

China-Russia Relations in the Post-Cold War Period: Revitalization of Brotherhood or Friend of Compulsion?

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Abstract

The paper covers the relations between China and Russia after the end of the Cold War. The objectives of the paper are to find out what are the Chinese perceptions about Russia, and its national interest with regard to it. What is Chinese policy and strategy to achieve its national interest? It also inquires same set of information from Russian perspectives. What are the Russian perceptions about China, its national interests and policy and strategy? In addition, the paper also tries to identify the areas of cooperation and divergence in their relations by answering that why would they cooperate in near future.

Key Words: Perception, Interest, Policy and Strategy, China, Russia, Post-Cold war

Introduction:

The phenomenon of the rise of China and the decline of Russia erstwhile Soviet Union is a classical example of the rise and fall of great power in history of the sovereign state system. China is hoping for its golden future while Russia has a glorious past. They are not superpower, but their friendship alarms the decision-makers in different countries especially, major powers. They are permanent member of the UN Security Council. Their objectives seem to achieve high status and prestige in international system. So their policies and strategy would make a major impact over international political institutions and financial and economic organisation. The relations between China and Russia are quite interesting and relevant for understanding the configuration of new world order, hegemonic politics, regional security in the East-Asia. The interesting things are that they are sharing same set of international order unlike US and China which have different

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notion of justice and order in international society. Moreover, both powers support matching ideological premise. If they work together, the power structure in international system would be reconfigured, and if they go against each other, the regional and global stability would be jeopardized. The close understanding of development between China and Russia relations is essential for Indian desire for greater role in world politics. The normalization of Sino-Russian relations would introduce a new power structure and influence India's strategy. Any positive or negative development in relationship of Sino-Russia is directly linked with India's national interest.

Background

The history of their relations during the Cold War traveled a journey from close friends and allies to staunch adversaries that resulted in the East-East Cold war. It proved hypothesis that in international politics, national interest is more important than the missionary work based on ideology. The reason for deviation was the lack of ideological consensus, search for power and denial of nuclear technology. Further, the national identity issue complicated the relationship for both powers. They ought to

“demonstrate the unique relevance of its own revolution and subsequent national-building experience to other developing countries, in the process launching complex encirclement and counter-encirclement drives, that complicated Soviet strategy with the prospect of a two-front war, diverted Chinese efforts from modernization to a massive(and, in retrospect, wasteful) defense buildup in its interior and forced Third World countries and parties to make irrelevant choices in fine points of doctrine" (Dittmer, 1994:94).

The era of Cold-War ideological rivalry like 'revisionism', 'socialist imperialism' and 'hegemonism' has gone. They are in search of the formula for 'progressive equilibrium', where the different factors should reinforce each other and heighten stability, a basis for cooperation the two countries can be created much more easily than in the past (Voskressenski, 2003). The normalisation of relation was initiated by Gorbachev but later his successive made better result. The 1996 the two

countries learned from history and acting in the fundamental interest of their two peoples decided to establish between them a strategic partnership of coordination. This relationship has grown into a mature, stable and sound state-to- state relationships as evidence by their political mutual trust, which never been so close (Jintao, 2009). After that, they never look back and their relations have been deepening, intensifying and wide-ranging.

Their bilateral relations have been upgraded from a “position of ideological rivalry within the communist world to coexistence between the two largest states on the Eurasian continent (Bin, 2009, 81).” Unlike earlier security alliance cum ideological partnership of the 1950s, the new relationship is both pragmatic and limited (Levine, 1992:26-38).

During President Putin’s visit of China in 2019, he said that “both countries enjoy an unprecedented high level trust and cooperation” and Xi Jiping visited Russia with same connotation. China and Russia has celebrated 2020-21 as a year of “scientific, technical and cooperation.” The friendship treaty of 2001 was renewed on 28 June 2021.

