

Global Deep Dive Mapping major power influence and activities

Dr. Belinda Bragg (NSI)

Project Team Dr. Allison Astorino-Courtois; Mr. Weston Aviles; Mr. Ali Jafri; Mr. Eric Kuznar; Dr. L. Kuznar Dr. Sabrina Pagano; Mr. George Popp; Dr. John Stevenson

October 2019



Strategic Multilayer Assessment (SMA) of

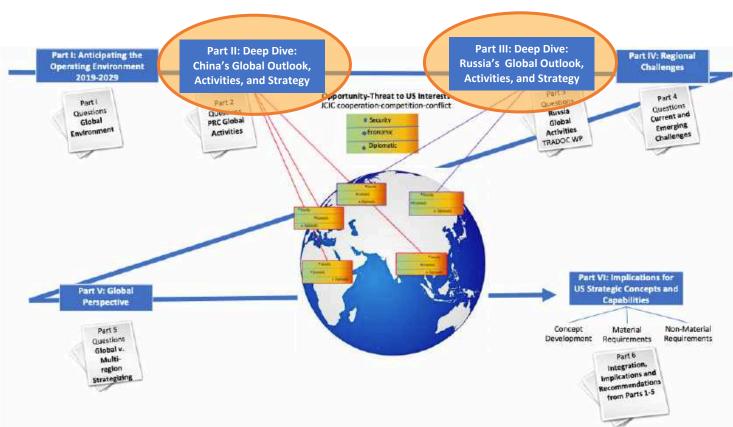
The Future of Global Competition & Conflict And the Nature of Deterrence, Extended Deterrence, Compellence, Escalation Management, and Persuasion in a Dynamically Changing World

Overview



NSI's Global Deep Dive provides a systematic means of exploring China and Russia's activities and interests at various levels of analysis – state, region, globe.

By building on our I-R-C methodology, it also enables examination of how US, Chinese and Russian interests and activities intersect to create the potential for cooperation, competition or conflict.

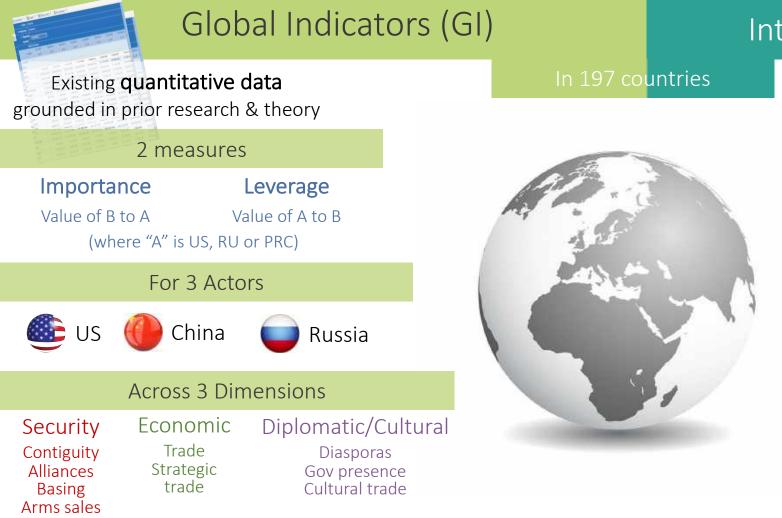


Future of Global Competition & Conflict (GCC) Project Overview

- By mapping observed activities to identified interest we are able to consider not only what Russia and China are doing and where, but also examine possible "whys"
- As data are consistent across all states, it is possible to look for patterns in behavior, and test prevailing (and often competing) interpretations of Russian and Chinese intentions.
- Effort can be seen as a starting point for developing the data required to operationalize and measure where the US and a near peer are positioned on the cooperation-conflict continuum for any specific place and issue.

Datasets: Sources, measures, coverage and uses





Interests & Activities (I&A)

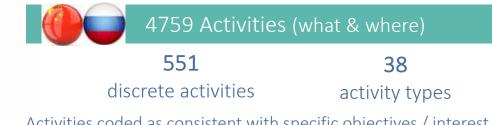
official policy & reports, press releases, SMEs, peerreviewed research, news reports, online sources

3 Interests analysis (why)



Assumes the interplay of actor interests is an important driver of regional relations. How well the existing conditions meets, or threatens an actor's interests provides an indication of whether and actor will support or oppose a particular status quo condition.

Each interest is pursued through multiple objectives



Activities coded as consistent with specific objectives / interest

High level overview of where Russia and China may be motivated to, and capable of challenging US. Or, where US has leverage to challenge Russian or Chinese goals. More detailed picture of the activities Russia and China are engaged in globally, and how these activities contribute to each actor's national interests and objectives.



In most instances, China is not the only major power that has leverage over the countries it considers important.

To the extent that shared importance and competing leverage generate the potential for competition or conflict, the necessary conditions for both exist in this subset of countries.

