



Routledge Handbook of Chinese and Eurasian International Relations

Mher Sahakyan

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ROUTLEDGE
HANDBOOKS



Routledge Handbook of Chinese and Eurasian International Relations

Edited by Mher Sahakyan

In a world defined by turbulent interactions between multiple orders, China is emerging as a major hub for the flow of power, ideas, and practices of international political and economic relations. As Beijing's outreach is not only burgeoning in the world's remotest corners but also eyeing the depths of outer space, there is an urgent need for solid knowledge of its content, patterns, and trajectories. The *Routledge Handbook of Chinese and Eurasian International Relations* edited by Mher Sahakyan responds to this demand by offering a compelling, thoughtful, and granular analysis of the full spectrum of China's investments, initiatives, and infrastructure ventures across the Eurasian expanse. Stretching from the Euro-Atlantic to the Indo-Pacific, the contributions to Sahakyan's collection make a powerful case that it is in the complex Eurasian environments that China's ambitions simultaneously shape and are shaped by an array of local actors and external powers. Drawing on detailed case studies, commanding knowledge, and engaging research, the volume provides a detailed account of the current likely future directions of China's growing footprint around the world. Owing to its timely insights and impressive empirical scope, this handbook will be an invaluable resource for scholars, diplomats, business people, and students.

Professor Emilian Kavalski, *NAWA Chair Professor of Complex Systems Centre for International Studies and Development Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. Book Series Editor for Routledge's "Rethinking Asia and International Relations" series.*

The *Handbook of Chinese and Eurasian International Relations* provides a grounded analysis of the complex nuances and perspectives on the contentious and fluid geopolitics and political economy centring in the Eurasian continent's regions. The sections that contain contributions from locally based researchers are especially helpful. My congratulations to the editor, Dr Mher Sahakyan, and the expert contributors for adding a timely addition to the literature on this important dimension of international relations and development.

Professor Linda Chelan Li,
Director, Research Centre for Sustainable Hong Kong, City University of Hong Kong, China.

It is critically important for decision-makers, businesses, scholars, and other international actors to understand the emerging Multipolar World Order 2.0, and the bold *Routledge Handbook of Chinese and Eurasian International Relations* makes an important contribution with its wide scope and timely analysis of China's emerging

role in Eurasian politics, economy, and high-technology spheres. The diversity of authors makes this handbook a reliable source, as it includes research of accomplished scholars from Western, Eastern, Northern, and Southern leading universities and think tanks.

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*Vice Chair of the UN ESCAP Sustainable Business
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Center for China and Globalization.*

ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF CHINESE AND EURASIAN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The *Routledge Handbook of Chinese and Eurasian International Relations* explores China's relations with the Eurasian continent's regions and countries in a multipolar era, providing an equal and balanced platform for scholars and practitioners from East, West, North, and South. This diversity enriches the contribution, giving it a dynamic ability to examine sources in different languages and cover a vast geography.

Divided into ten parts, this handbook analyses the major powers in a Multipolar World Order; China's political and economic interests in post-Soviet Eurasia, Middle East, Europe, Asia-Pacific, and Arctic; and China's relations with the US, Russia, Eurasian Economic Union, NATO and other players. International technology and environmental experts consider the impact of the Belt and Road Initiative, along with other international economic and transport corridors, and examine China's multilateral relations and Digital Silk Road and e-governance roles. The *Routledge Handbook of Chinese and Eurasian International Relations* also contains official documents detailing the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and several European and Asian states, making it an authoritative source on diplomatic affairs.

This groundbreaking book will be of interest to policymakers, businessmen, scholars, and students of international relations, area studies, cybersecurity and digitalization, economics and the politics of international trade, security studies, foreign policy, global governance, international organizations, and environmental studies.

Mher Sahakyan is the editor of *Routledge Handbook of Chinese and Eurasian International Relations* and *China and Eurasian Powers in Multipolar World Order 2.0: Security, Diplomacy, Economy and Cybersecurity*, which Routledge published in 2024 and 2023. He is the editor of *China and Eurasia: Rethinking Cooperation and Contradictions in the Era of Changing World Order*, published by Routledge in September 2021. He is the author of the book *China's Belt and Road Initiative and Armenia*, published in Armenian and Russian. It was shortlisted by the International

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PREFACE IN CHINESE

中文序言

随着中国崛起、中美地缘政治紧张局势加剧、俄乌战争等地缘政治因素的转变，中国与欧亚之间的关系正发生迅速而复杂的演变。一带一路倡议有效地增进了中国与欧亚国家之间互联互通和经济合作。然而，社会各界对于中国在欧亚地区不断增加影响力的现实仍存在各种各样的批评和质疑。

《Routledge Handbook of Chinese and Eurasian International Relations》对中国与欧亚关系进行跨国界、跨学科的全面剖析。该书总共分为十个部分，包含30个章节，集结了欧亚各国学者的努力共同探索“新的世界秩序下中国与欧亚大陆向何处去”的主题。《Routledge Handbook of Chinese and Eurasian International Relations》可被视为劳特利奇（Routledge）出版的《China and Eurasian Powers in a Multipolar World Order 2.0》的续作。两本书皆由亚美尼亚“中国—欧亚战略研究中心”主任麦哈尔·萨哈基扬（Mher Sahakyan）博士主编，所以主题和内容有相当的连贯性。新书不仅对原有主题进行了原创和及时的更新，例如涉及中国在俄罗斯、乌克兰、中亚、南亚、东亚、东南亚、中东和欧洲地区的利益和战略，还引入了许多新兴话题，包括环境治理和高科技发展，使得新书更加全面和完整。这两本书共同构成了一本全面指南，非常适合对中国与欧亚关系与一带一路感兴趣的国际关系研究人员，商人，外交人员和决策人同时也可作为本科和研究生课程的教材。最后，衷心感谢麦哈尔·萨哈基扬博士常年累月辛勤付出和出色领导，感谢研究团队的真诚贡献，同时也要感谢劳特利奇出版集团的大力支持。

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PREFACE IN ENGLISH

The relationship between China and Eurasia is entering a new phase as significant geopolitical events such as the rise of China, escalating geopolitical tensions between China and the United States, and the ongoing Russia-Ukraine conflict introduce unprecedented and multifaceted transformations to the continent. In particular, China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has played a significant role in enhancing connectivity and fostering economic cooperation between China and Eurasian countries. However, China's expanding influence in Eurasia has encountered a range of criticisms and skepticism from various segments of society, including concerns regarding financial sustainability, environmental harms, and socio-political consequences.