Their Understanding of New World Order

The vision of new world order from the Chinese and Russian perspectives can be learned from their joint statements and friendship treaties. They are not sharing the vision of new world order rather than have shared visions. They highly converge over the strategy of multilateralism with restructuring the United Nations. Their new security frameworks are based on the mutual trust, mutual benefit equality and cooperation. At the norms levels, both countries uphold the idea that all countries should have an equal opportunity to enjoy the profits of globalisation in such fields as economy, society, science, technology, information and common development. Going the opposite of the Huntington thesis of ‘clash of civilization’ their argument is diversity in cultures and civilizations should not be the source of conflict, but rather resources from which all countries can learn. Both states believe that "people of every country have the right to choose independently, in the light of their respective national conditions and

free from outside interference, their social system and course and mode of development" (Joint Declaration, 1996)

China and Russia signed the joint statement on the international order of the 21st century in 2005 (Joint Statement, 2005). They also clarified about their bilateral relations and show that they have mutual respect to each other and believe in equality of relations. They believe in the burning of the past and beginning of new story with assumption that "their mutual contacts leave neither China nor Russia with a feeling of humiliation" (Jingjie 2000:528-29). The countries have successfully resolved the border as strategic partner, they no longer see each other as latent military opponents or look to military forces as the primary means for maintaining their security. China and Russia's new security outlook and jointly established security model make a clean break with Cold War logic and contrast sharply with the current direction of American strategy. Mutual benefit and joint development are principles of cooperation in trade, science and technological arena (Jingjie 2000:531-32). Both countries believe that they have common interests and aspirations in promotion of international law (Joint statements, 2016), safeguarding national sovereignty and security, keeping stability and social order and opposing foreign interference (Joint Statement, 2019). Again on 23 March 2021, they extended same spirit for global governance.

China's Perception about Russia

Chinese perception about Russia has been adjusted with changing of reality. Ideology was a dominating factor which shaped the Chinese thinking and brought these two communist countries nearer during the Cold War period. The loose bipolarity tightened international structure and power politics of the Cold War left very little strategic space for any country to shift their allegiance from one bloc to other blocs or one alliance to other. The post Cold-War period structural relaxation in international system has offered new spatial-time dimension to view the reality of international politics from different perspectives. At present context, China sees Russia as 'a friend and strategic partner' and ready to forget the era of ideological hegemony. As Marxian paradigm believes that contradiction always remain in every stage of

society; the relations between two countries enjoy the absence of any fundamental contradiction. China does not look at Russia in antagonistic way (Chang, 2009). It is also learning from the Communist reform of Russia's shock therapy which led towards its disintegration. Russian economic reforms worked as a reminder for Chinese statesman to move slowly so that it can survive a successful communist country. In my sense, China visualise Russia as a 'business partner' in economic sphere and a 'closet ally' for the shaping the new world order as it defines.

Chinese National Interests with regard to Russia:

As a rising power, in present international system, China is a larger stakeholder in world politics. As of now, China is a regional power in Asia-Pacific and highly active with aspiration of a great power status. It seems that it's policy is to fill the vacuums created by the USSR in the region. Rising China needs two things specially energy and technology for sustaining high rate economic growth. The alliance with the West taught a lesson to China that they would not cooperate and transfer the advanced stage technology to it as honestly as it was being done by USSR previously. China consciously or unconsciously is racing with US where it lags in respective field-science and technology achievements. Russia has a great superiority in the field of energy and high technology and leads in many aspects like national defence technology and civilian aviation and aerospace technology (Lijiu, 2000).

The 'peaceful rise' of China necessitates it to have good relations with Russia because it need political stability at regional and global level (White Paper: China's Peaceful Development). Russia might be a pillar of that stability. In addition, Russia is a neighbouring country and former superpower where it is sharing largest boundary. Russia geographical expansion constitutes the geo-politics interest of China. Its expansion in Asia and Europe would influence the rise of China in Asia. The friendship of Russia is essential for China because regional conflict minimise chance of power projection of state beyond its periphery. Conventional wisdom tells us who is not being respected in his corridor, would not be

respected on the road. Another imperative is China's energy wishes. Russia is the largest supplier of gas and second largest source of reserve. In addition, China knows that Central Asia cannot be incarcerated without help of Russia which contains a large amount of energy.

