POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS OF RUSSIA AND CHINA BY THE HOME

Abstract

Russia and China occupy a vast area of Earth’s land-based land. For centuries, the vast expanses of these countries have been unexplored in the fact that in the XX century, these two ginns were more seriously explored and the rivers link their distant territories with the capitals. The creator of the first international treaty between Russia and China (the 1728 coalition agreement) was a Serb, Russian count, Sava Vladislavic. It was the beginning of the construction of political and economic relations between Russia and China. During the three centuries of the existence of international cooperation between these two countries, there have been rising and falling as well as stagnation. In the Russian-Japanese War at the beginning of the XX century, Russia struggled to protect its influence in the Far East and prevent Japanese penetration into the significant Chinese province of Manchuria. Similarly, it was repeated in the Second World War when the Russians (the USSR) expelled the Japanese from Manchuria. The worst relations occur at the time of the communist development of both countries. At the end of the XX century, after the fall of communism in the USSR and the reforming of China into a market economy, the strategic partnership of the two countries, which is still taking place on both sides, has begun. We can say that this is a good example of a natural ally, where the two countries have a match of strategic interests.

Key words: Russia, China, cooperation, Sava Vladislavic, Manchuria, strategic partnership.

JEL Classification: K2, K33, K37

ПОЛИТИЧКИ И ЕКОНОМСКИ ОДНОСИ РУСИЈЕ И КИНЕ ПОЧЕТКОМ XXI ВЕКА

Апстракт

Русија и Кина заузимају огроман простор копна планете Земље. Вековима су огромна пространства у саставу ових земаља била неистражена да би тек у XIX веку ова два цивила била озбиљније истражена и саобраћајницама спојене њихове удалењене територије са престоницама. Творац првог међуна-

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1. Introduction

Geopolitics has no universal meaning. He studies the relationships between political power and geographical space and has only become important in analyzing the relationship between world powers. International relations represent the field of public action, and the branch of the polytic science dealing with the foreign policy of the state within the international system. The state’s foreign policy in the broadest sense is any activity of a state regarding relations with other states or international organizations (Jerotijević, Jerotijević and Matić, 2015, p. 33). International relations connect many different areas, such as political science, economics, philosophy, sociology and other social sciences. International relations deal with a wide range of issues and problems, including the ecological movement, nuclear danger, nationalism, international aid, economic development and human rights (Jerotijević, Jerotijević and Matić, 2015 p. 33). We will try to analyze the geopolitical relations between Russia and China in the 21st century. At the end of the last century, more precisely in 1996 Boris Yeltsin and Zijang Cemin arranged a “strategic partnership” between the two countries - the Russian Federation and the People’s Republic of China. Thus, former enemies suddenly became allies. Russian and Chinese influences in the world are growing, and these two countries are able to provoke the domination of the United States at the international level. China’s economic growth in this century turns out to be the greatest fear for the United States, and the Pentagon has decided to increase its aggressive military attitude towards China. In 2001, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) was founded as a counterweight to NATO. Members of SCO are China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. The Shanghai Summit in Astana was held in June, and India and Pakistan became full members of the organization. Under the SCO, Russia and China regularly hold joint military exercises, the first being in 2005. In general, there is a Euro-Asian link between Russia and China. These two countries increased mutual trade, and in 2008, they resolved the controversial issue of the border. The import of weapons from Russia to
China goes hand in hand with the economic and strategic interest of both countries, and a complementary energy strategy has been elaborated: Russia has oil and gas that China is absolutely indispensable.

Similarly, Russia and China share common interests. Some of them are the suppression of terrorism, the resolution of global conflicts and the suppression of weapons of mass destruction. Relations between these two countries have never been better. In 2009, BRIC was established to improve the global economic situation. Members originally were Brazil, Russia, India and China, and since 2010, the Republic of South Africa has joined, and the name has changed to BRICS.

2. Economy of Russia and China

This chapter will show why Russia and China are geopolitically important and strong, which will emphasize the importance of their alliance. We live in a world where large military formations are still present in the East and West, and few realize that this will no longer be important in the future. The world is accustomed to this state of affairs, with the United States located wherever they can express their role in world affairs.