		SECU	RITY Lev	erage	ECONO	DMIC Le	verage	DIPLO	/CULT Le	everage	
The North Korea Issue	Region	Country	China	US	Russia	China	US	Russia	China	US	Russia
Consistent with the findings of the 2018 SMA	Asia-Pacific	North Korea	4.00	0.00	2.00	4.50	0.00	0.50	3.00	0.00	3.00
North Korea effort, importance and leverage		Vietnam	0.00	0.00	2.00	1.50	0.50	1.50	4.00	3.00	2.00
measure for North and South Korea across all three powers suggests that attempts to resolve		Japan	0.00	8.25	0.00	3.00	4.50	2.25	4.00	4.50	2.00
the nuclear issue without the cooperation of		South Korea	0.00	8.75	0.00	4.00	2.50	2.00	4.00	3.50	3.00
China and Russia are less likely to succeed.		Australia	0.00	7.00	0.00	1.75	1.00	0.75	3.00	4.00	1.50
Sth Korea is important economically to		Taiwan	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.50	2.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00
both China and Russia		Thailand	0.25	5.25	0.25	3.00	0.50	0.75	3.50	3.00	2.00
 Nth Korea is important to China's security Both have greater leverage over Nth Korea 	South Asia	India	2.00	4.25	4.00	2.50	0.50	2.75	3.00	4.00	1.00
- across all dimension – than does the US.		Pakistan	3.00	0.25	2.50	1.50	0.50	0.50	3.00	3.00	2.00
	Eurasia	Tajikistan	4.50	0.00	7.00	2.00	0.50	2.00	2.00	2.00	4.00
		Russia	3.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	0.50	0.00	3.50	3.00	0.00
 Darticularly in Asia Dasific and EU 		Kazakhstan	2.25	0.00	7.25	3.50	0.50	2.50	2.00	3.00	6.00
Particularly in Asia-Pacific and EU		Kyrgyzstan	2.00	0.00	8.00	3.00	0.50	1.50	2.00	3.00	3.50
Europe, China lacks security		Uzbekistan	2.00	2.75	5.00	1.00	0.50	1.25	3.00	3.00	4.00
leverage relative to the US.	Europe EU	Germany	0.00	7.50	4.00	2.00	3.50	2.75	4.00	4.50	1.50
 In EU Europe this is also coupled 		United Kingdom	0.00	7.75	0.00	2.25	3.00	1.75	5.00	5.00	3.00
with a deficit in economic leverage		Netherlands	0.00	2.50	0.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	4.50	4.00	3.50
relative to both US and Russia.		France	0.00	4.75	2.00	1.75	3.50	2.75	4.00	5.00	3.50
TEIALIVE LU DULTI US ATTU NUSSIA.	Central America	Mexico	0.00	5.00	0.00	2.00	5.50	0.75	3.00	4.50	2.00
 Russian leverage reflects European 	North America	United States	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.25	0.00	2.75	4.00	0.00	1.50
dependence on Russian energy.		Canada	0.00	6.00	3.00	2.75	7.00	0.75	2.50	5.00	1.50

Equal leverage to China



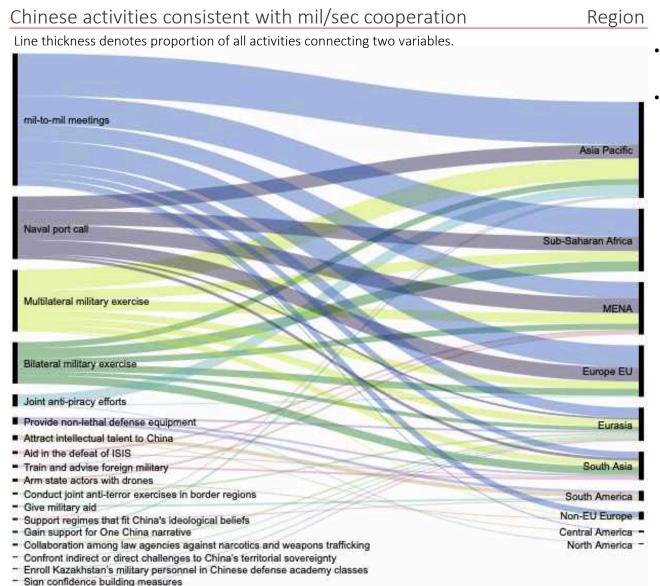


At highest level of analysis, I&A data suggests that, with the exception of the desire to increase regional stability (proportionally higher in Asia-Pacific and South Asia), China has a fairly consistent strategy across regions.

