

GEOPOLITICAL DYNAMICS IN THE EASTERN EUROPEAN REGION: A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF EXTERNAL INFLUENCE ON INTERSTATE RELATIONS

¹R. Izimov, ²Zh. Ospanova

АННОТАЦИЯ

This study is devoted to a comprehensive analysis of geopolitical processes in the Eastern European region with an emphasis on the foreign policy activity of global and regional actors. The historical conditionality and evolution of interstate relations between two large Eastern European states in the context of the post-Soviet space are considered. Particular attention is paid to the transformation of the political landscape after independence by one of the subjects of research and subsequent centrifugal trends in certain territorial entities. The methodological base of the study includes comparative analysis, a systematic approach and content analysis of official documents, which makes it possible to form a multifaceted idea of the strategic positions of key geopolitical players: the People's Republic of China, the United States of America, the European Union and direct participants in regional processes. The findings allow us to state the presence of a complex configuration of interests of direct and indirect participants in interstate interaction, each of which seeks to maximize its geopolitical and economic advantages in the context of the transformation of the regional security architecture.

Key words: Eastern European Region, China, USA, Interstate Relations, Territorial Integrity, Strategic Partnership.

¹ Institute for Philosophy, Political Science and Religious Studies of the CS MES RK, Almaty, Kazakhstan

² L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, Astana, Kazakhstan

Author-correspondent:
Ospanova Zh.Ye.,
zhanera.88@mail.ru

Reference to this article:
Izimov R., Ospanova Zh.
Geopolitical Dynamics in the Eastern European Region: a Comprehensive Analysis of External Influence on Interstate Relations // Adam Alemi.
– 2025. – No.3 (103).
– P. 123-130.

Шығыс Еуропа өңіріндегі геосаяси серпін: мемлекетаралық қатынастарға әсер ететін сыртқы ықпалға кешенді талдау

Аңдатпа. Бұл зерттеу жаһандық және өңірлік акторлардың сыртқы саяси белсенділігіне баса назар аударып, Шығыс Еуропа өңіріндегі геосаяси процестерді кешенді талдауға арналған. Посткеңестік кеңістік контекстінде екі ірі Шығыс Еуропа мемлекеттері арасындағы мемлекетаралық қатынастардың тарихи шарттылығы мен эволюциясы қарастырылады. Зерттеу субъектілерінің бірі тәуелсіздік алғаннан кейін саяси ландшафты өзгертуге және кейіннен белгілі бір аумақтық құрылымдардағы орталықтан негіз алған үрдістерге ерекше назар аударылады. Зерттеудің әдіснамалық базасы компаративтік талдауды, жүйелік тәсілді және ресми құжаттардың контент-талдауын қамтиды, бұл негізгі геосаяси ойыншылардың: Қытай Халық Республикасының, Америка Құрама Штаттарының, Еуропалық Одақтың және өңірлік процестерге тікелей қатысушылардың стратегиялық позициялары туралы көп қырлы түсінікті қалыптастыруға мүмкіндік береді. Алынған қорытындылар мемлекетаралық өзара іс-қимылдың тікелей және жанама қатысушылары мүдделерінің күрделі конфигурациясының болуын айқындауға мүмкіндік береді, олардың әрқайсысы өңірлік қауіпсіздік архитектурасын трансформациялау жағдайында өздерінің геосаяси және экономикалық артықшылықтарын барынша арттыруға ұмтылады.

Түйін сөздер: Шығыс Еуропа өңірі, Қытай, АҚШ, мемлекетаралық қатынастар, аумақтық тұтастық, стратегиялық әріптестік.

Геополитическая динамика в Восточноевропейском регионе: комплексный анализ внешнего влияния на межгосударственные отношения

Аннотация. Данное исследование посвящено комплексному анализу геополитических процессов в Восточноевропейском регионе с акцентом на внешнеполитическую активность глобальных и региональных акторов. Рассматривается историческая обусловленность и эволюция межгосударственных отношений между двумя крупными восточноевропейскими государствами в контексте постсоветского пространства. Особое внимание уделяется трансформации политического ландшафта после обретения независимости одним из субъектов исследования и последующим центробежным тенденциям в определенных территориальных образованиях. Методологическая база исследования включает компаративный анализ, системный подход и контент-анализ официальных документов, что позволяет сформировать многогранное представление о стратегических позициях ключевых геополитических игроков: Китайской Народной Республики, Соединенных Штатов Америки, Европейского Союза и непосредственных участников региональных процессов. Полученные выводы позволяют констатировать наличие сложной конфигурации интересов прямых и косвенных участников межгосударственного взаимодействия, каждый из которых стремится к максимизации своих геополитических и экономических преимуществ в условиях трансформации региональной архитектуры безопасности.

Ключевые слова: Восточноевропейский регион, Китай, США, межгосударственные отношения, территориальная целостность, стратегическое партнерство.