Again, China is aware of the fact that it cannot poise any real counterweight against the US by acting individually. The utility of cooperation with Russia is highly acceptable for Chinese governments. It requires an ally that can counteract the US preeminence in global system (Larson and Shevchenko, 2010:63-95). China alone can't do that, as it has been seen in China-US relations context that there is highly asymmetry of power exists between China and US. Russia still has formidable force and second largest nuclear stock piles. Both forces have the capability to jointly handle the NATO forces. For China, 'cooperation with Russia can be a factor for preserving the balance in the region and a counterbalance to an external factor" (Voskressenski, 2003:185).

Chinese Policy and Strategy

China's policy is to ensure its accessibility over the Russian natural resources, technology and market and make Russia a partner in global affairs for regional and multilateral cooperation. It advocates the multilateralism where Russia can be a better player. Its strategy is to create regional institutions for involving Russia and support Russian induction in multilateral agencies. It created bilateral engagements through regional organisation, bilateral forum such as commerce or trade areas, convening Shanghai Expo or military exercise and regular visit of high dignitaries. China has adopted the policy of cooperation with Russia and creating institutional mechanism to make relations durable. The creation of SCO and BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) are the examples of desires who want to have new world order. The entry of Russia in APEC is an example of Chinese favour whose meeting

is going to be held in Russia in 2012. China had gained a lot from Soviet Union in building of its national powers in fraternity of the Communist brother. China remembered this benefit. It is said that the industrialization and economic development and military modernizations were based on the Russian cooperation in the early 1950s. There is also an argument that China is using "a buck-passing strategy" whenever possible, allowing others such as Russia to constrain the US in cost free ways (Nandkarni, 2010:52).

Russian's Perception about China

Russia visualizes China as a rising great power. Modifying its earlier stance, it does not identify China as a younger brother, rather than it depicts as an equal partners in search of a multi-polar and democratic world. The fear of psychosis is over. Russia has a stake in international politics and want to be an active manager of global affairs; however it's domestic compulsion denies that role. It sees China as a country therewith it could cooperate in multifarious issues and arena for shaping the new world order in their own favour. Russia views China today as friend, good neighbour and partner and close ally. However, there is a view in Russia that China is still threat. Alexeander Khrmchikhin, the head of Analytical Department of the Institute for Political and Military analysis subscribes to the view. In his argument, Chinese demographic expansion and it's resource deficit press for territorial expansion (Salin 2021: 60-74).

Russian National Interests with regard to China

Russia had lost its ally, territory, prestige and economy. With the exception of its nuclear capabilities, Russia has been reduced to the status of regional power (Voskressenski, 2003:183). However, the ambition of great power is intact. In its own self-conception, it is the largest country in the world with a long history and rich cultural traditions. Despite the difficult international situation and the difficulties of a domestic nature, it is because "of the significant economic, scientific, technological and military capabilities, unique strategic position on the Eurasian continent objective continues to play

an important role in the global process” (Concept of National Security of Russian Federation, 1997).

In this context, Russia identified its national interest, in summary, as a "realisation of constitutional rights and freedom, to ensure personal safety, to improve the quality and standard of living, physical, spiritual and intellectual development of man and citizen, to consolidate democracy, to create legal societal state, to achieve and maintain social harmony, the spiritual renewal of Russia" (Concept of National Security of Russian Federation, 1997). The national interest of Russia in international sphere is to “ensure the sovereignty, strengthening Russian positions a Great Power-one of the most influential centers of multi-polar world, in the development of equitable and mutually beneficial relation with all countries” (Concept of National Security of Russian Federation, 1997).