	Region	Interest	Objective
	Line thickness denotes proport	tion of all activities connecting two variables.	Increase share of global FDI
Although no Sub Sabaran or			Strengthen and expand economic cooperation
Although no Sub-Saharan or MENA states are among those most important to China, more	Sub-Saharan Africa		build economic capacity through infrastructure development
Chinese activities were identified			Diversify economic investments
in these regions than any other, underlining the benefits of a		Maintain growth & development	Control greater proportion of global natural resources
multi-measure approach to complex questions.			Military/Security Cooperation
			Influence regional dialogue in favor of China
	Eurasia	Defend Chinese national sovereignty	Increase diplomatic presence
Low number of activities in Asia-	Asia Pacific		Increase cultural engagement / familiarity
Pacific & North & South America	Abid F delite		Increase involvement in Regional [Pol/Sec] Organizations
also highlights difference in logic	South Asia		Devel infrastructure with dual use potential in strategically important areas
underlying two data sets. GI		Increase international influence	Influence regional political agenda
measures value of bilateral	South America		Increase opportunities for Chinese workers in foreign countries
relations, whereas I&A is	THE ANALYSING STREET, ST	Increase regional stability	Encourage authoritarian elements and policies in democratic or authoritarian-sympathetic regimes
focused on diversity of activity.			Increase involvement in regional [Eco] organizations control greater proportion of global ICT
Incused on diversity of activity.	Caribbean		Resolve outstanding territorial and maritime disputes in China's favor =
	 North America 	Both China's security & economic objectives can con	ntribute Expand and deepen export markets =
		to multiple int	Constitution of the standard standards and the s
		Across all interests and regions, activities consister economic objectives are most pre	ent with Become model for economic devel in authoritarian regimes

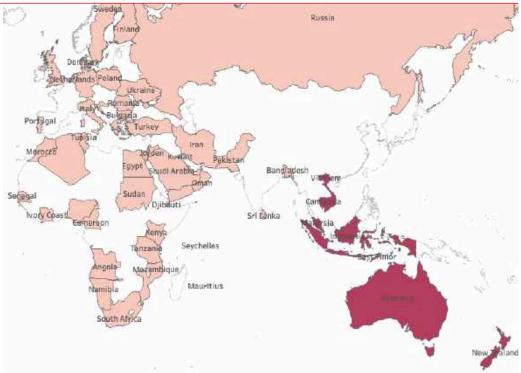
Looking deeper: China's pursuit of military / security cooperation





- China has expanded its military / security activities to all regions other than the Caribbean.
- China has been engaged in bilateral and multilateral military exercises in regions beyond its near abroad, particularly Sub-Saharan Africa, MENA and the EU.

Chinese naval ports of call



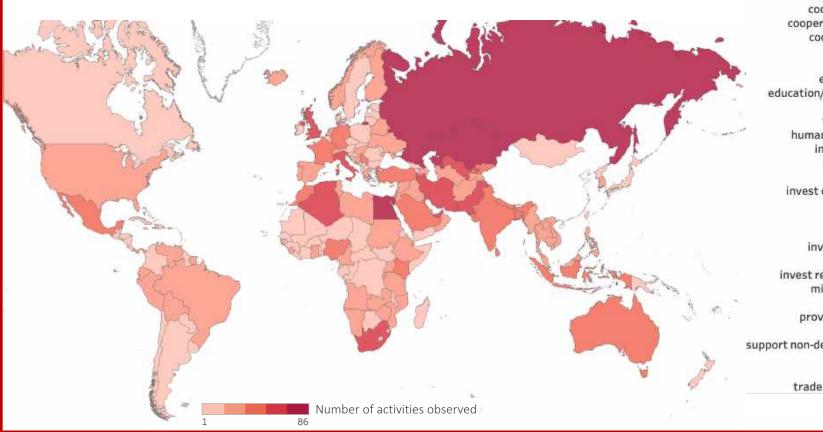
Sign demilitarization measures



Chinese activity globally

While China is most active in its own neighborhood, it has a presences in all 197 countries, generally across multiple types of activities.

Regionally, investment in infrastructure and energy production emerge as hot spots, with investment in resource extraction also high across all regions.

