



# Russia and China

## protecting the contemporary world order

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History does not teach humankind anything. Nor has humankind learned to look back and learn from its mistakes. It seemed that, after the victory over Nazi Germany and militaristic Japan in World War II, things would be different: a global political and legislative order of a principally different type would emerge that would conform to a greater extent to the high ideals of humanism, safety and justice. All the prerequisites for this were in place.

### **The historic context of the organisation of the post-war modern world order**

Humankind had never experienced suffering, sacrifice, violence and destruction on such a large scale. Nor had there ever been such a systematic annihilation of human beings, cannibalistic ideology of supremacy over all other nations, transformed into state policy, and weapons wiping whole cities off the map. Humankind was horrified and decided: «Never again».

The memory of those who had sacrificed their lives for the sake of the victory and the future, whether at the front or behind the lines, requested the same as well. Leaving everything as it had been earlier, not providing an antidote or a reliable ‘safety net’ mechanism would mean letting them down, not living up to their expectations, depreciating their acts of heroism, committing an act of betrayal.

The victorious powers had everything necessary to cope with the task. They had inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy. It no longer had the resources to prevent anything. They had forced the Third Reich and Imperial Japan to full and unconditional surrender.

The victorious powers had a clear vision of what they were going to achieve. They wanted to design an unshakable international legislative framework for the new world order being created by them, so that everything else could be built based on this framework. They strived to make the United Nations Organization the backbone of this world order. Its main content was seen as, firstly, creating the conditions for joint effective crisis management; secondly, determining the rules for omni-purpose international cooperation;



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thirdly, institutional, organisational and legal and technical provisions for the impossibility of armed conflicts between them.

The determining factor that was a condition for success was the fact that the victorious powers had the political will that was sufficient to make reciprocal concessions. They were ready to find satisfactory compromises that would not impede the achievement of the high objectives standing before them. The great mission they had performed, the common interests, the brotherhood cemented by blood, the Great Victory won – all these reinforced their union. Good relations among them were at an apogee.

During that very short time period in history everything formed in the most successful manner. They had managed it. They had laid a solid, balanced and reliable foundation for modern international relations. And it has held out until the present time. It has passed the hardest trials.

The cold war, launched by USA, proved unable to damage it. Its most odious manifestations included the endless arms race, building up both nuclear and conventional weapons, the war in Korea, the Cuban Missile Crisis, the failure in the relations between China and the USSR, the freezing of any and all ties between the USA and the Soviet Union after Moscow sent its troops to Afghanistan.

This foundation could not be broken by the gross imbalance of powers on the planet, which emerged temporarily after the downfall of the USSR, the partial self-liquidation of the Non-Aligned Movement and unprecedented concentration of resources and influence in the hands of the only superpower remaining on the planet. It staggered under the blows cast at it. The attempts of certain powers to legalize the voluntaristic and one-sided policy they pursued on the international arena – policy they applied to the Balkans, Africa, Middle East, and elsewhere – turned out to be blatant and impudent. However, it withstood.

Russia and today China should take credit for the fact that it proved to be possible to preserve the world order and its foundation – modern international law, which appeared as a result of World War II, in the original form, and save their inherent and best features. It was these two countries, and they alone, that, in cooperation with other countries, did not allow the world order to degenerate.

### **The basic features of the post-war world order and of the modern global regulatory system**

The global security organisation and its Charter were, and still remain, the cornerstone of the modern world order. They actually institutionalise it, set up its parameters and support its basic features. One may refer to the UN Charter as the catechism of the rules for the states' behaviour in the international arena and in their relations to each other.

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The leading role of the UN Charter in the system of the existing principles and norms of the modern international law that is currently in force is secured by several interrelated institutional and regulatory measures. First of all, the primacy of the Charter over any other acts of international organisations and universal, multilateral and bilateral interstate treaties is enshrined in it.

Article 103 of this document prescribes the following: «In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail»<sup>1</sup>. Article 104 therein, whose meaning is quite often underestimated, is no less weighty. It says: «The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfilment of its purposes»<sup>2</sup>.

In the political, power and material aspect, the supremacy of the UN Charter is ensured by the enormous authority that all the States and participants of international cooperation vest in the Security Council of the United Nations Organization. Under Article 24 of the Charter, it is conferred the «primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security» and the right not only to speak but also to ‘act’ in this respect on behalf of all the UN member States<sup>3</sup>.

