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**THE GEOSTRATEGIC RELEVANCE OF RUSSIAN-CHINESE
BILATERAL RELATIONS INTO A MULTIPOLAR WORLD**

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Abstract:

The end of the bipolar system came with collapse of the USSR and it created, for a time, the sole unipolar actor- USA. A paradox: U.S. can not withdraw from the world, but neither can be fully dominate. BRICS- group raising powers and the existence of international actors EU, ASEAN, etc, make the international relations to move towards a multipolar world. The moving center of gravity by Atlantic to Pacific, it makes bilateral relations between Russia and China to acquire particular importance in shaping current and future multipolar world.

Russia appears in history coagulated around Kiev with driving a Varangian nobility of Scandinavian origin. Kievan Rus adopted Byzantine Rite Orthodox and political model. After the Mongol conquest of Russia, Moscow became the most important political centre. The Russians and Chinese have a common destiny in the Mongol Empire, which facilitated the exchange of people, ideas, innovations and goods. The Russians were largely influenced by the political and military Mongol system.

Instead, the Chinese have succeeded in a few generations to assimilate Mongol invader. Historical past of a so large country, with an ancient, conservative culture and civilization, undoubtedly influence its nowadays geopolitics, giving to the Chinese people a general sentiment of pride and superiority over other nations.

One of the first document certifications of China was Zhongguo, meaning Middle Kingdom or The Centre of the World. If for the ancient civilizations acculturation and people or (and) idea exchange were characteristic, China got highlighted even from the beginning by Sino-centrism and blatantly disregard towards the rest of the world. In the case of ancient China, the main characteristics were demographic gigantism, space unity and civilization cohesion.

The northern side was always exposed to invasions, this flank being the most vulnerable to invasions, as demonstrated by the Xiong-nu, Jurken, Mongol and later the Manchurian and Japanese incursions (it wasn't by accident that the Chinese emperors built the greatest defensive structure of all times, The Great Wall). This way, in the ancient period, the greatest threat to China was the northern civilizations of Altaic origin, named by the Chinese Xiong-nu, which managed to organize an empire around the year 210 BC.

In the medieval period, China was the most advanced state in the world in terms of administration and technology, being strong on both continent and sea. In 1382, the Chinese defeated the Mongols, all of the survivors being castrated, a part of them being enrolled in the army and the others being used as servants. The eunuchs became the emperors trusted group and they extended their influence, entering into conflict with the mandarins – state officials, trained after the Confucian way. On the other side, the Confucian ethics inoculated the mandarins a moral code that was meant to remove the possibility that people could disturb Tao - the balance of the forces of nature. The mandarins were conservatives and they considered peasants as being the backbone of society, and foreigners and traders as being disturbing elements to Tao. way, in the beginning of the Ming dynasty, two camps were formed with different opinions: on one side, the eunuch's side – adept of the Mongol traditions of military and economic expansion (they began sea campaigns for new discoveries and charting) and religious plurality (a great number of eunuchs were Muslims); and on the other side, the mandarin camp – conservators, xenophobe, adepts of continental isolationism. This confrontation was to mark the destiny of the Ming dynasty, separating the reign into two periods depending on the group that had

control, meaning: 1364-1450 when China, under the influence of the eunuchs, has continued the Mongol tradition of commercial and military expansion, and the second reign (1449-1644) after the battle lost by the Chinese against the Mongols in the year 1449 at Tu-Mu, when the power was taken forever by the mandarin party, moment which led to the end of the Chinese offensive and the start of the decline. This way, the Mandarins decided to quit the expansionist and external commercial plans, to destroy the fleet, to pull back China from the southern routes, this vacuum being occupied by the European sea powers. Self-isolation occurred in a moment in which China held the supremacy, compared to Europe, on sea and in the field of scientific discoveries in all domains. Manchus founded the Qing Dynasty in China (1644-1912), during which it was occupied Tibet and Oriental Turkestan (Xinjiang). During this period China is under military, commercial and territorial pressure by European powers.

Between Russia and China there were three points of contact: the first phase - in the region of Lake Baikal (Irkutsk and Nercinsk area), then in the lower basin of the Amur, and then in the Primorie region (Khabarovsk and Vladivostok). Contact area tense: Amur River Basin (Nercinsk Treaty -1689).

Imbalance of power relations: Russians take the lead. In 1858, during the War of opium, the relationship between the two countries became uneven, Beijing weakening of authority, while St. Petersburg becoming more influential and powerful in the East. Unequal treaties, such as the Convention Aigun in 1858 and Beijing in 1860, Russia annexed the northern area of the Amur River and the coast to the border with Korea (Vladivostok). Clash of divergent interests of Central Asia and the Amur.

Communism in Russia is established on 1917, appears USSR which inaugurated the policy of proletarian internationalism (a new form of Russian imperialism). USSR support Chinese communist movement which then enters into conflicts of interest ideological, economic and geopolitical.

China became Republic in 1912, entering a period of political and social instability that culminated with the occupation of Manchuria by the Japanese. In the fight against the Japanese release is remarkable Chinese Communist Party led by Mao who manages to impose communism in China and inaugurates a personal dictatorship full of excesses.

Soviet-Chinese relations are marked by border disputes and conflicts of interest ideological, economic and geopolitical. Adopting the communist ideology with different specifics, which tensions and conflicts. USSR has built a bankrupt economy and focused on the conflict with the U.S.. China made economic reforms adapting to market and improved relations with the U.S..

In the modern area, the Russian geopolitics was that of a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional state, strongly landlocked, which has tried to ensure the opening to the Baltic, Black and Caspian Seas, as well as to the Pacific Ocean in the 19th century. By promoting the concepts of Pan-Slavism and Pan-Orthodoxy, Russia has considerably extended towards east and south, conquering Caucasus, the Black Sea northern coastline, the area around the Caspian Sea and the trans-Caspian steppes from Central Asia. Also, in the 19th century, Russia had become an American power, being present in Alaska and California. The Russian Empire has manifested strong ambitions regarding the Persian Gulf, the Middle East, Tibet, Chinese Turkestan, India and even Korea. The end of the Second World War finds USSR as a winner, with an influence area in central and south-eastern Europe. USSR has recomposed almost completely the former Imperial Russia's perimeter, as well as that of new territories, such as: the Baltic States, parts of the Finnish territories, a portion of Prussia (Kaliningrad -Konigsberg), Byelorussia, the Polish Ukraine and the trans-Carpathian Ukraine, Bessarabia, Tuva, Sakhaline and the Kurile Islands.

Nowadays, Russia is making efforts to adapt to the post-imperial reality, and block Turkey and Iran's influence over the new central-Asian independent states, to discourage the formation of an American regional or independent Central-Asian cooperation, and limit the

American geopolitical influence in the new sovereign capitals. The chosen instrument for reaching this purpose has been firstly the Independent States Community (ISC), though in some places, using Russian armies and the Russian diplomacy smartly using the divide et tempera principle, have served as well the Russian interests, the purpose being the maximum obedience from the part of the new states towards the Russian objective. The political Russian governors have explicitly said that they see the Central Asia area as their own geopolitical space, even if formally it is no longer an integral part of their empire, Russia making special efforts in order to keep its military presence on the new states' territory.

