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СОТРУДНИЧЕСТВО РОССИИ И КИТАЯ В КОНТЕКСТЕ ГЛОБАЛИЗАЦИИ*

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Ключевые слова: контекст глобализации, Россия, Китай, сотрудничество, трудности.

Анализируются плодотворные взаимоотношения между Россией и Китаем. Конфронтация на фоне идеологического разлома и споров относительно территориальных границ сменилась на сотрудничество. На данный момент главной проблемой является умышленное игнорирование США других важных игроков в становлении миропорядка. Ожидается, что более широкое сотрудничество станет компенсационным фактором, предотвращающим нестабильность миропорядка.

Fruits Progress of Cooperation between Russia and China

In the past more than two decades, the relationship between Russia and China has been moving into a right direction. Cooperation and trust has become the main trend instead of confrontation and suspicion. China has maintained a close relationship with Russia thanks to the common pursuit of multiple polar world system, one that should not be dominated by the hegemony. A strategic partnership in the late 1990s was established while the U.S. has been extending its unipolar system. Now it has been elevated as comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination, which will be a key for global and regional stability under the globalized context. Chinese President Xi Jinping visited Russia five times and met with Russian President Putin 14 times since 2013. The two leaders decided to expand and deepen their practical cooperation with a strategic and broad vision in mind, which will not only contribute to their own prosperity but also Eurasia's development and stability.

Trade volume between Russia and China in the first half of 1990s stagnated at more or less \$ 5 billion, while the figure in 2014 reached \$ 95 billion, an increase of more than 18 times in the past two decades. Even a goal of \$ 100 billion of bilateral trade was off the target expected by the two sides, a drop in 2015 can be attributed to more uncontrollable factors, such as recession inflicted since financial crisis, uncertainty and fluctuations of global commodities, and threat from terrorism. In fact, China's foreign trade decreased 8% compared with the previous year, a rare phenomena since its opening-up policy was adopted. Data released by OECD is indicating that world trade had contracted in the past several consecutive quarters. A decrease of bilateral trade reflected a general decline in both countries' external trade in the context of an economic slowdown. Russia's trade with China fell less than it did with other major trading partners thanks to efforts put forward by the two heads of states. China remained Russia's largest trading partner in 2015 and bilateral trade accounted for 12 percent of Russia's foreign trade in 2015, up from 11.3 percent in 2014.

China and Russia trust each other and often keep in-depth exchange of views. Year 2015 marked the 70th anniversary of Victory in WWII. There are some commons for the two countries. President Xi Jinping attended Celebrations marking 70th Anniversary of Russia's Victory in Great War in last May. September 3rd was first staged as Victory Day by China to have military Parade, President Putin was honored to attend it. Both states are dissatisfied with Western-dominated international economic institutions. Russia and China have the potential to become close economic as well as diplomatic partners given the existing trade and investment agreements, cooperation in many industrial sectors, similar visions of Eurasian regional integration and development partnership in Asia-Pacific regions. Russia was the first batch to join the China-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AllB), which has been the driving force to push the reform of international system.

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Better economic, financial, cultural and political cooperation will promote the integrated development of the countries. Both Russia and China attaches great importance to Central Asia, progress in either mechanism or proposal will be conductive to strengthening the relationship between the Central Asian countries and two neighbouring countries. The strategic partnerships relationship between former Soviet Union states and China has also been established and enhanced. Stability and development are in the interests of all concerned countries. China is willing to work with Russia to join China's Silk Road Economic Belt initiative with the Russian development strategy as well as the Russia-initiated Eurasian Economic Union.

Common Challenges Faced by Russia and China

It is no doubt that Russia has been facing an economic downturn due to a variety of factors, mostly from external shocks, such as sanctions imposed by the West and a slump in oil prices. Russia's economy continues to contract due to the prolonged slump in global oil prices and more than one year's sanctions imposed by the West on which Russia previously depended for energy for sales and food imports. The measures have cut off Russia from international lender, compounding a capital crisis resulting from the fall of oil revenue that provides more than half of Russia's budget.

With sluggish global economy recovery, lower commodity prices and downward pressure for economies, China and Russia have faced common challenges for growth. China and Russia expect trade between the two neighbors to reach \$200 billion by 2020. However there has been negative growth in the past 2015 year thanks to the shadow of depressed world economy. A slowdown of foreign trade of 8.0% was far off the target of 6 percent growth at the beginning of that year. So in this year's government report to National People's Congress, China did not set the target for trade as the situation is becoming more lukewarm.

