

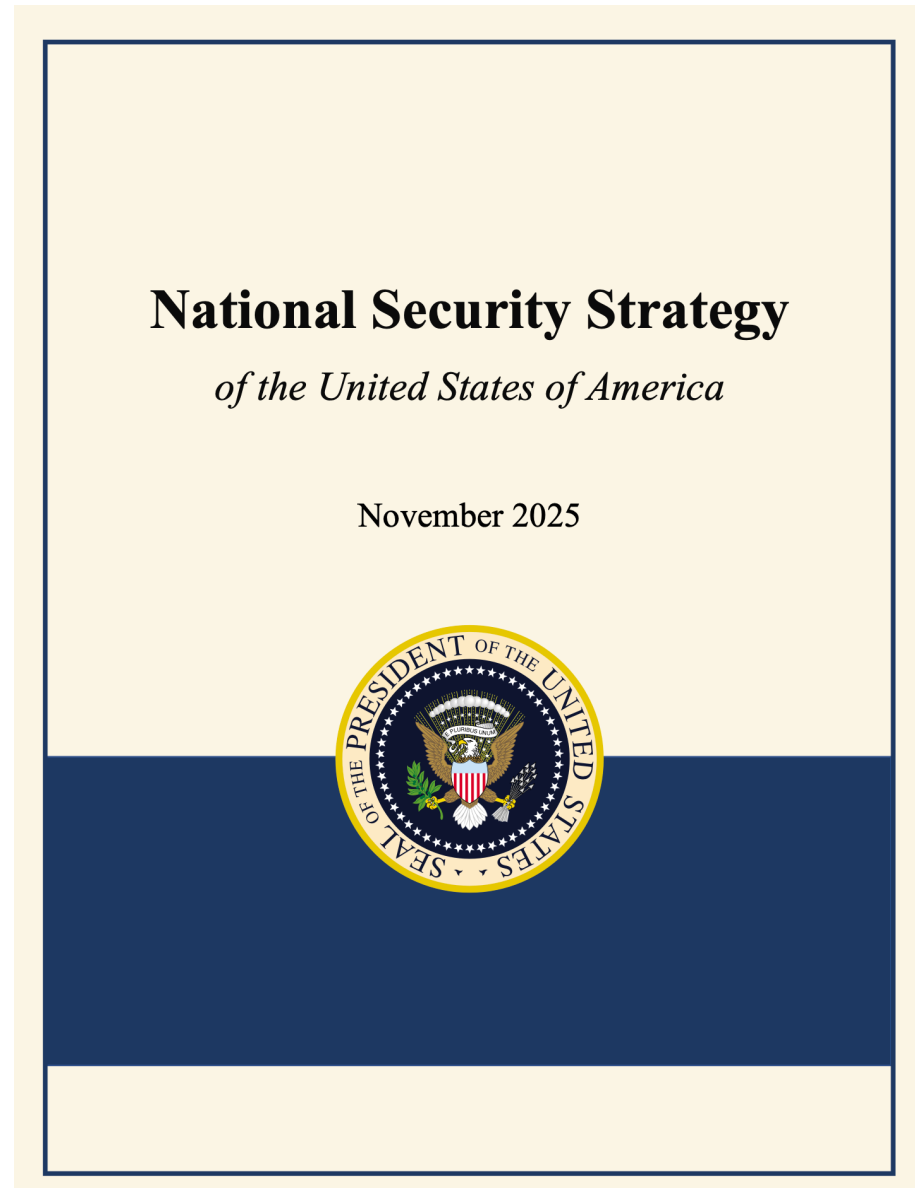
Política Internacional e Geopolítica a policrise do mundo globalizado

**INSTITUTO CULTURAL
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SESSÃO N° 11
10/12/2025**



PARTE I – TEMA PRINCIPAL

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (1) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]



A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (2) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

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A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (3) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

II. What *Should* the United States Want?

1. *What Do We Want Overall?*

First and foremost, we want the continued survival and safety of the United States as an independent, sovereign republic whose government secures the God-given natural rights of its citizens and prioritizes their well-being and interests.

We want to protect this country, its people, its territory, its economy, and its way of life from military attack and hostile foreign influence, whether espionage, predatory trade practices, drug and human trafficking, destructive propaganda and influence operations, cultural subversion, or any other threat to our nation.

We want full control over our borders, over our immigration system, and over transportation networks through which people come into our country—legally and illegally. We want a world in which migration is not merely “orderly” but one in which sovereign countries work together to stop rather than facilitate destabilizing population flows, and have full control over whom they do and do not admit.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (4) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

We want a resilient national infrastructure that can withstand natural disasters, resist and thwart foreign threats, and prevent or mitigate any events that might harm the American people or disrupt the American economy. No adversary or danger should be able to hold America at risk.

We want to recruit, train, equip, and field the world's most powerful, lethal, and technologically advanced military to protect our interests, deter wars, and—if necessary—win them quickly and decisively, with the lowest possible casualties to our forces. And we want a military in which every single servicemember is proud of their country and confident in their mission.

We want the world's most robust, credible, and modern nuclear deterrent, plus next-generation missile defenses—including a Golden Dome for the American homeland—to protect the American people, American assets overseas, and American allies.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (5) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

We want to maintain the United States' unrivaled “soft power” through which we exercise positive influence throughout the world that furthers our interests. In doing so, we will be unapologetic about our country's past and present while respectful of other countries' differing religions, cultures, and governing systems. “Soft power” that serves America's true national interest is effective only if we believe in our country's inherent greatness and decency.

Finally, we want the restoration and reinvigoration of American spiritual and cultural health, without which long-term security is impossible. We want an America that cherishes its past glories and its heroes, and that looks forward to a new golden age. We want a people who are proud, happy, and optimistic that they will leave their country to the next generation better than they found it. We want a gainfully employed citizenry—with no one sitting on the sidelines—who take satisfaction from knowing that their work is essential to the prosperity of our nation and to the well-being of individuals and families. This cannot be accomplished without growing numbers of strong, traditional families that raise healthy children.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (6) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

2. What Do We Want In and From the World?

Achieving these goals requires marshaling every resource of our national power. Yet this strategy's focus is foreign policy. What are America's core foreign policy interests? What do we want *in* and *from* the world?

- We want to ensure that the Western Hemisphere remains reasonably stable and well-governed enough to prevent and discourage mass migration to the United States; we want a Hemisphere whose governments cooperate with us against narco-terrorists, cartels, and other transnational criminal organizations; we want a Hemisphere that remains free of hostile foreign incursion or ownership of key assets, and that supports critical supply chains; and we want to ensure our continued access to key strategic locations. In other words, we will assert and enforce a “Trump Corollary” to the Monroe Doctrine;

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (7) [FONTE: The American Experience / Corporation for Public Broadcasting]

AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

FILMS

VIDEOS

FEATURES

SCHEDULE

TR | PRIMARY SOURCE

Monroe Doctrine, 1823

The American foreign policy statement that provided the basis for Roosevelt's military intervention in Latin America.



Uncle Sam, as armed soldier, standing between European powers (Brit., France, Germany, Spain, and Portugal) and Nicaragua and Venezuela, 1896. Library of Congress

Uncle Sam, as armed soldier, standing between European powers (Brit., France, Germany, Spain, and Portugal) and Nicaragua and Venezuela, 1896. Library of Congress

The Monroe Doctrine
President James Monroe

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (8) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

- We want to halt and reverse the ongoing damage that foreign actors inflict on the American economy while keeping the Indo-Pacific free and open, preserving freedom of navigation in all crucial sea lanes, and maintaining secure and reliable supply chains and access to critical materials;
- We want to support our allies in preserving the freedom and security of Europe, while restoring Europe’s civilizational self-confidence and Western identity;
- We want to prevent an adversarial power from dominating the Middle East, its oil and gas supplies, and the chokepoints through which they pass while avoiding the “forever wars” that bogged us down in that region at great cost; and
- We want to ensure that U.S. technology and U.S. standards—particularly in AI, biotech, and quantum computing—drive the world forward.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (9) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

III. What Are America's Available Means to Get What We Want?

America retains the world's most enviable position, with world-leading assets, resources, and advantages, including:

- A still nimble political system that can course correct;
- The world's single largest and most innovative economy, which both generates wealth we can invest in strategic interests and provides leverage over countries that want access to our markets;
- The world's leading financial system and capital markets, including the dollar's global reserve currency status;
- The world's most advanced, most innovative, and most profitable technology sector, which undergirds our economy, provides a qualitative edge to our military, and strengthens our global influence;
- The world's most powerful and capable military;

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (10) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

- A broad network of alliances, with treaty allies and partners in the world's most strategically important regions;
- An enviable geography with abundant natural resources, no competing powers physically dominant in our Hemisphere, borders at no risk of military invasion, and other great powers separated by vast oceans;
- Unmatched “soft power” and cultural influence; and
- The courage, willpower, and patriotism of the American people.