In the 1990's the new Russia was preoccupied by the internal problems and was materially speaking, unable to perform its influence outside the borders, even in the close proximity of the republics of the former USSR. Russia created the ISC in 1991, in a desperate effort of maintaining or regaining a part of the former USSR authority, but this re-shaping experiment was not a success. The intention was that the ISC create a unified military command and create a joint market between Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan.

The population in Russia was estimated on January 1st 2010 to be of 142,905 thousand inhabitants, the historical peak being reached in 1991 (148,689,000). In 1959, the Russian Federation population was 117,239 thousand inhabitants, in 1970 of 129,941 thousand inhabitants, in 1979 of 137,409 thousand inhabitants, in 1989 of 147,021 thousand inhabitants, while in 2002 of 145,166 thousand inhabitants. The largest population density (almost 105 million inhabitants) is registered in the Asian part of the Russian Federation. In the European part, the largest concentration of population is to be found in the regions of Moscow and Sankt Petersburg. In Russia, 73% of the population lives in the urban area. The birth rate in Russia has increased from the lowest point (8.27 births per 1000 inhabitants in 1999) to 12.4 per 1000 inhabitants in 2009, while the fertility rate has increased from the lowest point) 1.16 per thousand inhabitants in 1999), to 1.54 per thousand inhabitants in 2009. If the birth rate in Russia can be compared to that of other developed countries, the death rate is way bigger, especially within men of working age, because of the existence of certain heart diseases and of a high percent of accidents. The general life expectancy in 2010 was of 68.7 years, in men – of 62.8 years, while in women – of 74.7 years. The demographic gap between the European and Asian areas. Almost 105 million Russian citizens live in the European area of the state. The rest lives in the Asian area, which creates large geostrategic vulnerabilities to the country. The military-industrial complex plays a very important role in the administrative organization of the Russian spaces, since in many territories (especially in those poorly populated) the civilians live within the towns and military bases areas. The location of the most important industrial centers also depends on this fact, these centers being also related to the so-called “defending industry”. In fact, the entire geopolitical configuration of Russia depends on the military doctrine model. The natural growth gap of different ethnicities within the same state may have important geopolitical consequences in that, that it can produce relocations of the ratios between the respective populations. Throughout the USSR period, the Russian ethnic population, which was of 145 million people then, had the same number of children as the Muslim population, which numbered only 50 million people. Currently, the Muslim populations within the Russian federation have an increasing natural growth, so that, in time, the Muslim population proportion will increase, in the detriment to the Russian one. Some UNO estimations for the Russian Federation estimated that somewhere in 2050, a population of 121 million inhabitants will live in Russia. A more optimistic estimation of the United Nations Organization offered for the Russian Federation as for 2050 a population of almost 134 million inhabitants.

The degree of the country's population's dispersion depends largely on the climatic conditions, being characterized by a large population density in the Central Europe's districts, Southern Europe and Northern Caucasus districts. Compared to the 2002 census, the 2010 census results

show that the population has decreased in 63 regions of the country. In 2010, in Russia, the number of women significantly surpassed that of men, women representing 53.7% of the population, while men only 46.3%.

Statistics clearly show a significant decrease of the number of marriages in the last 50 years (1960 - 2010). The annual marriages number has decreased by 28.4%. The marriage rate has decreased, throughout this period of time, by 1.5 times – from 12.5 to 8.5 marriages per thousand inhabitants. In 2010, 640,000 divorces have been registered, as opposed to 1.2 million marriages. In the last few years, the Russian Federation has been ranked first in the world in the divorce rate, one of the effects being the fact that the number of reported children per woman is currently the same as the number of children reported per woman at beginnings of the 1990's (1.4 – 1.5 children), with which the Russia's depopulation process has started.

During 1989-2002, the ratio of one-child families has increased from 51% to 65%, while the ratio of families having two, three or more children, by contrast, has suddenly dropped: from 39% to 28% for two children, and from 10% to 6.6 – for the three or more children families. During 1992-2010 almost 40.5 million abortions have been performed in Russia.

At the beginning of the 21st century, Russia is described by a low life expectancy, not only compared to the economically developed countries, but also to the states with the same level of development. The life expectancy was of 69 years in 2009, Russia being ranked 162 out of 220 countries in which similar statistics have been performed. A bigger life expectancy is observed in the North Caucasus and Moscow regions, where men exceed the age of 69 and the women exceed the age of 77. The lowest numbers are registered in Tuva and the Chukotka region: 55 years for men, and 66 years for women.

Demographic imbalance with geostrategic implications. In the Russian part of the Amur River area from the Far Orient, only 7.4 Russian people live, while in the Chinese area of the Amur River, over 70 million Chinese people live there. From 1989 up to the present day, the Russian population in this region has decreased by 8%, while the Chinese one has increased by 13%. Also, an emigration of the Chinese people in the Far Orient Russian area registers a very alert rhythm, a phenomenon which the worried Russian authorities try to block. China, instead, is taking advantage of this phenomenon, the demographic factors developing in its interest. On the Chinese part of the Amur River, the population of the Heilongjiang province has been, at the 2010 census, of 38,312,224 people, representing 2.86% of China's total population. The interior Mongolia autonomous region's population was in 2010 of 24,706,321 people. On the Russian part of the Amur River, one may find certain administrative entities which hold great geographic areas, very poorly developed from the demographic point of view, compared to the Chinese south.

The region of Amur covers 363,700 square kilometers, and is included in the Far Orient District. The region's population was of 864,500 people (estimation for January 1st 2009), out of which 565,300 people lived in urban areas, while 299,200 people lived in rural areas. The ethnic structure of the population in 2010 was the following: Russian population – 92%, Ukrainians – 3.5%, Evenki – 0.2%, other nationalities – 4.3%.

The Russian Federation holds one of the most important raw materials in the world: 1/3 of the world's iron reserves, iron ore, carbon – 1/3 of the world's reserves, gold, nickel, chromium, bauxite, asbestos, salts of potassium, uranium, and also holds a high level of electrical power. Russia disposes of the best natural gas reserves in the world, and is among the first countries when it comes to carbon, oil and natural gas reserves .

Russia's mineral resources. On the Russian territory, up to now, over 20 thousand mineral deposits have been indentified: oil, natural gas, carbon, ferrous metals, non-ferrous metals, rare and precious metals, precious stones, semi-precious stones, different minerals. It is estimated that the Russian Federation holds important shares of the world's reserves, in the following fields: oil 10-12%, natural gas 32%, carbon 11%, iron ores 25%, nickel 33%, lead 10%, zinc 15%,

potassium salt 33%, cobalt 21%. Also, Russia is a world leader when it comes to gold, silver, platinum, diamonds and useful fossil materials. The total of estimated mineral reserves of the Russian Federation has been in 2001 28.000 billion dollars. Oil and gas: in 2008, Russia had an oil productivity of 488, 5 million tons, representing 12.4% of the world's production, 2nd in the world. Most of these resources are concentrated in Eastern Europe and the country's northern area. Areas rich in hydrocarbons are to be found in the sub-marine area of the arctic polar regions of the Russian Federation.

