

**RUSSIA-CHINA EMERGING TIES IN ASIA: ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR  
US HEGEMONY (POST COLD WAR ANALYSIS)**

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## **Declaration**

### **Availability of Data and Material:**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The thesis focuses on the notions of the established partnership between Russia and China and how it contributes to be a potential threat for US's hegemony in Asia. The research has focused in detail on aspects including historical analysis, statistical tables (1949-1991, 1991-2012, since recent data is yet evolving), political scenario, economic building and geographical issues. The aims and objectives of the study include the historical analysis of the relations of the two states since 1949 due to the fact that the present role that the two states play is acquired through the political changes of the Cold War, and the analysis of the present international environment which has been morphed since 1991 after the international economic order. The unipolarity of the world has been gradually changed due to the economic development of China. China's rise as

an economic giant not only has added to its military power, but also has given it the due political power in the international alliance.

**Keywords:**

Russia, China, US, International Economic Order, International Arena, Unipolarity, Multipolarity

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

ASEAN: Association of Southeast Asian Nations

BRICS: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa

CAP: China's Afghan Policy

CIS: Commonwealth of Independent States

CSTO: Collective Security Treaty Organization

EAEU: Eurasian Economic Union

OBOR: One Belt, One Road

SCO: Shanghai Cooperation Organization

US: United States

WTO: World Trade Organization

International politics are convoluted to an extent that alliances and rivalries are formidable and broken at once. The New International Economic Order (NIEO) established after the end of the Cold War, developed a unipolar world that led to US's hegemony in the international arena. This hegemony thus, developed US's neo-colonial and neo-imperialistic control that went off to dominate the mode and mechanisms of both the political and economic affairs as well other domains such as-cultural, social and human rights spheres. The sphere of influence of US prompted the much talked about divide between the US and the rest of the world. That is according to Huntington's analysis the fault-lines that appear within the civilization. Fukuyama also presented an analysis in his book The End of the World that talked about how US's democratic and capitalist framework was/is the primary setup for the international world.

China's joining of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. This changed the dynamics of the international trade. Russia's political stature and China's economic development have provided the international community with an alliance that is Eastern, Asian and Non-Western, and thus provides with an alternate balance to the already present Western framework.

But, consequently it is seen that the rise of other powers other than the US, such as Russia and China significantly, China has special meaning for the international world. In terms of political influence, economic development, cultural influence thus remarkably show that the Eastern model hence can also be adopted without losing the self-interest and gains that is focused upon in the Machiavellian scheme.

Thus, in an era where American hegemony is being contested by its own domestic situation, and the international economic order is being challenged by the very own American presidency, China recently has vowed to dominate and stabilize the international order. With the growing

Russian and Chinese alliance, it thus according to analysts seems inevitable to avoid the contestation and domination by the Russian and Chinese cooperation in the international realm. This cooperation has many aspects and these aspects can be categorically discussed in the historical perspective.

The aim of this paper is to discuss the notions of the Russian and Chinese partnership, and the historical setting that has gone into building the alliance.

### **Relationship of Russia and China from 1949-Present**

In the present day international politics, the notion of globalization has changed everything. Though sometimes, discussed explicitly and implicitly, the idea of inter-connectedness and integration has primarily stemmed from the concept of international arena. From states, to small ventures, the idea exists in the form economic development.

In the case of Russia and China, it is essential to determine the history of the relationship from 1949, primarily, due to the fact that Russia had embarked on its communist agenda and China had developed the Maoist version when it became a republic. The events of the cold war impacted crucially on the formation of relationship between the two states. Similarly, the end of the cold war determined the state of the present day economic development carried on by China. This economic development has made China the second biggest economy in the world after the US.

The theoretical framework initiated to discuss the Russian-Chinese ties, is seen through the historical lens as well. The aspect of relative gains is seen through the notion of relative gains and structural realism. As seen in the pattern of international community-the notion of changes that continued in the international arena also impacted the development of ties of Russia and

China. Thus, it also turned into relative gains which Russia and China did in the cold war and continued it after the disintegration of Soviet Union.

With economic ambitions, comes political agenda, as well. And this political agenda is well understood by Russia in the post cold war world. It has impacted heavily on the ties formed by Russia and China. What makes the ties strategic is as mentioned above-the economic nature of development of China and the political ambitions of Russia, both having a common target and goal of undermining the influence of US in the Asian region. The merging of common interests and goals, by the two states, crucially after 1991, has led to the creation of a broader framework of understanding that is well discussed by the Australian diplomat Bobo Lo, in his book “Axis of Convenience” where he terms the alliance of Russia and China, as a convenient partnership.

Thus the relationship of Russia and China can be termed strategic in terms of how they are countering or are aiming to counter the US presence and its sphere of influence in the Asian region. The primary focus is on the Asian region because the Asian region is the hub of activities. Political, economic, cultural, and geographical, all regions are pivotal in making Asia an economy and a political hotchpotch in some areas.