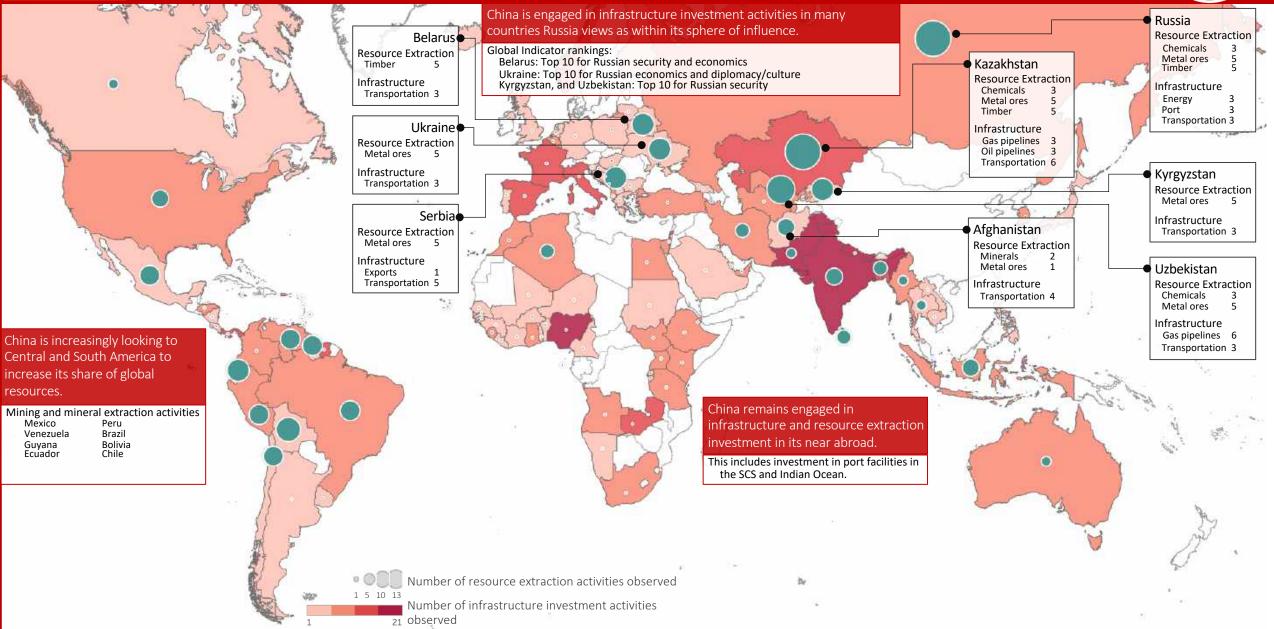


									No.	~	
Activity Type	Asia Pacific	Caribbean	Central America	Eurasia	Europe EU	Europe Non-EU	MENA	North America	South America	South Asia	Sub- Saharan
acquisition knowledge	-				14					2	-
aid	2		3	2			5		3	2	1
Arctic	-			3	7	6					
arms transfers	а			đ			9		1	2	14
BRI	1		1	19	13	3	4			2	2
build political support	3			14		4				6	-
control maritime routes	9					1.1					
cooperation economic	3			3	7				1	1	-4
cooperation gov-to-gov	13			8	1				_		_
cooperation military	82		1	25	50	7	48		2	29	62
cooperation regional		6	16	21	13	5	1.55		10		3
cooperation science tech	-				5	2					
cooperation security	10			d	2		3	1		1	
counterterror	_			2		1	à.			1	
diplomacy	42	9	i di	20	28	20	30	3	11	21	45
economic pressure					15	2				1	
cation/cultural exchange			2	17	2	2	41.	2	4	1	3
finance	174			3		-	14				39
funding education		3	3	30	52	25	28	2	9	6	AS
human capital exchange	19		1	8	3	1	7	2			49
information control	10		2	d	23	3	3			1	37
invest agriculture	1			12		3	12		1	1	25
invest business	0			18	.74	3	12	2		2	
invest energy production	9			-96	67.	28		2	4	19	17
invest finance	2		_		_			1		1	
invest high tech	а		3		2			1		2	-
invest ICT	1		2		30	8		1			48
invest infrastructure	45	29	199	49	66	40	62	1	艿	32	
invest media	1	13	9					3	12	5	56
west resource extraction	11	3	- Mit	54	2	\$	1	- 4	31	11	
military deployment											\$
national security	1			1	- 4					3	
provide media content			2			1		2			3
space	15			10	18		26	3	6	.8	7
non-democratic regimes	23	5					5		10	5	2
trade	46	12	32	12	1	12	22	3	16	19	- 36
trade energy	8	3	1	d			22		4		0
trade natural resources	12	14	6		2				9	3	
			1			₁₆₆ N	umbe	er of ac	tivities	obse	erved



Chinese investment in infrastructure & resource extraction







Eurasia is the only region where Russia does not have a leverage disadvantage in the majority countries of importance to it

		SECURITY Leverage			ECON	OMIC Lev	/erage	DIPLO/CULT Leverage				
Region	Country	Russia US China		Russia	US	China	Russia	US	China			
Asia-Pacific	China	4.25	0.00	0.00	2.75	3.00	0.00	3.00	3.50	0.00		
	Japan	0.00	8.25	0.00	2.25	4.50	3.00	2.00	4.50	4.00		
	South Korea	0.00	8.75	0.00	2.00	2.50	4.00	3.00	3.50	4.00		
South Asia	India	4.00	4.25	2.00	2.75	0.50	2.50	1.00	4.00	3.00		
Eurasia	Belarus	8.50	0.00	0.25	4.50	0.50	0.50	4.50	3.00	2.00		
	Kyrgyzstan	8.00	0.00	2.00	1.50	0.50	3.00	3.50	3.00	2.00		
	Kazakhstan	7.25	0.00	2.25	2.50	0.50	3.50	6.00	3.00	2.00		
	Tajikistan	7.00	0.00	4.50	2.00	0.50	2.00	4.00	2.00	2.00		
	Armenia	7.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	0.50	0.50	3.50	3.00	2.00		
	Azerbaijan	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.75	0.50	0.50	3.50	3.00	2.00		
	Uzbekistan	5.00	2.75	2.00	1.25	0.50	1.00	4.00	3.00	3.00		
	Ukraine	1.00	0.50	0.00	3.50	0.50	0.50	3.50	3.00	3.00		
Europe EU	Finland	4.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.75	0.75	2.50	3.00	3.00		
	Poland	4.00	4.75	0.00	0.75	0.75	0.75	2.50	3.00	3.00		
	Germany	4.00	7.50	0.00	2.75	3.50	2.00	1.50	4.50	4.00		
	Bulgaria	4.00	5.00	0.00	1.50	0.50	0.50	1.50	3.00	3.00		
	Italy	3.00	8.25	0.00	2.25	2.50	2.25	1.50	4.00	3.50		
	France	2.00	4.75	0.00	2.75	3.50	1.75	3.50	5.00	4.00		
	Slovenia	0.00	4.00	0.00	0.75	0.75	0.75	1.50	3.00	3.00		
	United Kingdom	0.00	7.75	0.00	1.75	3.00	2.25	3.00	5.00	5.00		
	Netherlands	0.00	2.50	0.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.50	4.00	4.50		
MENA	Syria	6.50	1.00	0.00	0.50	0.50	1.00	1.00	3.00	2.00		
North	Canada	3.00	6.00	0.00	0.75	7.00	2.75	1.50	5.00	2.50		
America	United States	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.75	0.00	2.25	1.50	0.00	4.00		

