



**COMILLAS**  
UNIVERSIDAD PONTIFICIA

ICAI

ICADE

CIHS

FACULTAD DE CIENCIAS HUMANAS Y SOCIALES

**Grado en Relaciones Internacionales**

**TRABAJO FIN DE GRADO**

**THE SHIFT IN THE GLOBAL HEGEMONY: RUSSIA'S DISPLACEMENT BY  
CHINA AND THE DIPLOMATIC IMPLICATIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL  
ORDER.**

Autor: Lucía Sánchez Geijo

5º de Derecho y Relaciones internacionales (E5)

Curso 2024/2025

Madrid

Marzo 2025.

## Table of content

<b>Chapter 1 .....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>1.0. INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>4</b>
1.1. Background of the study .....	4
1.2. Problem statement.....	5
1.3. Research Objective.....	6
1.4. Significance of the study .....	6
1.5. Scope and limitations.....	7
1.6. Research design and methodology .....	8
1.7. Conclusion to chapter 1 .....	9
<b>Chapter 2 .....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>2.0. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS .....</b>	<b>11</b>
2.1. The concept of Global Hegemony .....	11
2.2. Historical cycles of hegemony: from unipolarity to multipolarity .....	12
2.3. Approaches to power of Global Hegemony: soft, hard, smart power.....	15
2.4. Theoretical perspectives applied to hegemony analysis .....	19
<b>Chapter 3 .....</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>3.0. METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES .....</b>	<b>22</b>
3.1. Methodology .....	22
3.2. Data Source .....	23
<b>Chapter 4 .....</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>4.0. THE RISE AND FALL OF GLOBAL HEGEMONS: A CASE OF CHINA AND RUSSIA .....</b>	<b>24</b>
4.1. China's global rise .....	24
4.2. Moscow's shifting influence in the global order in the 21 <sup>st</sup> century.....	33
4.3. To explore the implications of these shifts for the global balance of power, particularly the transition from a unipolar to multipolar world.....	38
<b>Chapter 5 .....</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>5.0. CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND LIMITATIONS. ....</b>	<b>51</b>
5.1. Conclusions.....	51
5.2. Recommendations .....	53
5.3. Limitations .....	53
<b>References.....</b>	<b>54</b>

## Table of figures

<b>Table 1:</b> Modelski's Cycles of world Leadership. _____	12
<b>Figure 2:</b> U.S spenditure in defense compared to other G7 countries. _____	16
<b>Figure 3:</b> China's rise to economic superpower _____	19
<b>Figure 4:</b> China's GDP growth (annual %) from 1990 to 2023. _____	26
<b>Figure 5:</b> China's GDP growth (annual %) compared to Japan's from 1990 to 2023. _____	26
<b>Figure 6:</b> One Belt, One road. _____	29
<b>Figure 7:</b> Chinese ports dominance in Latin America and the Caribbean. _____	29
<b>Figure 8:</b> Distribution of DSR Projects in Southeast Asia by Country _____	31
<b>Figure 9:</b> Chinese Surveillance Technology presence in Africa. _____	31
<b>Figure 10:</b> States participation in the Digital Silk Road (DSR). _____	32
<b>Figure 11:</b> Sanctions suffered by Russia from February 2022 to December 2023. _____	35
<b>Figure 12:</b> Difference between Chinese Yen GDP growth (annual %) and Russian Ruble. _____	37
<b>Figure 13:</b> RUB to USD exchange rate. _____	38
<b>Figure 14:</b> CNY to USD exchange rate. _____	38
<b>Figure 15:</b> Foreign direct investment position of the United States in China from 2000 to 2023. _____	42
<b>Figure 16:</b> Foreign direct investment from China into the United States from 2000 to 2023. _____	42

## **Chapter 1**

### **1.0. INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1. Background of the study**

In the study of international relations, global hegemony refers to the ability of a state or coalition of states to shape the rules, norms, and systems that govern interactions between nations. This research seeks to explore how changes in global hegemony are reshaping the international order, focusing on how China is evolving as a great power while Russia is starting to decline. By examining this shift, the study will highlight the importance of this changes for the international order and how it affects the existing relations between actors.

This work will explore the transformation of global hegemony by utilizing a range of key concepts that provide the theoretical and analytical foundation for the study. These include Global Hegemony (The dominance or leadership of one country over others in the international system, usually in terms of political, economic, and cultural influence); Bipolarity and Multipolarity (Terms describing the structure of power in the international system. Bipolarity refers to a system dominated by two superpowers (like the U.S. and USSR during the Cold War), whereas multipolarity involves multiple powerful states with more balanced power dynamics); Modelski's Leadership Cycle Theory (A theory that suggests global leadership transitions follow cyclical patterns based on the decline of existing powers and the rise of challengers, often due to economic, military, or technological shifts); Wallerstein theory (hegemony means that one power exerts domination over other powers and dominates the economy of the global order); Hegemonic Stability Theory (HST) (developed by scholars like Robert Keohane and Charles Kindleberger, suggests that global stability and order are more likely when a single dominant state (the hegemon) provides public goods, such as security, open markets, and a stable currency. The theory argues that the presence of a hegemon reduces conflict and promotes cooperation.) Thucydides Trap (A concept suggesting that when a rising power threatens to displace an established one, the likelihood of conflict increases. It's often referenced in discussions about U.S.-China relations); Soft Power and Hard Power (Coined by Joseph Nye (1990), these terms refer to different types of influence. Hard power involves coercion (military/economic force), while soft power is based on attraction and cultural influence); Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) (China's global

infrastructure and investment strategy aimed at enhancing trade routes and expanding China's economic and political influence worldwide), within many other concepts.

## **1.2. Problem statement**

The concept of global hegemony has evolved over centuries, reflecting the rise and fall of dominant powers. During the 19th century, the world experienced a unipolar hegemonic system dominated by the British Empire, which was referred to as “the empire on which the sun never sets” by authors like John Wilson in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1829 (Alvarez, 2023). Britain's economic dominance and extensive colonial network enabled it to shape international trade and political systems, solidifying its position as the leading global power of the time.

The 20th century marked a significant shift in global power dynamics. Following World War II, Britain's influence began to decline, giving rise to the United States and the Soviet Union as competing superpowers. This transition culminated in the establishment of a bipolar world order during the Cold War (1947–1991). During this period, the ideological and political rivalry between the U.S. and the Soviet Union created significant global tensions and challenges in international coordination. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, the global power structure shifted once again. The United States emerged as the sole superpower, initiating in a unipolar era. The United States had become an undeniable global power, as referred in the article “How did the United States became a global power?” (Council of Foreign Relations, 2023). In contrast, post-Soviet Russia faced internal struggles to maintain its global influence. Simultaneously, China began to reap the benefits of its economic reforms initiated in the 1970s, which fueled significant economic and diplomatic growth, exemplified by initiatives such as the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), often referred to as “China's colossal infrastructure” (Council of Foreign Relations, 2023).

The current international order is increasingly characterized by multipolarity. While the United States remains a leading superpower, China's remarkable rise has positioned it as a formidable global actor. Meanwhile, Russia, despite facing relative displacement, continues to be recognized as a significant power in the international system. Today, global power structure is in transition. China's rapid rise challenges the U.S leadership, creating signs of a new bipolarity. At the same time, other players like the EU add

complexity, suggesting a move toward multipolarity. It's a mix of competing and cooperating powers. The contemporary shift in global power dynamics is reshaping the international order. While Russia once played a central role alongside the United States in the bipolar structure of the Cold War, China has now emerged as a dominant economic and diplomatic competitor. This shift has altered traditional alliances and sparked geopolitical tensions, challenging established power balances and posing new implications for global diplomacy.

### **1.3. Research Objective**

Given the ongoing transformations in the global power structure, it becomes imperative to address the central question driving this research: How does China's rise and Russia's displacement transform the traditional global power structure, and what are the implications for the current international order and the dynamics of international diplomacy?

The general objective of this thesis is to analyze the shifting global power dynamics resulting from China's rise and Russia's decline and to assess their implications for the international order.

As specific objectives of this thesis, aims:

- To examine the strategies China has employed, such as the Belt and Road Initiative, to position itself as a global power.
- To evaluate how Russia's decline has created opportunities for China to expand its influence in the international system.
- To explore the implications of these shifts for the global balance of power, particularly the transition from a unipolar to a multipolar world.

### **1.4. Significance of the study**

The significance and motivation of this thesis is to address a pivotal transformation in the international order, making it both timely and highly relevant. This study examines the changing power dynamics post-Cold War, highlighting how the global power structure has evolved over the years. By exploring the evolution from Cold War power structures

to today's dynamics, this research bridges historical context with present-day geopolitical shifts, offering a new perspective on how traditional hegemonic theories apply.

In this context, the study focuses on China's strategies, including the Belt and Road Initiative, bilateral alliances, and expanding influence, providing a comprehensive analysis of its diplomatic footprint. These efforts not only illustrate China's approach to establishing itself as a global leader but also reveal the broader diplomatic implications for other nations navigating this changing landscape.

Moreover, this research sheds light on one of the most critical geopolitical shifts of the 21st century: the emergence of China as a potential new global hegemon. Given China's rapid economic, political, and military growth, this development carries profound implications for global stability, trade, and diplomatic relations, making it essential to understand the forces at play in this transformation.

Finally, understanding these dynamics is crucial for scholars and policymakers alike, as it equips them to anticipate and adapt to shifts that may reshape international norms, alliances, and the balance of power. By addressing these changes, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of the evolving global order. Nevertheless, during the development of this thesis, there are some concepts that will not be covered because of their lack of importance for the development of this research. This thesis will not be focusing on the historical background of the Cold War: while relevant as a precursor to current global dynamics, a detailed examination of Cold War events or policies will not be covered, except where necessary to provide context for shifts in hegemony. Also, this work leaves behind the comparison with other emerging powers, this means that the study will not involve a detailed comparison with other emerging powers such as India or Brazil, as it centers specifically on the dynamics between China, Russia, and the United States in the context of hegemony. Finally, no research will be done about military and security alliances of other nations.

## **1.5. Scope and limitations**

The scope of this study focuses on analyzing the evolving dynamics of global hegemony by examining the rise of China and the concurrent decline of Russia. This research

focused on the strategies employed by China to assert itself as a global power, with particular attention, as mentioned before, to the Belt and Road Initiative, bilateral alliances, and its expanding influence across political and economic spheres. At the same time, it evaluates how Russia's diminishing influence has opened the door for new actors to reshape the international order. However<sup>2</sup>, this analysis operates within certain limitations that affect this study. Some of these are, the complexity of power dynamics, meaning that the study of global hegemony and power shifts, especially involving actors as complex as China, Russia, and the U.S., requires a nuanced and multi-layered analytical framework.

Furthermore, the access to reliable data: much of the data on diplomatic and political influence is either proprietary, classified, or subject to bias, especially in regions with restrictive media environments. For instance, Chinese sources may frame the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in a more favorable light than Western sources, while U.S. data may emphasize strategic countermeasures. Relying on secondary sources or English-language reports might limit the full scope of available perspectives. Another limitation is related with the evolving data since diplomatic relations and geopolitical strategies are highly dynamic, which can affect this study during the process and finding some information that might change over the course of this research.

## **1.6. Research design and methodology**

For this work on the shift in global hegemony from Russia to China and its diplomatic implications, this thesis adopts a mix of qualitative, descriptive-analytical approach to fulfil its broad objectives. Thus, this thesis examines data from different sources, including academic articles, policy briefs, and official documents from relevant institutions (e.g., United Nations, Chinese government white papers, and statements from international organizations). This approach allows to explore the complex diplomatic and geopolitical changes in depth, which are difficult to measure but essential for understanding the shifts in global power.

Unlike quantitative methods that focus on numbers, a qualitative approach helps to look closely at the concepts used in diplomacy, policy changes, and the reasons behind actions of major international players. This approach is ideal for understanding the meaning and



impact of China's rise and Russia's changing role, which are hard to measure with data alone. Also, it fits well with this research questions and theories that need a strong focus on historical and real-world events. Qualitative methods are useful to answer uncertain or unpredictable questions that are asked about constant evolving and changing matter like hegemony (Sofaer, 1999).

### **1.7. Conclusion to chapter 1**

To conclude this chapter, this work lays the groundwork by exploring what "global hegemony" means in international relations. This term refers to the power a dominant state or coalition has in order to shape the global rules and power structures that guide interactions between countries. The work looks at how this concept has played out historically, with different powers rising and falling over time, from ancient empires to the United States' post-World War II dominance. Now, with China's rapid growth, this traditional balance of power is shifting, raising new questions about the future of global leadership.

To analyze these shifts, the study introduces some key theories that frame this study. One of them, Modelski's Leadership Cycle Theory, which suggests that leadership in the international order moves in cycles, with new powers eventually replacing old ones. Wallerstein's view emphasizes how an hegemon can set the rules everyone else follows, while Hegemonic Stability Theory argues that having one strong leader can actually create a more stable global system. This thesis discusses the "Thucydides Trap," which explains the potential for conflict when an emerging power threatens to overtake an established one, as we're seeing with the U.S. and China today.

In defining the research focus, this thesis aims to explore how China's strategies are challenging U.S. dominance and altering the global power balance. This research looks into the political, economic, and diplomatic strategies that China has used to increase its influence and how this has affected the traditional unipolar structure dominated by the U.S. It also considers Russia's declining influence and whether this decline has created an opening for China to rise as a global power.