However, Russia is the country with the largest reserves of natural gas in the world and the sixth in the world with oil reserves. With oil and gas, Russia is the main exporter of coal. According to a report by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, in the past five years, after the United States, Russia was the largest exporter of weapons - exported 23% of the world’s total export weapon (Petrović, 2007, p. 32). The largest exporting country in the world is China, and along with the Russian-Chinese alliance, the US primacy in the world is becoming questionable.

In connection with the above, Russia is one of the world’s leading producers of oil and natural gas, and is also a leading exporter of metals such as steel and aluminum. The economy of Russia may be damaged by the export of such products due to the frequent change in global prices. The economy, which in the period from 1998 to 2008 had an average growth of 7% due to the rapid rise in oil prices, began to stagnate in the following period (Petrović, 2007, p. 79).

China is developing good neighborly relations in order to strengthen its influence in the region. After 1989, China opened for foreign investment and began to seek membership in the World Trade Organization. It has become a privileged direct investment market for American and European multinational companies. In the past twenty years, the results of investment are incredible. Today, China is the largest exporting country in general and the second largest oil importing country. In 1994, China became the world’s importer of a petroleum exporter (Petrović, 2007, p. 35).

Vladimir Terehov considered that 2018 would be a year of radical change in the world. These changes affect the internal and external policies, as well as the economic development of all countries of the world. The events that marked the world in the next few months were the biggest proof of the time of global change. Teherov pays special attention to Chinese President Xi Jinping. She considers that 2018 represents a year of special challenges to China and its foreign policy, which is largely linked to the uncertainty caused by the foreign policy of the United States, which currently has a new administration and new President Donald Tramp.
3. Russian economy

Russia has undergone many changes since the collapse of the Soviet Union. There have been huge changes in the Russian economy. She no longer had exclusively centrally planned, but began to focus on the market economy system. Economic growth and reforms have stagnated in recent years, but the Russian economy is still predominantly etatistically oriented with a strong concentration of wealthy state officials in power. The economic reforms of the 1990s privatized most industries, with exceptions in the energy sector, transport, banking and defense-related sectors. The protection of property rights is still weak, and the state continues to interfere with the free work of the private sector (Petrović 1, 2007, p. 80).

The combination of falling oil prices, international sanctions and structural constraints has sparked a major recession throughout Russia in 2015, with GDP falling by almost 4%. This trend continued until 2016, while GDP fell by another 0.6%. Government support for import substitution has recently been increased to boost the diversity of economies. Lately, there has been a stabilization in terms of recession, with the resurgence of economic growth.

Russia is largely dependent on how world prices are moving, and the Central Russian Bank estimates that if oil prices remain below $40 per barrel in 2017, the result will be a 5% drop in GDP (Milošević, 2005, p. 32).

Oil and gas have been the main item of Russian exports for a long time. This makes sense because Russia is the country with the largest reserves of natural gas in the world and is the sixth in the world with oil reserves. But that’s not right. This leads to the economy’s sensitivity to fluctuations in oil and gas prices. According to reports from the Russian export center, in 2016, exports fell by 17%, or 58 billion dollars compared to 2015. This was due to a sharp drop in oil prices at the beginning of the year. Oil prices jumped again when OPEC states agreed with Russia to limit oil production. The oil market is still quite immune to oscillations and instability. Today, the popularity of alternative energy sources is growing, and the question is how stable stability can be based on the export of fossil fuels. However, in 2016, Vladimir Putin pointed out that it is too early to expect the end of fossil fuel. Russia knows that dependence on oil and gas exports is harmful, but in the opinion of experts it is difficult to change the situation in the next decade (Petrović, 2007, p. 41).

Authorities in Russia are most hoping to export wheat. Agriculture Minister Aleksandar Tkachov has repeatedly stressed that Russia has become one of the leading exporters of wheat in the last few years. In the agricultural season, from June 2016 to June 2017, Russia delivered 27.1 million tons of wheat to world markets. Also, according to certain forecasts, Russian agricultural products could reach a record of 133 million tons. We can conclude that Russia is becoming one of the leaders among agricultural producers in the world. Data from the Federal Customs Service of Russia show that the volume of exports increased by 41.9% in January 2017 compared to the same period last year (Dinić and Lazić, 1970, p. 54).
4. Chinese economy

In the seventies of the last century, China began to open, and the “world workshop” was slowly created. China was skilled in capitalizing its most valuable asset, an abundance of human labor, and turned the country into the world’s second largest economy, just behind the United States. However, the problem of economic growth from the point of view of China’s national security was a very high degree of dependence on foreign international companies, especially American. The Chinese business wonder for the last thirty-three years was due to other countries. Most of the profits were taken by international companies from developed countries, especially from the United States. Foreign companies in China significantly contributed to Chinese GDP. Many products are produced in China, but several of them are designed, created or designed (Petrović 1, 2007, p. 96).

