

The background of the cover features a close-up, artistic photograph of several books and stacks of papers. The books have various colored spines, including blue and black, and their pages are visible, showing a range of colors from off-white to aged yellow. The lighting is dramatic, with strong highlights and deep shadows, creating a sense of depth and texture. The books are arranged in a way that suggests a library or a study.

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THE THREE-LEVEL ANALYSIS OF USA-CHINA RELATIONS

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How will the relationship between the USA and China traverse in the future? This question will shape various International Relations literature in the coming days. The general belief of the future relationship is based upon the change of presidency and relevant policy of the president of the United States. However, this article argues an individual-level analysis, which is necessary but not sufficient. This article performs three levels of analysis – individual, state and system. It uses secondary data of government policies, newspaper articles, and existing literature. It argues the three-level analysis predicts a divergence in the USA – China relations. The magnitude of this diversification is dependent on three different factors.

INTRODUCTION

After the new presidential-election in the United States, a pertinent research question rises about the future of the United States and China relations. Will the United States and China relations converge or diverge in the future? The president-elect Biden's policies differ from incumbent president Trump. But can an individual president's policies envisage domestic and international transformations? This article uses three distinct levels of analysis: individual, state, and system to analyze the future of the United States and China relations. The individual-level discusses the policies and approaches of individual leaders of the United States and China. The state-level grasps ongoing congressional activities in the United States. The system-level focuses on power distribution and strategic competition. This article argues that the United States and China relations diverge in the future. The escalation of this divergence further depends on the United States domestic institutions, international organizations, and Chinese political leadership.

THE INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL ANALYSIS

President Trump's policies have developed a space for President Xi's vision of China. However, the new President Biden's policies will however counter with Xi's vision.

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AMERICA FIRST

America First was the campaign slogan emphasized by president Donald Trump for his 2016 presidential election¹. Trade war with China is a specific example of America first. Trump believed that China gained benefits from the economic liberalization of the United States. He applied tariffs to Chinese products and also signed the memorandum to file a case against China in the World Trade Organization(WTO). These tariffs gradually escalated towards technology boycotts and trade war. China released its position through a white paper where it stressed its commitment to protecting multilateral trading.

The “Buy American Hire American” was another instance of America first. This order prioritized to buy domestic products of the United States. It enforced and administered laws that governed the entry of workers from abroad. The president argued that this order develops the American economy and generates more jobs for the American people.

President Trump also criticized and replaced NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement). He argued the agreement was unfair to the American people and economy². He also assured the replaced deal will create 635,000 new jobs and add \$235 billion to the USA economy.

His America first approach has not only curbed the legal immigrants but also devised physical walls to restrain illegal immigrants. The speech of the 75th UNGA (United Nations General Assembly) stressed that the American global ambitions are inviting cost to the American people. His belief in America first stands on this fundamental idea of the cost to the American people.

UNCERTAIN ALLIES

America’s long allies became skeptical because of the decisions made by President Trump. In May 2018, Trump announced the withdrawal from a joint comprehensive plan of action (JCPOA) about the Iran deal³. He also declared high-level sanctions to Iran. The JCPOA agreement was reached after a series of discussions and consensus among P5 (permanent five members of UN security

¹Donald Trump: America First, America First’ *BBC*, (US & Canada 20 January 2017) <<https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-us-canada-38698654>> accessed 20 February 2021

² Stephan Gandel, ‘Donald Trump Says NAFTA was the Worst Trade Deal the US ever Signed’ *Finance* (27 September 2016) <<https://fortune.com/2016/09/27/presidential-debate-nafta-agreement/>> accessed 20 February 2021

³ Mark Landler, ‘Trump Abandons Iran Nuclear Deal He Long Scorned’ *The New York Times* (8 May 2018) <<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/08/world/middleeast/trump-iran-nuclear-deal.html>> accessed 20 February 2021

council) + 1 (Germany) and Iran. The United States allies became ambiguous towards American discrete and unilateral decisions.

Similarly, President Trump's stance towards NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) also injured the United States - Western Europe relations. Trump declared that he will withdraw troops from Germany as it is not paying a fair share of the treaty organization⁴.

