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**Prospects for the development of the russian-chinese
military-technical cooperation**

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Relevance of the research

In an environment of ever-complicating international relations, it is necessary to identify emerging challenges and threats in advance. The organization and control of these activities seem impossible to a graduate student without studying and taking into account in daily activities the current state and main directions of development of military-technical cooperation (MTC) between Russia and foreign states. Extremely important from this point of view is the cooperation between Russia and China, described in the 2021 National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation as «relations of comprehensive partnership and strategic interaction».

In modern conditions, the military-technical cooperation system of the People's Republic of China (PRC) is of particular interest. For domestic experts, this state of affairs is determined by the unprecedented strengthening of the eastern neighbor, both economically and geopolitically, and militarily. Particular attention of Russian and foreign political scientists is drawn to russian-chinese military cooperation, which has made it possible to significantly transform international relations in Northeast Asia (NEA), as well as protect Russia's national interests.

Along with the development of russian-chinese good neighborly relations, the delimitation of the border strip in the 1990s, the signing of the Treaty on Good Neighborliness, Friendship and Cooperation, the military-technical cooperation has also developed significantly, which has become one of the foundations for the stable progressive development of the two countries. The export of arms to China ensured not only the survival of the domestic defense industry, but also the preservation of global competitiveness, and then helped to develop friendly relations with China already in the military-political sphere.

The result of the development of the russian-chinese military-technical cooperation, which covered almost all areas of the production of weapons and military equipment (AME) in the interests of general-purpose forces, was a large-scale rearmament of the Chinese army. Subsequently, military-technical cooperation was transformed from the basis of bilateral relations into one of the aggregate elements of cooperation. In connection with the unlicensed copying of russian

weapons and the constant increase in competition from the chinese military-industrial complex (MIC) in the markets of third countries, the russian leadership began to pay more attention to assessing the risks of supplying military equipment. However, since the 2010s there is a gradual recovery in the volume of military-technical cooperation, since the leadership of the PRC was forced to recognize dependence on Russia for a number of critical components.

The military cooperation between the two countries has also developed, in which military-technical cooperation has taken its usual place since the 2010s. The activities of russian-chinese military cooperation are continuously diversifying: joint exercises are being held on the territory of both countries, beyond their borders and in remote water areas of the World Ocean. Cooperation has been developed within the framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Military-political interaction has received the highest development in upholding common positions in the UN.

At the same time, the change in the balance of power in the modern world, the unstable military-political situation, the «trade wars» between the United States and China, the growing military power of China, sanctions pressure from NATO countries and other threat-forming factors in the future can negatively affect the state of the russian-chinese military cooperation, creating challenges to Russia's national interests.

Thus, the relevance of the dissertation research is due, on the one hand, to the theoretical and, on the other hand, to the practical significance of the problem of ensuring the national security of the Russian Federation through the development of military-technical cooperation with the PRC in the face of unpredictable changes in the international situation.

The problematic situation is that the traditional approaches to the russian-chinese military-technical cooperation are less and less consistent with the nature of bilateral relations. In the event of the termination of military-technical cooperation between the Russian Federation and the PRC, a gradual military-political and then technological satellitization of Russia is possible. It is necessary as soon as possible

to find ways to eliminate this deviation, which, under certain conditions, can reduce Russia's political influence on the world arms market.

Research hypothesis: along with the expansion of the geography of exports of russian weapons, it is necessary to find opportunities for the development of russian-chinese industrial cooperation in the field of military products. The most rational way to implement military-technical cooperation between Russia and China in the future is to jointly develop and finance R&D, which will allow developing the domestic defense industry and improving Russia's position in the global arms market.

The purpose of the dissertation research is to determine the prospects for the development of russian-chinese military-technical cooperation, as well as proposals that contribute to the realization of Russia's national interests in the military-political and military-technical spheres.