Furthermore, Article 25 of what is practically the Constitution of the international community plays a key role in the modern world order. It provides for the following: «The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter»<sup>4</sup>. Therefore, the Security Council, by virtue of the mission entrusted to it is the Cerberus of the fundamental values of the UN Charter and of the States’ obligation to follow its regulations. For the purposes of maintaining international peace and security or restoration thereof, the UN Security Council can exercise any compulsory measures up to using armed force. According to Article 42 of the Charter, «it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security»<sup>5</sup>.

But the most important and most weighty guarantee of the UN Charter’s special *status* as the unshakable foundation of the modern world order and global regulatory system is the message carried by the rules included in it. Its requirements on the behaviour of States and all other participants of

<sup>1</sup> [http://base.garant.ru/2540400/16/#block\\_16000#ixzz4KfldY6Sd](http://base.garant.ru/2540400/16/#block_16000#ixzz4KfldY6Sd).

<sup>2</sup> [http://base.garant.ru/2540400/16/#block\\_16000#ixzz4KfpyH9aY](http://base.garant.ru/2540400/16/#block_16000#ixzz4KfpyH9aY).

<sup>3</sup> [http://base.garant.ru/2540400/5/#block\\_5000#ixzz4Kftf1NCl](http://base.garant.ru/2540400/5/#block_5000#ixzz4Kftf1NCl).

<sup>4</sup> [http://base.garant.ru/2540400/5/#block\\_5000#ixzz4Kfu1EYuh](http://base.garant.ru/2540400/5/#block_5000#ixzz4Kfu1EYuh).

<sup>5</sup> [http://base.garant.ru/2540400/7/#block\\_7000#ixzz4KfwRjA4T](http://base.garant.ru/2540400/7/#block_7000#ixzz4KfwRjA4T).

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international interaction, raised on a pedestal and given the status of the highest law, form a meta-system<sup>6</sup> that rightly stands above all other rules.

And not only because the States who founded the United Nations decided so, but because they are a quintessence of the moral values of our civilization, formed over centuries. They comply with the nature of modern international relations. They comply with the interests of the States and all other legitimate participants of international interaction, including even those powers which, proceeding from their own subjective and opportunistic interests, in some particular cases oppose them or violate them.

In this sense, the meta-system of law formed by the UN Charter, ideally, sets limits for States' wilfulness. And, again, does so in those States' own interests. It counters chaos in international relations, the danger and possible catastrophic consequences of which were repeatedly pointed to by leading Russian politicians, especially the Minister of Foreign Affairs S.V. Lavrov<sup>7</sup>, in view of the nature of his activities. It prevents certain regions of our planet, or even the totality of these regions, being put under someone's domain. It strikes a blow to the unceasing attempts to revive and make legitimate the positivist approach to law, fully discredited by Nazism, when it is asserted that the law is binding for everybody as it is the law, even when it disregards or strikes out the higher values of justice and humanism<sup>8</sup>. Any other legislative provisions, any universal, multilateral and bilateral agreements, in case of their conflict with the UN Charter's provisions, may be recognized invalid or void.

The interpretation of the targets and principles of the UN Charter in their conjunction points to the fact that the determining components of the meta-system are comprised by interrelated international obligations: «to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace» (para. 1 of Art. 1) and «to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character» (para. 3 of Art. 1); «to develop friendly relations among nations

<sup>6</sup> For general scientific analysis of the notion of 'meta-system', its substantial aspects and components in the staged aspect, see Nadejda Manokhina, *The meta-system as the object of institutional analysis*, in «Herald of International Institute of Economics and Law», 2014, no. 1 (14), pp. 7-16, CyberLeninka Scientific Library <http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/metasisistema-kak-obekt-institutsionalnogo-analiza#ixzz4KgLUZgk7>.

<sup>7</sup> Speech and answers to questions by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia S.V. Lavrov during his meeting with students and faculty of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (U), Moscow, September 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016, [http://www.mid.ru/foreign\\_policy/news/-/asset\\_publisher/cKNonkJE02Bw/content/id/2417731](http://www.mid.ru/foreign_policy/news/-/asset_publisher/cKNonkJE02Bw/content/id/2417731); Sergey Lavrov, *The Present and Future of the Global Politics: a View from Moscow*, in «Russia in Global Affairs», 2007, no. 2, [http://www.globalaffairs.ru/number/n\\_8385](http://www.globalaffairs.ru/number/n_8385); Speech of S.V. Lavrov at the First Forum of Young Diplomats in Moscow on April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2015, International affairs, 2015, No. 5, <https://interaffairs.ru/jauthor/num/2014/5>.

