









PRC'S "PEACE GAME" THE WAR IN UKRAINE

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The report represents the update of Civic IDEA's last year's take on "PRC's two-fold game in the Russian-Ukrainian war" (See: https://civicidea.ge/en/prcs-twofold-game-in-the-russian-ukrainian-war/new/), which overviewed the set of tactical and strategic narratives from Beijing related to the first four months of the Russia-Ukraine war. It explores the dynamics of the relationship between Beijing and Moscow in various domains, including politics, international platforms, economics, military cooperation, and disinformation campaigns. Despite occasional gestures towards peace, China's actions and statements indicate a difficult fixture in which it balances its relationships with both Russia and the West. Hence, our research aims to raise questions about China's true intentions and complex game in Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine.

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KEY PHASES OF SINO-RUSSIAN RELATIONS

IN LEADING UP TO RUSSIA'S INVASION OF UKRAINE AND SINCE THE WAR

TIMELINE

05/06/2019

Xi Jinping called Russian President Vladimir Putin his "best friend" as the two met in Moscow. During the meeting, the two sides forged a "Comprehensive Strategic Partnership of Coordination for a New Era", or in other words, a no-limits partnership.

23/11/2021

The two sides signed a Road Map for Military Cooperation for 2021-2025. This agreement laid the foundation for the PRC's participation in Russia's annual military training and drills.

04/02/2022

agreements, including in the geopolitical and economic areas, followed by law enforcement, foreign affairs, trade in goods, investment cooperation, agriculture, global navigation satellite systems, gas purchase, sales, informatization, and digitalization. China announced it would allow wheat imports from Russia while also signing the 30-

China and Russia signed 15 cooperation

22/02/2022

Ming Jinwei, the senior editor at Xinhua News Agency, himself posted in his blog the instructions about how to approach coverage of Ukraine, using a pro-Russian language later to gain the Kremlin's support on the Taiwan case.

China announced it would allow wheat imports from Russia while also signing the 30-year deal on increased imports of Russian oil and gas.

25/02/2022

Wang Wenbin, the Chinese foreign ministry spokesperson, at the briefing announced official position, that China opposes the use of sanctions against Russia as they do not represent an efficient way to cope with the problem.

28/02/2022

China voted against Ukraine's initiative to hold an urgent debate at the UN Human Rights Council (HRC) on the Situation of Human Rights in Ukraine deriving from Russian aggression.

02/03/2022

First time, China officially refrained from the UN resolution condemning Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

03/2022 – ONWARDS

The People's Daily, Global Times, and the PRC's state broadcaster CCTV have been promoting the Russian government's allegations that the United States is supporting the development of biological weapons in Ukraine.

13/03/2022

Financial Times, New York Times, and several other international media outlets leaked information about the Kremlin requesting military assistance (including missiles, drones, intelligence-related equipment, armored vehicles, vehicles for logistics, and support) from Beijing in support of the full-scale invasion of Ukraine.

08/10/2022 - 24/03/2023

based on the Russian customs data, the Chinese company Quzhou Nova bought copper alloy worth \$7.4 million from the Donetsk region annexed by Russia, completely ignoring Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

02/11/2022

South China Morning Post reported that Russian forces struck Ukrainian cities with suicide drones built in Iran using parts knocked off from China.

24/02/2023

The Chinese MFA officially issued "China's Position on the Political Settlement of the Ukraine Crisis," according to which the PRC disapproves of the sanctions imposed on Russia and criticized the US's "cold war mentality," urging all parties not to join the policies of Western alliances or individual states of EU / NATO.

20/03/2023

President Putin praised "Good Old Friend" Xi Jinping in an article published by Chinese media sources on the eve of Xi's arrival in Moscow.

20/03/2023

Xi Jinping arrived in Moscow and discussed China's 12-point peace plan with Putin, who agreed to act according to Xi's proposed strategy.

16/04/2023

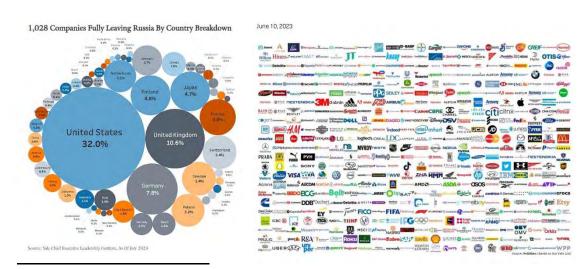
the PRC's Defense Minister, Li Shangfu, visited Moscow and met with his Russian colleague Shoigu, as well as President Putin. The two sides agreed on conducting more joint military training and professional exchanges.

INTRODUCTION

A year and three months after the start of the brutal war in Ukraine, official Beijing is still continuing its two-fold game, accompanied by highly dubious and covert actions supporting the Russian Federation. These activities go in line with other equally significant events. On March 17, 2023, the International Criminal Court officially recognized Putin as a war criminal, issuing his arrest warrant due to the illegal deportation of children and unlawful transfer of people from Ukraine to Russia orchestrated by the Russian military forces.¹

Pre-Trial Chamber II considered, based on the Prosecution's applications of 22 February 2023, that there are reasonable grounds to believe that each suspect bears responsibility for the war crime of unlawful deportation of population and that unlawful transfer of population from occupied areas of Ukraine to the Russian Federation, in prejudice of Ukrainian children.

Furthermore, Western democracies have maintained and even multiplied sanctions against the Russian Federation, resulting in the total outflow of Western companies from the Russian Federation. Based on the Yale School of Management data, up to now, over 1000 Western companies have already left the Russian market.² Moreover, the West is going to slap sanctions on those Chinese companies that actively cooperate with Russia by supporting its war with Chinese goods and services.³



¹ International Criminal Court. (2023, 03 17). Situation in Ukraine: ICC judges issue arrest warrants against Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin and Maria Alekseyevna Lvova-Belova. From www.icc-cpi.int: https://www.icc-cpi.int/news/situation-ukraine-icc-judges-issue-arrest-warrants-against-vladimir-vladimirovich-putin-and
² Yale School of Management. (2023, 05 14). Over 1,000 Companies Have Curalled Operations in Russia—But

Some Remain. From som.yale.edu: https://som.yale.edu/story/2022/over-1000-companies-have-curtailed-operations-russia-some-remain

³ Narayan, J. (2023, 05 08). *EUs plans to slap sanctions on Chinese firms aiding Russia's war machine* . From www.reuters.com: <u>reut.rs/3YccqYb</u>

Nonetheless, Beijing still maintains its non-compliance with the sanctions policy. It explains its relations with Moscow as a prerogative for the fast and effective resolution of the Russia-Ukraine war, in which the PRC wishes to play the role of peacemaker. Precisely for that reason, the PRC has published a 12-point peace plan, "China's Position on the Political Settlement of the Ukraine Crisis," aiming at ending the ongoing war and urging sides to maintain peace in the region. (See the 12-point plan by PRC attached) Apart from official statements, many policy experts believe that the CCP's attempt at war settlement has failed because its objectives are far too general to serve as a strategy for actual peace, and beyond the declarations, there are no actual actions proposed or projected for achieving stated goals. The Chinese initiative should instead be seen as a component of China's escalating diplomatic and informational rivalry with the United States. Therefore, it is no surprise that the Chinese ambassador to the European Union, Fu Cong, expressed concerns regarding the West calling for Ukraine to attain complete victory in the war and support it with weapons. At the event hosted by the Brussels-based European Policy Center, he highlighted that the solution to the war could only be achieved at the negotiation table.

It is not only Ukraine, but first and foremost, China wants to position itself as a potential peacemaker in the entire global south. This determination is eloquently illustrated in the concept paper describing China's Global Security Initiative (GSI)⁷ released the same week it offered the Ukraine peace plan. Obviously, nobody believes in such coincidence. The GSI anticipates China playing a more prominent role in preserving international peace, particularly in the developing world, through discussion, development, and negotiation. Besides, they believe that Russia will never sit at the negotiating table initiated by the West, and in this case, only China can leverage Russia to end the war. So, they see it as an opportunity for critically important leadership and taking the initiative.

