

## **CHINA AND THE LONG CYCLE THEORY: Correction of Modelski's Long Cycle Theory Through the Experience of China's Rise**

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### **Abstract**

*Modelski's Long Cycle Theory influences the way scholars understand the process of world political history, including the continuation of the dynamics of world politics in the future. Modelski and his scholars suggest that the facts of the 500-year history of global politics reflect the Long Cycle pattern in which a new great power emerges every 100 years after a global war. This theory is corrected by the historical facts of China's rise in the last 40 years which proves the truth of the Long Cycle Theory on the one hand but at the same time also corrects the theory. New facts tell us that the rise of China as a new great power was not accompanied by a global war as Modelski and his supporting scholars explain. The results of this study tell us that the Long Cycle of global politics needs to be corrected.*

**Keywords:** Rise of China, great power, global war, long cycle theory.

### **Abstrak**

*Teori Siklus Panjang Modelski berpengaruh pada cara para sarjana memahami proses sejarah politik dunia, termasuk keberlangsungan dinamika politik dunia selanjutnya. Modelski dan para cendekiawan pendukungnya mengindikasikan bahwa fakta sejarah 500 tahun politik global mencerminkan pola Siklus Panjang di mana sebuah kekuatan besar baru muncul setiap 100 tahun setelah sebuah perang global. Teori ini dikoreksi oleh fakta sejarah kebangkitan China dalam 40 tahun terakhir yang membuktikan kebenaran Teori Siklus Panjang di satu sisi tetapi pada saat yang sama juga mengoreksi teori tersebut. Fakta baru memberitahu kita bahwa kebangkitan Cina sebagai kekuatan besar baru tidak disertai dengan perang global sebagaimana penjelasan Modelski dan para sarjana pendukungnya. Hasil penelitian ini memberi tahu kita bahwa Siklus Panjang politik global perlu dikoreksi.*

**Kata kunci:** Kebangkitan Tiongkok, kekuatan besar, perang global, teori siklus panjang.

## **1. Introduction**

Global politics, in Modelski perspective, has pattern that stand and continuous. In many publication Modelski explain his believing that process of

global politics always be drove by long cycles. In 500 years past there were at least 5 great power in which in every their rising always be started by global war and the winner will become new great power (see for example: Modelski, 1987; 1988 [with Inter Alia and W. R. Thompson]; 1988 [with S. Modelski]; 1996 [with W. R. Thompson]). Long cycle theory dates back to the 1970s, the point of origin being the paper on “Long cycles of global politics and the nation-state” presented to the 1976 Edinburgh Congress of the International Political Science Association (Modelski, G., 2012). This theory was very important because has strong influence to the scholar in the next generations. The long-cycle approach is central to understanding world politics and also has wide ramifications in the social sciences (Modelski, G. 1987, 63). So many scholar used long cycles (only little with critics) for understanding world politics in the future so that this theory become like myth and become difficult for be corrected.

When a theory be believed by so many scholars and become very strong and in many case become myth, then need for us to give critical questions. After search and collect data related with the rising of China I believe that the myth of long cycles need be corrected. The rising of China not like that Modelski told to us in many his publications that always there is global war before candidate of great power really become great power. In China case, its rising never be started by global war. Main argument of this article is that the China rises through peace way and the finding of this research opposite with modelski’s claimed that always there is global war. In this position, I am not alone. There are some scholar like Zhang, Y. (2016), Kai (2015) until Boswell, T. (1995) that support my argument.

Then for explain claim that the rising of China doing through peace way that it mean destroyed claim of Modelski that believe with global war before new super power, I separate this article to 3 part: first, Modelski’s claimed about long cycles in world politics; second, the rising of China through peace way; and third, deconstructing of long cycles myth.