Introduction

From the first days of the escalation in Eastern Europe, the United States made active efforts to influence Beijing to de-escalate tensions in the region. China, on the other hand, made ambiguous statements, calling for respect for the territorial integrity of all countries while recognizing the legitimacy of Moscow's concerns about its national security. The Americans have repeatedly accused China of providing military support to Moscow [1]. However, such an initiative has not yet been observed on the part of the Chinese. The changing geopolitical situation in Eastern Europe has forced China to reconsider its foreign policy priorities.

Before the deterioration of interstate relations in the region, there were significant convincing prerequisites indicating that Moscow was signaling to the West that in the event of continued pressure, the energy crisis could worsen. To reduce dependence on European consumers, Russia took steps to increase gas supplies to China [2]. The Russian Federation transferred a significant portion of its gold and foreign exchange reserves to yuan assets. All these events could suggest that Russia was preparing for restrictive measures from its Western neighbors [3].

China had to develop its own approach, which has become its main position since the beginning of the regional tensions. The main goal of this approach is that the PRC emphasizes the need to respect the territorial integrity and security of all countries and regrets that regional tensions lead to human casualties, but at the same time, states that the double standards of the United States and NATO have led to the inevitability of confrontation [4]. This approach allows Beijing to maintain a balance between conflicting objectives: to maintain special relations with Moscow, and not to damage the complicated relations with the EU, which are especially important against the backdrop of growing rivalry with the United States. China also understands that the EU is a major trading partner, and it is extremely important to prevent anti-Chinese sentiments and the formation of an alliance between the EU and the United States [5].

The main purpose of this article is to study and compare the positions of China, Russia, the USA, the EU, and Eastern European countries themselves in relation to the current situation in the region and the main goals of the parties in the context of the increasing confrontation between Russia and the West against the background of the formation of a multipolar system.

The scientific relevance of this article lies in the methodological approach, which includes a comprehensive comparative analysis of the interests and positions of major actors, as well as direct participants in regional processes.

Methodology

During the study, methods of analysis and synthesis, comparative analysis were employed, allowing for a comparison of positions held by the main

countries taking direct and indirect roles to create a comprehensive picture of the subject matter.

The article also applied a systemic approach, examining stakeholder involvement in the regional dispute as part of a deeper system encompassing political and economic dimensions, which undoubtedly enabled analysis of the relationships between these components and their impact on the ongoing situation.

Overall, the research results provide significant insight into the evolving policy trajectories of countries involved in the Eastern European geopolitical tensions and associated military-political complications between neighboring states in the region.

Main part

China's Diplomatic Position on Regional Stability in Eastern Europe

The period of March 4-13, 2023 marked significant developments in Chinese politics with the sessions of the National People's Congress and the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. These «two sessions» represent the culmination of a five-year political cycle in China, following the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of China, and signaled the beginning of a new era under Xi Jinping's consolidated leadership [6].

China established its position on Eastern European regional tensions immediately following the emergence of interstate conflict in February 2022. In diplomatic exchanges with European counterparts, Foreign Minister Wang Yi articulated China's stance based on several fundamental principles: respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty of all nations while acknowledging their security concerns; opposition to unilateral sanctions that might escalate tensions; and calls for immediate cessation of hostilities and diplomatic negotiations. This position has remained largely consistent throughout the subsequent period [7].

On February 24, 2023, China published a significant document entitled «China's Position on the Political Settlement of the Ukrainian Crisis», which outlined twelve points that Beijing believed could contribute to regional stabilization. The document employed diplomatic language advocating for cessation of hostilities, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, abandonment of Cold War mentality, prevention of military bloc expansion, ensuring nuclear facility safety, prohibiting nuclear/chemical/biological weapons use, ending unilateral sanctions, establishing humanitarian corridors, and securing grain exports. China further expressed concern regarding potential nuclear escalation [8].

According to A. Kortunov, Director General of the Russian Committee on International Affairs, China demonstrates effectiveness in advocating for peace and facilitating negotiations, noting Moscow's significant interest in China's position document on political settlement [9].

Nikita Lyakhovetsky, head of the Moscow branch of the «Direct Democracy Party», ob-

served that President Xi's March 2023 visit to Moscow coincided with certain international legal developments concerning Russian President Putin. He suggested this timing reflected China's rejection of attempts to isolate Russia diplomatically, as demonstrated by the visit of the leader of the world's largest economy and UN Security Council permanent member [10].

Vasily Kashin, Director of the Center for Comprehensive European and International Studies at the National Research University Higher School of Economics, noted China's active diplomatic engagement while maintaining positions compatible with Russian interests. However, he suggested that due to Kyiv's constraints on direct negotiations with Moscow, opportunities for progress remain limited. Kashin assessed that China would not assume a mediator role like its facilitation of Saudi Arabia-Iran normalization [11].