This chapter serves to highlight the importance of understanding these shifts in power dynamics, particularly with China's growing influence, and sets the stage for the rest of the research. Through this work, the thesis aims to explore if traditional theories of hegemony still hold up in today's world and to consider what these changes mean for the future of international relations.

For further discussion, this thesis is structured as follows, Chapter establishes the conceptual framework, Chapter 3 focuses on explaining the methodology and source data, Chapter 4 establishes the Rise and fall of China's rise and Russia's fall and finally, Chapter 5 explores the conclusion for this thesis as well as the recommendations and limitations.

## Chapter 2

### 2.0. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

#### 2.1. The concept of Global Hegemony

The term “hegemony” originates from the Greek word “hegemonía”, which translates to “rule” or “leadership” (Norrlof, 2015). In the context of international relations, global hegemony refers to the dominance of one state or group over others, often maintained through legitimizing norms and ideological influence. “*Hegemony is concerned with the rule of one class over another, especially through cultural institutions*” (Lung, 2015). This concept has become particularly relevant in contemporary discourse, as the world undergoes significant geopolitical transformations, for instance, according to Hamilton (2023), logics of hegemony are completely reorganized, replaced or resolved and transformations happen in central notions like justice, economic and planetary boundaries or tendencies towards cultural essentialism (Hamilton, 2023).

This concept has been analyzed from multiple perspectives and multiple scholars who define “hegemony” as they portray it. In his seminal work “*After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*”, Keohane (2005) defines hegemony as a situation where one state possesses the capability to create and enforce international norms and rules, facilitating cooperation among nations. Keohane (2005) emphasizes that such a state can shape the international system through both coercive and non-coercive means. From a world-systems perspective, Immanuel Wallerstein describes hegemony not as a strong power but rather explains that “*Hegemony in the interstate system refers to that situation in which the ongoing rivalry between the so-called "great powers" is so unbalanced that one power can largely impose its rules and its wishes (at the very least by effective veto power) in the economic, political, military, diplomatic, and even cultural arenas*” (Wallerstein, 1984). From his point of view, a single state dominates the world-system by exerting political, economic and military power. It’s a situation in which the ongoing rivalry between two supposedly “great powers” is so unbalanced that one can impose its interests and rules, leaving its rival in a “second” position. Furthermore, as stated by Gramsci (1971), hegemony explains that the domination of a higher social class over middle or lower social classes, is due not only

because of coercion but also through cultural and ideological rules that are imposed. According to Gramsci (1971), hegemony is predominance by consent, it’s “*the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as domination and as intellectual and moral leadership*” (Gramsci, 1971).

Therefore, a global hegemon maintains dominance through a combination of economic, military, political and cultural elements to work together in order to establish and sustain its leadership. This concept of global dominance does not only imply having institutional leadership, but it also means having economic dominance, as well as higher military capacities and cultural development. Pflueger and Yared (2024) explain how hegemons tend to have more access to fundings or military balance and that idea, solidifies its hegemonic dominance. In fact, the author exemplifies this theory by mentioning a well-known saying that states that “*an army marches on its stomach*” (Pflueger and Yared, 2024). Nevertheless, the authors (Pflueger and Yared, 2024) of the article mentions the case of Great Britian in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the Napoleonic Wars made a big discussion of this economic issue between this country and its rivalry: France. In fact, Britain had a strong reputation among international lenders, which enabled it to finance its military efforts through substantial borrowing, while at the same time, France was more dependent on taxation. This financial advantage contributed significantly to Great Britain’s victory, who became one of the first and most powerful hegemons of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. (Pflueger and Yared, 2024).

## 2.2. Historical cycles of hegemony: from unipolarity to multipolarity

**Table 1:** *Modelski’s Cycles of world Leadership.*

<i>World leader</i>	<i>Century</i>	<i>Global war</i>	<i>Challenger</i>	<i>Coalition partners</i>
Portugal	1500s	1494–1516	Spain	Netherlands
Netherlands	1600s	1580–1609	France	England
Great Britain	1700s	1688–1713	France	Russia
Great Britain	1800s	1792–1815	Germany	US plus allies
United States	1900s	1914–45	Soviet Union/ al-Qaeda	NATO/Coalition of willing

Source: George Modelski (1987) *Long Cycles of World Politics*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Source: Flint, 2006 with Modelski’s theory as source of information.

Over the centuries, global political environment has experienced the rise and fall of global hegemons. For instance, Modelski, 1987, emphasizes from the 15<sup>th</sup> century until the 19<sup>th</sup> century global hegemonic leadership, challenges and coalition partners. Many factors depend on what makes one power become the global hegemon, as well as many factors contribute to its decline. As table number 1 shows above, Modelski's theory about leadership cycles starts in the 15<sup>th</sup> century with Portugal as a world leader from 1494 to 1516 when Spain was their main competitor for global hegemony along with the Netherlands. After 64 years, entered the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Netherlands positioned itself as global leader and was challenged by France and England. During the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century consecutive, the world hegemon was Great Britain and was being challenged by Germany and other U.S allies up until 1914 when the United States positioned itself as world leader.

However, one of the most significant emerging events was Great Britain because of its largest empire and because it lasted over two centuries, something that never happened with other hegemons. This session will focus on the international evolution since its arrival at power and how it yielded its position to the U.S afterwards. This tendency of emerging and declining appears many centuries ago, and one of the first and most important emerging events occurs in the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> century for the British Empire. As a result of a combination of economic, military and political factor, the British empire built its dominance during the 18<sup>th</sup> century and reached its peak during the Pax Britannica Era (1815-1914). Referring to the relative peace between the global powers at the time of the Napoleonic Wars and World War I, the Pax Britannica marks the period in which the British Empire became the global hegemonic power (Stamper, 2022). It was because of their naval power, economic dominance and their extensive colonial empire that Britain became the sole superpower during this period in which the world was submitted into a unipolar hegemonic influence. Their interests where to extensively shape international trade and politics into their own interests of expansion.

After the Second World War (WWII) (1939-1945), the British Empire, which had been the world's dominant colonial power, declined significantly due to a combination of economic weaknesses, anti-colonial movements and the rise of new superpowers. The WWII left Britain financially and military strained, making it extremely difficult for it to maintain its dominance (Leffler, 2005). Consequently, two concrete superpowers uprose, leaving Britain behind. The Soviet Union and the United States emerge both as global

hegemony, marking a period of a bipolar world order. On one hand, the U.S. was considered the most powerful nation on the earth since it possessed the atomic bomb, a navy that could project power across the oceans and an air force that could reach across the countries, it was in fact, the richest nation in the world. Its Gross National Product (GNP) was five times that of the United Kingdom and three times that of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the Soviet Union, still being considered a global hegemon by the rest of the world powers, was weaker than the U.S. Nevertheless, it still possessed the largest conventional military force, as a matter of fact, the Red Army played a key role defeating the Nazi, which ensured its ability to project power worldwide. Also, it had a large, self-sufficient economy and controlled the economies of Eastern Europe, forming the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) to rival Western capitalism. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) prioritized heavy industry, military production, and collectivized agriculture, making it a dominant force in global economic planning (Leffler, 2005). During the Cold War (1947-1991), right at the time of the Marshall Plan, an American initiative enacted in 1948 to aid the reconstruction of the EU countries who suffered the World War II, the world witnessed how two great powers with ideological and political dominance ruled the world.

Shortly after the cold war ended in 1991, the collapse of the Soviet Union marked one of the most geopolitical transformations in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, bringing an end to the Cold War and the bipolar world order. In order to understand the collapse, we need to examine the causes for the downfall. Mijail Gorbachev's, USSR president from 1990 to 1991, loosening of governmental control in the late 1980s set in motion a domino effect that led to the gradual disintegration of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe, where alliances began to dissolve and political indecision and action took place, inspiring other countries such as Lithuania and Estonia to do the same and root for their independence (Miller, 2016). A pivotal moment in the collapse of communist regimes occurred with the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989, symbolizing the end of the division between East and West Germany. Once the Berlin Wall fell, citizens in Eastern European countries such as Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania staged protests against their pro-Soviet governments which accelerated the collapse of communist regimes. Consequently, other countries like the Republic of Belarus and Ukraine, followed the same intentions and established the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). By the end of 1989, eight of the nine remaining Soviet republics had declared their independence from Moscow,

effectively dismantling the once-powerful Soviet Union. (Guerdat, 2013). Because of the dismantling of the Soviet Union, the United States was left as the sole superpower, returning into a unipolar global order. The U.S was the leader in economy, military and cultural influence, promoting liberal democratic values and dominating the worlds interests (Gause III, 2025).

Finally, after the 1991 Soviet Union dissolution, Russia started to face some struggles being in the world order, for instance, national identity, what would happen to the enterprises or changes in ownership (Barnes, 2006). The big difference of domination between Russia and the United States, marked a time in which they couldn't stay at power even if President Putin was trying to reassert its global influence. At the same time, China was started to grow as an hegemon as a consequence of the 1970's economic and diplomatic growth. Also, the Asian country started to take matters into their own hands and started to establish different initiatives such as the Belt and Road Initiative. This enabled China to be considered into the world order as a powerful global order who was experiencing rapid growth, leading other countries to acknowledge its role in other geopolitical and economic strategies. (Cordesman, 2023). Therefore, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, we live in a multipolar world, where the United States are still one of the most powerful nations, Russia is still defending its position in the global order while there is a new power, China, who threatens to take its place.

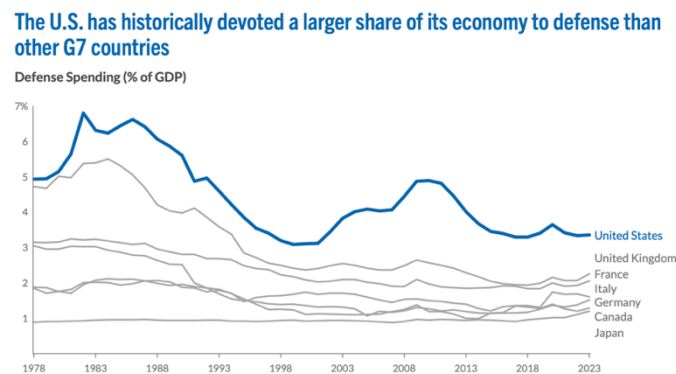
### **2.3. Approaches to power of Global Hegemony: soft, hard, smart power.**

In global politics, states use different strategies to exert influence and maintain hegemony. These strategies are categorized as hard power, soft power, and smart power. The first one involves military force and economic coercion to achieve strategic objectives. The second one, soft power, relies on cultural appeal, diplomacy, and ideological influence to shape global perceptions. Finally, smart power, is a strategic combination of both hard and soft power, balancing coercion with persuasion (Wilson III, 2008). In order to understand these notions, this session illustrate each one with different great powers such as the United States and China, who employ different approaches using these power strategies to assert dominance on the global stage.

The United States maintains its dominance through a strategic combination of all three types of power, hard, soft and smart, which allows it to apply influence in a military,

economic and cultural point. For instance, in context of hard power, it was used to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq (Mearsheimer, 2001). Soft power is employed by the U.S to spread American ideals and lifestyle through Hollywood movies and American bands and music (Nye, 2008). Smart power, for instance, is approached by using diplomatic alliances and economic incentives while still maintaining military presence in the Indo-Pacific (Scott, 2018). Hard power remains a crucial pillar of U.S. dominance, with its defense budget surpassing \$820 billion (13 percent of federal spending), making it the largest military spender globally and supporting a network of over 800 military bases worldwide (Peter G Peterson Foundation, 2025).

**Figure 2:** *U.S. expenditure in defense compared to other G7 countries.*



Source: Peter G Peterson Foundation, 2025.

Hard power is also about strategic alliances and cooperation between nations and in this case, the United States have consistently worked on having cooperative relations with other big nations. Consequently, this military supremacy is reinforced through cooperation with entities such as NATO and QUAD (Quadrilateral Security Dialogue between Australia, India, Japan and the U.S), which serve to restrain adversaries like China and Russia by ensuring collective security. Furthermore, the U.S enforces a policy in the Indo Pacific that implies the use of an economic coercion as a tool of influence by implementing sanctions on nations like Russia, Iran, and North Korea, while maintaining control over global financial institutions such as the IMF, World Bank, and SWIFT (Cordesman, 2023).

However, for the United States to maintain its dominance, military and economic force alone do not sustain global hegemony, instead, having a great combination of soft power



capabilities is crucial. This category refers to a state's ability to influence the preferences, behaviors, and actions of other international actors through non-coercive means, such as cultural appeal, diplomatic engagement, and ideological persuasion. The cultural influence and domination of the global media is what makes the U.S shape global perceptions. By promoting democratic values, maintaining cultural dominance, and leading in economic and technological advancements, the United States secures its position as a global leader without the need for direct military intervention (Cordesman, 2023). One of the most significant components of U.S. soft power is its cultural influence, primarily through the entertainment industry, fashion, and global consumer brands. Hollywood, alongside streaming platforms help spread American ideals and values worldwide (Nye, 2008). The economic and financial dominance of the United States also contributes to its soft power. As the world's largest economy, the U.S. wields significant influence through its global trade policies, financial institutions, and the dominance of the U.S. dollar as the primary reserve currency. In addition, diplomatic strategies are also important to take into consideration as soft power since the U.S plays a leading role in international organizations such as NATO or the UN. Because of their role in these institutions, the United States promotes global governance structures that align with its strategic and ideological priorities (Katzenstein, 2005).