IRRESPONSIBLE GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

President Trump's decisions have raised questions against the American role in global leadership. He decided to "cut ties" with the world health organization (WHO) from 2021 AD⁵. He also denounced the WHO-led global covid19 vaccine project – COVAX. Similarly, in 2017 AD President Trump announced that he will pull America out from the Paris climate accord⁶. He also criticized that the 195 countries' accord will harm the American people and economy.

VOCAL PRESIDENT

President Trump was vocal in using words that are harmful to diplomatic relations. China criticized his usage of the word "China virus"⁷. His populist choice of injurious vocabulary worsened existing state-state and people-people relations.

The major outcomes of Trump's decisions are immature self priorities, mistrust from American allies, uncertainties over American leadership, and a populist blame-game culture. These outcomes collectively advanced towards a global vacuum and uncertain global leadership. This global vacuum and uncertain global leadership supplement President Xi Jinping's response in international affairs. The following part discusses President Xi's outlook, approach, and relevant decisions.

⁴ 'US to Withdraw 12,000 Troops from Germany in Strategic Move' *BBC News*, (29 July 2020) <<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-53589245>> accessed 21 February 2021

⁵ Robert Preidt 'Trump Administration Makes it Official: U.S. Cut Ties with WHO' *US and World Report News* (8 July 2020) <<https://www.usnews.com/news/health-news/articles/2020-07-08/trump-administration-makes-it-official-us-cuts-ties-with-who>> accessed 21 February 2021

⁶ Office of the Press Secretary, Statement by President Trump on the Paris Climate Accord (2017) <<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-president-trump-paris-climate-accord/>> accessed 21 February 2021

⁷ 'Trump angers Beijing with 'Chinese virus' tweet' *BBC News* (2017) <<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-51928011>> accessed 21 February 2021

TOWARDS CENTRALIZATION

The Chinese Communist Party and President Xi exist as central in Chinese power politics. The National People's Congress approved a constitutional change in lifting the two-term presidential limit⁸. President Xi can remain president even after two presidential terms. The role of the Chinese Communist Party is also vital in Chinese politics. The central committee of the party comprises leading small groups that coordinate among bureaucracy in different policy areas⁹. President Xi himself leads an important group called comprehensively deepening reform (LSGCDR). The centralization of power to party and president reflects that China prepares for an important purpose which needs a stable political process and consistent leadership.

REJUVENATION OF THE CHINESE NATION

The Opium war was a backlash on the historic stance of Chinese civilization. The rejuvenation of the Chinese nation dreams renewal of historic Chinese position. President Xi believes in renewing the legacy of a powerful China. We can also link the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation with the reunification with Taiwan. Similarly, the one-state two system arrangement in Hongkong has officially ended after implementing the new security law. The foresight of bringing the Chinese legacy back is gaining pace.

XI JINPING'S THOUGHTS

Socialism with Chinese characteristics is not a new vocabulary in China. It is a continuous process that comprises of "opening up" by Deng Xiaoping, three represents (productive forces, Chinese people, and Chinese culture) by Jiang Zemin and scientific outlook (transformation in the workforce, and improvement in science and technology) by Hu Jintao. President Xi differed in existing outlooks in the perspective of projecting China on the global stage¹⁰. President Xi's China is not a quiet, reactionary China but a proactive, rule-maker, and participatory China. It has its stake,

⁸ W Cong & X Jun, 'China opens \$45 trillion financial market as US closes', *Global Times* (2020) <<https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1096416.shtml>> accessed 21 February 2021

⁹ C. K. Johnson & S. Kennedy, 'Xi's Signature Governance Innovation: The Rise of Leading Small Groups' (2017) <<https://www.csis.org/analysis/xis-signature-governance-innovation-rise-leading-small-groups>> accessed 21 February 2021

¹⁰ K. Vaswani, 'Follow the Leader: Xi Jinping vs Deng Xiaoping' (2017) <<https://www.bbc.com/news/business-41746705>> accessed 21 February 2021

viewpoints with solutions to global problems. He encourages a multilateral system and calls for reform and improvement in global governance¹¹.