Carnegie Moscow Center analyst Alexander Gabuev characterized the Eastern European conflict as an accelerator of existing trends in Chinese-Russian relations. Despite asymmetries in economic size and technological capabilities, the two countries maintain a mutually beneficial symbiotic relationship. As the conflict potentially weakens Russia's economic and demographic position, China's relative weight in the partnership increases, potentially accelerating Russia's dependence on China [11].

BBC Russian Service reported that while China has not formally joined Western sanctions, many Chinese companies have quietly observed the restrictions [2]. This strategic ambiguity allows Chinese political and business leaders to navigate the situation while minimizing negative economic impacts. China has experienced complications in relations with its primary trading partners (EU and US) since declining to condemn Russian military actions, while energy market disruptions have created financial difficulties for Western consumers [2].

President Xi Jinping's March 2023 visit to Russia – his first state visit following his third election as President – attracted significant international attention during a critical phase of the Ukrainian crisis. The three-day visit, conducted at the invitation of President Putin, represented the first visit by a top Chinese leader in over three years and inaugurated the new Chinese government's diplomatic approach of «friendship, cooperation and peace». President Xi expressed confidence that the visit would yield productive outcomes and invigorate the Chinese-Russian comprehensive strategic partnership [9].

According to the Financial Times, EU Foreign Policy Chief Josep Borrell suggested that the Xi-Putin meeting reduced the likelihood of nuclear weapons deployment. Borrell indicated that Xi clearly communicated to Putin that nuclear weapons should not be used in the Ukrainian conflict. He noted that China has maintained a position of qualified support toward Russia, refraining from weapons transfers. Borrell also observed that the Chinese leader sought to minimize association

with Russia's military operations while criticizing China and India for continuing energy purchases despite sanctions. The EU has encouraged China to initiate dialogue with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, insisting that Beijing consider Ukrainian perspectives alongside Russian positions [13]. Western media subsequently reported Xi's intention to speak with Zelensky following the Putin meeting, though the Ukrainian President expressed skepticism regarding Chinese peace initiatives while desiring direct communication with Xi [12].

China's policy toward Eastern European tensions in 2022 was shaped by deteriorating US-China relations, Taiwan-related tensions, COVID-19 challenges, and internal political transitions surrounding the Communist Party Congress. Beijing's decision-making regarding Ukraine operated within a broader geopolitical framework that accounted for global developments and domestic considerations.

Despite controversial remarks by Chinese Ambassador to France Liu Shaye regarding Crimea's status in spring 2023 [14], China's official position has remained unchanged – emphasizing respect for sovereignty of all countries, including former Soviet republics. Foreign Ministry spokesperson Mao Ning reaffirmed this stance, emphasizing China's consistent position respecting sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of all nations while supporting UN Charter principles [15].

China does not officially recognize territorial changes in Eastern Europe, as confirmed by Fu Cong, China's Ambassador to the European Union, who clarified that China does not consider Crimea and Donbass to be Russian territory and does not provide military assistance to Russia [16]. These statements confirm that despite individual diplomatic comments, China maintains an officially neutral position within the framework of sovereignty and international norms.

China's position on Eastern European regional tensions reflects its foreign policy priorities of non-interference and peaceful coexistence. While not assuming an active interventionist role, China advocates for political settlements through diplomatic channels while emphasizing the importance of international law and territorial sovereignty. China supports UN and OSCE conflict resolution efforts while opposing unilateral sanctions. Simultaneously, Beijing maintains its commitment to developing economic relations with all regional actors, including both Ukraine and Russia.

The complex interplay of China's diplomatic positioning, economic interests, and great power relations continues to shape its approach to Eastern European geopolitical dynamics, with significant implications for regional stability and international security architecture.

Regional Diplomatic Relations: Historical Context and Contemporary Challenges

The ongoing situation between neighboring states in Eastern Europe has significant long-term implications for the involved parties and the broader international community. Finding a

diplomatic resolution to the complex tensions remains challenging, though pathways to potential settlement exist despite uncertainty around timing and likelihood.

Western perspectives characterize one party's position as interventionist, citing support for separatist movements and military involvement [17]. The other perspective centers on concerns about denazification, demilitarization, and alleged violations of the Minsk agreements, including claims of civilian targeting in Donetsk and Lugansk regions. This viewpoint also suggests Western media mischaracterizes the Crimean referendum, where reportedly over 90% supported territorial realignment [18]. Additionally, there are assertions of double standards regarding American military engagements in various regions that were officially framed as democracy-protection measures [19].

Leadership advocating for a multipolar global order has indicated that nations including India, Indonesia, and various Latin American countries are experiencing resurgence and strengthening their positions. This represents an «objective process of forming a multipolar world» where sovereign equality is prioritized over hierarchical relationships [20].

British journalist Mark Blacklock suggests that geopolitical objectives disguised as humanitarian assistance have led to hasty Western decisions with significant human costs. He characterizes Western governmental involvement as a form of «proxy engagement» designed to diminish regional influence, prioritizing geopolitical interests over humanitarian concerns [21].