## **2. Long cycles in world politics;**

In his study, Modelski used some major resource for construct his claim. Modelski (1987) mentioned that some major resource, including classical book like

Thucydides's *History of the Peloponnesian War*; Polybius's *The Rise of the Roman Empire*; and Wright's *A Study of War*. Than many Talcott Person's books and articles such: *The Social System*; *Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives*; 'Christianity', *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. II*; *Politics and the Social Structure*; *Some problems of general theory in sociology*; *The System of Modern Societies*; *Family, Socialization, and Interaction Process*; *Economy and Society*. Also popular authors such as: Kaplan in his book, *System and Process in International Politics*. David Easton's *the political system*; and authoritative book of Toynbee, *A Study of History* and many others book and article (Modelsky, G 1987, 1-2). Still from Modelski (1987, 2) that the aim of his study was twofold: *First*, to consolidate the findings of observable recurrences into a coherent body of thought focused on the concept of long cycles and *Second*, to establish the fact that long cycles are more than mere repetition. After analysis so that resource, Modelski received to his authoritative claim, long cycles in world politics. In his claimed, Modelski explain that in 500 years early at least there 5 super power in which every changed from one to other super power there was global war. There are some point that can describe about the long cycles in world politics.

*First*, there were at least 5 world power in which every power had oceanic supremacy; and occasion for global leadership. Oceanic supremacy its mean that the global power had supremacy in ocean. A lot of author believe that ocean is one of two most important resource for control the world. In this perspective ocean or sea didn't see as something that could isolated one state to other state but ocean or sea be saw as mediator that close one state to other states so that who that had supremacy in the ocean or sea, they also will control the world. This perspective mainly was promoted by Alfred Thayer Mahan (1849-1914) in his phenomenal book, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History 1660-1783*. Then occasion for global leadership mean that there was moment that powering world power's position in its relations with other states.

Specifically (1) Portugal had ocean supremacy on 1502-1544 and its occasion for global leadership were Treaty of Tordesillas on 1449 and Manuel uses title of 'Lord of Conquest, Navigation and Commerce' (1499); (2) Netherland had ocean supremacy on 1608-1642, and there were at some event for global leadership

occasion, namely: VOC (East Indies Co.) established (1601) and Mare liberum (1608); (3) Britain I had ocean supremacy on 1719-1723, and its occasion for global leadership were Anglo-Dutch alliance (1689) and William III to Parliament: 'hold the balance of Europe' (1701); (4) Britain II that had ocean supremacy on 1809-1890 and its occasion for global leadership was Pitt leads coalition against France (1793); and (5) United States (1944-) and three occasion for global leadership namely: Wilson's 14 Points (1918), Atlantic Charter (1941) and Truman Doctrine (1947).

**Graph1: World Power**

No	World power	Oceanic supremacy*	Occasion for global leadership***	
1	Portugal	1502-1544	1449	Treaty of Tordesillas
			1499	Manuel uses title of 'Lord of Conquest, Navigation and Commerce'
2	Netherlands	1608-1642**	1601	VOC (East Indies Co.) established
			1608	Mare liberum
3	Britain I	1719-1723	1689	Anglo-Dutch alliance
			1701	William III to Parliament: 'hold the balance of Europe'
4	Britain II	1809-1890* *	1793	Pitt leads coalition against France
5	United States	1944- (2012)	(1918)	Wilson's 14 Points
			1941	Atlantic Charter
			1947	Truman Doctrine
6	China	(2012)-	(2013)	OBOR
			(2013)	AIIB

\* Source: Modelski and Thompson (ch. 5); gives years in which the world power's naval concentration ratio equalled or exceeded 0.5 (that is, it had one-half or more of the world's oceanic warships in that year).

\*\* intermittent, for better than one-half to two-thirds of that period.

\*\*\* cf. Modelski and Modelski (forthcoming).

Source: Modelski, G. (1987), 42 with the addition of Chinese data.