<sup>8</sup> A. V. Polyakov, *General Theory of Law. Problems of Interpretation in the Context of the Communicative Approach*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., SPb, Prospect, 2015, <https://books.google.ru/books?isbn=539218068X>.

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based on respect» for the principle of sovereign equality, non-interference in domestic affairs and self-determination of peoples (para. 2 of Art. 1 and paras. 1 and 7 of Art. 2); refrain from threat of force or use of force. In para. 7 of Art. 2 of the Charter it is especially emphasized that «nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize [...] to intervene in matters, which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State»<sup>9</sup>.

For Russia and today China, the commitment to these obligations, stating the universality of their performance and the struggle for its practical day-to-day and widespread implementation, are absolutely imperative. These obligations are understood by both countries as incompatible with the dictate in international affairs, global domination, imposing one's own approaches and formulae onto others, claims of having the monopoly on the truth and national egoism. They are regarded as in opposition to the «illegitimate coercion methods» and «unethical means of pressure on their partners ranging from rewriting history and conducting powerful and fairly aggressive information campaigns to imposing unilateral sanctions, sponsoring coups, fomenting regional conflicts, and even engaging in direct military interventions»<sup>10</sup>.

This is clearly and expressly stated in the doctrines of the foreign and defence policies of both countries<sup>11</sup>, in the speeches of the leading politicians and heads of States. For example, President of Russia V.V. Putin, speaking at the Plenary Meeting of the Eastern Economic Forum at the Isle of Russky on September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2016, emphasised: «We are convinced that effective integration can only be built on the basis of equality of all the participants, on respect and account for the mutual interests, without any political or economical dictate whatsoever, or imposition of any one-sided decisions. We understand integration as predictable, long-term rules, and it is openness to cooperation with the other countries and associations both in the East and West. In turn, we are ready to carefully study reciprocal ideas, jointly look for optimal decisions with all those who are interested in such cooperation»<sup>12</sup>.

A few days later, answering journalists' questions following the G20 high-level meeting in Hangzhou, he pointed out: «We do not support and cannot support anything that is contrary to international law [...]. I shall repeat

<sup>9</sup> [http://base.garant.ru/2540400/1/#block\\_1000#ixzz4KgxBZNNg](http://base.garant.ru/2540400/1/#block_1000#ixzz4KgxBZNNg).

<sup>10</sup> Speech and answers to questions by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia S.V. Lavrov during his meeting with students and faculty of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (U), Moscow, September 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016, [http://www.mid.ru/foreign\\_policy/news/-/asset\\_publisher/cKNonkJE02Bw/content/id/2417731](http://www.mid.ru/foreign_policy/news/-/asset_publisher/cKNonkJE02Bw/content/id/2417731).

<sup>11</sup> Artem Kureev, *Decoding the changes in Russia's new foreign policy concept*, in «Russia Direct», December 9<sup>th</sup>, 2016, <http://www.russia-direct.org/opinion/decoding-changes-russias-new-foreign-policy-concept>.

<sup>12</sup> <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/52808>.

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that we do not welcome any actions, which are contrary to the norms and principles of international law»<sup>13</sup>. In his annual 2016 address to the Federal Assembly he reiterated: «We do not want confrontation with anyone. We have no need for it and neither do our partners or the global community. Unlike some of our colleagues abroad, who consider Russia an adversary, we do not seek and never have sought enemies. We need friends»<sup>14</sup>.

On their turn Chinese leaders and State officials say the same though with other words and putting emphasis on topics closer to their hearts. Summarising China's diplomatic achievements for 2016, Foreign Minister Wang Yi insisted in a speech at a symposium on international affairs and diplomacy in Beijing: «China plays an important role in the evolution of the global governance system, as well as in regional peace and stability. For example, the relationship between China and the Philippines has improved. Also, a global partnership network has been formed generally, especially with developing countries. At the same time, China has made progress linking its Belt and Road Initiatives with other countries' domestic development projects»<sup>15</sup>.