Deng Xiaoping opened the country’s investment, facilitated foreign affairs, and encouraged Chinese entrepreneurs to join joint ventures with the West. Deng’s Shenzhen fishing village, located along the border to Hong Kong, declared “a special economic zone” without taxes on foreign operations of the first year of operation. Throughout southern China, the government began to build roads, ports and other infrastructure. In 1994, it devalued the Chinese currency from about 5 to 8 yuan per dollar, which avoids the rapid development of the country. China, at one time the cheapest in Asia, has attracted huge investments. Millions of migrant workers have flooded industrial centers. Shenzhen was successful. With a growth of 20% a year, the famous Chinese “Monster Town” became famous. In two decades, the fishing village has turned into an urban center of 7 million people (in a wider area of the city) with skyscrapers, large square kilometers of factories and modern electronic business centers (Dinić and Lazić, 1970, p. 55).

Since the end of the 1970s, China has moved from a closed, centrally oriented system to a market-oriented system. That is why China has become important globally. China has gradually implemented reforms, resulting in its increasing efficiency in many areas. GDP has risen more than ten times since 1978. Reforms began with the abolition of collectivization of agriculture and expanded to a gradual price liberalization, fiscal decentralization, there was an increase in the autonomy of state-owned enterprises, the growth of the private sector, the development of stock markets and the modern banking system. This resulted in the opening of foreign trade and investment. China is still focused on industry, state aid to key sectors and a restrictive investment regime. In terms of parity, China became the world’s largest economy in 2016, which for the first time surpassed the United States in its contemporary history, and in 2010 it became the world’s largest exporter (Dinić and Lazić, 1970, p. 58).

New markets throughout Eurasia continue, in Africa and Western Europe, depend on the construction of large, new infrastructure roads such as high-speed railways, modern highways, telecommunications, electrical and energy infrastructure. Financing the construction of such infrastructure, with state aid from China, Russia and Eurasian countries, including Kazakhstan, and even Iran, has led to the problem of money not appearing. China supports the US and EU in the possibility of issuing bonds for such long-term infrastructure. If China, Russia and other SCO countries are seriously cooperating and planning to build such an infrastructure, so they have established one another, and
not within the major world markets, they will stimulate economic revival for the next three or more decades not only for the Chinese industry, but also for the Russia, Central Asia endangered the economies of European countries.

The Chinese government’s thirtieth-year plan was presented in March 2016. The government stressed the need to increase innovation and increase domestic consumption, so the economy is less dependent on government, export and heavy industry investments. However, China has only made little progress in achieving these goals. Chinese government led by President Xi Jinping intends to double the GDP by 2020 (Milošević, 2005, p. 52).

Obviously, the economic diplomacy of Russia and China and their Eurasian economic communities largely depends on the realization of numerous industrial projects such as fast railways, new ports, energy infrastructure, and all of which will create a diverse market within the next decade if things continue to evolve at the current pace Milošević, 2005, p. 52-53).

5. The importance of the Russian-Chinese alliance

From the above, the reader can slowly notice the importance of the Russian-Chinese alliance for the future of both the new world order and geopolitics. Russia and China are countries that have many natural resources, and this only increases their interests in their mutual relations. Official reports show that exports from Russia to China in 2015 amounted to $ 33 billion, and Russia ranked 16th among 20 leading trading partners in China, which is the main Russian export partner. In 2016, about 30% of Russian exports to China were food products that are experiencing increasing demand. China purchases primary fish and meat products. Despite the healthy Chinese diet, Russian dairy products are in the first place. Milk to the Chinese is one of the healthiest products, and are willing to pay it very costly. In addition to dairy products, in the period between 2015 and 2016, exports of Russian chocolate, sunflower oil, beer and honey from Russia to China have increased greatly (Milošević, 2005, p. 93).