**Second**, global war in world politics also there were 5 that happen between two period of world great powers. Why was mentioned global war? Because (1) a lot of participant states in that war and (2) so many battle deaths in that wars (see: Graph 2: Global war battle deaths). What is that including global wars; who again who and when did it happen. Here is the report: (1) Italian and Indian Ocean wars

1494-1516 between a group of states that contains from Portugal, Spain and England versus France; (2) Spanish wars 1580-1609, between a group of states (Netherland, England and France versus Spain); (3) French wars 1, 1688-1713, between 2 group of states (England and Netherlands) and other group (France and Spain); (4) French wars 2, 1792-1815 between Britain and Russia versus France; and (5) German wars 1914-1945 between US, Britain, Russia and France versus Germany and Japan (see: Graph 3: Global Wars).

**Graph 2: Global war battle deaths**

No	Global war	Battle Deaths (1.000.000)	As percentage of battle deaths in
1	Italian and Indian Ocean wars	0.1	
2	Dutch-Spanish wars	0.2	1517-1609: 20
3	Wars of Louis XIV	2.0	1610-1713: 37
4	French Revolution and Napoleonic wars	2.5	1714-1815: 40
5	World Wars I and II	20.07	1815-1945: 95
	Five global wars	25.5	1494-1945: 79
	Inter-state wars 1494-1945	32.2	

\* Based on Levy (1983) pp. 88-92.  
 Source: Modelski, G. (1987), 47.

**Graph 3: Global Wars**

No	Global war and duration	Participant*	Toynbee's** 'the general war'
1	Italian and Indian Ocean wars 1494-1516	Portugal + Spain + England vs France	1449-1525
2	Spanish wars 1580-1609	Netherlands + England + France vs Spain	1568-1609
3	French wars (1) 1688-1713	England + Netherlands vs France + Spaint	1672-1713
4	French wars (2) 1792-1815	Britain + Russia vs France	1792-1815
5	German wars 1914-1945	United States + Britain + Russia + France vs Germany + Japan	1914-1918

\* Global powers only: world power in italics.  
 \*\* Source: 1954, p. 255. t Not for the entire duration.  
 Source: Modelski, G. (1987), 44.

**Graph 3. World power populations**

No	Date*	World power	Populations (1.000.000s)	**
1	(1346)	(Venice)	(0.16)	***

2	1500	Portugal	1.25
3	1600	Netherlands	1.50
4	1700	Britain I	9.25
5	1800	Britain II	16.00
6	1914	United States	100.00
7	2016	China	1300.00 ****

\* Date close to the start of global war.

\*\* Metropolitan populations only

\*\*\* As percentage of the population of the European-Mediterranean region, estimated at 100 million.

\*\*\*\*New data

Source: McEvedy and Jones (1978) in Modelski, G. (1987), 49 with the addition of Chinese data.

**Third**, long cycles steps. Basically, there were some phase in long cycles. *First phase* was **clarification**, its mean that: multilaterally, countries as a community of the world politics discuss and clarification directly or indirectly toward: how is the political system work? Specifically, the question: what was the world political system only give benefit for some states and not for others or for all states without discrimination? The states that usually ask was states that had not benefit from the world political system that work. Then the states that no get benefit through working system will created coalition. In this phase some states close each other powering each other and create the planning for doing change in the world political system and the main instrument that usually used was war, and in the global level its mean **global war** (*second phase*). After the phase of global war finish the next phase was **macro-decision** (*third phase*), in this phase, the winner of global war going to bargaining each other for created new situation, new world political system and there was one strongest states that become **world power** (*fourth phase*). This state will become new hegemon that not only get so many benefit from the system but also bear cost in world politics. The new world political system (new world order) then be **implemented** (*fifth phase*) and work again this phase usually peace phase until there were again some states that dissatisfied with the world system so that created **de-legitimation** (*sixth phase*). This was starting point for start new cycles. After this phase there were still at least two opportunity: (1) the satisfied states will opposite and change situation, in the history experience they chose war as instrument for change the system or; (2) they opposite but didn't change situation which opportunity that happen will create **de-concentration** (*seventh phase*)

situation so that the situation (world political system) will change or stay in old form, then back to first phase (*clarification*).