Russia was the main natural gas producer in 2008, having a production of 601.7 billion cubic meters, representing almost 19.6% of the world's production and having reserves of 43,300 billion cubic meters. On the Russian territory, the natural gas extraction areas are to be found in the Volga-Ural region, in the Orenburg city area and in the Saratov city area. Another region is Tiumen- Ukhta-Peciora and on the sub-marine platform of the Kara sea. The natural gas deposits are to be found also in the north-western area of Caucasus, in the Stavropol plateau and in the Astrahan area.

Gazprom is the largest energetic company of the world, holding the biggest natural gas reserves, estimated at 33.1 billion cubic meters, and oil reserves of almost 62.7 billion tons. Gazprom holds 15% of the world's production of methane gas. The Gazprom Group is an important player in Central Asia as well, acquiring in 2010 37.8 billion cubic meters in this area. Gazprom also holds the largest natural gas transport system in the world, of about 161,700 km.

In 2010, the Rosneft Company has exploitations of 40.5 billion oil barrels, and 1.7 thousands of billion cubic meters of gas, this without introducing the arctic area deposits aquired only in 2010. The main exploitation fields are in Eastern Siberia, Far Orient and the arctic seas. The company performs explorations activities also in the traditional regions, such as: Western Siberia, the Volga region, the Tiumeni-Peciora region, the southern part of the European Russia and is involved in exploration projects in countries such as: Algeria, Venezuela and the United Arabian Emirates.

In order to become a true superpower, Russia has to follow a smart politics towards the energetical resources of the Caspian Sea.

Around these tremendous resources, there are three concentric state circles, which are involved in the fight for their controlling: 1. The producer states from the ex-USSR space -Russia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. 2. States through which one may achieve the transit for oil and gas: Russia, Iran and Turkey. 3. The energy consumer states: USA, EU and China.

For Russia, the Caspian game is both economic and strategic, having the fear that the western powers might not interfere in its influence area. Russia is also determined in controlling the Caspian resources export means, in order to control its ISC associates and make political pressures over the European states.

The carbon reserves. In 2008 Russia had carbon reserves estimated to be of 157 billions tons, exploiting the same year 327 million tons. In Russia, out of the carbon production total, 80-85% is being used in the electric power stations, for the production of coke and for the domestic use, while 15-20% is being exported.

Russia holds the largest reserves of peat in the world, evaluated at 150 billions of tons, located in the northern part of the European area, in the western and eastern Siberia. In the areas affected by the Mesozoic orogenesis we can find rich carbon deposits, among which – those in Siberia, the Lena basins and the Transbaikalia ones. Russia holds 49.1 billion tons of coal, 107, 9 billion tons of lignite.

The manganese ores reserves. The manganese ore deposits of the Russian Federation territory are numerous, yet small, mainly the carbonate type. The state has exploited almost 150 million tons – 2.7% of the world's production total (2002).

Hydroenergetic resources. Russia disposes of large hydro-energetic resources, over 80% of them being situated in the Asian part. With Volga being the largest European River with 3688

km and its tributary Kama, of 2032 km, they have been the subject of certain complex adjustments, achieved mainly in the 13 Hydro Power Stations with a final power of over 13,500 MW. Hydrographic improvements have been made also on the big Siberian Rivers: Obi, Enisei, Angara, Lena, Amur.

In 2006, Russia was producing electric power in nuclear power stations of almost 5.6 % of the world's production that is 156 billions of KWh.

In 2007, Russia occupied rank 4 in the world, among the electric power producers with a range of 5.3% of the world's production.

Russia currently holds the 4th place among the countries with nuclear power installed in 2006.

Forestry fund. Russia holds 8513 thousand square kilometers of forests (22% of those existent on the planet).

Fisheries. In 2007 Russia was ranked 10 worldwide, at the amount of fish caught, with 3.4 million tons.

Wheat production. In 2007 Russia was ranked the 4th in the world at wheat production with 49.4 million tons, that is 8.1% of the world's production.

CHINA: although it is the third country in terms of stretch on the globe (after Russia and Canada), occupying almost 7% of Earth's surface, and the first country in terms of demographical density because it holds 20% of the world's population, China confronts itself with a series of vulnerabilities which mainly affects its continental dimension. As we mentioned before, the affirmation as an Eurasian power, involves in Beijing that this dimension would be in detriment to Moscow.

A major imbalance that could influence the capitalization continental perspective is the demographical decrease. This way, in the western half of the country, formed out of mountains and high plateaus with an arid climate, which does not favour living, only 6% of the Chinese population lives there. Instead, most of the Chinese population, the rest of 94%, lives in the eastern side, on the coastal line, on the valleys of the 3 major rivers of South-Eastern and North-Eastern China (moreover, eastern China hosts the highest demographical density in the world).

Also, we can notice the fact that the western part of China is not only underpopulated but also the most underdeveloped, and the Tibet and Xianjiang provinces, that could be the launching ramp of the continentals politics, are inhabited mostly by minorities with self-government tendencies and which have different religious beliefs, showing only hostility to Beijing.

Major imbalances are also generated by the accelerated development of the demographic and economical with some severe consequences in terms of ecology and food supplies. In China, only 25% of the country holds high agricultural potential, compared to 60% in the case of the U.S.A. and 80% in the case of Europe. Thus, the population number and the accelerated economical growth of China worsens this balance and accentuates the pressure over the land, over the forests, over the water sources, which can lead to a permanent ecological crisis in the next 50 years.

We also should not ignore the option between the continental and sea dimension, which were experimented ever the course of history by China, with different outcomes. This way, China's history, influenced by the necessity of resolving internal issues, was dominated in certain periods by Sino-centrism, aspect which emphasized the continental dimension of the country. However, the option for continentalism meant an historical failure, as it happened in the 15th and 19th century, when China provoked its cut from the sea. Instead, the option for the sea way, dominated especially by economical interests, has coincided with a period of development, the period of reference being the 15th century.

In the last decades, China has rethought the ratio between continental and sea dimension, not by moving the capital from Beijing, but moving the countries centre of development to the coast zone, in the Shanghai area. This way, China now tries to make the transition from the continental power to the continental-ocean power, having in mind that, over the course of history, there were powers that followed a similar course of transformation with success (a successful case of this continentalsea synthesis are the United States of America).

The East-Asian economy is built on a Chinese network, made by the technological capacity of Taiwan, the entrepreneurial abilities of Hong Kong, the network communications of Singapore, all of them being completed by a huge amount of financial capital and a strong base of land, resources and work of continental China.

China did not hesitate to take advantage of the U.R.S.S. dissolution, jumpstarting its relations with the countries in Central Asia, Beijing manifesting strategic interests in that area. China had a rather reserved strategy towards Central Asia, incorporated in a flexible tactic, without generating tensions in the relations with other states. The development of a new type of strategy attracted regional powers into China's sphere of influence, and the term continental, Eurasian expansion of China was symbolized by the initiation and expansion of the Cooperation

The Chinese economy was until 1978 a typical one for a communist, developing country. In that time, the vice-premier Deng Xiaoping launched some profound reforms, in order to modernize Chinese economy and society. These reforms were implemented in the following fields of activity: agriculture, industry, science and technology, defence, foreign. The most important reform implemented in the time of this visionary leader was that concerning the direct foreign investments in China. Actually, nowadays Chinese "economic miracle" is based on this reform, very well described by Joan Edelman Spero.