In addition, through President Trump's robust domestic agenda, the United States is:

- Re-instilling a culture of competence, rooting out so-called “DEI” and other discriminatory and anti-competitive practices that degrade our institutions and hold us back;
- Unleashing our enormous energy production capacity as a strategic priority to fuel growth and innovation, and to bolster and rebuild the middle class;
- Reindustrializing our economy, again to further support the middle class and control our own supply chains and production capacities;

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PRESIDENT DONALD J. TRUMP

The WHITE HOUSE



FACT SHEETS

Fact Sheet: President Donald J. Trump Restores the United States Department of War

The White House | September 5, 2025

RESTORING THE DEPARTMENT OF WAR: Today, President Donald J. Trump signed an Executive Order to restore the historic name “Department of War” as a secondary title for the Department of Defense. This is the 200th Executive Order the President has signed since taking office.

- The Order authorizes the Secretary of Defense, the Department of Defense, and subordinate officials to use secondary titles such as “Secretary of War,” “Department of War,” and “Deputy Secretary of War” in official correspondence, public communications, ceremonial contexts, and non-statutory documents within the executive branch.
- The Order directs all executive departments and agencies to recognize and accommodate these secondary titles in internal and external communications.
- The Order instructs the Secretary of War to recommend actions, to include legislative and executive actions, required to permanently rename the U.S. Department of Defense to the U.S. Department of War.

PROJECTING STRENGTH AND RESOLVE: The United States military is the strongest and most lethal fighting force in the world, and the President believes this Department should have a name that reflects its unmatched power and readiness to protect national interests.

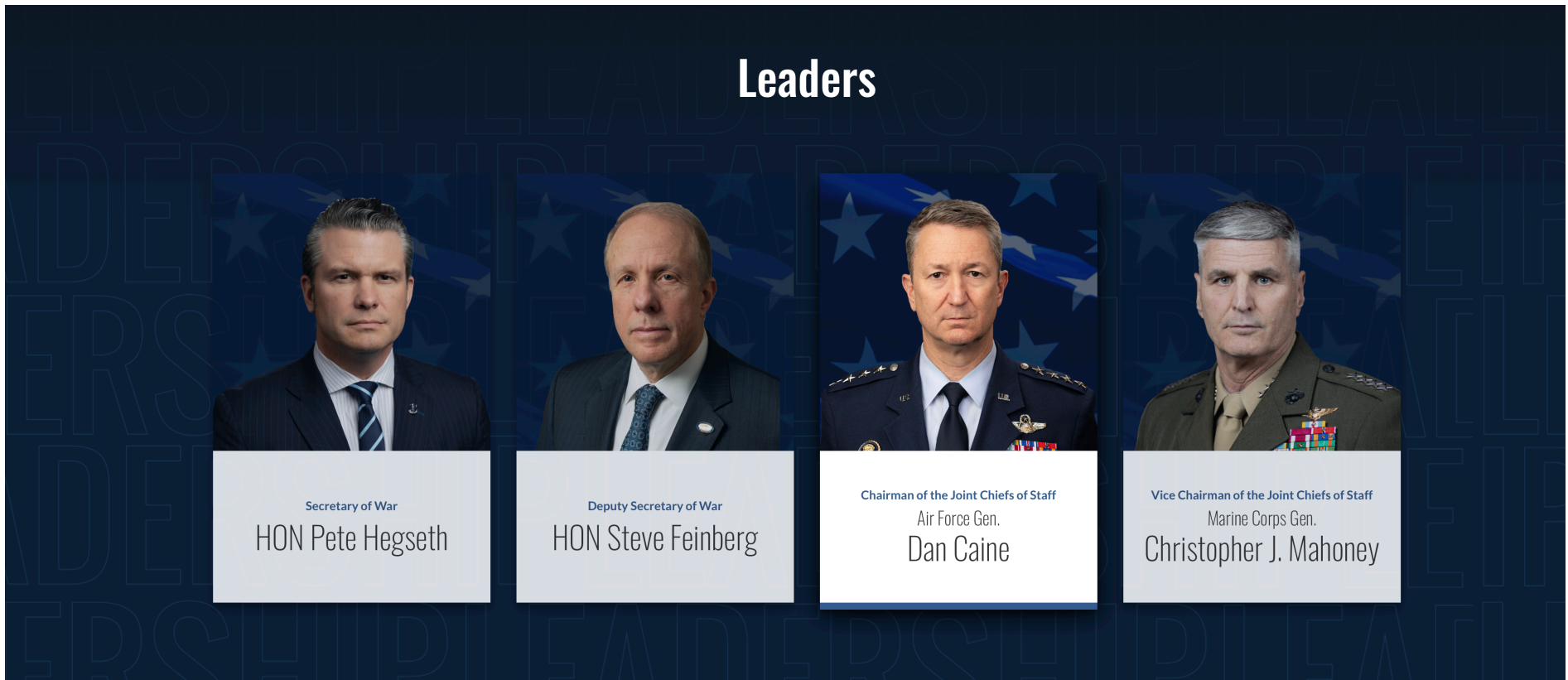
A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (12) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

PROJECTING STRENGTH AND RESOLVE: The United States military is the strongest and most lethal fighting force in the world, and the President believes this Department should have a name that reflects its unmatched power and readiness to protect national interests.

- The Department of War, established in 1789, led the U.S. to victory in the War of 1812, World War I, and World War II, inspiring confidence in America's military strength.
- On January 8, 1790, President George Washington, in his First Annual Address to Congress, stated "To be prepared for war is one of the most effective means of preserving peace". Our founders knew that projecting strength would be the best way to ensure that we would rarely need to use it.
- The name "Department of War" conveys a stronger message of readiness and resolve compared to "Department of Defense," which emphasizes only defensive capabilities.
- Restoring the name "Department of War" will sharpen the focus of this Department on our national interest and signal to adversaries America's readiness to wage war to secure its interests.

ADVANCING PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH: The American people elected President Trump to restore an America First approach, prioritizing peace through strength and ensuring the world respects the United States again.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (13) [FONTE: US Department of War]



A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (14) [FONTE: US Department of War]

An official website of the United States Government [Here's how you know](#) X f @ in v

U.S. Department of War News Multimedia Spotlights About Resources Q

Secretary of War
HON Pete Hegseth

The secretary of war oversees the War Department and acts as the principal war policy maker and advisor.

ABOUT

The Honorable Pete Hegseth is the secretary of war. He was sworn in on Jan. 25, 2025, as the 29th secretary of defense before the department's name was changed on Sept. 5, 2025. A graduate of Princeton University in 2003, Hegseth was commissioned as an infantry officer in the U.S. Army National Guard. He participated in a number of active-duty deployments during his time in service, including operations in Guantanamo Bay, Iraq and Afghanistan.

TODAY'S EVENTS >

The secretary will deliver the keynote address at 11:50 a.m. PST (2:50 p.m. EST), Air Force One Pavilion Level One, the Reagan National Defense Forum, Simi Valley, California. This event will be livestreamed on [YouTube](#), [Facebook](#), and [Twitter](#).

[Read More](#)

PRESS PRODUCTS >

RELEASE | Sept. 5, 2025
General and Flag Officers Announcement for Sept. 5, 2025

ADVISORY | Sept. 3, 2025
Secretary Pete Hegseth to Travel to Fort Benning

RELEASE | Aug. 28, 2025
Department Establishes Joint Interagency Task Force to Deliver Affordable C-sUAS Capabilities to America's Warfighters

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (15) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

IV. The Strategy

1. Principles

President Trump’s foreign policy is pragmatic without being “pragmatist,” realistic without being “realist,” principled without being “idealistic,” muscular without being “hawkish,” and restrained without being “dovish.” It is not grounded in traditional, political ideology. It is motivated above all by what works for America—or, in two words, “America First.”

President Trump has cemented his legacy as The President of Peace. In addition to the remarkable success achieved during his first term with the historic Abraham Accords, President Trump has leveraged his dealmaking ability to secure unprecedented peace in eight conflicts throughout the world over the course of just eight months of his second term. He negotiated peace between Cambodia and Thailand, Kosovo and Serbia, the DRC and Rwanda, Pakistan and India, Israel and Iran, Egypt and Ethiopia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, and ended the war in Gaza with all living hostages returned to their families.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (16) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

- **Focused Definition of the National Interest** – Since at least the end of the Cold War, administrations have often published National Security Strategies that seek to expand the definition of America’s “national interest” such that that almost no issue or endeavor is considered outside its scope. But to focus on everything is to focus on nothing. America’s core national security interests shall be our focus.
- **Peace Through Strength** – Strength is the best deterrent. Countries or other actors sufficiently deterred from threatening American interests will not do so. In addition, strength can enable us to *achieve* peace, because parties that respect our strength often seek our help and are receptive to our efforts to resolve conflicts and maintain peace. Therefore, the United States must maintain the strongest economy, develop the most advanced technologies, bolster our society’s cultural health, and field the world’s most capable military.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (17) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

- **Flexible Realism** – U.S. policy will be realistic about what is possible and desirable to seek in its dealings with other nations. We seek good relations and peaceful commercial relations with the nations of the world without imposing on them democratic or other social change that differs widely from their traditions and histories. We recognize and affirm that there is nothing inconsistent or hypocritical in acting according to such a realistic assessment or in maintaining good relations with countries whose governing systems and societies differ from ours even as we push like-minded friends to uphold our shared norms, furthering our interests as we do so.
- **Primacy of Nations** – The world’s fundamental political unit is and will remain the nation-state. It is natural and just that all nations put their interests first and guard their sovereignty. The world works best when nations prioritize their interests. The United States will put our own interests first and, in our relations with other nations, encourage them to prioritize their own interests as well. We stand *for* the sovereign rights of nations, *against* the sovereignty-sapping incursions of the most intrusive transnational organizations, and *for* reforming those institutions so that they assist rather than hinder individual sovereignty and further American interests.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (18) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

