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“The main directions of strengthening the reliability of the Russian-Chinese strategic partnership”

Annotation of the dissertation for the degree

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speciality 5.5.4 - "International relations, global and regional research"

Relevance of the research topic. Currently, a new world order is being formed, the unipolar world is changing to a multipolar or polycentric one. Changes in the world order are characterized by an aggravation of the situation in the world, all previous world orders were established as a result of wars. The new edition of the US National Security Strategy states: "All over the world, the need for American leadership is as high as ever. We are in a situation of strategic competition for the formation of the future world order."¹ During such periods, security issues become a priority in the activities of any State in comparison with economic and any other issues.

In such an environment, it is very important for the leading countries of the world to have reliable allies or strategic partners. Russia can undoubtedly include China among such countries. The new version of the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation states that "Russia is aimed at further strengthening the relations of comprehensive partnership and strategic cooperation with the People's Republic of China."² The strategic partnership between Russia and China is manifested in various spheres – political, economic, military, cultural and others. Russia highly values such close relations with China.

In turn, as China's Foreign Minister, Wang Yi said at the end of December 2022: "The relations maintained between China and Russia are solid as a monolith. They are not subject to interference and provocations, they are not afraid of major changes

¹ National Security Strategy // The White House. October 2022. URL: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Biden-Harris-Administrations-National-Security-Strategy-10.2022.pdf>. P. 2. (дата обращения: 09.11.2022).

² The concept of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation on March 31, 2023 // URL: <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/70811> (accessed: 03/31/2023).

in the conjuncture."³ This attitude of the Chinese leader underlines the international aspect of the reliability of the Russian-Chinese strategic partnership. Due to the undeveloped nature of this aspect of the theory of international relations, it is not easy to draw a line between alliance and strategic partnership. At the same time, the property of reliability, especially in times of crisis in history, should be an integral part of the cooperation of countries at such high levels of international interaction.

Ensuring the reliability of partnerships is an essential component of Russia's foreign policy goals. Speaking at the Eastern Economic Forum on September 7, 2022, Russian President Vladimir Putin said: "Russia is a sovereign state. We will always protect our national interests by pursuing an independent policy, and we value these same qualities in partners who have demonstrated reliability and responsibility during trade, investment and other cooperation for many years."⁴ The opposite property is the unreliability of Western countries, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov notes: "At this stage we do not and cannot have confidence in the reliability of our partners."⁵

The need for the reliability of Russia's relations with China is also actualized by the international context. The collective West, led by the United States, is trying to isolate Russia, accusing it of aggression against Ukraine. The introduction of unprecedented sanctions measures by the West requires finding new approaches in Russian foreign economic policy. In turn, China is also experiencing political and economic pressure from the West, which is associated with the situation around Taiwan, attempts to isolate Beijing technologically, measures to limit the development of the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative and other foreign policy processes. Therefore, the need of Russia and China for reliable partners is mutual.

³ The PRC called the republic's relations with Russia as strong as a monolith. December 25, 2022. // [website] – URL: https://tass.ru/mezhdunarodnaya-panorama/16683429?utm_source=yxnews&utm_medium=desktop . (accessed: 05.01.2023) – Text: electronic

⁴ The plenary session of the Eastern Economic Forum on September 7, 2022 // [website] – URL: <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/69299> . (accessed: 10/15/2022) – Text: electronic

⁵ Speech and answers to media questions by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation Sergey Lavrov during the forum of Modern journalism "All Russia – 2021", Sochi, September 10, 2021 // [website] – URL: <https://www.mid.ru/ru/detail-material-page/1775320/> . (accessed: 25.01.2023) – Text: electronic

The property of reliability in international relations is of particular importance in times of aggravation of the situation in the world. Today, the world is in exactly this state due to the change of the world order. However, there is a different understanding of reliability in political discourse. According to the applicant, strengthening reliability is one of the most important directions for strengthening and deepening Russian-Chinese relations of comprehensive partnership and strategic cooperation, which are noted in the documents of the summit of the heads of the two states held in March 2023 in Moscow.⁶ Therefore, at the moment an important task of political science is to develop the concept of reliability, which explains the relevance of the topic of this dissertation research..

The purpose of dissertation is to determine the main components of strategic partnership reliability between Russia and China, as well as priority directions of its development on the basis of studying theoretical aspects of reliability in international relations and foreign experience in this area.

To achieve this goal, it is necessary to solve the following **tasks**:

- to study the theoretical foundations of the concept of reliability in political science and the theory of international relations;
- to develop methodological tools for measuring reliability in international relations;
- to explore the international experience of strengthening the reliability of foreign alliances and strategic partnerships;
- to determine the current state of reliability of the Russian-Chinese strategic partnership;
- to develop practical recommendations to strengthen the reliability of the strategic partnership between Russia and China.

The **object** of research is the modern Russian-Chinese relations.

⁶ Joint Statement of the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China on deepening comprehensive partnership and strategic cooperation entering a new era on March 21, 2023 // [website] - URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/supplement/5920> (accessed: 03/24/2023)

The **subject** of the research is the reliability of the strategic partnership between Russia and China.