The internal dimensions of this situation reflect complex multilayered impacts on public sentiment, governance structures, and economic systems. Domestic consequences include political transformation, societal division, and humanitarian challenges. The situation has catalyzed political evolution, emerging leadership, and increasing social tensions. The ensuing instability has resulted in considerable human suffering, including casualties, displacement, and economic hardship.

One party's official stance denies direct involvement, framing actions as protection for ethnic populations. However, widely held analysis suggests there may be strategic value in prolonged regional engagement. While this approach potentially preserves influence and regional leverage, it carries substantial economic and diplomatic costs.

Regional Stabilization Efforts: International Perspectives

The United States maintains active diplomatic engagement regarding regional sovereignty challenges in Eastern Europe. Since 2014, the U.S. has expressed concerns about territorial changes and supports local governance structures through economic assistance and security cooperation programs. The United States advocates for broader European integration of the region and has committed to supporting democratic reforms and economic development initiatives in affected territories.

Similarly, the European Union emphasizes respect for internationally recognized borders in Eastern Europe. The EU has implemented various policy measures in response to territorial disputes and remains engaged in multilateral diplomatic channels to promote regional stability. The European Alliance continues its commitment to reform processes and regional aspirations for closer European integration.

In a notable analysis published in *Foreign Affairs*, scholars Ivo Daadler and James Goldgeier present a significant perspective on East-West relations. They suggest that diplomatic tensions may persist long-term, challenging conventional wisdom that all disagreements eventually reach formal resolution. The authors propose that current regional tensions could evolve into prolonged low-intensity engagement without definitive resolution. They observe that Western countries have resource limitations affecting their ability to provide comprehensive assistance, while also being mindful of escalation risks. Simultaneously, they note that opposing regional powers may face constraints in personnel and equipment that limit operational effectiveness. Based on these observations, Daadler and Goldgeier recommend preparing for extended diplomatic engagement and sustained economic support for affected regions to maintain territorial integrity. Their analysis underscores the complexity of achieving regional stability and security [22].

Nobel laureate economist Paul Krugman characterizes the situation as increasingly resembling a prolonged test of endurance between regional powers. However, he highlights significant asymmetry in sustainability factors. Krugman suggests that international backing provides advantages to certain parties in long-term scenarios, potentially influencing eventual outcomes [23].

In October 2023, international coordination efforts intensified when former US President Joe Biden convened leaders and foreign ministers from allied nations including Canada, Germany, Italy, Japan, Poland, Romania, and the United Kingdom, along with French diplomatic representatives and senior officials from European institutions and NATO. Polish President Andrzej Duda confirmed unanimous agreement on continued regional support strategies. NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg reaffirmed alliance commitments to long-term engagement [24]. While the US approved temporary budget measures to maintain government operations, specialized regional assistance funding faced procedural delays in Congress, prompting administrative concerns about timely implementation of support programs [25].

Joint communiqués from US-EU summits regarding Eastern European stability notably focus on economic considerations rather than security operations [26]. These statements emphasize potential economic vulnerabilities requiring urgent attention. The only reference to security matters acknowledges the principle of self-defense while reaffirming consistent policies on assistance. The statements highlight cooperation between the US

and EU to «protect, restore and modernize energy infrastructure in line with EU standards» [26].

Brussels and Washington advocate for respecting internationally recognized boundaries and addressing damages through appropriate compensation mechanisms. Summit declarations primarily concentrate on economic and humanitarian dimensions rather than operational security matters [26].

Ukraine's Diplomatic Position in the Ongoing Regional Dispute

Ukraine has received substantial assistance from Western nations following the commencement of what Russia terms a «special military operation» in February 2022. The parties hold contrasting perspectives on the situation's causes: Moscow attributes its actions to perceived Western hostility, while Kyiv and its allies characterize Russia's motivations differently [27].

Following President Volodymyr Zelensky's United States visit in late 2023, Ukraine's administration faced increased scrutiny in Western media. Ukrainian officials expressed concern about articles discussing alliance tensions and suggesting Western support fatigue. The Ukrainian leader's UN General Assembly address generated limited response. Some Western publications appeared to be laying groundwork for encouraging Kyiv toward negotiations that might involve territorial considerations. Zelensky acknowledged that concurrent events in the Middle East were diverting international attention, potentially advancing what he perceived as Russian interests by reducing Ukraine's prominence in global discourse. Nevertheless, he expressed optimism about regaining focus, citing previous periods when Ukraine received minimal attention [28].

President Zelensky has consistently maintained that Ukraine is not currently interested in negotiations and has denied assertions of Western pressure. Ukraine's stated objective remains the restoration of all territories, including the peninsula that changed administrative status in 2014, and the complete withdrawal of Russian military presence [28].

Certain American officials have indicated that discussions with Ukraine stemmed from Washington and European capitals' concerns about the situation's prolonged nature and questions regarding sustained Western support capacity [29].

