

**Security and Development Cooperation
in Compounded Crises:**

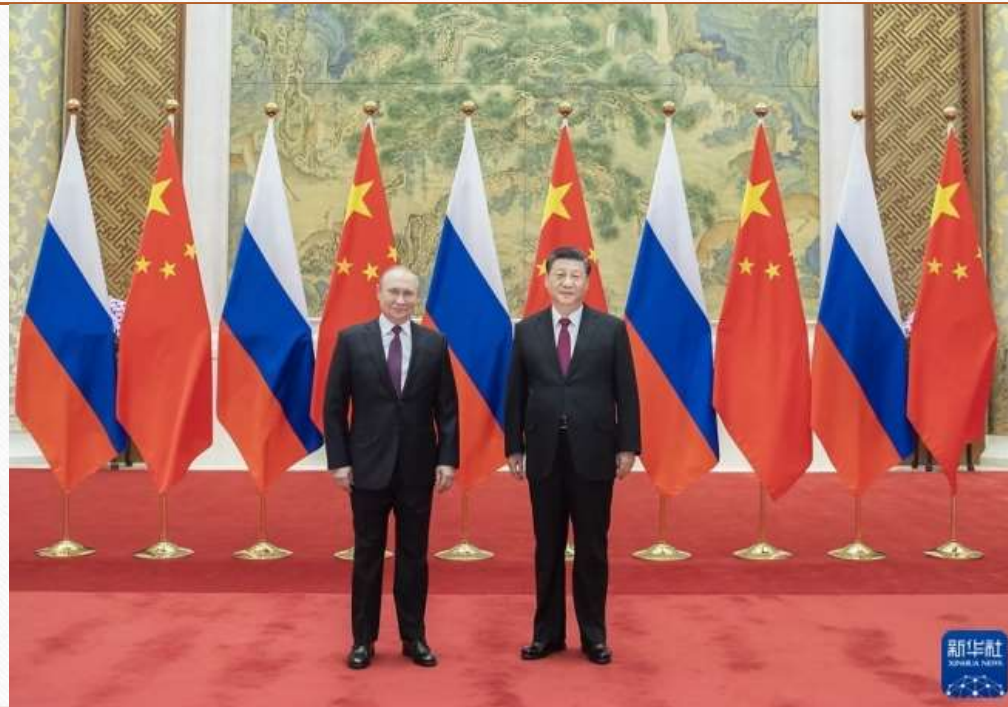
**the Impacts of the Ukraine Crisis, and
State, Economic, and Human Security**

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Ukraine Crisis: What's the Position of China?



Sino-Russo Joint Statement

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“Russia and China stand against attempts by external forces to undermine security and stability in their common adjacent regions, intend to counter interference by outside forces in the internal affairs of sovereign countries under any pretext, oppose colour revolutions, and will increase cooperation in the aforementioned areas.”

“Friendship between the two States has no limits, there are no ”forbidden“ areas of cooperation”

Similar World View of the Two Leaders

Too much rights given to refugees and the LGBTQ lead to internal divisions and failure of democracies → US-led international order is going through a crisis → China & Russia with traditional values are leading the new order

At the same time, beware of the colour revolution

→ Viewing the world through the lens of the competition with the US

Xi Jinping Approves Putin's Invasion

25 Feb. Phone conversation

“Xi Jinping emphasized that he respected the action taken by the Russian leader under the current, critical situation.”

15 June Phone conversation

“The President of China noted the legitimacy of Russia's actions to protect fundamental national interests in the face of challenges to its security created by external forces.”

Revelation of Disagreements in September

Putin's remarks to Xi in Samarkand (15 September)

“We appreciate our Chinese friends’ balanced



position in connection with the Ukraine crisis. We understand your questions and your concerns in this regard.” (photo from CCTV website)

Cf. Remarks by Li Zhanshu in Moscow **(9th September)**

“China understands and supports Russia on issues that represent its vital interests, in particular on the situation in Ukraine.”



Putin’s remarks on 15 September reflects the shift in position of the Chinese.

Causes of the Shift in Position

- Change in the war situation, Ukrainians fighting back
- Opposition within China: Russia is doomed; be on the side of the mainstream of the world
- China's economic plight, mending relations with Europe, US & Japan
- Differences between Russia and China

Russian nationalism & resentment about “losing” the Cold War

↔ Chinese realism & aspiration to become a superpower

China's Taiwan Policy -- Will it Change?

Xi Jinping's remarks at the Party Congress:

“Will never promise to renounce the use of force.”

“Will continue to strive for peaceful unification with the greatest sincerity and the utmost effort.”

—No policy change. Mil. pressure, econ. & cultural exchange will continue.

For China, the big concern is Europe, US and Japan increasing their contact with Taiwan.

Xi's top priority is to protect the regime — will invade if that helps