Nevertheless, it is important to understand that neither hard nor soft power alone can guarantee continued dominance, the United States employs a smart power strategy, combining military alliances with economic and diplomatic engagement which seeks a balanced use of resources (Scott, 2018). For example, in Europe, it strengthens NATO militarily while fostering economic and diplomatic ties, ensuring a balance of security and cooperation. On the other hand, in Asia, it counters China's growing influence through military partnerships like AUKUS (Australia, United Kingdom, United States) and trade policies such as USMCA (United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement) and the Indo-Pacific Strategy, maintaining a regional foothold that limits China's expansion (Scott, 2018). This strategic integration of hard, soft, and smart power allows the United States to sustain its hegemonic position and at the same time, control the complex dynamics of global politics and adapting to emerging geopolitical challenges.

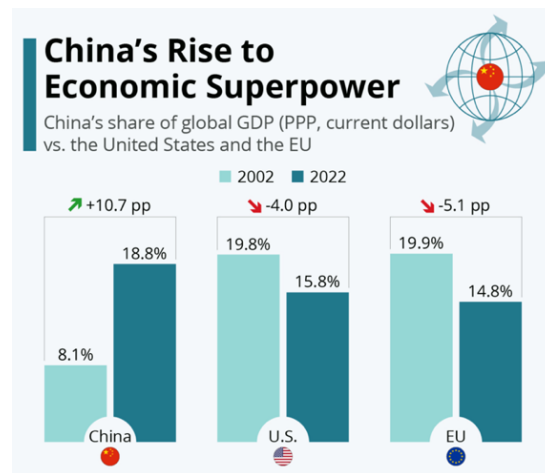
Another country that can easily exemplify how do hard power, soft power and smart power work, is China. As well as the United States, it involves a multifaced approach to

assert its global influence, incorporating the three types of power to advance its strategic objectives. When talking about hard power, Beijing devotes considerable resources to military modernization, enhancing its naval presence in the South China Sea, developing advanced missile technology, and using economic coercion through trade restrictions and sanctions (DeLisle, 2020).

Soft power, on the other hand, emphasizes in cultural diplomacy primarily via global media outlets, to foster a positive image of China abroad, while forging economic partnerships through large-scale infrastructure projects such as the Belt and Road Initiative. Finally, smart power is once again the combination of the coercive and persuasive elements of both previous types of power (DeLisle, 2020).

Smart power refers to China's ability to combine the persuasive appeal of soft power (like cultural diplomacy and global infrastructure initiatives) with the more forceful methods of hard power (such as military expansion and economic pressure). For instance, China invests in Confucius Institutes, which are non-profit educational institutions funded by the Chinese government, to spread its language and culture, while simultaneously modernizing its military and employing trade restrictions when necessary. By balancing these two approaches, China aims to shape international perceptions and behaviors in its favor without having to rely exclusively on military or economic threats. This strategy allows China to build international partnerships and deter potential adversaries, reinforcing its rise as a major global power (Sun, 2023).

**Figure 3:** *China's rise to economic superpower*



Source: Richter, 2022 available at Statista.

## 2.4. Theoretical perspectives applied to hegemony analysis

As established earlier about the concept of global hegemon its rise and fall, from bipolarity to multipolarity. Some academic scholars have tried to explain the mechanism behind this postulated by theories.

To start with, Modelski's (1999), leadership cycle theory. George Modelski's Long Cycle theory defends that global leadership shifts between major powers over centuries. Global dominance operates in recurring cycles that last approximately a century, in which a dominant power emerges, leads and declines, leaving the dominance for the new global power that will take the lead. Modelski divides the cycle in four phases. The first phase is called global war, where intense conflicts occur between the powers trying to achieve dominance. The winner of this tension will determine the next leader or hegemon for the next century. The second phase, the world power phase in which after the war, there is one leading nation who sets global rules, influences economy and military strategies and exerts the power necessary in order to implement their own interests worldwide. Third phase, the phase of delegitimation, where the, until now, leader, starts to age and face struggles and challenges that make it difficult to maintain the dominance over the others. The leading power authority and effectiveness begins to resist into other rising powers

and the competitors start questioning the hegemons' ability to lead. The fourth and final phase, the deconcentration phase in which there is a redistribution of power as other states rise and compete for the new leading position. In this phase, there is a period of multipolarity in which nations challenge to set the stage for another cycle of global war. (Modelski, 1999).

To continue with Immanuel Wallerstein, this author defends that the world rules in a single interconnected system where economic and political power are distributed unequally. Central to Wallerstein's analysis is the concept of a capitalist world-economy, characterized by a global division of labor that stratifies nations into three distinct categories. First, core countries. These nations possess advanced industrial capabilities strong central governments, and diversified economies. They dominate economic global trade and exchanges. One example of a core country is the United States. Next, the author defines the periphery countries, who are typically less developed and have weaker economy and state institutions. They often rely on the export of raw materials and are subject of exploitation by core countries, leading to economic disparities and limited development opportunities. Finally, semi-peripheric countries, such as Brazil, are countries acting as exploiters and exploited, they serve as intermediaries and exhibit characteristics of both core and peripheral countries. They often have moderate levels of industrialization and may exploit peripheral countries while simultaneously being exploited by core countries (Wallerstein, 1996).

Another theory that needs to be studied is the Hegemonic Stability Theory. This theory defends that in order for hegemony to be stable and function, one dominant power is necessary to maintain stable and open global economic political system. This dominant state, or hegemon, plays a crucial role in establishing and enforcing the rules that govern global political and economic interactions. The theory suggests that such leadership fosters international economic openness and stability. The hegemon uses influence, resources and leadership to enforce rules and reduce conflicts. In order to be considered a hegemon, you need four requirements: economic power as a source of global trade, military power, ideological influence and leadership in international institutions. Since the principal idea of the HST is that one hegemon equals stability, when that global hegemon declines, the world suffers a period of instability, higher competition and economic fragmentation (Walter, 1996).

To end with, Graham Allison (2017) describes the Thucydides Trap as the historical pattern where a rising power threatens to displace an existing great power, often leading to conflict. his theory is closely linked to global hegemony, as it helps explain the dynamics of power transitions and the potential instability that emerges when a dominant power is challenged. As a rising state grows stronger economically, military and politically, the leading hegemon might perceive this success as a threat to its supremacy and hence, try to exert more power, create more competition and potential conflict (Allison, 2017).

## **Chapter 3**

### **3.0. METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES**

#### **3.1. Methodology**

To answer the core question of this thesis, methodologically, I will analyze the source under a qualitative, descriptive and analytical approach.

In order to understand the concepts under study in this thesis, I first divided the important elements like the definition of hegemony, principal actors in international order, evolution of hegemons since 15<sup>th</sup> century, causes and consequences for China's rise, causes and consequences for Russia's decline, consequences of this shift for the global order. Once I had the important concepts that will be explained in this work, I searched in Google Scholar for papers, articles or books that will explain each of the elements under study.

This methodology will allow this work to explore complex information and analyze topics in depth, capturing information about diplomacy, global structure and politics and enable the study about international relations order. This qualitative method helps the study and understanding of shifts in global hegemony, international values as well as the different approaches and perspectives in the multipolar world order.

Under a descriptive approach, I will be able to defend a clear picture of the evolution of hegemons since centuries ago and study the ascending of China and decline of Russia by outlining the most importance events and actions that shaped this transformation. A descriptive analysis will also enable me to understand the arguments for the changing cycles of hegemony and describe the different theories that defend these shifts.

An analytical approach allows me to evaluate the significance of different circumstances, occurrences and strategies, like the Belt and Road Initiative, that shaped the new global order in order to understand the cause and effect of the new shaped international relations.

### **3.2. Data Source**

To carry out this qualitative descriptive exercise, this thesis sourced data from academic articles that provided the study the definition of concepts such as Global Order, Hegemon, Unipolarity to Multipolarity or the different theories examined in this session such as Modelski's leadership cycle theory, Wallerstein division of countries, Hegemonic Stability Theory or Thucydides Trap, all essential elements to the answer of the research question: How does China's rise and Russia's displacement transform the traditional global power structure, and what are the implications for the current international order and the dynamics of international diplomacy?

Furthermore, by focusing the study in policy briefs and official documents, such as government reports, real perspectives and point of views can be explained under real resources and information. Official positions and strategies can be explained and analysed to understand the global community from governmental insights.

The combination of this methodology used in this work is essential to provide a nuanced, complete and comprehensive view of the principal elements under study: power shifts, China's ascent, Russia's decline, implications for the global order and the transformation from unipolarity to multipolarity and its causes and consequences.

## **Chapter 4**

### **4.0. THE RISE AND FALL OF GLOBAL HEGEMONS: A CASE OF CHINA AND RUSSIA**

#### **4.1. China's global rise**

During one hundred and ten years (1839-1949), China suffered a long century of significant internal and external domination by foreign powers, France, Britain or Russia for instance. This period is called the “century of humiliation” and it undercores historical grievances for China. The fact is that China, at this time, suffered important impositions and domination that altered their future as they expected it and afterwards, this experience became part of the People's Republic of China's founding narrative since it was the first time that China sustained exposure to the West (Kaufman, 2011).

To fully comprehend China's transition from subjugation to great-power status, it is essential to examine the historical circumstances that allowed foreign powers to exert control over the country, as well as the strategies through which China ultimately freed itself from external domination. This period began with the “First Opium War”, where gunboats were thrown to Yangtze River to compel China's rulers to open their ports and market for an open trade. These impositions came as a shock for Asian society since until then, they lived far away from any difference or conflict with the Westerns, there was no background confrontation that could find reason in this attack. China suffered political, cultural and military indignities over a century, where they were obliged to open and cede control over treaty ports and Hong Kong, they suffered massive rebellions that ended with many lives, independent movements in Tibet and Mongolia within other territories and they suffered the millennia – old imperial system collapse which led to a period of chaos that the government was unable to control (Kaufman, 2011).

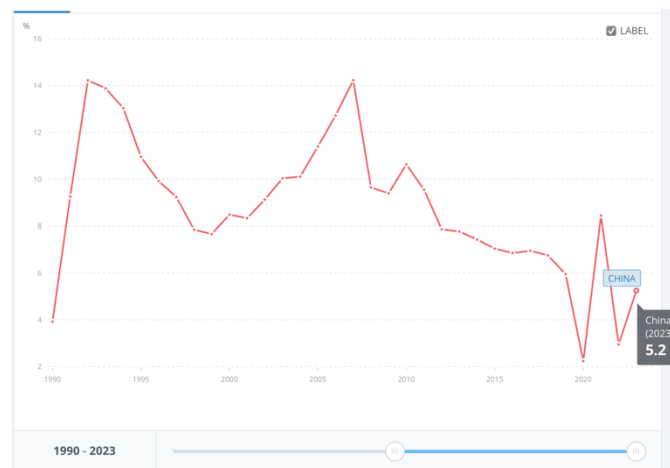
By the mid-twentieth century, however, China began to reclaim its sovereignty, after CCP and the Red Army won the China Civil War and drove the then President Chiang Kai-shek's off. They established the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, which marked the end of foreign domination and laid the foundation for the country's subsequent ascent to great-power status. The end of the Century of Humiliation comes culminates with the establishment of the PRCs in October 1949 by the China's Communist Party. At this time,



the politician's idea was to adopt Marxist ideology, class struggle and invest in a rapid industrial growth and development in order to counter the political, economic and military losses suffered from 1839 until the PRC was created in 1949. The experience waging war gave the CCP operational habits and power decision to rule China into a great power after struggle. When the CCP proclaimed the People's Republic, Chinese people understood that the principal preoccupation was to focus on industrialization, but in fact, the chairman Mao Zedong had other things in mind. Its objective was to raise China into a "great power" and to do so, he was determined to shift center of attention from countryside to the city. He stated that his aim was to create a socialist society and, eventually, world communism. These objectives, he said, required transforming consumer cities into producer cities to set the basis on which "*the people's political power could be consolidated*" (Franke, Rawski, Chan [...], 2025). An official legal articulation of the "people's democratic dictatorship" appeared in the 1949 Organic Law for the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. During its inaugural session, the conference adopted a Common Program that formally established a coalition-based structure of state power. Following the Communist victory, a widespread desire to return to normalcy supported the new leadership's efforts to rebuild the economy. Today, it is possible to speak of long-term development plans for the Chinese society (Franke, Rawski, Chan [...], 2025).

Over the following decades, a series of radical initiatives, from Mao Zedong's early policies to Deng Xiaoping's transformative "Reform and Opening Up" in 1978, fundamentally reshaped China's economic trajectory. By transitioning from a centrally planned economy to one that gradually integrated market mechanisms, China experienced dramatic GDP growth that would elevate it to the position of the world's second-largest economy with a 5.2% expansion (figure 4). The adoption of an open-door market helped China experience significant economic growth and to surpass Japan, for instance, as the largest economy in 2020. Furthermore, China's GDP growth rate is higher than Japan's since early years, as can be shown in figure 5. As a matter of fact, China's GDP growth rate is at 5.2% while Japan's is at 1.7%.