The first and foremost, Russian national interest is how it can consolidate its national economy and how it can ensure its territorial integrity. Transformation of communist society into liberal democratic society and adoption of a market economy in place of command economy is a real challenge in front of Russian policy maker. The alliance with China raises the hope for a premier role in world politics. Russian national interest converges with Chinese national interest during this period. Whatever Russian material capability residue is its ideational capability declined. Russia is no longer claiming its superiority in any sphere of ideational achievement. Russia needs Chinese cooperation in economic, technological security and political sphere. Its domestic compulsion and desire for a greater role in international politics are playing the major role in coming closer to China. China is the fastest growing economy. It wants to make Sino-Russian economy interdependent. Russian defence industry complex needs a market for its own survival. Russia is not a member of WTO. The induction of Russia in this multilateral institution is beneficial for its national economy.

Not only is the economic sphere, internal instability is also a prime concern for Russian security interests. It was declined because of, with

adding all other dimension, ethnic nationalism emerged during that period. The process of national-building and state-building have not been completed in Russian federation. The military is engaged in domestic assignment to curb the ethnic nationalism. The US preeminent role in international politics, its method to wage war on terror and expansion of NATO towards the border of Russia are other major factors that are driving force for coming closer to China. Russia clears that "the plan to expand the military infrastructure of NATO to its borders is unacceptable to it and attempt to make it a global responsibility that is inconsistent with international laws" (The National Security of the Russian Federation Until 2020).

Russian Policy and Strategy

Russian policy is to create a favorable international environment for Russia economic development (Donaldson and Noguee, 1998). The primary survey of document related to it's foreign and defence policies suggests that it wants to abide by the laws, treaties and agreement signed by the its predecessor and build a relations of state and societal interest free of any ideological consideration, except those of relevance of its national interests. In order to protect its national interests, "Russia, remaining in the framework of international law, will conduct a rational and pragmatic foreign policy that excludes costly confrontation, including a new arms race" (Concept of National Security of Russian Federation, 1997). Russia believes in multilateral engagement with other states. The Collective Security Treaty is considered as the main interstate instrument to confront regional threat and challenges to political-military and military-strategic nature including the fighting against illicit traffic in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substance (The National Security of the Russian federation until 2020).

It's priority rests on the economic aspects of cooperation reflecting the rising role of economic factors. The primary cementing force in China and Russia relations is military cooperation and energy. Russia desires to utilize the Chinese foreign exchange reserve which is second largest in the world. Its priorities are also how it could use Chinese chief labours for construction of infrastructure development.

Defence Cooperation

The three main areas of the bilateral defense relationship are military exercises, military technical cooperation and high level military to military contact (Stent, 2020:4). China military has great debt to Russian military cooperation. China is the second largest buyer of Russian military hardware. It was USSR that had provided military infrastructure and built up Chinese military. However, the east-east Cold War debar the further cooperation. Military-technological cooperation has revived when Mikhail Gorbachev visited China in 1989. This visit started a new era in China and Russian relations. Boris Yel'tsin's government willingly took the baton, opened the flow of military hardware and know-how to China by selling 24 fighters Su-27. After the disintegration, The Yel'tsin regime was moving a show of adherence to democratic principles and the values of the civilized Western world but military cooperation were not on the agenda at that time (Bakshi, 2004: 180-84).

The whole picture of bilateral ties between Moscow and Beijing began changing when Putin came to power. The turning point in Sino-Russian relations came on July 16, 2001 when, in Moscow, the Russian and Chinese Presidents signed the 'Treaty for Good Neighborliness, Friendship and Cooperation'. It was reunion of Sino-Russian cooperation. Russia started the demarcation of disputed border with China and supplied arms technology.

Since 1992, military sales by Russia to China have reached at least \$20 billion. Russia has managed to sell China enough military hardware to arm a medium-sized European country. The lion's share of the goods went to aviation.

