

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background of Problem

Since the World War I until nowadays Russia and China had started their bilateral relations, when they used to be USSR and PRC. Even after the fall of USSR, they tried to build up and solve the relationship problem between them by several pact and peace talk congress. (People's Daily Online 2015)

The bilateral relation between Russia and China continued in 1996, both of them has signed the comprehensive partnership, called as Sino-Russia relation, when a watershed year for Russia's ties with China shows the role of domestics politics in driving "great power relations"(Chen, 2014). To develop the mechanism and dimension of this comprehensive strategic partnership they need until 20 years. This agreement contains the military field of borders areas. Together with Shanghai-5 formation (plus Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan), the framework for both the bilateral and multilateral aspects of the Sino-Russian relationship were created nearly simultaneously.

According to the letter from the permanent representatives of China and the Russian Federation to the United Nation addressed to the Secretary General on May 1996, the two sides believe the exchanges and cooperation between the border areas and regions of the two countries constitute an important part of the relations of good neighborhood lines, friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation between China and the Russian Federation. The two sides stand

ready to make continued joint efforts to provide national support to and facilitate a healthy and orderly development these exchanges and cooperation(Iliev, 2015).

Sino-Russian split in the end of 1960, it caused by the difference of ideology. Both of them have own way of communism, which makes them struggling with each other from 1960 until 1989.

On today, the progression of the countries' relationship in the subsequent two decades remains as steady as it is mysterious. China and Russia have learned to lean on one another, sometimes strategically, and sometimes because they require each other to keep the lights on. As Russia continues to meddle in eastern Ukraine, China has been reticent to respond despite its highly publicized interest in investment there last year. The situation is yet another telltale sign that much of this powerful alliance has been forged and maintained deep behind closed doors (Chen 2014).

Kashin as the Russian journalist and political on his political thought said that Russian-Chinese military cooperation is now stronger than ever, and it has been accelerated by the crisis in Ukraine. Cooperation already includes large-scale military exercises, cooperation in the field of training and education, joint military competitions such as the Tank Biathlon, regular consultations and exchanging of information (Sands, 2015).

The latest sign of closer ties emerged Thursday April 30th, 2015 with the announcements of the first joint naval exercises in the Mediterranean and that Russia will be one of the biggest outside investors in China's proposed

development bank, which the President Obama administration tried to undercut(Sands, 2015).

Both Moscow and Beijing see the world going through an epochal change away from U.S. domination and toward a freer global order that would give China more prominence and Russia more freedom of action. Vladimir Putin and Xi Jin Ping sparked talk of a major change in bilateral relations in April 2014 with the announcement of a 30-year, \$400 billion deal to sell Russian natural gas for the first time to China, followed by the announcement in November of plans to build a second major pipeline to bring Russian oil and gas to Chinese customers(Sands, 2015).

At the time, some portrayed the deals less as an alliance than a desperation move by Vladimir Putin, who is facing international isolation and economic sanctions from the United States and Europe over the clash in Ukraine and Russia's annexation of the Crimean Peninsula. But in 2015 has brought a string of signals that the rapprochement between the two capitals is going much deeper(Sands, 2015).

The others fact that prove Russia and China has cooperation. In March, Russia's state-owned airplane manufacturer announced the production schedule for a joint venture with Commercial Aircraft Corp. of China to build a long-haul wide-bodied commercial airliner by 2025, with the bulk of the \$13 billion project coming from China (Sands, 2015).

Later in April, the other fact that prove China-Russia relations, China became the first foreign customer for the advanced S-400 anti-aircraft missile

system, in a \$3 billion deal set to be completed by 2017. The S-400 sale “underlines once again the strategic level of our relations,” Anatoly Isaikin, chief executive of the state arms exporter Rosoboronexport, told the Russian business newspaper Kommersant (Sands, 2015).

The others fact, the one of investment bank in China, Beijing’s Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank the founding father and major backers coming from Russia. The Russian proposed \$100 billion development bank. People seen this is the counter for the domination United States Bank. The cooperation of Russia and China in banking sector is a collaboration between Beijing and Moscow such as what Rogozin and Chinese vice prime minister discussed. It is kind of “deep mutual understanding and mutual interests” in space-related joint ventures (Sands, 2015).

In February, China and Russia has been think for another cooperation, they had a plan to to boost its cooperation with Russia in a number of spheres, including space. For instance, such as Beijing develops its Long March-9 rocket ahead of the country’s first manned lunar mission by 2028. (Sands 2015)

The various relations between Russia and China such as energy power, joint military power exercise due to U.S, economic cooperation, and then diplomatic relation. In energy power, President Vladimir Putin and his Chinese counterpart, Xi Jinping, agreed on an unprecedented 30-year energy agreement, estimated at \$400bn. The cooperation in energy power is the mutual cooperation that give the mutual benefit for China and Russia(Piet, 2014).