The *Routledge Handbook of Chinese and Eurasian International Relations* offers a timely and comprehensive analysis that transcends borders and disciplines to examine China's relations with Eurasia. The book showcases the collaborative work of scholars from Eurasia, encompassing ten sections and 30 chapters that provide a comprehensive exploration of the trajectory of China-Eurasia relations within the context of the new world order. The book can be seen as a sequel to *China and Eurasian Powers in a Multipolar World Order 2.0*, which was also published by Routledge. Dr. Mher Sahakyan, Director of the China-Eurasia Centre for Strategic Studies in Armenia, serves as the editor for both books, ensuring the logical coherence in their themes and content. The new book not only provides a timely update on the previously covered topics, such as China's interests and strategies in Russia, Ukraine, Central Asia, South Asia, East Asia, South-East Asia, the Middle East, and Europe, but also introduces several new topics. The inclusion of new subjects such as environmental governance and high-tech development significantly enhances the book's comprehensiveness. These two books, when considered together, provide a useful guide for a range of audiences, including international relations scholars, business professionals, diplomats, policymakers, as well as serving as valuable textbooks for undergraduate and graduate programs. Finally, I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to Dr. Mher Sahakyan for his dedicated efforts and exceptional leadership,

Preface in English

to the research team for their valuable contributions, and to Routledge for their professional support throughout the process.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A2/AD	Anti-access and area-denial
AAGC	Asia-Africa Growth Corridor
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AI	Artificial Intelligence
AIIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
AKP	Justice and Development Party
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEM	Asia-Europe Meeting
AUKUS	Australia, United Kingdom, United States
BCIMEC	Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor
BIS	Bank for International Settlements
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BRF	Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
BRIGC	BRI Green Development Coalition
BTK	The Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway
C+C5	China + Central Asia
C5+1	US + Central Asia
C5+J	Central Asia + Japan
CAC	Cyberspace Administration of China
CCAC	Central Cyberspace Affairs Commission
CCAWAEC	China-Central Asia-West Asia Economic Corridor
CDB	China Development Bank
CEEC	Central and Eastern European Countries Cooperation
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CETC	China Electronics Technology Group Corporation
China-CEEC	Cooperation China and Central and Eastern European Countries

Abbreviations

	Cooperation
CIPEC	China-Indochina Peninsula Economic Corridor
CICA	Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CM	Port China Merchants Port Holdings Company Limited
CMREC	China-Mongolia-Russia economic corridor
CNOOC	China National Offshore Oil Company
CNPC	China National Petroleum Corporation
COMCASA	Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement
COSCO	China Ocean Shipping (Group) Company
CPC	Communist Party of China
CPEC	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
CSGs	carrier strike groups
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
DLT	Distributed ledger technology
DPAs	Data Protection Authorities
DSR	Digital Silk Road
DTTI	Defense Trade and Technology Initiative
EAEU	Eurasian Economic Union
EEC	Eurasian Economic Commission
EEZ	exclusive economic zones
EIAs	Environmental impact assessments
ERICEN	Economic Resilience Initiative in Central Asia
EU	European Union
Exim Bank	Export-Import Bank of China
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FDI	foreign direct investment
FDP	Free Democratic Party
FECO	Foreign Environmental Cooperation Centre
FOIP	Free and Open Indo-Pacific
FTA	free trade agreement
GAC, PRC	General Administration of Customs of the People's Republic of China
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDI	Global Development Initiative
GDPR	General Data Protection Regulation
GIIP	Global Infrastructure Investment Partnership
GSI	Global Security Initiative
HSR	Health Silk Road
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICBC	Industrial and Commercial Bank of China
ICT	Information and communications technology
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IGCU	Institute for Global Cooperation and Understanding

Abbreviations

IMF	International Monetary Fund
INSTC	International North-South Transport Corridor
Int+	“The Internet Plus”
IOR	Indian Ocean Region
IoT	Internet of Things
IPEF	Indo-Pacific Economic Framework
IPS	Indo-Pacific Strategy
IR	International Relations
IRGC	Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
IT	International Technology
ITU	International Telecommunication Union
JCPOA	Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JIMEX	Japan-India Maritime Exercise
LNG	Liquefied natural gas
m-CBDC	Multiple Central Bank digital currencies
MCC	Millennium Cooperation Challenge
MEEA	Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MIC 2025	“Made in China 2025”
Middle Corridor	Trans-Caspian East-West-Middle Corridor Initiative
MOFCOM,	PRC Ministry of Commerce, PRC
MOU	Memoranda of Understanding
MSR	21st Century Maritime Silk Road
NDB	New Development Bank
NDRC	National Development and Reform Commission
NEALB	New Eurasian Land Bridge
NPP	nuclear power plant
NSO	National Statistics Office
NSR	Northern Sea Route
OEC	Observatory of Economic Complexity
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
OTS	Organization of Turkic States
PAIH	Polish Investment and Trade Agency Bureau
PAPF	People’s Armed Police Force
PIPL	Personal Information Protection Law
PLAN	People’s Liberation Army Navy
PPP	Private Public Partnership
PRC	People’s Republic of China
PSR	Polar Silk Road
Quad	Quadrilateral Security Dialogue
RCEP	Comprehensive Economic Partnership
RIO	Rules-based International Order

Abbreviations

ROC	Republic of China
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
Sinopec	China Petroleum and Chemical Corporation
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SLOCs	Sea Lanes of Communications
SPD	Social Democratic Party of Germany
SREB	Silk Road Economic Belt
SREF	Silk Road Economic Fund
SU	Soviet Union
SWIFT	Interbank Financial Telecommunication system
SWOT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats
TEN-T	Trans-European Transport Network
TEU	Twenty-Foot Equivalent Unit
TITR	Trans-Caspian International Transport Route
TVF	Turkey Wealth Fund
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UAV	Unmanned Airborne Vehicle
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSDGs	United Nations Sustainable Development Goals
USN	Navy US
WTO	World Trade Organization
XUAR	Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region



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INTRODUCTION OF CHINESE EURASIAN RELATIONS

Mher Sahakyan and Anahit Parzyan

Introduction

In the current Multipolar World Order 2.0, it is essential to investigate China's relations with other countries of the Eurasian continent. The following question arises: Why China? Why do we need to analyse and read about China's political and economic relations with the countries of Eurasia? The answer is that China is a young superpower and the second economy of the world, which, through its march westward, is growing its influence in the entire continent and, as a result, projecting economics and politics in several regions of Eurasia.

