



WHAT DOES IT TAKE TO BE A GEOPOLITICAL POWER IN A NEW WORLD ORDER?



SIZE MATTERS



- **Population**
- **Land area + oceans**
- **GDP**
- **Military might**
- **Trade: diversity of products**
- **Natural resources**
- **Innovation capacity, education**
- **Reserve currency; conditions: be enough of it, pricing in international trade, liquidity, depth of capital market, transparency, confidence**
- **Ambition to be a world leader**

POPULATION



Population of the world's leading countries, 2017-2023 (million people, forecast from 2018)

Countries	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
China	1390,1	1397,0	1403,4	1409,3	1414,6	1419,5	1420,9
India	1316,9	1334,2	1351,8	1369,6	1387,6	1405,8	1424,3
European Union	509,7	510,9	511,8	512,5	513,2	513,8	514,3
Germany	82,7	82,8	82,9	82,9	82,8	82,7	82,7
France	64,8	65,1	65,4	65,7	66,0	66,3	66,6
Italy	60,6	60,8	60,7	60,7	60,7	60,7	60,6
United Kingdom	66,0	66,5	66,8	67,2	67,5	67,8	68,0
United States	325,9	328,1	330,2	332,3	334,4	336,5	338,6
Russia	144,0	144,0	143,9	143,8	143,6	143,4	143,2
Japan	126,7	126,4	126,0	125,6	125,1	124,6	124,1

LAND AREA



The world biggest countries, based on land area (square kilometer)

Countries	Rank	Land area (in square km)
Russia	1	16 377 742
...
China	3	9 326 410
United States	4	9 147 593
Canada	5	9 093 507
Brazil	6	8 358 140
...
India	8	2 973 193
...
Japan	63	364 485

The share of US, China and India in the world's GDP, based on current prices, 2001-2023 (in per cent, forecast from 2018)

Countries	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
United States	31,5	31,5	29,4	27,8	27,4	26,8	24,9	23,1	23,9	22,7	21,2	21,7	21,9	22,2	24,4	24,7	24,3	24,2	24,4	23,9	23,6	23,1	22,7
China	4,0	4,3	4,3	4,5	4,9	5,4	6,1	7,2	8,5	9,2	10,3	11,5	12,6	13,4	15,0	14,8	15,0	15,9	16,1	16,6	17,1	17,6	18,0
India	1,5	1,5	1,6	1,6	1,8	1,8	2,1	1,9	2,3	2,6	2,5	2,4	2,4	2,6	2,8	3,0	3,3	3,2	3,4	3,5	3,7	3,8	4,0

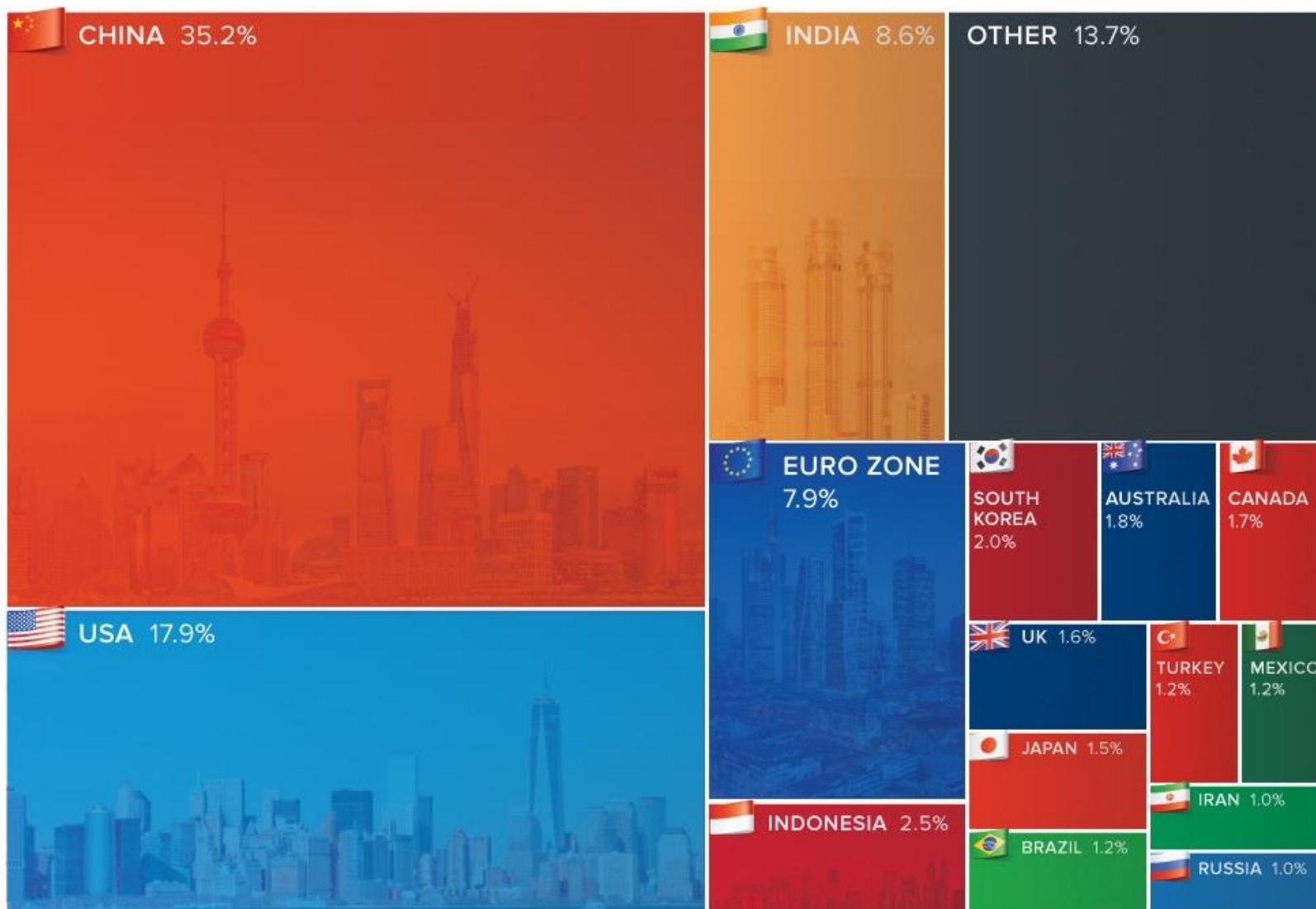
The share of US, China and India in the world's GDP, based on PPP, 2001-2023 (in per cent, forecast from 2018)