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⁴ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the People's Republic of China. (2023, 02 24). *China's Position on the Political Settlement of the Ukraine Crisis.* From www.fmprc.gov.cn:

https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/202302/t20230224_11030713.html

⁵ Bekkevold, J. I. (2023, 04 04). *China's 'Peace Plan' for Ukraine Isn't About Peace*. From www.foreignpolicy.com: https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/04/04/china-xi-ukraine-russia-peace-plan-diplomacy-global-south/

⁶ Lau, S. (2023, 02 08). *China to EU: Drop calls for Ukraine's 'complete victory'*. From www.politico.eu: https://www.politico.eu/article/drop-idea-complete-victory-ukraine-china-eu-volodymyr-zelenskyy-fu-cong-xi-jinping-russia/

⁷ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the People's Republic of China. (2023, 02 21). *The Global Security Initiative Concept Paper*. From www.fmprc.gov.cn:

https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjbxw/202302/t20230221_11028348.html

POLITICAL RELATIONS

Sino-Russian political relations have been exceptionally controversial both on bilateral and international levels. Since the beginning of the war, China has portrayed itself as the mediator and peacemaker while indirectly aligning with Russia against the West.⁸ In the newly released document "China's Position on the Political Settlement of the Ukraine Crisis", the PRC clearly disapproved of the sanctions imposed on Russia and criticized the US's "cold war mentality," urging all parties not to join the policies of Western alliances or individual states of EU or NATO.⁴ Moreover, if we compare the CCP's official meetings and calls with the parties at war, we find that the state visits and calls to the Russian authorities far exceed the same actions made toward Ukraine.

SINO-RUSSIAN CORRESPONDENCE SINCE FEBRUARY 22, 2022 **CORRESPONDENCE** TIME PRC's Foreign Minister Wang Yi spoke with Russian Foreign 24/02/2022 Minister Sergey Lavrov on the phone Xi-Putin call 25/02/2022 Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi met Russian Foreign Minister 30/03/2023 Sergey Lavrov in Anhui Province Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister Le Yucheng met with Russia's 18/04/2022 ambassador to China, Andrey Ivanovich Denisov Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi spoke at a forum jointly held 01/06/2022 by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Russian International Affairs Council, which his Russian counterpart Sergei Lavrov also attended Xi-Putin phone call 15/06/2022 23/06/2022 General Secretary Xi Jinping speaks at the BRICS Leaders' Summit, which brings together the heads of state of five emerging economies: Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa

⁸ Bondaz, A. (2023, 03 10). "La Chine n'est pas et ne sera pas le médiateur de la guerre en Ukraine". From www.lemonde.fr: https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2023/03/10/antoine-bondaz-sinologue-la-chine-n-est-pas-et-ne-sera-pas-le-mediateur-de-la-guerre-en-ukraine 6164902 3232.html

Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Ma Zhaoxu held a conversation with the Russian ambassador to China, Andrey Denisov	06/07/2022
PRC's Foreign Minister Wang Yi meets with Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov at the G20 Foreign Ministers Meeting	07/07/2022
China's top legislator Li Zhanshu travels to Vladiostok to attend Russia's Eastern Economic Forum on foreign investment in the region	07/09/2022
Xi Jinping-Vladimir Putin meeting at Shanghai Cooperation Organization Summit in Uzbekistan	15/09/2022
China's Foreign Minister, Wang Yi's phone call with Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergey Lavrov	27/10/2022
A member of the CCP's Politburo Standing Committee and Director of China's Foreign Affairs Commission, Wang Yi met with Putin and other Russian leaders	23/02/2023
Xi Jinping-Vladimir Putin meeting in Moscow	20/03/2023
PRC's Defense Minister, Li Shangfu, met with his Russian colleague Shoigu and President Putin in Moscow	16/04/2023
Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Qin Gang and Vice Foreign Minister Ma Zhaoxu held talks with Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Rudenko in Beijing	25/06/2023

SINO-UKRAINIAN CORRESPONDENCE

SINCE FEBRUARY 22, 2022



CORRESPONDENCE	TIME
Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi spoke with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba on the phone	01/03/2022
Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi held a phone call with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba	04/04/2022
Xi Jinping had a phone call with Ukrainian President Zelensky	26/04/2023



Source: bit.ly/3qficf7

Without going into the details of all visits and communication, we can recall Xi Jinping's most recent visit to Moscow on March 20, 2023, and his meeting with Vladimir Putin at Kremlin. Chinese President's decision to visit Moscow on the day following the International Criminal Court's indictment of President Putin and the issue of a warrant for Putin's arrest as a war criminal sent a strong message of support and alignment with the Kremlin. It is also to be outlined that it was not their first meeting since the Russian aggression in Ukraine. The two leaders already held tete-a-tete meetings a short time before, in September 2022 in Uzbekistan, within the frames of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Summit.

Within the frames of their 4.5-hour meeting in the Kremlin, two presidents discussed the issue of Ukraine from the prism of Xi's 12-point peace plan. Vladimir Putin highlighted that he is ready to settle the conflict with Ukraine based on Xi Jinping's proposed strategy, which did not specify that Russia must withdraw from Ukraine. Still, he gave general and ambiguous directives regarding the respect of the sovereignty of all countries, together with the condemnation of sanctions and the undesirable membership of Ukraine to Western alliances.

⁹ McCarthy, S., & Picheta, R. (2023, 03 20). *China's Xi stresses close ties with 'dear friend' Putin during his first visit to Russia since Ukraine invasion.* From www.edition.cnn.com:

https://edition.cnn.com/2023/03/20/europe/xi-putin-china-russia-visit-monday-intl-hnk/index.html ¹⁰ Ck Tan, N. s. (2022, 09 15). *Putin concedes China has 'concerns' on Ukraine in Xi meeting.* From www.asia.nikkei.com: https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/International-relations/Putin-concedes-China-has-concerns-on-Ukraine-in-Xi-meeting

¹¹ Chatterjee, P. (2023, 03 20). *Putin to Xi: We will discuss your plan to end the war in Ukraine*. From www.bbc.com: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-65018657



Source: https://bit.ly/43S5L72

Prior to Xi Jinping's visit, in February, a member of the Chinese Communist Party's Politburo Standing Committee and Director of China's Foreign Affairs Commission, Wang Yi, also paid an official visit to Moscow and met with Vladimir Putin. The top Chinese diplomat assured the Russian president of their relations being "solid as a rock" amid the West's aspirations for global domination. Mr. Wang Yi stated, "China is willing to work with Russia to deepen political trust and extend pragmatic cooperation." Mr. Wang expressed official Beijing's desire to unite with Moscow in promoting world peace and prosperity.

Regardless of whether the meetings involve high-ranking or low-ranking officials, the consistent theme revolves around strengthening political, economic, foreign, and military ties between Russia and China, both bilaterally and on international platforms (e.g., the Shanghai Cooperation Organization¹³).