Why Eurasia? This continent is the centre of the world. In the Multipolar World Order 2.0 era, the main competition between Great Powers is happening for Eurasia and its regions. The power, which will impose its will here, will stand as the leading hegemon of the world.

In this process, China's BRI plays a crucial role, for which China has already invested US\$265 billion, providing this money to modernise and construct Eurasian infrastructure. In the first phase of the BRI, from 2013 to 2020, China focused on completing groundwork projects that aimed to connect the East to the West and the North to the South. These projects are now operational. The BRI is enabling China to establish a distinct economic, political, and technological hub, uniting countries from Asia to Europe. This project also provides China with the chance to boost its export volume and support the growth of its own industries. China invests its financial resources in the participating countries through its own banks, resulting in profits and expanding its influence. The BRI is aimed at stabilising neighbouring regions and countries, creating a security zone around China. Beijing is becoming a crucial hub for global relations and economics during the BRI forums. Leaders from various countries and international organisations convene to discuss current events, establish new agreements, and foster relationships. These forums occurred

in 2017, 2019, 2021 (online), and 2023. Moreover, in the second phase of the BRI, next to the mainland direction of the SREB and MSR, Beijing also initiated HSR and DSR.

HSR aims to spread Chinese medicine innovations and products across the world and promote traditional Chinese medicine. The HSR played a significant role during and after the COVID-19 pandemic. China initially used “mask diplomacy” to provide masks, tests, respiratory equipment, and medical teams to countries affected by the pandemic. China later produced various vaccines, including “Sinopharm” and “Coronavac”, which were approved by the World Health Organization. China also established joint vaccine production with multiple states. For instance, Sinopharm collaborated with UAE’s G42 Healthcare to produce Hayat-Vax (Janardhan, 2023, p.8). China’s Anhui Zhifei Longcom Biopharmaceutical cooperates with Uzbekistan on producing ZF-UZ-VAC2001 (Sahakyan, 2022a, p.100). These steps allowed China to distribute its vaccines globally and compete in the innovative pharmaceutical market. China has utilised “vaccine diplomacy” as a tool of its soft power, providing its vaccines as an aid to a number of developed and developing Eurasian states.

China has emerged as a vital hub for cutting-edge technology research and development in the 21st century. Through the implementation of AI, 5G networks, Big Data, and the IoT, China has excelled in economic investment, production, and export of goods. The country’s technological advancements have enabled it to establish Smart Cities in various countries in Eurasia. To streamline this process, the DSR was formed under the BRI, allowing for the expansion of telecommunications infrastructure through fibre optic cables and the export of Chinese technologies across the Eurasian continent. China’s governmental bodies and diplomacy are fully involved in the promotion of Chinese high-tech industry and its production in the Eurasian continent, which Mher Sahakyan conceptualises as “high-tech and digital diplomacy”. China realises that by establishing extensive high-tech and digital connectivity with Eurasian regions, it can increase its influence in the future.

Therefore, China within BRI offers investments to Eurasian states for developing mainland and maritime infrastructure, technologies, innovations, and vaccines. China does not ask instead for its investment’s ideological reforms or institutional changes as the West is doing when it provides investments. As Yuntian Zheng (2023, p.219) mentioned, promoting BRI China provides a common platform for joint development “and is not meant to force upon other nations the CPC’s political views on transforming the world”. This fact makes cooperation with China attractive for many Eurasian states, primarily for dozens of states from the Middle East, Central Asia, South Caucasus, Eastern Europe, and Asia-Pacific. In this list, we can also see the EU member states from Western and Central European states, such as Italy, Greece, Hungary, and others, in a case when Brussels announced that China is its “Systemic rival”. The EU is concerned about China’s 16+1 format (for now 14+1), which includes also 9 EU member states. The format allows China to gain influence in the CEEC, creating competition with the EU. Nevertheless, despite political disagreements, China and the EU are increasing economic relations. In 2022, bilateral trade amounted to US\$847, up US\$19 billion from 2021, according to the GAC, PRC (2022).

Another critical moment in Beijing's relations with Eurasian states in a Multipolar World Order 2.0 is that China and the United States compete to spread their political and economic influence in Eurasian regions and struggle for these markets. The United States announced its strategy of turning to the Asia-Pacific region and created two mechanisms to contain China: the Quad, which includes the United States, Australia, India, and Japan, and AUKUS, where Australia, the UK, and the US are members. The United States also uses the issues of Taiwan, Xinjiang, Hong Kong, and Tibet against China, through which it tries to unite countries guided by a liberal value system against China, accusing the latter of violating human rights and fundamental freedoms. These continuously worsen bilateral relations between Western (the US) and Eastern (China) superpowers, which are the most crucial in the current world. Analysing the facts mentioned above, it is evident that the United States uses the Theory of Offensive Realism against China, through which it tries to hinder China's further development and isolate it. Washington aims to prevent Beijing from implementing Realism's Power Transition Theory and becoming the world's hegemonic power in its place.

The United States' pressure on China pushes Beijing closer to Moscow. China and Russia announced that their cooperation has no limit. China and Russia need each other. China is a state economy; now, it is the world's second-largest economy. It needs a reliable energy resource supplier to keep development and weapons for securing its political and economic system. In turn, Russia gets its finances mainly from the trade of energy resources and weapons, which provides it with an opportunity to keep stability and continue its war with Ukraine. Uniting their capabilities, they are getting an opportunity to implement a balance of powers in the Eurasian continent and compete with the United States (Sahakyan, 2021, p.85).

Another connecting link between China and Russia and other members of the EAEU (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Belarus, and Armenia) is that in 2015, China and Russia agreed to conjunct the EAEU and BRI. Moreover, in 2018, the EAEU member states and China signed an *Agreement on Trade and Economic Cooperation between the Eurasian Economic Union and its Member States of the One Part and the People's Republic of China of the Other Part*. It means China and Russia have chosen cooperation over competition in post-Soviet Eurasia.

In Central Asia, Moscow and Beijing agreed that the first is responsible for security and the second is responsible for economic growth. Nevertheless, time works for China, as it invests more in the region than Russia.