**Graph 4. Long Cycles**

	Systemic mode	Learning mode (world power as agent)
Phase	.....	Clarification
	.....	
Phase	.....	Coalition (ing)
	.....	
Phase	Global War.....	Macro-decision
	.....	
Phase	World Power.....	Implementation
	.....	
Phase	De-legitimation.....	
	..	
Phase	Deconcentration.....	
	.....	

Source: Modelski, G. (1987), 67.

*Fourth*, interestingly the world power was always effective states. The most important indicator of effectiveness was two party system (Graph 5. World powers and party systems), this political domestic system open opportunity that state can be manageable effectively. With only two party stability can easy for was created so that internal political problem can be minimalized. This kinds of stability had effect to foreign policy or state attitudes in world politics. Stability in domestic level become strong base for foreign attitude. With domestic political situation that conducive also open opportunity for intervention from others states difficult to doing. Modelski created some generalisations related with party type of world power.

The following generalisations are supported by the preceding account and will be discussed in greater detail below. (1) In its cycle, each world power had a two-party system. (2) The party systems of the world powers show significant structural similarities, and an evolutionary progression over time. (3) None of the principal challengers had, in the relevant cycle, an effective two-party system. (4) Principal challengers sought transnational linkages. (5) A good instance of transnational community nurtured by the world power was the Calvinist International. (6) The three socialist internationals were a response to the problems of the Industrial Revolution (Modelski, G., 1987, 177).

**Graph 5. World powers and party systems**

No	World power	Parties	Party type	Major issue
1	Portugal	(oceanic) (continental)	proto-parties	Oceanic enterprise v. territorial expansion in Iberia, Morocco
2	Netherlands	States (republican) Orangist	proto-parties	Peace or war with Spain; role of House of Orange
3	Britain I	Whigs Tories	parliamentary parties	Revolution Settlement; maritime v. continental policies; trade v. empire
4	Britain II	Whigs->Liberals Tories->Conservatives	electoral parties	Reform; free trade; empire
5	United States	Democrats Republicans	mass parties	Internationalism v. isolation
6	China	Communist Party	Communist	World trade

Source: Modelski, G. (1987), 65 with the addition of Chinese data.

*Fifth*, global lead enterprises that accompany world power. World power not alone in its domination to other. They need a lot of resource, such as financial resources that of course had close related with others resources like market, energy, humanity, technology and others. For this reasoning world power need to improve commercial-industry and banking. This two resource are very important for accompany world power in their activities to lead global politics. In history of world power record global leader enterprises accompany world power (see: Graph 6. Ramifications of Long Cycles).

**Graph 6. Ramifications of Long Cycles**

No	World power	Global lead enterprises	
		In commerce-industry	In banking
1	Portugal	King of Portugal (Casa da India f.1501)	House of Fugger, Lisbon, (Augsburg, Antwerp, Venice)
2	Netherlands	United East Indies Co. (VOC), Amsterdam, f.1601	Bank of Amsterdam f.1608
3	Britain I	Chartered East India Co., London f.1600, reorganised 1680-1708	Bank of England f.1694
4	Britain II	Thomas Brassey railroad contractor + 1870	John & Francis Baring & Co., London f.1770 Rothschild Bank, London, 1804
5	United States	Standard Oil f.1865 IBM f.1911	J. P. Morgan & Co., New York, 1895
6	China	ICBC, China Construction Bank, BOC	. ICBC, China Construction Bank, BOC



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Modelski, G., 1987, 202 with the addition of Chinese data.

