#### Who We Are



• Reagan Heavin – Energy



Sean O'Neil
 Demographics



Adam Hudson
– State Capacity



 Griffin Rozell

 Balance of Power



Brandon Krueger
 Military



• Matt Suma – Economy





#### China: Competition, Cooperation, Plateau?

Reagan Heavin Adam Hudson Brandon Krueger Sean O'Neil Griffin Rozell Matt Suma

24 April 2008





Agenda

- Conclusions
- Projections
- Drivers
- Four Outcomes
- Questions



#### Conclusions

- China will rise to great power status
- As it rises China will seek to reshape its security environment and expand its influence
- Sino-American relationship will be the primary factor shaping the security environment



Projections

Most Likely

- Sino-American Competition
- Multilateral Cooperation
  - Responsible stakeholder
  - Defensive military buildup
- Multipolar Competition
- China Plateaus
  - Fueled by a perfect storm of factors

Least Likely



Drivers

- Economic Growth
  - Energy
  - Demographics
  - State capacity
- Chinese Foreign Policy
  - Regional relations
  - Military strategy
- US Reaction



#### Four Outcomes for Asia in 2025

	Outcome 1: Sino-American Competition	Outcome 2: Multilateral Cooperation	Outcome 3: Multipolar Competition	Outcome 4: China Plateaus
Economic Growth				
Chinese Foreign Policy				
US Reaction				



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### Outcome 1: Sino-American Competition





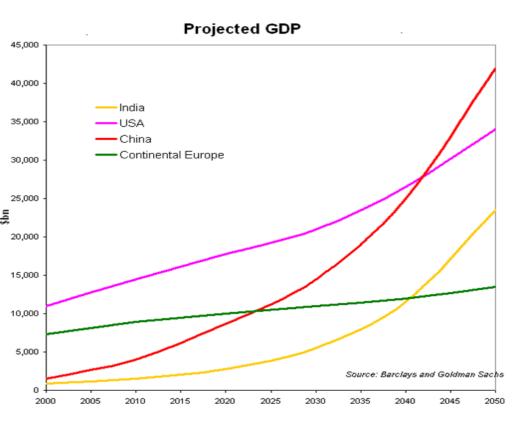
### Four Outcomes for Asia in 2025

	Outcome 1: Sino-American Competition	Outcome 2: Multilateral Cooperation	Outcome 3: Multipolar Competition	Outcome 4: China Plateaus
Economic Growth	Continues			
Chinese Foreign Policy	Confrontation			
US Reaction	Containment			



#### Economic Growth: Continues

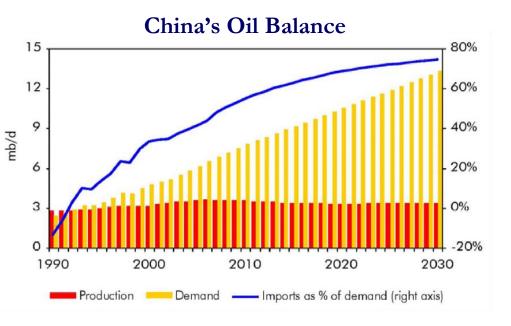
- GDP increases steadily
  - Projected at 8-10%
  - Projected to overtake the EU before 2025
  - Projected to overtake the US within 30 years





## Growing Energy Demand

- Rising demand for oil imports
  - China's "Go Out" Strategy
- Potential source of conflict beyond Taiwan
  - World production strains to meet demand
  - China driving rising oil prices