Despite the disagreements in the past (or at the time of communism), Russia and China are increasingly cooperating in the 21st century. The Ministry of Geological Resources and Mining of the People’s Republic of China estimated that the South China Sea could contain 17.7 billion tons of crude oil. The most optimistic estimates suggest that the potential oil reserves of the Spratli and Paracel Islands in the South China Sea could reach 105,000,000,000 barrels of oil and that total reserves in the South China Sea could reach as much as 213,000,000,000 barrels (Petrović, 2007, p. 53).

William Engdal, a renowned economist, historian and geopolitical analyst, writes that in June 2012, the state oil giant Sinopec began drilling the first of the nine planned shale deposits in Chungking, where it is expected to produce 11 to 18 billion cubic feet (300-500 million cubic meters ) of natural gas, which is the amount of Chinese daily gas consumption. By 2020, the national goal is to cover 6% of the country’s total energy needs from Chinese shale gas. The government in Beijing has received geological forecasts from the US Energy Information Department of Energy that China may “possibly have” the world’s largest “technically reimbursable” resources estimated at 1275 billion cubic feet, i.e. to 20% of total world resources.
This means that the alliance of Russia and China establishes a new framework in the geopolitical relations in the world. The author of this text considers that the mentioned alliance is extremely important because new power centers are emerging in which the US no longer leads. China itself is certainly not capable of taking the leading role in the world, but with Russia, for its part, it can surely become the number one force.

It should be noted that from the list of 20 Russian companies, including financial institutions, industrial companies and government services, placed bonds on the Chinese stock market worth $ 300 million. It may not seem like this is a big deal, but that segment of the market has finally begun to develop. By 2015, foreign investors were banned from investing in the Chinese bonds market. For this reason, Russia is very important for entering the market (Milošević, 2005, p. 96).

6. Russian-Chinese relations

When Russia returned Krim under its umbrella in 2014, many world officials condemned it. In his book, Rob de Vijk writes that Putin made a normal thing, that is, the thing that big states do when re-integrating their territories. At the same time, China was in conflict with the Philippines and Vietnam, in terms of control over small islands. China and Russia have begun to become the forces that currently shape the image of the new world order, and as a result, the world is increasingly dependent on the West (Milošević, 2005, p. 102).

The power of the state is a combination of various factors: population, territory, economy, and military. Furthermore, technology and factors that are not as easily measurable as political and strategic culture, these two factors greatly determine whether the state joins the power politics, and if so, then political and strategic culture determines in what way. Energy policy is the ability of the state to exploit that power and determine how it will be exploited. For example, in general, Russia is a country with a weaker economy than Germany, but it is always willing to take advantage of its power (Petrović, 2007, p. 72).

From a geopolitical point of view, the relationship between Russia and China is getting tougher when signing a partnership agreement between the two countries. The agreement signed after a long period of both verbal and deadly conflicts marks a genuine desire on both sides to forget all the disagreements and bad relations and to turn to the future (again, we must emphasize that this is a period of communism and ideological differences at that time). Therefore, excellent relations have been created for a better future for both countries (Dugin, 2004, p. 137).

Lovel Ditmer writes that perhaps the greatest value of the partnership is bilateral, turning the world’s longest land border from the iron curtain to economic transition, and generally improving relations between the two largest countries in the world. Since 1992, there have been a number of diplomatic exchanges and summits on a high level, which has been stabilized on an annual basis. This resulted in hundreds of agreements of which the most important ones were: the 1991 agreement on the restriction of the eastern border and the initiation of the border demarcation, in 1993, the Pact on Military Cooperation was signed for five years, in September 1994, a non-aggression agreement, the common classification of strategic weapons and joint non-use of nuclear energy, as well as the 1997 agreement on trade, oil and gas and cultural cooperation.
Irina Isakova believes that China is the main strategic and economic partner of Russia. On July 16, 2001, Russian President Vladimir Putin and Chinese President Xian Cemin signed a friendship agreement. Within 20 years, a framework for bilateral relations has been established. After these 20 years, the contract will automatically be extended for the next 5 years unless one of the members requests an annual notice. Russian and Chinese experts in US affairs said the Amnesty Agreement symbolized the increased role of the arms market in international relations. Thus, China became Russia’s largest arms export market (Milošević, 2005, p. 111).