A comprehensive description of world order that is based on friendship, cooperation and mutual respect, as seen from Beijing, was done in keynote speech (among many others) by Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China Li Keqiang at the Sixth China - Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC) Business Forum that took place in Riga (Latvia) on November 5<sup>th</sup>, 2016<sup>16</sup>. He earmarked the following points. First: «China and CEEC both believe in equality among countries irrespective of their size, wealth or strength. We have all along extended each other understanding and support, respected each other's independent choice of development path, and accommodated each other's core interests and major concerns. Our cooperation has always been based on friendly consultation, rather than any party imposing its own will or attaching any political strings». Second: «Cooperation that is based on common interests and geared towards common development is most stable and enduring. The 16+1 cooperation has all along been guided by the principle of government support, business initiative and market operation, rather than one side making all the concessions». Third: «We have all along stressed that the 16+1 cooperation is a part of and useful

<sup>13</sup> Vladimir Putin's answers to the questions posed by Russian journalists following his working visit to the People's Republic of China in order to take part in the G20 summit, Hangzhou, September 5<sup>th</sup>, 2016, <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/52834>.

<sup>14</sup> <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/53379>.

<sup>15</sup> Foreign Ministry summarizes diplomatic achievements, CNTV, December 4<sup>th</sup>, 2016, [http://www.china.org.cn/video/2016-12/04/content\\_39845158.htm](http://www.china.org.cn/video/2016-12/04/content_39845158.htm).

<sup>16</sup> Full text: *Premier Li's keynote speech at the 6th China-CEEC Business Forum*, fmprc.gov.cn, November 8<sup>th</sup>, 2016, in «Chinadaily.com.cn», [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2016liattendsSCOCCEEC/2016-11/08/content\\_27311707\\_2.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2016liattendsSCOCCEEC/2016-11/08/content_27311707_2.htm).

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complement to China-EU cooperation. China and the EU have reached important agreement on enhancing complementarity and synergy between the Belt and Road initiative and the development plans of Europe, between international production capacity cooperation and the Investment Plan for Europe, and between the 16+1 cooperation and China-EU cooperation. And we welcome project-based third party cooperation with countries outside the region. The 16+1 cooperation is an open and inclusive rather than exclusive platform». Fourth: «We all attach importance to enhancing the complementarity and synergy between our development strategies and plans, strengthening economic policy coordination, and advancing infrastructure connectivity. We endeavour to gear our cooperation to the real needs of each country, and make sure that plans can be quickly put into action, and projects be matched by financing». Summing up: «China stands ready to work with CEE countries to steer economic globalization forward by advancing trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, and rejecting trade and investment protectionism. And we should expand practical cooperation in various fields to boost our own development and contribute to world economic recovery».

China applies this approach *mutatis mutandis* to all other countries and trans-regional projects. Co-sharing of ascendance to prosperity and benefits of development on the basis of sovereign equality, common interests, mutual respect and unacceptability of any kind of coercion, hegemony, domination and normative expansionism is the core idea of Chinese XXI century Silk Road, Economic Belt of Silk Road and new generation Maritime Silk Road initiatives, explains Chinese President Xi Jinping. Speaking at the recent 24<sup>th</sup> Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Leaders meeting in Peru he advocated «interconnected and inclusive» world order. «Instead of coming to a stop because of the temporary difficulties, – he said, – we need to continue our involvement in economic globalization. What is important is to combine it with our respective development practices, strive to ensure equity and justice, and steer it towards a more inclusive and mutually beneficial direction»<sup>17</sup>.

Chinese leader was a little bit more explicit when taking the flow at the 2016 Communist party of China 95<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration. «We are not growing our sphere of influence, but supporting mutual development of all countries. We are not building our backyard garden, but a public garden for all countries, – he claimed. – China advocates a community of common destiny of mankind, and opposes the Cold War mentality and zero-sum game. China holds that regardless of size, strength and wealth, all countries are equal, and all peoples have the right to choose their own development paths».

<sup>17</sup> *China advocates APEC leadership in economic globalization despite setbacks*, Xinhua, November 21<sup>st</sup>, 2016, in «Chinadaily.com.cn», [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2016xivisitepc/2016-11/21/content\\_27444032.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2016xivisitepc/2016-11/21/content_27444032.htm).

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China opposes imposing one's will on others, interfering with other countries' domestic affairs and the strong bullying the weak<sup>18</sup>.

As we see, Russia and China unalterably confirm that the aforementioned approach is the backbone of the political course implemented by them on the international arena. At the same time they successfully promote it within BRICS, the exceptionally important and representative international forum created by them, that in recent years has become a significant, and moreover, systemically important factor in global politics. Further evidence of the insistence and consistency in this issue proved to be the wording agreed by the heads of states or governments of the BRICS countries and included in the media note following the results of their latest informal meeting in Hangzhou. It says in particular: «The leaders underlined the importance of further strengthening BRICS strategic partnership guided by principles of openness, solidarity, equality, mutual understanding, inclusiveness and mutually beneficial cooperation. The leaders underlined the importance of the establishment of a just and equitable international order based on international law»<sup>19</sup>.

