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研究課題名（和文）中国とロシアによる政治レバレッジとしての経済的相互依存のパターンに関する比較研究

研究課題名（英文）A comparative analysis of Chinese and Russian use of economic interdependence as political leverage

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研究成果の概要（和文）：本研究の目的は、経済的相互依存と政治レバレッジと政治体制の関係を、理論的かつ実証的に明らかにすることにあった。本研究では非民主主義国家に着目した。とりわけ中国とロシアを取り上げ、いかに相互依存状況の非対称性を政治レバレッジとして用いて関係諸国の行動に影響を与えようとするのか、その「モダリティ(様態)」に最大の関心事とした。具体的に、比較研究の視点を採用することにより、ロシアと中国がどの程度、どのような条件でこれを利用する意図や能力が非民主主義国家にあり、政治目的に転用されるのかという点を明らかにした。

研究成果の学術的意義や社会的意義

中国とロシアのパターンに焦点を当てた比較研究がこれまでにあまり見られない現代の国際関係研究においては、中国とロシアの対外行動に関する一定した解釈がなく、議論が続けられており、本研究の成果は進行中のこれらの議論に貢献できると考えられる。ロシアと中国には共通点が多いが、両国が国力を投じて経済的または軍事的手段を使用する方法にはアプローチの違いがあり、本研究で理論的および実証的に解明できたと考える。さらに、二国間・地域間・グローバルな文脈における中国とロシアの行動パターンに関する動向や展望を見極めようとする将来の研究においても、本研究の成果は有用な基礎となると考える。

研究成果の概要（英文）：This research examined the linkage between economic interdependence, political leverage and regime type. It was mainly concerned with the modalities in which asymmetric interdependence can be used as a source of power and political leverage by non-democratic to influence the behaviour of other countries and the consequences of this aspect. Concretely, the research examined in a comparative way the process and mechanisms through which China and Russia employ economic interdependence as a tool to advance their preferences and achieve desired political ends. It clarified how, to what extent, in which conditions and with what consequences Russia and China are able and willing to exploit potential economic asymmetries existing in their relationship with democratic countries to preserve or to obtain strategic goals.

研究分野：国際関係

キーワード：経済的相互依存 政治レバレッジ 非民主主義国家 中国 ロシア

#### 1. 研究開始当初の背景

In general, liberalist credits economic interdependence as a source of stability in interstate relations, arguing that increased flows of goods, investments and people create a web of links between states, making them less willing to initiate and escalate conflicts with their partners. The policies promoted by democratic states toward Russia and China after the end of the Cold War were based on the deep belief that economic interdependence and integration into existing frameworks of cooperation, such as WTO, would be conducive to a cooperative environment and pave the way for the acceptance of liberal norms and institutions. Scholars have argued that China and Russia would become co-interested in maintaining the status quo because the existing international order would provide them access to trade, investment, and technologies, and the current rules offered them tools to protect their interests.

#### 2. 研究の目的

This research examined the linkage between economic interdependence, political leverage and regime type. It was mainly concerned with the modalities in which asymmetric interdependence can be used as a source of power and political leverage by non-democratic to influence the behavior of other countries and the consequences of this aspect. Concretely, the research examined in a comparative way the process and mechanisms through which China and Russia employ asymmetric interdependence as a tool to advance their preferences and achieve desired political ends in international affairs.

#### 3. 研究の方法

The research examined China and Russia's dyadic relationship with selected countries which were classified based on their regime type and economic level, focusing on a period spanning over 17 years, from 2000 until 2017. Methodologically, extensive statistical data and case studies were collected and examined using quantitative and qualitative methods. Political leverage was defined along a broad spectrum of 17 mechanisms classified and codified in three big categories. A causal model between economic interdependence and political leverage was created and used to analyze how different leverage mechanisms were concretely employed and with what results. The information, which comes exclusively from public sources, was classified and analyzed using the data management software NVivo.