- Russia's relative diplomatic/cultural leverage is particularly low in all regions, with the exception of Eurasia where it maintains greater leverage compared to both the US and China in all states of importance to it.
- Russia is the only major power with security leverage in the Eurasian state's of importance to it, with the exception of low leverage for the US in Ukraine and Uzbekistan.
- Relative to the US and China, Russia has little diplomatic cultural leverage over important EU European states.
- It does slightly better in EU states with regard to economic leverage; a reflection of European dependence on Russian energy.
- To the extent that shared importance and competing leverage generate the potential for competition or conflict, the necessary conditions for both exist particularly in those EU countries of importance to Russia.

More leverage than RU

Equal leverage to RU Within .5 point of RU leverage

What are Russia's interests and how is it pursuing them?



counter the threat of domestic terrorism -

Support freedom of navigation / maritime

Decrease influence of US and West -

Support existing free trade regime -

Engagement with regional multilateral security organizations -Increase Access to Russian State Sponsored Media -

Support sovereign rights of authoritarian governments -

Position Russia as a link between China and Europe

Settlement of territorial disputes in Russia's favor

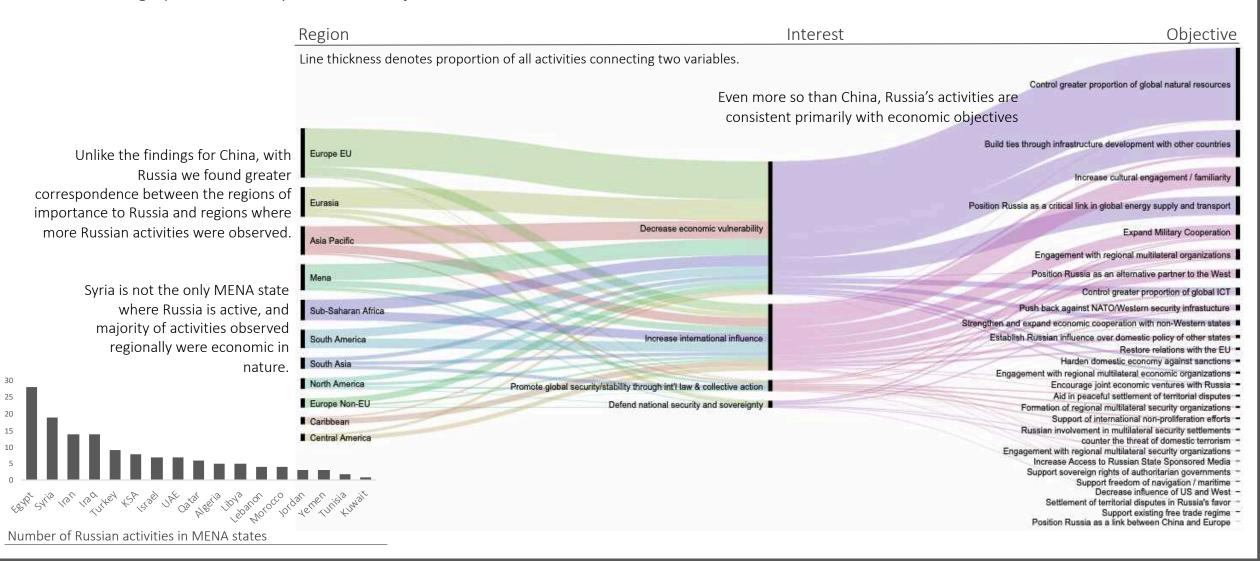
Russian interests and their interrelationships **Russian Interests** Associated Objectives Line thickness denotes proportion of all activities connecting two variables. Control greater proportion of global natural resources Build ties through infrastructure development with other countries Increase international influence Increase cultural engagement / familiarity (decrease US influence) Defend nationa security & sovereignty Position Russia as a critical link in global energy supply and transport Decrease economic vulnerability Ensure regime security & Expand Military Cooperation legitimacv Engagement with regional multilateral organizations Position Russia as an alternative partner to the West Decrease economic Control greater proportion of global ICT vulnerability Push back against NATO/Western security infrastucture Strengthen and expand economic cooperation with non-Western states Promote global Establish Russian influence over domestic policy of other states = Increase international influence security/stability through Harden domestic economy against sanctions int'l law & collective action Restore relations with the EU = Engagement with regional multilateral economic organizations . Promote global security/stability through int'l law & collective action. Encourage joint economic ventures with Russia -Aid in peaceful settlement of territorial disputes -Defend national security and sovereignty Formation of regional multilateral security organizations -Support of international non-proliferation efforts -Russian involvement in multilateral security settlements -