After 1990 China became a big importer of raw material extremely necessary for its accelerated development. Therefore, the external Chinese politics followed prevalently the development of the relationship with the countries rich in raw material. The Chinese companies made great investments in African countries as Sudan, Angola, Zimbabwe, South American as Brazil, Peru, Venezuela and PortoRico. Also, they made investments in Asian countries as Kazakhstan, Iran, Turkmenistan, Burma and in countries from the Middle East as Saudi Arabia, Oman, Yemen, rich in oil and natural gas.

China made as a main goal the performance development of its multinational companies, which are State companies, considering their transformation in global players. They are usually sustained by preferential financing, tax exemption and political support on the international arena, in order to become authentic multinational companies. China explicitly began a program for big cross-border acquisitions. The objective of these acquisitions is to assure for China the access to raw material, technology, know-how, managerial and layout abilities, producers, providers and business markets.

Coal stocks. China is among the three states that have more than 70% of the possible coal stocks, together with Russia and USA. All the same, China comes to the front with the fact that it brings about 33% of the world production for superior coal and in 2008 it had stocks of about 114.5 thousand million tons of coal.

Therefore, Beijing is nowadays on the first place as a world coal producer having a quota of 2/5 of the world production, this fact having an important role in covering the electricity for the country. Consequently, the coals have a big influence, representing 4/5 in the energetic balance of China. The coals are the main source for the energetic industry of the country.

China has 62.2 thousand million tons of coal and 52.3 thousand million tons of lignite, according to the estimations done in 1999. The main coal catchment area are in the North-

Eastern China, in Fushun and Benxi regions, in the North of the country, in Taiyuan and Datong regions, in Shanxi and Shenxi provinces, in the Central part, in Eastern and South-Eastern part.

Oil and natural gas stocks. China has oil stocks of 2.1 thousand million tons, being known, in 2008, as having an oil production of 189.7 thousand million tons, representing 4.8% of the world production. Despite the high oil production, China is one of the biggest oil importers in order to preserve its industrial development rhythm, considering that, in 2008, it burned 375.7 thousand million tons of oil.

Important oil exploitations are in North China, in Takeng area and Shengli region –the delta of the Huang He River and in the area of the Bohai bay. Other extraction areas are in North-Western China, in Xinjiang region and North-Eastern China in Songliao province. Concerning the purification capacity it is known that, in 2008, China held the world second place with 8.7% capacity.

Likewise, according to the statistics, in 2008, China held the world ninth place among the producer countries for natural gas, with a rate of 76.1 thousand million cubic meters, representing 2.5% of the global production and having stocks of 2460 thousand million cubic meters.

Electricity. In 2007, China held the world second place in the top of electricity producers, having a percentage of 15.1% of the whole world amount.

Iron ore stocks. In 2008, China was the main world producer for iron ore with a yield of 770 thousand million tons, being also the most important importer of iron ore. In 2008, China was on the first place for the steel production with 513 thousand million tons, representing 37.7% of the world production. The main bases of metallurgy are situated in the North-Eastern China, at Anshan, Shenyang, Fushun, Benxi. In the North part there are metallurgy bases at Tayuan and Beijing and in the Central part there are metallurgy bases at Wuhan and Maanshar.

In 2008, China had the first world production for the cast iron and iron alloy with 478 thousand million tons, representing half of the world production.

High industrial fields. In 2008 China was on the second world place for the vehicles production, representing 13.2% from world total amount and in 2003, on the third world place for the commercial ship production, having 11.3% from world total amount.

Forestry assets. China has 1 882 000 square kilometres of forest.

The gross production value in China of the marine industries grew yearly arriving in 2006 at 275 thousand dollars, a 13.97% growth in comparison with the previous year, representing 10.01% of the Chinese gross domestic product (GDP).

The value added of the marine industries was of 162.1 thousand millions US dollars and their percentage in GDP grew to 4.01%.

Fishing field. In 2007, China was on the first world place for the fish's quantity with 49.5 thousand million tons.

Rice production. In 2007 China was the main world rice producer with 187 thousand million tons, representing 28.7% of the world production. Wheat production. In 2007 China was on the first world place for the wheat production with 109.8 thousand million tons, representing 18.1% of the world production.

Maize production. In 2007 China was on the second world place for the maize production with 152 thousand million tons, representing 19.4% of the total amount.

These figures are impressive. All the same, China is relatively poor in mineral resources, the stock per capita being at the half of the world average. 90% and respectively 80% of oil and coal stocks are found in the Northern part of the country.

In Xinjiang is the largest affluence of oil, gas, copper and iron, but natural resources are also found in Tibet. The South and South-Eastern regions, the most dynamic economically, are generally lacking in natural resources. Most of the time, is more

advantageous for the Chinese government to get supplies from the importation than bring raw material from the North mainland China.

In order to maintain its high growth rate, China will need in the future of massive imports, including hydrocarbons and raw material. This fact require increasingly more money, which must to be obtained generally from difference between imports and exports, China being doomed to export more and more.

The Chinese economy is a high energy consumer and requires massive import, and in this case Beijing takes into consideration the development of some safe supply routes and neighbours without internal issues. As we observed, even though I does not benefit from an Eurasian policy in the North-West part of the country, yet the requirements of oil and gas supply cannot determinate Beijing to ignore the CentralAsian potential, even if it involves an economic competition with Moscow. Besides, China does not hesitate to develop partnerships in terms of energy even with Kazakhstan – the main state that sustains the Russian policy in the area. So, in 1997, China and Kazakhstan created a partnership involving a pipeline from the Caspian Sea to Xinjiang (962 kilometres in length), which became functional in 2005. Also, in 2005, China acquired a Kazakh energy company in the disadvantage of a Russian concern (Lukoil). In the same time, China was allowed to exploit important deposits in Kazakhstan; thereby the presence of Beijing balanced the Russian interests in the area.

We emphasize that this policy promoted by China in Central Asia, generated by strict economic necessities, is not limited only to Kazakhstan. Nowadays, in Central Asia, China is building roads, factories, power stations and pipelines for hydrocarbons transportation. In spite of the massive investments in the area, it is observed reluctance against Chinese investments from Central-Asian countries. So, with all the benefits from its presence in Central Asia, there are concerns that the cheap products made in China could affect local markets, being involved the risk of immigration, by the rise in the number of Han population established in CentralAsian region.

China's strategy for Central Asia was established on three directives:

1. The stability of Central Asia means stability in its Western regions and in Xinjiang;
2. The implication in the Central-Asian dynamics means the supply with energy and other strategic resources, and also breaking the United States and N.A.T.O.'s encirclement;
3. The domination of Central Asia could ensure and increase China's influence in the Middle East, South Asia, Caucasus and Afghanistan. A powerful position in the area (i.e. Central Asia) could open the access to new markets for its products and new ways of access to European markets.

Besides, it is estimated that in the future China will increase its political - economic influence in the Central Asian area by strengthening its external partner status, dominant in the mentioned area. Stating that, for economic reasons, China increased its ambitions and regional influence, depicting a progressive interest in energy-rich states in Central Asia, but an important part in this direction is played by the fear of a possible attraction of the Eastern Turkmenistan in relation to CentralAsian states. We notice that this force of attraction could be powered by ethnolinguistic and confessional aspects. Thereby, it might be taken into account that the large Uyghur community from Xinjiang might want to share the same history as Turkish and Muslim states from Central Asia.

