STRATEGIC
MONOGRAPH SERIES

STRATEGIC SILENCE: CHINA'S GEOPOLITICAL CALCULUS DURING THE U.S.- IRAN ESCALATION

PROF. DUSKO TOMIC
PROF. ELDAR SALJIC



VOLUME 03/2026
RELEASE: MARCH 2026

STRATEGY INTERNATIONAL

All content included in this publication is the property of
Strategy International (SI) Ltd.
Protected from the copyright laws of the Republic of Cyprus and international copyright laws.

Strategy International (SI) Ltd, Copyright ©2022-2027

Strategy International (SI) Ltd is a registered company HE423632 In the Republic of Cyprus

The logo of Strategy International is a registered trademark in the Republic of Cyprus. The trademark and works of strategy international (SI) Ltd and its logo are applied for class 31&45, in the Republic of Cyprus and EU IPO office.

Cyprus copyrights are governed by the Copyright Section of the Department of the Registrar of Companies and Official Receiver.

The governing laws are: N.63/77, N.18(I)/93, N.54(I)/99, N.12 (I)/2001, N.128 (I)/2002, N.128 (i) 2004 and N.123 (I) 2006.

Copyright protection vests automatically in the Republic of Cyprus.

First Published July 2022
Address: 24 Strovolos Str. 2042 Nicosia Cyprus

This publication is the exclusive property, including copyrights, of the author and Strategy International (SI) Ltd.

This publication in its complete form, or any parts of it, may not be reproduced, duplicated, copied, sold, resold, visited, or otherwise exploited for any commercial purpose. For all purposes, there is a need for a first written consent of the author and the legal representative of Strategy International (SI) Ltd.

SI trademark(s) may not be used in connection with any product or service and publication that has not been given any prior written consent first.

The written publication and opinions are considered of scientific and professional value and as such a result of the ongoing work of the author.

Any official statement made or position through all publications, interviews and related communication does not necessarily reflect the mission, objective and works and official opinions of Strategy International (SI) Ltd.

The document produced is endorsed, is its scientific value, and credits are provided to the author.

The editorial Team of
Strategy International (SI) Ltd.

Marios P. Efthymiopoulos (PhD) (CEO)
Theofaneia Ntounia (PhD cand)

Marketing Team: Rebel Online

Executive Summary

The recent escalation of tensions involving the United States, Israel, and Iran has reignited debates about the strategic positioning of major global powers in the Middle East. Among these actors, China's relatively restrained public posture has generated considerable analytical interest. Despite its deepening economic interdependence with Middle Eastern energy producers and its expanding strategic partnerships across the Global South, Beijing has refrained from direct diplomatic confrontation or overt geopolitical signaling during the crisis.

This article argues that China's apparent silence should not be interpreted as passivity or indecision but rather as a manifestation of a long-term strategic doctrine rooted in geo-economic statecraft, strategic patience, and indirect balancing. Drawing on theoretical insights from strategic culture studies, international political economy, and contemporary security studies, the paper examines how China leverages economic infrastructure, financial diversification, and technological networks to shape global power dynamics without engaging in costly military confrontation.

The study analyzes four interconnected dimensions of the current geopolitical transformation: the strategic vulnerability of global energy chokepoints such as the Strait of Hormuz, the economics of asymmetric warfare in modern conflicts, the gradual emergence of alternative financial infrastructures including BRICS and the Cross-Border Interbank Payment System (CIPS), and China's expanding infrastructure diplomacy in Africa and the broader Global South.

The findings suggest that China's restrained diplomatic posture during the crisis reflects a deliberate strategy aimed at exploiting structural shifts in the international system while avoiding direct confrontation with established military powers. Rather than competing primarily through military means, China appears to be reshaping the foundations of global influence through economic integration, technological standard-setting, and financial diversification.

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank Strategy International (SI) Ltd for the opportunity to share my analysis and insights on China's strategic positioning amid evolving geopolitical tensions in the Middle East.

I would also like to personally thank Strategy International CEO Dr. Marios P. Efthymiopoulos for his support and guidance.