Central Asia is China's mainland conduit towards Europe; because of the Russo-Ukrainian war, transportation through Russian territory dropped by 40%. Actually, under the framework of the SREB's CCAWAEC, China and participant states of this direction have developed enough infrastructure for multimodal transportation. In Central Asia, Kazakhstan plays a vital role with its well-developed railways, ports, and highways. As Europe and China are interested in the growing quantity of transportation through this direction, there is a need to modernise and build additional transportation links, which will help transport the quantity of goods going through Russia's Trans-Siberian railway to Europe before the Ukrainian war. There are negotiations and a plan to build a China-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan railway

link, which will be another alternative link for China to access Central Asian states. In sum, in coming years, we will see new Chinese investments in the region's infrastructure, as China needs this link to access not only European but also South Caucasian and Middle Eastern markets. China and Central Asian states will also develop the "Air Silk Road" in the BRI framework. China needs uninterrupted gas supplies to maintain the development of its economy, which is keeping more than 1.4 billion people. Central Asia is neighbouring China, so it is secure to get natural gas from it directly through the China-Central Asia gas pipeline. It means other Great Powers cannot create obstacles for the China-Central Asia gas pipeline, as all regional states are interested in this cooperation with China. For a long time, sides have discussed building the D line, which will bring more gas to China. Beijing will use it to continue its policy to replace coal, which harms the environment, and expand production with the help of gas, which will help to modernise the production sector and maintain economic growth. China also raises the quantity of imports of energy resources from Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan. Furthermore, China's opening after the COVID-19 lockdown will provide added impetus for growing economic relations. Therefore, the trade will grow in the coming years as well. Central Asia has a sizeable market of approximately 76 million young and fast-growing consumers. Chinese producers exploit this by selling various products, from technology to clothing and cars. e-commerce platforms, which have been built in the framework of the DSR, are also helpful. For instance, e-commerce increased by 95% if we compare 2021 with 2022. Thanks to the transportation infrastructure developed under the BRI, goods are transported more quickly than before 2013. China has also created digital and energy interconnection with this vital region. Through its smart cities and high technologies, China's DSR ties Central Asian states with Beijing strongly.

The SCO stands as the leading platform for non-western players, which are interested in Central Asian and neighbouring regions' security and interconnectivity. Of course, it is not an alignment or union as NATO or the EU. Moreover, several member states, observers, and dialogue partners have problems with each other, for instance, China and India, Pakistan and India, Armenia and Azerbaijan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, but still, it is providing opportunities to find ways to solve security issues and bust forward economic cooperation. In the framework of the SCO, China, step by step, increases its role as an investor and security guarantor, which has a positive impact in "the context of the stability of Afghanistan" (Proń, 2023, p.101). As a result, this organisation is expanding. During the last years, India, Pakistan, and Iran stood members. Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Qatar joined the ranks of dialogue partners, expanding SCO's geography in the Middle East and North Africa. Therefore, the SCO could create interest among different regions of Eurasia and even Africa. China and Russia lead this process.

In 2013, China's President announced the establishment of the Good-Neighbourliness, Friendship, and Cooperation Commission of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. It actively promotes people-to-people contact and NGO collaboration among SCO members, observers, and dialogue partners through public diplomacy. It means that the SCO also gives importance to soft power diplomacy.



Figure 1.1 Participants and guests are from a working meeting in Yerevan between the China-Eurasia Council for Political and Strategic Research and the Good-Neighbourliness, Friendship, and Cooperation Commission of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Yerevan, Armenia, 21 September 2023.

China sees the Middle East as a valuable market for exporting its products, technologies, and investments while importing energy sources from the region. The Middle Eastern transportation infrastructure also plays a vital role in the SREB's CCAWAEC and MSR.

The critical moment is that Middle Eastern countries are among the crucial suppliers of energy sources to China. For this, China grows its strategic partnership with the member states of the GCC.

For instance, Saudi Arabia is the number 1 oil supplier to China from the Middle East and its Comprehensive strategic partner, which plays a vital role in the BRI. Narayanappa Janardhan (p.8) argues that not only oil but also AI stands as one of the main connecting factors between GCC and China, as GCC's "AI strategies are tied to the plans of the global leader in 5G infrastructure – China".

Economically and as an oil supplier, Iran is losing its attractiveness to China because the US sanctions limit Chinese business companies' involvement and harm the Iranian economy. Although in a geopolitical aspect, Tehran implements its *Look to the East* policy to strengthen its relations with Beijing and Moscow. China is interested in Iran's strategic location for its BRI interconnectivity in the region as Iran controls the Hormuz strait through which Beijing buys vast amounts of its oil from the Middle East. In March 2023, by the mediation of China, Saudi Arabia and Iran restarted negotiations and reopened embassies. This will bring stability to the entire Middle East and strengthen China's authority and influence in the region, where the United States is still mighty with its vast network of allies and military bases.

Turkey plays a crucial role in getting investments from China to modernise its transportation infrastructure. As a middle but ambitious power, Ankara, through its Middle Corridor, is vital in connecting the East with the West. Therefore, China tries to strengthen cooperation with this country and transport its goods through Turkey.

It also has signed a Memorandum of understanding with Turkey for the conjunction of the BRI and the Middle Corridor. Of course, the earthquake has weakened Turkey, and it will try to get investments for reconstruction from its Western allies, but Ankara will also try to get this kind of investment from Beijing to keep the balance of powers.

South Caucasus plays a vital role in BRI's CCAWAE, as its transportation infrastructure can be an alternative route for connecting China and Central Asia through Turkey with Europe. On July 31, 2023, China and Georgia agreed on a strategic partnership and "usage of Georgia's transit infrastructure for smooth export of Chinese products to Western markets" (Government of Georgia, 2023). With this step, Georgia balances relations with the West, China, and Russia. In turn, China has got its first strategic partner in the South Caucasus, which can provide an opportunity to strengthen its influence in regional political and security issues. It is worth mentioning that before this, in 2018, Beijing and Tbilisi signed the Free Trade Agreement (Charaia & Lashkhi, 2021, p.149). China directly or through AIIB actively invests in Georgia and Azerbaijan to grow these states' transportation capacities (Sahakyan, 2023b). China's trade with all regional states is growing. In this sphere, Armenia is leading. In 2022, China's bilateral trade with Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan totalled US\$1,421,549, US\$1,408,469, and US\$1,381,773, respectively (GAC, PRC, *op. cit.*) (Figure I.2).