Countries	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
United States	20,2	19,9	19,7	19,4	19,2	18,8	18,1	17,6	17,2	16,8	16,4	16,2	16	15,8	15,7	15,5	15,3	15,2	15	14,8	14,5	14,2	13,9
China	7,8	8,3	8,8	9,2	9,8	10,4	11,3	12	13,2	13,9	14,6	15,3	15,9	16,5	17,1	17,7	18,2	18,7	19,2	19,7	20,1	20,6	21
India	4,3	4,3	4,5	4,6	4,8	5,0	5,2	5,2	5,7	5,9	6,1	6,2	6,4	6,6	7,0	7,2	7,4	7,7	8,0	8,3	8,6	9,0	9,3

CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD GROWTH



% OF EST. GLOBAL GROWTH (2017-2019) IN REAL GDP



The share of US, China and India in the world's product import 2001-2017 (in per cent)

Countries	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
United States	18,1	18,2	16,9	16,2	16,4	15,7	14,3	13,2	12,7	12,8	12,4	12,6	12,3	12,8	14,0	14,0	13,5
China	3,9	4,5	5,4	6,0	6,2	6,5	6,8	6,9	8,0	9,1	9,5	9,8	10,3	10,4	10,1	9,9	10,3
India	0,8	0,9	0,9	1,1	1,3	1,5	1,6	1,9	2,1	2,3	2,5	2,6	2,5	2,4	2,4	2,2	2,5

The share of US, China and India in the world's product export 2001-2017 (in per cent)

Countries	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
United States	11,9	10,8	9,7	9	8,7	8,7	8,4	8,1	8,6	8,5	8,2	8,4	8,4	8,6	9,2	9,1	8,8
China	4,3	5,1	5,9	6,5	7,4	8,1	8,8	9	9,7	10,5	10,5	11,1	11,7	12,4	13,9	13,2	12,9
India	0,7	0,8	0,8	0,8	1,0	1,0	1,1	1,1	1,4	1,5	1,7	1,6	1,8	1,7	1,6	1,6	1,7

THE DEFENCE EXPENDITURES OF CHINA HAS GROWN MORE THAN 50 PER CENT SINCE 2011



Defence expenditures of the world's leading countries, 2011-2018 (million USD)

Countries	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
United States	740 744	712 947	680 856	653 942	641 253	656 059	685 957	706 063
European Union	260 639	242 432	247 420	249 073	217 216	219 077	230 641	262 991
United Kingdom	62 852	58 016	62 258	65 658	59 492	56 964	55 344	61 508
France	53 441	50 245	52 316	51 940	43 474	44 191	46 036	52 025
Germany	48 140	46 470	45 931	46 102	39 813	41 590	45 580	51 009
Italy	30 223	26 468	26 658	24 448	19 566	22 373	23 852	25 780
China	<u>137 967</u>	<u>157 390</u>	<u>179 880</u>	<u>200 772</u>	<u>214 093</u>	<u>216 031</u>	<u>228 231</u>	
Russia	<u>70 238</u>	<u>81 469</u>	88 353	84 697	66 419	69 245	66 335	

Notes: The underlined data about Russia and China are estimates of Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. 2018 data for Russia and China are not available.

CANDIDATES FOR WORLD LEADERSHIP



- **There is a move away from unipolar to multipolar world.**
- Candidates for leadership:
 - **USA:** still strongest, but its relative power is diminishing. „America First” policy has diminished confidence in US willingness to lead, at least in the short-term, but don't give up America's strong will to lead the world even if it has to share that role with others. Oldest and strongest democracy remains a source of confidence for many versus authoritarian rulers with less democratic experience.
 - **Europe:** population, land area, GDP, trade, innovation, currency, military might (UK, FR, DE, NATO membership), democratic tradition would make it a credible candidate, but lack of unified state, unified military force, unified foreign policy limits its capacity to become a world leader. Can be initiator, but would play rather a supporting role.
 - **China:** large population, large area, soon largest GDP and trade, already largest contributor to world growth, rapid increase in military spending, strong in innovation and education. Strong ambition to become leading world power.
 - **Russia:** military might, but weak economy based on natural resources. Might change in the future.

CONCLUSION



- **Emerging USA-China bipolar** world for near term, with China increasingly dominating East and South-East Asia and gaining influence in Africa and parts of South America.
- Regional organization, such as ASEAN, Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Transpacific Partnership (formerly TPP), Mercosur, Eurasian Economic Union will remain regional economic and trade cooperation agreements without world leadership role.



Thank you for your attention!