

Contents

Preface	9
Introduction.....	13
I. Theoretical Introduction.....	13
1. Between Neorealism and Constructivism.....	14
2. The Asymmetric Win-Win.....	19
3. The Argument: 17th Century as the Model for Sino-Russian Relations	22
II. The Domestic Determinants of Russia's and China's Policymaking.....	27
1. Historical and Cultural Determinants	27
2. The "Russian Idea".....	29
3. Russia's Great Power Syndrome	32
4. Russia in Asia.....	38
5. China's Sinocentrism.....	42
6. China's (post)Confucianist Ideational Eclecticism.....	44
7. War and Peace by China and Russia	47
8. Two Different Authoritarianisms	49
9. Personalities in Russia-China Relations	50
10. Yeltsin's Russia and his Policy Concepts.....	51
11. Putin and Putinism.....	53
12. Putin and China	55
13. China's Third and Fourth Generation of Leadership.....	61
14. Xi Jinping and his "Chinese Dream".....	63
15. Putin and Xi.....	65
16. "Hot on top, cold at bottom"	67
III. "Democratization of International Relations": International Roles of Russia and China	70
1. "Soft Revisionists"	71
2. "Strategic Screen"	75
3. The USA and Beyond the USA in Russia-China Relations	79
4. Russia's Foreign Policy Goals.....	83
5. China's Foreign Policy Goals.....	86
6. Russia and China in International Organizations, Groups, and Forums	89
7. Alexander Nevsky Paradigm?	92

8. Summary: The Changing International Roles	93
Part One. Geopolitics and Beyond:	
Bilateral Political Relations 1991-2017	95
1. Before 1991: Overshadowed by Russia.....	95
2. From Lack of Interest to Rapprochement.....	96
3. “Strategic Partnership”	101
4. Changed Leadership, Continued Policy Agenda.....	110
5. 11 September 2001	112
6. Putin’s Policy of Balancing Powers	114
7. Towards Rapprochement with China	117
8. The Economic Crisis of 2008 and Its Consequences for Bilateral Relations	126
9. The US Pivot to Asia and Its Impact on Sino-Russian Relations.....	132
10. Xi Jinping and the Intensification of Sino-Russian Relations	135
11. Ukrainian Crisis and China-Russia Relations.....	142
12. Embracing One Belt One Road: the Recent Sino-Russian Relations.....	146
Part Two. Pipelines and Arms: Economic and Military Relations.....	160
I. Economic Relations	160
1. Economic Cooperation in the 1990s.....	160
2. Economic Cooperation in 2000-2017: The Geopolitics of Energy and Beyond.....	166
3. The ESPO Oil Pipeline and the “Power of Siberia” Gas Pipeline.....	168
4. Trade Volume.....	177
5. Summary	183
II. Military Relations.....	184
1. Arms Sales.....	185
2. Military Cooperation, Joint Exercises	194
3. Summary	199
Part Three. China’s Appendix? The Russian Far East	200
1. The Domestic Context.....	200
2. From Open to Closed Borders: The Russian Far East in Russia-China Relations in the 1990s.....	201

3. The Final Demarcation of Russian-Chinese Border	205
4. Chinese Migration to the Russian Far East.....	211
5. Big Plans, Little Results: Russia and the Russian Far East in the 2000s.....	222
6. Pivot to China: The Russian Far East in the 2010s.....	225
 Part Four. Central Asia: Towards Sino-Russian Condominium	233
1. Russia in Central Asia	233
2. China in Central Asia	235
3. Border Issues: "The Shanghai Five".....	238
4. The USA Moves In.....	239
5. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization.....	240
6. Russia's and China's Relations with Central Asian Countries	246
7. Between New Great Game and Sino-Russian Condominium	256
 Part Five. Asia-Pacific: Overshadowed by China.....	262
1. China's and Russia's Profile in Asia-Pacific	262
2. Taiwan.....	264
3. China-Russia Ambiguity in Asia-Pacific.....	266
4. Russia's Balancing Attempts.....	268
5. Japan as the Balancer.....	272
6. The Dream of the Concert of Asia.....	275
7. Russia's Pivot to Asia.....	279
 Summary: The Asymmetric Win-Win.....	283
References.....	295
Index	323