# China's Responses to a Changing External Environment

14 Annual Queen's Institute on Trade Policy

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# Growing External Hostility

- Section 232 investigations
- Tariffs
- Investment screenings
- Indo-Pacific Economic Framework (IPEF)
- Export controls
- CHIPS and Science Act

#### China's RC4'''s ()4

## Retaliation

Carefully calibrated

- Non-escalatory
- Consistent pro-trade rhetoric in *People's Daily*
- Less than proportionate in some cases

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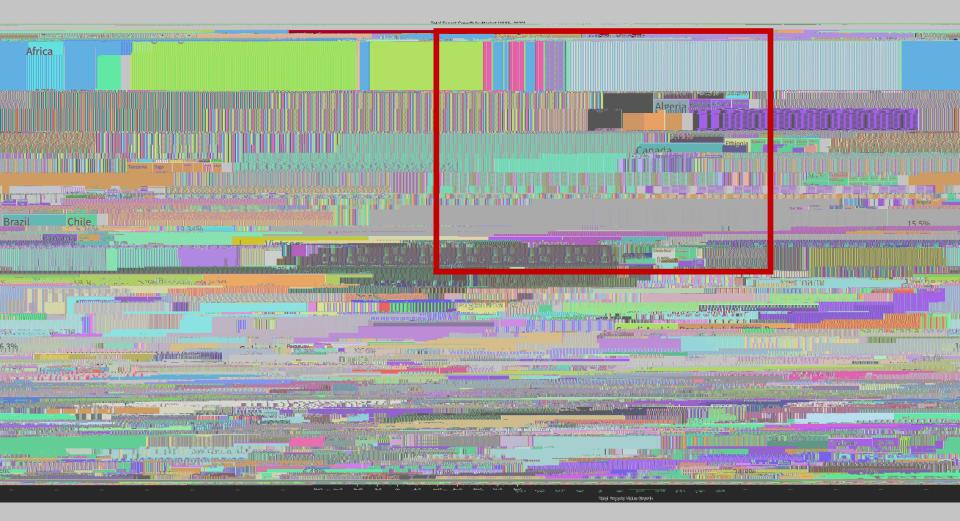
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- China-Cambodia FTA (2020)
- China-

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China's Total Export Growth by Market (2017-2020)



China's Total Export Growth by Market (2017-2020)



China's Total Import Growth by Market (2017-2020)



China's Total Import Growth by Market (2017-2020)



China's Total Import Growth by Market (2017-2020)

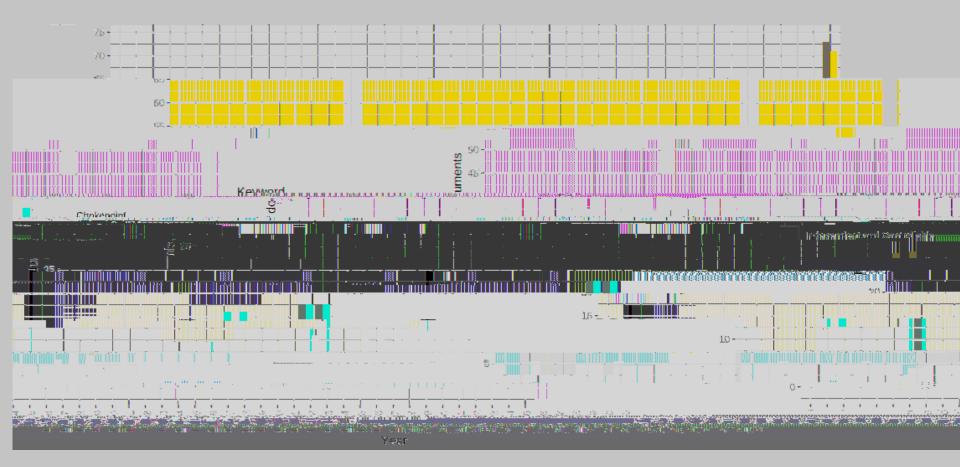


• Shift in elite thinking: integration as a source of vulnerability



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• Increasing policy emphasis on economic vulnerabilities and



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- Solidification of the "containment" narrative
- *People's Daily* response to IPEF launch:
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- Formal shift in the CCP's threat assessment
- Xi Jinping's 20 Party Congress report:
  - "Our country has entered a period when strategic opportunity coexists with risks and challenges, and uncertainties and unforeseen factors are rising"
  - "the world has entered a period of turbulence and transformation."

#### Implications

China's multi-faceted responses

- Retaliate without escalation

Diversify
Securitize
Dual circulation

**Dual Circulation** 

- Doctrinal formalization of long-standing trends/concerns
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# Implications

- US-China securitization spiral
- US actions fuel a containment narrative in China → justifies further securitization → negative feedback loop to US
- Whose strategic interests does this serve?
- Need for a clear articulation of the desired political and economic relationship with China
- "Competition" is a stance, not a strategy