Thus it is crucial to deal with the history of the Russia and China from 1949 regarding their relationship, and how the international community changed the ties and also how their ties after the end of cold war have impacted and have been impacting the international arena.

The present anarchic nature of the international order possesses certain aspects that deal with the new order that is being established on the onset of the strategic partnership between Beijing and Moscow. This strategic partnership is a burgeoning notion and an order that is being set in the Asian continent. This order though not primarily-an order is in its initial stages to become one;

that ultimately poses to become one of the most crucial threats to the US hegemony in the post Cold War era. The map shown above highlights the proximity of the two states and shows the boundaries which the two share.

The Russian Chinese strategic partnership has seen many turns and shifts during the Cold War and the post Cold War era. The establishing premise of this strategic exchange has been the mutual concern of the successor of Soviet Union-Russia and the emerging economy China. The primary reason behind this strategic partnership is the essentiality of seeing US's role in the Asian region-which ultimately is affecting the regional and the international order (Moshes & Nojonen, 2011).

Thus the crucial reason behind this fact is the basis on which the Russian Chinese ties rest. The notion of the present strategic paradigm changing or affecting the existing international order is due to the framework of hegemony. Russia and China have come a long way to the present state of relation that now, both Beijing and Moscow share. Knitting the idea of emerging economies-Russia once, a superpower now strives for the pattern of such an international order. China, on the other hand is emerging both economically and militarily. Thus its political influence also is a major game changer in the economic arena. Russia in the Asian continent, now strives for such a partnership with China that evidently would guarantee its share in the international community.

Therefore, to decipher the changing patterns of the international order it is inevitable to not keep in view the juxtaposed realities. The ties between Beijing and Moscow-seems to be divided into three points; the existing nature of the international order (crucially the one significant enough to be called a US dominated era), the challenges presented to the existing international order in lieu

of a new power rising and the shifts that the rising powers want to make and require of the international community.

Thus, the essentiality of the framework lies at the core of the matter that the first criteria lies at the mutual confrontation that Russia and China both face against the US. The other aspect deals with the rise of China and the international order thus it is shaping the priorities of the major powers. Thus the third aspect deals with the requirements that the two states Russia and China have of the international community (Hsu & Soong, 2014).

One central aspect of such requirements is the international economic order. China in this regard, holds the fact of making most of the international economic order established and setup post 1945-the Bretton Woods System. Although Russia and China both have made most of the present capitalist international economic order but the main projection of their ideologies since tends to be more of a socialist/communist contour. Capitalism thus, has essentially highlighted the rise of the emerging economies but it adds in the line of propagating the domestic agenda that the two powers hold.

Thus to analyze how the two states are changing or adding to the paradigm of the international structure-need to be looked in the context of historical perspective; considering the bilateral ties that have gone into making the present strategic friendship a strong alliance, to view the history is essential. The bilateral ties thus tell about the policy shifts, ideological perspectives and differences that have been present in the Russian Chinese relations.

The Russian Chinese relations are marked by the strong need of economic and energy resources and the ideological similarities and differences that can be organized and categorized in the historical shifts that both the states have seen.

## **Russian-Chinese Relations (1949-1991)**

The end of the Second World War led to many notions and aspects that changed the present international order. This international order is primarily, the result of the bipolar world the rivalry between the US and Soviet Union. This rivalry triggered the onset of many pacts and strategic ties that continue till the current order and also have picked some new alliances.

The Russian Chinese ties started developing formally after the Maoist revolution-led by Mao Zedong which resulted in the formation of the People's Republic of China. The relations of China at that time commenced with the Former Soviet Union. The three main facets of this bilateral relationship held economic, ideological and military aspects to be the core primary agenda of the onset of the relationship.

China under Mao vowed to stay a true ally of the Former Soviet Union-during the Cold War and thus followed the policies sketched out by Stalin. China's policy of independence and self-reliance were countered with the prospects that it held as Soviet Union's ally. Mao during this period and under Stalin's Russia went to Russia in 1950, to sign the Sino Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance (Moshes & Nojonen, 2011).

Under Stalin's leadership no rift was seen in the Russian Chinese relationship. Thus under the early years of Cold War the Russian Chinese friendship was established on the premises of military, economy and ideology. Talking about the Cold War certain aspects linked with the idea of proxy wars saw Korean War that was supported by the Soviet Union-as it provided it with the military aid to Korea. This further worsened the US China relations (Hsu & Soong, 2014).

Under Khrushchev's rule the Russian Chinese relations started to deteriorate. China's alliance with India under non-alignment movement and under the Five Principles of Peaceful

Coexistence removed Russia from China's side. China's fears worsened after Khrushchev's meeting with President Eisenhower during the Camp David event which added to Chinese fears.