India is a rising big power that plays an independent game, maintaining cooperation and contradiction with the United States and China. It is trying to strengthen its positions in South and Southeast Asia and find new regions to expand its influence further. It, step by step, gravitates towards Central Asia, South Caucasus, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe. For this, India uses INSTC, which it has initiated with Russia and Iran. The primary objective is to establish a connection between Indian ports situated in the Indian Ocean, Iranian ports located in the Persian Gulf, and Russian ports in the Baltic Sea. Compared with China's BRI, INSTC is built slowly, but its routes gradually transform into important conduits. Moscow will pay more attention to developing INSTC; because of the Russo-Ukrainian war and conflict with the West, Russia is trying to deepen its relations with Iran and India and does not stand very dependent on China. For this reason, on May 17, 2023, Russia and Iran signed an agreement for jointly building Rasht-Astara railway connection in the territory of Iran, which will complete the Western Route of the INSTC, strengthening interconnectivity between Russia, Azerbaijan, Iran and India (President of Russia, 2023). In addition to China, supplying energy to India, a large market in Asia ensures a consistent flow of income from energy resources for Russia. Military drones manufactured in Iran have been supplied to Russia for their deployment in the ongoing conflict in Ukraine. This move is seen as a way for Iran to implement its *Look to East policy* and generate income, and as a stance against NATO's expansion towards the East. Although the Russo-Ukrainian war and deterioration of the relations with the EU have made it nearly impossible for Russia to achieve its Greater Eurasian Partnership strategy, it aims to harmonise all integration projects in the Eurasian continent, including the EAEU, EU, BRI, ASEAN, and INSTC.

CCAWAEC



Figure 1.2 CCAWAEC.

Source: Sahakyan, 2022b., p.109.

Considering the abovementioned facts and having Routledge's Senior Editor, Mr Rob Sorsby's advice, we decided to work on *the Routledge Handbook of Chinese and Eurasian International Relations*. To start consultations and discussions, on December 2 and 3, 2022, we organised the "IV Eurasian Research on Modern China and Eurasia" conference in Yerevan (China and Eurasia Council, 2023) (Figure 1.3).

In 2023, we united accomplished scholars and practitioners in the fields of international relations, political economy, area and technology studies from Armenia, China, Croatia, Czechia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iran, Italy, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Poland, Sri Lanka, Russia, Serbia, Sweden, Taiwan, China, Turkey, and the United States. For tying and connecting all chapters, we used Multipolar World Order 2.0 Concept (Sahakyan, 2023a, pp.1–4), which has been developed and introduced in *China and Eurasian Powers in a Multipolar World Order 2.0 Security, Diplomacy, Economy and Cyberspace* book published by Routledge on March 31, 2023. For most chapters, the second tying link is the Realism approach. However, it is worth mentioning that each chapter, authored by an expert, represents their personal opinions and does not necessarily reflect the views of the other contributors. This book is also the logical continuation of *China and Eurasia: Rethinking cooperation and contradictions in the era of changing world order* book (Sahakyan & Gärtner, 2021) and *China and Eurasian powers in a multipolar world order 2.0: Security, diplomacy, economy and cyberspace* (Sahakyan, *op. cit.*), published by Routledge.

The main aim of this study is to research and make recommendations on Chinese and Eurasian international relations. This study delves into various topics, including the effects of China's stance on the Russo-Ukrainian conflict, the rivalry between the United States and China and how it affects the Eurasian continent, as well as China's connections with post-Soviet Eurasian, Middle Eastern, Asia-Pacific, and European countries. It explores the impact of the BRI, INSTC, Middle Corridor, and



Figure 1.3 "IV Eurasian Research on Modern China and Eurasia" Conference, China-Eurasia Council for Political and Strategic Research, Yerevan, Armenia, December 2 and 3, 2022.

Northern Sea Route on transportation connectivity between eastern, western, northern, and southern parts of the Eurasian continent. This handbook analyses China's cooperation and contradictions with NATO, the EU, and the EAEU. This handbook highlights China's digital responsibility, e-governance, and environmental concerns in the context of international relations in Eurasia.

An Overview of the Book

The *Routledge Handbook of Chinese and Eurasian International Relations* is divided into ten parts.

Part I of the handbook is entitled "Powers Play in Eurasia in a Multipolar World Order 2.0". It argues that we are in a Multipolar World Order 2.0 stage where the interests of Great powers collide in Europe and Asia, and the Russo-Ukrainian war stood as the number 1 security issue in the Eurasian continent. It explains that because of the war, China is having obstacles to implementing its BRI. For this reason, it tries to find a political solution.

In Chapter 1, Mher Sahakyan explains China's interest in Russia and Ukraine and analyses China's position on the Russo-Ukrainian war in a Multipolar World Order 2.0. Sahakyan argues that China is losing politically and economically due to the war. Despite its attempts at neutrality, it is standing hard to implement a balancing act. Therefore, Beijing is trying to find a political solution for this comprehensive issue, which imposes threats towards nuclear, food, and transportation security. The Russo-Ukrainian War created problems for trade and transportation between China and Europe through Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus in the framework of the BRI. Sahakyan also examines China's contradictions with NATO in this war and argues that China is not interested that the Western Pole is integrating Ukraine into its camp. For this, China opposes NATO's expansion towards the East and continues to strengthen economic relations with Russia that the last one keeps its internal stability and military capabilities to resist NATO in this indirect war with it. China will be interested in seeing Ukraine as a neutral state where it can develop its BRI and gain economic and political influence.

Greg Simons, in Chapter 2, analyses the US-China competition in Eurasia in a Multipolar World Order 2.0. According to his argument, the current global order is no longer US-centric and moving towards a multipolar and non-Western-centric system. Simons explains that the Russo-Ukrainian war began during an era of heightened tensions between China and the West, which resulted in the division of the world into multiple blocs. He also explains that Washington initiated the US *Pivot to East* strategy to deter China. As Simons concludes, with the help of Quad and AUKUS formats, the United States threatens China and tries to stop its further development so that the last one would not be able to challenge its world hegemon's weakened positions.

