

## RUSSIAN-CHINESE RELATIONS: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

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### ABSTRACT

Russia and China are common problems in bilateral relations. During the meetings, held at the Chinese Foreign Ministry, it was noted that Russian-Chinese relations are now at the peak of their development.

In an attempt to analyze the reasons for the declining trade, economic and investment cooperation between Russia and China, the Chinese side notes contradictory facts. On the one hand, according to Chinese experts, Russia is taking measures to improve the investment climate. In particular, it has the most free tax legislation in the world. On the other hand, Chinese entrepreneurs complain that it is still more difficult to develop business in Russia than in other countries.

It has been highlighted in this paper that the current course of Moscow on developing friendly, good-neighborly relations and strategic partnership with the People's Republic of China is correct.

And this is through the analysis of some previous studies in this field.

Also in this research, it was suggested that some points of cooperation in various fields between Russia and China be intensified in order to intensify the collective work of both poles.

**Key Words:** Economic, strategic, cooperation, partnership, world, collective.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Russia and China are common problems in bilateral relations. During the meetings, held at the Chinese Foreign Ministry, it was noted that Russian-Chinese relations are now at the peak of their development. According to GuZunyu, deputy director of the Central Asian and Eastern European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, there are no problems in the political field between the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China. But at the same time, the task is to further develop economic cooperation, which the level of development of political cooperation does not match. In particular, there is an imbalance in investment cooperation. While the volume of Chinese investments in Russia is about 2 billion dollars, while the volume of Russian investments in China is only 800 million dollars.

In an attempt to analyze the reasons for the declining trade, economic and investment cooperation between Russia and China, the Chinese side notes contradictory facts. On the one hand, according to Chinese experts, Russia is taking measures to improve the investment climate. In particular, it has the most free tax legislation in the world. On the other hand, Chinese

entrepreneurs complain that it is still more difficult to develop business in Russia than in other countries[1, 2].

According to the Chinese side, the development of bilateral economic cooperation is hindered by:

- 1) underdeveloped infrastructure in the Russian territory, especially in Siberia and the Far East;
- 2) poor awareness of Russian citizens about the successes of the PRC in the field of the latest developments.

From the Chinese point of view, wishes were expressed, to remove these two defects, by establishing large centers for international trade in Russian cities and eliminating the so-called "gray customs clearance". It was also alleged that, despite the Chinese side's interest in developing cross-border trade, the Russian side has done little in this area. In particular, 20 years ago, unconvincing talk was made about building a bridge across Amur. In addition, the authorities of the People's Republic of China create the most favorable conditions for Russian trading in China, and there are no such conditions on the Russian side[3].

In turn, the Russian side, in particular, made some of the following proposals on bilateral cooperation:

- 1) Seeking reorientation from cooperation in the form of trade in resources to cooperation in the form of co-production. In particular, Russian companies in Siberia and the Far East would like to export to China not only wood, but also deep wood treatment products;
- 2) To develop cooperation in the field of scientific, technical and innovative developments;
- 3) Developing cooperation in the field of enhancing capabilities and human resources.

### **The growing international influence of China and Russia**

During the bilateral conference, the problem of the Russian position was raised to the phenomenon of the growing economic, political and military power of China. Chinese participants indicated that articles published in Russia on the threat posed by the growth of the military strength of the People's Republic of China.

There was a reminder from the Russian side that there were a number of books that appeared in China that called for a radical review of Beijing's foreign policy. In particular, it is the book published at the beginning of 2009 [5].

"China is not satisfied," which claims that the Chinese are assumed to be the best in the world to manage the natural resources the country lacks. Therefore, in the future, Beijing should control global resources in order to manage them for the benefit of humanity. According to the authors, the Chinese military should actively support the struggle for sourcing raw materials all over the world. This line continued in the two military books published in 2010 and gained great popularity. In one of them, the "Chinese dream" of the National Defense University professor, Colonel Liu Mingfu, in particular, mentions that in the twenty-first century, China must become the first power in the world, otherwise the conflict (or perhaps war) of the leadership is inevitable. Of them, it will be put on the sidelines of global development. In another book titled "An Arch-shaped Environment: How to Break China's Environment in Face of Internal Difficulties and External Pressure," written by a prominent PLA Air Force colonel and well-known war journalist Dai Xu, in which similar arguments are presented [6, 7].

In this regard, President Kemp Tsui Sen, in response to a Russian participant in the conference, noted that Chinese foreign policy has become more aggressive, and pointed out that this is not

the case. China should simply express more clearly its position on major issues and we will defend its position .

