## ПОЛІТИЧНИЙ ТА СОЦІАЛЬНО-ЕКОНОМІЧНИЙ РОЗВИТОК КИТАЮ

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### UKRAINE CONFLICT AND RUSSIAN INVASION, AND CHINA'S CLAIM FOR A NEW STRATEGY TO INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM<sup>1</sup>

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From the Chinese perspective, over the past decade, the international system and order have changed into multilateralism, with a fundamental contribution from People's Republic of China. However Chinese government considers that geopolitical risks have been exacerbated, US government try to suppress and prevent China from enhancing its status in the international system and to use Ukrainian conflict to build blocs led by United States. Meanwhile, the COVID-19 pandemic intensified rising nationalism and protectionism. China's strategy for the international system is being adjusted accordingly.

Our research want to understand the China's strategy for the international system in three aspects: First, what mean to Chinese leaders upholding the international system. Second, what represents to promote reform of the international governance system. And third, what is the further develop the international system for the global economy, finance, and emerging sectors and for regional cooperation mechanisms, that China defends.

From this framework, will be analyzed the evolution of China international policy, from their classic roots to the five principles of peaceful coexistence and "the Narratives on the Russian Invasion in Ukraine", from two beacons: President Xi Jinping Speaks with Russian President Vladimir Putin, using a negative heuristic and a positive heuristic.

But also, the Global Security Initiative for Peace and the Principle of Indivisible Security proposed by President Xi. Confronting "USA plan against Chinese Threat" and "China Global Development Initiative", "China-EU Comprehensive Investment Agreement (CAI)"

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and the "Position Paper of the People's Republic of China for the 77th Session of the United Nations General Assembly".

At last, this article debate the proposal of the XX Congress of Communist Party of China to a common future of people of China and the humanity toward a New Era of peace, genuine democracy, with full application of Universal Declarations of Human Rights Declaration and Ecocivilization.

**Keywords:** New Democracy, Ecological Socialism, Global Security Initiative for Peace, Indivisible Security, New Era, XX Congress of Communist Party of China.

### КОНФЛІКТ В УКРАЇНІ ТА РОСІЙСЬКЕ ВТОРГНЕННЯ, А ТАКОЖ ПРЕТЕНЗІЇ КИТАЮ НА НОВУ СТРАТЕГІЮ МІЖНАРОДНОЇ СИСТЕМИ

#### А. дос Сантуш Кейрос

На думку Китаю, в останнє десятиліття міжнародна система й порядок були трансформовані в багатосторонність із фундаментальним внеском Китайської Народної Республіки. Однак уряд Китаю вважає, що геополітичні ризики погіршуються, уряд США намагається придушити Китай і перешкодити його зміцненню свого статусу в міжнародній системі, використовує український конфлікт для створення блоків на чолі із США. Однак пандемія COVID-19 посилила зростання націоналізму та протекціонізму. Стратегія Китаю щодо міжнародної системи коригується відповідно до умов.

Наше дослідження має на меті зрозуміти стратегію Китаю щодо міжнародної системи у трьох аспектах: по-перше, що для китайських лідерів означає збереження міжнародної системи; по-друге, що означає сприяння реформі системи міжнародного управління; по-третє, що таке розвиток міжнародної системи для глобальної економіки, фінансів і секторів, які розвиваються, а також для механізмів регіонального співробітництва, які обстоює Китай.

У цьому контексті буде проаналізовано еволюцію міжнародної політики Китаю від її класичних коренів до п'яти принципів мирного співіснування, а також «наративів про російське вторгнення в Україну» з позиції переговорів між президентом Китаю Сі Цзіньпіном і президентом Росії Володимиром Путіним із використанням негативної та позитивної евристики.

Також проаналізовані «Ініціатива глобальної безпеки заради миру та принципу неподільної безпеки», запропонована президентом Сі Цзіньпіном, протистояння «Плану США проти китайської загрози» та «Китайської ініціативи щодо глобального розвитку», розглянуті «Угода між Китаєм та Європейським Союзом про глобальні інвестиції (САІ)» та «Позиційний документ Китайської Народної Республіки щодо 77-ї сесії Генеральної Асамблеї ООН».

