibility of China being an equal competitor to it in the foreseeable future. Therefore, American realists recommend the necessity of blocking the way for potential competitors (Rhodes, 2013), some writers have advised the American administration to realize the necessity of working to destroy any potential competing power - China also follows this advice in order to ensure its continued leadership of the world, by adopting policies that would contain China's increasing influence in different regions of the world (Awni, 2017).

US President Joe Biden called China "the most dangerous competitor" whose aggressive and coercive actions, the United States, will confront and resist, and Secretary of State Antony Blinken stressed that "strategic competition is the framework through which we see the relationship between the United States and China," and US Secretary of Defense (Lloyd Austin) noted. , that China is the number one challenge facing the United States, in addition to the CIA Director, William Burns, describing China as a "formidable authoritarian adversary." At the same time, the National Security Council indicated that China is one of its priorities, and that work on China extends to virtually every directorate of the National Security Council. National Security (Stephanie, 2023).

The Ukrainian war has strengthened Chinese-Russian relations, announcing a strategic partnership without borders (expanding bilateral trade and energy relations, diplomatic support). China expressed its support for Russia's demand that Ukraine should not join NATO, expressing its understanding of Russia's legitimate security concerns. Russia, in turn, supports China's position that Taiwan is an inseparable part of China, in addition to strengthening economic, military, and even personal relations between the two presidents. China's role has become more important than before in determining the course of current events, whether by providing the necessary support to Putin in confronting Western sanctions and risking further tension with the West, or by taking action against part of the West, especially the United States, to prevent this support. Some Western writings have spoken about the role of China as one of the guarantor forces for any peace agreement reached, as well as being a mediator between the conflicting parties in Ukraine. These are all matters that strengthen China's position, and its role on the international scene is consistent with its ambition to rise to the ranks of major powers and not be viewed as just an economic power. The Chinese calculations in its position on the war in Ukraine are not necessarily only commercial, economic, or financial calculations, but rather there are long-term strategic calculations. For example, the Western and American position on the Taiwan issue (Stephanie, 2023).

The emergence of China as a threat alongside the Russian threat, and the fear of any alliance between them being achieved, has increased the importance of Japan in the Western countries' calculations by encouraging changes in its defense policy in order to protect the West's interests in East Asia, especially since it is one of the economic powers that possesses significant material, technological and economic capabilities. It qualifies it to build a military force, and bear new military burdens (Al Hadidi, 2022).

Third: The future of the American-Chinese competition:

China and the United States agreed to stabilize their heated rivalry so that it does not turn into conflict, but they failed to reach any major breakthroughs in their relations and controversial issues. However, they stress the importance of diplomacy and maintaining open channels of communication on all issues to reduce the risks of misunderstandings and miscalculations, with the need to reverse the decline in Sino-American relations, promote a return to a healthy and stable path, and find the right way for China and the United States to coexist in the new era. The Americans realized that the continued US-Chinese disputes on one hand, and the continued imposition of Western sanctions on Russia on the other hand. (Future Center for Research and Advanced Studies, 2023).

fourth: Possible scenarios in Chinese-American relations

In light of the nature of US-Chinese relations, which have witnessed a negative escalation since the beginning of the twenty-first century as a result of controversial issues, the following scenarios can be proposed:

The first scenario: rapprochement and cooperation between China and the United States:

This scenario is based on the assumption that decision-makers in America will view China as a rising power with regional and global roles, in a way that does not threaten America's vital interests and national security. This scenario is also based on the Chinese decision-makers' belief in the importance of an internationally peaceful and stable environment for China's development, and that increasing Chinese military spending in order to create a new strategic balance with America will lead to the exhaustion of the rising Chinese economy, and thus may lead to social unrest and political unrest at home, that will lead to the collapse and disintegration of the state, similar to what happened to the Soviet Union (previously) as a result of the arms race during the Cold War. This scenario is also based on the fact that policymakers in the two countries will work to consolidate economic and political relations between the two sides, while activating the language of dialogue and relying on diplomacy to resolve the outstanding issues between them. (Al-Jamal, 2020).