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### **3. The China's rising and its absence of global war**

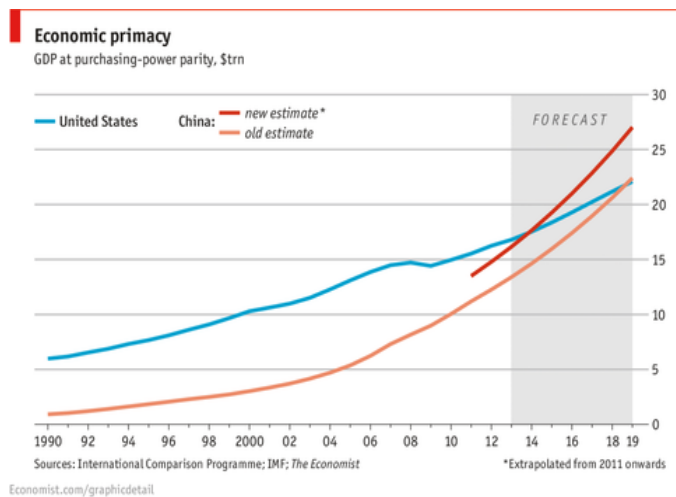
Then, there are 2 key important question as basic for main argument of this article, namely: (1) is China great power or super power? (2) What is China rising peacefully and why?

#### *3.1. Is China great power or super power?*

This question, drive us for find a concept of super power and great power. Actually there are so many concept that usually use together and can change each other, namely: super power, great power and major power. In my opinion, simply, super power can define as a huge power in the world and there is only one super power for example the US after Soviet Union destroyed. Power gap between super power and other power is too high so that very difficult for us find really super power. On other hand great power is states that have big power, its power have strong influence to others in global level. With this define, we can easy find great power, such as: China, Russia, US, France, UK, Germany and Japan only for mention.

Base on this define, today there is not super power, but we have so many great power in variety of scale. The period between the destroyed of Soviet Union and the rising of China or around 1989 until 2012, we can put United State as super power because after the destroyed of Soviet there was equal rival for United State so that US only the one in the world and we can mentioned it as Super Power but after 2002 when China's economy and military grow up, United State not alone and not again as super power. When China's economy continuous grow up China can become super power, but now, China is not yet super power. See this graph as illustration.

**Graph 7. Economic Primacy: GDP at purchasing-power parity**



Source: <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/12/the-world-s-top-economy-the-us-vs-china-in-five-charts/>

The important international system after the world war II was bipolar system in which et leas there were two super power in the world, namely: United Stated and Soviet Union. Global public mentions that situation as cold war era. There were some characterized of the cold war, namely: (1) the existence of the two great powers that in this case be ruled by United State and Soviet Union; (2) ideology become the main issue of the cold war in which United States become base of capitalism on one side and Soviet Union become base of communism on other hand; (3) every great power had supported that ruled by other states except the 2 great powers. In case there were some states that didn't join in one of groups, for example Non Alliance Movement, then the two great power contest for influence them so that joint in their group; and (4) there was not direct and physic conflict between the greats power but direct and physic conflict was represented by others states in many case there were internal conflict that actually an important part of cold war for example: conflict between West and East Germany, North and South Korean and North and South Vietnam. Generally, realist perspectives had analogy for describe the cold era with two scorpions in a bottle. The 2 great power focus each

other for attack but there was not one that start first, because if there was that start, the other one will attack back and all the 2 were dead together. This situation describe the cold war era.

In this situation China position was in Soviet Union group as the biggest second after the Soviet. Interestingly, Soviet Union because several reasoning was destroyed (not in here for explain it) becomes 15 independent states. There were so many implication of destroyed of Soviet Union and one of them was the starting point for China push its self economically as a global player. A lot of Soviet trading partner must quick for find the replacement of Soviet as an exporter. This opportunity was used by China for play that role. Since the destroyed of Soviet China step by step empowering it's economic.