**Figure 4:** China's GDP growth (annual %) from 1990 to 2023.



Source: World Bank Data, n.d, last access on April 6<sup>th</sup>, 2025.

**Figure 5:** China's GDP growth (annual %) compared to Japan's from 1990 to 2023.



Source: World Bank Data, n.d, last access on April 6<sup>th</sup>, 2025

#### **4.1.1. Strategies of ascent**

China's rapid rise on the world stage has been driven, in large part, by a series of interconnected strategies focused on infrastructure development, global trade expansion, and technological innovation.

#### **4.1.1.1. Belt and Road Initiative**

One of the most significant measures taken into achieving the goal of being a great power, is the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), launched in 2013 by President Xi Jinping. Often referred to as the New Silk Road, the BRI is one of the most ambitious infrastructure projects ever conceived. It is devised to link East Asia and Europe through physical infrastructure and the connection of markets, significantly broadening China's economic and political influence. Some analysts view the project as an unsettling extension of China's rising power, leading to greater opposition among certain countries and raising concerns about Chinese economic domination. One of those concerned countries is the United States who claims that this strategy is a Trojan horse<sup>1</sup> for Chinese leading development and military expansion (Bride, Berman & Chatzky, 2023).

The historical precursor to the Belt and Road Initiative dates back centuries, originating with the Silk Road during the westward expansion of China's Han Dynasty. This ancient trade network passed through what are now Central Asian countries and stretched more than four thousand miles to reach Europe. Xi Jinping's vision for the modern "New Silk Road" entails creating an extensive network of railways to promote the international use of China's currency and to integrate Asian markets more fully with the global economy. (Bride, Berman & Chatzky, 2023).

#### **4.1.1.2. Global trade expansion**

Another Xi's objective is to expand maritime trade traffic and to do so, China invests in port development in order to control maritime trade routes and hence, trade traffic. Approximately 80% of the goods we buy crosses the world by sea, shipping containers do not only contain goods, but it also holds power, and China is all in by investing massively in ports worldwide and creating a network of trade, promises and a plan to dominate the seas (DW News, 2024).

---

<sup>1</sup> The "Trojan Horse" is a legendary tale from ancient Greek mythology, describing how the Greeks deceived the Trojans to end the Trojan War. The Greeks built a large wooden horse, concealed soldiers inside it, and pretended to abandon the siege of Troy. Believing it to be a peace offering, the Trojans brought the horse inside their city walls. That night, the hidden Greek soldiers emerged, opened the city gates to the Greek army, and successfully captured Troy. Today, the term "Trojan Horse" has come to symbolize any stratagem that invites an adversary's defenses to be breached from within.

China's Port Plan or "Port Promise" started mostly in Kribi, Cameroon, in 2018 when Xi Jinping started developing Kribi's port in order to turn it into a key trade center for all of Central and West Africa. Now, this initiative has been more successful in the African country who holds 53 out of 160 ports in which China has stakes in. This strategy of developing ports in different territories is also attractive for governments since they lend money, hire a Chinese construction firm to build a port and ends connecting your country to global trade. It can be seen as a win-win interaction (DW News, 2024). Furthermore, in the process of creating these zones of trade, employment is created, salaries are provided, and economy is lifted. In return for letting China develop these docks in your territory, Xi Jinping promises not to get involved in your country's politics, he promises not to intervene.

One of the main reasons China invests in developing a global network of ports is that port ownership and operation provide essential access to international trade routes. This strategy creates a big chain of network for China where it gains leverage over those countries in which it establishes ports. By controlling these strategic points, China not only secures its own supply chains but also gains a degree of influence over the countries hosting these ports. Nevertheless, critics, especially from the United States, view this influence as a potential form of limited domination. From their perspective, China could leverage port ownership to sway political decisions or extract favorable economic arrangements. However, despite the advantages building or buying ports in many different regions can also put China at risk. For instance, the Suez Canal handles around 12% of the world's trade, and it can be blocked or affected by conflicts and security threats. If any serious disruption occur, Chinese ships might need to take longer, more costly routes, which could hurt China's export-focused economy. To protect against such dangers, China has expanded its naval capabilities through what is known as the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN), whose job is to safeguard China's interests abroad and keep its trade routes safe. Beyond safeguarding trade, the United States and other observers worry that China might use its port network for surveillance or other intelligence activities. (DW News, 2024).

Looking ahead, China is extending its port-building efforts into Latin America, most notably with plans to develop the Chancay port in Peru, where Xi Jinping means for China to be the sole company operator in order to have absolute control over the establishment

and development of the port, which again rises concern in the U.S about possible economic or strategic dominance.

**Figure 6:** *One Belt, One road.*



Source: Linehan, 2016 available at Rising powers.

**Figure 7:** *Chinese ports dominance in Latin America and the Caribbean.*



Source: Barría, 2021 available at BBC.

#### 4.1.1.3. Technological innovation and global leadership.

China has become one of the most innovative countries worldwide and technological innovation has been one of its rising key pillars. Over the past few decades, the country has evolved from a manufacturing center focused on low-cost production to a frontrunner

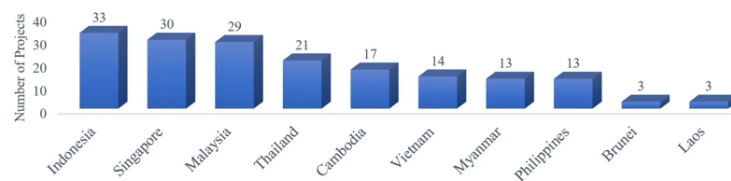
in advanced industries such as artificial intelligence, 5G telecommunications, renewable energy, and high-performance computing (Dychtwald, 2021). In order to study Chinese technological innovation, this thesis will focus on three main ideas: internal domestic policies (Belt and Road Initiative), international strategies to expand China's technological influence and future prospects.

To start with, in 2006, China's government promulgated the "Outline of National Medium and Long – Term Science and Technology Development Plan". This project identifies innovation capabilities as the new national strategy, it is destined to be the strategic basis and core of industrial restructuring and growth transformation. The primary objective of this initiative is to drive China into an innovative nation by 2020, emphasizing on Research and Development (R&D) while aiming to achieve 2.5% of GDP through advancements in Science and Technology (S&T) progress. China's government pretends to reach above 60% for economic development. This plan supports internal policies and fosters innovation, defined as original, integrated and re-innovation based on assimilation and absorption of imported technology, leading into an open and learning type of innovation that integrates global S&T resources as well as international collaboration. The advantages that China's government have are the abundance of human resources and their capability. This, combined with their leading position on innovation, is leading China into a dominant technological power. Additionally, China's government is so centered in improving technology that has dedicated its main resources into studying how to achieve their goals. They studied needs and challenges, their priority fields for S&T innovation and have created a favorable market environment that respects creation, management, application and protection of IPR (Intellectual Property Rights) (Dychtwald, 2021).

To continue with, part of the Belt and Road Initiative goal, that was subject of study previously, is to establish and expand digital infrastructure across developing nations such as Southeast Asia and Africa. (Council on Foreign Relations, n.d).

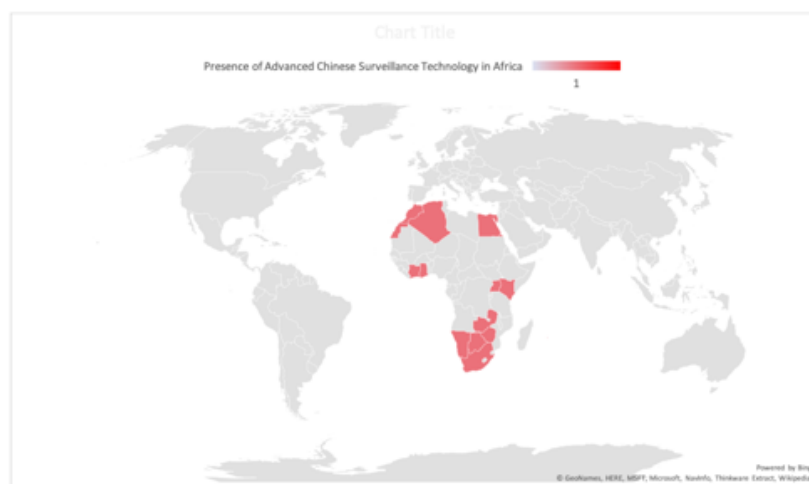
**Figure 8:** *Distribution of DSR Projects in Southeast Asia by Country.*

**Figure 1:** Distribution of DSR Projects in Southeast Asia by Country



Source: Zheng, 2024 available at Fulcrum, Analysis on Southeast Asia.

**Figure 9:** *Chinese Surveillance Technology presence in Africa.*



**Figure 1.** African Countries with AI and big data surveillance technology provided by Chinese firms

Source: Feldstein, 2020 available at U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission.

In this scenario where China is devoted to achieving a greater technological innovation, what China's government has developed is what is called the "Digital Silk Road" (DSR), announced in 2015, it became Beijing's overall BRI strategy under which the government provides aid, political support and assistance to recipient states and it also supports Chinese exporters such as Huawei. As a matter of fact, an estimation of one third of BRI countries are known to have signed or cooperate in the DSR. The world's infrastructure financial gap is projected to reach around 15 trillion dollars by 2040. The primary goal for this initiative is to improve recipient countries telecommunication networks, Artificial Intelligence (IA), smart cities, surveillance technology and high technology areas. The

DSR has signed agreements of cooperation with at least sixteen countries, among which we find, Indonesia, Singapore or Malaysia (Council on Foreign Relations, n.d).

**Figure 10:** *States participation in the Digital Silk Road (DSR).*



Source: Council on foreign relations, n.d.

To finish, China has established itself as a leading force in technology and is increasingly emerging as the dominant global technological power. China's rise as a global technological powerhouse has been driven by strategic investments in cutting-edge industries, with artificial intelligence (AI) playing a central role in this transformation. In fact, the Asian government has made AI development its nation priority. The main point of discussion are AI platforms; ChatGPT and Deepseek, each one being leading chatbots with each, unique strengths. Nevertheless, in this scenario, what is important is to acknowledge the fact that China is establishing its technological domination through a competitive market in AI. The fact is that, despite both being leading AI systems, Deepseek, recently launched in January 2025, was number one free app on the last weekend of January of the same year. This is because of the competitive strategies employed to create advantages above ChatGPT. (George, 2025). Deepseek's advantages remain at its cost, it being 3% cheaper than ChatGPT price. They seek cost efficiency. Also, this platform is better for rapid code generation and technological tasks, having a 90% accuracy in most of its tasks and mainly in mathematic problems. It also has faster response times for structured queries and offers fresh perspective to Artificial Intelligence language models. Nevertheless, ChatGPT is considered to be better at understanding and rationalizing contexts (Bustelo, 2025).



As a matter of fact, this technological innovation and rapid growth in the area, gives China the prior position at leading innovation and S&T, and because of their dominance in the discipline, U.S starts to be concern. Consequently, to their more successful chatbot, President Donald Trump is concerned that they will be surpassed by China's strategies and is thinking of banning Deepseek in the U.S, with the sole intention of preserving their technological integrity and leading position in their region. (Bustelo, 2025) (Baydemir, 2025).

## **4.2. Moscow's shifting influence in the global order in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.**

### ***4.2.1. Factors for Russia's decline***

Despite Russia being a great superpower since decades ago, is now suffering massive consequence of its actions and is severely struggling with economic deterioration, energy dependence, international isolation and imposition of sanctions.

First, Russia has lost its influence over most Eastern European states, as well as several Central European and Asian countries. This decline in control is closely linked to the significant economic challenges the country is facing. Although President Putin asserts that the economy remains stable, the reality is that interest rates are exceptionally high and continue to rise, indicating signs of an overheated economy. Fundamental flaws of Russian economy rely on the ongoing war between this country and Ukraine since February 2022. At the beginning of the war, Moscow could not afford war expenditures and since the ongoing conflict, Russian government has suffered manpower shortage and the long-term effects of sanctions which further drag down the economy. The irresponsible government spending and resolution of warfare expenses can lead Moscow into suffering a lethal economic collapse. As a matter of fact, 40% of Russian expenditure is spent in defense. The cost of modern warfare is a bill that Russia is not able to pay for, like it happened with Syria in 2015, where Russia had to spend even less than with Ukraine in ammunition and operational troops. The irresponsible spending from the government can be seen in their military expenditure (40% in defense) and in their manpower shortage which leads the country falling behind in equipment and in economic development (Huang, 2025). The fact is that this economic "failure" cannot be understood

without mention to the international isolation and sanctions imposed to Russia by the United States as well as by the European Union. These waves of sanctions start long before Ukraine, in fact, we go back to 2014 with the annexation of Crimea, when U.S, EU and Western powers established economic, political and cultural sanctions to Russia's actions (European Commission, 2025).