Table of Contents

Contents

Executive Summary iv
Acknowledgments v
Table of Contents 6
Introduction 7
Theoretical Framework: Strategic Culture and Geo-Economic Statecraft 8
The Strategic Importance of the Strait of Hormuz 8
The Economics of Asymmetric Warfare 10
China's Indirect Strategic Role 11
Security Perceptions in the Gulf States 11
Financial Multipolarity and the Emergence of Alternative Systems (Expanded) 12
China's Infrastructure Expansion in Africa 13
Strategic Competition in the 21st Century 14
Conclusion 15
References 16

Introduction

The contemporary international system is increasingly characterized by complex interactions between traditional military power and emerging forms of geo-economic influence. Nowhere is this dynamic more visible than in the Middle East, a region that continues to serve as one of the central arenas of global strategic competition.

The recent escalation involving military actions against Iranian infrastructure by the United States and Israel has once again highlighted the structural volatility of the Persian Gulf region. The consequences of such confrontations extend far beyond the immediate theater of conflict, affecting global energy markets, international shipping routes, and broader geopolitical alignments among major powers.

Within this evolving strategic landscape, China occupies a particularly intriguing position. Over the past two decades, Beijing has emerged as the largest importer of Middle Eastern hydrocarbons and one of the most significant external economic partners for many states in the region. Simultaneously, China has sought to expand its diplomatic and economic footprint through initiatives such as the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), infrastructure investments, and technological cooperation.

Given these extensive interests, many observers expected China to adopt a more visible diplomatic role during the recent crisis. Yet Beijing's official response has remained remarkably restrained, emphasizing general calls for stability and dialogue rather than direct involvement in crisis management.

This apparent restraint raises a central analytical question:

Why would a rising global power with significant economic stakes in the region choose strategic silence during a major geopolitical crisis?

This article argues that China's behavior reflects a broader strategic logic rooted in three interrelated principles:

1. strategic patience
2. geo-economic expansion
3. indirect balancing against dominant military powers

Rather than competing with the United States primarily through military alliances or security guarantees, China appears to be pursuing a strategy that gradually reshapes global economic and technological structures in ways that enhance its long-term strategic position.

Understanding this approach requires examining not only the immediate dynamics of the U.S.–Iran confrontation but also the broader transformations occurring within the global distribution of power.

Theoretical Framework: Strategic Culture and Geo-Economic Statecraft

The analytical foundation of this study draws on three interrelated theoretical traditions within international relations scholarship:

1. **Strategic culture theory**
2. **geo-economics**
3. **asymmetric warfare studies**

Strategic culture theory emphasizes the role of historical experiences, philosophical traditions, and institutional norms in shaping the strategic behavior of states. Scholars such as Alastair Johnston (1995) and Henry Kissinger (2011) have argued that Chinese strategic thinking often reflects a preference for indirect influence, long-term positioning, and the avoidance of premature confrontation.

This tradition can be traced to classical Chinese strategic thought, particularly the writings of Sun Tzu, who emphasized that the highest form of warfare consists not in direct battle but in shaping conditions that render confrontation unnecessary.

Within the modern international system, this logic has manifested itself in China's preference for economic engagement, infrastructure diplomacy, and multilateral cooperation rather than formal military alliances.

The second theoretical pillar of this analysis is the concept of **geo-economic statecraft**, which refers to the use of economic instruments as tools of geopolitical influence.

Blackwill and Harris (2016) argue that economic instruments—including trade policy, investment flows, financial infrastructure, and technological standards—have become central components of modern power competition. China's rise has been closely associated with its ability to deploy such instruments strategically through initiatives such as the Belt and Road Initiative.

The third analytical component involves the literature on **asymmetric warfare**, which highlights how technological innovations have altered the balance between conventional military power and unconventional strategies.

Arreguín-Toft (2005) demonstrates that weaker actors can often exploit structural vulnerabilities within stronger opponents by adopting strategies that impose disproportionate economic and operational costs.

These theoretical perspectives collectively provide a framework for understanding how China may benefit from geopolitical instability without directly participating in military confrontations.

The Strategic Importance of the Strait of Hormuz

The Strait of Hormuz represents one of the most strategically critical maritime chokepoints in the global energy system. Located between the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, this narrow waterway serves as the primary maritime gateway connecting some of the world's largest hydrocarbon producers with global markets. According to estimates from international energy

agencies, approximately one-fifth of the world's oil consumption—along with significant volumes of liquefied natural gas (LNG)—passes through this corridor each day. Consequently, even minor disruptions to maritime navigation in the Strait of Hormuz can have immediate and far-reaching implications for global energy markets, international trade flows, and economic stability.