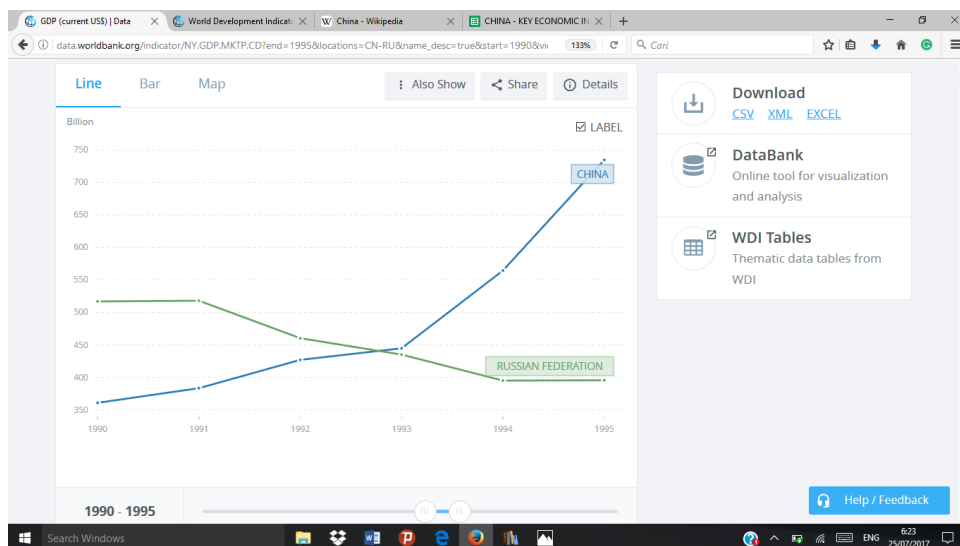
The fact about the rising of China's economy especially after the destroyed of Soviet Union was reported by en.people.cn base on the National Bureau of Statistics (en.people.cn, September 16, 2002, "China Since 1990: Facts and Figures Tell of Rising Prosperity"), namely: (1) China's GDP totaled 9.5933 trillion RMB or 1.16 trillion US dollars (2001), nearly doubling that of 1990, according to fixed prices then China ranked 6<sup>th</sup> in the world in terms of GDP (2000), compared with 10<sup>th</sup> in 1990, becoming one of the world's major economic powers; (2) by the end of last century, China's GDP exceeded 1 trillion US dollars for the first time, and per capita GDP reached 800 US dollars, while the people in general enjoy a fairly comfortable life. China's per capita GDP exceeded 900 US dollars (2001); (3) The State Economic and Trade Commission' survey shows that currently no single product on the Chinese market was in short supply, and the supply of 86 percent of the goods on the market exceeds demand. China's annual output of iron and steel, coal, chemical fertilizer, TV sets, program-controlled telephone switchboards, grain, meat, cotton, aquatic products and fruits ranks first in the world; (4) in foreign trade, China has become the sixth biggest foreign trading power in the world with overall foreign trade worth 509.8 billion US dollars in 2001, 3.4 times that of 1990 when it ranked only 16<sup>th</sup> in the world; (5) China's foreign exchange reserves exceed 250 billion US dollars at present, ranking second in the world. The figure was 5.55 billion US dollars in 1989. China used 510.8 billion US dollars of foreign fund during 1990-2001, including 378 billion US dollars of foreign direct investment.

The accession to the World Trade Organization last year marks China has entered a new stage of opening to the outside world; and (6) in fiscal revenue, the financial resources at the government's disposal increased to 1.637 trillion RMB (198 billion US dollars) in 2001 from 293.7 billion RMB (35.5 billion US dollars) in 1990.

Interestingly, China is state with one system party, so effectiveness can easy be created in this country. With one party there is not long debate about political issue that usually disturbing domestic political situation and effect to how political system work. This fact is one line with Modelski's finding that all great power has a two party system so that easy to create domestic political stability as the basis of good foreign policy (see again: Graph 5. World powers and party systems).

Other important indicator that showed us how falling down of Soviet Union's economic become blessing for China was when Soviet's economic went down, China's economic started for rising. At least before 1993 China's economic was rising and in the same time Soviet's economic was decreasing. Data from World Bank bellow show to us that pattern.