At the individual level, Trump's policy of vacating the international system has motivated ambitious and aspiring Xi to permeate that space. Trump's priority to self and inconsistency in global affairs developed an avenue for Chinese motivation. The uncertainty of the allies of the United States minimized the exertion of this traversal.

WHERE DOES BIDEN DIFFER?

Biden's dissociate with Trump in three important areas. The first one is the *reinforcement of American values*. Biden promotes liberal values, democracy, and human rights as the fundamental principle of International Relations. It contradicts Xi's idea of different societies adhering to different social and political organization. Similarly, Biden offers a *review of global leadership*. It signifies bringing the United States back to the position of global leadership. Trump's policies were making this position vacant. After Biden heaves the United States back, it challenges the current Chinese traversal. The third important aspect of Biden's policy is to *restore and reimage partnership*. This policy recreates strong associations between the USA and its allies. The advantage that China got because of mistrust developed by Trump's policy might also gradually end again.

THE STATE-LEVEL ANALYSIS

The United States is institutionalizing a specific approach towards Tibet, Xinjiang, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. The congress is developing specific acts regarding these sensitive areas. However, China defies those viewpoints and accuses United States activity as interference.

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND INFLUENCE

China and the United States vary in their political ideologies. The United States advocates the Chinese political system as authoritarian and views the Communist Party of China as a threat to the United States. The republican representative Kevin McCarthy introduced a bill of the China Task Force Act (CTF Act) in the house of representatives on 20 October 2020. This act aspires to a

¹¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [Press release] (2020) <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/t1817098.shtml> accessed 21 February 2021

comprehensive legislative response to the threats posed by the Chinese communist party to the United States of America, and to freedom, democracy, human rights around the world¹². The United States perceives the Chinese political party and ideology as a threat to America and its core values. Another Republican representative Christopher S. Smith introduced the bill of the Countering the Chinese Government and Communist Party's Political Influence Operations Act on 3 May 2020. This bill directs the Department of State to devise a long-term strategy to counter the Chinese communist party's campaign to corrupt domestic countries and undermine domestic institutions¹³.

However, experts define the Chinese political system as meritocratic based on the process of selection and election¹⁴. The Chinese political ladder is tough and a high-level leader passes through variable experiences in villages, towns, and provinces. An electoral system has a probability of electing less merit over a popular candidate.

Chinese people are the actors who legitimize the Chinese political system. The continuous prosperity of the Chinese people provides this legitimacy. China has achieved remarkable growth and reduced poverty at an incredible rate in the last forty years. Though the United States perceives the Chinese political party as a threat, the Chinese people have long legitimized the communist party and its political system. Regarding the claim to Chinese influence, they advocate negotiation for differences. In the 75th United Nations General Assembly address, Chinese President Xi Jinping emphasized the role of dialogue and negotiation as countries differ from each other¹⁵. Different society develops different social and political organization. This conviction counters the unilateralism of American values and democracy in the global arena.

SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

The republican representative Scott Perry sponsored a Free Tibet Act in the House of Representatives on 19 May 2020. This bill authorizes the president of the United States to recognize

¹²China Task Force Act (CTF Act) (2019-2020) <<https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/12/text>> accessed 21 February 2021

¹³Taiwan Relations Reinforcement Act of 2020, S. 4813, 116th Congress. (2019-2020) <<https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/1811?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22countering+chinese+influence+act%22%5D%7D&rt=2&s=2>> accessed 21 February 2021

¹⁴ Eric X Li, 'A Tale of Two Political Systems' <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s0YjL9rZyR0>> accessed 21 February 2021