#### 4. 研究成果

Theoretically, the research showed that an approach that blends in competing realist elements could better explain existing realities than the liberalist argument. This research found that while the policies promoted by democratic states toward China and Russia were based on the assumption that economic interdependence and integration would lead to a stable and cooperative environment, in reality, the consequences were somewhat unexpected and paradoxical. Benefiting from the economic interdependence and cooperation did not make China less assertive or Russia less aggressive, nor have led to the complete acceptance of liberal norms and institutions. Contrary, they have exploited the "grey zones" within the existing international order and transformed economic interdependence into political leverage not only over smaller or weaker neighbors but over well-developed and powerful states alike.

The findings revealed that increasing economic interdependence has provided Russia and China with new opportunities and tools to achieve desired results and show resolve while reducing their need to engage in a direct military conflict with more powerful states. They have been able to expand their footprint in critical sectors and refine their coercive tools with the final aim of achieving strategic goals. Although their goals of pursuing their own development and strengthening their regional and global leadership might be seen as legitimate goals, the modality in which they try to achieve them brings significant risks to other major economies and has negative consequences for the existing rule-based international economic order.

Empirically, the research clarified how, to what extent, in which conditions and with what consequences Russia and China are able and willing to exploit potential economic asymmetries existing in their relationship with democratic countries to preserve or obtain strategic goals. A significant part of these findings is being submitted for publication in 2024.

Becoming economically interdependent with democratic states and operating in cooperation frameworks based on liberal rules made Russia and China more exposed to democratic diffusion and external pressure. Seeing how growing interdependence poses significant risks for their authoritarian consolidation and autonomy in bilateral and international affairs, both adopted policies and strategies to tip the balance in their favor using asymmetries in the economic relationship. Therefore, material asymmetric power was used to moderate democratic diffusion by increasing state autonomy and acting as a deterrent against potential pressure for democratization.

In addition, the findings show that although economic statecraft plays an essential role in their international strategies, both have shown a particular eagerness to exploit asymmetric interdependence with specific countries deliberately. It was revealed that both countries were not only willing (due to the increased domestic and external pressure for democratization) but also more able (due to domestic structural conditions) to develop asymmetries in their relationship with their democratic “partners”. In several cases, their economic strategies aimed to maximize their strategic autonomy while minimizing their exposure in economic partnerships with democracies. At least four domestic structural factors have been instrumental in facilitating the use of asymmetric economic interdependence as political leverage. However, due to problems created by the pandemic and regional developments, collecting necessary data was relatively challenging, creating some delays in the analysis and publication of the results. A significant part of these findings is being submitted for publication in 2024.

In addition, besides domestic factors, external factors have also facilitated the capacity of China and Russia to maximize their leverage. Among several external factors identified, economic opportunism and divergent perceptions among democratic countries regarding potential risks and opportunities created by their relationship with China and Russia played a significant role.

The rapid spread of new technologies and communication systems, business internationalization, and the growing integration of capital and financial markets created new domains in which asymmetric interdependence was developed. The asymmetries were observed not only at the aggregate economic level but also in sectorial domains and across critical networks. Both countries attempted to maximize their autonomy by employing traditional economic tools, as well as by supporting domestic entities to achieve competitive superiority in particular fields and gain control over significant nodes in critical networks.

Finally, the findings revealed that even though China and Russia share many things in common, the modalities in which they project power and employ economic statecraft indicate a variation in their approaches created mainly by domestic factors.

5. 主な発表論文等

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掲載論文のDOI（デジタルオブジェクト識別子） 10.17477/jcea.2021.20.2.129	査読の有無 有
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〔産業財産権〕

〔その他〕

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6. 研究組織

氏名 (ローマ字氏名) (研究者番号)	所属研究機関・部局・職 (機関番号)	備考

7. 科研費を使用して開催した国際研究集会

〔国際研究集会〕 計0件

8. 本研究に関連して実施した国際共同研究の実施状況

共同研究相手国	相手方研究機関