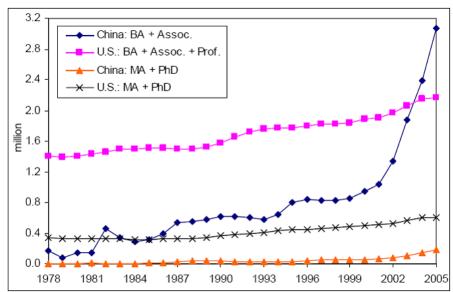




# Positive Demographic Trends

- Increasingly educated population
- Stable labor force until 2020

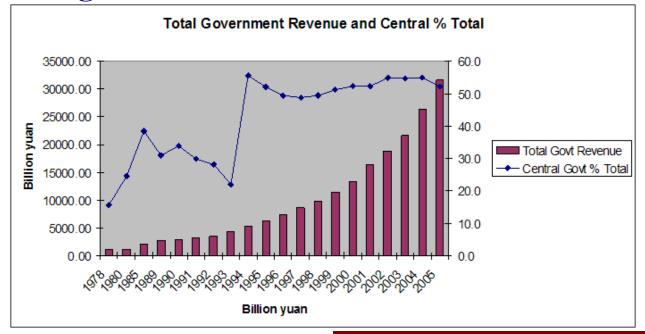
#### Number of Bachelors Degrees Awarded in China v. US





## Improving State Capacity

- Generating revenue
- Controlling social unrest

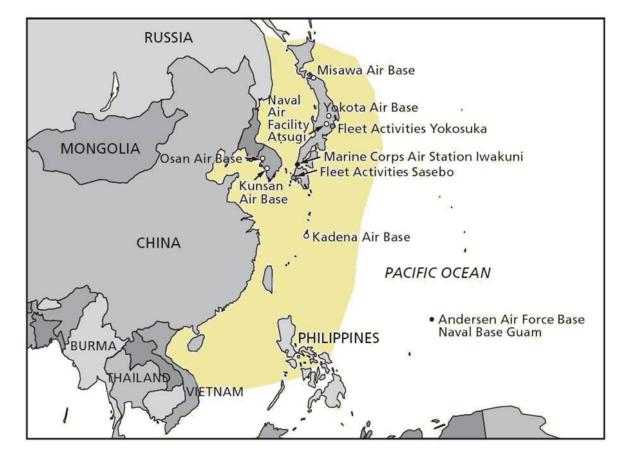






## Chinese Foreign Policy: Confrontation

- Continuing military modernization
- Anti-access/ area-denial strategies
- Chinese revisionism





## US Reaction: Containment

- Maintain current balance of power in Asia
  - Bilateral security alliances
    - Strong forward military presence
  - Bilateral economic alliances
- Prevent forceful Taiwanese unification

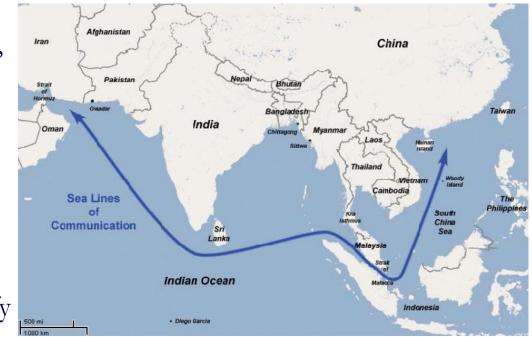


**US Military Bases in Asia** 



### Nature of Competition

- Security competition likely: New Cold War
  - Competition for resources, arms, and allies
  - Chinese nationalism and desire for prestige
  - Chinese desire to protect SLOCs
- War unlikely but possible: Miscalculation
  - Chinese attempts to reunify Taiwan by force
  - Territorial/resource disputes





Conditions Supporting Sino-American Competition

- Historical record supports the trends
- Regional institutions lack capacity to manage conflict
- Conditions leading to post-1945 peace and stability in Europe are not present in East Asia



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### Outcome 2: Multilateral Cooperation





Source: http://www.apec.org/apec/news\_\_media/news\_photos/191105\_kor\_leadersmeeting.html

### Four Outcomes for Asia in 2025

	Outcome 1: Sino-American Competition	Outcome 2: Multilateral Cooperation	Outcome 3: Multipolar Competition	Outcome 4: China Plateaus
Economic Growth	Continues	Continues		
Chinese Foreign Policy	Confrontation	Engagement		
US Reaction	Containment	Engagement		