To achieve the goal of the study, the postgraduate student identified the following **tasks**:

1. Analyze existing models of military-technical cooperation.
2. Reveal the features of the evolution of the theoretical views of the political leadership of the PRC on the organization of military-technical cooperation with foreign countries.
3. Consider the factors that determine russian-chinese military-technical cooperation.
4. Describe the current state of russian-chinese military-technical cooperation.
5. Identify the problematic issues of the russian-chinese military-technical cooperation.
6. Assess the directions for the development of russian-chinese military-technical cooperation, taking into account Russia's interests in the military-technical field.

The object of the dissertation research is russian-chinese military-technical cooperation.

The subject of the study is the contradiction between the national interests of Russia and the depth of military-technical cooperation with China in the near

future, expressed in the possible military-political and technological satelliteization of Russia, the devaluation of the integral military-technological parity with leading foreign countries and immersion in the world technological periphery.

Theoretical base of the research. Russian-chinese military-technical cooperation is constantly diversifying, in this regard, the graduate student was faced with the need to use a wide range of political science theories. Thus, taking into account the constantly growing interdisciplinarity of scientific research, the theory of the clash of civilizations of S. Huntington was used in the work, which develops at the junction of two directions - the theory of regional space A.B. Karimova and geopolitical regionalism V.V. Karyakin.

With the help of this theory, S.G. Kiselev explains the geopolitical shifts that manifest themselves in the strategies of global powers depending on the current international situation. The application of these theories was required due to the fact that, since 2014, there has been an uncertainty in international relations, which accordingly affects such a generally politicized sphere as military-technical cooperation.

The dissertation continued the elitist theory, in part concerning the patterns of behavioral reactions of the leaders of the Chinese state when organizing the military-technical cooperation of the country, identified on the basis of the principle of sub-ethnic regional groups. So, a Russian sinologist N.N. Vavilov believes that the direction of russian-chinese military-technical cooperation, in general, depends on the personal relations between the leaders of the two countries. In turn, N.V. Karpilenya confirms this thesis, highlighting the decisive role of the elites in terms of ensuring the defense capability of the allied states.

When working on the dissertation, the author, in identifying competition between the Russian Federation and China in the arms markets, relied on the conceptual ideas of domestic and foreign political scientists dedicated to ensuring national security and international relations at different levels: state (J. Nye, V. Buzan, G. Morgenthau); national (A.A. Kokoshin, A.V. Lomanov,

A.A. Prokhozhev), global (V.S. Buyanov, G. Kissinger, A.E. Snegarev) and regional security (A.V. Bolyatko, Yu.M. Galenovich, S.L. Pechurov).

Due to the lack of relevant comprehensive works on the russian-chinese military-technical cooperation, the author considered it necessary to refer to the works that form the basis of the theory of strategic intelligence, which allows carrying out information and analytical work in a limited information base. Thus, in the work of R. Hilsman, the political aspects of the influence of strategic intelligence on decision makers were considered. V. Platt, in his research, based on the methodology of social and natural sciences, developed the principles and methods of information work of strategic intelligence, which were also continued in the psychology of intelligence analysis, the theoretical foundations of which were developed by Richard J. Hoer.

Taking into account the need to predict promising directions for the development of the russian-chinese military-technical cooperation, integration theories were applied in the dissertation, in particular the theory of the military potential of the state (K. Knorr, A.P. Pokazeev), as well as the theory of arms markets that became the basis of the methodology of the world arms trade (K.V. Makienko).

The methodological basis of the thesis was the methodological approaches applied in the course of the study of the model, methods and particular techniques. Systematic, structural-functional, synergistic and identitarian approaches are applied in a complex way in the work. The urgent need for a systematic approach was determined by the fact that the russian-chinese military-technical cooperation does not develop in isolation, but is influenced by a combination of political, social, economic, informational and military factors. For this reason, the graduate student had to go beyond its scope when considering the russian-chinese military-technical cooperation, to analyze the military-technical cooperation of the PRC with other countries.