- **Sovereignty and Respect** – The United States will unapologetically protect our own sovereignty. This includes preventing its erosion by transnational and international organizations, attempts by foreign powers or entities to censor our discourse or curtail our citizens’ free speech rights, lobbying and influence operations that seek to steer our policies or involve us in foreign conflicts, and the cynical manipulation of our immigration system to build up voting blocs loyal to foreign interests within our country. The United States will chart our own course in the world and determine our own destiny, free of outside interference.
- **Balance of Power** – The United States cannot allow any nation to become so dominant that it could threaten our interests. We will work with allies and partners to maintain global and regional balances of power to prevent the emergence of dominant adversaries. As the United States *rejects* the ill-fated concept of global domination for itself, we must *prevent* the global, and in some cases even regional, domination of others. This does not mean wasting blood and treasure to curtail the influence of all the world’s great and middle powers. The outsized influence of larger, richer, and stronger nations is a timeless truth of international relations. This reality sometimes entails working with partners to thwart ambitions that threaten our joint interests.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (19) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

2. Priorities

- **The Era of Mass Migration Is Over** – Who a country admits into its borders—in what numbers and from where—will inevitably define the future of that nation. Any country that considers itself sovereign has the right and duty to define its future. Throughout history, sovereign nations prohibited uncontrolled migration and granted citizenship only rarely to foreigners, who also had to meet demanding criteria. The West’s experience over the past decades vindicates this enduring wisdom. In countries throughout the world, mass migration has strained domestic resources, increased violence and other crime, weakened social cohesion, distorted labor markets, and undermined national security. The era of mass migration must end. Border security is the primary element of national security. We must protect our country from invasion, not just from unchecked migration but from cross-border threats such as terrorism, drugs, espionage, and human trafficking. A border controlled by the will of the American people as implemented by their government is fundamental to the survival of the United States as a sovereign republic.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (20) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

- **Burden-Sharing and Burden-Shifting** – The days of the United States propping up the entire world order like Atlas are over. We count among our many allies and partners dozens of wealthy, sophisticated nations that must assume primary responsibility for their regions and contribute far more to our collective defense. President Trump has set a new global standard with the Hague Commitment, which pledges NATO countries to spend 5 percent of GDP on defense and which our NATO allies have endorsed and must now meet. Continuing President Trump’s approach of asking allies to assume primary responsibility for their regions, the United States will organize a burden-sharing network, with our government as convener and supporter. This approach ensures that burdens are shared and that all such efforts benefit from broader legitimacy. The model will be targeted partnerships that use economic tools to align incentives, share burdens with like-minded allies, and insist on reforms that anchor long-term stability. This strategic clarity will allow the United States to counter hostile and subversive influences efficiently while avoiding the overextension and diffuse focus that undermined past efforts. The United States will stand ready to help—potentially through more favorable treatment on commercial matters, technology sharing, and defense procurement—those countries that willingly take more responsibility for security in their neighborhoods and align their export controls with ours.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (21) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]



Vice President JD Vance was born and raised in Middletown, Ohio, a once flourishing American manufacturing town where Ohioans could live content, middle-class lives on single incomes. Over time, many of those good jobs disappeared, and JD's family suffered the effects along with many others.

Growing up, JD faced a challenging childhood marked by financial struggles and family instability. His mother's battle with addiction and his father's absence left a void that his grandparents filled with unwavering support and guidance. His grandma, Mamaw, who was the proud owner of 19 handguns, provided the tough love he needed to stay on the straight and narrow.

After graduating from Middletown High School, JD served his country honorably by enlisting in the United States Marine Corps, serving for four years with a tour in Iraq. Upon returning home, JD used the GI Bill to attend The Ohio State University, where he excelled academically and earned a spot at Yale Law School.

JD met his lovely wife, Usha, during their time in law school together. Today, they reside in Cincinnati, Ohio and are proud parents to three beautiful children. After law school, JD found success as an investor in startups across the Midwest, and as the author of the bestselling memoir "Hillbilly Elegy," which gave a voice to millions of forgotten Americans across the heartland.

In 2022, JD Vance took his commitment to his country to the national stage and was elected to the U.S. Senate. As a Senator, he was a champion for issues such as securing our southern border, revitalizing American manufacturing, and fighting for the prosperity of working-class families across the country.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (22) [FONTE: Munich Security Conference, 2025]



Munich Security Conference 2025 Speech by JD Vance and Selected Reactions

Volume II of the Series
“Selected Speeches held at the Munich Security Conference”

edited by Benedikt Franke

JD Vance

Vice President of the United States of America

One of the things that I wanted to talk about today is, of course, our shared values.

And, you know, it’s great to be back in Germany. As you heard earlier, I was here last year as a United States senator. I saw Foreign Minister — excuse me, Foreign Secretary David Lammy and joked that both of us last year had different jobs than we have now.

But now it’s time for all of our countries, for all of us who have been fortunate enough to be given political power by our respective peoples, to use it wisely to improve their lives.

And I want to say that, you know, I was fortunate in my time here to spend some time outside the walls of this conference over the last 24 hours, and I’ve been so impressed by the hospitality of the people, even, of course, as they’re reeling from yesterday’s horrendous attack.

And the first time I was ever in Munich was with my wife, actually, who’s here with me today, on a personal trip. And I’ve always loved the city of Munich, and I’ve always loved its people.

And I just want to say that we’re very moved, and our thoughts and prayers are with Munich, and everybody affected by the evil inflicted on this beautiful community. We’re thinking about you, we’re praying for you, and we will certainly be rooting for you in the days and weeks to come.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (23) [FONTE: Munich Security Conference, 2025]

But while the Trump administration is very concerned with European security and believes that we can come to a reasonable settlement between Russia and Ukraine, and we also believe that it's important in the coming years for Europe to step up in a big way to provide for its own defense, the threat that I worry the most about vis-à-vis Europe is not Russia, it's not China, it's not any other external actor. And what I worry about is the threat from within, the retreat of Europe from some of its most fundamental values — values shared with the United States of America.

Now, I was struck that a former European commissioner went on television recently and sounded delighted that the Romanian government had just annulled an entire election. He warned that if things don't go to plan, the very same thing could happen in Germany, too.

Now, these cavalier statements are shocking to American ears. For years, we've been told that everything we fund, and support is in the name of our shared democratic values.

Everything from our Ukraine policy to digital censorship is billed as a defense of democracy, but when we see European courts canceling elections and senior officials threatening to cancel others, we ought to ask whether we're holding ourselves to an appropriately high standard. And I say "ourselves" because I fundamentally believe that we are on the same team. We must do more than talk about democratic values. We must live them.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (24) [FONTE: Munich Security Conference, 2025]

In Washington, there is a new sheriff in town. And under Donald Trump's leadership, we may disagree with your views, but we will fight to defend your right to offer them in the public square, agree or disagree.

Now we're at the point, of course, that the situation has gotten so bad that, this December, Romania straight up canceled the results of a presidential election based on the flimsy suspicions of an intelligence agency and enormous pressure from its continental neighbors.

Now, as I understand it, the argument was that Russian disinformation had infected the Romanian elections, but I'd ask my European friends to have some perspective. You can believe it's wrong for Russia to buy social media advertisements to influence your elections. We certainly do. You can condemn it on the world stage even. But if your democracy can be destroyed with a few hundred thousand dollars of digital advertising from a foreign country, then it wasn't very strong to begin with.

Now, the good news is that I happen to think your democracies are substantially less brittle than many people apparently fear, and I really do believe that allowing our citizens to speak their mind will make them stronger still.

Which, of course, brings us back to Munich, where the organizers of this very conference have banned lawmakers representing populist parties on both the left and the right from participating in these conversations.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (25) [FONTE: Munich Security Conference, 2025]

And trust me, I say this with all humor, if American democracy can survive 10 years of Greta Thunberg's scolding, you guys can survive a few months of Elon Musk.

But what German democracy — what no democracy, American, German, or European — will survive is telling millions of voters that their thoughts and concerns, their aspirations, their pleas for relief are invalid or unworthy of even being considered.

Democracy rests on the sacred principle that the voice of the people matters. There is no room for firewalls. You either uphold the principle or you don't.

Europeans, the people have a voice. European leaders have a choice. And my strong belief is that we do not need to be afraid of the future.

You can embrace what your people tell you, even when it's surprising, even when you don't agree. And if you do so, you can face the future with certainty and with confidence, knowing that the nation stands behind each of you.

And that, to me, is the great magic of democracy. It's not in these stone buildings or beautiful hotels. It's not even in the great institutions that we have built together as a shared society.

To believe in democracy is to understand that each of our citizens has wisdom and has a voice. And if we refuse to listen to that voice, even our most successful fights will secure very little.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (26) [FONTE: Encyclopedia Britannica]



A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (27) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

C. Promoting European Greatness

American officials have become used to thinking about European problems in terms of insufficient military spending and economic stagnation. There is truth to this, but Europe's real problems are even deeper.

Continental Europe has been losing share of global GDP—down from 25 percent in 1990 to 14 percent today—partly owing to national and transnational regulations that undermine creativity and industriousness.