This is not just words. Russia and China reinforce their principled position by the concrete actions. They convert it into reality of world politics by means of their tireless work in different negotiation formats. They do it primarily in the UN and universal international organizations related to the UN. Their joint or individual foreign policy initiatives serve to give this work the most constructive character.

The enumeration of these initiatives would take too much time. Let's limit ourselves to just a few specific examples. Year after year Moscow and Beijing try to promote through the General Assembly (GA) of the UN a resolution against the glorification of Nazism. This resolution gains permanent and growing support from the vast majority of the UN members. This resolution was adopted on December 18<sup>th</sup> 2014 with 133 votes (51 abstentions and four against)<sup>20</sup>. On December 17<sup>th</sup> 2015 only a small number of States (the United States and Canada, joined by Ukraine and the Island of Palau, associated with the USA) tried to prevent its approval. At that time 49 members of the UN, mostly European Union countries, abstained. On the

<sup>18</sup> *China's President Xi Jinping speech on the 95<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Communist party of China* [updated], in «The Saker», July 2<sup>nd</sup>. 2016, <http://thesaker.is/chinas-president-xi-jinping-speech-on-the-95th-anniversary-of-the-communist-party-of-china/>.

<sup>19</sup> *Media note about the informal meeting of the BRICS countries' leaders 'on the margins' of the G20 summit, Hangzhou, PRC, September 4<sup>th</sup>, 2016*, [http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/cn/-/asset\\_publisher/WhKWb5DVBqKA/content/id/2420075](http://www.mid.ru/ru/maps/cn/-/asset_publisher/WhKWb5DVBqKA/content/id/2420075).

<sup>20</sup> Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on December 18<sup>th</sup>, 2014 [on the report of the Third Committee (A/69/486)] 69/160, Combating glorification of Nazism, neo-Nazism and other practices that contribute to fuelling contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N14/706/23/PDF/N1470623.pdf?OpenElement>.



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contrary, co-authors of the resolution were as many as 52 countries<sup>21</sup>. The November-December 2016 voting on up-to-date text of the resolution in all the GA committees and GA has shown the same balance of support and filibustering, but, what is very important, the number of its co-authors has grown to 54 countries<sup>22</sup>.

Russia, China and other co-authors see the meaning of such resolution in that to prevent the distortion of nations' common history and rewriting of it by the needs of the day. To preserve intact the memory of the true events of the Second World War and of the role played by Russia and China in the defeat of Nazism and Japanese militarism. To protect the legal and political legacy of the victory and military brotherhood. To uproot from international life new shoots of fascism, racism and aggressive nationalism, piercing out here and there again and again with the connivance of the certain political circles<sup>23</sup>.

The reality is that only NATO countries took the lead in opposing such an approach. The key argument Americans used to defend their stance sounded like that: «This resolution's recommendations to limit freedom of expression, freedom of association, and the right to peaceful assembly contravene the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and must be opposed»<sup>24</sup>. Radio Free Europe gave a matchless explanation of why two other nations joined USA in condemning the large majority of world actors' vision of what is good and what is bad. You may read on its site: «Joining the United States in voting 'no' were Palau and Ukraine, where a far-right, vehemently anti-Russian party recently was formed with a symbol resembling a Nazi Wolfsangel»<sup>25</sup>. Nobody could have explained better.

When voting against the resolution or abstaining NATO countries do not oppose Russia and China, the situation is much worse – they withstand against truth, against international law, against healthy links between states, against the logic of democratic development and sane international relations, against the lessons history teaches humankind<sup>26</sup>. The same happens when they

<sup>21</sup> Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on December 17<sup>th</sup>, 2015 [on the report of the Third Committee (A/70/487)] 70/139, Combating glorification of Nazism, neo-Nazism and other practices that contribute to fuelling contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N15/439/83/PDF/N1543983.pdf?OpenElement>.

<sup>22</sup> *US, Ukraine Voted Against UN Committee Resolution Condemning Glorification of Nazis*, in «News-Front», November 18<sup>th</sup>, 2016, <http://en.news-front.info/2016/11/18/us-ukraine-voted-against-un-committee-resolution-condemning-glorification-of-nazis/>.