Based on the realization by both parties that their clash will cause them great losses, and despite the increasing tensions between the two countries at times, they eventually reach solutions to these differences, realizing the importance of the role of intertwined economic interests in calming matters, which will contribute to Restoring bilateral relations to their normal course. It is expected that rapprochement and cooperation will occur in the future between the two countries, in light of consolidating economic and political relations between them, activating the language of dialogue, and relying on diplomacy in resolving the outstanding issues between the two sides, as this rapprochement and cooperation is in the interest of both

countries, and cooperation between them achieves Gains for both of them, thus preventing the occurrence of a Chinese-Russian strategic alliance directed against the United States. Also, It prevents the United States from supporting regional powers in Asia to limit Chinese progress. Additionally, this cooperation will serve China in defending its political unity. Chinese-American interests converge at many points, China has common strategic interests with the United States in maintaining peace and stability in The East Asian region, and this cooperation has an important role in resolving some global and regional issues, including smuggling operations, illegal immigration, environmental problems, drugs, energy, and other problems (Gouda, 2011).

It is expected that the two countries will seek to strengthen their relations to reduce the tension between them through negotiating means that will ultimately lead to bringing each other's viewpoints closer. These means include offering concessions between the two parties to overcome the losses of the trade war, through the two countries pledging to resume trade talks, in a step to alleviate its severity, as well as through America easing customs regulations and other obstacles to Chinese trade, in return, China may open its markets to American goods and services with a commitment to respect American intellectual property rights.

The second scenario: Conflict and disagreement between China and the United States:

This scenario is based on increasing tensions and friction between China and the United States, which could lead to the outbreak of military conflict between them, considering a strong desire on the part of the Chinese to transform into a superpower, and a desperate attempt on the part of the Americans to ensure that China does not threaten American national security and their position in the system. This scenario is based on historical experience that made prevalent that, transitional periods in the international system are extremely dangerous to both regional and international security, as new powers attempt to change the pattern of power relations in the world. There are also American fears about the emergence of China as a major power, and concerns regarding China's support for Japan and India and their support for separatist movements, as these issues are directed against China, which may threaten its security and stability. In the event of an armed conflict breaking out between them, its results are unknown and unlikely given the possibilities that Both the United States and China possess nuclear military capabilities, in addition to the quantitative superiority of China, and on the other hand, the qualitative superiority of the United States (Abdel Hay, 2000).

There are many factors that could affect the future of relations between the two countries and thus the outbreak of war between them, including the American military intervention in Taiwan by deploying American anti-missile weaponry systems, as the Mil Aegis and Patriot tactical anti-missile missile system could, if it were deployed in Taiwan, obstruct the Chinese goal, which is to restore and annex Taiwan. In 2000, China defined its position in the "White Paper," which affirmed that the existing and expected military ties between the United States and Taiwan may result in China using its armed forces. China's position on the deployment of American anti-missile missiles in Japan and South Korea differs from its position on the deployment of such missiles in Taiwan, given that Japan and South Korea are sovereign states, while Taiwan is, from China's point of view, part of China and that China will work hard to recover this part (Swailem, 2015).

Another factor that could lead to a US-China war is the escalation of the US military presence in the East China Sea, the South China Sea, and the Taiwan Gulf, as well as in the Sea of Japan and the Yellow Sea, which could threaten North Korea (China's main ally in the South). East Asia), and thus, the occurrence of an armed confrontation between American and Chinese forces, given that defending North Korea is one of the responsibilities of the State of China, and the matter becomes even more complicated if North Korea tests ballistic missiles along the western coast of the United States (Taeputing-2 and Taiputing-3), China supported this North Korean position by deploying its naval forces in the Gulf of Korea. In the face of such scenarios, the United States may resort to imposing a naval blockade on China to prevent it from interfering in the battle of North Korea and Taiwan, perhaps China could respond to it by destroying a major naval target for the United States (an aircraft carrier or missile battleship), or shooting down an American passenger plane passing through the airspace of the region, or bombing the cities of the American West Coast (Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Diego) with Chinese or North Korean missiles, and the United States considers all of the above as a declaration of war from China against it, which could result in the United States launching air, missile, and naval military strikes against China that

may escalate to strikes using nuclear warheads (Al-Jamal, 2020).