But this economic decline is eclipsed by the real and more stark prospect of civilizational erasure. The larger issues facing Europe include activities of the European Union and other transnational bodies that undermine political liberty and sovereignty, migration policies that are transforming the continent and creating strife, censorship of free speech and suppression of political opposition, cratering birthrates, and loss of national identities and self-confidence.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (28) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

Should present trends continue, the continent will be unrecognizable in 20 years or less. As such, it is far from obvious whether certain European countries will have economies and militaries strong enough to remain reliable allies. Many of these nations are currently doubling down on their present path. We want Europe to remain European, to regain its civilizational self-confidence, and to abandon its failed focus on regulatory suffocation.

This lack of self-confidence is most evident in Europe's relationship with Russia. European allies enjoy a significant hard power advantage over Russia by almost every measure, save nuclear weapons. As a result of Russia's war in Ukraine, European relations with Russia are now deeply attenuated, and many Europeans regard Russia as an existential threat. Managing European relations with Russia will require significant U.S. diplomatic engagement, both to reestablish conditions of strategic stability across the Eurasian landmass, and to mitigate the risk of conflict between Russia and European states.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (29) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

It is a core interest of the United States to negotiate an expeditious cessation of hostilities in Ukraine, in order to stabilize European economies, prevent unintended escalation or expansion of the war, and reestablish strategic stability with Russia, as well as to enable the post-hostilities reconstruction of Ukraine to enable its survival as a viable state.

The Ukraine War has had the perverse effect of increasing Europe's, especially Germany's, external dependencies. Today, German chemical companies are building some of the world's largest processing plants in China, using Russian gas that they cannot obtain at home. The Trump Administration finds itself at odds with European officials who hold unrealistic expectations for the war perched in unstable minority governments, many of which trample on basic principles of democracy to suppress opposition. A large European majority wants peace, yet that desire is not translated into policy, in large measure because of those governments' subversion of democratic processes. This is strategically important to the United States precisely because European states cannot reform themselves if they are trapped in political crisis.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (30) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

American diplomacy should continue to stand up for genuine democracy, freedom of expression, and unapologetic celebrations of European nations' individual character and history. America encourages its political allies in Europe to promote this revival of spirit, and the growing influence of patriotic European parties indeed gives cause for great optimism.

Our goal should be to help Europe correct its current trajectory. We will need a strong Europe to help us successfully compete, and to work in concert with us to prevent any adversary from dominating Europe.

America is, understandably, sentimentally attached to the European continent—and, of course, to Britain and Ireland. The character of these countries is also strategically important because we count upon creative, capable, confident, democratic allies to establish conditions of stability and security. We want to work with aligned countries that want to restore their former greatness.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (31) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

Our broad policy for Europe should prioritize:

- Reestablishing conditions of stability within Europe and strategic stability with Russia;
- Enabling Europe to stand on its own feet and operate as a group of aligned sovereign nations, including by taking primary responsibility for its own defense, without being dominated by any adversarial power;
- Cultivating resistance to Europe's current trajectory within European nations;
- Opening European markets to U.S. goods and services and ensuring fair treatment of U.S. workers and businesses;
- Building up the healthy nations of Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe through commercial ties, weapons sales, political collaboration, and cultural and educational exchanges;
- Ending the perception, and preventing the reality, of NATO as a perpetually expanding alliance; and
- Encouraging Europe to take action to combat mercantilist overcapacity, technological theft, cyber espionage, and other hostile economic practices.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (32) [FONTE: Encyclopedia Britannica]



A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (33) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

A. Western Hemisphere: The Trump Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine

After years of neglect, the United States will reassert and enforce the Monroe Doctrine to restore American preeminence in the Western Hemisphere, and to protect our homeland and our access to key geographies throughout the region. We will deny non-Hemispheric competitors the ability to position forces or other threatening capabilities, or to own or control strategically vital assets, in our Hemisphere. This “Trump Corollary” to the Monroe Doctrine is a common-sense and potent restoration of American power and priorities, consistent with American security interests.

Our goals for the Western Hemisphere can be summarized as “Enlist and Expand.” We will *enlist* established friends in the Hemisphere to control migration, stop drug flows, and strengthen stability and security on land and sea. We will *expand* by cultivating and strengthening new partners while bolstering our own nation’s appeal as the Hemisphere’s economic and security partner of choice.

A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (34) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

The United States must reconsider our military presence in the Western Hemisphere. This means four obvious things:

- A readjustment of our global military presence to address urgent threats in our Hemisphere, especially the missions identified in this strategy, and away from theaters whose relative import to American national security has declined in recent decades or years;
- A more suitable Coast Guard and Navy presence to control sea lanes, to thwart illegal and other unwanted migration, to reduce human and drug trafficking, and to control key transit routes in a crisis;
- Targeted deployments to secure the border and defeat cartels, including where necessary the use of lethal force to replace the failed law enforcement-only strategy of the last several decades; and
- Establishing or expanding access in strategically important locations.

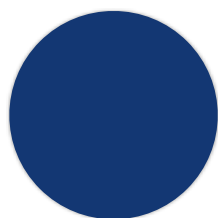
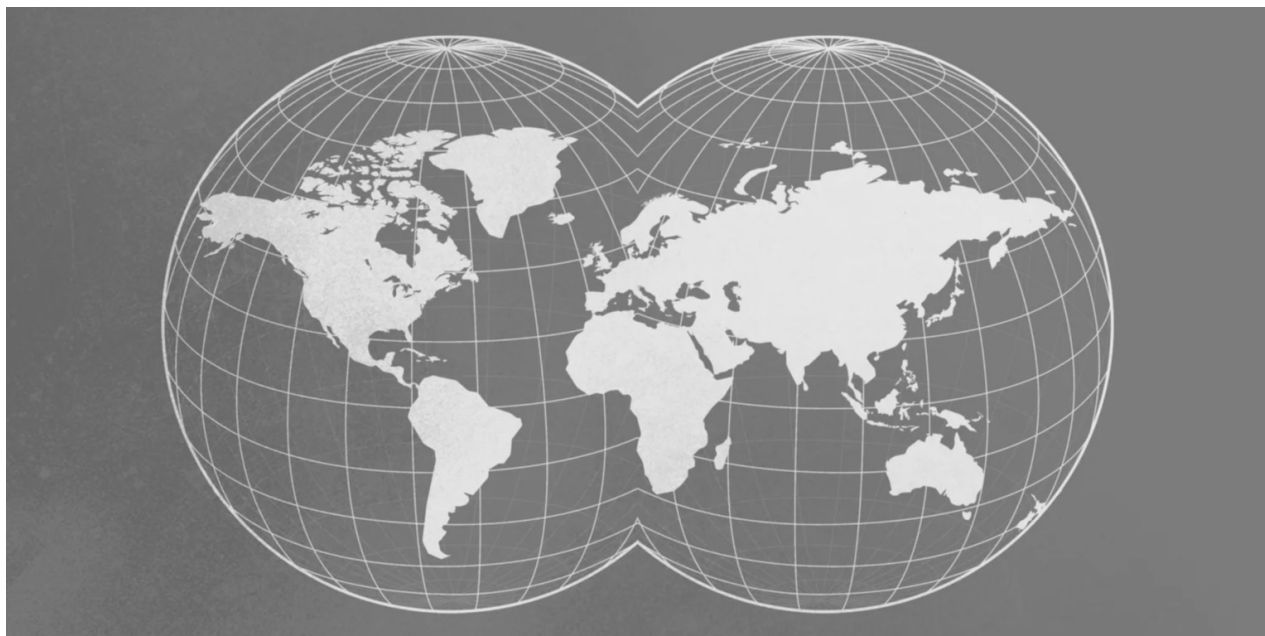
A nova estratégia de segurança nacional dos EUA (35) [FONTE: The White House / US Government]

Expand

As we deepen our partnerships with countries with whom America presently has strong relations, we must look to expand our network in the region. We want other nations to see us as their partner of first choice, and we will (through various means) discourage their collaboration with others.


The Western Hemisphere is home to many strategic resources that America should partner with regional allies to develop, to make neighboring countries as well as our own more prosperous. The National Security Council will immediately begin a robust interagency process to task agencies, supported by our Intelligence Community's analytical arm, to identify strategic points and resources in the Western Hemisphere with a view to their protection and joint development with regional partners.

Non-Hemispheric competitors have made major inroads into our Hemisphere, both to disadvantage us economically in the present, and in ways that may harm us strategically in the future. Allowing these incursions without serious pushback is another great American strategic mistake of recent decades.



PARTE II – NOTAS BREVES

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (1) [FONTE: FT, 28/11/2025]



The Big Read Asia-Pacific economy [+ Add to myFT](#)

Is China winning the innovation race?

Once the world's factory, Beijing's relentless focus on R&D means the country has become the world's laboratory

China's research advances are giving it an edge in new technologies and bringing it closer to its aims of self-sufficiency © FT montage/Getty

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (2) [FONTE: FT, 28/11/2025]

Cruising along a raised highway in eastern China, Marcus Hafkemeyer takes his hands off the wheel and smiles as the car indicates, brakes softly and changes lanes itself. “I’m very proud,” he says.