<sup>23</sup> Россия и проблематика обеспечения прав человека в государствах мира, <http://www.mid.ru/rossia-i-problematika-obespechenia-prav-cheloveka-v-gosudarstvah-mira>.

<sup>24</sup> The fragment is taken from Deputy US Representative at the UN Stefanie Amadeo speech.

<sup>25</sup> *US, Ukraine Vote Against Russian Measure Condemning Nazism At UN*, on Radio Free Europe - Radio Liberty, November 18<sup>th</sup>, 2016, transcription at <http://www.rferl.org/a/us-ukraine-vote-against-russian-resolution-condemning-nazism-united-nations-/28125450.html>.

<sup>26</sup> Comment by the Russian MFA Information and Press Department on the European Commission statement issued ahead of the Europe-Wide Day of Remembrance for the victims of all totalitarian and authoritarian regimes, August 25<sup>th</sup>, 2016, <https://russiaeu.ru/en/printable/print/node/2363>.



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proclaim that Russia and China violate modern international law and their international obligations as far as Ukraine and Syria are concerned and etc. In doing that they try to pass a wet sponge over nations' memory about their peculiar role in undermining stability in the Middle East and emergence of world terror international as well as the *coup d'état* in Ukraine, the role of urgently legalized far-right formations in it, and political moves of new illegal authorities that had profoundly jeopardized safety of persons, large stratum of population and the whole regions. Nothing can be judged in a fair and honest way if nations' are always under pressure to forget what happened yesterday, before yesterday, and in times past. Maybe with Donald Trump victory in the presidential race in the United States something could change to the better in world politics – a lot of people on Earth count on that<sup>27</sup>, even in USA<sup>28</sup>.

Russia and China strongly support the UN and special missions of the UN' Security Council. They counteract the constant attacks on them by all those who, resorting to deliberately harsh and unconstructive criticism of the Security Council and the UN in general, to defamation and false claims about their slowness, insufficiency and too low efficiency, promote only their own selfish interests that have nothing in common with the objectives of strengthening international peace and security. Moscow and Beijing are striving for that the planned reform of the UN Security Council will strengthen it or, in any case, will not lead to the undermining of its capability, will not make it «unmanageable, too amorphous and exaggerated organ»<sup>29</sup>.

In the UN and other international organizations, they speak for the adoption of binding political-legal acts, which would have made it difficult to conduct policy directed on changing undesirable political regime, incitement from the outside of the protest movement, domestic violence, civil and religious wars. Too many sovereign states and entire regions of the planet have suffered from such type of policy. They can not imagine the future great Eurasian project, the shape of which is still only looming, without respect for the singularity and independent development of each participant<sup>30</sup>.

There is a tight coordination between Russia and China in the field of joint struggle against the whipping of the arms race, which now begins to

<sup>27</sup> Though the majority of American and European mass media continue to scare everybody to death as it is done in «New York Daily News» Editorial, Donald Trump's presidential election victory means America must hope for the best, November 9<sup>th</sup>, 2016, <http://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/donald-trump-victory-means-america-hope-best-article-1.2865500>.

<sup>28</sup> *Donald Trump can lead US to a better future: Mitt Romney*, in «The Economic Times», November 30<sup>th</sup>, 2016, <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/international/world-news/donald-trump-can-lead-us-to-a-better-future-mitt-romney/articleshow/55701339.cms>.

<sup>29</sup> Лавров: реформа СБ ООН требует компромисса между двумя подходами по категориям расширения, ТАСС Политика, 14 сентября 2015, <http://tass.ru/politika/2254950>; *UN veto power key guarantor of restraint, counterbalance* – Russia FM, Russian News Agency TASS, September 14<sup>th</sup>, 2015, <http://tass.ru/en/politics/820829>.

<sup>30</sup> Mark Entin - Ekaterina Entina, *Russia's role in promoting Great Eurasia geopolitical project*, in «Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali», anno 83, fasc. 331, luglio-sett. 2016, pp. 331-352.



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resemble the worst periods of human history – the pre-war 30s of the last century and the height of the cold war. Russian and Chinese diplomacy with special insistence is promoting joint draft Treaty on Prevention of the Placement of Weapons in Outer Space and of the Threat or Use of Force against Outer Space Objects, as well as the initiative for all States to undertake commitments on the non-deployment of weapons in outer space first<sup>31</sup>. In particular they are in favor of beginning substantive work at the Conference on Disarmament.