¹⁵ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. (2020). Xi Jinping Delivers an Important Speech at the General Debate of the 75th Session of the United Nations (UN) General Assembly [Press release] <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/t1817766.shtml> accessed 21 February 2021

the Tibet Autonomous Region as a separate and independent country from China¹⁶. Senator Marco Rubio also introduced a bill of the Taiwan Relations Reinforcement Act in the Senate on 19 October 2020. This bill states that the so-called “One-China policy” of the United States government is not the same as the “One-China principle” espoused by the people’s republic of China. It summarizes that the United States shall not recognize China’s claim over Taiwan without the assent of Taiwan’s people who expressed through a democratic process¹⁷. The Chinese policy towards Taiwan is a concern of the United States. Another democratic representative Brad Sherman introduced the bill of the Hong Kong Autonomy Act in the House of Representatives on 1 July 2020. This bill became public law on July 14, 2020 AD. This act accepts Hong Kong as a part of China. However, it also believes that Hong Kong has a separate legal and economic system that protects civil rights like freedom of speech¹⁸. The United States acknowledges the democratic values of Hong Kong and defines them differently from mainland China.

These cases of Taiwan, Tibet, and Hong Kong affects the Chinese political system and Chinese nationalism. The rejuvenation of the Chinese nation symbols unification of the people of China and Taiwan. Similarly, the end of “one state two systems” in Hong Kong also signifies unification. Historically, the strategic position of Tibet in the Himalayas is important for China. The subject of Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Tibet unifies Chinese people and strengthens Chinese nationalism. Like other countries, this nationalism legitimizes the Chinese political system under the narrative of “rejuvenation of Chinese people”. These subjects are delicate towards a stable and sustainable Chinese political system.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China has officially regarded Taiwan as an inseparable part of the Chinese territory. China regards the Taiwan issue as foreign meddling in internal affairs¹⁹. Similarly, China also regards Tibet affairs as internal and denies external interference. They accuse the United

¹⁶Free Tibet Act of 2020, H.R. 6948, 116th Congress. (2019-2020) <<https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/6948?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22free+tibet+act%22%5D%7D&s=1&r=1>> accessed 21 February 2021

¹⁷Taiwan Relations Reinforcement Act of 2020, S. 4813, 116th Congress. (2019-2020) <<https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/senate-bill/4813?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22taiwan+relations%22%5D%7D&r=2&s=3>> accessed 21 February 2021

¹⁸ Hong Kong Autonomy Act, H.R. 7440, 116th Congress (2019-2020) <<https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/7440?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22hong+kong+autonomy+act%22%5D%7D&s=7&r=3>> accessed 21 February 2021

¹⁹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, People’s Republic of China, (Press Release) <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/2649_665393/t1780939.shtml> accessed 21 February 2021

States of political manipulation in Tibet undermining Tibet's development and stability²⁰. China has special reservations over the Hong Kong Autonomy Act. A statement from the Chinese ministry accused this act as maliciously denigrating Chinese legislation and creating threats to impose sanctions²¹.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

The United States accuses China of human rights violations of minority ethnic groups in the Xinjiang. The Republican senator Marco Rubio introduced Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act into the senate which became public law on 17 June 2020. This act condemns the human rights violation of ethnic Turkic Muslims in Xinjiang. It further calls for the end of arbitrary detention, torture, and harassment of these communities inside and outside China²². This act recommends sanctions of property blocking and visa blocking to identified individuals.

However, China defines the United States approach as interference to internal affairs. The Chinese foreign ministry's statement expresses strong indignation and firm opposition to this act²³. China positions the Xinjiang issue as a combat against violent terrorism and separatism²⁴.

ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The United States also questions the Chinese economic organization. It reserves the role of the state in facilitating the market in the Chinese economic system. They accuse that the state-owned enterprises (SOE) enjoys preferential treatment from the government. A USA-China economic and security review commission accused SOE's benefit of lower cost and better access to funds from state banks of China²⁵.