For major energy importers—including China, India, Japan, and South Korea—the uninterrupted flow of energy resources through the strait constitutes a fundamental component of national economic security. These Asian economies rely heavily on oil and gas imports from Gulf producers such as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Iraq, and Qatar. Any prolonged interruption in maritime transit could therefore disrupt industrial production, increase transportation costs, and generate broader economic instability across global markets.

Iran's geographic position along the northern coastline of the strait provides Tehran with considerable strategic leverage over maritime traffic in the region. While the Iranian navy does not possess the same level of technological sophistication as Western naval forces, Iran has developed a highly adaptive asymmetric maritime doctrine designed specifically to exploit the geographic constraints of the strait. The narrowness of the waterway—combined with dense shipping traffic—creates an environment in which relatively small-scale military actions can produce disproportionate strategic effects.

Iran's maritime strategy emphasizes several key components designed to complicate the operational freedom of superior naval forces. These include:

- naval mine warfare capable of disrupting commercial shipping lanes
- anti-ship missile systems deployed along coastal batteries
- drone surveillance and strike capabilities
- swarm tactics utilizing fast attack boats operated by the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps Navy

Together, these capabilities form a layered defensive architecture that reflects the principles of Anti-Access/Area Denial (A2/AD) doctrine. Rather than attempting to defeat technologically superior adversaries in conventional naval engagements, A2/AD strategies aim to increase the operational risks and economic costs associated with military intervention in contested maritime zones.

The strategic significance of the Strait of Hormuz therefore extends far beyond the immediate regional security environment. The strait functions as a central artery of the global energy system, linking Gulf hydrocarbon reserves with major industrial economies across Asia, Europe, and North America. Consequently, geopolitical tensions affecting this corridor can rapidly translate into volatility in global energy markets, affecting oil prices, shipping insurance rates, and investor confidence.

For China in particular, the stability of maritime transit through the Persian Gulf represents a critical strategic interest. As the world's largest importer of crude oil, China relies heavily on energy supplies originating from the Gulf region. Disruptions in Hormuz would therefore have significant implications for Chinese economic growth, industrial output, and long-term energy security planning.

Within this broader context, the Strait of Hormuz remains not only a regional security concern but also a central element of global geopolitical competition and energy stability in the twenty-first century.

The Economics of Asymmetric Warfare

One of the most transformative developments in contemporary military strategy is the growing importance of economic asymmetry in warfare. Traditionally, military superiority was primarily associated with technological advancement, industrial capacity, and the ability to sustain large conventional forces. However, the rapid diffusion of emerging technologies—including unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), loitering munitions, cyber capabilities, and precision-guided rockets—has significantly altered the economic dynamics of modern conflict.

In many contemporary conflicts, the financial cost of defending against an attack can far exceed the cost of executing it. This imbalance creates structural incentives for weaker actors to adopt strategies that impose disproportionate economic burdens on technologically superior adversaries. Rather than attempting to compete directly with advanced military systems, states and non-state actors increasingly rely on low-cost technologies capable of exploiting vulnerabilities in sophisticated defense architectures.

Unmanned aerial systems represent one of the most prominent examples of this shift. Small drones can be produced at relatively low cost and deployed in large numbers, enabling attackers to conduct saturation strikes against high-value targets such as energy infrastructure, military installations, and maritime vessels. In contrast, defensive systems designed to intercept such threats—particularly advanced missile defense platforms—often require interceptors that cost several orders of magnitude more than the attacking systems.

For instance, commercially modified drones costing tens of thousands of dollars may require interception by sophisticated air-defense missiles costing hundreds of thousands or even millions of dollars per unit. When such attacks occur in coordinated waves, defenders face a dilemma: either expend costly defensive resources or risk damage to critical infrastructure.

Iran has strategically embraced this economic logic as part of its broader military doctrine. Over the past two decades, Tehran has invested heavily in the development of missile and drone technologies that prioritize cost efficiency, scalability, and operational flexibility. Rather than focusing exclusively on a limited number of advanced weapons systems, Iran's strategy emphasizes the mass production of relatively inexpensive platforms capable of overwhelming defensive systems through sheer volume.

This doctrine has been further reinforced through Iran's network of regional proxy groups, including organizations operating in Lebanon, Iraq, Syria, and Yemen. The transfer of drone and missile technologies to these actors has enabled Iran to project influence across multiple theaters while maintaining a degree of strategic ambiguity.

Beyond the Middle East, similar patterns have emerged in other contemporary conflicts, including the war in Ukraine and various regional confrontations involving non-state actors. These developments suggest that the economic sustainability of military operations may increasingly determine strategic outcomes in modern warfare.