Part II examines China's interests and politics in Central Asia, cooperation and contradictions with Russia, India, and other powers. It argues that, although Russia still has a significant influence in this resource-rich region, India and other powers are also strengthening their positions, but time is working for China. In Chapter 3,

Tamas Dudlak analyses the strategic “coopetition” between Russia and China concerning Central Asian natural gas resources. He argues that China needs natural gas from Central Asia to develop its national economy, enabling Beijing to increase its regional influence and geopolitical status. Dudlak explains that China has had no significant challenges working in the Central Asian energy sector because China and Russia have prioritised partnership over the competition in this region. Additionally, Russia lacked the capacity to tap into the vast Central Asian natural gas resources. For these reasons, China could quickly gain an advantage in the geopolitical competition over energy resources.

In Chapter 4, Srdjan Uljevic discusses India’s increasing involvement in Central Asia and its competition with China in a Multipolar World Order 2.0. As he introduces, after 2015, India actively worked on growing its role in Central Asia. For this reason, New Delhi invested in the Iranian Chabahar port to access Central Asia without passing Pakistan. He argues that India still needs more capabilities to compete in this region with China, which has already built enough infrastructure in Central Asia through its BRI. Nevertheless, as he explains, step by step, India aims to increase its influence in Central Asia, where countries seek new partners to balance amidst the Russo-Ukrainian conflict. Uljevic concludes: “...India has little choice but to engage Central Asia. Being absent from the heart of Eurasia is not an option”.

In Chapter 5, Ruslan Izimov focuses on BRI’s challenges and its impact on Central Asian economics and politics. He also argues that, step by step, China strengthens its involvement in Central Asian security. As he mentioned, “scenario in which the CSTO or some other political-military organization would be involved in stabilizing the situation in the Central Asian region is no longer in China’s interests”. Izimov implements a case study on Kazakhstan, arguing that it became a crucial transportation hub for China to continue its Eurasian westward march through BRI. However, as he recommends, Astana needs to calculate its steps not to stand dependent on China and implement a multi-vector foreign policy, which is standing harder in a Multipolar World Order 2.0.

Zamira Muratalieva, in Chapter 6, examines the dynamics of relations between China and Kyrgyzstan. As she argues, China gradually increased its influence in this Central Asian country. The Kyrgyz Republic’s debt to China is the primary issue in their bilateral relations, causing occasional tension among the Kyrgyz public. Nevertheless, as Muratalieva mentions, because of the Russo-Ukrainian war and Moscow’s economic decline, time works for China, as its investments in Kyrgyzstan’s and Central Asian infrastructure create economic and digital interconnectivity. In conclusion, she recommends strengthening cooperation between China and Kyrgyzstan in the fields of green energy, environmentally friendly products, and high-tech, among others.

In Part III, the authors analyse China’s relations with Middle Eastern countries. The main argument is that in a Multipolar World Order 2.0, China’s consistent implementation of its BRI in the Middle East brings economic and political benefits.

Selçuk Çolakoğlu, in Chapter 7, analyses Sino-Turkish bilateral relations. As he explains, Turkey joined the construction of the BRI, connected its Middle Corridor with a Chinese initiative, and, as a result, received vast investments from China.

He argues that in addition to economic benefits, Turkey uses the “Chinese card” to get concessions from its Western allies and an opportunity to implement a balancing act. However, as Çolakoğlu concludes, Turkey is a NATO member state, and its economic growth also depends on political relations with the West. Therefore, in the era of Multipolar World Order 2.0, Turkey’s deep interdependence with the West in security, political, and economic matters will prevent a final alignment with China, despite the strategic autonomy it gains from its relations with China.

In Chapter 8, Davoud Gharayagh-Zandi analyses *Iran’s Look to the East Policy*. As he describes, Iran finally pivoted towards China and Russia when the United States withdrew from the JCPOA in 2018. He explains that it is the best time for Iran’s *Look to the East Policy* since Eastern countries are also interested. Therefore, Iran joined China’s BRI and AIIB and strengthened cooperation with the Russian-led EAEU. Tehran’s cooperation fortifies the positions of Beijing and Moscow in the Middle East, providing them with more opportunities for navigation. Gharayagh-Zandi notes that the Russo-Ukrainian war further cemented ties between Iran and the Sino-Russian tandem. Nevertheless, he concludes that in a Multipolar World Order 2.0, it is better for Iran to remain neutral without aligning with either the East or the West.

Máté Szalai discusses the impact of asymmetric relations between GCC member states and China in Chapter 9. He argues that as China strengthens its position in the Middle East, the GCC states will gain more opportunities to maintain a balance of power between the West and East and implement a more independent foreign policy. Szalai concludes that interdependent relations between Superpower China and the GCC’s middle and small powers contribute to the stability in the entire region, providing an opportunity to jointly work on the normalisation of relations between Saudi Arabia and Iran, work on the political settlement of Yemen’s crisis, and discuss territorial disputes between Iran and the UAE.

Part IV examines China’s relations with several Western, Central, and Eastern European states. It argues that in a Multipolar World Order 2.0, European states cannot avoid choosing between the West and the East. In this respect, membership in NATO or the EU will play a crucial role.

In Chapter 10, Maximilian Ohle, Richard J. Cook, and Zhaoying Han analyse current relations between Germany and China. They explain that the powers in the German coalitional government have different attitudes towards economic and political relations with China. Chancellor Olaf Scholz aims to maintain normal relations with China and continue trade. At the same time, Minister of Foreign Affairs Annalena Baerbock opposes this policy by criticising and severing ties with China. Ohle, Cook, and Han conclude that as Germany is an important player in the US-led Western Pole, it will be difficult for Berlin to try to continue to hedge for getting economic benefits from Beijing, as in the era of a Multipolar World Order 2.0, “the space to do so has considerably shrunk”.

In Chapter 11, Orazio Maria Gnerre examines Sino-Italian relations on which, as he argues, historical interconnectivity and trade have great influence. Italy is one of the few Western European countries that has not only declared its intention to join China’s BRI but is also actively working towards it. The Italian port of Trieste plays

a crucial role in China's MSR vision. With Italy's assistance, the Chinese trade navy has a platform in Western Europe. Italy continues to independently cultivate its relations with China. However, according to Gnerre, in the future, these relations will mostly be influenced by the global political situation due to the Multipolar World Order 2.0. He means further development of relations between NATO and China and EU and China, which are turbulent due to international relations.