**Graph 8. Compare of China and Soviet GDP**



Source:[http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?end=1995&locations=CN-RU&name\\_desc=true&start=1990&view=chart](http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?end=1995&locations=CN-RU&name_desc=true&start=1990&view=chart)

China policy for join to global economic environment create new China that very different with old China. With very good Zhang, Y. (2016) mentioned new China's

international attitude and its implication: “China has negotiated with the liberal global order for normative change from the variety of positions in which it finds itself within the liberal institutional constructs of the hierarchy of power” (Zhang, Y., 2016: 816).

### *3.2. What is China rising peacefully, and why?*

Yes that China’s rising is peacefully, there are some indicators, namely: *first*, China focus on economic development, especially after Deng’s era China shift its strategy from aggressive to friendly policy through. China join World Trade Organization (WTO). WTO was organization of global trade that becomes new form of General Agreement Trade and Tariff (GATT) what that made WTO different from GATT was WTO had wider issue area. When GATT only focus on Tariff and Trade Issue then WTO also focus on other issue such as copy right, patent and so on. WTO were institution that become strong instrument of capitalist for created the world more liberal especially in economic. For China that communist states join WTO mean something that difficult for doing but this was become easy because Deng had very long vision in the future that Deng believes that one day China will doing important role in world political like China done in the past time. With join to WTO United States was not again saw China as main enemy and this new situation created so many opportunity for improve its self economically and so on without afraid toward United State again.

1976 become important year for China, in that year Deng start to build close relations with west. Some activities had doing by China and United State. In this year United State gives full diplomatic to China and signed agreement Carter President in historical visiting to US. Especially since that time Deng Xiaoping changed China economic system from communist become capitalist. Some important policy that doing by Deng such as: commune was dissolved, “iron rice pot” (the symbol of welfare state) was destroyed; State enterprises were being privatized; private enterprises was pushed; Foreign investors were given high incentives, stock markets were allowed, international trade also were pushed through export pushed. Even economically Deng change his policy to capitalist but politically Deng still used communism as basic ideology. In 1971 China become

UN member changed Republic of Taiwan as Permanent Member of UN. China also become member of many international organization such as: WTO, APEC, BRIC, SCO, BCIM and G-20.

As state with the biggest citizen in the world, China very understand what that should it do. Cheap employment and market becomes two keys variable that can be used with very well for response the need of the global as implications of Soviet dissolved. In the fast way China adopting the capitalist system in its economy and in the fast way too China shift their self from poor state to the new rich state. Interestingly, even China adopting capitalist system economically, China still stay with communism politically. With the main characterized as communist state, China still controlled fully toward the strategic sector. This combinations was very smart in one hand with controlled political system China easy for build the stability of politics in domestic level, so that this stability can become base for construct economy.

This way, way in which two opposite system, together be used for organized a state was the first way that be used. The main paradigm in the world related with development and ideology never allow to combine the two opposite system and China opposite the main paradigm with combine the two system (capitalism and communism) and it's result people can know that China has: strong stability as a base of economy for grow up strong too. In one hand China expand its economy through capitalism, technically government become investor and regulator. This situation make China's company can win in their competition with their competitor and on other hand government become very strong and authoritarian so that easy for government to create political stability. And this political stability become very good condition for push its economy. This strategy, one state two system China manage its development and step by step empowering its position in international level.

*Second*, peaceful development. In Hu Jintao's period, China had "Peaceful Development" that was slogans or motto of China foreign policy in that era. Specifically through that slogans China build friendly relations with major power, such us: European Union, ASEAN, Russia and Japan, in the same time China avoid straight confrontation toward United State more than that, China also construct

close and harmony relation with its neighbors so that Peaceful Development also was good neighborliness policy and China global responsibility. Technically, what that China do was doing multilateral cooperation in many sectors such as: economy, business, military, tourism and so on. China also made sure to others state about some principle like: trust, benefit each other, equality and cooperation, impartiality and non-confrontations.