The theoretical basis of dissertation. The theoretical research was based on the principles, approaches, methods and techniques used in the research. While preparing dissertation, the author used principles of objectivity, determinism and development. The principle of objectivity means correlation of hypotheses and theoretical foundations used in the dissertation with current reality, their independence from subjective factors. According to the principle of determinism, the phenomena occurring in international relations have a causal relationship, and for their analysis it is necessary to study the factors influencing them. The principle of development means a constant change of the object of research in its form and content.

Systematic, historical, geopolitical and dialectical approaches were used in the work. The author needed a systematic approach to correlate global and regional processes in the world. The historical approach has made it possible to trace the evolution of relations between Russia and China in recent decades. The need to use a geopolitical approach is explained by the proximity of Russia and China, as well as their potential role in the emerging new world order. The dialectical approach proved to be very much in demand when considering the existing problems between Russia and China and finding ways to resolve the underlying contradictions.

The methodological basis of the dissertation. General scientific methods of analysis, synthesis, and analogy were used in the preparation of the dissertation. Quantitative methods, such as content analysis and event analysis, were used in the analysis of individual political processes. In the dissertation, quite significant amounts of economic information are used to argue the above provisions. Various methods were used to process it, including comparative analysis and comparison. To illustrate the economic material in the dissertation, the tabular method is used. In the course of the study, a number of new classifications were introduced.

Various new methods were used in the dissertation. In connection with the need to find ways to counter Western sanctions, the methodology of assessing the export

potential worked out in the International Trade Center UNCTAD-WTO was used, which made it possible to determine the possibilities of replacing export flows from unfriendly countries to friendly ones. To assess the prospects for the development of economic aspects of reliability of the Russian-Chinese partnership the index of trade complementarity was used. It shows economic connectedness of strategic partners.

Provisions for defence:

1. In the context of the aggravation of the situation in the world associated with the formation of a new world order, the importance of reliability in international unions and strategic partnerships is significantly increasing. It can be defined as the property of a State to ensure, in a strategic long-term perspective, sustainable interaction with other States to achieve common goals in accordance with their national interests. The reliability of bilateral international relations between States depends on the degree of intensity of these relations and their diversity, as well as on the balance of various spheres of their interaction. The degree of reliability is one of the most important determinants of the level of development of bilateral international relations from partnership to strategic partnership and further to alliance.

2. It is advisable to use various methods to study the reliability of strategic partnerships. Among them are the analysis of documentary sources, including the analysis of the results of voting on major resolutions in the UN and other international organizations, the classification of contradictions, forecasting, content analysis and event analysis, polls of experts and public opinion. Economic and mathematical methods of studying relations between countries are important, for example, the country's share in the partner's foreign trade turnover, the index of trade complementarity, the methodology for assessing export potential, as well as the volume of exchange of tourists, foreign students. It is also advisable to use a comparison of the levels of economic development of allies or strategic partners, the levels of development of their science and technology, the presence of territorial claims, the degree of provision of the population with vital resources. The combination of these methods, taking into account the sequence of their application,

can be considered as the basis of the methodology proposed by the applicant for the study of the reliability of alliances and strategic partnerships.

3. In foreign military-political and integration unions and strategic partnerships, certain attention is paid to strengthening reliability. In the Eurasian Economic Union, the possible policies of the member states are classified into coordinated, coordinated and unified. At the same time, the most reliable allies are those pursuing a common policy. Considerable attention is paid to the detailed coordination of the policies of the member States in the North Atlantic Alliance. The movement of the candidate country towards joining NATO is clearly regulated and divided into a number of tactical stages. The Alliance also pays significant attention to resolving contradictions between Member States. The strengthening of trust between the peoples of the member States is demonstrated by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, developing connectivity between them. At the same time, there are serious problems in ASEAN that reduce the degree of reliability in the relations of the member States. This foreign experience can and should be used to strengthen the reliability of the Russian-Chinese strategic partnership.

4. The need for reliability in strategic partnership has been repeatedly stated by the political leaders of Russia and China. However, due to the lack of development of this concept in political science and the theory of international relations, there is a contradictory situation in its implementation. China supports Russia in most resolutions of the UN Security Council and the UN General Assembly on current foreign policy issues. Under the conditions of Western sanctions, the trade turnover between the two countries is growing. At the same time, with regard to Russia's special military operation in Ukraine, China declares the need to respect the principle of territorial integrity. In the economic sphere, under the threat of secondary sanctions, large Chinese companies and banks are leaving the Russian market. In Russia, the idea of a "yellow threat" from China is quite common. To resolve this contradictory situation, further theoretical development of the concept of flexibility in international relations, its connection with the reliability of

strategic partnerships in general and the Russian-Chinese strategic partnership in particular, is necessary.

5. To strengthen the reliability of the Russian-Chinese strategic partnership, it is necessary to take a number of actions. It is necessary to ensure the coordination of strategic long-term plans for international activities of Russia and China, linked to the formation of a new world order, and strive to harmonize these plans. These strategic plans need to be detailed in short-term tactical action plans, to seek their legal consolidation. Russia should pay more attention to cooperation with Chinese small and medium-sized companies, which cannot be subject to collective Western sanctions. It is advisable to continue the course of dedollarization of Russian-Chinese economic settlements. Substantive measures are needed to further strengthen mutual trust between the Russian and Chinese peoples, including through the growth of student and scientific exchanges, the expansion of mutual tourism and other measures. These four areas of strengthening the reliability of the strategic partnership between Russia and China form a single system, they are closely linked to each other.



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