Šárka Waisová, in Chapter 12, analyses relations between the Czech Republic and China. She argues that these relations have gone through ups and downs in the 21st century. If Czech politicians and the public had a positive attitude towards China in the 2010s, this has changed in the 2020s. The relationship is now at its worst and highly politicised in Czechia's internal politics. Waisová explains that there are two main reasons for this. Firstly, Czechia had expected vast investments from China within the framework of 16+1 (now 14+1), which did not materialise. Secondly, in the era of Multipolar World Order 2.0, when the interests of the West collide with China, Czechia, as the US ally and NATO member state, takes the side of its main political, security, economic, and military partners.

In Chapter 13, Nenad Stekić examines the comprehensive strategic partnership between China and Serbia. As he argues, before the emergence of Multipolar World Order 2.0, Serbia was implementing a multivectoral foreign policy and simultaneously developing its relations with the EU, Russia, the United States, and China, but now is standing hard, as Great powers pressure Serbia to take a side. Nevertheless, Serbia still aims to stand as an EU member; it does not impose sanctions on Russia and sees China as its "ironclad partner". According to Stekić, Beijing sees Serbia as a state in the Western part of Eurasia through which it can strengthen its position in Europe. Therefore, the two sides want to strengthen their comprehensive strategic partnerships in the Multipolar World Order 2.0 era.

In Chapter 14, Elżbieta Proń analyses relations between Poland and China. According to Proń, Warsaw and Beijing have developed political, economic, and educational ties in the framework of the BRI and the former 16+1 format (now 14+1). However, the confrontation between the United States and China and the Russo-Ukrainian war has significantly impacted Polish foreign policy and its relations with China. As she argues, in a Multipolar World Order 2.0, Poland must implement its duties as a NATO member and a US ally. Therefore, it is evident that Warsaw is standing with its allies over strengthening its relationship with China.

Gina Panagopoulou, in Chapter 15, examines relations between Greece and China. As she explains, both countries are interested in developing their political, economic, and cultural cooperation. China is interested in Greece's strategic location for developing its BRI in Eastern Europe. In this regard, the Piraeus port in Greece, controlled by Chinese COSCO, plays a crucial role. According to Panagopoulou, in the Multipolar World Order 2.0 era, China and the United States attempt to increase their influence in Greece. In turn, Athens tries to work with both of them, considering the limits it has as a member of NATO and EU, which see China as a systemic rival.

Part V examines China's politics within the Asia-Pacific region. It also analyses Beijing's cooperation and contradictions with other Great Powers in this region for geopolitical influence, maritime routes, natural resources and other issues. The main

argument of this part is that China and the United States compete in this region for every country, and the decoupling of the two superpowers is not due to the national interests of regional states and entities.

In Chapter 16, Brian Wong Yue Shun and Jason Yip Wai Cheong analyse Hong Kong's evolving role and navigation in the relationship between China and the United States. As they explain, Hong Kong's status as a special administrative region of China has given it the agency to serve as a crucial bridge connecting the vast markets of China and the United States for a long time. Nevertheless, the current competition between the United States and China, including economic and technological decoupling, negatively impacts Hong Kong's privileged and autonomous role in these relations. As Wong and Yip suggest, for world economics, it is crucial that the two superpowers try to keep the special role of Hong Kong for keeping Asia-Pacific's supply chains and trade operational. Nevertheless, as they recommend, to create a balance with the US market, which is becoming increasingly difficult to access, Hong Kong should develop economic relations with other regions of the Eurasian continent.

Ahmed Bux Jamali, Mehmood Hussain, and Hongsong Liu examine the security architecture of the Asia-Pacific region in Chapter 17, focusing on the impact of Sino-American competition. As they argue, this region is significant for China and the United States. The first collaborates mostly with Pakistan to address security concerns in the Asia-Pacific region under the Multipolar World Order 2.0. In contrast, the second focuses on developing cooperation with India as part of its *Pivot to Asia* strategy. India is already a member of Quad, which aims to deter China. Considering the tense situation in the Asia-Pacific region, Bux Jamali, Hussain, and Liu recommend taking steps to strengthen peace and security. They suggest that China and the United States need to select cooperation over competition. They must play a crucial role in solving India and Pakistan's problems. For instance, they recommend establishing a special mechanism for strategic communication on the Indo-Pakistan dispute, which will help to find a political solution. They also emphasise the importance of the United States' further collaboration with Pakistan for stabilising Afghanistan.

Chapters 18 and 19 provide conflicting views from France and China on the South China Sea dispute. Understanding both perspectives is important for a complete picture.

Éric Pomès and Matthieu Grandpierron, in Chapter 18, introduce their findings on discursive strategies and drivers of the Chinese vision of an "Alternative World Order" having a case study of the South China Sea Dispute's History. As they argue:

Chinese discourses are based on a discursive framework built on both strong emotional narratives and the use of 'hero-villain-victim' narrative to expel the US from Asia. These narratives also interact with a specific mobilisation of History that is conceived as an instrument of political legitimacy against international legal norms.

As they mention, in the Asia-Pacific region, China, Russia, Japan, South Korea, and others use their historical narrative to promote and defend their national interests.

In Chapter 19, Yulong Dai focuses his research on the South China Sea territorial dispute between China and Malaysia, mentioning that China's position is stronger in the context of international customary laws and treaties. He argues that the South China Sea situation is not easy, and there are many disputes because of the non-regional powers' involvement, which try to get benefits from regional states' conflicts. Dai explains that even if China and Malaysia have territorial disputes over some parts of the Spratly Islands, they coexist peacefully, as they strengthen bilateral relations and cooperation in the framework of the MSR without involving others in their conflict.

In Chapter 20, Tony Tai-Ting Liu focuses on Sino-Japanese competition in the era of Multipolar World Order 2.0. He describes it as a historical clash between land (China) and maritime (Japan) powers, which is going on in continental Eurasia and Indo-Pacific maritime routes. He also warns that if China and Japan stand in opposite conflicting poles, it will harm regional security and economics "by redefining old problems and giving life to new issues".

Asantha Senevirathna, in Chapter 21, argues that China significantly strengthened its positions in Sri Lanka, investing money in the country's Colombo and Hambantota ports in the framework of its BRI. As he explains, India and the United States try to create a counterbalance and prevent Sri Lanka's final pivot towards China's Eastern Pole. Therefore, the geopolitical struggle for Sri Lanka persists in the era of the Multipolar World Order 2.0. China has an advantage thanks to its investments in the economy and infrastructure of the country, which make Sri Lanka a crucial hub in the MSR.