In Xi Jin Ping's era, China attitudes to international world relative more friendly. Even especially in Xi Jin Ping era (2013-now) China have been developing global mega project that be knew by One Belt One Road.

“The OBOR is basically an initiative for Eurasian interconnectivity, which reflects China's vision on global governance that stresses the development oriented discourse to promote interactions among diverse peoples, ensure common prosperity, and contribute to international peace by exploring shared interests and new areas of cooperation” (Xinhua News, January 25, 2015 “Silk Road Strategy Attracts Overseas Countries” in Yilmaz, 2016, 403).

When we see the China's attitudes in world politics from Mao until Xi we can see that there was shift of China's attitudes especially in Mao to Deng era in which in Mao' era China more aggressive and in Deng's era until now China more friendly.

**Third**, create interdependency among states. Not only between China and Asia states but also with Europe. Operationally in Xi Jin Ping's era China push connectivity through OBOR vision. OBOR network has bombastic effect not only for Eurasia connectivity but also with America region. This situation create worries that when there is global war, too much burden borne not only for America and China but also the world community. That three indicators above also can answer the questions, *why there is not global war?*

### 3.3. Why there is not global war?

China's future policies will depend on how it defines its identity relative to the United States and other powers, and how others respond to China's self-definition (Larson, D., Welch. 2015: 323). The rising of China's economic naturally also push the rising of China's military power, this situation also naturally push other states for rising their military power because security dilemma effect. This like, for example, that Montgomery, E., Braden (2006) mentioned, that: “One

of the most significant problems confronted by states in an anarchic environment is the uncertainty over others' intentions and motives that can lead to counterproductive policies and suboptimal outcomes" (Montgomery, E., Braden. 2006: 183). Even though, we can see that US response still Soft rather than its response to North Korea or Iraq in the era of Sadam Husain. In my opinion, this also be reasoning by China's strategic that more push economy and cooperation than only focus on military improvement.

Because, China's rising through peaceful way. The shift of China's attitudes (from aggressive in Mao's era to friendly in Deng's era) become the important factor that be responded by United State also through friendly attitudes. US more chose avoid open confrontation to China so that, like that mentioned by Negara, F., Taruna that the harshest US just takes a *defensive-cooperative* policy toward China (Negara, F., Taruna, 2012). Compare, for example with response of United State toward North Korea that still use aggressive way toward its international environment or Iraq that also use aggressive way in Sadam Husain' era. China has been changed to friendly toward international environment. Even, of course, there is tension relation between United State as "old power" and China as "new power" but the tension is normally conditions. The China's attitudes that smart show to us, China has many experience and very understand toward international situation.

#### **4. Conclusion: Revising of long cycle myth**

Long cycles is important international politic theory in late of 20 century. Its influence is very strong mainly in how social scientist and public understanding, how world's politic works in the past and future. One of main claim in this theory is that there were global wars in every changing of world power. The wars were natural process for new comer opposite old powers and change them. New history of the rising of China actually after the destroyed of Soviet Union show to how new comers try to seize global power without going through global war. China chose changed its strategic from aggressive toward friendly. This changed mainly happened in shifting Mao to Deng. China in Deng until Xi era show to us how economic issue become main domain that China push rather than military sector. This strategy different with such us other states that improve their military power



aggressively such as North Korea and Iraq that was responded by United States also in the same way, military approach. In China case, even though China improve its military power but China doesn't accentuate it as main focus so that difficult for United States also response straight through military response. China chose economic issue as something that be pushed. This China's strategy changed the pattern of long cycles especially "global war" in every moment for changed new global power.

This China's experience has two implications to Modelski's Long cycles: (1) new world power rise every around 100 years, in this point the case of rising of China empowering this theory; and opposite (2) the rising of China that not through global war revised Modelski's Long cycles, that in China case there is no global war like that Modelski's believe.

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