The German engineer is demonstrating Volkswagen’s rapid progress in offering assisted driving functionality to customers in China. Later, in an underground car park, the vehicle remembers its designated space and reverses effortlessly into the spot.

The technology, a forerunner to completely driverless cars, has taken the German company about 18 months to develop, test and now commercially deploy — all in China. It is the fruit of a 700-person research and development team comprised mostly of Chinese software engineers with masters or PhDs and more than five years’ experience.

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (3) [FONTE: FT, 28/11/2025]

Asked how long it would have taken to deliver something similar back home, Hafkemeyer, who worked with Audi, Chinese state-owned auto group BAIC and tech giant Huawei before joining VW in 2022, sighs with exasperation. Typically, he says, the technology development cycle in Germany is a slog of around four to four-and-a-half years, where ideas are bogged down in endless internal debate and commercial negotiations with suppliers.

“This country has in the last 10 years moved from third gear to fifth gear and is going full speed,” he says. “I still hear in the news ‘the Chinese are coming with their cheap cars flooding the European market’. I’m telling you, come here, look at these ‘cheap cars’. They are full of technology. Their quality is so good.”

Volkswagen’s tech ambitions in the country were originally aimed at winning back Chinese customers lost to a clutch of local rivals, including BYD, which have been faster to embrace the EV transition. The strategy was dubbed “In China, for China”.

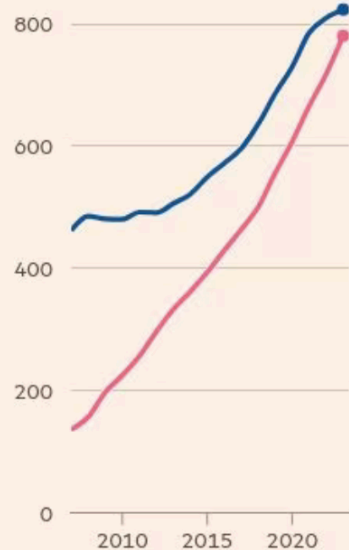
A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (4) [FONTE: FT, 28/11/2025]

China narrows the R&D gap with the US

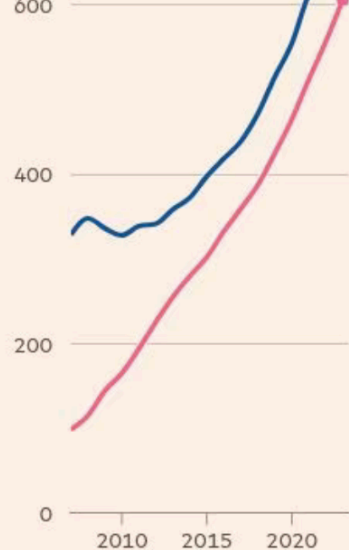
R&D expenditure by sector (\$bn), PPP*

China US

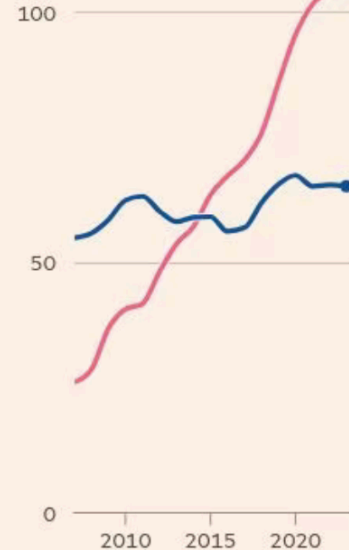
Gross domestic expenditure



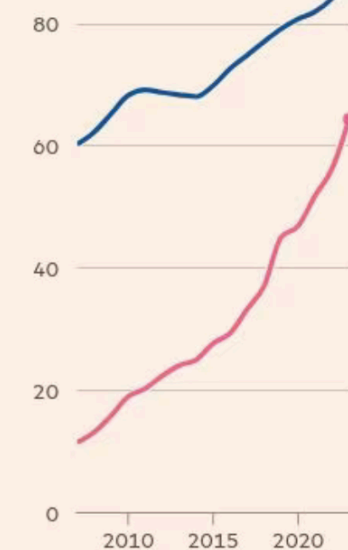
Business enterprise



Government



Higher education



FINANCIAL TIMES

Source: OECD, Main Science and Technology Indicators Database • *Data is measured in purchasing power parity terms and constant dollars

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (5) [FONTE: FT, 28/11/2025]

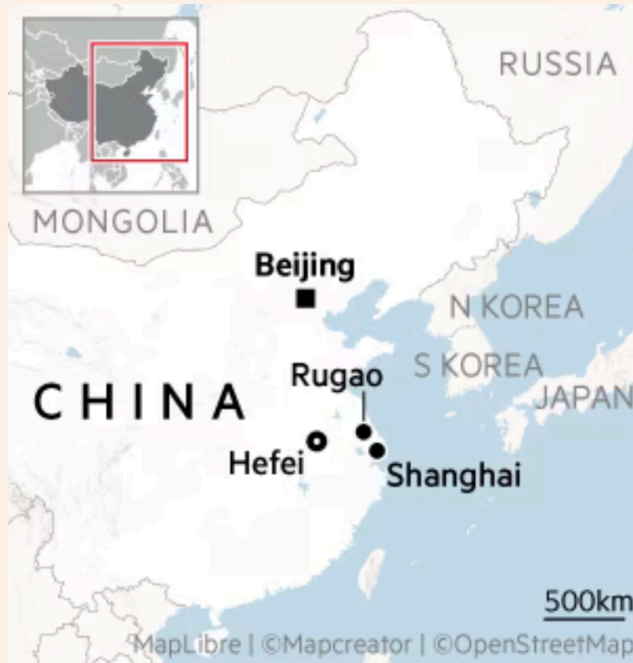
For decades, China has been the world's factory and companies have tapped into a low-cost labour force with few protections and cheap, dirty energy. The country's scale — as a manufacturing base and as a consumer market — lured almost all the world's biggest multinationals. But the underlying technology was retained by companies from the US and Europe.

Now China's research and development prowess is allowing it to compete, and potentially beat, the west.

Whereas the biggest focus of US innovation has become potential moonshot technologies such as artificial general intelligence, for Beijing R&D largely focuses on addressing shortcomings in the real economy — part of Xi Jinping's pursuit of technological self-sufficiency.

After years of state, corporate and academic efforts to alleviate basic vulnerabilities, China's advances are now setting up the country to dominate future global supply chains for energy and transport.

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (6) [FONTE: FT, 28/11/2025]



As China makes progress, government officials and business executives must decide whether to compete, collaborate or attempt to coexist with the country.

Dan Wang, China director at consultancy Eurasia Group, says China's centralised political system and the Communist party's command over the economy are giving it "the upper hand" over liberal democracies when it comes to new

technologies that require long-term investments.

Beijing's commitment to high-tech industries, including to the basic sciences underpinning them, appears to be "much higher than the US", she says. This is almost certain to continue — even if it means one or two generations of Chinese people suffer as a result of the country's fiscal resources being diverted from welfare.

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (7) [FONTE: FT, 28/11/2025]

In 1943, during a period of Japanese occupation, British sinologist Joseph Needham made the first of many trips to China from which he chronicled a rich history of the country outpacing the west. Chinese innovations included the invention of antimalarial drugs in the third century BC and, a few hundred years later, an algorithm for the extraction of square and cubic roots.

Travelling through China's war-torn provinces, however, Needham encountered the nation's academia on its knees. Ninety per cent of China's more than 100 colleges and universities were damaged during the Japanese invasion; many were bombed or looted.

Eighty years later, Chinese research is utterly transformed. The country is close to overtaking the US in total expenditure on R&D, with China spending \$781bn and the US \$823bn in 2023, according to the OECD. It is a stark change from 2007 when China's R&D spending of \$136bn was less than one-third of the \$462bn spent by the US.

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (8) [FONTE: FT, 28/11/2025]

The potential inflection point follows years of debate in the west over the wisdom of China's state-led development model, with evidence of vast sums of state finances wasted through subsidies and corruption, and criticism over the quality of Chinese academic research and patents.

According to some experts, it is not just the scale of China's R&D budget, but a shift in the nature of that spending that warrants scrutiny.

While government R&D spending in China has exceeded that of the US since 2015, Chinese companies have also rapidly increased their R&D efforts over the past decade, national statistics bureau data shows. The number of corporate R&D institutions has also nearly tripled to more than 150,000. And the number of corporate R&D personnel nearly doubled to 5mn.

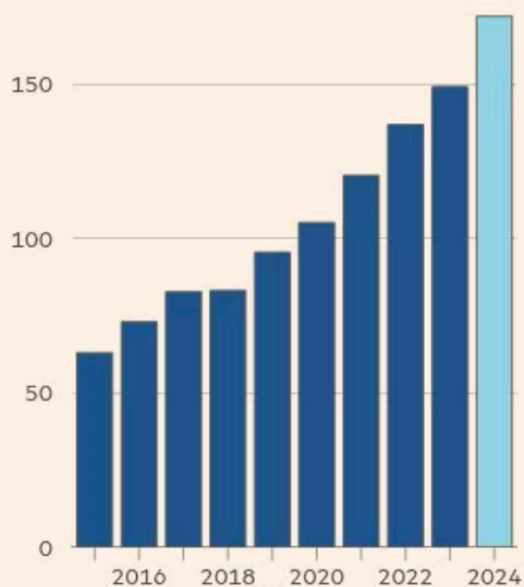
China is also producing around 50,000 PhD graduates in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (Stem) fields annually, compared to about 34,000 from US universities.