Thus the policies with the Chinese leaders and within the Chinese administration became further apprehensive of Soviet Union. China's policies under Mao entered the phases of the Cultural Revolution and Great Leap Forward which further alienated China from Soviet Union's influence. By 1960, Soviet Union pulled out all the diplomatic connections from China which consequently, ended all the ties between Russia and China. However, certain measurements added to further worsening of the ties.

The Russian Chinese strategic alliance rests on the historic evolution of episodes and events that have unfolded in the present scenario of economic and military ties. Under Khrushchev's administration the border dispute between the Soviet Union and China on Xinjiang in 1962, led to Soviet Union's deployment of Army along its borders with China. Situation worsened in the areas in 1969 that culminated into conflicts over Zhenbao (Damanskiy) Island and Tielieketi. Such events led to the downfall of Khrushchev's administration and further added rifts in the Sino-Soviet relations. Furthermore, the rift between the relation of Russia and China further exacerbated in the Cold War era. Thus, it added to the worsening of ties which further led to the rifts in the Russian Chinese relations (Moshes & Nojonen, 2011).

Furthermore, the ideological rivalry that already was onset during the Cold War era between Capitalism and Communism it still further instigated the Russian Chinese rivalry in the context of ideological differences. Both Russia and China were offering different interpretations of Communism. Since Khrushchev rejected Stalin's communist approach and had an odd way of dealing with the agenda set by the Soviet Union during the initiation of Cold War-it still also

rejected a Leninist agenda that communism pursued under his rule and in the Soviet Union. This also ignited Mao's fears and his apprehensive of the agenda that Soviet Union now proclaimed and pursued under Khrushchev's administration. Thus the international community had two different interpretations of communism-Soviet Union and China.

Taking a little of what the past has to offer-Russia and China have been two different civilizations with different tendencies and trends towards culture, civilization and religion. Only the ideological battle with the US united the two on the front. And ultimately now in the phenomena of globalization that has helped Russia and China surge to the emerging economies, the primary agenda that unites the two is the confrontation and hegemonic designs of the US thus also providing a common ground to work on.

China during Khrushchev's administration grew a bit more liberal which agitated Mao's policies-leading to such approaches in its domestic and foreign policies. It also resulted in the step that China took and signed the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with the US in 1963. Thus the Russian Chinese rivalry further exacerbated the growing divide. Russia with its historical perspective has tried to dominate the international scenario. China on the other hand has developed a rather soft approach towards its influence in the international community. Thus the historical aspects linked with it add to the analysis of the pattern that has been the basis of the Russian Chinese relations.

Thus seeing the fact the Russian Chinese relationship is managed by the historical perspective that has dominated and has been present in the domestic framework of Russia and China. Such policies highlight the stances that both Russia and China take on their own and collectively which is the source of major confrontation for the international community. Thus the rivalry seen

in the US and Russia and China's nexus is the shift of ideological approaches and the hegemonic control of Asia by the US.

Taking on the aspects of such historical approaches, the rejection and the trajectory adopted by Soviet Union during the early years of Cold War also led to its confrontation with China. China's policies tending towards liberal and industrialization sector have also added to its certain measures that made China a state that was in confrontation with the Soviet Union (Hsu & Soong, 2014).

Another rule that marked much of the crucial era for the Russian Chinese relation was of Brezhnev. After the end of his predecessor's administration Brezhnev adopted a policy of Proletarian Internationalism. This meant that it gave the right to Soviet Union to intervene in the communist states. Furthermore, the example can be illustrated with an example of Soviet Union's invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 (Freire & Mandes, 2009).

Furthermore, US's policy of rapprochement in 1970 to pave path for China's friendship. China on the other hand, wanted to pursue a global agenda. For this purpose, China adopted technological, diplomatic policies in Western perspective.

Thus the hostility between the US and Soviet Union further moved in a different direction. It included policies Soviet Union pursued to encircle Afghanistan and Vietnam. Such policies triggered Chinese fears that also pushed China towards US. This conflict of Cold War also added to the arms race between the US and Soviet Union.

In 1978, Deng Xiaoping China's leader led to the policies of modernization—that ended into the excessive control of Beijing under US. The rift further widened between Russia and China. It ended between an intensified conflict between the US and Soviet Union. It also led to the Soviet

Union's invasion of Afghanistan in 1978. Soviet Union's policies and interventions in the communist and developing states also catered to the Chinese policies that led it to US's camp. Thus US's policies added to China's aspects of certain measures that were against Soviet Union that also led to the increased conflict.

Russia and China both thus shared the hostility for over twenty years. Since due to differing ideologies and perspectives that went into different directions for decades added to the growing animosity between the two states. Thus both Russia and China have developed relations that were primarily based on growing conflicts and animosity that led to the increased aspects of certain measures including the increased rivalry (Moshe & Nojonen).

The changing rivalries thus also pushed for an era that included certain events and episodes that have shaped the twenty first century and the international politics. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the situation in the Middle East had its certain impact on the global scale, the situation of the communist states worsened due to poor economic opportunities and dire social constraints. Eastern Europe and Central Asian states suffered in particular since they were in direct Soviet control forming a buffer region for the Soviet Union. Thus China already fearful about the Soviet intentions grew more apprehensive to pursue or normalize the relations.