Later another cooperation between China and Russia seen in a deal, Russia's state-owned energy company, Gazprom as the public joint stock company, its holds the world's largest natural gas resources, global energy company, storage, processing and sell of gas and oil has promised to drill new gas fields in Siberia, construct a new 2,500-mile pipeline and ship 1.3 trillion cubic feet of gas each year to the state-owned China National Petroleum Corporation. China will invest \$20 billion and Russia \$55 billion to fund this massive project.(Piet, 2014)

United States worried about the Russia and China relations, this condition explained by Obama's former Defense Secretary Robert Gates. He explain that United States worried that Russia and China are seeking to extend their influence. The perception has grown increasingly around the world that the U.S. is pulling back from the global responsibilities that it has shouldered for many decades. Believe that Russia and China, among others, see that void and are moving to see what advantage they can take of it(Smith 2014).

In another cooperation such as in joint exercise, the two countries deployed Chinese missile destroyer Zhengzhou and Russian missile cruiser Varyag, in addition to 14 vessels, two submarines, nine fixed-wing aircraft, helicopters, Russia's newest fighter aircraft Sukhoi Su-30, China's J-10 fighter jet, as well as special forces of both countries. The exercise, which took place from May 20 through May 26, simulated nine operations, including anchorage defense, maritime assaults, anti-submarine combats, air defense as well as identification, rescue and escort missions.

In the economic aspect, as the United States threatens sanctions against its gas exports to the European Union in relation to the Ukraine crisis, Russia turned to China to speed up their natural gas deal that had stalled for the past ten years. Russia's state-owned Gazprom and China's state-owned CNPC agreed that starting in 2018, Russia will provide China with 38 billion cubic meters of natural gas annually for 30 years. This accounts for 23% of China's gas consumption and 16% of Gazprom exports, and the deal is worth \$400 billion.

Investment for infrastructure construction alone will require Russia and China to put down \$55 billion and \$25 billion respectively and amounts to total \$77 billion. Buoyed by the agreement with China, Russia is now turning its eyes to the rest of Asia and negotiating gas deals with other Asian nations. In a joint statement, the two leaders pledged to increase their bilateral trade volume, currently at \$90 billion, to \$100 billion in 2015 and \$200 billion by 2020. China and Russia agreed to connect China's vision of the "Silk Road" economic belt and Russia's trans-Eurasian rail project, and lead the way in Eurasia's economic development. Furthermore, Russian bank VTB and the Bank of China signed a deal to bypass the dollar and pay each other in their domestic currencies.

Beside that China and Russia also has cooperation in diplomatic, The Russian and Chinese leaders expressed opposition to foreign interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and called on others to "abandon unilateral sanctions," as well as "planning, supporting, financing or encouraging" a change in the constitutional systems of other countries.

China's proposal is a direct counter to U.S. plans for the creation of an "Asian version of NATO" with the U.S.-Japan alliance at its center. Just as NATO targeted the former Soviet Union as its main foe, the Asian version of NATO, as advocated by certain circles in the United States and Japan, is a plan to create a security mechanism in the Asia Pacific region aimed at China and North Korea. China and Russia also agreed to carry out Peace Mission 2014, a multinational anti-terrorism military drill under the Shanghai Cooperation Organization framework, in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region of China from August 24 through 29, 2014. And Chinese president Xi Jinping plans to hold another summit with Russian president Putin at the APEC summit in Beijing in November 2014. It will be the 8th China-Russia summit since Chinese president Xi Jinping took office in March 2013. China and Russia also agreed that in 2015, they will hold various memorial events to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the world anti-fascist war and the Chinese peoples' victory in the anti-Japanese war.

United States hegemony has been the condition of world becomes the United States centrist. In this way, China and Russia are deepening and expanding their cooperation against U.S. hegemony in the areas of politics, military, security, economy, and international affairs. And Northeast Asia is becoming the site of an intensifying power struggle between the United States and his alliance Japan did rebalancing to the Asia Pacific versus China and Russia as rapidly rising as an economic and military power despite U.S. encirclement and containment(birdsfoot 2014).

B. Research Question

Those explanations have referred to the basic question related to this study:

“Why does Russia try to strengthen its relationship with China in 2014?”

C. Theoretical Framework

To help analyzing the problem, the researcher would like to use theories and some concepts below:

1. Concept of Alliances

There is no unifying definition of the concept of alliances. An 'alliance' can broadly understood refer to everything from a cooperation between political parties, military cooperation between states to business cooperation between private companies(Oest, 2007). Even when looking strictly at International Relations literature the concept is defined very differently and at times very widely. It can thus be difficult to define what precisely distinguish an alliance.