As a counterweight to "the warm Sino-Russian relations", the first and long-awaited official Xi-Zelensky call since Russia's invasion of Ukraine occurred only in April 2023. No

¹² Deutsche Welle. (2023, 02 22). *Russia, China underline close relations amid war in Ukraine.* From www.dw.com: https://www.dw.com/en/russia-china-underline-close-relations-amid-war-in-ukraine/a-64781083

¹³ CGTN. (2023, 06 25). *Chinese Foreign Ministry holds talks with Russian Deputy FM Rudenko in Beijing*. From www.news.cgtn.com: https://news.cgtn.com/news/2023-06-25/Chinese-FM-meets-Russian-deputy-FM-in-Beijing-1kVj1t5lkUg/index.html

¹⁴ Chew, A. (2022, 08 04). *Volodymyr Zelensky seeking 'direct talks' with China's Xi Jinping to help end Russia's invasion of Ukraine*. From www.scmp.com: https://www.scmp.com/print/week-asia/politics/article/3187580/volodymyr-zelensky-seeking-direct-talks-chinas-xi-jinping-help

details have been revealed from the one-hour talk; however, the feedback messages afterward were vague and careful, leaving out two words from the Chinese part: "Russia" and "War". 15 Xi Jinping mostly repeated the general statements regarding the importance of restoring and keeping the peace and "respect for sovereignty". He also highlighted that the PRC would send a special envoy to Ukraine and other countries (without specifying Russia) for deepening interaction with all parties and the peaceful settlement of the crisis (without mentioning war). 16 Later, it became known that China plans to send Li Hui, a former deputy foreign minister of the PRC and the Chinese ambassador to Russia from 2009-2019, on the abovementioned special mission in Ukraine. President Zelensky was more precise.¹⁷ The statement released by the Ukrainian side talks about bilateral trade relations. He updated the Chinese leader about the disastrous consequences of the Russian invasion, the abduction of Ukrainian kids by Russians, and the nuclear threat derived from the Russian occupation of the Zaporizhzhia Nuclear Power Plant. 18 Zelensky, who has been waiting for this call for over a year, articulated his hopes for using the PRC's political influence over Russia and its role in restoring peace merely by following Ukraine's peace formula. "Nobody wants peace more than the Ukrainian people. We are on our land and fighting for our future, exercising our inalienable right to self-defense. Peace must be just and sustainable, based on the principles of international law and respect for the U.N. Charter. There can be no peace at the expense of territorial compromises. The territorial integrity of Ukraine must be restored within its 1991 borders," mentioned Zelensky.

Is China really looking for peace?

In April 2023, the Chinese ambassador to France and leading figure of the Chinese diplomatic corps, Lu Shaye, claimed that "in international law, even these ex-Soviet Union countries do not have the effective status because there is no international agreement to materialize their status of a sovereign country". ¹⁹ The statement unmasked the CCP's genuine position regarding the sovereignty of the post-soviet states, Russia's aggression, and occupation of territories, justifying its close relations with Kremlin. ²⁰ The situation became

¹⁵ Pierson, D., Santora, M., & Wang, V. (2023, 04 28). *Xi and Zelensky Talk at Last, but Words Are Chosen Carefully.* From www.nytimes.com: https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/26/world/europe/ukraine-xi-zelensly-talks.html

¹⁶ The State Council of the People's Republic of China. (2023, 04 26). *China to send special envoy to mediate Ukraine crisis: Xi.* From www.english.www.gov.cn/news:

https://english.www.gov.cn/news/202304/26/content WS64492eacc6d03ffcca6eca90.html

¹⁷ New York Times. (2023, 04 26). *Russia-Ukraine War: Xi and Zelensky Speak in First Known Contact Since Russia's Invasion*. From www.nytimes.com: https://www.nytimes.com/live/2023/04/26/world/russia-ukraine-news ¹⁸ Ukrainian World Congress. (2023, 04 27). *Zelenskyy and Xi have a phone call – Key Takeaways*. From www.ukrainianworldcongress.org: https://www.ukrainianworldcongress.org/zelenskyy-and-xi-had-along-and-meaningful-phone-call-key-takeaways/

¹⁹ The Kyiv Independent news desk. (2023, 04 22). *China's ambassador to France says former Soviet countries have 'no status in international law'*. From www.kyivindependent.com: https://kyivindependent.com/chinas-ambassador-to-france-says-former-soviet-countries-have-no-effective-status-in-international-law/

²⁰ Almqvist, V. (2022, 11 23). European Parliament declares Russia to be a state sponsor of terrorism. From www.europarl.europa.eu: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20221118IPR55707/european-parliament-declares-russia-to-be-a-state-sponsor-of-terrorism

more complex when according to the news acquired by the Japanese media outlet Kyodo News, on May 10, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC sent an official notice to the various foreign embassies (Canada, Germany, Poland) in Beijing to remove the signboards supporting Ukraine from the outer walls of their embassy buildings justifying this act by "avoiding causing conflicts between states". 21 Moreover, the appointment of the former Chinese Ambassador to Russia as a special representative in Ukraine, together with initiating the call with Zelensky only after the European leaders' (French president Macron and EU Commission president Von der Leyen) trip to Beijing, already shows it's two-fold strategies. As posted by the Chinese consulate in Auckland regarding Xi Jinping's key addresses to Zelensky: "China did not create the Ukraine crisis, nor is it a party to the crisis. As a permanent member of the UN Security Council and a major responsible country, China would not sit idly by, nor would it add oil to the fire, still less exploit the situation for selfgains. Everything China does is aboveboard."22 In reality, the PRC might not see the end of the war shortly, which is a beneficial occasion for its foreign policy goals for further boosting its political and diplomatic influence over Russia and globally by positioning itself as a peacebroker global mediator.²³ CCP hopes are based on the hypothesis that President Putin will never accept dialogue with Ukraine under the leadership or within the Western European or US mediation frames, leaving the PRC as the only alternative actor playing neutral power to negotiate peace. While Zelensky shows interest in leveraging Russia through China, Xi Jinping hopes to leverage the whole world through the Russia-Ukraine war.

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²¹ Kyodo News. (2023, 05 16). *China urges embassies to remove signs showing support for Ukraine*. From www.english.kyodonews.net: https://english.kyodonews.net/news/2023/05/36cfa44f8bb4-china-urges-embassies-to-remove-signs-showing-support-for-ukraine.html

²²Consulate General of the People's Republic of China in Auckland. (2023, 04 26). *President Xi Jinping Speaks with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy on the Phone*. From www.auckland.china-consulate.gov.cn: http://auckland.china-consulate.gov.cn/eng/chinanews/202304/t20230426 11066785.htm

²³ McCarthy, S. (2023, 04 27). With Zelensky call, Xi Jinping steps up bid to broker peace – but does he have a plan? From www.edition.cnn.com: https://edition.cnn.com/2023/04/27/china/china-ukraine-xi-jinping-zelensky-call-analysis-intl-hnk/index.html

VOTING IN THE UNITED NATIONS INSTITUTIONS

Since the beginning of the war, China has constantly tried to avoid recognizing Russian aggression against Ukraine in the international arena. To recall several occasions:

<u>In October 2022</u> – The PRC **abstained** from voting on Russia's annexation of Ukraine in the UN Security Council.²⁴

<u>In November 2022</u> – China **abstained** from voting in favor of a resolution at the UN General Assembly (UNGA) demanding Russia be held responsible for the invasion of Ukraine and urging that Moscow make up the losses incurred during the war.²⁵

<u>In February 2023</u> – The PRC **abstained** (for the 3rd time since the war started) from voting in favor of a resolution in the UNGA calling for an end to the war and demanding that Russia leave Ukrainian territory.²⁶



Nonetheless, on April 26^{th,} 2023, for the first time since the beginning of the war, after the call with President Zelensky, we saw a slight change in the PRC's behavior in the United Nations. More precisely, China, together with India, Armenia, and Kazakhstan, voted in favor

²⁴ Bottollier-Depois, A. (2022, 10 1). China abstains in UN Security Council vote on Russia's annexations of Ukraine. From www.hongkongfp.com: https://hongkongfp.com/2022/10/01/china-abstains-in-un-security-council-vote-on-russias-annexations-of-ukraine/

²⁵ Global Times staff reporters. (2022, 11 15). China votes against UNGA resolution that asks Russia to pay 'reparations' to Ukraine. From www.globaltimes.cn: https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202211/1279602.shtml
²⁶ Masih, N. (2023, 02 24). U.N. resolution to end Ukraine war: How countries voted and who abstained. From www.washingtonpost.com: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2023/02/24/un-ukraine-resolution-vote-countries/

of the UN resolution acknowledging the Russian aggression against Ukraine. Despite its vast content, the 9th paragraph of the resolution stated: "Recognizing also that the unprecedented challenges now facing Europe following the aggression by the Russian Federation against Ukraine, and against Georgia prior to that, and the cessation of the membership of the Russian Federation in the Council of Europe, (we) call for strengthened cooperation between the United Nations and the Council of Europe."²⁷ This paragraph was utterly neglected by the PRC's mission to the UN while voting in favor of the resolution.