The PLAAF (People's Liberation Army Air Force) and PLANAF (the air arm of the Chinese Navy) received about 200 multi-purpose fourth generation fighter-bomber Su-27s and Su-30s of various modifications, along with a license to produce 200 Su-27s and 250 Su-30s domestically. As for the latter (a considerably modernized version of the Su-27), - both purchased and manufactured - China is planning to have over 500 of

these aircraft. Further it is purchasing 40 Il-76 heavy air transports and Il-78 air tankers (Verbitz, 2006).

The Chinese Navy has not been left out of the arms contracts; its inventory increased by 12 Kilo class diesel submarines (Projects 877EKM, 636 and 636M), and 4 *Sovremenny* class destroyers.

In addition to the fact that the submarines are considered as possibly the most capable and quietest such vessels in the world, the destroyers are equipped with arguably the most lethal anti-ship cruise missile, the supersonic SS-N-22 *Sunburn* (or according to the original Russian nomenclature, R-270 *Moskit*). The *Moskit*, even by admission of American naval experts, poses a serious threat to US ships (including, possibly, aircraft carriers). China's air defense capabilities also have been greatly enhanced by the acquisition of 12 battalion units of S-300 PMU-1 and 27 complexes of *Tor* M-1 SAMs (SIPPRI, 2009:308-310).

Since 2019, Russia is helping China in missile attack early warning system to detect ICBMs.

Military Exercise

The joint military exercises are a part of strategic partnership and represent a significant deepening of the military relationship between two powers (Aliyev, 2020). First joint military exercise between Russian-Chinese military carried out in 2005 after a long gap with code name 'Peace Mission 2005' after the peaceful resolution of border conflict. It encompassed 10,000 military personnel, 70 ships and submarines. On the Chinese part around 8,000 personnel participated and sea vessels (some 60 ships and submarines) and Russia was the main contributor of advanced air assets (Hindu, 2005). Another joint military exercise conducted on July 2009 at Shenyang military training base.

In September 2018, both countries have performed the largest military exercise at Vostok. The purpose of exercise was to show togetherness. The joint military exercise extends to air force and navy. The PLA Air

Force and the Russian Air Force conducted long range aerial patrol in Indo-Pacific region in July 2019. For the first time, China and Russia conducted naval exercise in the Mediterian Sea that was continued in the South China (2016) and the Baltic Sea (2017).

China and Russia signed military cooperation roadmap in June 2017. The military cooperation between China and Russia are mutual beneficial and advantageous position for both. On part of Russia, Russian military industry requires resources to sustain it in the world arms market; while on the side of China, its military modernization largely based on the Russian technical and equipment cooperation. In other words, the Russian defense industry is running on the principles of military-industry complex. Badly needs economic resources to survive, on the other hand China needs arms supplier who can provide advanced weapons at reasonable cost without any string attached.

China receives forty percent of total Russian arms export and it constitutes ninety two percent of China's total arms imports (SIPPRI, 2009:304-08).The military modernization programme of China has high support from Russia. The devastated Russian economy has been revitalized by China's military import. In this contest both need to be with each-other whose interests highly converge than any other country in the world.

The significance of amicable ties between the Chinese and Russian military establishments extends beyond the realm of military-security affairs into that of domestic politics. This period also witnessed some remarkable change in their military relations. Military cooperation moves from buyer and seller to partner in research and development and production and distribution level in sphere of military technology. Taking into account the Covid 19 issues they made joint statement to strengthen the cooperation on prohibition of biological weapons, (Joint Statement 2021a)

Economic Cooperation

Politically intensive engagement of China and Russia has given the room for economic cooperation. China's economic size is eight times larger of Russia. Energy and trade shape the agenda of Sino-Russian economic

relations. The energy sector play an important role in Russia's economy and energy export is a major source of the governments' income (Join Statement, 2004).