Zelensky has emphasized Ukraine's commitment to territorial integrity and resistance to using negotiations as leverage for NATO membership. He assured that Ukraine would neither sacrifice territory nor accept arrangements that could result in an unresolved situation [30].

NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg noted that current circumstances make immediate Ukrainian NATO membership impractical. He highlighted governance concerns that require addressing (Ukraine submitted its NATO membership application in September 2022) [30]. President Zelensky maintained that NATO membership represents the optimal security guarantee, while

Moscow expressed reservation about G7 security assurances for Ukraine, viewing them as potentially compromising Russian security interests.

Ukraine has stated it does not envision hosting foreign military contingents until achieving NATO membership and confirmed no ongoing discussions regarding Polish troop deployment on Ukrainian soil [30].

Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba indicated that Ukrainian diplomacy aims to counterbalance Russia's expanding influence by cultivating support across diverse regions including Eastern Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and China [31].

During communications with Chinese President Xi Jinping, President Zelensky noted China's previous status as Ukraine's leading trade partner and expressed appreciation for China's position on sovereignty principles. He voiced concern regarding potential disruption to Black Sea agricultural export routes, which had been significant for Chinese grain imports. Zelensky emphasized the importance of international pressure to maintain these shipping corridors and the inappropriateness of weapons transfers to Russia from any global actor [32].

The Ukrainian President proposed including China and Global South nations in Ukraine's proposed peace framework to create meaningful political and economic isolation. He noted that political isolation typically precipitates economic and military constraints. Zelensky also referenced China's direct communication with Russia regarding nuclear rhetoric restraint. He highlighted Ukraine's progress in implementing its peace initiative, including engagement with diverse countries, particularly from the Global South [33].

These statements demonstrate Ukraine's pursuit of international cooperation regarding the situation, especially concerning strategic Black Sea export routes. Ukraine underscores the importance of support from invested nations while expressing concerns about potential arms transfers to Russia.

Conclusion

The regional crisis in Eastern Europe represents the most significant challenge to continental security in recent decades, evolving into a complex military-political confrontation between competing power blocs that involves a collision of interests deemed vital by all participants, substantially reducing prospects for diplomatic resolution. The defending nation maintains its refusal to engage in negotiations with the opposing power, rejecting territorial adjustments while adhering exclusively to its own proposed «peace framework», which the other party views as dismissive of their core interests. For the larger power, prolonging the situation offers considerable strategic advantages, and despite multiple rounds of economic restrictions, it continues to weather various losses.

Western powers expressed skepticism regarding mediation efforts from Asian diplomatic channels and insisted on prioritizing the defend-

ing nation's position, although renowned international relations expert G. Kissinger suggested that participation from major Eastern powers in negotiation processes could provide the optimal path toward de-escalation [34]. The larger regional power endorsed these diplomatic initiatives, considering them aligned with their own approaches and potentially forming a foundation for peace discussions when other parties demonstrate readiness for dialogue.

International economic measures have increased the larger power's dependency on its eastern neighbor, providing it access to energy markets while redirecting strategic attention from competing global powers. However, for this eastern partner, an indefinite continuation of hostilities remains problematic, as it seeks improved relations with European nations, enhanced trade opportunities, and avoidance of confrontation with Western powers. Supporting its neighbor in this regional dispute undermines these broader strategic objectives.

This situation has precipitated the most extensive geopolitical standoff between competing power centers since the conclusion of the previous century's ideological division. The contested territory has become an arena where interests of multiple powers intersect, transforming what began as a localized crisis into a matter of regional and global significance. The persistent confrontation has resulted in substantial casualties and widespread infrastructure damage. It has also generated the most severe diplomatic crisis between competing power blocs since the nuclear standoff of the 1960s.

Under current conditions of military and political antagonism, negotiations may conclude with either a temporary suspension of hostilities or superficial agreements, which might appeal to disadvantaged parties seeking opportunities to regroup. Proposing effective conflict resolution models proves challenging, as successful resolution fundamentally requires genuine willingness from all parties to engage constructively. The territorial acquisitions provide economic and strategic advantages to the larger power, including maritime control and resource access. These benefits reduce incentives for conflict resolution, as continuation serves certain strategic interests.

Addressing such complex situations necessitates collaborative efforts among international stakeholders, as outcomes significantly impact security and stability across both regional and global contexts.

Financing

This research has been funded by the Committee of Science of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan (IRN No.BR21882209 Information and ideological impact on the mass consciousness in Kazakhstan: risks and opportunities)

References

1 Ukraine war: Blinken says China might give weapons to Russia // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-64695042> (the date of referring: 11.10.2023).

2 Безучастное участие: что стоит за мирным планом Китая по Украине? // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.bbc.com/russian/features-64765649> (the date of referring: 17.10.2023).

3 Russia's FX reserves slip from its grasp // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.ft.com/content/526ea75b-5b45-48d8-936d-dcc3cec102d8> (the date of referring: 19.09.2023).