Зрештою, у статті обговорюється пропозиція XX-го з'їзду Комуністичної партії Китаю щодо спільного майбутнього народу Китаю та людства до нової ери миру, справжньої демократії з повним виконанням Загальної декларації прав людини та екоцивілізації.

Ключові слова: нова демократія, екологічний соціалізм, глобальна безпека заради миру, неподільна безпека, нова ера, XX з'їзд Комуністичної партії Китаю.

#### What is the position of PRC face the Ukraine war and Russian invasion?

The answer needs using a negative heuristic and a positive heuristic. And first, understand the international policy of China, in a context of global geopolitical confrontation. We live in a new world where mass media and social media are monopolized, it is not easy to build a critical thought. After fifty years studying China, I always return to the critical issues: What represents the concepts of "New Democracy" and the "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics"? And their evolution to "Ecological Socialism" and the pilot zones towards "Ecocivilization"?

Time revue calls PRC a "hybrid model of quasi-state capitalism and semi democratic authoritarianism" [Jing Luo 2010, 170]. Around the world, different research postulates a common idea: "China's successful reform has produced a system that is neither Soviet, nor Anglo-American, nor East Asian-developmental state. It has elements of all three" [Chunjuan Nancy Wei 2019, 31]. That last vision was adopted by the American Senate, after a long debate for two years, from 2016 to 2017, that decide: the Federal Government must increase the Economic and Diplomatic engagement with China. But in 2021, a critical turning point happened: the Department of Homeland Security's (DHS), lanced the so-called "DHS Strategic Action Plan to Counter the Threat Posed by People's Republic of China". This document is practically unknown by the public in the west but was taken seriously by the government of China [U.S. Department of Homeland Security 2021]. It is the key to understanding the intensification of hostile campaigns about Hong Kong, Xinjiang and Taiwan, and incidents like the suspicion around the 5G technology. And explains why China blames US that is pushing the international system toward the direction of "de-Sinicization", elevating the status of the G7 and downing the importance of the G20 and rolled out new multilateral arrangements that exclude China, like the QUAD and the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity.

But returning to China political Philosophy. The standpoint of my research is: If the People's Republic of China represents a new historical experience of democracy and socialism, the Western conceptual framework of political hermeneutics is not adequate to understand PRC.

And, by this way, I find successive propositions not falsifiable, that must be better studied, like socialist market, one country, two systems, that represent distinct faces of a new historical regime, different from liberal democracy, and Soviet Union socialism. Those regimes did not represent the end of history and the unique way to socialism.

And yes, we need a new conceptual framework, to understand the Chinese way into a new era. That is the mission of political philosophy.

In classic China, the philosophers tried to be part of the imperial council. But the doors of the palaces remained closed. Then, they have gone to the people, spreading philosophy. In the PRC, the political philosophy, without lost its popular roots, comes now from the state power, from a party with 96 million of militants and a youth organization with 81 million, supported by a colligation of eight democratic parties, that founded together the PRC, based in a fundamental text that guarantee that those parties have the constitutional right to share the power. A political system based on the Multiparty Cooperation and Political Consultation and People's Assemblies.

The critical resource to understand the Chinese way to a New Era, is political philosophy, from its classic roots to the modern contributions of political philosophy [Santos Queirós 2020]. If we looks to the last hundred years, China let hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend, since the Three Principles of the People, from Sun Yat Sen to the Ecocivilization of Xi. Two mains' principles define

a collective awareness of China about international police: respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and peaceful coexistence [Sun Yat-Sen 1927].

Lao Zi wrote that we must respect the intrinsic laws of nature and things. Acting without acting. What mean, act with minimal interference, but with firm will and moral sense. And wrote: "When Tao is present in the Universe, horses instill manure on the field. When the Tao is absent from the Universe, war horses are created at the door of cities" [Lao Zi 2013, *101, 105, 111*]. "Violent man will die violently" [Lao Zi 2013, *119*].

The way of peace cross the political of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, from Mao and Chu En Lai: remembering mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and co-operation to mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence [Mao Tse-Tung 2004; Zhou Enlai 1989, *128*]. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, integrated in the preamble of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, was adopted by the Non-Aligned Movement, in the core of Cold War and reproduced in the BRICS, the Belt and Road initiative and are present in all international agreements of China.