Oil and Gas

Oil and Gas is major area of economic relations. The engine of Chinese economic growth and its development is depending on the supply of energy. Russia has largest reserves of natural gas. Supply of Oil and Gas play same role as the transfer of nuclear technology during the Cold War. At present, like the military sphere, the cooperation in energy sector also equally benefits China and Russia. Russian energy technology is suffering from the outdated syndrome which has no money for further investment. Chinese desperate needs of energy resources satisfy by it and in returns, Russia getting money to revive its economy. Geo-strategy also facilitates the cooperation because they do not need the territory of third country for supplying pipeline (Join Statement, 2004).

Nuclear Energy

They are also cooperating in nuclear energy sectors. Russia is helping in building of Chinese nuclear reactors and uranium enrichment. Recently director-general of the Russian state nuclear corporation Rosatom, Sergey Kiriyenko has said in 14th session of Russia-China Sub-Commission for Nuclear Energy Cooperation that all the previously agreed plans of nuclear energy cooperation has been completed and Russia and China intend to continue cooperation to start the construction of the third and fourth units of Tianwan nuclear power plant where first unit has been completed (World News, 2010). He recalled that in July 2010 China successfully launched its Experimental Fast Reactor built with active participation of Russia. He informed that they are going to cooperate in building of commercial fast-neutron reactors BN-800.

Trade

China is the largest trade partner of Russia. 58.8 billion dollar was in 2008 that has reached 107 billion dollar in 2018. They have planned to raise the level trade at 200 billion dolors up to 2024. China receiving

the oil and natural gas from Russia. Russian timber is major source for its paper industry.

Common Concerns

China and Russia relations are propelled with need of domestic and international interests. Their common concern is to develop their national economy and to maintain stable international order. In pursuance of these objectives, they find the friendship of each other helpful and beneficial. China and Russia deny through their bilateral treaty and joint statements that their strategic partnership is not directed against any third party. The post Cold War period witnessed some events which were not auspicious for China and Russia. The Gulf War, Taiwan Strait Crisis, NATO expansion, bombarding over Chinese Embassy in Belgrade which is strategic located, Chechnya, unilateral withdrawal of the US from the ABM treaty, development of TMD and NMD that logically undermines the security of China and Russia. They jointly issued statements about US military strikes against Iraq, the NATO intervention in the Kosovo crisis and US plan for theater missile defence and national missile defence (Wishnick, 2001:800).

NATO's military intervention in the Kosovo, the Chinese Governments believes that this action was illegal and immoral. It was illegal because it breached established international law against use of force against a sovereign state and by passed the UNSC. It was immoral because it caused additional bloodshed as well as suffering of the Yugoslavian people (Force, Intervention and Sovereignty). These events stimulated deep introspection for their policy of both countries. The Asian-Pacific region is a domain of Russia and China, and no one else should challenge their influence there.

Where would they go together?

The convergence of interests establishes the base for relations of both countries. This is the closest relation in today's international relations where the convergence of interests is higher than the divergence of their national interests. They agree over the norms of international politics, regional security and issues of international system. China and Russia are highly against the unipolarity and seeks multipolar world. In

their new world order, the UN need to be restructured; it does not represent the politics of today's world and play an active role. The joint statement 2005 expressed the view that the United Nations is the world's most universal, representative and authoritative international organization, and its role and functions are irreplaceable (China Russia Joint Statement, 2005).

They are against the unilateralism and want multilateralism especially war on terror. In their approach, terrorism is not the problem of individual country, but it is global issues, so it must be supported by all states and action should be taken by global institutions with legitimate authority like the UN in broader framework rather in selective manner. China and Russia are suffering from terrorism or religious extremism in external politics. At the norms levels, their arguments are that respect for sovereignty must be restored and no domestic intervention would allow on the name of promotion of democracy and protection of human right. Both sides support the policies on the issues of defending the national unity and territorial integrity (Artilec-4, 2001).