According to the European Council, these sanctions have targeted banking, technology, energy exports, and high-tech industries, limiting Russia's access to Western markets. At the beginning of the Ukraine war, the initial impact of these sanctions were not appreciative since economic indicators showed stability. Nevertheless, as the war kept going, President Volodymyr Putin started to experience the long-term effects on Moscow's economy. The restrictions on oil, natural resources and access to foreign currencies started taking action. More precisely, the sanction on international currencies might be one of the most effective restrictions, and the question is why. Well, this can be explained by the fact that the suspension of Moscow's exchange trade with other currencies such as Euros and U.S dollars, limit the ability to trade and to mobilize and develop the economy. Russia's international trade declines significantly if it cannot participate in worldwide trade actions and is being left over in international economic projects. Consequently, while foreign currencies develop and create new exchanges with other currencies, the Russian Ruble (RUB) stagnates as it remains isolated and undeveloped from the world economy. These sanctions can be summoned into; loss of foreign direct investment (FDI) and restrictions on technological imports such as semiconductors, have restricted Russia's ability to modernize its economy, the expulsion from global financial systems, declining soft power in Europe and beyond, as former allies distance themselves from Moscow and the limited influence in global institutions compared to China, which actively expands its role in multilateral organizations like the UN, BRICS, and G20 (European Council, 2025).

Another important factor for this isolation remains in secondary sanction threats to other countries where the principal goal is to limit trade relations with Russia. The idea is to make countries understand that if they keep an ongoing trade relationship with Russia, their economy could suffer the same stagnation as the RUB because the same sanctions will be imposed to them. This massive and unprecedented course of actions leave Russia totally alone militarily and economically speaking. No country wants to have market

relations or political connection with a declining Russia who acts solely under military invasions over other countries as it did with Crimea and is currently doing with Ukraine. (European Council, 2025).

**Figure 11:** Sanctions suffered by Russia from February 2022 to December 2023.



Source: Fleck, 2024 available at Statista.

Finally, all declining factors are connected one with the other, economic lack of growth is extremely connected with the sanctions from West countries, U.S and EU, however, this economic recess relates to the fact that these sanctions also affected Russia’s energy domination. The reality is that before the war, Russia relied on exports of energy and raw materials, and it even experienced trade surplus with the fluctuating energy prices that had a crucial impact on annual income. The problem starts once the sanctions are imposed to Russia and the economy starts recessing. Moscow’s reliance on imported manufactured goods started showing an unbalanced industrial distribution. After the Ukrainian war started, a decline of exports and a higher dependency took place for Putin. For starters, the agreement from December 31, 2019, between Russia and Ukraine to transit through Ukraine in order to reach European cities was suspended. As Volodymyr Zelensky, former Ukrainian president, stated; “*we will not allow Russia to earn additional billions on our blood*” (Nakhle, 2025). On December 31, 2024, Russia’s gas exports via Soviet – era pipelines traversing Ukraine were ceased and not renewed. One of the many consequences of these suspensions is that oil and natural resources are sold to buyers below market prices and therefore, Russia is not able to generate new revenue. Once again, this interrupted energy connection has a concerning consequence for the economy,

creating more difficulties for its recovery since their main source of revenue, is massively controlled and suspended from where they received most of their income. Lack of economic reform has left Russia vulnerable to external shocks and unable to develop competitive industries outside of natural resources. The Kremlin was the biggest supplier of energy but since the beginning of this century, the European Commission made their principal policy objective to secure gas supply. As a matter of fact, the U.S did something similar with the shale oil and gas revolution where they strategically developed these resources in order to have an alternative to Russian supplies and don't depend so highly of this country in this matter. Russia is no longer essential in energy resources and no longer dominates the gas market (Nakhle, 2025).

#### ***4.2.2. Connection between China's rise and Russia's displacement.***

As Russia struggles with economic and geopolitical difficulties, China seizes the opportunity to solidify its position worldwide and strengthen its role as a leading superpower. As we have studied, Russia is experiencing an era of decline, recession, stagnation and isolation that is leaving it apart from world decisions and participation. Because of this initiative, China is being promoted as global superpower who acts upon its best interests and in order to make worldwide functions that will position it as an hegemonic power. China is being given space for it to overtake Russia's place in global hegemony.

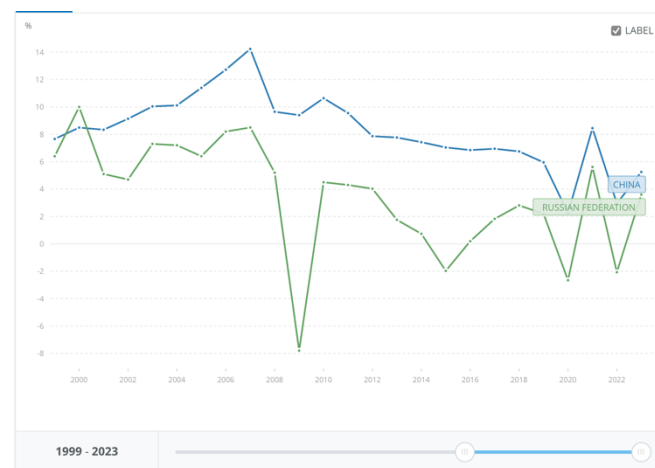
Russia's stagnated economy makes it more difficult for it to take action in international affairs (Nikolaev & Makhotaeva, 2021). Furthermore, its uncooperative and violent behavior isolates the country economically, politically and culturally, leading into an imposition for development and into a dependency on other countries for its future purposes. Consequently, Moscow's position is weakened by the ongoing situation of war.

On the contrary, China has set an example of innovation, development and diplomatic cooperation that leads into foreign affairs participation and coordinated paths with other hegemonies such as the United States. All these strategies let the Asian country to arise as a superpower and take Russia's place in world hegemony. China has positioned itself as the world's second-largest economy and a major player in global trade through initiatives such as the BRI, previously analyzed. Its economy is highly diversified, with

strong industrial, technological, and financial sectors. The Chinese yuan is increasingly being used in international transactions while the Russian Ruble is being kept isolated from international trade (Fowers & Rabinowitz, 2022).

All these differences are reflected in their correspondent GDP growth that is shown in the next figure.

**Figure 12:** *Difference between Chinese Yen GDP growth (annual %) and Russian Ruble.*

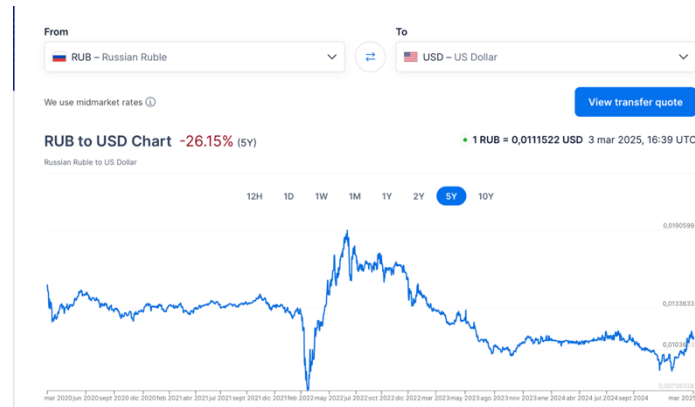


Source: World Bank Group, n.d, last access on April 6<sup>th</sup>, 2025.

This graphic shows how despite Russia's economy surpassing China's in the year 2000, afterwards, Xi Jinping's economy has always been superior as of Putin's. After a year of "supremacy", Russia went back to recession and being under China's growth rate. As 2022 is the last year offered of data, we still can see how China's growth rate is higher and achieves 5.2% while Russia is at 3.6% growth rate. Russia's economy remains highly reliant on energy exports like oil and gas and suffers therefore from significant risks on unstable price fluctuations. The enforcement of Western sanctions first following the annexation of Crimea in 2014 and then with the invasion of Ukraine, further destabilized its financial system and limited access to global markets and investment. On the other hand, China has successfully diversified its economy through strategic initiatives.

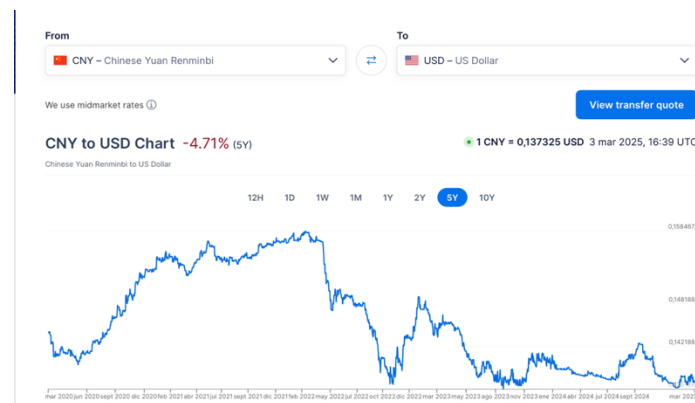
Furthermore, this divergence between China and Russia can be seen through the comparison between Russian Ruble with U.S Dollar and Chinese Yuan with U.S Dollar. As a matter of fact, the RUB to USD exchange rate has declined by -26.15% over the past five years while the CNY to USD exchange rate has declined by -4.71%.

*Figure 13: RUB to USD exchange rate.*



Source: XE Currency Data, n.d, last access on March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2025.

*Figure 14: CNY to USD exchange rate.*



Source: XE Currency Data, n.d, last access on March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2025.

#### **4.3. To explore the implications of these shifts for the global balance of power, particularly the transition from a unipolar to multipolar world.**

The shifting balance from one great power into another is reshaping the new international world order. With China's rise and Russia's decline, global alliances are being reconfigured, the influence of multilateral institutions is evolving, and key regions are impacted.

#### **4.3.1. Reconfiguration of International Relations.**

To understand the reconfiguration of international relations, it is important to first study the role actor's relationship and how it changed within the "transition". Firstly, China and Russia's bilateral relation, as their changed dynamics are essential to global transformations. This connection has long been an issue because even though they had periods of cooperation, periods of confrontation and disruption have also existed. As a matter of fact, because of the rising of China and leaving Russia in a second place in the international order, it could be expected that Putin will not receive this exchange with good intentions, nevertheless their relation has been improving since the year 2000. However, it should be noted that China is the biggest economic contributor to the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa): "*The Chinese economy largest in the world, but is now not only the second it is larger than all the rest of the BRICS economies combined*" (Pant, 2013) and this leadership in economic contribution inside the BRICS can be once again, faced as a rivalry by President Putin: "*Exports between the BRICS nations amounted to around \$282 billion in 2012, with China accounting for almost 38 percent of exports among the members. Economies such as Brazil and Russia that depend on selling raw materials to China have seen their economic growth decline to 1 percent and 3.5 percent in 2012, respectively*" (Pant, 2013). China and Russia developed a strategic partnership based more on a common rivalry with the United States rather than because of natural affinity. They are not treaty allies and would probably never come to one's another's defense, but they are still vowed to deepen their relation and cooperation, and they have each other's back in the United Nations Security Council where since 2004, none of them have vetoed a Security Council resolution without support from the other (Hart, 2023). In addition, Xi Jinping considers Putin as his "best friend and colleague" and vice versa, Putin defends Xi Jinping as his "dear friend", showing a great admiration between them. Since the year 2000 they resolved their border problems, established greater security cooperation and have coordinated across international institutions in order to challenge United States norms. Another issue that brings both leaders together are their similarities such as both being an authoritarian regime with power centrated in one single leader and both having nonmilitary tactics for expanding their influence and domination. Furthermore, their relation grows fonder with Putin's praising the Belt and Road Initiative and their dependence on China's investment in Russia after the imposition

of EU and U.S sanctions. As a matter of fact, China is one of the sole sources of income of Putin's economy (Fong & Maizland, 2024).

Nevertheless, despite these issues that create a strong relationship between these two great powers, they are still having some challenges and difficulties to maintain cooperation. Even if their economic relation is still rooting for development, it also has deepened because of the great difficulties that Russia is struggling with sanctions implemented. Also, their diplomatic activity is different for each other, meaning, they do not have the same vision of the world order and they have different interests in Central Asia, which difficult their negotiations and participation in the international order for Central Asia concerns. Furthermore, while China seeks to reform the current international order and mold it into Beijing's interests, wants to avoid military conflict with the United States and its allies, has an active role in international institutions like the United Nations (UN) and is increasingly careful of what they do, Russia is more provocative, leading into being considered a "rouge state" and creating difficulties for China to trust its interests. Also, the invasion of Ukraine by Putin has left China in a very difficult and controversial position where it cannot take one side or the other because it ends losing one great ally either way. However, it is still true that this bilateral relationship is one of the strongest hegemonic relations and is creating alarm in Washington D.C. (Fong & Maizland, 2024).

As stated before, one of the remaining enemies of China and Russia is the United States. However, the study must be brought apart between China – U.S and Russia – U.S since the relation is not equal, even if both Putin and Xi Jinping have the same goal: leave U.S out of the world order.