In conducting studies of alliances in general and in this paper in specific it is however, important to define a more focused definition of alliances, because this is determining for, which theories that will be included in the review or study. In the following section therefore discuss the first step to characterizing an alliance; how to determine whether a given cooperation can be defined as an alliance. As mentioned in the introduction the point of departure for this working paper is a basic understanding - not definition of alliances - as a form of security cooperation between states.(Oest, 2007)

In order to strengthening and developing the powerful and balance of power of Russia and China to face the US Hegemony, together with all of the aspect in cooperation, Russia and China being alliances. Both Russia and China had the same vision and mission in order to balancing the power of US hegemony in Asia. Russia absolutely has their own national interest, according to the Foreign Policy of Russia in the era of Vladimir Putin.

China is one country in the region is a priority in Vladimir Putin's foreign policy. It can be seen from the focus of foreign policy Putin the country at the beginning of the implementation of the Eurasian policy that prioritizes the improvement of Russia's relations with China. However, relations between the two countries experienced a period of low tide when conflict in 1961 due to a border dispute along around 4370 km for 30 years which led to a military conflict tendless. In the development of relations between the two countries is growing. Russia developing and focusing its cooperation with China in the field of economic and military. Both of these fields is vital field which experienced problems after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

2. Concept Balance of Power

This concept was introduced by Morgenthau, using his principle there are two ways to conduct the balance of power, with offensive purpose and defensive purpose. Both of them has the own same meaning which is for balancing the nation power (Little, 2007). It is the threat of hegemony that promotes occasional

leagues and alliances created with the purpose of opposing the most powerful actor of the system.

Balance is thus the natural, unstable result of constant struggle for survival. In contrast to this interpretation lies the second, *aequilibriumpotentiae* is to be considered as a conscious and common goal of the States involved in the system. From this point of view, denominated associational, great power seek to create a stable mechanism able to implement international security through cooperation and, when necessary, war. Such a definition presume a systematic theoretic reflection from each actor involved in tipping the scales.(Little, 2007).

Thus, the Sinno-Russian bilateral relationship existed in order to maintain the BoP between the Western and the Eastern bloc. Both believe that the equal power between two blocs is very important; otherwise the bigger power holder might be the dictator to other peripheral states. That is why Sinno-Russian tried to strengthen their relations more and more.

D. Hypothesis

Both Russia and China are having the same vision and mission in order to offset the power of United States in giving its influence on the international affairs as in Asia Countries. The consist of vision and mission are joint military, political, economic cooperation, natural gas resources, international cross border areas, and diplomatic relation.

E. Purpose of Writing

Every academic paper has its own purpose of writing, the researcher in this occasion has some purposes to achieve by writing this paper, and they are:

1. This paper is intended as a means to apply theories which the researcher already got from the course, as well as to make deeper understanding of the course the researcher got in the class.
2. This paper is written in order to explain and also to understand more about the aim of Vladimir Putin on developing its relations with China in 2014
3. This paper is also written as the requirement to finish the researcher's study in International Relations Department at Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta in order to get her bachelor degree.

F. Methodology of Research

To finish this undergraduate thesis, the researcher would like to use the qualitative method of research. In this qualitative method of research, data collection methods will be the most applicable. However, there are two types of collecting data collection; those are a primary and secondary. Primary data collection is the data that we collect based on the direct interview from the direct source, whether the person or institution that has relation with case. While, the secondary data collection is the way how to collect the data based on the media research. It could be library research, internet, website and others media to collect the data, including to find reference and to accomplish explanation of the problem.

After the data was collected, the research comes in to the data analysis. Here, the researcher checks for the relevancy in order to use as the sources in final paper arrangement. The analysis of the research is divided into two types; they are causality and the descriptive analysis. This thesis will use the descriptive analysis, where at first, this thesis will describe about the background and the general description about the aim of Vladimir Putin on developing its relations with China in 2014. After describing the main problem, it will go to the deeper analysis in order to prove the hypothesis.

G. Scope of Writing

In order to focus to this research, the researcher tries to limit this research when Russia and China start the bilateral relation relationship in 2014.

H. Organization of Writing

In this thesis, the researcher divided the topic into several chapters based on the order of the writing.

- Chapter One will be an introduction of the thesis. In introduction, it consists of several parts that will be guide to the introduction of the problem. Started from problem background, purpose of the writing, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, methods of writing, scope and writing and the last is the system of writing itself.
- Chapter Two will explain about the relation between Russia and China more deeply from the beginning of its relation until 2014. Both China and Russia had started their bilateral relations ever since the first relation since they used to be USSR and PRC.

- Chapter Three the discussion will continue to explain process of the strengthening US influence in Asia. This is answer the question why, Russia and China being cooperated together to balancing the US hegemony power.
- Chapter Four will be the reasons why Russia embraces China as the alliance in most of the aspects of Russia's diplomatic relationship.
- While Chapter Five will be the conclusion.