The need to turn to the structural-functional approach was dictated by the fact that, according to the author of the dissertation, it was necessary to evaluate certain

areas of russian-chinese cooperation in the military-political sphere that have an impact on relations between the two countries. Such areas, in our opinion, include regular joint russian-chinese consultations at the level of defense ministers, military and antiterrorist exercises, joint air and sea patrols in the Asia-Pacific region and the Middle East.

The dissertation research also used a synergistic approach. According to the author, it is he who allows you to objectively explore areas at the intersection of geopolitics, military affairs and economics. According to A.E. Snesev, this approach is characterized by the breadth of the problem statement and the multivariate approach to its solution. The scientist drew attention to the relationship between political and military phenomena, which helps the researcher to establish himself in the understanding that the system of political views and interests determines the goals and nature of the military strategy of any state.

A significant help for the work was the study of models applied in the field of political science research: a dynamic model of ownership on the example of ensuring security in Central Asia, a political science model of bilateral relations, an adaptive model of humanitarian policy, a model for the formation of international transport corridors in a new world order, a model for harmonizing strategy and tactics bilateral relations.

The complex and interdisciplinary nature of the study predetermined the use by the postgraduate student of statistical, historical methods, as well as the method of system analysis in order to identify the theoretical foundations for studying russian-chinese military-technical cooperation. The applicant believes that through their use, more objective conclusions can be obtained. When determining the threat-forming factors for the military-technical cooperation of the Russian Federation and the PRC, the applicant used a comparative analysis, the method of document analysis, and factor analysis. When developing proposals and recommendations for eliminating challenges to military-technical cooperation between the Russian Federation and China, the researcher applied the methods of a selective public

opinion poll, a survey of experts in the field of military-technical cooperation, and extrapolation of stable trends.

The dissertation is based on the principle of historicism, using the historical-genetic method, the essence of which is to consistently detect the properties, functions, changes of the studied reality in the process of its historical movement, which allows you to get as close as possible to the real history of the object.

In addition, the historical-comparative method was used in the study. Based on the chronology of the development of relations between the PRC and the Russian Federation, the periods of development of military-technical cooperation between the two countries were considered.

The work used the case study method, with the help of which the evolution of the formation of the military-technical cooperation of Russia and China in the field of land, aviation (including air defense systems), and naval technology was reconstructed.

Methods were used in the dissertation to sufficiently eliminate the lack of a research base. Thus, in order to determine the prospects for the development of the russian-chinese military-technical cooperation, the foresight technique was used, which is used in the framework of military futurology and brings together the predicted events in the future with the active actions of the interested parties in the present. It includes various scientific methods, such as the Delphi method, trend design, brainstorming, and methods that provide evidence for research results.

The author also relied on the methods used to assess specific areas for the development of military-technical cooperation. Thus, the publicly available part of the methodology used by the Stockholm Peace Institute, which makes it possible to carry out comprehensive calculations of arms transfers in the global system of military-technical cooperation, was studied. When considering issues related to the export of naval equipment from Russia to China, the graduate student also used the method of calculating the sufficient number of ship fleet.

Thus, the results of the analysis of the scientific literature available to a postgraduate student on the problems of modern russian-chinese military-technical

cooperation allow us to conclude that this topic is the object of close attention from the scientific community. At the same time, the political aspects of predicting these relations have not been studied enough in general.

The empirical base of the study was made up of various primary sources of information. The first group of sources included information resources of the Russian, Chinese and American defense departments, public reports of state research institutes that monitor Russia's military-technical cooperation. Particular attention was paid to the analysis of the reporting documents of the FSMTC and the annual reports of the Rostec State Corporation.

The second group included reporting documents from the congresses of the Communist Party of China, documents from the press office of the State Council, the Central Military Council and the Ministry of Defense of the PRC. Their study seems to be necessary for a postgraduate student to analyze in detail the military-doctrinal views of the PRC leadership on the organization of the military-technical cooperation, the issues of transforming the military-technical cooperation of the PRC in the 21st century.

