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研究課題名(和文) 中露関係の新展開：「友好」レジーム形成の総合的研究

研究課題名(英文) New Developments in Sino-Russian Relations: Comprehensive Research on Strategic Partnership

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研究成果の概要(和文)：本研究の多角的な分析の結果明らかになったのは、米国を中国と対抗させたいというロシアの長期的な思惑が、成功に向けて前進したことである。中国は、ロシアと必要以上に接近しないように努めていた。しかし、ロシアは「一帯一路」構想や中国の軍事発展において中心的に関与した。また、世界の中で影響力を強めようとする中国をロシアは常に支持してきた。中露の接近の結果、それまでに主要な敵対国をロシアと考えていた米国は、短期間のうちにその視線をシフトし、中国を友好的ではない国とみなすようになっていった。中国はあくまで米国の挑戦を受けて立つ姿勢を崩していないが、これらの展開はロシアの思惑通りといえる。

研究成果の学術的意義や社会的意義

This research is important for understanding the dynamics of Japan's two largest neighbors on the Asian continent. Both of them have complicated contemporary relations with Japan, as well as well-honed historical disagreements.

研究成果の概要(英文)： This research project collected data on areas of Russo-Chinese cooperation and friction in order to evaluate the chances for rapprochement or even alliance in the next ten years under the Putin and Xi leaderships. In coordination with the National Institute for the Humanities Northeast Asia project, a symposium was held in Sapporo in summer 2018 on "Northeast Asia's Faultline: One Hundred Years of Sino/Russian/Soviet Competitive Cooperation." Papers are being edited for a special issue of Eurasian Border Review.

The most important analytical result of this project is the conclusion that despite China's caution about getting too close to Russia, Moscow's steady support on key issues has led, in a very short time, to the US shift from thinking of Russia as the main enemy to a new and unfriendly focus on China. Although China appears to hold the strong hand, Russia's long-term interest of pitting the US against the PRC has made progress.

研究分野：国際関係

キーワード：alliance China Russia borders economics politics diplomacy history

様式 C - 19、F - 19 - 1、Z - 19、CK - 19 (共通)

#### 1 . 研究開始当初の背景:

First stage: When this research project began, Donald Trump had just been elected US President and showed an affinity for authoritarian countries. It was expected that relations would improve with either Russia or China, but in fact neither has occurred.

#### 2 . 研究の目的

Goal: The goal of this research project was to collect data on areas of Russo-Chinese cooperation and friction in order to evaluate the chances for rapprochement or even alliance in the next ten years under the Putin – Xi leaderships. Along these lines, Kaken B members evaluated the historical roots since 1945 of Russo-Chinese dynamics, including the failed alliances, while conducting multidisciplinary analysis of sectors in favor or against closer relations, as well as the likely winners and losers of positive and negative shifts in bilateral ties.

#### 3 . 研究の方法

Methods: The specialness of Kaken B is in its interdisciplinary, cross-generational approach to understanding the long-term potentialities in the Sino-Russian relationship. Our members come from three generations of Japanese scholars, born in four decades from the 1940s to the 1970s. All have lived in both Russia and China, where they have experienced as well as studied Russia's dramatic decline and China's stunning rise. All have made use of interview techniques as well as archival materials in their research to understand how the present shapes the understanding of the past and the past creates present opportunities.

#### 4 . 研究成果

During the past four years of Kaken B research, the Sino-Russian strategic partnership has maintained close relations between Russia and China, while continuing to avoid any suggestion that it has or could evolve into an "alliance." Research by Kaken B buntansha and kenkyukyorokusha has probed the relationship from several angles in order to understand better both where improvements and deteriorations in the relationship might come from. Additionally, historical analysis of Russo-Chinese relations in the 20<sup>th</sup> century has been used to reveal both long-term continuities and discontinuities.