The relations pursued and tailored on both the Russian and Chinese relations were formed and patterned under the leadership fractures that inhibited the two states. Russia and China, though Asian states have different civilizations, their ideological ideas formed under the leadership of the early years of Cold War stood in sharp difference with the policies of Russia and China thus adding to the animosity (Hsu & Soong, 2014).

During the decade of 1980's the Russian Chinese relations started to normalize. Gorbachev's policies of Perestroika and Glasnost-Central Government and Economic Openness made much of the Russian Chinese relations normal after the decades of rivalry and animosity. Russia and China's approach towards normalizing the relations started in 1982 when Gorbachev made an effort in Tashkent to end the animosity prevailing in the Russian Chinese relations. Thus the effort was projected towards China that led to the recognition of China by Russia as a socialist state and also supported its claim over Taiwan and cleared the fact that it pursued no territorial claim on China.

China on the other hand, answered with the gesture of asking Soviet Union to reduce the troops from its borders. The Russian Chinese relations saw a new phase during the 1980's that resulted in the form of normalizing it in 1982 and in 1985. The projects and claims announced by the Soviet Union during 1985 in Vladivostok the initiations led to the agenda of proper cordial ties with China. Thus the projects announced included China and also worked towards adding China into Soviet Union's domain. Thus the projects included partial reduction of troops in Afghanistan and Mongolia, renewal of border treaties, and cooperation in various other fields including hydropower. Thus such projects added to the pattern that worked towards better Russian Chinese relations (Moshes & Nojonen, 2011).

### **Key Facts of Russia China Relations During and After the Cold War**

<b>Cold War</b>	<b>After the Disintegration of Soviet Union</b>	<b>Outcomes</b>
During the cold war, the two states during the decade of the 50s and 60s still shared amiable relations.	After the disintegration of Soviet Union, Yeltsin devised a framework that was only Western-centric in approach.	Thus it gave a strong Western approach to Russian foreign policy under Yeltsin that divided Russia and China (in terms of foreign policy, and mutual interests). Leaving the hindrance for China, to alone deal with the widening economic gap, that China filled by opening its economy and going from a completely agrarian communist state to a mixed economy.
Russia became apprehensive of a Maoist China due to the US-China rapprochement and the sudden US recognition of China over Taiwan in the United Nations.	Russia during the 90s regarded China, as only a weak ally against the West.	As mentioned above, Russia's Western centric policy gave China the impetus to advance alone in the international arena. Thus it gave China the policies of adopting policies towards a mixed economy, which now have made China the second

		biggest economy in the international arena. Thus adding to the strategic partnership of Russia and China.
The strategic partnership of Russia and China deteriorated in the 70s due to Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan and the Vietnam War.	Russia still wants to achieve the same status as that in the cold war to attack US's hegemony in the Asian region and in the international arena.	As seen in the aggressive policies of Russia in Central Asia and Afghanistan, and by the soft stance adopted by China in both the regions. Russia and China thus have attained the status of a strategic partnership by possessing and working on similar interests through using the political and economic influence of Russia and China.
Gorbachev's Perestroika-Gorbachev during his term visited Beijing and tried to develop	Deng Xiao Ping turned the Chinese economy into a Socialist economy in the 180's transforming gradually in a mixed	Russia's military and security policies and China's economic ventures both together as partners are a potential threat to US's

the relations between Russia and China.	economy in the 1990's. Thus, China with its soft rise still wants to pursue a different policy from Russia while dealing with the US and its Western allies.	hegemony in the international arena. Thus this threat is simultaneously triggered by the political and economic influence acquired by Russia and China though less as compared to US, still contributes to be a potential threat.
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## 2.2 Russian-Chinese Relations after the Cold War

The Russian Chinese relations started to gain a better approach during the 1990's that is after the disintegration of Soviet Union in 1991 led to the Russian Chinese approach of better relations after the end of the Cold War that is post Cold War. Under Boris Yeltsin and Jiang Zemin the first step towards relations between Russia and China was taken at a summit in 1996. The two leaders decided to have a trustworthy relationship.

Thus the Russian Chinese relation was taken to a new form. The era of 1990's constituted normally, towards the US hegemony and putting forward democracy and capitalism as the only viable solutions for the periphery region. Russia and China during this time went forward to work on their own economic frameworks that largely adopted Western styled liberal approach to economic mechanism.

Thus the economic aspects now seen in both Russia and China are due to the policies that have been working since 1990's. The idea of US's hegemony was seen influencing and forming a new international economic order that focused on economic integration of the international community and crucially of the core region. This perspective widened the North South gap and also affected the developing region. The peripheral region was and still is under US's influence. Thus the era resulted into the aspects of development and the emerging economies seen in the international politics.