Regarding the books mentioned above, there were assurances from the Chinese side that these books had no serious effect on the mindsets of Chinese citizens, as Chinese readers never noticed them. It has also been suggested that strengthening the influence of PRCs worldwide to the opportunity to control global raw materials is nothing more than the Chinese dream, about embodiment they are not seriously considering. As Wang Gui Fang, a senior fellow with the Department of Strategic Studies of the Chinese Academy of Military Sciences, pointed out, the Chinese do not support the idea of the "Chinese Dream" book and do not seek to turn China into a superpower.

ZuoFengzhong, deputy director of the International Policy Department of the International Strategic Studies Institute of the Central Party School of China, also made soothing comments. She stressed that China's rapid development does not mean at all the imperative of war, and that China adheres to a peaceful mode of development. According to her, the current world differs from the previous world, in which the rapid development of a country led to wars, because global development now means cooperation, an example of that is between China and the Russian Federation. China needs a strong Russia, and vice versa, Russia needs a strong China. She also noted that the People's Republic of China is now facing two sets of problems: old problems (security, territorial integrity and sovereignty, boundaries issue, Taiwan issue, reduced role of the People's Republic of China in the international arena) and new problems (growth of investment outside China, increased number of travelers, and China's participation In the processes of globalization, the resource problem). All of these problems must be solved through cooperation and increased economic integration [8, 9].

Additionally, according to ZuoFengzhong, the PRC's focus on international cooperation, rather than confrontation, is also reflected in the fact that China is making great efforts to overcome the global crisis, including increasing contributions to the IMF.

It is interesting that in his comments, Dean Kison, vice president of the China Reform Forum 1, put the focus somewhat differently. Russian participants asked for clarification on why the concept was formulated at the highest level, which was formulated in a speech made in November 2003 by Vice President of the CPC Central Party School Zheng Bitszyan (who served as deputy head of the Publicity Department of the CPC Central Committee in the 1990s) The glorification was removed Peaceful China, then replaced by the concept of "harmonious peace", and what are the differences between them.

Ding Kuesun said China is promoting global development through its own development. At the same time, he made two notes that deserve special attention. In his view, there are no differences between the two concepts. The only reason to remove the concept of "peaceful glorification" is the unsuccessful term [10].

The term "elevation" is the term "western", and in China, in its desire to make it clear that this elevation does not threaten anyone, they have mechanically added the "peaceful" character to it. Dean Quison strongly denounced and refused that the term criticizes "all kinds of scholars from the Academy of Social Sciences", so it had to be removed and replaced with "peaceful development" and then "harmonious society", where the country's foreign policy is being directed to today.

When talking about the books mentioned, in particular, about the book “The Chinese Dream,” author Dean did not criticize them in reality, or says that few people noticed them, but only made clear that her author expressed one of the opinions within the framework of the public disc - this is about Glorious Peacefulness, ”meaning that the book actually became part of this completely formal discussion. In addition, he noted that from a political point of view, China's national interests have "crossed its borders" - and this, in fact, supports the author of the book. It is another matter through the ways in which these interests are guaranteed. According to Dean, these methods should be exclusively peaceful, and all issues should be resolved through negotiations and coordination of interests with other interested countries [11].

On the whole, it appears that on the question of how to use China's growing power in foreign policy, there is debate in China, and at least two sites have been formed. Those who may be called "moderates" support the foreseeable future of Deng Xiaoping's modest foreign policy that only aims to guarantee internal development interests. In their view, more active and resolute measures on the international stage might lead to the rejection of the outside world, which would negatively affect China's foreign economic relations and its development as a whole. They are opposed by "extremists" who believe that because of its growing power, China's national interests have crossed its geographical limits and must be defended, including through more active diplomacy and, in some cases, military solutions [12].

### **Russia and the People's Republic of China: cooperation in the international arena. Opportunities to interact in Central Asia**

During the KIMP conference, the Chinese side indicated that Russia and China have common interests in Afghanistan, which pose a threat to Central Asia, without the participation of countries, it is impossible to solve Afghanistan's problems. Meanwhile, Chinese experts have indicated that it is undesirable for China and Russia to interfere in Central Asian affairs with outside powers, which clearly means the United States and the West in general.

The Chinese side proposed to develop cooperation between the Russian Federation and China in this region in the following areas:

1. To support cooperation within the Shanghai Cooperation Organization;
2. To enhance military and political confidence in the region;
3. Fighting the "three evil forces": terrorism, separatism and extremism;
4. Combating drug trafficking;
5. Make joint efforts to ensure the stability of power in the countries of Central Asia.