The relationship between Russia and the United States is more complex and is characterized by geopolitical tensions, military confrontations, and diplomatic hostilities, particularly since the Cold War. Since decades back, their bilateral relation has cycled between confrontation and cooperation. Since the Bolshevik revolution in 1917, the diplomatic alliance between these two great powers was interrupted and any direct communication between American diplomatic representatives in Russia and Bolshevik's government representatives was prohibited by the U.S. The Americans also refused to have or recognize any formal relation with that government until 1933, where relations were reestablished. With the end of the Soviet Union in 1991, the U.S was willingly and



prepared to establish new constructive relations and elaborate a bilateral strategy to facilitate cooperation in global issues. George H.W. Bush, president of the United States at the time, was open for reinforcing stability in the world order by creating a pacific and cooperative relation with M. Gorbachev. Nevertheless, the problems reappeared when Russia rejected all this initiative from the U.S and instead collaborating in achieving a more participative and pacific world order, started undermining core institutions of the West such as NATO<sup>2</sup> and European Union (EU), undermining norms and dismiss democratic values and free market regulations. In addition, with the first violation of Ukraine's sovereignty in 2014, Putin downgraded its economic, military and political relationship with the U.S and Barack Obama suspended the Bilateral Presidential Commission <sup>3</sup>. Consequently, to this disruptive invasion of Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea the same year, the United States suspended any bilateral engagement in most economic issues, leading and related to the sanctions imposed to Russia along with the European Union and the G7<sup>4</sup>. Facing these invasive and provocative actions by Russia, the U.S seeks to deteriorate their power and preserve and create unity, resilience and reduce allies' vulnerability against Russian government. Nevertheless, the United States is seeking for reenacting the bilateral relation that once existed only if Russia shows interest and willingness on being a responsible actor and cease to interfere with democratic values. (U.S Department of State, 2021).

On the other hand, China – U.S relations is far more competitive, based on fairness, reciprocity and challenges between both of them. They relate to a strategic competition and try each of them, to prove better from the other. The United States works to prevent China's aggressions, manipulation of international organizations and unfair trade policies within other illicit activities. As a matter of fact, economically speaking, China and the U.S goods and services trade was estimated to be \$643.2 billion in 2023, exports around \$195.5 billion and imports were \$447.67 billion. U.S. foreign direct investment (FDI) in China was \$126.9 billion in 2023, a 3.8 percent increase from 2022 and the other way

---

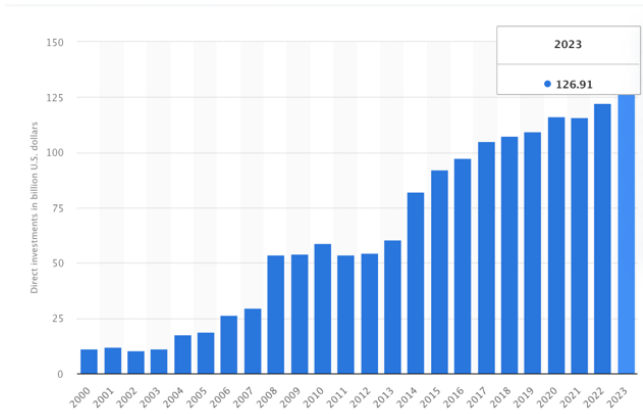
<sup>2</sup> North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

<sup>3</sup> Body jointly founded in 2009 by the United States and Russia to promote cooperation between the two countries.

<sup>4</sup> The G8, originally consisting of eight major nations (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the UK, and the US), became the G7 after Russia's membership was suspended due to its actions in Ukraine.

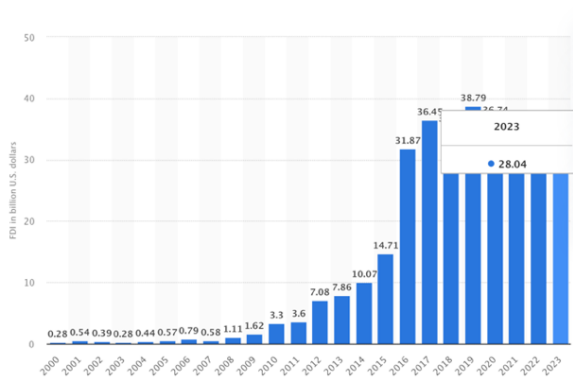
around, China’s FDI in the United States (stock) was \$28 billion in 2023, down 6.2 percent from 2022 (U.S Department of State, 2025).

**Figure 15:** Foreign direct investment position of the United States in China from 2000 to 2023.



Source: Statista 2024.

**Figure 16:** Foreign direct investment from China into the United States from 2000 to 2023.



Source: Statista, 2024.

China’s economy is one of the most restrictive ones, with a longstanding prohibition on investment in key sectors as well as an unfair trade practice with forced labor and massive state subsidies, leaving the American business in disadvantage. Nevertheless, the U.S is committed to challenge Xi Jinping’s licit and illicit efforts to restrict U.S development and is also devoted to confronting Chinese Communist Party (CCP). (U.S Department of State, 2025).

#### ***4.3.2. Changes in multilateral institutions.***

As a consequence of these changes in global power, the role, structure and influence of has also changed in international multilateral institutions such as the United Nations (UN), International Monetary Fund or the World Trade Organization. As a matter of fact, power dynamics have been altered, decision making rules are not based on the same structures and new geopolitical alignments have come into place and the existing ones have changed.

In this matter, actual president Xi Jinping has emphasized the need for China to take lead in reshaping the global governance system and shape it into their own interests. In this process of remaking, his vision involves transforming international institutions and norms to align with Beijing's values and priorities. In order to do so, China adopted under this presidency, a multifaceted approach to global governance to shape it for their own good. Nevertheless, there are some areas in which principles conflict with already existing international norms such as human rights and so China actively seeks to weaken these standards and implement alternative norms more beneficial for them. However, in those areas where it cannot take a lead, Xi Jinping opted to collaborate with other authoritarian allies like Russia to reshape regulations that serve their mutual interests. One of the biggest complications that have this control or evolving participation of China in institutions, is the creation of growing divisions between democratic nations that remain committed to the current international guideline. This division threat the cooperation and neutral negotiation between members of these international institutions and their cooperation over global challenges, since their interests differ because of the separation. Under these premises, the division can result in the emergence of two competing systems of governance who differ completely in goals, framework and actions and consequently, undermine multilateral collaboration (Xie, 2011).

Over time, Chinese government have justified their control and authority over institutions through the so called "Mandate of Heaven", throughout which China is central to global order despite never establishing a real global empire. Nevertheless, despite never creating a real empire, after World War II (1939-1945), China became a founding member of the United Nations and started taking a more prominent role in the international institutions and global system. Under this idea of participation, Beijing began advocating for alternative values and institutions as a response to the initial limitations imposed by the

Republic of China (Taiwan) who withheld China's seat on the UN Security Council. In 1970, China rejoined the international system by rebuilding ties and advocating for cooperation with the United States, former "enemy" until then. During this new incorporation, at first, China adopted a more modest role within global order engaging with already created institutions, instead of challenging them, it cooperated with them. Only in October 1971, the UN General Assembly recognized the PRC (People's Republic of China), granting a permanent seat and membership of the Security Council. China had now achieved its principal goal: having direct meanings in this institution. After Mao Zedong's death in 1976 in Beijing, his successor Deng Xiaoping, reshaped Chinese economy through major economic reforms that implicated China's growth and extended its global influence. Some of these reforms and new initiatives that D. Xiaoping did, enabled this country to join major financial and trade organizations such as IMF (International Monetary Fund), WIPO (World Intellectual Property Organization), Asian Development Bank, and World Trade Organization (WTO) (Soong, 2022) (Council on Foreign Affairs, n.d).

During the early 2000's, the president at the time; Jian Zemin, adopted a more proactive and cooperative attitude towards international rules and norms, however, when its economy started to flourish, he began asserting a more proactive role in global governance and showed the world and leaders its capacity to lead and reshape international institutions as well as its capacity to participate in global matters. As their capability of influence continued growing, China expanded their leverage in global institutions through four main arguments or strategies: project its growing power, deepening its engagement with international organizations, lay the groundwork for creating their own multilateral institutions and in some cases, undermining existing governance frameworks to implement their own interests substantially. As a matter of fact, by 2010, China had surpassed Japan as the world's second largest economy and achieved greater voting power in some of the most important economic institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF mentioned previously. Not only did their economy arose but their leading powers did also, in fact, Chinese nationals began rising to influential positions that allowed China's government to enforce and promote Chinese values and norms. Margaret Chan, for instance, was appointed Director-General of the World Health Organization (WHO) in 2006. As the years kept going by, China continued expanding their principles and gaining decision power within global institutions up until the financial

crisis in 2008 when the world economy collapsed. Nevertheless, China never lost the ambition and effort in participating in international efforts to coordinate economic recovery strategies that would lead the world economy, as well as their own, into stabilization. By adopting this attitude of coordination and cooperation within world economies, China strengthens its reputation as a diplomatic and reliable partner. Making the most of this image, Chinese government started creating its own institutions and began with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), whose goal is to solidify the existing partnership between Russia and Central Asian states with China or the AIIB (Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank) founded in 2015 to support infrastructure projects across Asia. As China kept arising as a global partner and participant in institutions as well as creating new ones, Beijing's ambition of reshaping global governance and introduce their strategic interests, became more evident. As of today, China holds a great influence within multilateral organizations with Chinese leaders in institutional positions and leading four of the fifteen<sup>5</sup> UN specialized agencies, positioning itself as a dominant power for shaping the international order (Council on Foreign Affairs, n.d).

On the other hand, we face Russia as a recessing power whose participation in global institutions is weakened by all the consequences it suffers from its actions, such as sanctions, economic struggles and diplomatic isolation. Within this international scenery, Russia's influence in Western or international institutions has significantly diminished particularly after its exclusion from the G8, now G7 due to this isolation (Laub & McBride, 2017). Also, the sanctions imposed and studied above in this work, also led the former president Putin into being isolated from taking part in global decisions in the United Nations and European Union. In this matter, the UN General Assembly asked Russia to withdraw all invasive actions on Ukraine and respect the Charter of the UN.

*“The world has spoken. The Russian government must immediately stop the aggression, withdraw its troops, and abide by the rules of the UN Charter that apply to all, equally”.*

*“This is about whether we choose tanks and missiles, or dialogue and diplomacy” (European Union External Action, 2022).*

---

<sup>5</sup> World Health Organization (WHO); International Telecommunication Union (ITU); United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO).

Russia's declining credibility and willingness to stop invasions and war, led the country into its division and fragmentation from the rest of the world. In this matter, China has taken its position in multilateral institutions and is now the one who leads them, having taken Russia's seat in global matters.

After understanding how China's rise and Russia's decline have affected multilateral institutions and have reshaped global order in this issue, it is also important to understand how these changes of roles and dominance from China has affected the world order in a more international point of view. As it happens, as China gains allies in the Global South and is increasingly dominating voting decisions inside institutions, the United States and European Union dominance in these is clearly being undermined. The truth is, China has been willing to take the U.S place as the global hegemon and to do so, Chinese government will firstly undermine American hegemony and then become the primary hegemon taking the U.S place. Some of the strategies adopted are to push for alternative financial systems that implicate a reduction of the reliance on the dollar in trade and international transactions as well as incentivize a multi-alignment diplomatic approach that encourages countries to foster collaborative relations with various powers instead of aligning only with one (Latham & Moeini, 2025).

#### ***4.3.3. Impact on Key Regions***

As the world order is in constant change in this era with China dominating and Russia being isolated, this new polarity also affect other international actors and great powers such as the U.S, Europe, Asia or Africa.

First, the United States have long been China's most rival and potential enemy in many areas such as economy or technology. As the former president of China, Xi Jinping, arises as a great power, the U.S has to face a new competitor in world affairs who at the same time, has to be a partner in other issues. This can be difficult with China constantly trying to take U.S hegemonic position as the leader and not willing to step back of this ambition. China is supposedly willing to achieve a multipolar world order where peace and economic balance is achieved, however, the U.S concern on this matter comes into place since "*anyone with experience of negotiating with the Chinese can attest that they are capable of both haughtiness and petulance*" (Middle East Policy Council, 2010). While

China assures explicitly that it has no intention of pursuing global dominance, its actions do not way the same. In fact, *“China’s new anti-carrier weapons endanger U.S. force projection capabilities in the Western Pacific; its anti-satellite programs imperil U.S. global surveillance and communication capabilities; its growing operations in cyberspace menace U.S. government operations and the economy of the American homeland alike. These are serious challenges not just to American hegemony but to core U.S. interests”* (Middle East Policy Council, 2010). Another issue to consider is that the United States has long been independent in being global hegemon. This meaning that for the past two decades, it has been an undisputed global hegemon and American politicians are not used to shaping policies through multilateral discussions with other countries. Under these circumstances, we can face different scenarios of reaction, on one hand, the U.S can try and compete for the leading position in international affairs, or it can try to accept a multipolar world shared with its longest opponent; China (Layne, 2008).

However, the U.S is not the only power who will face an impact, in fact, Europe can also face some challenges within this change of hegemony. With China being a great exporter and importer of goods and services to Europe, in theory, its rise should mean significant opportunities to the EU for its development. In fact, in 2004, China became the EU’s second largest partner after the United States and the EU became China’s largest trading partner, however, with China’s rapid growth and expansion, China’s exports to the European Union have surpassed the EU exports to China, leaving a situation where China leads the trading negotiations with European governments. Nevertheless, despite this recess of exports to China, the situations is counterbalanced with exports to the U.S, where it exports more than imports to it, resulting a surplus. However, the relationship between Europe and the United States has little to do with its relation with China. Where Xi Jinping leads exports is mostly in technology, where we have previously studied its rising in comparison with the U.S. Nevertheless, the EU seems to lead in other sectors such as chemicals, plastic and electrical engineering or food and beverage, textiles and leather products. However, once again, China takes the lead or appears in the map when it has been *“resource seeking in manufacturing activities”* (Wilson Center, 2011) in order to develop low-cost productions. Consequently, textile owners such as the EU or U.S, relocate their production facilities from third countries like Vietnam to China. One of the remaining problems of this connection between Europe and China is the different visions each have about foreign policy. On one hand, the EU defends its founding principles

based on democracy, human rights and rule of law while on the other hand, China is committed to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence:

*“Mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non- interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence”* (Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in the Islamic Republic of Iran, 2014).