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (9) [FONTE: FT, 28/11/2025]

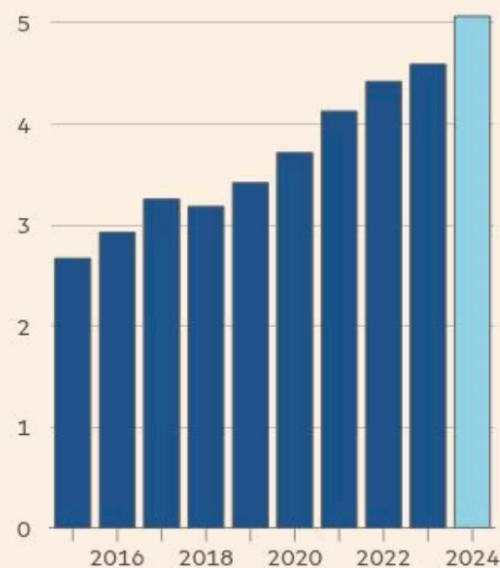
Chinese industrial firms have ramped up their R&D efforts over the past decade

Number of R&D institutions, personnel and patent applications*

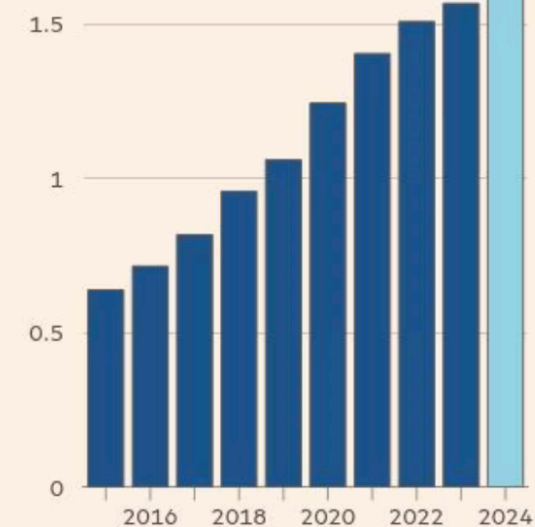
R&D institutions ('000)



R&D personnel (mn)



Patent applications (mn)



FINANCIAL TIMES

Source: National Bureau of Statistics • Data covers industrial enterprises with the sales revenue more than Rmb20mn

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (10) [FONTE: FT, 28/11/2025]

For years both foreign and local observers of China's research efforts have been highly sceptical of the quality and value of Chinese academic research and claims of technological breakthroughs.

Following an explosion in the volume of Chinese patents — which has seen the country lead the world in filings since 2011 — China's electronics industry association leader Dong Yunting estimated in 2019 that around 90 per cent of the country's 7mn patents that year were “rubbish”, used only to secure project funding.

The reliability of China's EV tech has also come under scrutiny. This was highlighted by the death in eastern China in March of three people in an accident involving a Xiaomi electric car with semi-autonomous capabilities.

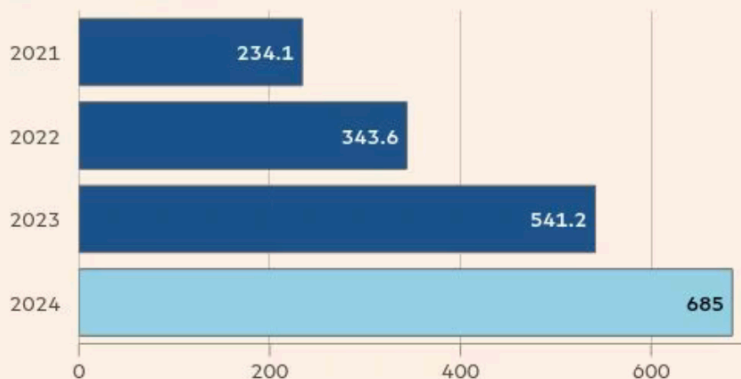
Angela Huyue Zhang, a professor of law at the University of Southern California, says that admirers of Beijing's state-led model “often ignore the fragility” that comes with centralised, tightly coupled governance, pointing to China's mishandling of the Covid-19 pandemic and heavy-handed property reforms that have led the economy into a prolonged economic slowdown.

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (11) [FONTE: FT, 28/11/2025]

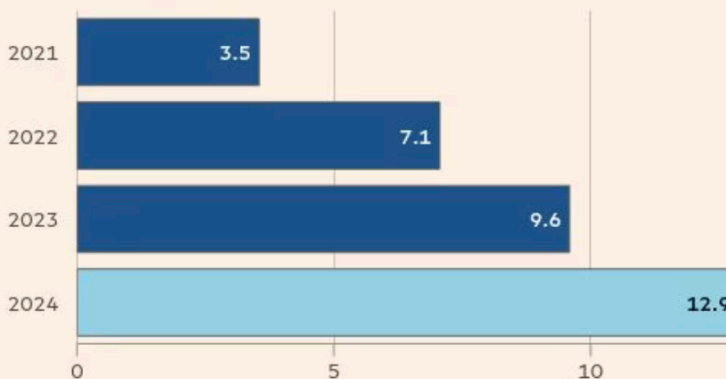
China has increased the output of new productive forces

Production, by product

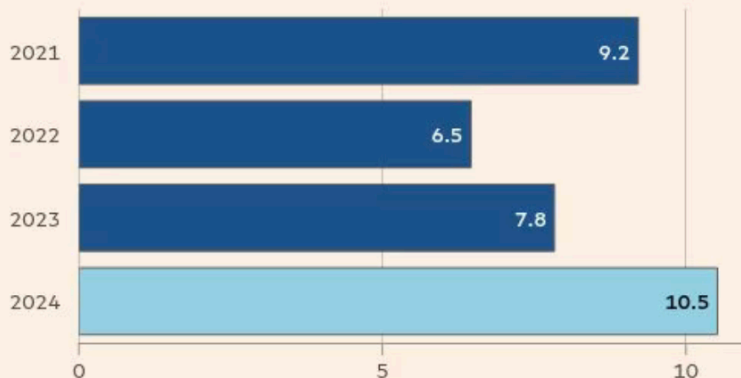
Photovoltaic cells (GW)



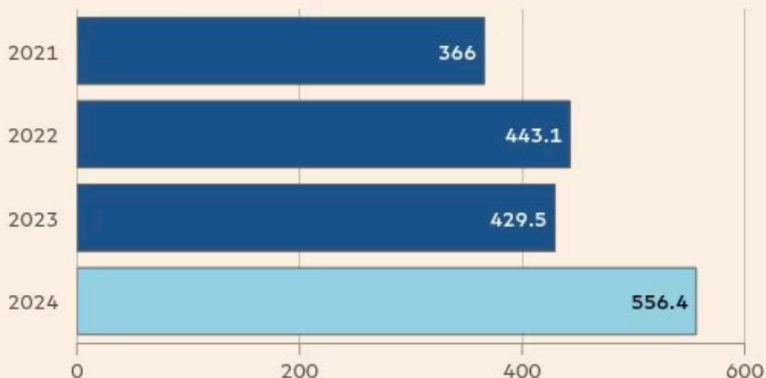
New energy vehicles (mn)



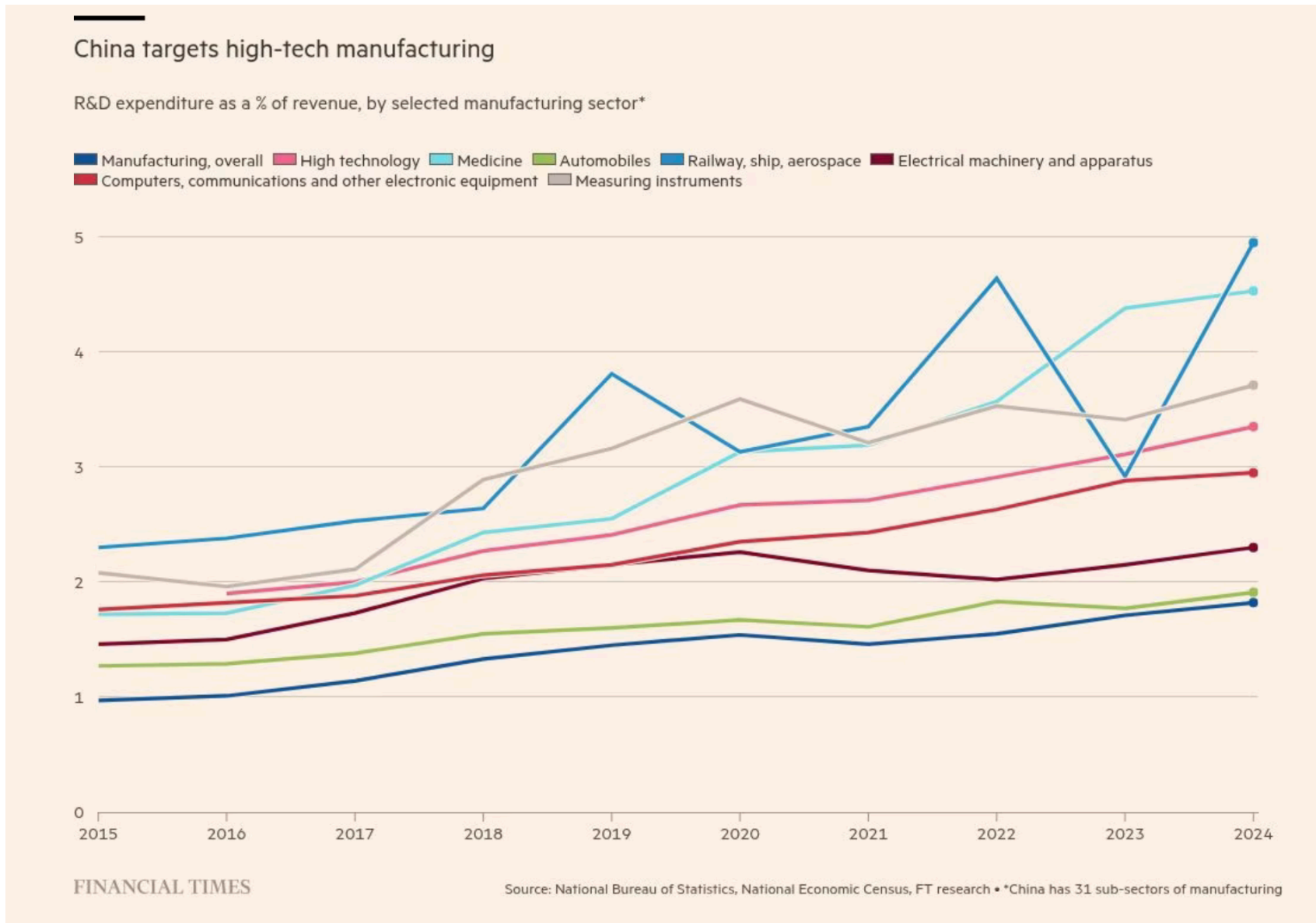
Service robots (mn)