As a result, the economics of asymmetric warfare is likely to remain a central factor shaping future military doctrines. States capable of leveraging cost-efficient technologies and decentralized operational models may be able to challenge far more technologically advanced adversaries, thereby reshaping traditional assumptions about the relationship between economic power and military effectiveness.

China's Indirect Strategic Role

China's role in the evolving geopolitical landscape of the Middle East is best understood through the concept of indirect strategic balancing. Unlike traditional great powers that historically projected influence through military alliances, expeditionary forces, and security guarantees, China has increasingly relied on geo-economic instruments and technological partnerships to expand its influence in the region. This strategy allows Beijing to strengthen its strategic position while minimizing the risks associated with direct military confrontation with the United States.

China's relationship with Iran illustrates this indirect approach particularly well. Over the past two decades, economic and technological cooperation between the two countries has expanded significantly. The signing of long-term strategic agreements between Beijing and Tehran has deepened collaboration in energy supply, infrastructure development, and technology transfer. These arrangements provide China with secure access to hydrocarbons while offering Iran economic opportunities that partially offset the effects of Western sanctions.

However, China's engagement with the Middle East is not limited to Iran. Beijing has simultaneously developed strong economic partnerships with Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and other Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states. This multi-vector diplomatic strategy allows China to maintain constructive relationships with competing regional actors without becoming directly involved in regional conflicts.

Technological infrastructure also plays an increasingly important role in China's strategic engagement. The development of the BeiDou satellite navigation system represents one of the most significant examples of China's efforts to build alternative global technological networks. By offering partner countries access to satellite navigation, communication systems, and digital infrastructure, China reduces dependence on Western technological platforms while strengthening its own global influence.

This indirect approach reflects a broader strategic calculation. Rather than challenging U.S. military dominance in the Middle East directly, China appears to be pursuing a gradual expansion of influence through economic integration, technological connectivity, and infrastructure development. In doing so, Beijing positions itself as a central node within emerging global economic networks while avoiding the financial and political costs associated with large-scale military deployments.

Such a strategy aligns with China's long-standing emphasis on strategic patience, allowing it to benefit from geopolitical shifts while maintaining flexibility in its diplomatic posture.

Security Perceptions in the Gulf States

The evolving geopolitical environment in the Persian Gulf has significantly altered the security perceptions of regional states. Over the past several decades, Gulf monarchies have relied

heavily on security partnerships with Western powers—particularly the United States—to ensure territorial defense and maritime stability. Large-scale investments in advanced defense systems, including missile defense platforms, fighter aircraft, and naval assets, have formed the backbone of regional security strategies.

However, recent developments in military technology and regional conflict dynamics have introduced new challenges that traditional defense architectures struggle to address. The increasing proliferation of low-cost unmanned aerial vehicles, loitering munitions, and precision-guided rockets has exposed vulnerabilities in existing air-defense systems designed primarily to counter conventional threats such as ballistic missiles and manned aircraft.

The attacks on critical infrastructure in the Gulf region in recent years have demonstrated the effectiveness of such asymmetric tactics. In particular, the use of coordinated drone and missile strikes against energy infrastructure has revealed how relatively inexpensive systems can threaten highly sophisticated installations.

As a result, Gulf states are gradually adapting their security strategies to reflect a more complex threat environment. Rather than relying exclusively on traditional military deterrence, regional governments increasingly pursue diversified security approaches that integrate multiple dimensions of national resilience.

These strategies include enhanced cybersecurity capabilities, investment in counter-drone technologies, and expanded intelligence cooperation among regional partners. At the same time, Gulf states have intensified diplomatic engagement with a broader range of global powers, including China and India, in order to diversify their strategic partnerships.

Economic diversification also plays a critical role in this evolving security framework. Initiatives such as Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030 and the United Arab Emirates' long-term development strategies emphasize technological innovation, infrastructure modernization, and economic resilience.

Taken together, these developments suggest that Gulf states increasingly perceive security not solely in military terms but as a multidimensional concept encompassing economic stability, technological adaptation, and diplomatic flexibility.

Financial Multipolarity and the Emergence of Alternative Systems (Expanded)

The transformation of the global financial architecture represents one of the most significant structural shifts in contemporary geopolitics. For decades, the international financial system has been dominated by institutions and mechanisms centered around the United States and its allies. The global prominence of the U.S. dollar, combined with the central role of the SWIFT financial messaging system, has provided Western powers with substantial influence over international economic transactions.