The whole Chinese strategy for Central Asia means the creation of an economic and political dependence, to use it both for providing resources and for obstruction of the American influence in this area. We emphasize that, from this point of view, respectively stopping the American influence in the area, the Chinese interests are the same as the Russian ones and were materialized by founding the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. It is

necessary to highlight that the Chinese-Russian alliance has nothing but a situational nature, forced to solve a problem generated by punctual and immediate strategic necessities, i.e. the prevention of American intrusion in the area. However, the Russian-Chinese cooperation is not able to solve the background of the issue, given the existence of some historical disagreements in the bilateral relations on the areas of influence owned in Central Asia and Siberia. Inevitably, by putting again into question the areas under the Chinese influence in Central Asia would induce a gradual tension of the relations with Moscow, that wants to strengthen its position in the area through various projects (Eurasian Union, Collective Security Treaty Organization), even with a political-military collision perspectives. We also consider that Moscow itself is forced to take into consideration an eventual economic consolidation of China by accessing the maritime dimension, with internal implications in the development of North-Western parts of the country. This fact would allow Beijing to take into consideration the continental option.

Beijing's lack of trust in Moscow could be revealed by the fact that, nowadays, China prefers not to be dependent only on Russia's natural resources. In consequence, we consider that Beijing cannot put its source of power, the economy, at risk and to depend on the oil and gas provided by Moscow. Thereby, China is more and more economically present in Africa, where are many important oil reserves, and other types of natural resources necessary for sustaining the fast developing industry of Beijing.

We consider that China's immediate perspective doesn't imply a confrontation with Russia, because Beijing has to solve issues regarding other regional powers competitors, such as India and Japan.

So, geography is an important factor that dictates China's interest to ally with Pakistan and establish a military presence in Burma, the geostrategic target of this initiative being India. China's close military cooperation with Pakistan is blocking India's possibilities to gain regional hegemony in South Asia and to become a geopolitical competitor of China. The military cooperation with Burma, for China represents the direct access to the Indian Ocean and the possibility of strategic control in the Strait of Malacca, which can filter Japan's access to Middle Eastern oil and European markets.

The Chinese strategy diverts from the two major objectives of its external policy regarding, on a global scale U.S.A., and on a regional scale, other strong states which may have hegemonic claims.

Thus, the first objective of the Chinese external policy is blocking the American hegemony and power politics, avoiding at the same time a military conflict, which could block China's rise as an economical power. In this respect, China is counting on the anti-American resentments present on a global scale. Viewed from

In Africa, are estimated to be almost 10 billion tons of oil. On the continent exists two large areas where oil is extracted: one in the North in Sahara, which includes: Libya, Algeria, Egypt and Morocco, and the other area in the Gulf of Guinea in the Nigerian zone especially, but also in Gabon and Angola. this point, Beijing's policy subordinated to the tactical development of Sino-Russian relations is justified, given that, nowadays, Russia is from all the points of view more vulnerable than China. As a result, we notice that, due to the Soviet Union's dissolution, Beijing has not hesitated to attract Moscow in various forms of cooperation to stop the American influence. Not incidentally, in 1997, Russia and China united against the American hegemony and agreed that the N.A.T.O. expansion is not desirable.

China's second objective is a regional strategy designed to avoid any conflicts with its close neighbours, proceeding at the same time to obtain regional domination. We regard that, in reality, the second objective is closely linked to the first one, meaning that Beijing can't afford conflicts with its stronger neighbours, from which USA could benefit by consolidating its influence in the area. Also, these kinds of conflicts could increase the internal

weaknesses. For example, we believe that a conflict with India, a demographic colossus, would weaken China in the Tibet region, because of the support given by New Delhi to this region.

The Chinese economy is a huge energy user which needs safety provisioning routes and neighbours without big internal problems. In 1997, China and Kazakhstan created an association for a 962 km pipe from the Caspian Sea to Xinjiang which became functional in 2005. Also, in 2005, China bought a big Kazakh energetic company in the disadvantage of the Russian Company Lukoil. China also got access to exploit important stores in Kazakhstan, the Chinese presence equilibrating the Russian interests in the region.

At present in Central Asia, China is building roads, factories, power stations and pipelines to convey hydrocarbons. With all the benefits of the Chinese presence in Central Asia, there are fears that the cheap Chinese commodities and labor force will undermine the central-Asian area.

From economic grounds, China increased its ambitions and regional influence, presenting a growing interest in states rich in energy from Central-Asia. China's strategy towards Central-Asia means the setting up of an economic and political dependence to serve it both for the ensurance of resources and to stop the consolidation of American economic and strategical positions in this area.

In the future, China will increase its political-economic influence in Central-Asian space by consolidating its status of external partner, prevalent for the states from the mentioned perimeter.

China is more and more economically present in Africa, because here are concentrated the most important petrol reserves (approximately 10 billions tones), on its territory shaping two petroleum areas: one in the north, in Sahara which includes exploitations in Libia, Algeria, Egypt and Maroc and the other in the region of Guinea gulf, especially in the area of Nigeria but including Gabon and Angola. There is also Chinese interests and other types of natural resources necessary for Chinese industry.

The main common interest of Russia and China in the Asian-Pacific area is to block the American influence in the region. The United States have two important advantages, the military power in the region – by the presence of nuclear carriers and the technological progress given by the state of the art of satellites and technologies. The second important American advantage in the area is represented by the presence of great American corporations that hold assets and very modern industrial technologies. An important component of the American influence in the Asian-Pacific area is given by the American alliance system.

Russia is afraid that NATO wants to replace the results of the Second World War that Russia won by the results of the Cold War won by the Occident. China has developed after the 70^s of the 20th century its capacity to design its political and military power due to the development of the Chinese economy. At the end of the 80^s, China started to convert its economical resources and military power into political influence – as a reaction to the military presence in the region, to the hegemonic role of the United States, to the Japan's influence in the region and in order to ensure itself the access to energetic resources.

During the last 50 years there has been an important mutation in the international relationships plan, in the sense that the Pacific area became more relevant on the economical and political level compared to the Atlantic region that held supremacy for the last five centuries. This thing mainly offered an advantage to the United States that holds both sides – the Atlantic and the Pacific one. Even within the United States there has been a mutation of the influence poles from the East coast to the Western one, in California existing at the present the best rated innovation centers, universities and companies' head offices. On military level the United States relocated a part of their traditional military bases from the Western Europe in Central Asia and in the Pacific region. The beginning of the American-Chinese partnership at the end of the '70^s created the premise of economical revival in the Pacific region having in view that the American

economical power boosted after the second world war in countries like Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Philippine.

This was the main cause of the Chinese explosive economical development that ensured its resources for the modernization of infrastructure, of the army and the external commercial expansion. Enjoying the statute of the second world economy and the first industrial power, China insistently tried to create access in the regions with rich raw materials the industry needs. That is why China developed partnerships with the Central Asian countries, sharing the co-influence sphere with the Russian Federation.