At UN, since 1991, most China's abstentions and all its vetoes have occurred on issues that involve territorial integrity, primarily sanctions and the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court, facts proven by international independent research, that concluding: "These votes directly correspond to China's promotion of the Five Principles, especially the principles of mutual respect for territory and sovereignty and mutual noninterference in the internal affairs of other states" [Murphy 2022, 193].

"Safeguarding World Peace" is too, one of the three historical tasks of Chinese socialism pathway, proclaims by Deng Xiao Ping, the second "Achieve National Reunification", applying the principle of one country, two systems, and the third, promote "Common Development", with the reform and open up.

The Chinese political declaration after the telephone call of 25 February 2022, when President Xi Jinping spoke with Russian President Vladimir Putin, postulated: "China supports Russia in resolving the issue through negotiation with Ukraine. China has long held the basic position of respecting all countries' sovereignty and territorial integrity and abiding by the purposes and principles of the UN Charter" [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Peoples Republic of China 2022a].

I underline: the basic position of respecting all countries' sovereignty and territorial integrity. And I remember the Tao: Acting without acting. What means, act, with minimal interference, but with firm will: Russia must respect sovereignty and territorial integrity. And moral sense: abiding by the purposes and principles of the UN Charter! Russia began the first peace talks, the day after.

The political speech also needs to be friendly and restrained. President Xi added: "It is important to reject the Cold War mentality and reach a European security mechanism through negotiation" [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Peoples Republic of China 2022a]. In synthesis: China does not support the Russian war but does not agree with the escalation of sanctions, considering that, injured innocent people, do not respect the international laws, and could push the world into recession and economic chaos. The metaphor of "mentality of Cold War" is a critical reference to the NATO' continued military deployment eastward, admitting that deployment has challenged Russia's strategic red line. And China, in parallel, proposed The Global Security Initiative for Peace, introducing a new principle for sustainable security: the Principle of Indivisible Security. Chinese President Xi Jinping on June 15 held a phone conversation with his Russian counterpart, Vladimir Putin and recently, a personal talk. And China does not change their position of principle [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Peoples Republic of China 2022b].

The Russian president says now that support the Global Security Initiative for Peace. And in the recent UN assembly the speech of Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov represents a strategic inflexion that must be considered.

The last, but not the least: During 77th UN Assembly, one day before the referenda, Chinese Foreign Minister in a meeting with Ukrainian Foreign Minister said that Chinese President Xi Jinping has pointed out that sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries must be respected, the purposes and principles of the UN Charter must be fully observed, the legitimate security concerns of all countries must be taken seriously, and all efforts that are conducive to the peaceful settlement of the crisis, must be supported [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Peoples Republic of China 2022c].

# The Global Security Initiative for Peace and the Principle of Indivisible Security

President Xi Jinping propose the Global Initiative for Peace on the Annual Conference of the Boao Forum for Asia, April 2022 "The principle of indivisible security", rejects the path of building one's own security at the expense of the security of others, the opposite strategic concept that led to the creation of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and the escalation of Cold War [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Peoples Republic of China 2022d].

This principle is in line with the principles of the UN, is committed to respect for the sovereignty and integrity of all countries, advocates non-interference in their internal affairs and respects the different political and social regimes chosen by the history of their peoples

This new architecture, for perpetual peace, can be built from the United Nations and accompanied by the progressive dismantling of military pacts and the progressive reduction of mass destruction weapons PRC nuclear, chemical, biological, digital... The last pollical declaration of the representative of China in UN, reinforce this position, PRC wants that all mass destruction weapons be banish.

### USA plan against Chinese Threat and China Global Development Initiative

In the year of 2021, two documents established two opposite strategies to the world. The Global Development Initiative (GDI), proposed by China on the United Nations Assembly in 2021, aims catch up and accomplish the UN's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, on risk by pandemic and regional conflicts, with a strong contribution of China in all critical domains, from health to the green transition [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Peoples Republic of China 2022e].