However, recent geopolitical tensions—including sanctions regimes, trade disputes, and technological competition—have encouraged several states to explore alternative financial mechanisms capable of reducing dependence on Western-controlled infrastructures.

China has been at the forefront of these initiatives. One of the most important developments is the establishment of the Cross-Border Interbank Payment System (CIPS), which facilitates international financial transactions denominated in Chinese yuan. Although CIPS remains

smaller in scale than SWIFT, its gradual expansion reflects a broader effort to increase the global role of China's currency and to provide alternative channels for international payments.

Parallel to these developments, the expansion of BRICS cooperation has contributed to the emergence of new financial frameworks among emerging economies. The New Development Bank, established by BRICS members, represents an important step toward creating alternative sources of development financing outside traditional Western-dominated institutions.

The potential integration of major energy producers such as Saudi Arabia, Iran, and the United Arab Emirates into expanded BRICS structures further enhances the geopolitical significance of these initiatives. If energy trade between these states increasingly occurs in currencies other than the U.S. dollar, the long-term implications for the global financial system could be substantial.

China's promotion of financial multipolarity should therefore be viewed as part of a broader strategy aimed at reshaping the institutional foundations of global economic governance. Rather than challenging Western dominance through military means, Beijing appears to be gradually constructing alternative financial infrastructures capable of supporting a more diversified international economic order.

China's Infrastructure Expansion in Africa

China's expanding economic engagement across Africa represents one of the most transformative developments in contemporary global geopolitics. Over the past two decades, Chinese investment has reshaped large portions of the continent's infrastructure landscape, particularly in sectors essential for long-term economic development such as transportation, energy production, telecommunications, and industrial manufacturing.

The Belt and Road Initiative has served as the primary framework for many of these projects. Through a combination of state-backed financing, construction contracts, and long-term economic partnerships, Chinese companies have participated in the development of railways, ports, highways, and power generation facilities across numerous African states.

Major infrastructure initiatives include railway networks linking inland economic centers to maritime ports, hydroelectric dams designed to support national energy systems, and large-scale telecommunications infrastructure developed by Chinese technology firms. These projects not only facilitate economic growth within host countries but also strengthen China's connectivity with emerging markets and resource-rich regions.

Access to natural resources represents an important dimension of this relationship. African countries possess substantial reserves of critical minerals—including cobalt, lithium, and rare earth elements—that are essential for advanced manufacturing, renewable energy technologies, and digital infrastructure. By investing in transportation and industrial development, China has secured long-term supply chains for many of these strategic materials.

At the same time, China's approach to infrastructure diplomacy differs in important ways from traditional Western development models. Chinese financing arrangements often prioritize rapid construction and large-scale infrastructure delivery, frequently without the governance conditions typically associated with Western development assistance.

While critics have raised concerns regarding debt sustainability and economic dependency, many African governments view Chinese investment as an opportunity to accelerate modernization and economic diversification.

From a geopolitical perspective, China's infrastructure expansion in Africa reflects a long-term strategy aimed at integrating emerging markets into a global network of economic connectivity centered around Chinese trade routes and industrial supply chains.

Strategic Competition in the 21st Century

The evolving strategic competition between the United States and China represents one of the defining features of contemporary international relations. Unlike the bipolar confrontation of the Cold War, however, the current rivalry extends across a wide range of interconnected domains including technology, finance, trade, and infrastructure development.

The United States continues to maintain overwhelming advantages in traditional military power, including advanced naval capabilities, global alliance networks, and expeditionary force projection. American security partnerships across Europe, East Asia, and the Middle East provide Washington with extensive strategic reach and the ability to respond rapidly to regional crises.

China, by contrast, has focused primarily on expanding its influence through economic and technological development. Rapid industrial growth, technological innovation, and global infrastructure investment have transformed China into one of the central actors in the global economy.

This divergence in strategic approaches reflects two different models of global influence. The American model relies heavily on military alliances and security guarantees to maintain geopolitical stability, while the Chinese model emphasizes economic integration, infrastructure connectivity, and technological cooperation.

Technological competition has become an increasingly important dimension of this rivalry. Emerging technologies such as artificial intelligence, quantum computing, and advanced telecommunications systems are likely to shape the future distribution of global power. Control over technological standards and digital infrastructure may prove as strategically significant as traditional military capabilities.