How can this vote be explained? First of all, judging from this one vote, nobody expects Beijing to change its foreign policy direction due to its "long-lasting friendship" with Moscow. Secondly, the Chinese representative in the UN claimed that the country's official position about Ukraine has not changed, and Xi-Zelensky's call had little to do with the in-favor decision. Their vote endorsed the entire content of the document, not just that particular paragraph, as the resolution's primary focus was not Russia's war against Ukraine.²⁸ Therefore, China plays a complex game regarding the Russia-Ukraine war and always has an explanation for its changed and unusual actions.

²⁷ Liboreiro, J. (2023, 05 02). *China and India vote for UN resolution with a reference to Russia's 'aggression' against Ukraine*. From www.euronews.com: https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2023/05/02/china-and-india-vote-for-un-resolution-with-a-reference-to-russias-aggression-against-ukra

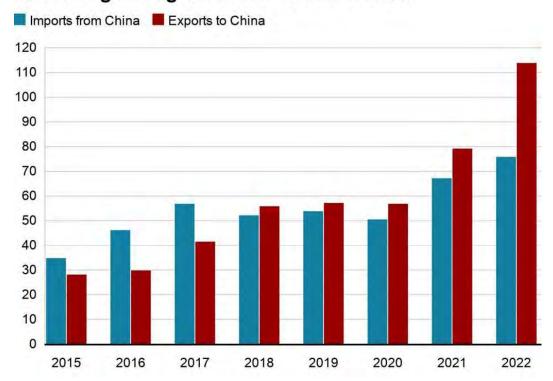
²⁸ Lau, J. (2023, 05 04). *China says its stand on Ukraine war 'has not changed' after UN vote.* From www.scmp.com: https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3219290/china-says-its-stand-ukraine-war-has-not-changed-after-un-vote

ECONOMIC TWISTS

BOOSTED SINO-RUSSIAN TRADE RELATIONS

In the 12-point peace proposal, China officially clarified that it opposes the unilateral sanctions initiated by the West against the Russian Federation since they are not authorized by the UN Security Council. It is also a fact that China is one of the few countries that benefit from these restrictions since, over the last year, the neglected Moscow has become significantly dependent on Beijing.²⁹ In other words, the PRC has become the leading financial supporter of Russia's war in Ukraine by embracing all the trade opportunities after the West cut off its economic ties with the aggressor state.³⁰

Russia's growing trade with China in US\$bn



Source: https://www.bbc.com/news/60571253

In 2022, Russia's economy shrank by 4,5%, while its total trade with the PRC rose to 34.3% (used to be 26.6% in 2021), reaching a new record of \$190 billion.³¹ The main reason behind

²⁹ McDonald, J. (2023, April 28). *Analysis: China's Ukraine plan mixes peace, self-interest*. From www.apnews.com: https://bit.ly/47a56QS

³⁰ Reality Check. (2023, 03 20). *Ukraine war: What support is China giving Russia?* From www.bbc.com: https://www.bbc.com/news/60571253

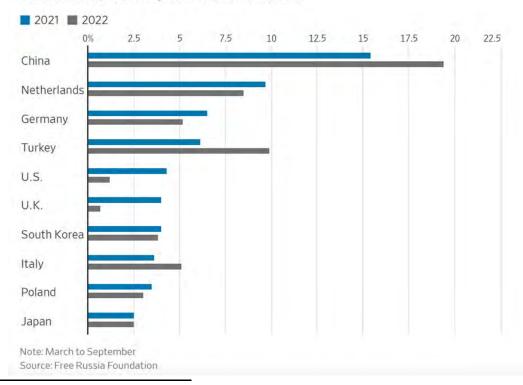
³¹ Global Times. (2023, 01 13). *China-Russia trade rises 34.3% to \$190 billion in 2022, a new record high.* From www.globaltimes.cn: https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202301/1283761.shtml

such growth is the energy trade between the two partners.³² Cheap energy supplies provided by desperate Russia, such as crude oil (45% increased sales compared to the previous year), Natural gas (an increase of 155%), and coal (51%), benefit the enormous Chinese manufacturing industry.³³ According to the agreement between Gazprom (GZPFY) and the China National Petroleum Corporation, Russia plans to supply China with even more gas over the next 25 years.

Moreover, Reuters indicated, based on the Russian customs data, that between October 8, 2022, and March 24, 2023, the Chinese company Quzhou Nova bought copper alloy worth \$7.4 million from the Donetsk region annexed by Russia, completely ignoring the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine.³⁴

In addition to energy dependency, Kremlin's technological dependence on China has also grown. Moscow increased purchases of Chinese semiconductors, drones, and microchips, playing an essential role in its war in Ukraine.³⁵





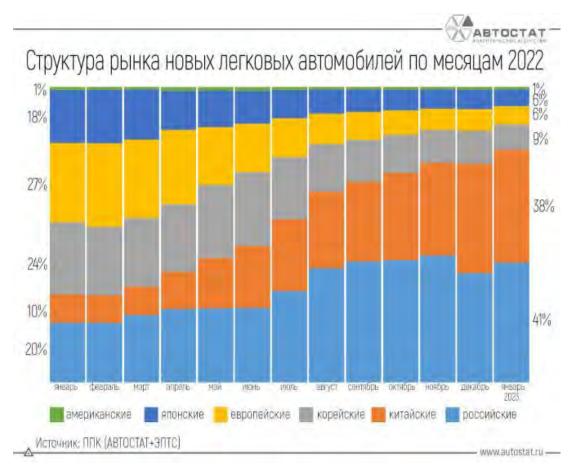
³² Habershon, A. (2023, 01 05). *Russia Sends Increasingly Cheap Arctic Oil to India, China*. From www.asiafinancial.com: https://www.asiafinancial.com/russia-sends-increasingly-cheap-arctic-oil-to-india-china

³³ He, L. (2023, 02 26). *China is helping to prop up the Russian economy. Here's how.* From www.edition.cnn.com: https://edition.cnn.com/2023/02/22/economy/china-russia-economic-ties-ukraine-intl-hnk/index.html

³⁴ Lebedev, F., & Stolyarov, G. (2023, 04 14). *Exclusive: Chinese firm imported copper from Russian-controlled part of Ukraine*. From www.reuters.com: https://www.reuters.com/markets/commodities/chinese-firm-imported-copper-russian-controlled-part-ukraine-data-2023-04-14/

³⁵ Kantchev, G., & Dulaney, C. (2023, 01 30). *Russia Boosts China Trade to Counter Western Sanctions*. From www.wsj.com: https://www.wsj.com/articles/russia-ramps-up-china-trade-to-counter-western-sanctions-11675079584

Moreover, Kremlin has spent billions importing Chinese machinery, electronics, base metals, automobiles, ships, and airplanes. According to the Russian Autostat, the trade share of Chinese cars increased from 10% to 38% after Western brands left the market.³⁶ As for electronics, Chinese smartphones hold 95% of the Russian market, effectively dominating the sector.³⁷



By March 2023, the Chinese Yuan already substituted the USD as the most operated currency in Russia. After cutting Russia from SWIFT, Chinese money has become exceptionally popular and used, facilitating its trade transactions with Chinese companies.³⁷ Yuan is mainly utilized for stabilizing the Russian ruble, which keeps facing tremendous devaluation after the sanctions.³⁸ This occasion serves the PRC's broader goals of

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³⁶ Loboda, V. (2023, 02 20). Доля рынка европейских и японских автомобилей в России упала до 6%/The market share of European and Japanese cars in Russia fell to 6%. From www.autostat.ru: https://www.autostat.ru/infographics/53937/

³⁷ Bloomberg News. (2023, 04 04). *China's Yuan Replaces Dollar as Most Traded in Russia*. From www.bloomberg.com: https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2023-04-03/china-s-yuan-replaces-dollar-as-most-traded-currency-in-russia?leadSource=uverify%20wall#xj4y7vzkg

³⁸ Dulaney, C., Gershkovich, E., & Simanovskaya, V. (2023, 02 28). *Russia Turns to China's Yuan in Effort to Ditch the Dollar*. From www.wsj.com: https://www.wsj.com/articles/russia-turns-to-chinas-yuan-in-effort-to-ditch-the-dollar-a8111457

establishing the Yuan as the world's dominant currency, surpassing USD, and transforming the global finance and commerce environment in a way convenient to the PRC.