Both countries are a facing a key period of economic mode transformation and structural adjustment. China's economy is restructuring to tackle a number of issues, such as environmental pollution, overcapacity of production, financial risks as well government debts. It is not expected that China will continue its high growth rate as in the past. One fact is that both countries have a long history with splendid cultures. Their peoples have the wish and capability to overcome many challenges ahead of them. Even Russia entered a very difficult period, Russian will have the capability and wisdom to overcome the existing hardship in the economic situation. Lower levels of internal as well as external government debts will make its economy more resilient if measures were carried out rightly.

Both China and Russia are facing the pressures from the West. This is mainly attributed to the fact that the West is unwilling to accept its decline of dominance. With NATO eastward expansion, a tension arises between Russia and Europe. With Pivot to Asia adopted by U.S. president Obama, China's relations with Asia countries turn into sour. With more unrest and chaos around the world, the United States can maneuver them to gain its own advantages. It seems that there is no reconciliation between China, Russia and the West led by the United States. Economically, the United States has been manipulating to keep its hegemony around the world. It took China and Russia a lot of efforts to be accepted as WTO members. New trade pacts, such as TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership) as well as TTIP (Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership), will function as substituting organization which might make WTO paralyzed.

The western policy show little regard to the global context, inadvertently insisting that liberal capitalist model would prevail over any other systems. The slogan "there is no alternative" (shortened as TINA) advocated by former British Prime Minster Thatcher had been belief that economic liberalism will prevail over any others. The spreading movement of privatization, deregulation and laissez-faire from 1980s to 1990s make the flow of capital more unbridled, crippling the governance in many countries. Washington Consensus is the apex that the West ideology would penetrate into all corners of the world. Why China can achieve its success in such short of time is that it did not follow the prescription laid out by think-tanks of the Conservatives in the West. With the failure of Washington Consensus in many parts of the world, some are choosing Beijing Consensus as an alternative to that. In fact neither Washington Consensus nor Beijing Consensus can serve as a recipe that can fit once for all. The positive implication is that every country can choose its own unique development path, with the interconnectedness in mind under globalized context.

Favorable Factors for Russia and China

Russia and China has no conflicts in their core national interests. Both sides should join hands to deepen cooperation. They have enhanced communication and coordination on a number of international affairs from macroeconomic policies to trade and investment, from antiterrorism to world peace, from regional development to the wellbeing of world peoples. Besides the comprehensive strategic cooperative partners of coordination, there are many other mechanisms that can bolster the good relation between Russia and China, such as SCO, BRICS, APEC, etc., These different levels of mechanisms can instill more aspiration and energy to make cooperation more extensive. In my opinion, the channel and platform for both countries are becoming more mature than ever before. SCO, an organization originally aimed to settle border disputes between members, is having many substantial functions, from development to anti-terrorism, from economy to finance, after its initial mission retired. BRICS, the group of emerging economies that comprises Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, accounting for one-firth of global economic output, has been pursuing the same goal. In fact, downward pressure on the global economy and fluctuating capital flows are negatively affecting the bloc of BRICS members. The five nations agreed in 2015 to increase mutual trade in local currencies, and also to create a BRICS Development Bank with investment equivalent to \$100 billion as an alternative to the Western-controlled World Bank.

A new platform for economic development among Russia, Mongolia and China is put on the agenda. Setting up a trilateral economic corridor is one of the key points in the Chinese Silk Economic Belt initiative. The ongoing China-Pakistan Economic Corridor will serve as a model for connectivity and mutual prosperity under Belt and Road initiatives. China has embarked on an ambitious program to expand its rail connections, with plans to lay thousands of miles of new track in the coming years. It is reported that China would invest a total of \$ 5.2 billion in Moscow-Kazan project, which after its operation will improve communication and trade along the route. EU is the biggest trading partner for Russia, while China ranked the second. In fact Sino-EU trading has been in big volume. Russia is located at the place where Sino-EU trading goods can be transported by land as China is trying to lessen its risks in marine transport in view of the uncertain situation. Facilitating trade along the Silk Road will bring benefits to Central Asian countries as well.

The world should be one with multiple poles with equality and justice. Even an old cold war has ended, confrontational post war world order seemed to provide with the West more elation as the gravity of the world is in favor of the West at the expense of the other system.

China and Russia should cement the existing security cooperation mechanism, accelerate an agreement on border defense cooperation, move toward an-extremism pact, and provide a more reliable safe environment for regional development. Combining Russia science and technology with Chinese money and industry capacity would create a formidable partnership, which is sure to counterbalance the unipolar system operated by the West. Even there is proposal from the academic circle that China should form an alliance with Russia. In fact a strategic partnership rather than an alliance is more pragmatic in that a multiple-polar world system can be stabilized. Now the fields of cooperation are still far from being extensive, both countries should work together to explore news ways and areas for cooperation, not only in trade and investment, an expansion of cooperation in such areas in culture and education should lead the way.

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