As Scherman Garnet writes in his article, since 1995. By 1999, the Russians sold weapons worth $ 3.3 billion to China. In August 2005, there were the first combined military maneuvers on the Shandong Peninsula. It was an obvious indicator of the creation of a geopolitical alliance that Washington was most afraid of. Political, military and economic ties between Russia and China, former enemies, who become allies (Dugin, 2004, p. 139).

Before the beginning of the financial crisis 2008-2009, Russia and China experienced strong economic growth stimulated by their exports. Russia with the export of oil and gas and China with everything else. At the same time, China and Russia are characterized as developing countries, and China continues to fight millions of people living in poverty, while Russia continues to try to make its economy diverse and not depend only on the export of raw materials (Dugin, 2004, p. 140). This close relationship between China and Russia is causing discomfort in the Asia Pacific, as well as in Washington. Despite all the fears of these countries, there are many common interests. For example, they have the same attitude to regional security. In addition, they have growing economic interactions, and have similar approaches to energy diversification (Milošević, 2005, p. 115).

Beijing and Moscow have similar attitudes about the world and do not agree with the US leadership in the international arena. They doubt Washington’s intentions, and China and Russia have worked together to balance US interests. Similarly, both countries are skeptical of sovereignty, and probably because they have regions that are concerned with the independence they need to worry about. Common perspectives, as they have led to the practical cooperation of these two countries. Not only are China and Russia permanent members of the UN Security Council who have veto power, but they have similar voting processes and have similar attitudes to a range of international issues. This includes a significant role in the OUN, opposition to missile defense and the armament of the universe, and the problematic situation in Sudan, Iran and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (Dugin, 2004, p. 143).

Regarding relations with Central Asia, China and Russia have a similar view of the five former Soviet republics in Central Asia. Russia and China have long borders in the region and have an interest in maintaining stability. Fighting terrorism is one of the key concerns of Moscow and Beijing and support the US in its efforts to destroy the Taliban in Afghanistan. At the same time, both countries hope to reduce the influence of the United States in the region. As for energy resources, Russia and China want to develop the exploitation of large amounts of gas and oil in Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. Moscow hopes to keep the monopoly over the pipelines in the region and direct them to the west. On the other hand, China wants access to oil and gas in Central Asia and already builds pipelines directed east of the region, and in cooperation with Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan (Dugin, 2004, p. 144).
Russia’s energy infrastructure is west oriented and Russia is not fully prepared to devote itself to the development of oil pipeline that would send oil from East Siberia to China. However, in 2009, an agreement was signed on the construction of a gas pipeline to the Chinese border. Russian hesitation stems from the inconvenience of the fact that any gas pipeline built in East Asia will not be commercially viable. If this happens, then Russia could become dependent on China as the destination for energy exports and will be exposed to pressure from Beijing in relation to the price and quantity of any oil or gas delivered (Petrović 1, 2007, p. 105).

The leaders of Russia and China expressed the desire to create joint conditions for economic and trade cooperation, to improve the banking system for mutual settlement of accounts and financial services. In addition, they want to achieve better results regarding China-Russia affairs in the field of arbitration systems. Both countries promote a neutrality policy with a strong advisory mechanism for security. The friendship agreement has led to the establishment of friendly relations between Russia and China on neutrality, friendly relations and without the interference of any third country (Dugin, 2004, p. 149).

7. Geopolitics of Russia and China in the 21st century

Geopolitics is the simplest term, which indicates intercontinental or global politics (Dugin, 2004, p. 150). The term itself was used for the first time in the late 19th century, and soon geopolitics appears as a scientific discipline. Similarly, geopolitics traditionally points to the links and causal relationships between political power and geographic space (Petrović 1, 2007, p. 108).

Petar Kurecic believes that in the 21st century China has become one of the greatest advocates of the multipolar world, which is in contrast to the unipolarity and hegemony that the US realizes. China is also one of the biggest and perhaps the biggest challenges for a new world geopolitical order. China also shapes its activities in the world in the most important countries of the international community. Like every state, special attention is paid to its neighbors, especially because it borders on three nuclear powers - Russia, India and Pakistan (now with the NDR Korea). Furthermore, China’s foreign policy operates in several directions:

In line with the promotion of multipolarism, China believes that the United Nations must remain the only place where fundamental decisions about the world order and the use of force against aggressors are made, along with other functions that the organization carries out. Strengthening the role of the UN, reorganizing and taking on new functions are processes that China strongly supported (Dugin, 2004, p. 153).