²⁰ Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hua Chunying's Regular Press Conference (8 December 2020) [Press release] <<http://ba.chineseembassy.org/eng/fyrth/t1838677.html>> accessed 21 February 2021

²¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, People's Republic of China, (Press Release) <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/2649_665393/t1797857.shtml> accessed 21 February 2021

²² Uyghur Human Rights Policy of 2020 (2019-2020) <<https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/senate-bill/3744/text?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22Uyghur+Human+Rights+Policy+Act%22%5D%7D&r=1&s=6>> accessed 21 February 2021

²³ Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Nepal, Foreign Ministry Statement (18 June 2020) <<http://np.china-embassy.org/eng/zgwj/t1789834.htm>> accessed 21 February 2021

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ "Report to Congress", US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 2011

China is growing on the economic front. The Chinese institutional school proposes further opening up, deepening reform in the market economy, and coordinating and cooperating with other countries of the world. China recently opened up its financial market to foreign investors. The people's Bank of China provided a license to the American credit card company American Express to clear transactions in the mainland²⁶. The CPC central committee recently issued opinions on strengthening the United Front Work of Private Economy in the New Era. It is a method to realize CPC's leadership over the private economy²⁷. This approach might monitor, control, and route Chinese private sector monopoly and mischief. But the role of the party in the economic system of China contradicts the American perspective of free and competitive economic organization.

At the state level, the United States and China contrast in various political, strategic, and economic areas. The United States is institutionalizing a particular viewpoint towards sensitive areas of China. Introducing bills on Tibet, Taiwan, Xinjiang, and Hong Kong shows that the United States is developing a synonymy towards China issues. This synonymy gradually cultivates institutions with constructed narratives towards sensitive issues. However, China contradicts these institutions. Freedom steers the institution towards Tibet that contradicts with the territorial integrity of China. The human rights steer the institution towards Xinjiang that contradict with terrorism. Similarly, strategic interests guide the institutions of Taiwan and Hong Kong affairs that contradict with the Chinese dream of rejuvenation.

THE SYSTEM-LEVEL ANALYSIS

The United States and China are not cooperating at the systemic level. They are devising their distinct policies in regions like the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. They are not sharing the power, rather they are increasing their specific influence.

²⁶ Wang Cong and Xie Jun, 'Stark Difference Shows Beijing's Strategic Focus On Development Path: Analysts' *Global Times* (14 June 2021) <<https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1191575.shtml#:~:text=China%20took%20a%20concrete%20step,any%20foreign%20institution%20in%20line>> accessed 21 February 2021

²⁷ 新华网, 中共中央办公厅印发《关于加强新时代民营经济统战工作的意见》 [Opinions on Strengthening the United Front Work of Private Economy in the New Era] <http://www.xinhuanet.com/fortune/2020-09/15/c_1126497384.htm?fbclid=IwAR0XTcugPpn86IO-9TLgcGwjeRDgM8bKGwcIL4NiYIZ4-5FawV7JLGmZPXs> accessed 21 February 2021

POLARITY

The United States endured sole global power after the fall of the Berlin wall. Now China is emerging as a global power. It seeks its position and role in the global affair. How will they share the power? The direction of sharing of this power envisages convergence or divergence in the United States and China relations.

SECURITY DILEMMA

The security dilemma is a situation in which countries feel insecure in an anarchic international system. These countries gradually augment their security. They either bandwagon or alliance to augment their capacity and compete to enhance their dominating position. Similar phenomena are visible in the Indian Ocean region. The Chinese Maritime Silk Route²⁸ and American Indo-Pacific Strategy engage in the Indian ocean. Why two powers have different strategies in the same region? They are not cooperating rather they are struggling to enhance their position in this region. A potent presence of one power will make another insecure. China is present in the Hambantota port of Sri Lanka and Gwadar port in Pakistan. Recently the third United States and Indian 2+2 dialogue focused on the Indo-Pacific region. The meeting restated the importance of peace, stability, and prosperity of all countries in this region²⁹.

There are differences in other areas as well. There were skirmishes between India and China in the Doklam and Galwan valley. India-Pakistan relations are not friendly. China and Pakistan are working together in the Belt and Road Initiative flagship project China Pakistan Economic Corridor. In the 2+2 dialogue between India and the United States, the Indian minister of external affairs stated that “a multipolar world must have a multipolar Asia at its base”³⁰. The United States and China are not cooperating in these differences.