Another Russian-Chinese joint interest is mutually splitting the influence sphere in the Central Asia, of exclusive manner. The Russian and Chinese external policy is based on the principle “my enemy’s enemy is my friend”, the two countries cultivating friendship relationships with the USA enemies: Iran, North Korea, Syria, and in 1999 with Serbia. Russia and China don’t agree with the unipolar international system created by the United States of America and jointly militate for a multipolar power system that should block the American hegemony in the world. China became the main economical actor in the Asia-Pacific region and a more and more influent actor in Africa, Eastern Europe and South America, while Russia is very influent in Central Asia and in Europe. The Central Asia region is a pivot area for the whole Asia, which connects the great Asian regions: it represents the shortest road between the European Russia and China; it connects Central Siberia to South Asia, the Middle East to East Siberia. Central Asia represents the Northern region for expressing Islam, it has the greatest natural resources, especially energetic, gas and petroleum, it presents a great ethnic and social heterogeneity in which the relationships between groups and bands are very tense, having a high level of delinquency. The American presence in Iraq and Afghanistan represents the United States’ attempt to control the greatest petroleum and gas reserves: the Caucasian area, Central Asia, Iraq and the Gulf area.

The Central Asia region has a surface of 4 million km², with a population of approximately 57 million people, a density of 14 inhabitants per square meter; it includes 5 ancient soviet republics: Kazakhstan (30% Russians), Uzbekistan (6% Russians), Kirghizstan (13% Russians), Tajikistan (3% Russians) and Turkmenistan (7% Russians).

This area holds huge petroleum and natural gas deposits the Russian, American, European and Chinese interests being turned at. Not incidental, after the beginning of the war in Afghanistan, USA placed American bases in Kirghizstan and Uzbekistan. An important role in the area is played by China, confronting with separatist tensions in the autonomous province Xinjiang. China has Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Kirghizstan as neighbors – it extended its cooperation with. China is also interested in the energetic resources of Iran that is in addition an important market for the Chinese weapons and for other products.

There are three state concentric circles around these huge resources involved in the fight for their control: 1. The manufacturing states from the ex-USSR space: Russia, Azerbaidjan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. 2. The states where petrol and gas pass through: Russia, Iran and Turkey. 3. The energy consumer states: USA, EU and China.

Russia holds 34% of the global reserves of natural gas and Central Asia 53% of these resources, the two areas holding an important percentage – 87% of the world’s total gas reserves. This huge percentage represents the basics for the Russian energetic diplomacy in the region.

In 1996 Russia and China created the Shanghai Group – political-military organization along with Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan and Kirghizstan. On June 15, 2001 there has been created the *Shanghai Cooperation Organization* (an extension of the Shanghai Group) including Russia, China, Tajikistan, Kirgizstan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan), having India, Mongolia and Pakistan as observers. Russia made great efforts in order not to lose control on the previously own region in order not to miss the chance to come again at the top of the world’s politics. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization mainly represents a strategic partnership

between Russia and China, having as main objectives the creation of a very powerful economical group which should limit the American influence in the Central Asia and organize the joint exploitation of the petrol, natural gas and other deposits in the region. China participated to the construction of a huge oil pipeline, from Siberia to the North-East of China. Along with the efforts for strengthening the economical relationships, China and Russia started a joint program for military exercises. Starting on 2005, Russia and China have tried by this organization to create the conditions of a multipolar world by the edification of another power pole, as response to the USA actions for the consolidation of a unipolar world. Besides that, Russia suspiciously looks at China out of three reasons: as geopolitical actor of atlantism, having in view the massive western investments in China; as a highly demographic density country looking for new spaces.

The main objectives of the SCO are the consolidation of mutual trust and of the good neighboring relationships between member states; the promotion of efficient cooperation in politics, trade and economy, science, technology, culture, energy, transport, environmental protection and in other fields; SCO makes joint efforts to create a new democratic environment and a new rational international political and economical order.

The SCO member states occupy a territory of approximately 30.189.000 square kilometers, which represent up to three fifths of the Eurasian continent and have a population of 1,5 billion people, which represents a quarter of the planet's population.

After the tragic events of September 11, 2001, the Shanghai group turned into an anti-terrorist international organization, one of its main missions being to fight against the transmission of militant Islamism in Central Asia. On a larger scale, SCO is an economical group having as objective to limit the American influence in Central Asia. The American influence of the last decade in the ex-soviet space caused rumors in Moscow and Beijing.

After the beginning of the Afghanistan war, two of the SCO members, Uzbekistan and Kirgizstan, accepted the presence of the American troops on their territories. This thing alarmed Russia and China that considered Central Asia as part of their influence sphere. The SCO states requested the dismissal of those bases and Uzbekistan agreed to it, only the American base in Kirghizstan remaining active.

The Russian discontent concerning the NATO extension in the Baltic countries and in the East Europe determined it to want the transformation of the SCO into an instrument against NATO and against the American influence in Central Asia.

The militarization trend of the organization is confirmed by the increased number of joint military exercises and the increase of investments in the armed forces. The SCO objectives are the control on the petrol and gas production and ducts, which transfer these resources to the Chinese and Western market.

Lately Russia acted for strengthening the strategic partnership with China, putting accent on exports of hydrocarbon and diverse military technique. China concluded energetic agreements with Kazakhstan and Kirghizstan and in 2004 signed an agreement with Kazakhstan for the construction of a 1000 kilometer oil pipeline for the transport of petrol from this country to the Chinese province Xinjiang.

The volume of Chinese-Russian commercial exchanges in 2009, according to the Russian customs statistics dropped with 29,4% to 39,5 billion US dollars. Russia holds the 14th place of the commercial partners in China. The Russian part in the Chinese external trade is of 1,76%. China occupied the third place of the commercial partners of Russian (the first 11 months of 2010 being on the 1st place), including the 6th place in the export field and the 1st place in the import one.

The Chinese proportion in the Russian external trade was up to 9,6%. The turnover of the commercial relationships between Russia and China in the period 2006-2010 was as it follows: in 2006 the turnover was of 28,7 billion US dollars, in 2007 of 40,3 billion US dollars, in 2008 of

55,9 billion US dollars, in 2009 of 39,5 billion US dollars and in 2010 of 53,18 billion US dollars.

In the first 11 months of 2010 the Russian-Chinese commercial turnover amounted to 53,18 billion US dollars, increased with 52,3% compared to 2009. Meantime, the Russian exports to China were up to 18,03 billion dollars, at 21,4% of total exports. The Chinese imports to Russia were of 35,15 billion US dollars (75,1% of total imports). The negative Russian balance was of 17,12 billion US dollars.

The volume of the Russian-Chinese border trade in 2009 decreased with 37,9% to 11,8 billion US dollars. The Russian proportion in the border trade of China was in 2009 of 27,5%, the main Chinese actor being the Heilongjiang province. Generally, the exports of China are concentrated on industrial products, representing 93,6% alimentary and agricultural products, of 3,4% and fuels and energetic products of 2,9% of total exports. In the EU countries, China delivered 19,7% of exports, in the USA 18,4%, in Hong Kong 13,8%, in Japan 8,1%, in Korean Republic 4,5%, and in the rest of the countries 35,5%. The structure of imports in China is as it follows: 67,1% industrial products, 24,9% raw materials and energetic products, 7,6% alimentary and agricultural products. The greatest countries supplying goods in China were in 2009 Japan with 13%, UE with 12,7%, South Korea with 10,2%, Taiwan 8,5%. China had between 2000 and 2009 a stable and positive balance of external trade with other countries in the world. In 2009 the positive commercial balance of China was up to 195,8 billion dollars or 8,9 of its turnover.