Industrial robots ('000)



A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (12) [FONTE: FT, 28/11/2025]



A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (13) [FONTE: FT, 28/11/2025]

Earlier in November, Patrick Vallance, the UK's science minister, landed in Beijing to sign a [statement of co-operation](#) with China on areas of health, climate, planetary sciences and agriculture. Absent were satellites, remote sensing technology and robotics, which an earlier agreement had included.

The latest UK-China statement highlighted the fine — perhaps impossible — balance countries must strike between benefiting from China's rising intellectual and manufacturing might and exposure to myriad security and economic risks from over-dependence on China.

Ultimately, if “leading knowledge sits in China” then the worst thing countries can do is cut themselves off from being able to at least observe and learn from Chinese technology and innovation, says Mark Greeven, a Shenzhen-based professor of innovation and strategy at the International Institute for Management Development, a Swiss academic institute.

“If we don't compete, don't collaborate . . . then where is our knowledge going to come from? The onus is on other countries: what do you do to make yourself competitive?” he says.

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (14) [FONTE: The Economist, 27/11/2025]

What China will dominate next

The country's high-speed innovation holds lessons for the world

Nov 27th 2025



A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (15) [FONTE: The Economist, 27/11/2025]

THOSE WHO worry about how to cope with China's leadership in technology—and there are plenty of them—think hard about electric vehicles (EVs), solar panels and open-source artificial intelligence. For such people, we have some bad news. This week we report how China is rapidly pressing ahead in two other frontier technologies, autonomous vehicles and new drugs. As these industries spread around the world, they will exemplify the power of Chinese innovation.

China's progress in each of these important areas has been staggering. A [robotaxi revolution is gathering pace](#), which could reshape transport, logistics and everyday urban life. The country's autonomous taxis, constructed for a third of the cost of Waymo's in America, are racking up millions of kilometres of driving and are forging partnerships in Europe and the Middle East. In medicine, meanwhile, China has turned itself from a copycat maker of generics into the world's second-largest developer of new drugs, including those tackling cancer. Western rivals are licensing its firms' wares. The day when a pharma giant emerges from China no longer seems so remote.

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (16) [FONTE: The Economist, 27/11/2025]

The rise of both industries says much about how Chinese innovation works. A deep pool of talent, a broad manufacturing base and huge scale combine to propel it rapidly up the value chain. The [production of robotaxis](#) has piggybacked on mass ev manufacturing and a dominance in the supply of lidars and the other sensors needed for self-driving; scale has also helped bring down costs. Armies of patients enlisted in clinical trials and profits from generic drugmaking have speeded up pharma innovation.

A more surprising ingredient of China's success is its nimble and permissive regulators. As in other industries, local governments have offered firms cheap credit and other help. But it is agile rulemaking that has really turbo-charged progress. Soon after political leaders set out their ambition for China to become a "biotechnology superpower" in 2016, the country implemented a number of reforms. The drug regulator's workforce quadrupled between 2015 and 2018, and a backlog of 20,000 new drug applications was cleared in just two years. The time taken to secure approval for human trials shrank from 501 days to 87. Last year firms in [the country ran a third of the world's clinical trials](#).

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (17) [FONTE: The Economist, 23/11/2025]

China | Drug dependency

Chinese pharma is on the cusp of going global

Its fast-moving, cut-price drugmakers stand to make more money abroad than at home

[Share](#)



PHOTOGRAPH: GETTY IMAGES

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (18) [FONTE: The Economist, 23/11/2025]

AFTER AMERICA, China is the world's largest developer of new medicines. Its companies ran nearly a third of the planet's clinical trials last year. That is up from just 5% a decade before (see chart 1). It is also rising to the top in several critical areas of research, including those related to cancer. Investors have taken note. Shares in Chinese biotech companies have surged by 110% this year, which is more than three times as much as their American peers.

For much of the past century drug discovery was dominated by large European and American firms, which collectively are often called "big pharma". No longer. These companies face some of the steepest "patent cliffs" in their history, as drugs expected to generate more than \$300bn in total revenue over the next six years will lose their patent protection by 2030. To plug the gap, American and European firms are scouring the globe for promising molecules, and increasingly, they are finding them in China.

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (19) [FONTE: The Economist, 23/11/2025]

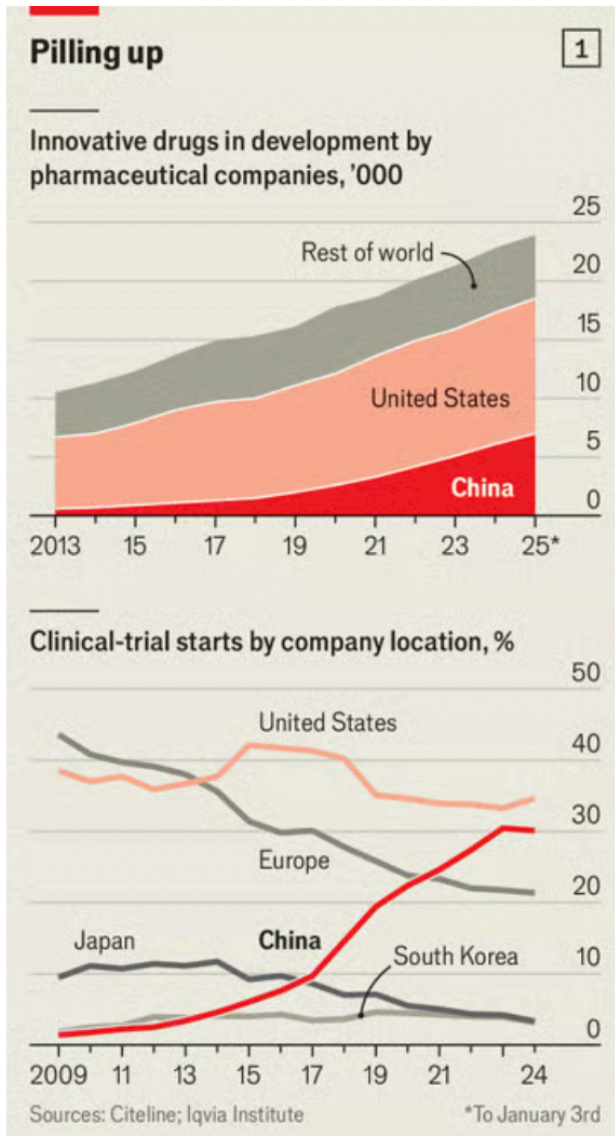


CHART: THE ECONOMIST



CHART: THE ECONOMIST

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (20) [FONTE: The Economist, 23/11/2025]


The evidence for this is mounting. In May Pfizer, America's biggest drugmaker, agreed to pay \$1.25bn in fees to 3SBio, a Chinese biotech firm, for the rights to manufacture and sell an experimental cancer drug outside China, if approved. The following month GlaxoSmithKline, a British rival, struck a \$500m deal with Hengrui, another Chinese company, for a lung-disease treatment and the options to buy 11 more drugs, together valued at as much as \$12bn, depending on whether Hengrui manages to meet particular milestones in their development. Such deals are no longer exceptions. In the first half of this year nearly a third of all global licensing agreements signed by big pharma were with Chinese firms—four times the share in 2021 (see chart 2).

