

**IMPACT OF THE UKRAINE WAR ON  
CHINA-RUSSIA RELATIONS (II):  
THE PROSPECT OF A SINO-RUSSO  
ALLIANCE**

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## Executive Summary

1. The Russia-Ukraine War has sped up or even radicalised several geopolitical and geoeconomics trends in the world, which are all trending either away or against globalisation. The world is entering an era of uncertainty and re-organisation. The possible emergence of a Sino-Russo alliance will be a major part of this process.
2. The context of China-Russia entente is America's strategic pivot to Asia and NATO's eastward expansion. Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi drew a parallel between NATO's eastward expansion and America's alliance building and hedging activities in the Indo-Pacific: "The real goal of the US . . . is to establish an Indo-Pacific version of NATO". The pressure may be driving the two giants together.
3. The two states question the value assumptions of the liberal international order and the disastrous consequences of America's promotion of democracy around the world. Both are averse to liberal political correctness on issues such as racial and gender equality, same-sex marriage, homosexuality, mass immigration, and have taken draconian measures to crack down on the spread of liberal ideas domestically.
4. China-Russia relations may be called an "offensive partnership" that has the potential of developing into an alliance—not necessarily in the military sense but rather in its concerted effort to push for an alternative world order. On 24 May, Xi Jinping launched his Global Security Initiative, a major step to put into action the common views expressed by the Xi-Putin Joint Statement on 4 February.
5. Chairman of the Joint Staff General Milley labelled Russia and China "revisionist" states. In his China policy speech, Secretary of State Blinken declared China as the "most serious long-term threat to world order" and "the only country with both the intent to reshape the international order and, increasingly, the economic, diplomatic, military and technological power to do it".

6. This fixation on China explains China's determination to strengthen ties with Russia, especially military ties, as the latter becomes more dependent on China for economics, trade and technology. An alliance cannot be ruled out or taken lightly.
7. Should they join force, they will bring together two of the most formidable ground forces in the world, the second and the third nuclear forces, two space powers, two of the largest air forces and two large and rapidly developing navies, one-quarter of the world's population, and the second largest economy and the largest resources-rich landmass in the world.
8. However, a Sino-Russo alliance would be shallow due to its racial and cultural differences. It would lack the deeper cultural identity of NATO and is unlikely to support sovereignty integration like the EU.
9. Russia and China's joint promotion of alternative constitutional principles of world order is perhaps more subversive than a formal alliance. It is the embodiment of alternatives in their joint effort and their combined capability that make their collaboration a potent force for change, with or without a formal alliance.