4 Китай обвинил США и КНР в лицемерии // [Electronic source] URL: <https://lenta.ru/news/2022/03/17/hypocrisy/> (the date of referring: 13.05.2023).

5 РСМД: Китайский товарищ: итоги визита Си Цзиньпина в Москву // [Electronic source] URL: <https://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/comments/kitayskiy-tovarishch-itogi-vizita-si-tszipina-v-moskvu/?yclid=lfxf6umkpu349884729> (the date of referring: 15.09.2023).

6 РСМД: «Две сессии» – 2023: основные итоги // [Electronic source] URL: <https://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/analytics/dve-sessii-2023-osnovnyye-itogi/?yclid=lfvrflyx6855169983> (the date of referring: 15.09.2023).

7 王毅视频会晤欧洲两国外长，说了什么？ // [Electronic source] URL: <https://export.shobserver.com/baijiahao/html/460035.html> (the date of referring: 14.10.2023).

8 Позиция Китая по политическому урегулированию украинского кризиса // [Electronic source] URL: <https://russian.news.cn/20230224/f4d3ed8134da42d9a6004f69830005e5/c.html> (the date of referring: 15.09.2023).

9 习近平开始对俄罗斯进行国事访问，世界期待中俄元首外交成果 // [Electronic source] URL: <https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1760940619383246848&wfr=spider&for=pc> (the date of referring: 15.09.2023).

10 Эксперты «Круга мнений» обсудили итоги визита Си Цзиньпина в Москву // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.ridus.ru/eksperty-kruga-mnenij-obsudili-itogi-vizita-si-tszipina-v-moskvu-404029.html> (the date of referring: 19.09.2023).

11 Что ждать от визита Си Цзиньпина в Россию – Ведомости // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.vedomosti.ru/politics/articles/2023/03/20/967173-chemo-zhdet-ot-vizita-si-tszipina?yclid=lfmmgh37f478084198> (the date of referring: 19.09.2023).

12 Эксперт: У Китая не нейтральная позиция по войне в Украине // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.dw.com/ru/ekspert-kitaj-ne-zanimaet-nejtralnuu-poziciu-po-vojnue-v-ukraine/a-63493048> (the date of referring: 19.09.2023).

13 Xi Jinping's Russia trip reduced chance of nuclear war, says EU foreign policy chief // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.ft.com/content/8f895b27-9e16-47b4-8608-dbd002facd65> (the date of referring: 11.09.2023).

14 Слова посла Китая во Франции о постсоветских странах - неудачный экспонат или обдуманный фронт? // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.golosameriki.com/a/china-post-soviet-states/7064176.html> (the date of referring: 07.10.2023).

15 中方立场变了？外媒记者：傅聪大使支持乌收复克里米亚，毛宁回应 我国 卢沙野 领土 // [Electronic source] URL: https://www.sohu.com/a/692533568_121379719 (the date of referring: 07.10.2023).

16 China's Ambassador to the E.U. Tries to Distance Beijing From Moscow - The New York Times // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/05/world/europe/eu-china-ambassador-russia-fu-cong.html> (the date of referring: 11.10.2023).

17 Украина требует трибунала по российской агрессии. Это сложно, а кое-кто считает, что и вредно // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.bbc.com/russian/features-64131115> (the date of referring: 02.10.2023).

18 Воссоединение Крыма и Севастополя с Россией: итоги первых шести лет // [Electronic source] URL: <https://wciom.ru/analytical-reviews/analiticheskii-obzor/vossoedinenie-kryma-i-sevastopolya-s-rossiej-itogi-pervyx-shesti-let> (the date of referring: 01.11.2023).

19 Спецоперация России на Украине: причины и мотивы (pravda.ru) // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.pravda.ru/world/1692613-rossija-ukraina/> (the date of referring: 01.11.2023).

20 普京最新涉华表态 新闻频道 央视网 // [Electronic source] URL: <https://news.cctv.com/2023/10/15/>

ARTInx2z3TyWeereFIMkhHII231015.shtml (the date of referring: 15.10.2023).

21 Global Times назвала истинные цели США под прикрытием поддержки Украины // [Electronic source] URL: <https://iz.ru/1537979/2023-07-02/global-times-nazvala-istinnye-tseli-ssha-pod-prikrityiem-podderzhki-ukrainy> (the date of referring: 08.10.2023).

22 The Long War in Ukraine. The West Needs to Plan for a Protracted Conflict with Russia // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/long-war-ukraine-russia-protracted-conflict> (the date of referring: 09.10.2023).

23 What Ukraine teaches us about power // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/06/opinion/ukraine-russia-war.html?searchResultPosition=5> (the date of referring: 09.10.2023).

24 Russia-Ukraine news // [Electronic source] URL: https://edition.cnn.com/europe/live-news/russia-ukraine-war-news-10-03-23/h_4ftaadaad9af6c33f9bf08a79dfbbcb (the date of referring: 08.10.2023).