Among the problems that complicate the situation in Afghanistan, the Russian expert pointed out a. a. Safranchuk indicates that in this country there is no government that can govern the country, and in general, there is no political force that can control the whole country [13].

Chinese experts' comments on Afghan problems showed differences in Russian and Chinese assessments of the prospects for the development of the situation in Afghanistan.

In particular, Zhao Qingqing, deputy director of the Institute of Social Development in Europe and Asia at the Development Research Center of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, indicated that the Taliban will be able to control the entire territory of Afghanistan in the future, and must be counted as a real power . He also objected to I.A.'s statement. Safranchuk states that the People's Republic of China is supposed to be patient and calm about the drug threat from Afghanistan, and called on Russia to play a more active role in Afghanistan (in

relation to the United States). The Secretary-General, Secretary of the People's Republic of China for Research at the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Research Center Sun Zhou pointed out that the possibility of solving problems in Afghanistan is not in the hands of the Russian Federation and China, but in the hands of NATO and the United States.

When dealing with the issue of relations between Russia and China with the United States of America and NATO, the representative of the Chinese Foreign Ministry indicated that the United States is trying to restrict the development of both Russia and China, and therefore Moscow and Beijing have a common mission to neutralize these attempts by the United States of America [14].

Regarding Afghanistan, the Vice-President of the Central Asian and Eastern European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, GuZunyu, noted that it is not possible to rush, but a person must not act passively, that is, it is necessary to maintain a balance of active and balanced participation. He stressed that China is ready to continue making efforts to solve the Afghan problem without interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

Thus, it appears that Russia and China have a different position on Afghanistan. In China, many oppose the presence of international coalition forces in Afghanistan, while Russia is currently pursuing a path to facilitate international unity. At the same time, it is clear that China will welcome a more active role for Russia in Afghanistan as a balance of US and Western influence there. As he does not refuse his active participation, especially the economic one, but it is very keen on this.

### **Interaction on the issue of Korean settlement**

Speaking of the Korean issue, Russian expert A. Ivanov noted that all problems on the Korean peninsula arose as a result of contradictions or diverging interests of the parties concerned. In the absence of unity among the DPRK partners in the six-party talks, it is necessary to intensify coordination in the positions between Russia and China.

Chinese experts' speeches on the situation on the Korean Peninsula showed that there is no clear position. For example, Shi Yongming, a senior researcher with the KIMP's International Strategic Studies Division, noted that after the accident with Corvette South Korea, the People's Republic of China could not deal with the situation on the Korean Peninsula as before, without specifying Exactly what this change is. Meanwhile, he stressed that Beijing is not in a hurry to formally agree with the findings of the International Committee of the United States and South Korea to investigate the incident, which falls on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) responsible for Corvette's death in South Korea.

Shi Yongming's thesis that the opportunity to change the balance of power on the Korean peninsula is given by the position of the democratic government in Japan, which calls for the withdrawal of US forces from Okinawa and aims to make Japan's foreign policy more independent of the United States, does not seem to take into Mind the real reality. It should be noted that the attempts of former Japanese Prime Minister Yu Hatoyama to compel the United States to withdraw the military base from Okinawa have been unsuccessful, and he has been forced to resign because of his inability to fulfill this electoral promise (and a number of others). N. It was, who replaced j. Hatoyama, as Japanese Prime Minister, removed the issue of withdrawing US bases from Okinawa and stated that the United States remained the most

important partner for Japan, in fact, it had abandoned the policy of making Japanese foreign policy more independent. In addition, it is clear that Japan will not back down from its demands from the DPRK to reach a final solution to the "abducted problem", which would lead to the suspension of relations between Tokyo and Pyongyang and constitute an additional obstacle to the resumption of the six-party talks. The comments on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of President Kemp Tsui Sen appear vague. He said a vague phrase: "We do not want a repeat of the situation when the Soviet Union, for the sake of relations with the United States, did not provide the atomic bomb to China." This phrase has a special meaning after the information that appeared at the North Korea uranium enrichment plant, which was not in 2009, and which could not be built for this purpose in a short period (less than a year) without external assistance at the suggestion of the Russian participant [12].

In order to establish permanent coordination of Russian-Chinese bilateral consultations on Korean issues, he answered that it would be better to establish trilateral consultations as part of the United States - China - Russia. Meanwhile, GuZunyu, deputy director of the Central Asian and Eastern European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, responded positively to the proposal to establish a mechanism for permanent Russian-Russian bilateral consultations on Korean issues, while stressing that a "second track" should be defined, that is, Expert consultations are from scientific institutions, not foreign ministry or government employees. At the same time, he questioned the assumption that coordinating the positions of Moscow and Beijing would allow them to strengthen their influence over Pyongyang, stressing that the DPRK leadership is sensitive to any attempts to exert pressure from abroad.