Thus the common agenda united Russia and China. The US dominated international politics have been the common ground and a basis for the strategic alliance that Russia and China have established.

Thus the Russian and Chinese strategic alliance can be categorized into two phases from 1992-2005 and from 2005-Present. The first phase constitutes the era that has developed since the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the policies adopted by Russia and China to develop a mechanism that included liberal policies. Thus the Western policies over liberalism, market and trade dominated the policies of both Russia and China. Thus through these policies Russia and China developed a pattern that has led to the economic development in Russia and China. Thus it also has led to the strategic alliance between Russia and China (Hsu & Soong, 2014).

The administration governed by Boris Yeltsin after the disintegration of Soviet Union and China's Jiang Zemin focused much on a Western styled economic pattern that essentially included the liberal and free trade patterns in the new economic setup after the disintegration of Soviet Union. For Russia to survive in a post Cold War era Western modeled economic and free trade policies were to be adopted as the sole mechanism in the arena.

Thus Russia also essentially required China's support to gain entry into many of the regional alliances. Russia also depended on Western aid since it required certain backing to develop its economic structure. Thus China aided Russia to get into the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). Zemin's visit to Moscow in 1994, added weight to its support for Russia thus adding Russia into the security and economic participation in the Asian region it was concluded as a major player in 1995.

Russia's participation in the Asian region also included much of its focus towards Europe. Russia's foreign policy tilted to Europe and its focus thus didn't include much of the Asian region.

In 2000, Putin participated in declaring the fact that Russia was both a European and an Asian state. Putin also concluded a treaty with Jiang Zemin in 2001 that was called as the Treaty of Good Neighbourliness and Friendly Cooperation (Trenin, 2012).

The treaty thus became the basis for increased cooperation between Russia and China. It also included the sharing of military technology, economic and trade related information. Thus the treaty became the basis for an atmosphere that indicated the strong strategic alliance that Russia and China concluded and also a win-win perspective that benefited both Russia and China.

Moving to the second phase of cooperation between Russia and China that starts from 2005-Present, includes the era of visit between the two states Russia and China. In 2006, Russia and China celebrated the decade of friendship for sovereignty and mutual goals that the two shared since embarking on treaties that catered to the economic and cultural agreements. Thus the Russian Chinese relations established and divided into two phases has been developed into strategic alliance that Russia and China now share in the Asian region. Thus this strategic

alliance between Russia and China also is now threatening US's hegemony (Moshes & Nojonen).

Also in 2006 and 2007, China and Russia celebrated the Year of China and Year of Russia. Thus the strategic partnership strengthened in the second phase. The year of Russia in China in 2007 poised to strengthen the relationship at bilateral and local level. While the year of China in Russia from March 21-November 9, 2006 worked towards the establishing of relations at grass root level. The Chinese head at the closing ceremony in Moscow in 2007, said that the years had stabilized the national spirit of both Russia and China (Haas, 2013).

The primary reason mentioned earlier is because of the US domination that prevails in the international community. The international order is heavily influenced by the economic and political pattern that has been shaping the ongoing setup and mechanism. Thus Russia and China both in the league of emerging economies and China being the contender to US's domination crucially in the international economic order also is affecting the international political order.

In 2008, Medvedev designed a new Foreign Policy Concept that initiated the aspects of dealing with the international arena and with the growing economic development required. Medvedev and Hu Jintao discussed the mutual interests that were set by Putin and also focused on strengthening civilization and the aspects and the cultural diversity required. Hu Jintao highlighted a four agenda framework that included the aspects of better relationship, industrialization-institutionalism, and economic development.

Considering the recent ties between Russia and China in 2010 China became Russia's largest trading partner and Russia is the largest energy producers that make China in dire need of Russia for its growing energy resources.

Taking on the energy projects between the two countries it is seen that an oil pipeline project was started in 2011 linking Daqing in the Chinese province Heilongjiang to the Russian city Skovorodino that would aid in the transfer of crude oil to China thus meeting its energy requirements.

Also, adding to the trade ties between the two states it comprises of two aspects, the individual including the public and private aspects and the aspects controlled by the government. Thus there are certain limits to the Russian and Chinese strategic partnership that also includes US's hegemony. Both the states want and asked for a multipolar system but the unipolar agenda of the US obstructs the plans of Russia and China. Also, the concerns of Russia and China are different in South East Asia and South Asia. Thus the ideas linked with the Russian and Chinese partnership add to the strategic balance and stability in Asia where US and its allies face the strategic alliance between Russia and China as a serious contender. Thus Russia and China both add to the aspects that include emerging and developing economies of the international arena which contribute to the international economic order and are a threat to US's hegemony.