25 Сенат США одобрил временный бюджет без помощи Украине и Израилу // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.rbc.ru/politics/16/11/2023/6555a7c79a794714d17d5125> (the date of referring: 18.11.2023).

26 ЕС и США в заявлении по итогам саммита предупредили об угрозе коллапса экономики Украины // [Electronic source] URL: <https://tass.ru/mezhdunarodnaya-panorama/19079709> (the date of referring: 09.10.2023).

27 U.S., European officials broach topic of peace negotiations with Ukraine, sources say // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/us-european-officials-broach-topic-peace-negotiations-ukraine-sources-rcna123628> (the date of referring: 08.10.2023).

28 «Ситуация не патовая». Зеленский ответил на статью Залужного о положении дел на фронте // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.bbc.com/russian/articles/clwpl8n52pro> (the date of referring: 08.10.2023).

29 NBC: США и ЕС поднимают вопрос перед Украиной о возможности мирных переговоров с Россией // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.golosameriki.com/a/western-officials-broach-with-kyiv-issue-possible-peace-talks-with-moscow-nbc/7341593.html> (the date of referring: 06.10.2023).

30 Президент Украины встретился с Генеральным секретарем НАТО // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.president.gov.ua/ru/news/president-ukrayini-zustrivsyaz-generalnim-sekretarem-nato-86237> (the date of referring: 04.10.2023).

31 Как Украина убеждает мир помогать ей оружием и противостоять России. Интервью Би-Би-Си главы украинского МИД Дмитрия Кулебы // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.bbc.com/russian/features-64498710> (the date of referring: 08.10.2023).

32 Председателем КНР обсуждалась реализация украинской формулы мира, возвращение из России депортированных детей и недопустимость поставок оружия в РФ – Президент Украины // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.president.gov.ua/ru/news/z-golovoyu-krn-bulo-obgovoreno-realizaciyu-ukrayinskoyi-form-82549> (the date of referring: 06.10.2023).

33 Привлечение как можно более широкого круга стран к реализации Украинской формулы мира создаст реальную изоляцию России – Президент // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.president.gov.ua/ru/news/zaluchennyya-yakomoga-shirshogo-kola-krayin-dorealizaciyi-uk-85489> (the date of referring: 07.10.2023).

34 Henry Kissinger on a potential artificial intelligence arms race // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/henry-kissinger-at-100-artificial-intelligence-global-tensions-and-addressing-his-critics/> (the date of referring: 05.10.2023).

Transliteration

1 Ukraine war: Blinken says China might give weapons to Russia // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-64695042> (the date of referring: 11.10.2023).

2 Bezuchastnoe uchastie: chto stoit za mirnym planom Kitaja po Ukraine? [Passive participation: What's behind

China's peace plan for Ukraine?] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.bbc.com/russian/features-64765649> (the date of referring: 17.10.2023) (in Russ)

3 Russia's FX reserves slip from its grasp // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.ft.com/content/526ea75b-5b45-48d8-936d-dcc3cec102d8> (the date of referring: 19.09.2023).

4 Kitaj obvinil SSHA i KNR v licemerii [China accused the US and China of hypocrisy] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://lenta.ru/news/2022/03/17/hypocrisy/> (the date of referring: 13.05.2023) (in Russ)

5 RSMД: Kitajskij tovarishh: itogi vizita Si Czin'pina v Moskvu [RIAC: Chinese comrade: results of Xi Jinping's visit to Moscow] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/comments/kitajskiy-tovarishh-itogi-vizita-si-tszin-pina-v-moskvu/?ysclid=lfxf6umk-p349884729> (the date of referring: 15.09.2023) (in Russ)

6 RSMД: «Dve sessii» – 2023: osnovnye itogi [RIAC: "Two Sessions" – 2023: main results] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/analytics/dve-sessii-2023-osnovnye-itogi/?ysclid=lfxfvrl-lyx6855169983> (the date of referring: 15.09.2023) (in Russ)

7 王毅视频会晤欧洲两国外长·说了什么? [What did Wang Yi discuss during his video conference with two European foreign ministers?] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://export.shobserver.com/baijiahao/html/460035.html> (the date of referring: 14.10.2023) (in Chinese)

8 Pozicija Kitaja po politicheskomu uregulirovaniju ukrainskogo krizisa [China's position on the political settlement of the Ukrainian crisis] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://russian.news.cn/20230224/f4d3ed8134da42d9a6004f69830005e5/c.html> (the date of referring: 15.09.2023) (in Russ)

9 习近平开始对俄罗斯进行国事访问·世界期待中俄元首外交成果 [Xi Jinping begins his state visit to Russia. The world looks forward to the results of the diplomatic ties between the Chinese and Russian leaders] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1760940619383246848&wfr=spider&for=pc> (the date of referring: 15.09.2023) (in Chinese)