Moscow's strategic calculus is predicated on preserving legitimacy and is correspondingly preemptive, and defensive to the hegemonic US/West, and intolerant of large power imbalances. Russia suffers, however from a discrepancy between its perception of its status, and its resources. That is, while it has great power ambitions, it lacks great power resources, especially compared to the US and China. Straightened circumstances force Moscow to pursue its interests sporadically; maximizing the limited economic leverage it has, bandwagoning with China, and relying on gray strategies to limit direct confrontation with the US and west. In light of Russia's disadvantage on the global stage of competition, Moscow's four core interests manifest across the world in opportunistic fashion; sometimes reinforcing one another and in some cases, conflicting with one another.

Does Russia have a consistent, global strategy, or does it vary by region?



At highest level of analysis, I&A data suggests that Russia has a fairly consistent strategy across regions; pursuing economic and influence interests through predominantly economic objectives.



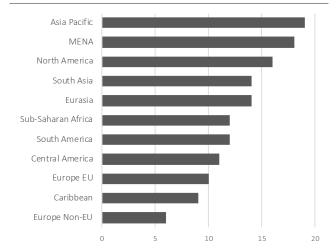
How widely does Russia pursue each interest through specific objectives?



While Russia maintains a global presence it does not pursue its interests as widely or as comprehensively as does China

- Compared to China, Russia's pursuit of its interests is much less comprehensive in scope.
- Much like China, the activities Russia pursues most widely are those associated with its objectives surrounding control of global natural resources, energy supply and infrastructure development.
- Russian activity also signals a desire to expand military cooperation in all regions other than Europe (EU and non-EU) and North America.
- Asia-Pacific is the region is which Russia pursues its interest through the broadest range of objectives.

Number of objectives pursued in each region



Percentage of states in each region where activity supporting specific of	objectives	were	e_obs	served
		ifi	ara	L L