At the highest levels, Presidents Putin and Xi have been exceptionally close. President Putin has visited China and met with President Xi every year since this study began. He visited twice in 2016 and 2017. In return, President Xi has made seven visits to Russia since he became President of China in 2012. In addition, numerous "sideline" visits have taken place at international leadership events, such as the G20, Belt and Road Initiative and Shanghai Cooperation Organization summits. At large events with many heads of state, in official pictures President Putin and Xi are always next to each other. In 2018, the year in which Xi Jinping's term limits were removed from the Chinese constitution, Putin and Xi, now both effectively presidents-for-life, met three times. There have been no leaks regarding their personal conversations, leaving the level of discussion and coordination open to surmise, but making clear the high level of security and confidentiality in which these meetings take place.

In the economic sphere, the years 2014 to 2016 saw the collapse of world oil prices, followed by the devaluation of the Russian ruble by nearly 50%. Many noticed that the value of Sino-Russian trade fell significantly in 2015 and 2016, but since much of Russian export is petroleum-related, the fall did not indicate any drastic change and actually led to future increases, as China made efforts to increase the volume of imports to prevent Russian deficits from growing too large. The Chinese party leaders understand well that balance is important to maintain a good partnership with their Number One Partner. In 2018, the two-way trade total topped 100 billion for the first time. Most of this trade simply passes through the Russian Far East (RFE), although the projected completion of the Sila Sibiri (Power of Siberia) gas pipeline with an LNG-plant at its terminus in Vladivostok would represent the first time that Russia's huge energy exports resulted in new jobs, permanently located in the RFE (excluding Sakhalin).

These issues lead directly to Kaken B's evaluation of the local level along the Russo-Chinese border. Here the data is more complex and some contradictions apparent. Although Moscow has announced grand plans and various programs to develop the RFE, actual investments from the federal budget have fallen short. Hope that Chinese investment might cover the gap did not materialize under the 2009-2018 border development agreement, but Xi Jinping's first time appearance at the Eastern Economic Forum in Vladivostok in fall 2018 may mean that China will step up its RFE investment. A new agreement promises to finally complete the cross-border transport links that have been deferred during thirty years of negotiations.

On symbolic levels, the partnership has deepened. Two victory parades in 2015 saw both Presidents side-by-side, victorious again over Japan, but with the US conspicuously absent. Both in Moscow and Beijing, the "non-alliance" celebrated victory over the enemy against whom they had been allied in 1945 and again in 1950. Their joint military drills, both on land and at sea, have been extravagant affairs. Mutual aid on hardware and mutual drills against an imaginary common enemy would suggest how one might see this partnership as an "alliance" in all but name. In 2019, the Russian press was relatively quiet about the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of bloody border clashes with the Chinese, while the Chinese internet censor continues to block all discussion regarding the phrase "Outer Manchuria" (*Wai Man*), the Southern tier of the RFE, annexed from China in 1860. Central government control of mass communications on both sides keeps potentially uncomfortable news, both past and present, out of sight.

In military affairs, Russia has increased sales to China, including new advanced weapons not available before, the S-400 anti-aircraft system and SU-35 fighter jets. But China's main military focus in recent years has been the navy and Russia's contributions in this area, in particular submarining, are even more appreciated by the Chinese. The 2016 joint anti-submarine exercises conducted by Russia and China in the South China Sea (SCS) would certainly suggest this scenario and symbolic support for China's claims to most of the SCS as territorial waters. With its northern land borders calm, China has every opportunity to pursue its destiny to the south and out to sea. With no land-based challengers on the horizon, China can focus budget on the Navy.

Both the sharing of top-secret military know-how and support for China's aspirations in the SCS could only be made at the highest levels, clearly pointing China in one strategic direction. The most important analytical result of this project is the conclusion that despite China's caution about getting too close to Russia, Moscow's central involvement in the Belt and Road Initiative and in China's key military developments, as well as steady support for Chinese assertiveness on the world scene, has led, in a very short time, to the US shift from thinking of Russia as the main enemy to a new and unfriendly focus on China. Although China appears to hold the strong hand, Russia's long-term interest of pitting the US against the PRC has made progress.

## 5 . 主な発表論文等

[雑誌論文](計4件)

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3. David Wolff, Shinji Yokote and Willard Sunderland, eds., *Russia’s Great War and Revolution in the Far East: Re-imagining the Northeast Asian Theater, 1914-22* (Bloomington, IN: Slavica, 2018), 404pp.

## 6 . 研究組織

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