And, of course, there is a need to mention the contribution of both countries to achievement of fair lasting settlement of the most complicated international conflicts and other problems, which have led or may lead to the most bloody and destructive armed conflicts. Thanks to the patience, perseverance, firmness and belief in the rightness of Moscow and Beijing they managed to prevent the solution of the problem of Iranian nuclear program in military way and to bring the matter to a comprehensive settlement that is acceptable to Iran and leading world powers. Thanks to the close cooperation between Russia and China they managed to launch an unprecedented operation of Syria's chemical weapons destruction and to bring it to a successful conclusion despite all obstacles and opposition. After outright fraud related to the resolution of the UN Security Council on Libya, under cover of which Britain, France and the United States deposed Muammar Gaddafi, destroyed the country and thereby set the stage for explosive expansion of weapons, terrorism and radicalism on the continent, Moscow and Beijing have become even tougher to oppose any attempts to impose forcibly methods and terms of the settlement that are biased, unbalanced and contrary to their will on countries and peoples.

### **Trying to shift the blame**

It would seem that all these are indisputable facts. However, Western politicians and the majority of scientists, by relying on the dominance of the US and the EU and their allies in the information field, formed in the consciousness of a significant part of the world community an inverted view of the contemporary world order and the place of Russia and China in it. These ideas are so skillfully constructed and so ingrained that for the most part they are not even questioned. They are presented as ultimate truth and have become almost unmodifiable sample of modern political science.

In accordance with this sample, the US and the EU and their allies are the leading players in the international arena. They determine everything. They

<sup>31</sup> Предотвращение размещения оружия в космосе (Prevention of the Placement of Weapons in Outer Space), [http://www.mid.ru/mnogostoronnij-razoruzenceskij-mehanizm-oon/-/asset\\_publisher/8pTEicZSMOut/content/id/1127371](http://www.mid.ru/mnogostoronnij-razoruzenceskij-mehanizm-oon/-/asset_publisher/8pTEicZSMOut/content/id/1127371).

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set the rules of the game. Their experience and model of political order and legal framework are an example to all. They concentrated all the power in the world in their hands. Since they are so progressive and advanced and uphold values that must be learned by everyone else, then they have the right to teach and instruct all the others. If someone hesitates to borrow their values, then it is permissible by the will of Washington and/or Brussels to bring up, form up them, punish, reform, and etc. (as in the case of Serbia and many others) for their 'reformation', not disdaining the use of force, coercion, sanctions, subversion and even direct invasion. The concepts of humanitarian and pro-democratic intervention, which then were changed into the responsibility to protect concept<sup>32</sup>, served as a justification and legitimization of these actions.

Such a modern world order is quite logical and fair, think politicians and expert societies in Washington, Brussels and Berlin. Nevertheless, Russia and China break it, rise up against it and undermine it.

They push a new 'international order' and boost relations between their regimes and the region's totalitarian-minded rulers, signing huge deals with their counterparts in the Western Hemisphere on everything from trade and economic cooperation to military issues and espionage. According to analysts, the official Sino-Russo trips to the region highlight the fast-shifting geopolitical scene, with the world being shepherded in controlled fashion toward a new, 'multi-polar' world order featuring a neutered United States and more unaccountable 'global governance'<sup>33</sup>.

While Russia acts by the political and military means, China mainly acts by economic methods<sup>34</sup>, though not only by them. For authors and readers of the «Wall Street Journal», for example, it is quite obvious. The newspaper states as a matter of fact: «[...] it is now impossible to ignore that China is attempting to redefine [...] the rules of world order. Under Mr. Xi, Beijing [...] foreign policy is increasingly aggressive, sometimes lawless, a reality that's become clear even to the Obama Administration. The US needs to show that it will resist this behaviour [...]»<sup>35</sup>.

It means that Russia and China are renegade-States, revanchist-States, the carriers of the ideas and ideals of the past, from which it is high time to rid of. But if it is so, they should be restrained, prohibited, restricted, etc. It is legal,

<sup>32</sup> Кирилл Геворгян, «К читателям «Международной жизни». Концепция «ответственности по защите», *Международная жизнь* (International affairs), <https://interaffairs.ru/jauthor/material/920>.

<sup>33</sup> Alex Newman, *In Latin America Russia and China Push New World Order*, in «New American», July 29<sup>th</sup>, 2014, <http://www.thenewamerican.com/world-news/south-america/item/18804-in-latin-america-russia-and-china-push-new-world-order>.