China is the main partner of Russia in the Asian- Pacific region. There is still the danger for Russia that this dynamic, innovative, demographic giant Chinese partner to put Russia in a position of subordinate partner, Russia becoming a buffer state between a developed Europe and an expansionist China.

Russia and China are powers fighting against the American hegemony, fact reaffirmed during the visit in Beijing of the Russian president Boris Eltzyn in 1996. The United States, after the Iraq and Afghanistan moment, can no longer take unilateral decisions without taking into account the Chinese and Russian reactions. Both Russia and China are players at the regional and global level. Economy is now the most important pressure weapon in the international relationships field, putting on a second place certain technologies and fields of the classical war. Even though globalization was started and sustained by the USA, more and more international actors such as Russia and China learned to use globalization as a resource of economical development and increase of their international relationships sphere.

Between the Russian Federation and the Popular Chinese Republic there are uneven structural relations on several levels: the first is the demographic unbalance given by the population volume and density, Russia holding in the Asian part a huge space, but only approximately 40 million people, recording one of the lowest densities in the world. Of the 40 million people, more than half are represented by the non-Russian minorities. At the opposite pole, China hardly decelerates the demographic explosion recorded in the last half of the century based on the economical relations, China "exporting" in Central Asia and Extreme Orient numerous Chinese communities. The possibility of Chinese colonization of the depopulated spaces of Siberia is a threatening reality for the Russian decision factors and it influences the Russian vision upon security in the extreme-oriental region and also the Russian interests in Central Asia.

The second structural unbalance is given by the relation between the two economies – the Russian and the Chinese ones. China recently became the second world's economy after the USA and the first industry at the world's level. China consistently developed most of its industrial branches that strongly sustain the export of products including more and more plus value.

At the opposite end, Russia based its economical growth on two pillars, in a one-direction way: on the one hand on the export of raw materials – natural gas, petrol and coal, the other one on the exports of military technology. The Russian economy didn't ensure the real development

of all sectors, the political one being the key element in allotting economical resources and in planning investment objectives. The arbitrary intervention of the political factor in economy will strongly affect the future of the real economic development and of the Russian society.

The third structural unbalance is given by the societal development models of the two countries: Russia continue its historical model of developing the country on the Centre-Periphery relation, in which allotting resources and concentration of the political-economical decisions is concentrated around certain important urban poles (Moscow, Sankt Petersburg, Novosibirsk, Rostov on Don etc). At the other pole, China builds complex politics of societal development, having a diversity of development poles within the country. Beijing remains the political and administrative pole, but on the economical plan the engines of development are represented by the special economical regions such as Shenzhen, Hong Kong, or the area of a huge conurbation around Guangdong city (approximately 50 million people). The Chinese coast region is very well developed from economical and demographic point of view, the central continental region also being in process of development, having in view that the strategic industrial branches for defense were located far from the shore, deep in the continental region. In the last two decades, China massively invested in the Western side where there is a low population density and where there are minorities with autonomist or even secessionist aspirations. The interest of the Chinese authorities for Tibet and Xinjiang regions was on three directions: the first aimed the increase of control upon provinces by the development of industrial and infrastructure investments that created the perfect reason for a great flow of *han* workers who by settling would change the population percentage in the region. The second direction aimed by the Chinese authorities was the access to the exploitation of the huge natural resources existing in the region that could take raw materials for the huge energy consumption Chinese industry. The third direction followed by the Chinese authorities by investments in the western region was to create a bridgehead for the Chinese investments' progress and access in Central Asia and access to the energetic resources in the Persian Gulf region.

In this new multipolar system, China has an ascendant compared to Russia due to the very good positioning in the Asia-Pacific perimeter (the most important economical region of the world). China holds at present a more performing economy compared to the Russian one and implicitly more financial resources, it has an enormous population compared to the Russian one (9/1 proportion); China has access to warm seas and holds financial resources for the next 10-20 years to build a more modern army than the Russian one. China is also a force concerning its capacity to create urban and industrial infrastructure while Russia developed only the military-industrial complex and the hydrocarbon exploiting and processing industry. As for the geographic space, China tends to become a space just as completely occupied. Russia on the other hand is structured on several urban "oases" and much extended unused space. China can be one of the main opponents of the Russian domination recreation upon Central Asia due to its increasing interest for new independent states there. The first objective of the Chinese external policy is to block the American hegemony and power politics, attentively avoiding at the same time a military affair that would block the Chinese access to the statute of economical power, based on the anti-American resentments existing at the global level. The second objective for China is a regional strategy in order to avoid serious conflicts with its immediate neighbors, meantime continuing to get regional domination.

Siberia holds one of the greatest discovered reserves of coal, diamonds, different materials for industries, and also hydrocarbon reserves. In addition, we must mention that this area has not been completely explored, containing potential resources undiscovered so far. Siberia has three main vulnerabilities for Russia (which represent the three main attractions for China): it is located near China, it has a low demography and it holds natural wealth uncalculated yet. This situation will represent on average and long term a tension factor hidden in the geostrategic plan of the Russian- Chinese bilateral relations.

China is the supporter of the tactical development of the Chinese-Russian relations since for now Russia is much weaker than China from all the points of view. In 1997 Russia and China reunited in denouncing the American hegemony and jointly declared that the NATO extension is not allowed.

During the communist period, the Soviet Union was despised from cultural point of view by the majority of its vassals in East Europe and mostly by China for which the word Russia means “insatiable country”. For several centuries China has been weaker and less developed than Russia at least in the political and military fields. Now China is a much advanced state, more dynamic and more successful than Russia, the Chinese economical power changing completely the historical relation between the two countries. The possibility of Chinese colonization of the depopulated spaces in Siberia is a threatening reality for the Russian descendants influencing the Russian vision of security in the extreme-oriental region and also the Russian interests in Central Asia.

Supporter of Euro-Asia, nostalgic in double measure of tsarism and soviet period, Russia is more preoccupied by its past than by its future. As in the period of the Russian principalities, of the tsarist empire, of USSR and also in the Putin’s period, Russia has been mainly preoccupied by its military statute, having as constant objectives the territorial extension or the extension of the influence area. In Russia, the political elites have developed along the years an acute feeling of insecurity that against the huge space led to political expressions of claustrophobia, the result being that the expansion represented a constant preoccupation in the Russian external politics. For the Russian geopolitics, the post-soviet Eurasian represents the alternative to atlantism. Since traditionally Russia didn’t have a developed society, it was not considered as a progress factor than in other Asian societies, less developed than it. The demographic decrease, the lack of a performing economy and the blockage in ideological clichés of the past represent vulnerabilities for Russia concerning the creation of its own future. In the bilateral cooperation plan, China is interested in the natural resources existing in Russia and especially in the Asian part, especially hydrocarbons and coal, basic elements of the Chinese industrial functioning. Russia is interested in the Chinese export market by certain categories of Chinese investments, namely in certain areas, lacking other alternatives – of Chinese manpower.

China, by this movement to the West, tried to break out a certain type of circling and created its own alternative routes of raw material procurement needed for its industry. In the East part, in the maritime region, there is a blockage done by the United States through their bases in Philippines and Guam and their allies Japan and Taiwan, the Chinese procurement routes passing through Singapore and the maritime areas controlled by the American naval fleets.