Russia, the largest state in the world, was once the only true rival to the United States, and then, as Petar Kurecic called it, it became a “state-sick”. After the Cold War and the planned economic system, Russia has largely emerged from a devastating economy, with enormous political and economic problems, and with the population it only wants to survive. The ruling Boris Yeltsin came across a chaotic situation in the country itself, and the territorial integrity and survival of Russia and democracy in Russia were threatened (Petrović 1, 2007, p. 112). Russia also has a special relationship to territories that have been Russian for centuries before the October Revolution and where the population is very much in favor of Russia. In addition to major economic problems, Russia has had
problems with its neighbors - Ukraine and the Baltics, as well as with minority nations belonging to the Russian Federation, for example, the Chechens.

However, since Yeltsin left, Vladimir Putin took over the presidency. After that, major changes were made in domestic and foreign policy. Putin solved the Chechen issue, reformed the administration, the army, the judiciary, and began to fight the Russian oligarchy. In addition, he began working to establish a new Russian foreign policy and a new look at Russia and the Russian forces in the world. Putin started re-engaging with US relations in his politics, and this did not seem to be a logical step in terms of the characteristics of his foreign policy. After this reversal, known as Putin’s doctrine, the West and Russia are getting closer in terms of terrorist attacks and the fight against terrorism in the world. The establishment of a global anti-terrorist coalition brought new opportunities for cooperation between Russia and the United States, which quickly and painlessly resolved disputes over the expansion of NATO, the American withdrawal from the ABM agreement and the reduction of the number of nuclear warheads to one-third of the current number on each side (Dugin, 2004, p. 158).

Bobo Lo writes about how the Kremlin allocates more funds to the countries of the former Soviet Union and focuses on relations with important members of the European Union, such as Germany. On the other hand, China is more engaged in relations with the United States, Japan, Southeast Asia, Africa and the European Union.

This partnership in a way gives China the support of Russia for the Chinese position in Taiwan, Tibet and Xinjiang, the securing of the Chinese northern and western borders, the constant supply of the latest weapons, and, finally, the political support to China and its increasingly active role in the world (Petrović 1, 2007, p. 115).

Furthermore, the geopolitical picture of the 21st century is changing. The United States no longer holds the primacy in the world. Alen Suceska writes in her article that there has been an inversion of economic dependence in the world. Earlier, the world depended on US production, and today the United States is dependent on world production. This was confirmed by the large US trade deficit of 19% of GDP at the end of 2006.

Due to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the bipolarism of the world officially stopped, but in Russia, the bipolar mentality continued to prevail to a great extent. On the one hand, the United States and NATO members, and on the other hand, a powerful country like Russia, China, India and the Islamic world. Under such circumstances, a strategic partnership between China and Russia in the Western world could bring great commitment to Russian interests. Russia could become a force between the United States and China and would appeal to them depending on their own interests (Dugin, 2004, p. 160).

Conclusion

In this paper, the most talked about Russia and China, their relations, the new world order and, of course, the events that shaped the geopolitics of the 21st century. The emergence of new power centers has already been highlighted, and the United States no longer has a monopoly in the world economy. Every reader saw that geopolitical changes are taking place at short intervals and we remain on these issues to follow those changes and comment on what is expected of us in a not so distant future.
However, there may have been a change in the world order where the United States will no longer have a monopoly. They can still have the highest military, political, economic and cultural power in the world, but things change rapidly. China is the country with the largest population, and trade links with Russia are becoming more and more powerful every day, and economies are at an enviable level. The American primacy in the world is only a matter of time. China is paying more attention to neighboring countries, of which Russia is the most important for its development strategy. Bearing in mind that both countries benefited from partnership relations, they will surely have a big impact on the new world order.

It is certain that their interests do not coincide in everything, but it is obvious that they are complementary to the most important world problems and that disagreements, if any, do not affect a long-term strategic partnership on the economic, political and military agenda.

References