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (21) [FONTE: The Economist, 26/11/2025]

Business | Driving east

Why China is pulling ahead in the robotaxi race

Government enthusiasm and cheap technology are giving it an edge

 Share



Self-driving self-care PHOTOGRAPH: AP

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (22) [FONTE: The Economist, 26/11/2025]

Pony.ai is one of a number of Chinese firms that have launched robotaxi services in recent years. The biggest, Apollo Go, has deployed more than 1,000 self-driving cars, mostly in China. The service, which is owned by [Baidu](#), a Chinese tech giant, hopes to have 20,000 robotaxis operating worldwide by 2027. Pony.ai has launched its service in four cities and WeRide in three. CaoCao Mobility, the ride-hailing arm of Geely, a Chinese carmaker, has started trials of its own in two cities. A wider ecosystem is also taking shape. Momenta, an autonomous-software startup, is building robotaxis with SAIC, a state-owned carmaker. Xpeng, a maker of electric cars, recently said that it would start producing dedicated robotaxis next year.

China's robotaxi industry is "on the cusp of commercial breakout", reckons HSBC, a bank. Revenues will grow from a little over \$50m this year to nearly \$50bn by 2035, according to Goldman Sachs, another bank, by which time a fleet of 1.9m robotaxis in China will account for 25% of all ride-hailing vehicles. UBS, one more bank, is even more bullish, forecasting that the market could be worth around \$180bn by the late 2030s.

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (23) [FONTE: The Economist, 26/11/2025]

By some measures China's robotaxi industry is already pulling ahead of America's. Over 50 Chinese cities allow testing of self-driving cars on public roads. In at least ten of them commercial operations are up and running, twice the number in America. And the potential for robotaxis in the country is vast: China has 139 cities with over 1m people and an urban population more than three times as large as America's. The bigger opportunity, however, could lie in the rest of the world.

There are several reasons to believe China may win the race to build a robotaxi industry at scale. One is strong state backing. China's central government is pushing autonomy as a means of strengthening the country's technological heft. At the same time, many local governments, which are keen to attract investment, have approved robotaxi pilots at a rapid clip and are installing the necessary infrastructure. In the city of Wuxi in eastern China, for example, traffic lights at 1,723 crossroads have been connected to intelligent networks, while sensors are in place at 330 sites in the city to ease the passage of robotaxis.

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (24) [FONTE: Rest of the World, 12/08/2025]

IDEAS

China's vision for a driverless future is miles ahead of everyone else's

Strong government backing and strict regulatory oversight of the Chinese autonomous vehicle industry contrasts sharply with the piecemeal laws and slower adoption in the U.S.



A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (25) [FONTE: Rest of the World, 12/08/2025]

At the world's biggest car expo, domestic players — once dismissed as mere knockoffs of their Western counterparts — were the stars: [BYD](#)'s premium EV Denza, [Huawei](#)'s luxury sedan, Pony.ai's fleet of next-generation robotaxis. They were marketed less like cars and more like smartphones, packed with ultrafast charging technology, facial recognition systems, and self-driving features.

With these and other players, China's autonomous vehicle industry is nearing what some have called its “ChatGPT moment” — a tipping point where breakthrough technology goes mainstream. It is already the world's largest auto market, and a global leader in electric and autonomous vehicles. More self-driving cars are tested there than anywhere else in the world. By 2030, a fifth of new cars sold in China will be fully driverless, and 70% will feature advanced assisted-driving technology, according to the China Society of Automotive Engineers.

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (26) [FONTE: Rest of the World, 12/08/2025]

“ Chinese tech companies have an edge in AVs because they are much more deeply integrated into the digital lives of consumers.”

Several factors drive the success of China’s AV industry — most crucially, strong government backing and infrastructure investment. As with EVs, China treats AVs as a strategic industry, pushed forward with national government policies. Local governments in cities like Beijing, Shanghai, and Shenzhen compete to set up pilot zones, offer R&D subsidies, fast-track permits, and build urban roads that driverless cars can navigate more easily. This is in stark contrast to the U.S., where the regulatory environment is fragmented across states, and innovation is driven by private industry, slowing deployment and testing.

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (27) [FONTE: Rest of the World, 12/08/2025]

Public acceptance of AVs is also significantly higher in China, allowing for faster adoption. About 85% of Chinese consumers said they were comfortable with autonomous driving that doesn't require human supervision, compared with just 39% of U.S. consumers, in a 2023 survey. There are also more instances of driverless cars being vandalized and attacked in the U.S. The openness extends to all AI technologies: 72% of surveyed adults in China trust AI, versus 32% in the U.S., according to the [2025 Edelman Trust Barometer](#).

“ The Western world's understanding of mobility is still stuck in the 20th century.”

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (28) [FONTE: Rest of the World, 12/08/2025]

Chinese AV companies have since been downplaying their cars' intelligent driving features, with sales representatives only mentioning them when customers explicitly ask.


The AV industry's "growth was probably too aggressive, and the education and awareness part really needed to catch up," Tu Le, managing director of the consultancy Sino Auto Insights, told me.

In contrast, in the U.S., the debate over safety is playing out in courtrooms case by case, rather than with top-down, nationwide legislation. Earlier this month, a Florida jury found Tesla partly responsible for the fatal crash of an Autopilot-equipped Model S in 2019, and liable to pay \$243 million to the victims.

A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (29) [FONTE: Goldman Sachs, 21/11/2025]

OUTLOOKS

China's Economy is Forecast to Grow Faster Than Expected in 2026

Nov 21, 2025 Share 



A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (29) [FONTE: Goldman Sachs, 21/11/2025]

- China's surprising strength in exports and its commitment to more advanced manufacturing in a new Five-Year Plan boost are raising expectations for GDP growth.
- Goldman Sachs Research sees 5-6% annual growth in China's exports and raised its real GDP forecasts for 2026 and 2027 to well above consensus.
- The approval of the new Five-Year Plan proposal highlights the government's determination and capability to keep advancing its manufacturing and boost its export market share.
- A meeting between Donald Trump and Xi Jinping in South Korea, signaling a truce on trade, has also improved the growth outlook, even while showing China's leverage over rare earth minerals to push back on trade restrictions.
- The drag on economic growth caused by China's property downturn is beginning to ebb, although there is a long way to go to work through excess housing inventory.

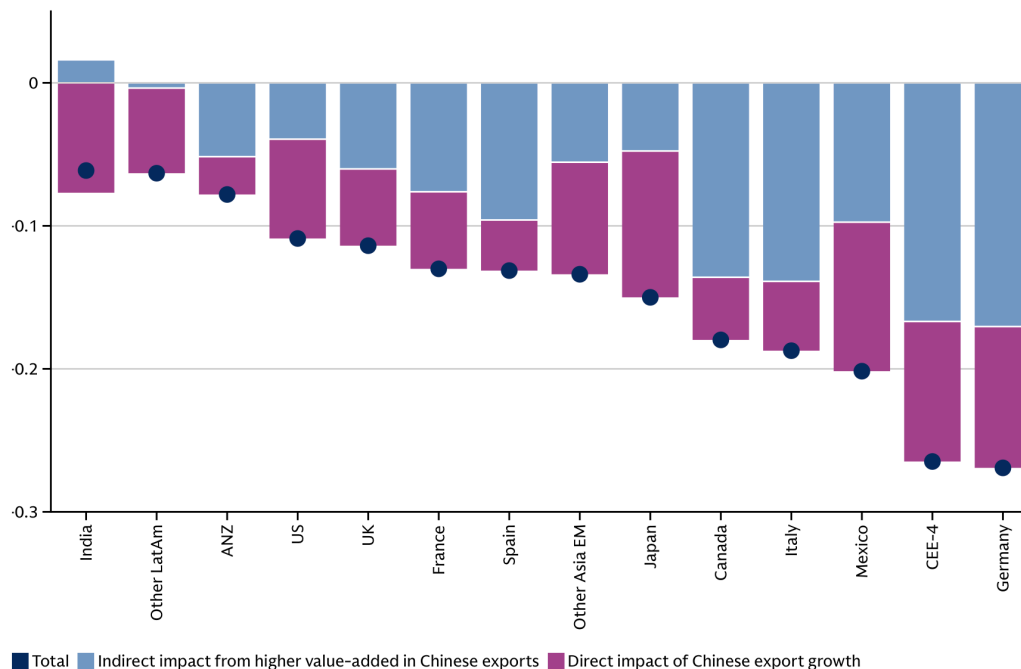
A China está a ganhar a corrida da inovação? (31) [FONTE: Goldman Sachs, 21/11/2025]

China's growth will likely come at the expense of other high-tech producers such as Europe and Japan, the report points out. In other words, it may not generate net-positive growth spillovers elsewhere. A previous analysis by the team has shown that for 1 percentage point of export-driven boost to Chinese GDP, other economies may see a 0.1 to 0.3 percentage point drag, with high-tech producers like Europe and Japan facing particularly acute pressures.

Instead of crowding out labor-intensive, low-value-added manufacturing, as happened in the past, "China Shock 2.0" may crowd out tech-intensive, high-value-added manufacturing, Tilton and Shan write. This will result in a continued disinflationary impulse from cheaper Chinese products, although these products will shift from toys and shoes to cars and semiconductors.

China's high-tech export growth could be negative for other countries

Effect of Chinese export growth on annual GDP growth of other countries* (percentage points)



Source: Goldman Sachs Research

*Estimated under the assumption that Chinese real exports grow by approximately 5% per year

Bibliografia