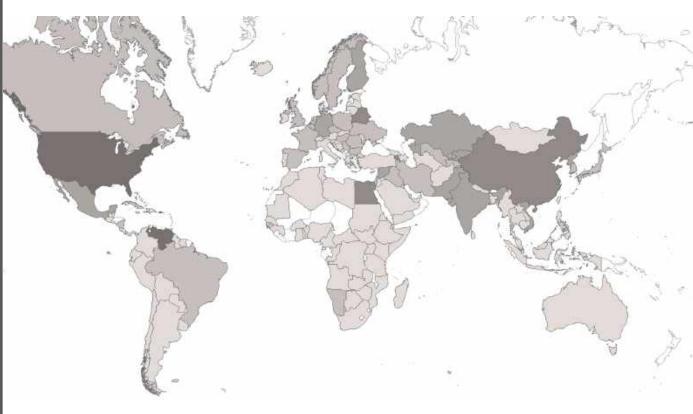
iterest	Objective	EU	Non-EU Europe	MENA	Eurasia	South Asi	Asia Paci	Sub-Saha Africa	Caribbea	South America	Central America	North America
≥	Build ties through infrastructure development with other countries	50%	15%	37%	50%	25%	32%	18%	0%	33%	13%	100%
Decrease economic vulnerability	Control greater proportion of global ICT	21%	8%	11%	58%	25%	16%	2%	8%	17%	13%	50%
era	Control greater proportion of global natural resources	96%	62%	84%	83%	75%	48%	45%	31%	92%	75%	100%
uln	Encourage joint economic ventures with Russia	0%	0%	5%	0%	13%	0%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%
≥ S	Engagement with regional multilateral economic organizations	0%	0%	16%	42%	13%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
mi	Harden domestic economy against sanctions	4%	0%	11%	42%	0%	6%	2%	0%	0%	0%	50%
ouc	Position Russia as a critical link in global energy supply and transport	50%	15%	37%	33%	25%	26%	8%	0%	25%	13%	100%
ec	Position Russia as a link between China and Europe	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
ase	Position Russia as an alternative partner to the West	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	8%	0%	0%	0%
cre	Restore relations with the EU	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
De	Strengthen and expand economic cooperation with non-Western states	0%	0%	26%	0%	13%	16%	0%	0%	58%	13%	0%
	Support existing free trade regime	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%
Defend national security and sovereignty	counter the threat of domestic terrorism	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
scu ty	Engagement with regional multilateral organizations	11%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
end national secu and sovereignty	Engagement with regional multilateral security organizations	0% 0%	0% 8%	0% 0%	42% 0%	0% 0%	0% 0%	0% 0%	0% 0%	0% 0%	0% 0%	0% 0%
ona	Establish Russian influence over domestic policy of other states Expand military cooperation	0%	8%	0%	42%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
sov	Formation of regional multilateral security organizations	0%	0%	0%	42%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
u p	Push back against NATO/Western security infrastucture	0%	23%	21%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%
aı	Settlement of territorial disputes in Russia's favor	0%	8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%
De	Strengthen and expand economic cooperation with non-Western states	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Aid in peaceful settlement of territorial disputes	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%
i ke	counter the threat of domestic terrorism	0%	0%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
ect	Engagement with regional multilateral organizations	11%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
	Expand military cooperation	0%	0%	0%	0%	38%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
ച്ച് പ	Formation of regional multilateral security organizations	0%	0%	21%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
llaw 8 action	Position Russia as an alternative partner to the West	0%	0%	0%	0%	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
ť I I ac	Push back against NATO/Western security infrastucture	0%	0%	0%	0%	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
.=	Russian involvement in multilateral security settlements	0%	0%	11%	0%	13%	3%	2%	0%	0%	0%	50%
through int'l law & collective action	Support existing free trade regime	0% 0%	0% 0%	0% 0%	0% 0%	0% 0%	0% 3%	0% 0%	0% 0%	0% 0%	0% 0%	50% 50%
οι	Support freedom of navigation / maritime Support of international non-proliferation efforts	7%	0%	0%	17%	13%	3% 6%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%
Ŧ	Support sovereign rights of authoritarian governments	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Aid in peaceful settlement of territorial disputes	0%	0%	5%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Build ties through infrastructure development with other countries	0%	0%	16%	8%	13%	13%	6%	0%	0%	13%	0%
	Control greater proportion of global ICT	0%	0%	0%	0%	13%	0%	2%	8%	42%	25%	0%
	Control greater proportion of global natural resources	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%	13%	0%
Jce	Decrease influence of US and West	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%
ner	Encourage joint economic ventures with Russia	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%
infl	Engagement with regional multilateral organizations	11%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	92%	42%	38%	100%
la	Establish Russian influence over domestic policy of other states	32%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	8%	13%	100%
ior	Expand military cooperation	0%	0%	58%	50%	25%	26%	14%	8%	42%	13%	0%
'nat	Increase Access to Russian State Sponsored Media	0%	0%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%	8%	8%	0%	0%
iter	Position Russia as a critical link in global energy supply and transport	82%	46%	53% 0%	67%	63% 0%	32%	10%	8%	42%	25%	100%
e ir	Position Russia as an alternative partner to the West Push back against NATO/Western security infrastucture	0% 0%	0% 0%	0% 5%	0% 0%	25%	0%	0% 8%	8% 8%	50%	0% 38%	0%
lncrease international influence	Push back against NATO/Western security intrastucture Restore relations with the EU	0%	15%	5% 11%	0%	25% 13%	6% 13%	8%	8%	50% 8%	38% 13%	0% 0%
ucu	Strengthen and expand economic cooperation with non-Western states	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
<u> </u>	Support existing free trade regime	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%	13%	0%
	Support Existing free trade regime Support freedom of navigation / maritime	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%
	Support sovereign rights of authoritarian governments	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%
	Increase cultural engagement / familiarity	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Russian activity globally



With the exception of West Africa (and New Zealand), Russia is as geographically diverse in its activities as China.

However, it's presence is not as strong as China's, that is, it does not appear to be involved in the same number of range of activities as China.