## **ECONOMIC TIES-THE STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS**

The recent histories of both the Asian powers-Russia and China have simultaneously shaped the notions that are prevalent in the present international structure. These notions have been marked by the changing nature of the aspects that include the international economic order that has been under the reign of the US since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The primary element of the international economic order is the economic progress of the state that eventually builds its status in the international market.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Russia and China have developed a partnership that now is working on mutual interests, and on contradictory views. These views have developed due to the difference in policies of both Russia and China (Malle, 2017). The difference arises from the pattern of policies that are taken by Russia and China, to safeguard their own interests, which consequently are not working for their mutual gain. For instance Russia's policies in Ukraine have had a deeper affect on its relationship with the West. China, on the other hand wants to approach Western markets through its One Belt, One Road (OBOR) policy.

For this very purpose, the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU)-the Eurasian region is of crucial significance. Since China wants to pass through the Asian routes, to reach the Western markets, Russia's policies in the same area can undermine Chinese aims and objectives. For China, the routes do not have to go through Russia. It already has started doing its work, by connecting its borders with the Central Asian regions.

Before discussing the economic partnership, it is essential to view how Russia and China came to be one of the most strategically important partners in the international arena. Russia since the end of the cold war had a pro-West policy. It's due to this agenda, that Russia always had sought to work with the Western markets. The financial crisis of 1998 stagnated Russia's growth and in the midst of this, China due to its policy of economic openness, and mixed economy gained a visible position in the international arena. The economic development of China thus has been marked with skepticism in a bid that has been predicted to counter the US. China's position as the second biggest economy in the world, has led to the fact of Russia developing gradual ties with China. Although as discussed in the previous chapter it can be seen that Russia and China both had ties but they were marred due to the changes in the international arena. But after the financial crisis of 2008, Russia's expectation to achieve the 8% growth, fell drastically whereas China remained

rather stable. Thus it can be seen as to why Russia needed China as a strategic partner to counter American hegemony.

Russia and China both have been the states that have been shaping the aspects of the present international economic order. This international economic order has sustained the changing nature of the international trade. The shift and the focus of the bulk of trade in the Asian continent have been marked by the increased economic policies that have focused the concentration of work in the developing states. Thus the states here include the Asian states—the rising economic states for the international economy.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the histories of both Russia and China separately have been responsible for the present role that the two have taken in the international arena. Russia and China both still acknowledging the communist ideology require to the capitalist system to incorporate their domestic and international working. Thus the reason behind the international structure being changed is the rising strategic alliance between Russia and China. Thus this strategic alliance crucially signifies the potential it carries to challenge the US hegemony in the Asian region.

According to the aspects of relative gains the strategic ties between Russia and China are becoming a potential threat to the US. In this aspect it is seen that the idea of relative gains is seen crucially in terms of economic cooperation. Thus when US is cooperating with Japan and other states, Russia and China's economic ties are not only helping them in Asia but also pose a potential threat to the US.

Thus the primordial reason the Asian region has been the aspect of trade in the twenty-first century is the rising estimate of the developing states becoming major economies. The major

economies are the reason that the dynamics of trade have changed and are still evolving in the twenty-first century.

Russia and China both come under the spectrum of emerging economies. China though due to its sheer size and economic sharing now though holds a greater capacity to influence the dealings of both the international political and economic order. Thus the mechanism of pattern that has evolved till now is the essentiality that has been a crucial part of the international economic order. Thus dealing with the concern of the economic aspects Russia and China both have integrated their mutual goals and interests to attain a strategic advantage over the US.

Thus the primary reason behind the strategic advantage over the US is because of the concern seen that exists because of US's hegemony in the Asian region. The Asian region tends to be crucial significance due to the political and economic interaction. This interaction signifies the concern that is held and exercised by the notion that the twenty-first century is the Asian century. Thus the primary reason behind the twenty-first century being termed as the Asian century is due to Russia and China-the emerging economies. Thus these economies have been the crucial aspects of the twenty-first century and international economic order.

Thus the primary element in the relations between Russia and China is the economic interest that has united the two in the international arena. The economic aspects include the interests that Russia and China share as both are situated in Asia and carry considerable amount of influence.

To review the economic policies it is crucial to consider the relations that the two have established over the course of time and also thus these relations are based on the economic pattern that both Russia and China have developed it crucially concerns the economic progress of the developing states. The focus on the Asian region as mentioned earlier is due to the bulk of

trade carried on in the developing states. Thus both Russia and China are considered in the spectrum of rising economies.

The creation of the international forums has also shifted the attention from the developed to the developing world. Also because of the concern seen over the time for the trade policies, the amount of trade in the developing world surpasses to that of the developed world.

Russia's economy has taken a significant position due to the international economic order. Its use of raw materials and energy resources has placed in a new position in the international arena. Russia to strengthen its economic role and also to add to its political weight age has joined the forums like the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the developing nations forum BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). Thus Russia to sustain and build its economic stature in the international arena has worked effectively towards strengthening its strategic alliance with China. Thus this strategic alliance strengthens the notion of certain aspects that deal with both Russia and China working towards eliminating or at least countering the threat that they face from US's hegemony dominating the Asian region.