Where would they diverge?

In theoretical underpinnings, partners are competitors; the nature of competition might be healthy and cooperative or cut-throat, too large extent, it depends upon the circumstances. The China and Russia relations are known for the establishment of supremacy in the region. They are neighbours. China is Russia's principal partner and its main gateway to the Asia-Pacific region, but strategic competition and potential security threat aspect can not be denied. Acquisition, maximisation and demonstration of power are basic instincts of the states. The race for power never dies. The national interest defined in terms of power as realist believes, however identity of state also shape the national interest. The position and strength of states changes, the variances in interests are inevitable. The current state of bilateral relations developed and was enhanced at a time when Russia is weak and disoriented after the disintegration of the Soviet empire. Now Russia is "coming on its way back-not necessarily to the levels it attained as the core of the USSR, but to its traditional status as major power on the Eurasian continent. China will perhaps more than anyone else-have to deal with and adjust to such as changing reality" (Bin,

2009:83). Nearer and dearer takes the most benefits and advantage at the time of cooperation but pays the high cost at time of clash.

Russia considers Central Asian region as its backyard because it was integral part of USSR and reluctant to presence of other player regions without its accent. Central Asian country also looks Russia as savoir in any crises and approach to it first, then UNO or other institutions. China and Russia have diverged over Central Asia. Now China became the largest aid donor in the regions. The politics of aid has larger consequence replacing Russia. This reflects the Chinese intensity for search of energy resources, as it has done in Africa. For time being, China reluctantly accept the Russian role in the region but due to rapid rise of Chinese economy and its impact over Chinese military modernization would bound to change the geopolitics in favour of China.

An energy factor is areas which raise concern about relation and where they are uneasy in terms of cooperation. Russia intends to diversify its oil market in European countries and hike the oil prices which are purely against China national interest. The denial of natural resources may repeat the history of denial of nuclear technology. As Chinese blue navy not capable to protect the sea line supply of the energy through the Indian Ocean, it much interested into gas pipeline from this region where it is capable to construct and protect.

Demographic problems

In search of better live conditions, Chinese national is illegally migrating in the Russian territory. These illegal migrations are cause of worryness in Russia. If it is not the matter of general knowledge, then surely it is subject of general studies that the natural resources of Siberia and the Russian Far East are enormous and diverse. To get protracted access to those riches at reasonable prices would be a coup for any serious aspirant. It might be easier to obtain the permanent possession of these resources by means short of military force.

Despite the effort of both countries, the trade relation is unbalanced or it is lopsided towards China. It mainly concentrated on the defence

product. The economic cooperation also suffers with absence of investment in each other countries.

The treaty of 2001 promise that both “parties respect each other’s choice for the course of political, economic social, and cultural development in line with their nation’s actual conditions so as to ensure a long-term and stable development of relations between the two countries”(Treaty of Good-Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation). It shows ideological convergence but their political and economic moving difference direction. Chinese economic reform is learning from the USSR’s ‘Perestroika’ and ‘Glasnosts’ policy to save its political system but Russia is moving towards multiparty democracy and freedom of individual that instigates the demand of changes in political system. The main difference between Russian and Chinese societies today lies in the disputing between the rates of their social and economic transformation and political democratization (Voskressenski, 2003:190).

The military cooperation by Russia raises the eyebrow of right being nationalist parties of Russia. It is deep concerns among the skeptics in Russian domestic constituencies. Those who are opposing Russia military and technology cooperation with China argue that China is Russia’s strategic enemy. They believe that selling arms to China is “feeding the tiger” (Bakshi, 2004: 175). It is capable of attempting different forms of northward expansion, including economic and demographic expansion and the realisation of Chinese’s historical claims. It is called that Russia is transferring so high grade technology to Chinese army which is even not available to Russian army itself. The quantity of arms that has been supplied to China and the amount which has been possessed by the Russia really proves their concerns.