The American plan accuses China of rampant intellectual property theft, counterfeiting and piracy, and deflated commodity prices using forced labor, costing American jobs, and decimating entire industries and towns throughout the United States. China is accusing of using immigration system and exploits U.S. businesses and academic institutions to obtain access to cutting-edge American technology and information. And too, of illicitly acquiring proprietary and critical information, which undermines American safety of armed forces... And to be responsible for

the tragic balance of COVID 19 in US!? More than one million of causalities'... [U.S. Department of Homeland Security 2021].

The plan announces the restriction and police surveillance of all activities and citizens of China in the US and a global partnership around all continents, including the Arctic but also the sidereal space, with the same negative intention. The "EU-China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment" was the last victim of that aggressive plan".

#### That agreement can sustain the fall of Europe

When the China-EU Comprehensive Investment Agreement (CAI), after seven years of negotiations, was finally signed in December 2020, Ursula Von der Leyen, president of the European Commission-EC, signaled its strategic importance for the European Union, already living in a new economic crisis accelerated by the pandemic, because the CAI would allow "unprecedented access to the Chinese market".

Chinese and Europeans wanted to facilitate market access and reduce investment barriers, helping to recover European industry and economy in sectors such as transport, health equipment, telecommunications...

The agreement provided, in the financial sector, the elimination of the requirements required for the formation of joint ventures around banking, insurance trading and shares, as well as asset management, considered strategic sectors.

China, in the health sector, opened the market to joint ventures to hospital units in several cities of a population of tens of millions, such as Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Guangzhou and Shenzhen.

China was committed to removing the current requirements for the formation of joint ventures in the automotive sector, also opening the door to the market for green vehicles

The two sides agreed on rules against the forced transfer of technology, transparency standards in the allocation of subsidies, commitments related to sustainable development (environmental anti-dumping rules), food and health safety.

Managers and specialists of European companies (EU) would be able to work in Chinese subsidiaries for three years without restrictions.

In contrast, China hoped that the CAI would help develop emerging cutting-edge technologies and consolidate the Eurasian Silk Road, providing a 5% increase in China's exports to the EU by 2021. Common economic development would help to contain the spread and escalation of the economic war with which US governments, in increasing violation of international law, have sought to maintain their status as a hegemonic power.

However, the EU Parliament decreed sanctions against Xinjiang's rulers and China has responded with sanctions against some EU officials. Accomplishing the Plan against China, US leaders used again their influence over the dominant parties in the European Parliament to suspend ratification of the agreement. Von Leyden was silenced.

What really happens in Xinjiang? A pilot zone of Ecocivilization!

19 ambassadors of Europe in addition to Japan, Canada and Australia sent letters to the UN Human Rights Council criticizing China's policy in Xinjiang towards Uighur Muslims. 65 countries, including the main Muslin countries, supported Chinese policy in Xinjiang through the response letter addressed to the same Council, praising what they call China's remarkable achievements in the field of human rights. And they stress: "Faced with the grave challenge of terrorism and extremism, China has undertaken a number of counter-terrorism and deradicalization measures in Xinjiang, including the creation of vocational training and education centers".

None of the muslin countries support US accusations. I remembers that UN Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee record 16 years of terrorist attacks in Xinjiang. The letter that support China is signed by major Islamic countries, including the allies from the U.S., Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Oman, Kuwait, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain... [Yellinek and Chen 2019].

The preoccupation of US governments and some European states with Muslims is not credible, only the sectarian policy in their own country, against these communities, is real. Criticizing the last Republican administration, Kenneth Roth, Executive Director, wrote: "Donald Trump's Administration <...> promoted hatred against racial and religious minorities <...>. Support for religious freedom abroad has been undermined by internal Islamophobic politics..." [Roth 2020a].