The interaction between these two strategic models suggests that future geopolitical competition may increasingly occur within economic and technological domains rather than through direct military confrontation.

China's restrained diplomatic posture during the U.S.–Iran escalation can be interpreted as a manifestation of long-term strategic calculation rather than a lack of engagement. By avoiding direct involvement in regional military confrontations, Beijing preserves its diplomatic flexibility while continuing to expand its economic and technological influence.

This approach reflects a broader pattern in China's foreign policy. Rather than seeking immediate geopolitical dominance, Chinese policymakers appear to prioritize gradual structural changes that reshape the international system over extended periods of time.

The Middle East provides a particularly important testing ground for this strategy. While the United States remains the primary security provider for many regional states, China has increasingly positioned itself as a major economic partner and infrastructure investor.

This dual structure—American military dominance combined with expanding Chinese economic influence—illustrates the complexity of the emerging global order.

Moreover, geopolitical instability in regions such as the Persian Gulf may inadvertently accelerate structural transformations that align with China's strategic interests. Disruptions to existing trade routes and financial systems can create incentives for states to explore alternative economic partnerships and technological infrastructures.

In this sense, China's strategic patience allows it to benefit from global shifts without incurring the political and financial costs associated with large-scale military engagement.

Conclusion

China's apparent silence during the recent escalation involving the United States, Israel, and Iran should not be interpreted as geopolitical passivity. Instead, it reflects a strategic approach grounded in patience, indirect influence, and geo-economic expansion.

By prioritizing economic connectivity, infrastructure development, and financial diversification, China has gradually constructed a network of partnerships that extends across Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. These networks provide Beijing with increasing strategic leverage while avoiding the risks associated with direct military confrontation.

The evolving geopolitical competition between the United States and China therefore reflects not only a struggle for military superiority but also a contest over the institutional foundations of global power.

Future international order may depend less on traditional military dominance and more on the ability of states to shape global economic systems, technological standards, and infrastructure networks.

Within this broader context, China's restrained diplomatic posture during the U.S.–Iran crisis appears consistent with a long-term strategy aimed at gradually reshaping the global balance of power.

References

Alterman, J. B. (2019). *China's soft power in the Middle East*. Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Arreguín-Toft, I. (2005). *How the weak win wars: A theory of asymmetric conflict*. Cambridge University Press.

Blackwill, R. D., & Harris, J. M. (2016). *War by other means: Geoeconomics and statecraft*. Harvard University Press.

Candrawiranata, S., & Meresin, A. (2021). China's geopolitical strategy in the Strait of Hormuz. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 44(3), 415–438.

Cordesman, A. H. (2022). *The Gulf military balance: The conventional and asymmetric dimensions*. Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Garlick, J. (2019). *The impact of China's Belt and Road Initiative: From Asia to Europe*. Routledge.

Garver, J. W. (2012). *China and Iran: Ancient partners in a post-imperial world*. University of Washington Press.

Garver, J. W. (2020). *China's western horizon: Beijing and the new geopolitics of Eurasia*. Oxford University Press.

Gause, F. G. (2010). *The international relations of the Persian Gulf*. Cambridge University Press.

International Energy Agency. (2024). *World energy outlook 2024*. IEA.

Johnston, A. I. (1995). *Cultural realism: Strategic culture and grand strategy in Chinese history*. Princeton University Press.

Kissinger, H. (2011). *On China*. Penguin Press.

Rolland, N. (2017). *China's Eurasian century? Political and strategic implications of the Belt and Road Initiative*. National Bureau of Asian Research.

Scobell, A., Ratner, E., Beckley, M., Miller, M., Collins, G., & Gunness, K. (2020). *China's grand strategy: Trends, trajectories, and long-term competition*. RAND Corporation.

Shambaugh, D. (1996). *China's military in transition*. Oxford University Press.

Shambaugh, D. (2013). *China goes global: The partial power*. Oxford University Press.

Singh Rai, M. (2022). International institutions and power politics in the context of China's Belt and Road Initiative. *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, 9(2), 221–239.

Tellis, A. J., & Wills, M. (2010). *Strategic Asia 2010–11: Asia's rising power and America's continued purpose*. National Bureau of Asian Research.

World Bank. (2023). *Global economic prospects*. World Bank.



24 Minoos Str., Strovolos, Nicosia,
2042 Cyprus
info@strategyinternational.org
https://strategyinternational.org/