In Chapter 22, Connor Judge explains Mongolia's role in China's BRI in a Multipolar World Order 2.0 era. He argues that Mongolia is one of the most "receptive" and "connected" countries in China's mega initiative. As Judge argues, Mongolia is not just following China but trying to integrate its national strategies, such as *Vision 2050* and *New Revival Policy*, with Chinese development strategies. As he concludes, the strengthening interconnectivity between Mongolia and China provides security guarantees and reduces Russia's influence on Ulaanbaatar. It is possible that this development could be a reason for Mongolia bandwagoning itself with China, which would further enhance China's position in the Asia-Pacific region.

Jan Železný analyses in Part VI how the collaboration between China and Russia affects the competition between major powers in the Arctic, a region with extensive untapped resources. He argues that China and Russia need each other to work in the Arctic. China is not a regional state, but it strives to have a stake in the Arctic and utilise its maritime routes for the BRI's PSR as an alternative conduit for connectivity with the European market. Due to the Ukrainian crisis, Russia lacks the resources to invest in the Arctic. As a result, they are seeking financial assistance from China to develop the gas and oil fields in the region. Based on his analysis, Železný concludes that in today's Multipolar World Order 2.0 era, Russia and China are working closely together in the Arctic region. This partnership allows them to compete against the Western countries for control over the Northern Sea Route and the area's valuable natural resources. Cooperation between China and Russia in the Arctic aligns with Russia's Greater Eurasian Partnership strategy.

Part VII of the handbook delves into China's relations with the EAEU and NATO. The conjugation of China's BRI with the EAEU contributes to China's shift towards post-Soviet Eurasia. On the contrary, China and NATO conflict with each other. China perceives NATO's expansion towards the East as a challenge, while NATO has declared China as a challenge to its security, interests, and values.

In Chapter 24, Gohar Barseghyan explains the cooperation between the EAEU and China. She argues that the current situation in these relations provides opportunities for further implementing the conjugation of the EAEU and the BRI, which fully correspond to the Russian Greater Eurasian Partnership strategy. She observes that under the present geo-economic circumstances, numerous opportunities are emerging for collaboration between the EAEU and China. It is crucial to take advantage of these opportunities in a "timely and progressive manner" to contribute to further developing a Multipolar World Order 2.0.

Armine Arzumanyan, in Chapter 25, analyses CPC's image building for the EU and the United States in the context of NATO. Armine Arzumanyan explains that CPC understands the United States and NATO as a challenge to its national security, but this narrative differs from its attitude towards the EU. China proclaims that the EU is not a rival but a partner. Arzumanyan's analysis suggests that Chinese official discourse characterises NATO as a tool for the United States to gain "absolute military dominance". In contrast, the EU is portrayed as having minimal impact on this arrangement, functioning only as a reluctant junior partner.

Part VIII of *Routledge Handbook of Chinese and International Relations* is entitled "Digitalization and International Relations". The main argument is that the Great powers struggle for Eurasian Cyberspace, and China has enough capabilities to compete and win in several Eurasian regions. Magdalena Łagiewska, in Chapter 26, explains the legal aspects of China's DSR and Beijing's geopolitical aspirations in cyberspace. As she argues, canonising its laws and rules regarding cyberspace and digitalisation and spreading its high technologies and innovation through DSR, China aims to stand as Eurasia's digital superpower. Furthermore, in the Multipolar World Order 2.0 era, it aims to establish dominance over worldwide cyberspace or at least exert a significant influence in this area of global affairs.

Lev Sokolshchik and Eduard Galimullin, in Chapter 27, analyse Sino-American competition for the Eurasian high technology market and introduce their finding on DSR's role in the EAEU member states. As they argue, technology decoupling, which is happening between China and the United States in the era of Multipolar World Order 2.0, creates problems for the other Eurasian states, which will have to choose between these two superpowers. Sokolshchik and Galimullin explain that in the EAEU, China has more chances to grow its digital presence through its DSR than the United States, as in 2015, China and Russia agreed to conjugate the EAEU and BRI. Moreover, in 2018, EAEU member states and China signed an agreement for economic, trade and technology cooperation, where high technologies, innovations and R&D are emphasised as priorities. Additionally, the United States sanctioned Russian and Belarusian high-tech sectors, pushing them towards China. In turn, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are continuously increasing their cooperation with China in the framework of the DSR.

Part IX of the handbook deals with environmental issues and their impact on Eurasian International Relations. In Chapter 28, Kevin Lo analyses the impact of China's global influence by examining the BRI in the context of environmental geopolitics. In his contribution, Lo provides several recommendations. He suggests that Beijing should implement measures to improve environmental monitoring for projects related to resource extraction and infrastructure investment under the BRI. The goal should be to promote the export of green technologies in BRI projects while collaborating with BRI participants to further sustainability and environmental protection efforts. As Lo recommends, the Chinese government should enhance the capabilities of institutions like BRIGC and FECO, which are responsible for transnational environmental governance, to effectively execute their duties. He concludes, "China must become a global leader in environmental protection and contribute to a more sustainable future".

Giorgio Caridi, in Chapter 29, implements a comparative analysis of e-government systems' role in resolving environmental and social conflicts in Italy and China. He explains that environmental issues of the current Multipolar World Order 2.0 bring social tensions. To address this question and find solutions, he interviewed different companies responsible for public services in Italy and China and highlighted the impact of e-government. As Caridi concludes: "Implementing e-governments is not just an economic decision, but a specific political choice too. Through its means, the Italian and Chinese governments will be able to improve the economic system's efficiency while decreasing social discontent and environmental problems".

In Part X, Mher Sahakyan provides concluding remarks on the current Eurasian Multipolar World Order 2.0 and the role of China and other centres. He also implements case studies on multipolarity 2.0 in Eurasian international relations, in the high-technology sphere, financial sphere, and weapons distribution. He also discusses potential future developments and challenges related to the Eurasian Multipolar World Order 2.0. Sahakyan argues that China and other Eurasian states, the non-Eurasian United States, and international organisations must rely on diplomacy to strengthen and reform the United Nations to stabilise the situation and avoid a nuclear Third World War.

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Conclusion

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