There are many inter-locking aspects to this strategic alliance between both Russia and China. To review the economic relations of the two states it is essential to take in view the size of these states of both Russia and China, thus taking into account the economic size, the position the two hold in the international arena, the size of the domestic markets that shows the growth that the two have worked upon for cooperation, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) is a crucial area for both Russia and China as it provides a region with Western influence the region being full of economic and energy resources, and the energy aspects that Russia provides to China for its growing economy is another crucial aspect to consider.

Thus also both Russia and China work on the economic policies that affect the international arena. The strategic alliance between both Russia and China also includes the hindrances both the states face from the domestic in both Russia and China. Thus Russia and China have been working towards mitigating the aspects that halt the economic pattern between both Russia and China. Thus both Russia and China face problems from the domestic situation which challenges the strategic alliance that is a threat to the US hegemony over the Asian region.

The Russian-Chinese relations developed strongly after the end of the cold war that primarily can be signified as the “Axis of Convenience” as defined by Bobo Lo in his book that deals with the Russian and Chinese ties in the economic and military aspects, The nature of the ties is always termed to be strategic. The reason behind the categorization of the relations as strategic is because of the level of balance that the two carry in the Asian region. The economic ties of the two can signify how the relation has been strengthened to a level that deals with the strategic leverage that the two states carry. The primary reason why economy constitutes to be the single most crucial factor is because of the power and leverage it carries in terms-of decisions, and political influence in the international arena. Thus the relations of Russia and China strongly depend on the economic aspects of the cooperation.

The limits to the bilateral ties of the two states-Russia and China arises from their geography and the tariff imposition that constitutes to be a primordial basis for the development of the sector. The economic progress of both the Russian and Chinese economies can be measured by the geographical and economic tapping of the two. The era constituting post cold war has shown how significantly economy has grown of both Russia and China and how it has crucially improved the bilateral ties of the two states. The economic sector began to grow as mentioned earlier, after the end of the cold war. The concept of “liberalized economies” (Hsu & Soong,

2014) has greatly shaped the perspective of trade and economy and market in Russia and China. Due to the aspect of liberalized economies, trade within Russia and China and between them began to grow significantly. Businesses and private and public enterprises have shown much interest in investing and conducting business with each. The major development that is required to strengthen the Russian and Chinese economic ties can come from integrating the economic activities of the border regions of the two states “the Russian side constitutes of the following areas-Primorsky Krai, Khabarovskiy Krai, the Jewish Autonomous region, and the Chinese side constitutes the following region-Inner Mongolia” (Hsu & Soong, 2014).

### **Limits of the Strategic Partnership of Russia and China**

Though Russia and China have formed a formidable economic unit with the changes in international community regarding migration, labour, growing development and globalization such changes crucially affect the manner international politics have worked out. Thus though they present a strong unit build on economic development-to counter the challenges that both deem significant.

Though the progress seen in the economic ties is more or less a reflection of the power that is shifting from the Western control to the Asian region-the primary reason is because of the ties of Russia and China that have made the Asian region a centre of contest that is between US, Russia and China. But the limits to this strategic partnership are manifested in a manner that adds to the multiple facets of ties that are presently established between the two states. The limits thus show the aspects that cannot completely threaten the United States in the Asian region and thus the hegemony it exerts in the international arena. Thus the crucial aspects that are linked to the limits of this strategic partnership are the factors that are directly linked with the military and defence

related aspects of the ties. To see the factors that address the connotations and limitations of the strategic partnership, it is imperative to view the dimensions that the relations have taken on some of the crucial matters in the international politics.

Many of the analysts have predicted and addressed the factor of dealing with the hegemony of the US over Asia through the strategic partnership of Russia and China. The ties between the two states have added to the widespread list of issues that includes military, defence, economy and political control of the Asian region. This control has been the dividing factor in the pattern of behaviour that is traced with the policies adopted by the two states on important international issues regarding defence and military. These issues have always seen some combined activity or differing stances by the two states.

Both Russia and China have carried similar positions on the NATO intervention of Kosovo, US ballistic missile defence and also do not interfere in each other's domestic policies. These policies include the non-interference in each other's domestic matters and not exercising opinions over the policies adopted by the other state. Thus to counter US's hegemony in the region, the two states have adopted the policy of demilitarization on both sides of the border since 1989, also the two countries have taken on the stance of not attacking each other's nuclear missiles that would help in building security mechanism for better ties.

Thus these efforts though have increased the number of military ventures but the two states have not done anything for the US ballistic missile defence. The policies adopted have been insufficient in countering the military agenda adopted by the US. The two states have essentially focused on improving the conventional means of warfare but the aspects on improving the nuclear system remains at a slow growth. The strategic partnership also sees limitations in both

the security and economic terms. As seen in the contest of Pakistan and India, the two states became nuclear powers in 1998, the stances taken and the positions adopted by Russia and China have remained drastically different. China took Pakistan's side whereas Russia affirmatively, remained on India's side it even had to face opposition by China, when it decided to sell arms to India. Thus the rivalry between China and India has been exploited by the interest expressed by international powers. The bilateral ties between India and Pakistan have been a constant reminder of the notion of discord that exists between the two states. International intervention is another tool that has shaped the relations of the two states since the time of partition.