The American and European sources about Xinjiang are fake:

Adrian Zenz is the main source. It is an employee of Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation, created by ex-CIA officers and neo-Nazis international groups, financed by neoconservative Jamestown Foundation in Washington, DC, Reagan Foundation, and others <...>. Is not a real preacher and is not a real academic... The academic tittles do not correspond to a real pathway as research in the university. He was teaching computers but find a real opportunity of good business. Adrian Zenz took a place as lecturer at the European School of Culture and Theology. This campus is the German base of Columbia International University, a US-based evangelical Christian seminary which considers the "Bible [to be] the ultimate foundation and the final truth in fundamental aspect of our lives. Lionel Vairon, a French diplomat, and entrepreneur, with a background of oriental and Chinese studies, denounced the fake tittles of this fundamentalist. Adrian Zenz, in an interview of Wall Street Journal said that was "led by God" against China's government. 'I feel very clearly led by God to do this'<sup>2</sup>. Along with his "mission" against China, heavenly guidance has apparently prompted Zenz to denounce homosexuality, gender equality, and the banning of physical punishment against children as threats to Christianity, in a book he co-authored in 2012, titled Worthy to Escape: Why All Believers Will Not Be Raptured Before the Tribulation. First try Tibet, Xinjiang after, the preacher left the obscurity of ESCT and was transformed on a propagandist dedicated to justifying the US interference in the cooperation international of China, namely with UE.

The World Uyghur Congress strives to promote democracy for the Uyghur people through peaceful, nonviolent, and democratic means but never condemned terrorism against the peoples of Xinjiang. It is a hidden organization that hides how is financed and are choose their representatives, and why appear in Deutschland?

Better Cotton Initiative. The president of BCI Council is Marc Lewkowitz, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Adrian Zenz claims that he is an evangelist "guided" by his faith, and that God has commanded him to fight Against China! He is also an active figure in an American anti-communist far-right organization [Chin 2019]. View the interview with French writer Maxime Vivas [CGTN 2021]. And the book *Défis chinois: Introduction à une géopolitique de la Chine*, de Lionel Vairon (Doctor in Far Eastern Studies and Graduate of Chinese and Political Science, diplomat and entrepreneur), an important work to understand China's rise in global geopolitics [Vairon 2006].

CEO of SUPIMA, from USA, that is in concurrency with the cotton market of Xinjiang. The delegation of Shangai, that monitor Xinjiang since 2012 denied any violations of human rights in that province.

Human Rights Watch was created during Cold War by CIA, with the old name of Watch, to scratch image of socialist countries using the matter of human rights, focused on the manipulation of the Article 21, the concept of democracy. Now is controlled by the Democratic Party and Ford Foundation. In the year 2020, when China achieves eradication of extreme poverty to 850 millions of people, the same Kenneth Roth, in the presentation of Human Rights Watch's World Report 2020, wrote: "An inhospitable terrain for human rights is aiding the Chinese government's attack. A growing number of governments that previously could be relied on at least some of the time to promote human rights in their foreign policy now have leaders, such as United States President Donald Trump, who are unwilling to do so" [Roth 2020b]. Trump as a follower of Xi, is amazing the non-sense!

The American sanctions and protectionism directed against China's economy has collaterally caused the contraction of world trade and serious damage to the economy of the European Union, which has China's main market.

#### The economic war against China

From the perspective of PRC, all the conflicts that the United States promotes directly or indirectly, using interference, aggression, and civil war, are part of a strategic plan to retake American hegemonism. The fusion of the complex military-industrial with the oligarchy of finance, oil, real estate, and the media business, created a deep social gap where 1% control 93% of the GDP Gross Domestic Product, and the budget of the two hegemonic parties are dependent on their funding. From China's standpoint, a world divided by confrontations of blocs, with military tactical conflicts, the supremacy of the business over the sustainable environment, are the core of the US political economy.

In that framework, the success or failure of an aggressive strategy depends on the correct choice of the principal direction of the attack. What is the main weakness of China's economy? China has a high dependency on oil imports. China's dependence on crude oil imports reached nearly 73% in 2021, making the country's energy supply more vulnerable to the impacts of geopolitical conflicts. The United States is now auto sufficient in oil and gas, using a very polluted technology in shale basins called hydraulic fracturing, or fracking.

But every attempt to input responsibilities and sanctions against China, connected with the Ukraine war, failed. And it is a bad idea to try to provoke a recession in China's economy, when the US and Europe Union fall into recession. On the other hand, China refuses the NATO way of a new arms race.

#### Conclusions

China defends the integrity of Ukraine and the right of Ukraine to choose the integration into EU.

The implementation of the China-EU Comprehensive Investment Agreement (CAI) can involve Ukraine and all Eurasian countries, in building a peaceful and common future, and support a sustainable reconstruction of Ukraine.

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