²⁸ A part of belt and road initiative

²⁹ Government of India, *Press Statement by External Affairs Minister Following the 3rd India-US 2+2 Ministerial meeting*. Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, (2020) <https://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/33144/Press_Statement_by_External_Affairs_Minister_Following_the_3rd_IndiaUS_2432_Ministerial_meeting> accessed 21 February 2021

³⁰ Special Correspondent., Multipolar world should include multipolar Asia: Jaishankar. (2020) <<https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/multipolar-world-should-include-multipolar-asia-jaishankar/article32644407.ece>> accessed 21 February 2021

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

China is creating and developing new international institutions. The Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) responds to the existing order of the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. Meanwhile, the United States is also developing institutions to counter measure China. Some speculate that the United States Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) is a counter measure against China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)³¹. The development of new frameworks like Blue Dot Network validates the mutual exclusion of MCC and BRI.

Some scholars link BRI with "debt trap" diplomacy³². The debt trap diplomacy means huge debt provided for the BRI project is used as a tool for political and strategic influence. However, China denies this allegation and argues countries participating in the BRI projects are benefiting³³. But the emergence of global certifications like the Blue Dot Network validates that the United States and China differ on big infrastructure projects. The Blue Dot Network purposes an economically viable quality infrastructure project³⁴. Both the United States and China are not cooperating to develop single frameworks.

At the system level, the United States is not accepting the emergence of China as a global power. The United States is not willing to share its unipolar power with emerging power. Their policies and strategies refute each other. The two powers are not cooperating; rather they are developing specific strategies and policies for a particular subject or region. The MCC and BRI, the Maritime Silk Route and Indo-Pacific, and the formation of AIIB validate an intense divergence between the United States and China at the system level.

CONVERGENCE OR DIVERGENCE

The three-level of analysis has developed contemplations to investigate the United States and China relations. At the individual level, the success of Biden fulfills the global vacuum, develops trust

³¹ H Yuwei & L Xiaoyi, 'US tries in vain to exclude China's BRI projects from international cooperation', *Global Times* (14 October 2020) <<https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1203503.shtml>> accessed 21 February 2021

³² B Chellaney, 'China's Debt Trap Diplomacy', (2017) <<https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/china-one-belt-one-road-loans-debt-by-brahma-chellaney-2017-01?barrier=accesspaylog>> accessed 21 February 2021

³³ Xinhua, 'Chinese Ambassador to U.S. Denounces Claims BRI is Debt Trap' (2019) <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-04/24/c_138004514.htm> accessed 21 February 2021

³⁴ U.S. Department of State. (n.d.), *Blue Dot Network*, U.S Department of State <<https://www.state.gov/blue-dot-network/>> accessed 22 February 2021

among allies, and proceeds towards the leadership of global governance. This approach contradicts Xi's association with global leadership and the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. At the state level, the United States is gradually institutionalizing specific impression towards sensitive areas of China. Congress is developing laws so that the entire country could enact an undivided and particular interpretation towards those sensitive areas. It will develop synonymy in America to make a lens of viewing China. However, China refutes these viewpoints and considers these sensitive subjects as interference in internal affairs. At the systemic level, the unipolar American world has a challenger. But America seems to deny sharing its power and authority with the emerging power. The three-level of analysis illustrates a divergence in the United States and China relations in the upcoming days.

However, the escalation of this divergence depends on the following three factors:

- a. How will the United States manage its domestic problems? The mishandling of covid19, the economic impact of this pandemic, and people level differences are major priorities within America. The riot at the capitol hill has questioned the intrinsic values of American political system. Biden's ability to manage America's domestic problems will also create avenues to implement policies at the international level. His administration and domestic institutions have a crucial responsibility for domestic management to acquire confidence in international affairs.
- b. Can the United States and China explore areas of cooperation? There is a progressive and multisectoral impact of the covid19 at the global level. Only cooperation between powers like America and China can successfully explore and resolve these problems. First, they have to explore those areas and then cooperate to solve them. The role of the United Nations and different international organizations is important for this cooperation.
- c. The third and important factor is China's approach to this divergence. Will there be a negotiating China or a confronting China? There are sensitive political and strategic issues related to Tibet, Taiwan, and the Indian Ocean region. These subjects are sovereign, sensitive, and advance beyond economic gains. The role of the Chinese President and Communist party is crucial in this case.