Why would they cooperate?

There are hardly any bilateral relations in today world politics which national interest so much converge, think same kind of world order than China and Russia. The reason to cooperation is based on the understanding of stable equilibrium the position of both side are generally similar and their national interest, to a large extant coincides. The national security dilemma of China and Russia which was the bone of contention is diluted and transformed. Earlier, they perceive each

other as enemy that singed in the deployment of active military forces on the border. China and Russia thoroughly completed the boundary demarcation work between them in 2008, and ratified the Action Plan to Implement the China-Russia Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighborliness and Cooperation (2009-1212) (China-Russia Joint Statement, 2009). The new relation is grounded in certain broad understanding between two sides concerning the limits as well as the potentialities of the relationship. They are overriding the establishment of any military treaty or alliance, but closely engaging other on security forum. After the issuing the joint statement of 2000, President Jiang Jemin said that ‘with regard to bilateral ties, China and Russia will continue to deepen their relationship and will become “good neighbours, good partners and good friends” (Jiang, 2000). The level of engagement and intensity of the visit by dignitaries provides the strength to relations. The positive trends in relations are that new relationship is pragmatic, deep and comprehensive.

Revitalization of Brotherhood or Friendship of Compulsions

It seems that there is the element of compulsive friendship. Russian policy maker has less strategic choices in present international system particularly in Asia. Neither Japan nor India can work together with Russia as China is working against the US hegemonic. Same way, China needs Russian technology than any other countries. The rising of nations depends upon its innovations. China is not as highly equipped with advanced technology as per requires for sustaining its rise economic. No other country would go to cooperate to such as extant Russia is ready to do.

The post-Cold War relationship of China and Russia is purely motivated on serving of their national interest. It is neither run on the syndrome of brotherhood nor a friendship of compulsion. This may be one perspectives of looking the relations; however the relation has its won dynamics. They have the history of both intensive cooperation and conflict. Sino-Russian strategic partnership is an equal. It is because it is based on mutual support and common political concerns (Wishnik, 2001:799). The current strategic partnership is guided by pragmatism pure and simple. Rajan Menon notes that

“while the partnership is partly attribute to common opposition to Pax-Americana and the attendant unipolar international system, it represents an accretion of achievements that resulted form the determination of Chinese and Russian leaders to put an end to decades of enmity, quite independent of the state of their relationships with Washington. It has a logic and dynamic of its own" (Menon, 2009).

This is social fact that no single country's interest converge between two major powers than the convergence of interest between China and Russia. They are sharing common values; common national interests either it be security issues or search for multi-polar world. Their relationship is best characterised as one of strategic convergence, involving multifaceted cooperation and a convergence of views and interests on important question of international security. It is sustained not by trust and goodwill alone but by calculated self-interest and a desire for leverage vis-à-vis third parties, especially the United States (Menon, 1997"101).

In overall perspectives, both countries are engaged themselves over domestic consolidation whether it is political or economic issues. Their priorities seem to build national economy and ensure political and societal instability but are cautious over territorial division of country. For achieving these objectives, they are coming closer throughout the period and extending helping hand to each other. This cooperation further propelled by a confluence of shared strategic view on protecting territorial integrity; limiting the translation of American power and influence into policies unfavorable to each courtesy's interest; formulating mutual opposition to the application of “double standards” in the war against terrorism; and calling for a world that operated according to a multi-polar logic (Nandkarni, 2010:52).

Conclusion

China and Russia is a shareholder of same company. Any bull or bear activities in sense of world politics would massively influence their payoff, so they are bound to play win-win game, in place of zero-sum-game. It seems that they understand the logic of cooperative competition. They have developed the basic approach of establishing relations which have mutual benefit. A China and Russia relation is trustful, absence of apprehensions and doubts over the intentions of each other. The domestic and external factors are working as impetus for coming together; the comity in relations shows the longevity.

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