## Economic Growth: Continues

- Demographics and state capacity are constant
- Increased multilateral trade
- Multilateral energy agreements



## Chinese Foreign Policy: Engagement

- Multilateral security alliances
- Revisionism only about Taiwan
- Regional Sino-centric cooperation
  - The Middle Kingdom
  - Multilateral institutions





## US Reaction: Engagement

- Promote multilateralism
  - Security
  - Economic
- Reduced bilateral relations



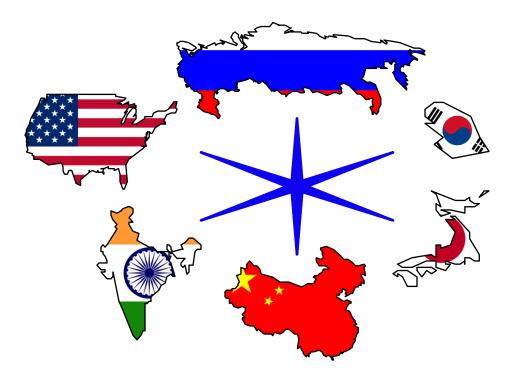
## Conditions Undermining Cooperation

- US desire to preserve the current regional balance of power
- Weak regional institutions
- Current Sino-Japanese balance of power is unprecedented
- Differing approaches to governance among Asian nations



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## Outcome 3: Multipolar Competition





### Four Outcomes for Asia in 2025

	Outcome 1: Sino-American Competition	Outcome 2: Multilateral Cooperation	Outcome 3: Multipolar Competition	Outcome 4: China Plateaus
Economic Growth	Continues	Continues	Continues	
Chinese Foreign Policy	Confrontation	Engagement	Confrontation	
US Reaction	Containment	Engagement	Retrenchment	





## Economic Growth: Continues

- Demographics and state capacity are constant
- Bilateral trade
- Competition for energy resources



## Chinese Foreign Policy: Confrontation

- Military modernization continues
- Power projection strategy
- Regional hegemony



Diplomatic or Military Pearl



## US Reaction: Retrenchment

- Military overstretch
- Financial and economic shocks
  - Fiscal overstretch
  - Relative economic decline
- Changing public opinion about US foreign policy



Conditions Undermining Multipolar Competition

- US desire to preserve the current regional balance of power
- China prefers regional status quo

   US presence restrains Japanese rearmament
- Economic interdependence



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#### Outcome 4: China Plateaus





### Four Outcomes for Asia in 2025

	Outcome 1: Sino-American Competition	Outcome 2: Multilateral Cooperation	Outcome 3: Multipolar Competition	Outcome 4: China Plateaus
Economic Growth	Continues	Continues	Continues	Stalls
Chinese Foreign Policy	Confrontation	Engagement	Confrontation	Retrenchment
US Reaction	Containment	Engagement	Retrenchment	Containment/ Engagement



Drivers

- Economic growth: Stalls
  - Social unrest
  - Aging population and public health issues
  - Energy shortages
  - Corruption
- Chinese Foreign Policy: Retrenchment

   Niche military capabilities disrupt status quo
- US Reaction: Containment or Engagement
  - Dependent on degree of slowdown





## Why a Chinese Plateau is Unlikely

- Drivers are not unique to China
- China has managed these issues without plateauing



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#### **Questions?**



#### Four Outcomes for Asia in 2025

	Outcome 1: Sino-American Competition	Outcome 2: Multilateral Cooperation	Outcome 3: Multipolar Competition	Outcome 4: China Plateaus
Economic Growth	Continues	Continues	Continues	Stalls
Chinese Foreign Policy	Confrontation	Engagement	Confrontation	Retrenchment
US Reaction	Containment	Engagement	Retrenchment	Containment/ Engagement