The constantly expanding and growing scope of trade relations between the two is stretched by fear of international sanctions. Some signs of compliance are already visible; for example, UnionPay, a Chinese payment system, reportedly stopped accepting cards issued by Russian banks to avoid embargos from the West. In January 2023, US Treasury sanctioned *Changsha Tianyi Space Science and Technology Research Institute Co. LTD* (Spacety China). "It is a People's Republic of China (PRC)-based entity that has provided Terra Tech synthetic aperture radar satellite imagery orders over locations in Ukraine. These images were gathered to enable Wagner combat operations in Ukraine, "— says the statement from the Treasury Department.³⁹ *Changsha Tianya Space* is not the only Chinese company under sanctions. The European Union plans to sanction those Chinese companies that are aiding Russia against Ukraine. The list of debarred firms issued by the official Brussels involves seven Chinese companies — "two mainland Chinese companies, 3HC Semiconductors, and King-Pai Technology, along with five from Hong Kong, including Sinno Electronics, Sigma Technology, Asia Pacific Links, Tordan Industry and Alpha Trading Investments".

Since the Russian aggression in Ukraine, the US has repeatedly warned the Chinese government about the consequences of providing material support to Russia.⁴⁰ The PRC's substantial assistance to Russia's war in Ukraine was discussed during Blinken's two-day visit to Beijing on June 16, 2023. The US Secretary of State noted that he received assurances from China⁴¹ that it would not provide Russia with lethal aid.⁴² However, two aspects need to be considered: 1) The so-called Chinese "private" firms that can supply specific technologies to Kremlin used to its advantage in the war with Ukraine. 2) Instead of lethal assistance, China may facilitate the delivery of specific military components (semiconductors, microchips), which Russia can utilize to assemble lethal equipment itself. Notably, the initial goal of the visit was to ease the tensions between the world's two superpowers. "The United States and China have an obligation to responsibly manage our relationship," – mentioned Blinken while sitting at one table with President Xi.⁴³

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³⁹ Treasury, U. D. (2023, 01 26). *Treasury Sanctions Russian Proxy Wagner Group as a Transnational Criminal Organization*. From www.home.treasury.gov: https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy1220

⁴⁰ EURACTIV. (2023, 01 25). *US sees some Chinese companies helping Russia's Ukraine effort*. From

www.euractiv.com: https://www.euractiv.com/section/china/news/us-sees-some-chinese-companies-helping-russias-ukraine-effort/

⁴¹ Tharoor, I. (2023, 06 20). *US-China Ties are no Longer in Freefall, but its a rough road ahead.* From www.washingtonpost.com: https://bit.ly/44M36wM

⁴² Agence France Presse. (2023, 06 19). *Blinken Says China Promised Not To Send Arms To Russia*. From www.barrons.com: https://www.barrons.com/news/blinken-says-china-promised-not-to-send-lethal-arms-to-russia-9f5425

⁴³ Ott, H. (2023, 06 19). *Key takeaways from Antony Blinken's visit to China*. From www.cbsnews.com: https://www.cbsnews.com/news/key-takeaways-antony-blinken-china-xi-jinping/



Hence, the topics discussed during his meetings with the Chinese officials were not limited to the issue of war in Ukraine and Chinese aid to Russia. On his part, the Chinese president did not express support for Blinken's proposal to restore communication between the military forces of both countries, primarily because of the US sanctions imposed on the Chinese defense minister. Additionally, espionage emerged as a significant area of interest, with the PRC increasing its surveillance capabilities near Cuba to intercept US communications. Secretary Blinken refrained from elaborating on the Chinese president's reaction but acknowledged expressing his deep concern concerning this matter during his meeting with Xi. I am not going to characterize their response, but I told them that this is a serious concern for us, — mentioned Blinken. Although no breakthroughs were made on critical issues like Taiwan, it was announced that Xi is preparing to visit the US in November 2023 and meet with President Biden in San Francisco. This meeting might transpire as a turning point not only with regard to the war in Ukraine but also in terms of tensions between Taiwan and Sino-American relations in a broader context.

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⁴⁴ CBS News. (2023, 06 20). From www.twitter.com: https://twitter.com/CBSNews/status/1670936407618072576

⁴⁵ Cheng, E., Clinch, M., & Capoot, A. (2023, 06 18). *Blinken meets Chinese Foreign Minister Qin Gang on high-stakes diplomatic trip to Beijing*. From www.cnbc.com: https://www.cnbc.com/2023/06/18/blinken-meets-chinese-foreign-minister-qin-gang-in-high-stakes-trip.html

THE PROSPECTS OF SINO-UKRAINIAN RELATIONS

AFTER THE WAR

The PRC has been the number one trading partner for Ukraine since 2019.⁴⁶ Both countries have signed a number of agreements and MoU to strengthen their ties in infrastructure, manufacturing, construction, and other sectors. Ukraine's main imports from China include consumer goods, machinery, and equipment, while China imports food products, minerals, and various structural components from Ukraine.⁴⁷

Beijing is aware of its economic ability to offer Kyiv the finest possible deal to revive its economy during and especially after the war. 48 Secondly, President Zelensky wants to unite the whole world against Russia, and if economic cooperation with China gives a slight chance of shifting the latter's positioning in favor of Ukraine, he could possibly accept Chinese "help" together with Western assistance. This has been proved by the Xi-Zelensky call, during which both parties agreed on the further development of bilateral economic relations. "Before the full-scale Russian invasion, China was Ukraine's number one trading partner"..."I believe that our conversation today will give a powerful impetus to the return, preservation, and development of this dynamic at all levels." - mentioned President Zelensky during the call with the Chinese president. Nonetheless, considering Sino-Russian cooperation in economic, political, and other spheres, official Kyiv started thinking about the new China strategy. 49 The latter is still under development and will primarily address Ukraine's national interests, considering its aspirations towards the EU and NATO and accepting consequent responsibilities. The skepticism of the European Union and NATO member states about China's policies and initiatives is growing gradually. This is well illustrated by the example of Italy, the only G-7 country participating in the BRI that intends to exit the Chinese initiative soon.⁵⁰ In August 2022, Chair of Ukraine's Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Policy and Interparliamentary Cooperation Oleksandr Merezhko told the Voice of America that "Kyiv should seriously reconsider [its] strategic partnership" with Beijing due to its covert support for Moscow".51 Up to now, Ukraine's stance on China has remained unchanged, as reflected in the official position and documented agreements. China continues to be a vital strategic partner of Ukraine.

⁴⁶ Crane Ip. (2021, 02 03). *China remains Ukraine's largest trade partner in 2020.* From www.craneip.com: https://craneip.com/china-remains-ukraines-largest-trade-partner-in-2020/

⁴⁷ Embassy of Ukraine in the People's Republic of China. (2022, 05 16). *Trade and Economic Cooperation.* From www.china.mfa.gov.ua: https://china.mfa.gov.ua/en/partnership/economic-cooperation-en/trade-and-investments
⁴⁸ Yang, J. (2023, 03 21). *Explaining China's Diplomatic Strategy on Ukraine*. From www.thediplomat.com: https://thediplomat.com/2023/03/explaining-chinas-diplomatic-strategy-on-ukraine/

⁴⁹ Kuo, M. A. (2023, 02 13). *China-Ukraine Relations: Kyiv's Balancing Act* . From www.thediplomat.com: https://thediplomat.com/2023/02/china-ukraine-relations-kyivs-balancing-act/

⁵⁰ Albanese, C., & Speciale, A. (2023, 05 09). *Italy Intends to Exit China Belt and Road Pact as Ties Sour*. From www.bloomberg.com: https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2023-05-09/italy-intends-to-exit-china-belt-and-road-pact-as-relations-sour?leadSource=uverify%20wall