In response to a question from the representative of the Russian delegation about the negative reasons for Beijing regarding persuading Pyongyang to comply with the requirements of the United Nations stipulated in the relevant Security Council resolution, the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman stated that Beijing's known stance that Pyongyang today agreed to negotiations without preconditions put forward by Washington. He ignored the fact that these conditions were limited to implementing the measures stipulated in the United Nations Security Council Resolution, which Beijing itself voted for [13].

In addition, on November 26 this year as part of a Russian delegation represented at a meeting of the China-Russia section of the Valdai Club for Discussions, Director of the Center for East Asian Studies and SCO IMI MGIMO (University) of the Russian Foreign Ministry A.V. Lukin met the famous Chinese military scene, General XiongGuangkai. During the conversation, XiongGuangkai proactively said that in 2010 two Chinese military analysts published books on Chinese strategy, and the content he did not approve of. He pointed out that he was referring to the book "The Chinese Dream" by Colonel Liu Minfu of the National Defense University and "Bringing the Surrounding Areas around it: How to break the ocean of China in light of internal difficulties and external pressure," written by Air Force Colonel Dai DaiShuo. According to him, the idea that China should become the world's leading country in all respects, including the military, is not shared by the country's leadership and the majority of the expert community. Today, most experts in China do not believe that even in the long run, China should become the world's first in all respects. In terms of GDP per capita, China today is a developing country with 4 thousand dollars per capita. By 2020 alone, it is expected to reach the "average income" level, and by 2050 - the current lowest level for developed countries at \$ 10,000 per capita. However,

by then, the standard for developed countries might increase. In this regard, XiongGongkai agreed with the idea expressed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, Yang Jiechi, that China could in the future become only one of the poles of a multipolar world [14].

According to XiongGuangkai, head of the Political Department of the National Defense University, a famous strategy specialist, Lt. Gen. Liu Yazu (son-in-law of former President of the People's Republic of China Li Xianyan), who wrote the introduction to the book "The Chinese Dream," he told him that he had not read the book and had not signed it. But he waited impatiently for the introduction, then quickly made a statement that did not share the author's point of view. When asked about the differences between the concepts, the source said "peaceful glorification" and "harmonious peace" and the idea that Chinese national interests "go beyond the country's geographical borders." In his view, there is a fundamental difference between the concepts of "peaceful glorification" and "harmonious peace". The first was nominated by experts from the High Party School and the leadership never accepted it. Since 2004, government leaders have not used this term. The concepts of "peaceful development" and "harmonious peace" were formulated by the Committee on Commodity Problems and enshrined in its seventeenth conference, including in Hu's report, in which she presented her clear definitions. He described how he criticized the concept of "peaceful glorification" in the magazine of the Communist Party of China.

"Syuyoshi", in the same number, as the staff of Central Specialized School still use the term "the old way." Meanwhile, discussion is taking place, according to the interviewer, in China freely, and everyone can express their opinion.

On China's national interests, he made it clear that today we can talk about the "basic", "important" and "normal" aspects of national interests. Only "original" interests are China's willingness to defend with all means at its disposal, including the military. However, one can speak of the departure of "basic" interests outside the boundaries of borders only in the sense that there are not only lands, but also marine borders. As for the interests of Chinese companies, protecting the rights of citizens abroad, etc., they relate to "normal" interests. Of course, their Chinese state must protect, but only through diplomatic means, through negotiations, and reliance on international law. These interests are dependent on "root" importance.

In response to a question about the possibility of establishing a new security system in the Asia-Pacific region, XiongGuangkai, he answered that China considered it desirable to use the experience of organizations in the region to deepen and gradually expand coordination. Where the forum stands out in this regard. He also stressed the possibility of establishing a permanent organization based on the Middle East Security Working Group, which operates as part of the six-party talks on the DPRK nuclear issue, led by Russia. Some problems are possible due to Japan's stance, which recently spoiled relations with China and Russia on border issues [13, 14].

In this regard, the Chinese analyst was asked why the lands of the Russian Kuril Islands claimed by Japan as "occupied by Russia" are marked on Chinese maps. The interlocutor explained that this happens temporarily, until the dispute with Japan is resolved. Li Fenglin, former Chinese ambassador to Russia and director of the Eurasian Institute for Social Development of the State Council Development Center of the People's Republic of China, who was present at the meeting, made it clear that the term *echzhan* should not be translated as "occupied by Russia", but "under Russian control".