The third group includes the works of Russian and foreign sinological organizations: ISAA MGU, RISI, KISI (Kazakhstan), Project 2049 Center (USA), which make it possible to identify the foundations of cooperation between the China's army and the RF Armed Forces in the military-technical sphere.

The fourth group of sources includes works performed by domestic think tanks covering the subject of military-technical cooperation with foreign countries: the Center for Analysis of Strategies and Technologies, the Center for World Arms Trade, the New Defense Order marketing agency, the Center for Strategic Assessments and forecasts.

Provisions for defense:

1. It was revealed that despite the existence of several models of military-technical cooperation, the most common is the typology based on the motivation of the arms importer. It includes dependent, corrupt, blockade, rational-pragmatic and political models. None of them individually suits Russia in its military-technical

cooperation with China, since the specifics of the chinese arms market determines their integrated use. It is advisable to build a political model of the russian-chinese military-technical cooperation on the basis of Weber's ideal-typical model of the importer's behavior in the arms market and the motivational typology of arms markets.

2. Increasing attention is paid in chinese military-doctrinal documents to the increasing role of military-technical cooperation as a way of influencing the existing balance of power in the Northeast Asian region. The provisions of the Chinese military doctrine were formed in the 80-s. XX century, and, despite changes in the international situation and the position of the country in the system of international relations, have remained unchanged for the fourth decade. China is turning from an importer into an exporter of a wide range of weapons to countries with a poorly developed military industry.

3. The results of the study of the factors influencing the russian-chinese military-technical cooperation showed that the approach of the US military infrastructure using the territories of Japan and the Republic of Korea to the borders of the Russian Federation, the possible destabilization of the situation between individual states of the NEA, the aggravation of regional and global stability are the main factors for the activation of russian-chinese MTC. Other reasons include the buildup of US military contingents in the territories of the Republic of Korea, Japan and the Pacific Ocean in order to put political and military pressure on Russia. One of the directions of Russia's strategy to neutralize these threat-forming factors may be to change the balance of power towards the PRC by intensifying military-technical cooperation.

4. The study of the russian-chinese military-technical cooperation at the present stage of development using the proposed model allows us to conclude that the role of this type of cooperation in relations between the two countries is declining. Since 2013, there has been a process of «replacement» by military cooperation proper of the usual place of military-technical cooperation in russian-chinese relations. The military-technical cooperation of the Russian Federation and the PRC

has gone through several stages: from the export of Soviet weapons systems to China to the implementation of individual developments and orders for special projects of the Chinese defense industry; from the cooperation of chinese engineers with russian design bureaus to the supply of high-tech weapons systems in the interests of Chinese air defense / missile defense.

5. Despite the generally positive scenario for the development of the russian-chinese military-technical cooperation, the experience of cooperation with China suggests that there are challenges to Russia's interests. In the future, the level of technological independence of Russia may fall, and in the foreseeable future the country will be unable to support a wide range of technologies, including those important from a military-technical point of view. The very real factors of the negative scenario also indicate that at present the PRC's defense industry is able to meet the needs of the national armed forces in armaments, having generally eliminated the backlog in the development of the technological base. Thus, the prospects for military-technical cooperation with the PRC can be associated mainly with joint R&D and joint production programs.

6. Consideration of the prospects for the development of the russian-chinese military-technical cooperation showed the existence of mutual interests of the russian and chinese sides in the continuation and diversification of cooperation. Within the framework of the political model of the bilateral military-technical cooperation being studied, the most promising area of cooperation is joint R&D in high-tech areas: the creation of air defense / missile defense systems, 5/6th generation fighters, submarines and spacecraft. The presence of a significant number of areas of joint activity will, on the one hand, provide orders for the enterprises of the domestic defense industry, and on the other hand, shift the balance of power in Northeast Asia towards China, thereby solving the problem of strategic deterrence of the United States.



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