⁵¹ Liu, N. (2022, 08 30). *Ukraine Lawmaker Questions Kyiv's Strategic Partnership With Beijing*. From www.voanews.com: https://www.voanews.com/a/ukraine-lawmaker-questions-kyiv-strategic-partnership-with-beijing/6722870.html

SINO-RUSSIAN SECRET MILITARY BONDS



Source: https://bit.ly/43Q1CA9

Since the start of the Russian-Ukrainian war, there have been various collusive theories regarding the PRC supplying the Russian Federation with different military technology and equipment, such as navigation tools, jamming machinery, and jet-fighter parts used against Ukraine. A day after the US Secretary of State Antony Blinken met with the PRC's foreign policy official, Wang Yi, he stated, based on the information acquired by US intelligence, it had long been a concern that China was possibly sending arms and military materials to Russia. On April 16, 2023, the PRC's Defense Minister, Li Shangfu, visited Moscow and met with his Russian colleague Shoigu and President Putin. The two sides agreed on conducting more joint military training and professional exchanges. Minister Shangfu also stated that China aspires to "strengthen strategic communication between the two militaries,

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⁵² Talley, I., & DeBarros, A. (2023, 02 04). *China Aids Russia's War in Ukraine, Trade Data Shows.* From www.wsj.com: https://www.wsj.com/articles/china-aids-russias-war-in-ukraine-trade-data-shows-11675466360?st=z6hd5o0q4zouu0f

⁵³ Berry, L. (2023, 02 20). *US warns China is considering arming Russia in Ukraine war: 'That would cause a serious problem'*. From www.independent.co.uk: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/antony-blinken-china-arms-russia-war-b2285558.html

strengthen multilateral coordination and cooperation, and make new contributions to safeguarding regional and global security and stability."⁵⁴ Earlier, in August 2022, the Chinese MoD reported that for the already fifth time in a row, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) would participate in Russia's annual military exercise "VOSTOK- 2022".⁵⁵ The same August, PLA sent military tanks to participate in Russia's International Army Games.⁵⁶ Regardless of all the statements about boosting military cooperation, there was no language about the actual assistance package or shipment of military equipment or weapons by the PLA or any other PRC institution to the Russian army.

However, if you dig deeper into the available data, one can see the trail of solid support by direct military or secondary military goods. According to the PRC's customs data, the shipment of microchips and electronic and raw materials (some used for military purposes) has reached about \$50 million in the first several months of 2022.⁵⁷ Later in February 2023, based on the words of Central Intelligence Agency Director Bill Burns, the PRC is planning to send lethal aid to Russia to support its war in Ukraine.⁵⁸

China has started developing military ties with Russia since the cold war period. However, these relations have reached tremendous growth during Putin-Xi's rule. In 2021, Putin himself confirmed that both states had mutually developed high-tech weapons and planned joint military exercises. Therefore, it is no surprise that the PRC's state-owned defense companies have solid trade relations with the sanctioned Russian counterparts during 2022. For instance, According to WSJ, in October 2022, the Chinese company "China Taly Aviation" shipped parts for the S-400 antiaircraft system to the Russian contractor "Almaz Antey". ⁵⁹

According to CNN's overview of customs records, between June and November 2022, the Chinese company "Poly Technologies" has sent a "dozen shipments – including helicopter (military helicopter) parts and air-to-ground radio equipment" to a Russian company "Ulan Ude Aviation Plant" involved in supplying Putin's war in Ukraine and for that sanctioned by the US. 60

⁵⁴ McCarthy, S. (2023, 04 17). *US-sanctioned Chinese defense minister meets Putin in Moscow, hails military ties.* From www.edition.cnn.com: https://bit.ly/44KHbGa

⁵⁵ Ministry of National Defense of the People's Republic of China. (2022, 08 17). *Chinese troops to take part in Vostok-2022 strategic drills in Russia*. From www.eng.mod.gov.cn:

http://eng.mod.gov.cn/xb/News 213114/TopStories/4918570.html

⁵⁶ Zhou, L. (2022, 07 26). *China sends troops and tanks to Russia ahead of next month's military games*. From www.scmp.com: https://www.scmp.com/news/china/military/article/3186541/china-sends-troops-and-tanks-russia-ahead-next-months-military

⁵⁷ Spegele, B. (2022, 07 15). *Chinese Firms Are Selling Russia Goods Its Military Needs to Keep Fighting in Ukraine*. From www.wsj.com: https://www.wsj.com/articles/chinese-firms-are-selling-russia-goods-its-military-needs-to-keep-fighting-in-ukraine-11657877403?mod=article_inline

⁵⁸ Barkoff, S. (2023, 02 25). *CIA confirms possibility of Chinese lethal aid to Russia*. From www.cbsnews.com: https://www.cbsnews.com/news/cia-director-bill-burns-china-russia-lethal-aid/

⁵⁹ Deutsche Welle (DW). (2023, 02 20). *China says US claim it may arm Russia is 'false'*. From www.dw.com: https://www.dw.com/en/china-says-us-claim-it-may-arm-russia-is-false/a-64760936

⁶⁰ McCarthy, S. (2023, 03 10). *China and Russia have deep defense sector ties. Putin's war has not changed that, data show.* From www.edition.cnn.com: https://edition.cnn.com/2023/03/09/china/china-russia-military-defense-ties-ukraine-war-intl-hnk/index.html

The Chinese actively deny military cooperation with Russia and accuse the Americans of spreading disinformation. In February 2023, after Antony Blinken's comment to the press, Chinese MFA spokesperson Wang Wenbin highlighted that the US, not China, is "endlessly shipping weapons to the battlefield" and that the US should stop dispersing false information and instead promote peace and stability.⁵⁹ In April 2023, at the news conference, PRC's foreign minister, Qin Gan, stated that China would not sell weapons to any conflicting side and would regulate the export of dual-use items.⁶¹

The data gathered from the battlefield by the Ukrainian experts contradict the statements of the Chinese officials, indicating that the Chinese components have substituted the Swiss components in the navigation system of Orlan aerial drones used by the Kremlin. According to the New York Times, since the start of the full-scale invasion of Ukraine, Kremlin has purchased \$12 million worth of drones from Chinese manufacturers, including DJI Technology and Autel. Moreover, the Chinese parts were found in the fire control system of Russian tanks. Ukrainian investigation named two Chinese weapon-maker companies - China North Industries Group (Norinco) and Xinxing Guangzhou Import & Export Co potentially involved in militarily supplying Russia. However, it is difficult to identify whether these components were initially intended for non-military use or whether a third party delivered them to Russia. South China Morning Post reported that Russian forces struck Ukrainian cities with suicide drones built in Iran 4 using parts knocked off from China.

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⁶¹ Associated Press. (2023, April 14). *China promises not to sell arms to any party in Russia's invasion of Ukraine.* From www.pbs.org: https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/china-promises-not-to-sell-arms-to-any-party-in-russias-invasion-of-ukraine

⁶² Mozur, P., Krolik, A., & Bradsher, K. (2023, 03 21). *As War in Ukraine Grinds On, China Helps Refill Russian Drone Supplie*. From www.nytimes.com: https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/21/business/russia-china-drones-ukraine-war.html

⁶³ Williams, M., & O'Donnell, J. (2023, 04 17). *Ukraine says it is finding more Chinese components in Russian weapons*. From www.reuters.com: https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/ukraine-says-it-is-finding-more-chinese-components-russian-weapons-2023-04-14/

⁶⁴ Business Insider. (2022, 11 02). *Ukraine war: Chinese knock-off parts used in Russia's Iran-made suicide drones, report says*. From www.scmp.com: https://www.scmp.com/news/world/russia-central-asia/article/3198060/ukraine-war-chinese-knock-parts-used-russias-iran-made-suicide-drones-report-says

SINO-RUSSIAN ALIGNMENT

ON DISINFORMATION

China's media strategy is wholly adjusted to its foreign policy interests. Their propaganda and disinformation narratives align with the Russian fake news campaigns directed toward undermining the Western democracies that have shown unequivocal support to Ukraine. Together with translating and dispersing the Anti-Western propaganda provided by the Russian state-media outlets, the PRC has carefully followed the Kremlin terminology refraining from calling war an invasion. Moreover, Chinese diplomats have quoted the highlevel Russian representatives three times more than their Ukrainian counterparts on their official Twitter accounts.⁶⁵ The PRC has also continued attacking Western Alliances, especially NATO, for being the key instigator of the "crisis" in Ukraine. One of the most popular anti-Western conspiracy theories spread by Moscow and peddled by Beijing is related to the "US covert laboratories" operating in Ukraine to create biological weapons. 66



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新华网 > 国际 > 正文

2022 03/18 新华国际时评 | 述评:不透明 不安全 不合法——美国防部在全 球控制300多个生物实验室藏了多少秘密?