Regarding the possibility of Russia joining the joint development of a European missile defense system, which was discussed at the Russia-NATO summit in Lisbon, XiongGuankai said that Beijing will wait and see the situation. If this project succeeds, it is necessary to study its specific circumstances and consequences for other countries. If this is frustrating for a reason, it is also necessary to study what the cause is. In any case, XiongGuankai noted, there is no mistrust of Russia in China in this regard.

In general, based on the results of the conversation, the following results can be drawn:

1. XiongGuankai had a clear intention to draw the attention of the Russian delegation to the fact that the Chinese leadership was negative about the ideas expressed by Chinese nationalists close to the military circles. This may indicate the concern of Chinese leaders about the reaction that such ideas are stirring in Russia.
2. In the Chinese leadership and expert community, there is intense debate on the country's future foreign policy, as XiongGuankai takes a relatively weak stance [15].

## 2. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The meetings and discussions held during the MGIMO delegation's visit to Beijing allow us to conclude that the current Moscow path towards developing friendship, good-neighborliness and strategic partnership with the People's Republic of China is correct.

At the same time, in order to intensify cooperation with China, it seems appropriate to work in the following areas:

1- areas of economic cooperation:

- intensify cooperation between Russia and China in the field of science, technology and innovation. Considering that one of the reasons for the underdevelopment of such cooperation at the moment is the low level of awareness of the parties about each other's scientific and technical achievements, to create a mechanism for mutual information regarding existing opportunities in this area;

- intensify efforts to eliminate obstacles to attract foreign investments and improvement of the investment climate in the regions of Siberia and the Far East. At the same time, attracting investments from China widely, it is necessary to work no less actively to deepen investment cooperation with other Asia-Pacific countries (Japan, the Republic of Korea, ASEAN), as well as with the USA and the EU, thereby moving away from unilateral dependence on China and creating a rational balance;

- it is advisable to intensify efforts to explain to the Chinese side the benefits of transferring to the Russian territory enterprises for the deep processing of products that are now exported to the PRC in the form of raw materials, for example, wood (reducing energy costs, saving water that is scarce in the north of the PRC, etc.) .

2. Regarding the problem of “growing China”:

- without weakening efforts in the Chinese direction, develop economic and political cooperation with other major Asia-Pacific countries, including the USA, Japan, South Korea and India, which are not interested in a sharp change in the balance of power in the region as a result of the rapid strengthening of China and weakening of Russia. These powers could, for this reason, provide Russia with technology and investment, of course, if there is confidence that these funds will be used rationally and for their intended purpose;



- intensify economic cooperation with the countries of Southeast Asia, where China's economic influence is now growing and certain concerns are growing about its future course;
- support the initiatives of other countries or come up with their own initiative to form a new multilateral security system in the Asia-Pacific region, possibly a regional international formation, which would ensure the game in the region according to general and identical rules for all participants, taking into account and respect for all interests parties, common confidence-building measures would work;
- given the disagreements in the PRC regarding the future foreign policy and the criticism emanating from Russian supporters of the theory of the "Chinese threat" (and there really exist such ones), the Russian expert community should be oriented to openly and frankly expressing in conversations with Chinese colleagues concerns about the growth of nationalist sentiments in China. The argument could be that the intensification of the activities of Chinese diplomacy and, especially, the PLA abroad to ensure Chinese economic interests will cause the rejection of many states of the world that can take agreed protective measures, which will be extremely adverse on the development of China itself.

3. With regard to cooperation in Central Asia and Afghanistan:

- intensify Russian economic cooperation within the framework of the SCO with the Central Asian countries, whose leadership now complains about the insufficient activity of Russia;
- actively support the aspiration of the SCO and Afghanistan observer states to intensify economic cooperation within the SCO;
- hold consultations with the Chinese side on the vision of the development of the situation in Afghanistan in order to find out Beijing's attitude towards the prospect of the Taliban coming to power in Afghanistan and the seriousness of the Chinese leadership's intentions to build relations with the Taliban or other Pashtun forces as the only force capable of take control of the entire territory of Afghanistan. It should be borne in mind that the idea of negotiations with "moderate" Taliban causes extreme rejection in the Central Asian states.

4. With regard to the situation on the Korean Peninsula:

- intensify consultations with the PRC on the Korean issue at the official level;
- create a Russian-Chinese consultation mechanism at the expert level on the Korean issue, the participants of which will work out a coordinated position of Russia and China regarding the DPRK, taking into account the prospects for a change of power in this country, the growing relevance of the issue of reform, and prospects for the unification of the two Korean states. In the future, experts from other countries participating in the six-party talks, primarily from the Republic of Korea, can join this mechanism.

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