This scenario is justified by the fact that both the United States and China consider each other a strategic opponent, and the source of a future threat, as well as China's awareness that the United States is the one that destroyed communist regimes in the world, and that it is continuing in the same direction with regards to China, in addition to the fact that stopping American hegemony leads to facilitating the return of Taiwan to China. It also does facilitate the achievement of China's strategic interests and goals in Asia in particular and the world in general. However, what opposes this scenario is that it violates the principle of non-alliance adopted by Chinese foreign policy, and in restoring the policy of axis, poles, and camps. The competition between the two countries is clear, as the United States sees that China is an emerging power and at the same time, an important trading partner, and that the economic role may, in turn, play a role in the decline or disappearance of the influence of the Chinese Communist Party in the future. As for China, it sees that the power of the United States is on the way to decline at all levels. (Political, military, economic) (Al-Jamal, 2020).

It is clear from this scenario that the United States, from China's point of view, is a superpower capable of isolating the emergence of any power that challenges it, and therefore the United States will work to encircle China militarily. Under this scenario, the long-term goals of Chinese policy are to overthrow the American hegemony in the West, as well as the Pacific Ocean, and uniting the ranks of Asian countries to form a bloc that serves Chinese economic and foreign political interests. They also emphasize that Chinese military capabilities do not match their American counterparts, but China has the capability to undermine the superiority of the United States through its possession of ballistic missiles, in addition to its ability to develop its capabilities in many fields such as outer space and cyberspace.

Conclusion:

In the previous presentation, it is clear that the Russian-Ukrainian war contributed to strengthening the American and Chinese competition, as the war revealed the existence of consensus in some views between Russia and China regarding the necessity of re-arranging the international system. China's position was consistent with its national interests, as it did not support Russian military intervention in Ukraine, but it did not participate in condemning it, as it abstained from voting in both the Security Council and the United Nations General Assembly on the resolution to condemn Russia, and its position was to call for a diplomatic solution to the crisis and offer mediation to achieve this, rejecting unilateral sanctions on Russia and rejecting other measures that would escalate tensions. The Russian-Ukrainian war will have extended with multi-level repercussions, not only on the structure of the global system, but also on the structure of regional security in some regions and sub-regional systems, and the Asian front may be the most prominent area expected to witness direct and indirect effects, in connection with the possible scenarios of this war. The war has proposed challenges to China's diplomatic and strategic orientations in dealing with it, and what increases the difficulties facing China in dealing with this war, is the multiple roles of the involved powers. The conflict here is not limited to the two parties, Russia and Ukraine, but rather extends to forces allied with Russia, such as Belarus, and others. As well as those related to Ukraine, such as the European Union and the United States of America:

- China expressed its support and encouragement for all diplomatic efforts to reach a solution to the Russian-Ukrainian war through dialogue and direct negotiations, and China expressed its understanding of the special historical context of the Ukrainian issue.
- China believes that the US sanctions on Russia will push China to strengthen its relationship with Russia, which will increase China's opportunities to develop its economic policies and increase its authority and influence in cooperation and negotiation processes with Russia.
- China views neutralizing Russian powers and drawing the limits of its control in light of the Ukrainian war as one of the most important American moves to monopolize China, which will increase the risk surrounding it.
- In the context of its competition with the United States, China seeks to enhance the role of war in accelerating the process of transition within the international system towards a non-polar system, which is a common Chinese-Russian goal. Therefore, the two countries have strengthened their alliance and cooperation in all fields to increase their ability to confront American power and its dominance over the international system.

China worked to exploit the war to deliver clear messages to the United States of America and its allies, that when it comes to national security issues, countries' calculations are not flexible and are not subject to bargaining. This is a clear reference to the Taiwan issue as a national security issue for China, and that America's attempts to confront China are... During international alliances, the war highlighted the danger of security alliances and the danger of thinking with a Cold War mentality, especially after America's tendency to revive international and regional alliances to confront China.

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