Due to the difference in perspectives and viewpoints of foreign policy, these two may collide and end up in competing for new issues and creating a new rivalry in the world order which can end with China exerting its dominance over the EU or the EU defending its position as a more powerful leader. Either way, this ending might difficult future negotiations and international balance (Wilson Center, 2011).

Thirdly, China’s relationship with other Asia-Pacific countries has not always been easy. Through a combination of economic reforms, proactive diplomacy and extensive international engagement, we can conclude that China has positioned itself as a central player in global affairs. However, this has not always been beneficial. As a matter of fact, China’s relationship with the states who claim, as well as it, sovereignty over the South China sea, has long been a big conflict. This issue has enlisted a big number of disputes about who owns which part of this territory and has creating long rivalry between China and some ASEAN members: Taiwan, Philippines, Indonesia, Malasia, Vietnam and Brunei. In this matter, China claims almost all the Sea under the premises of historical maps and attributions like the “Nine Dash Line”<sup>6</sup>. Under these premises, growing tensions have divided these actors and led into a continuous fight over sovereignty of the islands in this South China Sea. In addition to the disputed waters of the Southeast Asia, Xi Jinping’s growing influence has also created uncertainty and distrust to the neighbors’ countries about whether this rising is an opportunity or a potential threat to the region and its stability (Demirus, 2025). Asia is the most affected region because of China’s rise. As a consequence of the U.S exerting influence in the region and other key players like

---

<sup>6</sup> A set of line segments on various maps that accompanied the claims of the People's Republic of China (PRC, "Mainland China") and the Republic of China (ROC, "Taiwan") in the South China Sea. The contested area includes the Paracel Islands,[a] the Spratly Islands,[b][2] the Pratas Island and the Vereker Banks, the Macclesfield Bank, and the Scarborough Shoal.



Russia involved in shaping the region's strategic environment, Asia is under two simultaneous trends: first, a competition for global strategic dominance and second, efforts to redefine the regional Asian order. China's dominance in this territory is yet to be complete, despite its rapid rise, absolute dominance still faces challenges. However, where China is leading in this region is in economic matters, while the U.S is competing for regional security. This phenomenon called "dual dependence dilemma" or "dual hierarchy" defines the constructive Asian order under China's ascent as global hegemon. (Aoyama, 2024). Furthermore, since the 1990's, China has taken active role in regional organizations such as the already mentioned Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and has presented itself as cooperative and engaged in regional issues, however, the underlying question remains: is this approach driven by a genuine commitment to secure trust and consequently expand its influence to reinforce dominance in Asia and worldwide?

#### ***4.3.4. From Unipolarity to Multipolarity***

Historically, as studied before in this analysis, the international order transformed from a bipolar to a unipolar world, today, the global landscape is undergoing another transformation, shifting from a unipolar landscape into a multipolar world order. This change into multipolarity is driven by three factors: first, the relative decline of the United States as a hegemon and its dominance, second, the rise of China as U.S competitor and finally, the shifting nature from unipolarity into multipolarity (Muzaffar, Yaseen & Rahim, 2017).

Certainly, the current global order remains under a unipolar structure with the United States as main leader, however, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, this is changing simultaneously. In order for nations to ascend as a superpower, economic, military and political influence and domination are required. Up until today, besides the latest hegemons from centuries ago like Great Britain or the Soviet Union, the one who had all three requirements and could maintain them was the U.S. Nevertheless, today, many nations are developing these capacities and ascending as competitors into the world order. In this scenario, China has become the leading competitor to U.S seat as the hegemon leader. This transformation reflects a shift where emerging powers try to assert their sovereignty and power within global structures and politics. Under China's rapid economic growth and peaceful ascent, global politics are changing. Furthermore, other regional powers are acting in this

international structure and marking a period of transition, for instance, India, Brazil or Japan (Muzaffar, Yaseen & Rahim, 2017).

Historically, mostly during the First World War (1914-1918) and the Second World War (1939- 1945), the United States played a crucial role in balancing international instability until the Soviet Union came into place and a bipolar world order emerged. Today, under the nuclear age, it remains uncertain whether the U.S can continue balancing the international order on its own or it rather needs other great powers to balance the new complex global structure. Under these premises, China ensures its right to recognition as superpower and aims to replace Russia as the other power competing with the United States. Nevertheless, besides China being the emerging hegemon and the most remarkable, other nations are also participating in reshaping the international order. Indeed, the economic strategies pursued by India, Japan and Brazil are also contributing arguments for the transition from unipolarity to multipolarity (Amin, 2006), (Muzaffar, Yaseen & Rahim, 2017). Moreover, it is essential to understand that these periods of shifting powers are often characterized by increasing risks of conflict and warfare. As emphasized by the American political scientist Graham Allison and supported by the Thucydides Trap studied in this analysis, the rise of a new competitor who challenges an established one, typically generates structural tensions. While the ideal is to avoid this confrontation between dominant and rising powers through international cooperation, the actual international structure reveals that China has already managed strategic competitions with other major powers, forcing them to defend their hegemonic position in the global order (Aoyama, 2024).

## **Chapter 5**

### **5.0. CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND LIMITATIONS.**

#### **5.1. Conclusions**

To conclude, this thesis analyses three specific objectives to answer the stand question of how China's rise and Russia's decline transforms the global power structure and what are the implications of this transformation.

Adopting a qualitative descriptive analysis technique, this thesis finds that, China's rise comes along with its strategies of development, such as the Belt and Road Initiative, its global trade expansion through the domination of international ports that lead into the principal commercial routes and finally the technological innovation that Xi Jinping is developing. First, the initiative of the Belt and Road Initiative, also known as the "One Belt One Road", launched in 2013, provides China with a connection to East Asia and Europe markets, enabling China's economic influence to rise. Its main goal is to ensure global trade and stimulate economic growth in Asian countries, which indirectly, implies Chinese economic growth. Secondly, China's government has focused on dominating maritime global trade routes and to do so, former president Xi Jinping has developed a "Port Plan" or "Port Promise" where China turns ports into key trade location. By creating these new ports and transforming them into key trade positions, jobs are created and salaries provided, hence, economy is raised. Furthermore, by letting China develop ports in your country, such as Kribi in Africa, Xi Jinping compromises itself not to get involved in your politics. Thirdly, because of China's determination to become one of the biggest technology suppliers and influences, the actual president focuses its strategies on technological innovation by developing new elements such as Artificial Intelligence within other instruments that help China exert domination over other leaders in the technological matter. In order to do so, China released the "Outline of National Medium- and Long-Term Science and Technology Development Plan" that enables this country to emphasize Research and Development and Science and Technology, which leads into China reaching technological improvement, innovation and the expansion of digital domination. Furthermore, China developed the Digital Silk Road, signed with at least

sixteen countries such as Singapore, as a strategy to provide aid, assistance and political support to other states who aim to improve their telecommunication network.

Secondly, this work explains the causes of Russia's decline in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and how does this change in global order. Primary, the primary cause of Russia's displacement comes with its violent and invasive activities towards other Ukraine. However, despite Ukraine not being the only country that suffered Russian annexation (Crimea in 2014), this thesis focuses on the isolation of Russia from the international world under because of the attacks on Ukraine in 2022. As a consequence of its expansionist policy and invasive attacks towards Ukraine, as well as because of its lack of intent to cooperate or suspend its warfare behavior, Russia suffered the implementation of sanctions by the United States and the European Union. Among these sanctions we find financial, trade, export or energy sector sanctions. Its economy suffered isolation from Western markets who blocked and excluded Russian Banks from financial institutions such as SWIFT, restricted trade in import and export matters, oil and petroleum for instance, and who prohibited individuals to make new investments on Russia.

Thirdly, this shifting of hegemony in the global order is explained through the theories studied in this thesis. On one hand, Modelski's theory based on shifts happening in cycles where one rising power replaces the existing one, have been seen in this study with China rising as a leader and taking Russia's place and vice versa, with Russia declining as a superpower, signaling the beginning of a new power entering the world order. On the other hand, Immanuel Wallerstein's theory who divides countries in core, semi-periphery and peripheric countries, is seen in this thesis with China changing from a semi-periphery country into a core who has now greater influence in international affairs and likewise, Russia shifted from core country into semi periphery by declining as a global actor. Furthermore, as this work established before, the Thucydides Trap is seen in the increasing tensions between China and the U.S because of the firsts growing economy and military strength that challenges the United States. As this theory explains, a rising power may challenge the established one and can lead into conflict, as happens with China and the U.S. Finally, Hegemonic Stability Theory argues that when a dominant power starts to weaken, instability may occur in the global order as a consequence. Under this premise, shifting from a bipolar (U.S – Russia) to a multipolar world order (U.S; China; Brazil; or India for instance), can cause challenges to those in power who have to adapt

to this new international order. Now, no single state can answer or solve global issues, instead, cooperation between all hegemonies in power has to occur because the new world is now multipolar.

## **5.2. Recommendations**

Based on the findings, this thesis presents recommendations for academia and lawmakers. It is crucial for the understanding of this topic to do an expanded study of the evolution of hegemony. A comparative analysis of the transitions and the causes and consequences of each one can lead into more nuanced research. Also, academics should study the shifts of hegemony looking deep into all the matters that caused it, meaning, studying thoroughly, more precisely and separately, political, economic and cultural instruments that affect these transitions. Furthermore, this thesis was more focused on primary actors like the U.S, China and Russia but in order to do a more complete analysis, other emerging countries like Brazil or India could be studied to understand their perspective on these changes. Also, their mechanism or strategies to emerge, could be analyzed to have a more global perspective of hegemony. Moreover, the point of view of middle powers such as Turkey can also be studied to look into the alliances existing and where do they position themselves in this new multipolar world, whether they see China as challenging or as an ally.

## **5.3. Limitations**

During the development of this thesis, the limitations this work had to face focused on data availability since access to accurate information can be limited by states control over media or lack of transparency. In this matter, some states censor more information than others and it is known for China to try and sell itself as more cooperative than it actually is. In fact, China has sometimes misled information in order to make it look less powerful than it is so other great powers don't feel tremendously challenged by it. In addition, as the international order is constantly changing and global leaders are constantly taking new decisions and having new negotiations, this study had to face constant evolving geopolitical matters and a dynamic landscape of study. Also, the unpredictability of actions taken by leaders is a limitation since military invasions or sudden alliances can alter the international order and balance and change completely what today is happening.

## References

Allison, G. (2023, 24 may). The Thucydides trap. *Foreign Policy*. Available at <https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/06/09/the-thucydides-trap/>

Álvarez, J. (2023). *The Origin and History of the Phrase 'The Empire on which the Sun never sets,' used since Antiquity*. LBV Magazine English Edition. <https://www.labrujulaverde.com/en/2023/12/the-origin-and-history-of-the-phrase-the-empire-on-which-the-sun-never-sets-used-since-antiquity/>

Amin, S. (2006). *Beyond US hegemony: Assessing the prospects for a multipolar world*. Zed Books.

Aoyama, R. (2024). The Rise of China in Asia. In: Sahashi, R., Matsuda, Y., Aoyama, W. (eds) *Asia Rising*. The University of Tokyo Studies on Asia. Springer, Singapore. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-97-4375-9\\_14](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-97-4375-9_14)

Barnes, A. S. (2006). *Owning Russia: The struggle over factories, farms, and power*. Cornell University Press.

Barría, C. (2021, 15th october). *La estratégica red de puertos que China controla en el mundo y cómo está avanzando en América Latina*. BBC News Mundo. Available at <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-58849114>

Baydemir, R. (2025). *Artificial Intelligence Wars in Global Technology: ChatGPT vs. DeepSeek*. ResearchGate. Available at [https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Recep-Baydemir/publication/390174698\\_Artificial\\_Intelligence\\_Wars\\_in\\_Global\\_Technology\\_ChatGPT\\_vs\\_DeepSeek/links/67e34ac0fe0f5a760f9044dd/Artificial-Intelligence-Wars-in-Global-Technology-ChatGPT-vs-DeepSeek.pdf](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Recep-Baydemir/publication/390174698_Artificial_Intelligence_Wars_in_Global_Technology_ChatGPT_vs_DeepSeek/links/67e34ac0fe0f5a760f9044dd/Artificial-Intelligence-Wars-in-Global-Technology-ChatGPT-vs-DeepSeek.pdf)

Bustelo, G. (2025, 28 january). *DeepSeek: la IA china que toma al asalto el mercado tecnológico occidental*. Red Seguridad. Available at [https://www.redseguridad.com/actualidad/deepseek-ia-china-mercado-tecnologico-inteligencia-artificial\\_20250128.html](https://www.redseguridad.com/actualidad/deepseek-ia-china-mercado-tecnologico-inteligencia-artificial_20250128.html)

Chan, Hoklam, Rawski, S, E., Hsu, Cho-Yun, Wilbur, Martin, C., McKnight, E, B., Young, P, E., Hucker, O, C., Franke, Herbert, Liu, TC, J., Feuerwerker, . . . C, D. (2025, 18 march). *History of China | Events, People, Dates, Flag, Map, & Facts*. Encyclopedia Britannica. Available at <https://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-China/Establishment-of-the-Peoples-Republic>

Cordesman, A. H. (2023). *China's Emergence as a Superpower*. Center for Strategic and International Studies. Available at <https://www.csis.org/analysis/chinas-emergence-superpower>

Council on foreign relations. (2023, february). *How Did the United States Become a Global Power?* CFR Education From The Council On Foreign Relations. Available at <https://education.cfr.org/learn/reading/how-did-united-states-become-global-power>

Council of Foreign Relations. (n.d). *China's Approach to Global Governance*. Council of Foreign Relations. Available at <https://www.cfr.org/china-global-governance/>

Council on Foreign Relations. (n.d). *China's Digital Aid: The Risks and Rewards*. Council On Foreign Relations. Available at <https://www.cfr.org/china-digital-silk-road/>

Council on Foreign Relations. (n.d). *Assessing China's Digital Silk Road Initiative*. Council On Foreign Relations. Available at <https://www.cfr.org/china-digital-silk-road/>

DeLisle, J. (2020). Foreign policy through other means: hard power, soft power, and China's turn to political warfare to influence the United States. *Orbis*, 64(2), 174-206.