<sup>34</sup> Sylvie Kauffmann, *Russie et Chine, deux façon de contester l'ordre mondial*, in «Le Monde», 11.04.2015, [http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2015/04/11/russie-et-chine-deux-facons-de-contester-l-ordre-mondial\\_4614341\\_3232.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2015/04/11/russie-et-chine-deux-facons-de-contester-l-ordre-mondial_4614341_3232.html).

<sup>35</sup> *Beijing's New World Order: China's aggression requires a more forceful American response*, in «The Wall Street Journal», September 24<sup>th</sup>, 2015, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/beijings-new-world-order-1443138259>.



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legitimate and justifiable. As some western experts hysterically writes, «if the plot is not stopped, liberty, Western civilization, national independence, and Judeo-Christian values are all in danger. So far, though, top Western globalists and establishment players in the United States and Europe have been enabling the Communist Chinese dictatorship every step of the way. Beijing's role in steering and hosting the 2016 G20 summit is simply the latest symptom of an on-going process»<sup>36</sup>.

Unfortunately, Russian and Chinese politicians and expert societies played up the approval of such sample by simplistic perception and description of a unipolar world and transition to multipolarity<sup>37</sup>, as well as those who plead for the establishment of the «new world order, dominated by China and Russia»<sup>38</sup>. In fact, the world has never been and can not be unipolar in the sense of world order, as long as the UN Charter remains the supreme law of modern life and modern international law is in force. Moscow and Beijing have defended them. Unipolarity or multipolarity is no more than a statement of the existing balance of power in the world, which is constantly evolving. World order is the concept of a completely different level and content.

Both Russia and today China, preferably together, should expect a long and hard struggle to put the understanding of the modern world order in the proper way both in practical politics and in theory. They must start without delay. Then pairing off different integration processes in Greater Eurasia<sup>39</sup> and, possibly, the formation of a Greater Eurasian community or a holistic partnership in future<sup>40</sup> will also go faster and easier<sup>41</sup>. This geopolitical project is all inclusive. It is open to the EU, as Russian leadership insisted on many occasions. «Russia attaches great importance to the idea of building a multi-level integration model for Eurasia in the form of a Greater Eurasian Partnership», as Russian President put it in his 2016 annual address to the Federal Assembly. «We are already discussing this idea on various international and regional levels. I am confident that we can have

<sup>36</sup> Alex Newman, *Hosting G20, Communist China Touts "Lead Role"*, in «New World Order, New American», August 17<sup>th</sup>, 2016, <http://www.thenewamerican.com/world-news/asia/item/23879-hosting-g20-communist-china-touts-lead-role-in-new-world-order>.

<sup>37</sup> Константин Косачев, «Мягкая сила» с жесткими последствиями, Российский журнал правовых исследований (Russian journal of legal studies), March, 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2016, <http://russianjls.ru/>.

<sup>38</sup> Arthur Dominic Villasanti, *Xi Calls for 'New World Order' Dominated by China and Russia and the Elimination of the US*, in «China Topix», August 14<sup>th</sup>, 2016, <http://www.chinatopix.com/articles/98199/20160814/xi-calls-new-world-order-dominated-china-russia-elimination.htm#ixzz4SQdAksen>.

<sup>39</sup> Mark Entin - Ekaterina Entina, *The New Role of Russia in the Greater Eurasia*, in «Strategic Analysis», Taylor & Francis, V. 40, N. 6, November-December 2016, pp. 590-603.

<sup>40</sup> Mark Entin - Ekaterina Entina, *Russia's role in promoting Great Eurasia geopolitical project*, *Op. cit.*, pp.331-352.

<sup>41</sup> Марк Энтин, Екатерина Энтина, Всеобъемлющее Большое Евразийское партнерство: уход от реальности или возвращение к ней, *Вся Европа*, № 11(115), 2016, <http://alleuropalux.org/>.





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conversation with the European Union countries, where the demand for political and economic independence is currently on the rise»<sup>42</sup>.

The Greater Eurasia project is in conformity with real modern world order as we described it above and modern international law. It could restore trust, understanding and partnership with the United States too. Election of Donald Trump as the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the USA opens a new window of opportunity in this sense and all others. Russia is always ready to a genuine and equal cooperation and will be eager to accomplish its part of the job and to talk others in doing the same because «cooperation between Russia and the United States in addressing global and regional issues will benefit the whole world», and both countries «have a shared responsibility to ensure international security and stability» and to counter «real rather than fictional threats, international terrorism being one of them»<sup>43</sup>.



<sup>42</sup> <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/53379>.

<sup>43</sup> <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/53379>.