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来源:新华网

XINHUA INTERNATIONAL TIMES REVIEW COMMENTARY: OPAQUE, UNSAFE, ILLEGAL — HOW MANY SECRETS DOES THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE HIDE IN MORE THAN 300 BIOLOGICAL LABORATORIES AROUND THE WORLD?

新华社北京3月18日电 述评:不透明不安全不合法——美国防部在全球控制300多个生物实验室藏了 多少秘密?

新华社记者乔继红

近期美国国防部在乌克兰的生物实验室引发各方高度关注。多年来,有关美国在其境内外开展大量生物 军事化活动的消息层出不穷,这些活动不透明、不安全、不合法,引发国际社会严重关切和疑虑。

俄罗斯国防部和外交部近日接连表示,俄方在军事行动中发现了由美国资助的、在乌克兰境内实施的军 事生物计划,并已获得大量证据。俄罗斯国防部发言人科纳申科夫10日说,美国在乌克兰的生物实验室从事 过蝙蝠冠状病毒样本实验。美国白宫发言人普萨基在社交媒体上予以否认。据美方自己公布的数据,美国在 乌克兰有26个生物实验室和其他相关设施,美国国防部拥有绝对控制权。乌境内所有的危险病毒都必须存储 在这些实验室,所有的研究活动都由美方主导。未经美方许可,任何信息都不得公开。

Xinhua News Agency reporter Qiao Jihong

Recently, the U.S. Department of Defense's biological laboratory in Ukraine has aroused great concern from all parties. Over the years, there have been endiess neve about the utilised States carnying out a large number of biological militarization activities inside and outside its broiters. These activities are opeque, unsetly, and liegal, and have aroused services concerns and doubts from the

The Russian Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have successively stated in recent days that Russia has scovered a military biological program funded by the United States and implemented in Ukraine during military operations, and has bitained a large amount of evidence. Russian Defense Ministry spokesman Konashenkov said on the 10th that the United States has producted experiments on bat cornoravivus samples in a biological laboratory in Urraine. White House spokesman Jen Passi denied it an social media. According to the data referased by the US itself, the US has 26 biological laboratories and other related facilities in Karen, and the US opportment of Defense has absolute control over them. All demogracy variouse in Usriane must be stored in these borntories, and all research activities are led by the US. No information shall be disclosed without the permission of the US side.

Source: https://bit.ly/43KVGZa

⁶⁵ Standish, R. (2023, 03 06). Disinformation Wars: China, Russia Cooperating On Propaganda More Than Ever, Says Report. From www.rferl.org: https://www.rferl.org/a/china-russia-cooperation-propaganda-marshallfund/32305566.html

⁶⁶ Xinhuanet. (2022, 03 18). Xinhua International Times Review / Commentary: Opaque, Unsafe, Illegal—How many secrets does the U.S. Department of Defense hide in more than 300 biological laboratories around the world? From www.news.cn: http://www.news.cn/world/2022-03/18/c 1128481304.htm

More precisely, since March 2022, the People's Daily, Global Times, and the PRC's state broadcaster CCTV have been promoting the Russian government's allegations that the United States is supporting the development of biological weapons in Ukraine. According to the bioweapons lab conspiracy theory used by the PRC and Russia, the US and Ukraine are working together to attack Russia. Based on Google's Threat Analysis Group, in 2022, the pro-Chinese propaganda campaign DRAGONBRIDGE used social media to promote stories, accusing the US of deploying military hardware to Ukraine and "worsening the conflict."

Unlike Kremlin, which keeps blaming Ukrainians for all the war crimes, the Chinese media has a particular stance regarding the Bucha massacre. In fact, according to the PRC outlets, it has never even happened and was staged by the Ukrainians.⁶⁹ Moreover, the famous Chinese state-run CGTN (African branch) involved sensitive Chinese narratives and has repeated Putin's claim that "Ukrainian "'neo-Nazis' opened fire on Chinese students".⁷⁰



⁶⁷ Jing, Z. (2023, 05 08). Communication Observation / For more than a year since the Russo-Ukrainian war, how does China tell war stories? From www.rfa.org: https://bit.ly/44HxcSc

⁶⁸ Butler, Z. (2023, 01 26). *Over 50,000 instances of DRAGONBRIDGE activity disrupted in 2022.* From www.blog.google: https://blog.google/threat-analysis-group/over-50000-instances-of-dragonbridge-activity-disrupted-in-2022/

⁶⁹ McCarthy, S., & Xiong, Y. (2022, 04 06). *As the world reacts in horror to Bucha, China's state media strikes a different tone.* From www.edition.cnn.com: https://edition.cnn.com/2022/04/06/china/china-reacts-bucha-ukraine-atrocities-intl-hnk-mic/index.html

⁷⁰ German Marshall Fund. (2022, 03 13). *China's State Media and Government Officials Are Backing Russia on Ukraine*. From www.securingdemocracy.gmfus.org: https://securingdemocracy.gmfus.org/chinas-state-media-and-government-officials-are-backing-russia-on-ukraine-war/

Despite all these actions, the PRC's own interests outweigh its unambiguous support to Russia. The CCP merely worries about the Taiwan issue, requiring similar backing from Russia in the future. This occasion becomes the main driving force of the PRC's state media, copying most Russian disinformation narratives. Ming Jinwei, the senior editor at Xinhua News Agency⁷¹, himself posted in his blog the instructions about how to approach coverage of Ukraine, using a pro-Russian language later to gain the Kremlin's support on the Taiwan case.⁷²

Another Chinese platform Horizon News (owned by Beijing News), also posted similar directives noting that no anti-Russian/pro-Western posts are allowed for publication. Chinese Global Times editor Hu Xijin referred to Russia's recognition of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions as a move to "break the deadlock" of the situation and as evidence of "Russia's strategic determination."⁷³

Nobody believes that free and independent media outlets are operating in China. It is also a fact that all strategic narratives and media stories are prescreened and preapproved by propaganda machinery. Thus broadcasting the Russia-Ukraine war through the Moscow lens using Kremlin's deceptive wording is a deliberate decision of Beijing⁷⁴, and various media channels serve as vehicles for transmitting this decision.

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Jinwei, M. (2022, 02 22). The Ukrainian crisis has finally "exploded", and China must remain sober in these three things. From www.mp.weixin.qq.com: https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/SEBdF_Ty3oMT5n7v8E4J1Q
 Aitken, P. (2022, 02 23). Chinese media accidentally posts CCP rules on Russia-Ukraine coverage, hint at Taiwan takeover. From www.foxnews.com: https://www.foxnews.com/world/chinese-news-media-rules-russia-ukraine-coverage

⁷³ Kuo, L. (2022, 02 22). *China keeps walking its tightrope between Russia and the West as tensions flare in Ukraine*. From www.washingtonpost.com: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/02/22/china-russia-ukraine-reaction/

⁷⁴ Reporters Without Borders. (2022, 04 14). *War in Ukraine: Beware of China's amplification of Russian propaganda, RSF says.* From www.rsf.org: https://rsf.org/en/war-ukraine-beware-china-s-amplification-russian-propaganda-rsf-says

CONCLUSION

Sino-Russian political relations have been complicated and controversial both on bilateral and international levels.