Even in this regard, foreign powers have exuded some form of influence in the region-from colonial powers to the present day hegemony exercised by the US, Russia and China both have also some form of manifested interest and policies in the region. This interest and policy is due to the notion of geographical routes provided by Pakistan to the Middle East and North African markets. With Russia and China as the emerging and rising markets-China's ties with Pakistan are essentially considered with the fact of bringing the aspects of balancing India in the regional spectrum. As seen in the strategic partnership of Russia and China both have coordinated and held the same perspective on crucial issues. But when seen in the dynamics of the Indian Pakistani context-Russia and China are seen to be having a complete opposite stance.

Thus this aspect is also seen in part through the perspective of cold war history-this is seen when through partition-Pakistan chose US's bloc that is capitalism to counter India in the South Asian region and India allied with the Soviet Union and also remained in the non-alignment movement. Thus the ties between Russia and Pakistan have always been defined by the cold war period that has till now been affecting the relations of the two states. In 1998, after India and Pakistan became nuclear powers, Russia sided with India, and China remained with Pakistan due to the

aspects linked with the ties that Russia and Pakistan share, and the rivalry present between India and China has added to the issues.

Thus considering, such factors the ties between Russia and China have been affected by the events of such nature. The partnership seen between the two is usually hampered by conflicted interests in the domestic policies adopted by the two states. Selling out arms and military relation though help to target and threaten the US hegemony present in the Asian region. But it is not sufficient when it comes to countering the narrative that is predominantly set by the US in the Asian region. Thus this narrative deals with the US allies that are present in the Asian region. Thus its allies target the Russian Chinese strategic partnership that is a threat to the US hegemony in the Asian region.

The following graph shows the amount of energy exports that is exchanged between the two states. Economic and energy exports between Russia and China go hand in hand. Strong energy needs have been the prerequisite for the growing demands and needs of the economies of the two nations. The energy exports also exceed the economic exchanges of the two states. And the emerging markets of the two states also require the energy demands of both the states.

The dealings in energy and gas have been the source of economic exchanges and also of the growing energy demands that Russia and China face. The following chart presents the amount of trade between Russia and China in energy products. China, with its status of growing economic market requires to trade with Russia for gas and petroleum. The reason why China needs oil from Russia is because of the strategic reserves along the coastal lines of Russia that are in particular need of oil reserves for the future. Also, another reason for the import from Russia is

because of the notion of foreign direct investment that is a crucial requirement for China's economic sector.

Thus the economic growth linked with the Russian Chinese ties includes the aspect highlighted by Samuel P. Huntington of Asia being the centre of civilization as it also implies China reaching its traditional role of being the leader in the Asian region. In the strategic dimension of the Russian Chinese relations is linked with the rise of China as a global power. Thus the rise of China from a regional power to a global power has provided an array of option for the international arena. This includes the threat that US perceives from both China and also from the strategic partnership that is established between Russia and China. This partnership has been the threat that US has been apprehending from Russia and China. Though the cold war led to the disintegration of Soviet Union Russia in this regard has been competing and threatening US in many of the issues of international arena.

Thus in this context of international politics Russia with China's status of an emerging market also needs a counter balance narrative against the US. The Asian region in this regard has been the major centre point of the international political aspects that are linked with the notion of hegemony that is exercised by the US. Thus it is crucially linked with the aspects of adding the US allies in the Asian region. The US with its aspects of hegemony in the Asian region is cautious of the growing economic growth of the Asian region.

Thus during such a manner the international arena is seeing the rise of emerging markets China as a global leader.

Thus with the end of the cold war US has approached some strategic countries in the Asian region with the approach of countering the strategic partnership between Russia and China. The

emergence of China and its role in the international arena of forming an alliance against the US has provided the strategic partnership in the form of a threat.

Thus the notion of approaching the economic aspects of the Russian Chinese ties includes the threat that US perceives from the strategic partnership. This strategic partnership is the focus of the Asian region. Since much of the international economic activity takes place in the Asian region, US's hegemony in the region is linked with the economic and military aspects in the Asian region. Thus it includes the Asian region, its economic activity and much of the threat that the ties of Russia and China hold for the established international economic order and the US's hegemony.

## **Conclusion**

The changing mechanism of the international order, especially under the current US presidency is a challenge to the international order. US president's current policies and relationship with the East Asian nations, the North Korean crisis, the South China Sea conflict all point to the shifting of the international arena-from unipolarity to multipolarity.

The strategic partnership between Russia and China is thus a challenge to US's hegemony in a post cold war world. The amalgamation of the international politics and international economics is thus one way of dominating the international order, which thus has been transformed by the political and economic alliance of Russia and China.

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