Demirus, A. (2025, 6 february). *The Reactions of the Asia-Pacific Countries amid China's Rise: Xi Jinping's Limitations on Persuasion*. Global Panorama.

Dychtwald, Z. (2021, 1st may). *China's New Innovation Advantage*. Harvard Business Review. Available at <https://hbr.org/2021/05/chinas-new-innovation-advantage>

DW News. (2024, 16th november). *China's plan to dominate the seas | Mapped Out* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pDLEvALCY70>

Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Islamic Republic of Iran. (2014, June). *The Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence Stand Stronger*. Available at [http://ir.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/dtxw/201407/t20140702\\_1894012.htm](http://ir.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/dtxw/201407/t20140702_1894012.htm)

European Commission. (2025). *Sanctions adopted following Russia's military aggression against Ukraine*. Available at [https://finance.ec.europa.eu/eu-and-world/sanctions-restrictive-measures/sanctions-adopted-following-russias-military-aggression-against-ukraine\\_en](https://finance.ec.europa.eu/eu-and-world/sanctions-restrictive-measures/sanctions-adopted-following-russias-military-aggression-against-ukraine_en)

European Council. (2025). *EU sanctions against Russia explained*. Available at <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/sanctions-against-russia-explained/>

European Union External Action. (2022, march). *UN General Assembly demands Russian Federation withdraw all military forces from the territory of Ukraine*. Available at [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/un-general-assembly-demands-russian-federation-withdraw-all-military-forces-territory-ukraine\\_und\\_en](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/un-general-assembly-demands-russian-federation-withdraw-all-military-forces-territory-ukraine_und_en)

Feldstein, S. (2020, may). *Testimony before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission Hearing on China's Strategic Aims in Africa*. Available at [https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/Feldstein\\_Testimony.pdf](https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/Feldstein_Testimony.pdf)

Flint, C. (2021). *Introduction to geopolitics*. Routledge.

Fong, C., & Maizland, L. (2024). *China and Russia: Exploring Ties between Two Authoritarian Powers*. Council on Foreign Relations.

Fowers, A., Rabinowitz K. (2022, March). *How Putin tried — and failed — to protect the ruble from sanctions*. The Washington Post. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2022/03/03/russia-ruble-putin-sanctions/>

Fleck, A. (2024, January). *Number of newly imposed sanctions against Russia per month*. Available at <https://www.statista.com/chart/31560/newly-imposed-sanctions-against-russia-per-month/>



Gause III, F. G. (2025). Hegemony, Unipolarity and American Failure in the Middle East. *Debating American Primacy in the Middle East*, 41.

George, A. S. (2025). AI Supremacy at the Price of Privacy: Examining the Tech Giants' Race for Data Dominance. *Partners Universal Innovative Research Publication*, 3(1), 26-43.

Gramsci, A. (2009). Hegemony, intellectuals and the state. *Cultural theory and popular culture: A reader*, 2, 210-216.

Guerdat, M. G. (2013). The Collapse of the Soviet Union and Its Repercussions: A Literature Review. *Vulcan Historical Review*, 17(2013), 8.

Hamilton, R. T. V., & Ramcilovic-Suominen, S. (2023). From hegemony-reinforcing to hegemony-transcending transformations: horizons of possibility and strategies of escape. *Sustainability Science*, 18(2), 737-748.

Hart, B. (2023, 9th november). *What Are the Key Strengths of the China-Russia Relationship?*. China Power Project. Available at <https://chinapower.csis.org/china-russia-relationship-strengths-benefit/>

Huang, H. (2025, 3 january). *Russian Economy is on the Brink of Collapse*. Modern Diplomacy. Available at <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2025/01/03/russian-economy-is-on-the-brink-of-collapse/>

Katzenstein, P. J. (2005). *A world of regions: Asia and Europe in the American imperium*. Cornell University Press.

Kaufman, A. A. (2011). The “Century of Humiliation” and China’s National Narratives. *Testimony before the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission Hearing on China’s Narratives Regarding National Security Policy*. Extracted the, 28.

Keohane, R. O. (2005). *After hegemony: Cooperation and discord in the world political economy*. Princeton university press.

Latham, A. (2021). China's Evolving Grand Strategy: Offshore Balancing with Chinese Characteristics. *Academia Letters*, 2.

Laub, Z., & McBride, J. (2017). The group of seven (G7). *Council on Foreign Relations*, 30, 133.

Layne, C. (2008). China's challenge to US hegemony. *Current History*, 107(705), 13.

Leffler, M. P. (2005). Cold War and global hegemony, 1945–1991. *OAH Magazine of History*, 19(2), 65-72.

Linehan, M. (2016). China's belt and road strategy: Reality vs ambition. *Rising Powers*.

Lung, D. & Ball, M. (2015, 28<sup>th</sup> November). *The concept of hegemony*.

McBride, J. (2023, 3 february). *China's Massive Belt and Road Initiative*. Council On Foreign Relations. Available at <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounders/chinas-massive-belt-and-road-initiative>

Mearsheimer, J. J. (2021). *The inevitable rivalry: America, China, and the tragedy of great-power politics*. Foreign Aff., 100, 48.

Miller, C. (2016). *The struggle to save the Soviet economy: Mikhail Gorbachev and the collapse of the USSR*. UNC Press Books.

Middle East Policy Council. (n.d). *China's Challenge to American Hegemony*. Middle East Policy Council. Available at <https://mepc.org/speeches/chinas-challenge-american-hegemony/>

Modelski, G. (1999). From leadership to organization: the evolution of global politics. *The future of global conflict* (pp. 12-39). SAGE Publications Ltd.

Muzaffar, M., Yaseen, Z., & Rahim, N. (2017). Changing dynamics of global politics: Transition from unipolar to multipolar world. *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ)*, 1(1), 49-61.

Nakhle, C. (2025, 5 february). Decline of Russian gas dominance in Europe – GIS Reports. *GIS Reports*. <https://www.gisreportsonline.com/r/russian-gas/>

Norrlof, C. (2015). Hegemony. *Oxford Bibliographies in International Relations*. Oxford University Press. Available at <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/display/document/obo-9780199743292/obo-9780199743292-0122.xml>

Nikolaev, M., & Makhotaeva, M. (2021, July). Economic space transformation in a stagnant economy. In *3rd International Conference Spatial Development of Territories (SDT 2020)* (pp. 38-43). Atlantis Press.

Nye, J. S. (1990). *Bound to lead: the changing nature of American power*. Basic books.

Nye Jr, J. S. (2008). Public diplomacy and soft power. *The annals of the American academy of political and social science*, 616(1), 94-109.

Pant, H. V. (2013). The BRICS fallacy. *The Washington Quarterly*, 36(3), 91-105.

Pflueger, C., & Yared, P. (2024). *Global hegemony and exorbitant privilege* (No. w32775). National Bureau of Economic Research.

Peterson Foundation. (2024). *Budget basics: National defense*. Peterson Foundation. Available at <https://www.pgpf.org/article/budget-explainer-national-defense/>

Peterson Foundation. (2025, february). *Chart pack: Defense spending* [PDF]. Peterson Foundation. Available at <https://www.pgpf.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/chart-pack-defense-spending.pdf>.

Richter, F. (2022, 27 June). China's Rise to Economic Superpower. *Statista Daily Data*.  
<https://www.statista.com/chart/27688/chinas-share-of-global-gdp-vs-the-us-and-the-eu/#:~:text=According%20to%20estimates%20from%20the,ahead%20of%20China's%20economic%20output>

Scott, D. (2018). The Indo-Pacific in US strategy: Responding to power shifts. *Rising powers quarterly*, 2(2), 19-43.

Sofaer, S. (1999). Qualitative methods: what are they and why use them?. *Health services research*, 34(5 Pt 2), 1101

Soong, J. J. (2022). The political economy of China's rising role in regional international organizations: Are there strategies and policies of the Chinese way considered and applied?. *The Chinese Economy*, 55(4), 243-254.

Sun, S-C. (2023). The Confucius Institutes: China's Cultural Soft Power Strategy. *Journal of Culture and Values in Education*, 6(1), 52-68.

Statista. (2024). *U.S. annual FDI to China 2000-2023*. Available at <https://www.statista.com/statistics/188629/united-states-direct-investments-in-china-since-2000/>

Statista. (2024). *Foreign direct investment from China in the United States from 2000 to 2023 (in billion U.S. dollars, historical cost)*. Available at <https://www.statista.com/statistics/188935/foreign-direct-investment-from-china-in-the-united-states/>

Stamper, P. (n.d). *Britain's Imperial Century: What Was the Pax Britannica?* History Hit. Available at <https://www.historyhit.com/what-was-the-pax-britannica/>

U.S Department State. (2021, September). *U.S Relations with Russia*. U.S Department State. Available at <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-russia?utm>

U.S Department State. (2025, February). *U.S Relations with China*. U.S Department State. Available at <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-china/>

Wallerstein, I. (1984). The three instances of hegemony in the history of the capitalist world-economy. In *Current issues and research in macrosociology* (pp. 100-108). Brill.

Wallerstein, I. (1996). The inter-state structure of the modern world-system. *International theory: positivism and beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 87-107.

Walter, A. (1996) *The United States and Western Europe: the theory of hegemonic stability*. In: Woods, Ngaire, (ed.) *Explaining International Relations Since 1945*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, pp. 126-154.

Wilson III, E. J. (2008). Hard power, soft power, smart power. *The annals of the American academy of Political and Social Science*, 616(1), 110-124.

Wilson Center. (2011, July). *Europe and the Rise of China and Europe*. Wilson Center. Available at <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/europe-and-the-rise-china-and-europe>

World Bank. (n.d). *GDP growth (annual %) - China*. The World Bank. Available at <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=CN>

World Bank. (n.d.). *GDP growth (annual %) - China, Russia*. The World Bank. Retrieved from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=CN-RU>

XE. (n.d.). *Russian Ruble to US Dollar exchange rate chart*. Available at <https://www.xe.com/currencycharts/?from=RUB&to=USD>

XE. (n.d.). *Chinese Yuan Renminbi to US Dollar exchange rate chart*. XE. Available at <https://www.xe.com/currencycharts/?from=CNY&to=USD>

Xie, Z. (2011). The rise of China and its growing role in international organizations. *ICCS*, 4(1), 85-96.

Zheng, W. (2024, 23 january). *China's Digital Silk Road (DSR) in Southeast Asia: Progress and Challenges*. FULCRUM. Available at <https://fulcrum.sg/chinas-digital->

silk-road-dsr-in-southeast-asia-progress-and-  
challenges/#:~:text=Indonesia%2C%20Singapore%20and%20Malaysia%20remain,the  
%20DSR%20projects%20by%20type

## **Declaración de Uso de Herramientas de IA Generativa en Trabajos Fin de Grado en Relaciones Internacionales.**

Por la presente, yo, **LUCIA SÁNCHEZ GEIJO**, estudiante de **DERECHO Y RELACIONES INTERNACIONALES** de la Universidad Pontificia Comillas al presentar mi Trabajo Fin de Grado titulado " ***THE SHIFT IN THE GLOBAL HEGEMONY: RUSSIA'S DISPLACEMENT BY CHINA AND THE DIPLOMATIC IMPLICATIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER.***", declaro que he utilizado la herramienta de IA Generativa ChatGPT u otras similares de IAG de código sólo en el contexto de las actividades descritas a continuación:

1. **Sintetizador y divulgador de libros complicados:** Para resumir y comprender literatura compleja.
2. **Traductor:** Para traducir textos de un lenguaje a otro.

Afirmo que toda la información y contenido presentados en este trabajo son producto de mi investigación y esfuerzo individual, excepto donde se ha indicado lo contrario y se han dado los créditos correspondientes (he incluido las referencias adecuadas en el TFG y he explicitado para qué se ha usado ChatGPT u otras herramientas similares). Soy consciente de las implicaciones académicas y éticas de presentar un trabajo no original y acepto las consecuencias de cualquier violación a esta declaración.

Fecha: **sábado 3 de mayo de 2025**

Firma: ***Lucía Sánchez Geijo.***