APPENDIX
Summary of Interviews with Scholars

1. Prof. Bolyatko (military and security specialist) 1 October, 2003

During the post Cold War period from 1991 to 2000 Russia took new positions in the foreign policy. In the Cold War time, Russia was preparing for a nuclear war. After the cold war foreign policy changed. Russia started a new kind of relations with United States a NATO. Naturally good relations with India and China continued.

The fist Military Doctrine was formulated in 1993. Corrections were in foreign policy and Military Doctrines of 2000 and in the post cold war period ie. From 2000 or 9/11 Russia is in the process of making a new foreign policy and military planning. The factors that contributed to the new doctrines are that Russia can now understand its national interests well. 10 years before this was not the case. There was debates in Russia while one group of persons favoured aligning with the west, another group favoured east ward direction or both the directions. Now, Russia identified that its national interests lie in harmony with United States, South of Russia and Arab world.

Russia’s defence sales policy is mainly economic. It doesn’t have resources to procure weapons. To keep alive these industry sales is essential.

Russia considers it important in having relations with US and EU. The US is trying to unipolarize the world. It is dangerous why? It makes the world unstable. It brings instability to mankind. Russia believes that UN as an international
organisation should be the agency to resolve international issues although some say UN’s role is gone.

Cooperation with NATO is growing and with EU in the economic sphere. Russia joining NATO will have advantages and disadvantages. It may take three years for Russia to join NATO.

Between Russia and China there is defence and political relations, economic relations lag. It is necessary to improve economic relations. In 1989, I led the delegation to negotiate with China and in 1996 confidence building agreements were signed. In 1997 border agreements and decreasing forces were signed by Russia and Central Asian States bordering with China. Every year, there is $1 billion worth weapon sale to China.

Building up of a new aircraft say for 10 years is impossible for Russia considering the difficulties Russia is having. US and EU is developing new aircrafts (f-35). Russia can only make improvements on Su-27, Su-30 is only an improved version of Su-27 which is equal to the F-15/F-16. Person interviewed is rather pessimistic about building new aircrafts.

From the very beginning, China’s nuclear facility is developed by Russia. Currently, one nuclear plant is under construction which may take three years to complete. One more is going to be built. The Chinese delegation was in the institute four days before to discuss the matter. The current ones are for civilian use only.

There is no joint production of weapons. Russia gives licenses to China to produce it. There are more common interests now than 10 years before.
Our Chinese friends are not satisfied with US-NATO presence in Asia. But, what happened when Russians forces withdraw from Afghanistan? It led to the growth of Taliban. So force is required in the transitional stage. Russia can adapt to the new situations now. Even though Russia has problems with other countries, it is adopting with the problem.

Russia’s foreign policy is based on its national interests, but what constitutes these national interest changes. Therefore, a change in political leadership will obviously bring changes in its interests. Russia is doing everything to bring down the differences between India and China.

Incidentally, prof.Bolyatko told that the idea of Russia-India-China triangle lost its relevance currently. Prof. Also noted improvement of Indo-US relations.

2. Prof. Boris Kulik, 13 October, 2003

The internal factors that influence Russia-China relations are

(1) Economic
(2) Security
(3) Ideology

Economically, both Russia and China are useful to each other. Russia can give what China has not and China can give what Russia has not. This is the basis or foundations of the relationship.

Secondly, Russia is developed in technology. This prompts China to develop relations.
Thirdly, Russia is the only country that gives modern weapons to China. So Russia is highly valuable for China.

(4) Historically, there was intensive cooperation. This experience can be used to advance the relations.

(5) Both the countries are neighbours not only that they can cooperated but they must cooperate.

(6) Objective conditions also exist for cooperation. During the Soviet period also there existed cooperation in the Amur region.

China’s Western region, Xinjiang is underdeveloped. Russia can help solve the Xinjiang’s backwardness. Russian industrial output may not have markets in Europe or may not be good for them. But, for China it is useful and there is a market. Thus, there is an objective necessity for cooperation.

Both the countries are facing the same problems of transition to the market economy. China has become much more advanced in economic sphere. Market economy has already formed there. Russia can use the Chinese experiences for its development especially the Chinese establishment of free trade zones.

Both Russians and Chinese have similar features in their mentality collectivism etc. ie. to safeguard state interests more than individual interests. The Europeans criticize this aspect in the name of Human rights. But, attitude of Russia and China towards Human rights is similar. For the people of Russia and China state was the thing they look upon or depend on. In case of any problems they think that state will help. For Russia has a long territory. The distance from Moscow to Vladivostock is very long. So, state has an important role to play. For China also this is true.
The thinking of common man in Russia is still as a Soviet human being. The majority look to China with sympathy. Common men don’t want China to be a capitalist country.

As long as China is socialist, it will be more friendly to Russia. If it becomes a full-fledged market economy, its relations with Russia worsen.

China, if it becomes a capitalist country can demand Mongolia. A capitalist government in China may derecognize the treaties also it had signed with Russia. So, it is in Russia’s interest that China remains socialist.

External factors

(1) China’s struggle with US. Even a US-China was cannot be ruled out.

(2) Russia is the only country valuable for China as it has nuclear power. So.

China is more interested in relations with Russia

In US-China relations Taiwan is a solid issue. Russian position is very important for China. Russia supports Chinese position.

The contradictions between China and US is greater than between US and Russia.

Why Russia is important for us?

It is a nuclear power

Strategic partnership with China

Both Russia and China has similar positions in International relations

Both stands for increased role of UN, Multipolar world

Attitude to Iraq problem was same.

Korean issues also the attitude of Russia and China similar. Russia is again back to Korean issues.

Problems
China is market oriented. So profit orientation. Strategic partnership facilitates not only economic cooperation, but also political. Even if profit is less, strategic partnership implies taking consideration of other relevant factors favouring the partner. Chinese do not do so. In tenders and all, China stick to market principle. If Germany or France offers one percent more, it goes in favour of it. They don’t consider we are partners.

Oil trade- Russia will satisfy both Japan and China

China wants Russia as a source of raw materials. We don’t want so. We want to give industrial goods also.

Infiltration is considered a problem by some but it is an exaggeration by media to raise patriotic feelings. The common people also think it as a threat. China says it is your problem. If you don’t like it, you should bloc them. It is your responsibility. professor Kulik agrees to this view.