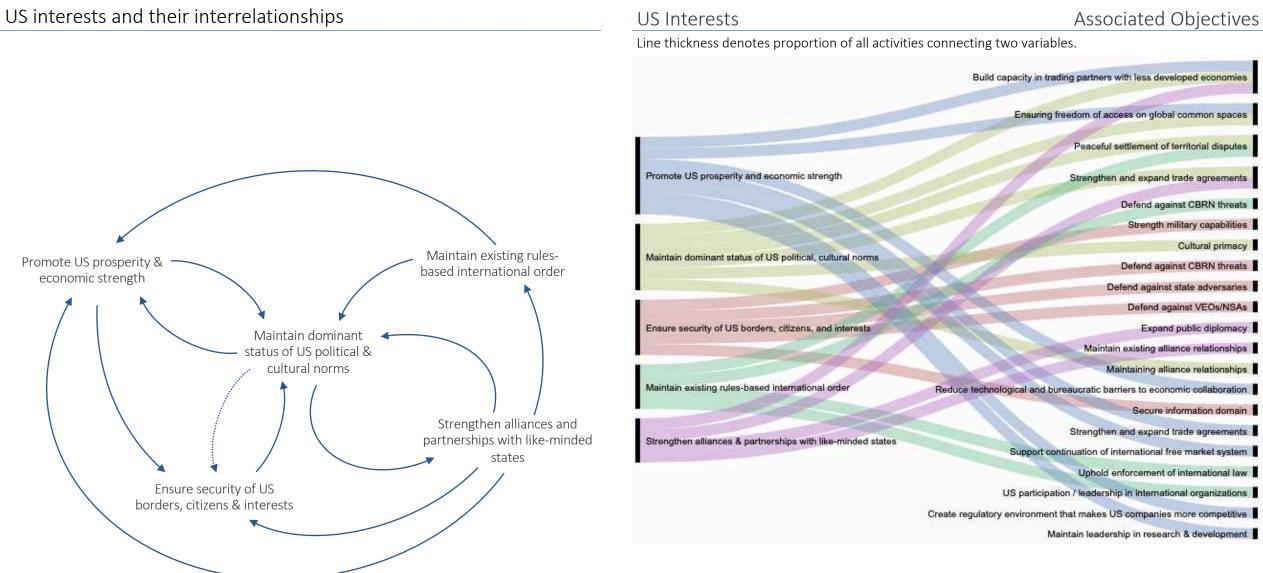
Activity type	Asia Pac	Caribbe	Centra Americ	
trade energy	44	4	8	
education/cultural exchange	10	1	3	
cooperation economic	б	18	(0)	
cooperation civil nuclear	11			
invest energy production	6	2	2	
space	4	1	2	
energy production	1			
invest business	10			
b cooperation military	10	3	3	
~ arms transfers	7	1		
diplomacy	12	1	5	
invest infrastructure	10		1	
Arctic				
invest resource extraction	3	2		
counterterror				
military deployment				
cooperation regional			2	
cooperation security	2	1	2	
political destabilization				
aid		2	2	
information control		1	2	
support non-demo regimes				
cooperation nuclear security	-1			
cooperation gov-to-gov	2			
invest energy	2	1	3	
trade natural resources	1			
BRI	4			
provide media content		1		
trade	1			
Encourage investment in Russia				
finance				
information manipulation				

								V	~	
Asia Pacific	Caribbean	Central America	Eurasia	Europe EU	Europe Non-EU	MENA	Nth America	South Asia	Sth America	Sub-Saharan Africa
440	4	8			24	26	6	10	10	22
10	1	з	16	26	5	11	3	9	12	Ð
ő	18	100	10	3		6		2	7	14
11			10	18		12			з	8
6	2	2	10	5	5	12	3		10	6
4	1	2	10	7	4	5	8	3	5	4
1			9	21	5	5	Z		5	1
10			2	10		14	4		- 14	- 4
10	3	3	5			4		9	7	4
7	1		3			14		5	3	5
12	1	5				3	-14	7	6	1
10		1	5	4		7		6		4
				9	6		21			
3	2		1	3.				2 4	-5	12
			9			6		4		
			10			1			.4	3
		2		S					9	
2	1	2		3		4	1		1	2
				9			Z			
	2	2	2	1					2	
	1	2						1	4	1
						3				5
4			2	1			11	2		
2				2						2
2	1	3								
1				1	1 1	2	1			
4										
	1					2			1	
1							1			2
						2				
										2
										2
			Num	ber of	activiti	es obs	served			

135

US interests and associated objectives







aid

Implications for US: Do China & Russia have a global strategy?



Russian Influence

Activities

Both are engaged globally in activities consistent with increasing their influence.

Arctic BRI build political support cooperation economic cooperation gov-to-gov cooperation military cooperation regional cooperation science tech cooperation security diplomacy economic pressure education/cultural exchange funding education human capital exchange information control invest energy production invest ICT invest infrastructure invest media invest resource extraction provide media content space support non-democratic regimes trade



Number activities related to increasing Chinese influence

1 24 Number activities related to increasing Russian influence BRI cooperation civil nuclear cooperation economic cooperation gov-to-gov cooperation nuclear security cooperation regional diplomacy Encourage investment in Russia energy production finance invest business invest energy invest energy production invest infrastructure invest resource extraction

space trade trade energy trade natural resources

China is engaged in activities consistent with increased influence in almost all states.

Russia is less active in increasing its influence in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Asia-Pacific than is China

Both China and Russia consider decreasing the influence of the US to be a critical security, economic and domestic political (regime security) objective.

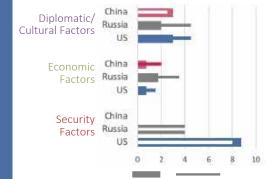
GCC Deep Dive: Leverage in states important to the US

Global Patterns

- US has greater overall leverage than Russia and China in its high importance (HI) countries.
- However, there are several states, across most regions, where Russia or China have greater leverage than the US on a specific dimension
- Russia has some security leverage in almost ½ the US high importance states; China only in Qatar.
- China has economic leverage in every one of the US top, and greater economic leverage than Russia in 15 of these.
- Russia & China have considerable economic leverage in European states important to the US. China is increasingly augmenting this with greater diplo/cult leverage.
- China's economic & diplo-cult leverage over close US allies in the Asia-Pacific reflects the wider pattern of dual dependency among regional states that challenges US interest in strengthening regional alliances.

importance

12 14



TURKEY

Security

Economic

Security

Economic

Map

Russian competition for security or diplomatic leverage in Turkey may be limited to poking the US rather than true interest in relations with Turkey. However Turkey is vulnerable to pressure from both Russia and China.