On the North – South axe China can be caught by the “pinch” represented by the tacit alliance between Russia and India. Russia is an economic dwarf but a military giant, India is a demographic giant in the very act of overtaking China and it has a continuously growing economy. In order to balance the danger of the Russia-India tandem, China developed two ways of partnerships: on the other hand with Pakistan, a huge harbor to the Indian Ocean – serving as procurement base for raw materials from the Persian Gulf. On the other hand China developed partnerships with the ex-soviet countries in Central Asia, trying a control the Russian influence in this region through investments, loans and influence meant to block or temper on average and long term.

The Chinese borders with the Central Asia states measure 3700 km. The main issue for China referring to Xinjiang province is the fact that in this area a separatist movement developed, favored by the ascension of the extremist movements in the neighbor Muslim countries, the Xinjiang situation being one of the reasons for China to be interested in peace in Central Asia. The increase of violence and conflicts in Central Asia would only encourage the Uyghur of Xingjiang and generate difficulties hard to solve for the Chinese authorities.

The access to the wealth of the region and its division represent objectives that generate a series of diverse tensions, from the economical to the nationalist ones. The fifth states - Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Tadjikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan have internal and border difficulties which are the objective of the neighbors' pretensions and they have ethnic rebellion areas since few of them are homogenous from national point of view. Moreover, some are involved in the ethnic or religious territorial conflicts, this context creating the predisposition for stronger neighbors like the Russian Federation, China or Iran in order to influence the political and economical evolutions.

The appearance of the central –Asian independent states represented the push back of the Russian South-East border, under the conditions in which the new states held large mineral and energetic resources, and the tendency of those states seemed to be more and more inclined to nationalism and Islamism. The Central Asia stake is the economical one, due to the important reserves of petroleum and natural gas. China, under the umbrella of the Shanghai Organization, gave credit to its members of billion dollars in order to encourage the economical exchanges especially of exports of goods from China. China is for the Central Asia countries a commercial partner and an important investor, especially in the communication, transport, extractive and hydro energetic field. In the energetic field, China also pointed out along with the projects with Kazakhstan, another project with Turkmenistan by starting in 2007 of a oil pipeline construction from Turkmenistan to China, passing through Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan territories. We must also remind the railroad project that would connect China to Kirgizstan and Uzbekistan.

In Central Asia, China dominates the extreme-oriental continental platform and Russia is the less populated middle space, political fluid and organizationally fragmented. The region became an interest area for the geostrategic players of the contemporary international environment since it became a buffer area and a region supporting the fight against international terrorism.

After 2000, Russia tried to reestablish supremacy in all its previously controlled territories and to revive the decreased influence first by keeping the control in the regions of some important petrol ducts. The security deficit in Central Asia is also alimented by the nature of the relations between the states composing the area and by the entrance of the Islamist fundamentalist elements in the regions. The main persuasion way was the dependency of the ancient republics of the raw materials resources directly imported from the Russian Federation through external investments done in the strategic sectors of the aimed economies and by the procurement of the right on strategic infrastructure. Russia directed capital towards the nearby regions where it has long term strategic interests, thus aiming to increase the dependency of the states within the ex-soviet influence sphere for supplying the Russian energy and for economical investments.

Central Asia was controlled by other mechanisms too, especially by the collaboration in the military field, Russia taking advantage of the administrative weaknesses and inter-ethnic tensions. Central Asian allies proved to be weak from the economical point of view, reason for which Russia has chosen the option of financing the modernization of their armed forces in order to increase their dependency on its military equipments.

The future of the Russian – Chinese cooperation (or confrontation) in Central Asia and Siberia depends on two categories of factors: the Chinese capacity to overpass the current economical crisis and to maintain its economic growth indexes; the Russian capacity to edify a modern, West-European economy and army.

It is obvious that, geopolithically thinking, Russia has great difficulties when it comes to demography, because of the decrease of birth rate, to the poor demographic density, low life expectancy and its population's precarious general health state. All the same, Russia is nowadays the richest country in the world.

The American geostrategist Zbigniew Brzezinski said that a state, in order to reach the status of world super-power must have to get the following in four decisive fields: from the military point of view have an unmatched world extension; from the economical point of view to be a rich state, from the technological point of view to hold the first place in at least some of the innovation's peak branches; from the cultural point of view to dominate a great part of the world by its attraction.

Thus analyzing Russia's situation one may observe that, from the military point of view it cannot control the oceans and the seas of the world, neither does it hold advanced military bases, or in key positions, even though it holds sufficiently developed conventional forces and nuclear arsenal. From the economical point of view Russia hasn't been and is not a super-power, the Russian State being on its way to upgrade its economical infrastructure. Instead, it has become an energetic superpower of the world, even if it does not have a high productivity economy, which would confirm and sustain its geopolitical options. From the technological point of view, Russia has appropriate capabilities, holds technologies necessary to the exploration of the cosmic space and production of sophisticated weapons, but still, it doesn't succeed in dominating any of the world economy peak sectors. From the cultural point of view, Russia performs an attraction degree only for the Russian minorities in the ex-soviet space, its cultural influence into the world being currently limited. Contemporary Russia is no longer a super-power, even though it holds a major role in the energetic and natural resources field both in Europe and Asia.

Currently, Russia hasn't been able to ensure itself a status of super-power, compared to that of the USA, because of some main reasons: from the military point of view, it is unable to control the oceans of the world, although it holds some reasonable naval capacities; also, it cannot control the Euro-Asian continental area, though it holds terrestrial forces, at a high level of quality and quantity, as well as the fact that it does not hold advanced military bases or disposed in key positions, which would allow it to issue claims. Russia holds well developed nuclear arsenals, and cosmic technology, significant airline capacities and a very well trained reaction force. The Moscow's decisional factors have not give up on their traditional policy of territorial extension and trying to regain the universal, world dominant power status. The field in which Russia is truly a super-power is the energetic one, the paradox being that in spite of this potential, the Russian economy is not as developed as to be helped in the fight for the Euro-Asian and world supremacy.

Russia will continue to be, for a certain 10-15 years amount of time, a major world actor on the energetic market. Because of the existence of a protection system from the part of the state, the monopoly type, there are no appropriate programs of retechnology or development of the hydrocarbons production, and there have also been cases of not respecting some agreements with international companies. Russia still depends economically on the income obtained from the oil and natural gas exports.

The Russian authorities have taken over the control of the energetic sectors and are willing to attract foreign investors, given the situation. Hydrocarbons represent 20% of the GDP and 40% of the budget casings.

Currently, the external policy of the Russian Federation is being built on three development directions:

- a. Russia will play the role of the world supplier of energy and energetic power.
- b. Advanced cooperation between the Russian Federation and EU, with the development of some special relations with France and Germany.
- c. Reconciliation of Russia with the West, as a basis of the external policy pragmatism, Russia being determined to protect its interests in a firm manner, without reaching a confrontation, using mainly the Euro-Asians paradigm in the detriment of the euro-Atlantic one. We consider that Russia could become a real super-power in the next two decades if it will

solve its demographical problems and will build a Western-style army and economy, based on its huge economic resource.