The PRC generally maintained a position of neutrality in the Russia-Ukraine war on global platforms. Nonetheless, it has boosted political and economic relations with Russia. Moreover, China has been accused of secretly supplying Russia with some components and materials needed to produce military equipment. Such cooperation is becoming more apparent daily, confirmed by the number of visits of state officials from China and Russia and the improved economic relations. Despite occasional gestures towards peace, China's actions and statements indicate a complex game in which it balances its relationships with both Russia and Ukraine.

The Chinese leaders' communication with the Russian authorities showed us that the political relationship developed even more profoundly during the war. However, it all began in January 2022 after the two leaders met on the eve of the Beijing Winter Olympics, where they announced the start of a "new era" in the global order and "unlimited friendship". It was almost the same time that the Chinese foreign minister, after a conversation with Secretary Blinken, aligned himself with Russia and declared Russia's security concern about NATO expansion "legitimate". The same meeting, Beijing and Moscow adhered to the "concept of eternal friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation" through strengthening shared political trust.

A year and a half after the start of Russian aggression against Ukraine, data proves that China effectively is converting Russia into a Client state or, as President Macron labeled it "vassal State," EU opened its doors toward Russia's neighborhood and granted candidate state status to Ukraine, Moldova and European perspective to Georgia, NATO enlargement continued along the Baltic Sea with Finland and Sweden joining the alliance, but most importantly Russia effectively killed the myth of Second largest undefeated army.

⁷⁵ Al Jazeera and News Agencies. (2022, 01 27). *China warns US over Russia's 'legitimate security concerns'*. From www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/1/27/china-warns-us-over-ukraine-interference-in-winter-olympics

⁷⁶ Check Civic IDEA's report "PRC's TwoFold Game in Russian-Ukrainian War", https://civicidea.ge/en/prcs-twofold-game-in-the-russian-ukrainian-war/new/

"De facto, it has entered a form of subservience with regards to China and has lost its access to the Baltic, which was critical, because it prompted the decision by Sweden and Finland to join NATO,"

Emmanuel Macron told the French newspaper L'Opinion May 14, 2023.77

Regardless of the apparent losses RF is experiencing, PRC continues playing the role of "peace-maker" on Russian terms. We can only suppose that China's covert alignment with another authoritarian state, Russia, has three critical incentives behind it —

- to march with Russia against the Western-led world order develop strategic
 partnerships against the Western democracies as their main common ideological and
 political enemies. Xi sees Russia as its ally against the US;
- 2. to gain and receive support from Russia regarding the Taiwan issue;
- 3. to establish a name of a global peacemaker and mediator and, accordingly, to increase its leverage on various states and international institutions worldwide.

Based on their "eternal friendship" and cooperation on various grounds, one can assume that assertive China might bolster weak Russia contributing to its already-launched process of falling into the global arena. With the start of Ukraine's full-scale invasion, President Putin has demolished the Russian Federation as it previously endured. In the end, the country can either transform into an isolated dictatorship dependent solely on the Chinese hand of help or start the long democratization process under strict obedience to international regulations and the removal of the current government. Nonetheless, it is evident that minus one competitor in the world domination competition might wind up the CCP's happiness.

 $\frac{https://www.lopinion.fr/politique/emmanuel-macron-leurope-doit-eviter-une-montee-des-confrontations-quiaccelererait-sa-vassalisation}{}$

⁷⁷ Beytout, N., Segaunes, N., & Godeau, R. (2023, 05 14). *Emmanuel Macron: «L'Europe doit éviter une montée des confrontations qui accélérerait sa vassalisation»*. From www.lopinion.fr:

ATTACHMENT #1

CHINA'S POSITION ON THE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THE UKRAINE CRISIS

- Respecting the sovereignty of all countries. Universally recognized international law, including the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, must be strictly observed. The sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of all countries must be effectively upheld. All countries, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, are equal members of the international community. All parties should jointly uphold the basic norms governing international relations and defend international fairness and justice. Equal and uniform application of international law should be promoted, while double standards must be rejected.
- Abandoning the Cold War mentality. The security of a country should not be pursued at the expense of others. The security of a region should not be achieved by strengthening or expanding military blocs. The legitimate security interests and concerns of all countries must be taken seriously and addressed properly. There is no simple solution to a complex issue. All parties should, following the vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security and bearing in mind the long-term peace and stability of the world, help forge a balanced, effective and sustainable European security architecture. All parties should oppose the pursuit of one's own security at the cost of others' security, prevent bloc confrontation, and work together for peace and stability on the Eurasian Continent.
- Ceasing hostilities. Conflict and war benefit no one. All parties must stay rational and exercise restraint, avoid fanning the flames and aggravating tensions, and prevent the crisis from deteriorating further or even spiraling out of control. All parties should support Russia and Ukraine in working in the same direction and resuming direct dialogue as quickly as possible, so as to gradually deescalate the situation and ultimately reach a comprehensive ceasefire.
- Resuming peace talks. Dialogue and negotiation are the only viable solution to the Ukraine crisis. All efforts conducive to the peaceful settlement of the crisis must be encouraged and supported. The international community should stay committed to the right approach of promoting talks for peace, helping parties to the conflict open the door to a political settlement as soon as possible, and creating conditions and platforms for the resumption of negotiation. China will continue to play a constructive role in this regard.
- Resolving the humanitarian crisis. All measures conducive to easing the humanitarian crisis must be encouraged and supported. Humanitarian operations should follow the principles of neutrality and impartiality, and humanitarian issues should not be politicized. The safety of civilians must be effectively protected, and humanitarian corridors should be set up for the evacuation of civilians from conflict zones. Efforts are needed to increase

humanitarian assistance to relevant areas, improve humanitarian conditions, and provide rapid, safe and unimpeded humanitarian access, with a view to preventing a humanitarian crisis on a larger scale. The UN should be supported in playing a coordinating role in channeling humanitarian aid to conflict zones.

- Protecting civilians and prisoners of war (POWs). Parties to the conflict should strictly abide by international humanitarian law, avoid attacking civilians or civilian facilities, protect women, children and other victims of the conflict, and respect the basic rights of POWs. China supports the exchange of POWs between Russia and Ukraine, and calls on all parties to create more favorable conditions for this purpose.
- Keeping nuclear power plants safe. China opposes armed attacks against nuclear power plants or other peaceful nuclear facilities, and calls on all parties to comply with international law including the Convention on Nuclear Safety (CNS) and resolutely avoid man-made nuclear accidents. China supports the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in playing a constructive role in promoting the safety and security of peaceful nuclear facilities.
- Reducing strategic risks. Nuclear weapons must not be used and nuclear wars must not be fought. The threat or use of nuclear weapons should be opposed. Nuclear proliferation must be prevented and nuclear crisis avoided. China opposes the research, development and use of chemical and biological weapons by any country under any circumstances.
- Facilitating grain exports. All parties need to implement the Black Sea Grain Initiative signed by Russia, Türkiye, Ukraine and the UN fully and effectively in a balanced manner, and support the UN in playing an important role in this regard. The cooperation initiative on global food security proposed by China provides a feasible solution to the global food crisis.
- Stopping unilateral sanctions. Unilateral sanctions and maximum pressure cannot solve the issue; they only create new problems. China opposes unilateral sanctions unauthorized by the UN Security Council. Relevant countries should stop abusing unilateral sanctions and "long-arm jurisdiction" against other countries, so as to do their share in deescalating the Ukraine crisis and create conditions for developing countries to grow their economies and better the lives of their people.
- Keeping industrial and supply chains stable. All parties should earnestly maintain the existing world economic system and oppose using the world economy as a tool or weapon for political purposes. Joint efforts are needed to mitigate the spillovers of the crisis and prevent it from disrupting international cooperation in energy, finance, food trade and transportation and undermining the global economic recovery.
- Promoting post-conflict reconstruction. The international community needs to take measures to support post-conflict reconstruction in conflict zones. China stands ready to provide assistance and play a constructive role in this endeavor.

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