10 Jeksperty «Krugam mnenij» obsudili itogi vizita Si Czin'pina v Moskvu [Experts from the "Circle of Opinions" discussed the results of Xi Jinping's visit to Moscow] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.ridus.ru/eksperty-kruga-mnenij-obsudili-itogi-vizita-si-czin-pina-v-moskvu-404029.html> (the date of referring: 19.09.2023) (in Russ)

11 Chego zhdat' ot vizita Si Czin'pina v Rossiju – Vedomosti [What to expect from Xi Jinping's visit to Russia – Vedomosti] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.vedomosti.ru/politics/articles/2023/03/20/967173-chedgo-zhdat-ot-vizita-si-tszin-pina?ysclid=lfmmgh37f478084198> (the date of referring: 19.09.2023) (in Russ)

12 Jekspert: U Kitaja ne nejtral'naja pozicija po vojne v Ukraine [Expert: China does not have a neutral position on the war in Ukraine] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.dw.com/ru/ekspert-kitaj-ne-zanimaet-nejtralnuu-poziciu-po-vojne-v-ukraine/a-63493048> (the date of referring: 19.09.2023) (in Russ)

13 Xi Jinping's Russia trip reduced chance of nuclear war, says EU foreign policy chief // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.ft.com/content/8f895b27-9e16-47b4-8608-dbd002fadd65> (the date of referring: 11.09.2023).

14 Slova posla Kitaja vo Francii o postsovetских stranah – neudachnyj jekspromt ili obdumannyj afront? [The Chinese ambassador to France's remarks about post-Soviet countries – an unfortunate impromptu or a deliberate affront?] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.golosameriki.com/a/china-post-soviet-states/7064176.html> (the date of referring: 07.10.2023) (in Russ)

15 中方立场变了? 外媒记者: 傅聪大使支持乌收复克里米亚·毛宁回应'我国'卢沙野'领土' [Has China's position changed? Foreign Media Reporter: Ambassador Fu Cong supports Ukraine's recovery of Crimea, Mao Ning responds] // [Electronic source] URL: https://www.sohu.com/a/692533568_121379719 (the date of referring: 07.10.2023) (in Chinese)

16 China's Ambassador to the E.U. Tries to Distance Beijing From Moscow – The New York Times // [Electronic

source] URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/05/world/europe/eu-china-embassador-russia-fu-cong.html> (the date of referring: 11.10.2023).

17 Ukraina trebut tribunala po rossijskoj agressii. Jeto slozhno, a koe-cto schitaet, chto i vredno [Ukraine demands a tribunal for Russian aggression. It's complicated, and some believe it's harmful] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.bbc.com/russian/features-64131115> (the date of referring: 02.10.2023) (in Russ)

18 Vossoedinenie Kryma i Sevastopolja s Rossiej: itogi pervykh shesti let [The Reunification of Crimea and Sevastopol with Russia: Results of the First Six Years] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://wciom.ru/analytical-reviews/analiticheskii-obzor/vossoedinenie-kryma-i-sevastopolja-s-rossiej-itogi-pervykh-shesti-let> (the date of referring: 01.11.2023) (in Russ)

19 Specoperacija Rossii na Ukraine: prichiny i motivy [Russia's Special Operation in Ukraine: Reasons and Motives] // [Electronic source] URL: https://www.pravda.ru/world/1692613-rossija_ukraina/ (the date of referring: 01.11.2023) (in Russ)

20 普京最新涉华表态 新闻频道 央视网 [Putin's Latest Statement on China] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://news.cctv.com/2023/10/15/ART1nx2z3TyWeereFIMKhH231015.shtml> (the date of referring: 15.10.2023) (in Chinese)

21 Global Times nazvala istinnye celi SShA pod prikritiem podderzhki Ukrainy [Global Times reveals US's true goals behind Ukraine support] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://iz.ru/1537979/2023-07-02/global-times-nazvala-istinnye-tseli-ssha-pod-prikritiem-podderzhki-ukrainy> (the date of referring: 08.10.2023) (in Russ)

22 The Long War in Ukraine, The West Needs to Plan for a Protracted Conflict with Russia // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/long-war-ukraine-russia-protracted-conflict> (the date of referring: 09.10.2023).

23 What Ukraine teaches us about power // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/06/opinion/ukraine-russia-war.html?searchResultPosition=5> (the date of referring: 09.10.2023).

24 Russia-Ukraine news // [Electronic source] URL: https://edition.cnn.com/europe/live-news/russia-ukraine-war-news-10-03-23/h_4f7aadad9af6c33f9fb0f8a79dfbcb (the date of referring: 08.10.2023).

25 Senat SShA odobril vremennyy bjudzhet bez pomoshihi Ukrainie i Izraelju [The US Senate approved a temporary budget without aid to Ukraine and Israel] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.rbc.ru/politics/16/11/2023/6555a7c79a794714d17d5125> (the date of referring: 18.11.2023) (in Russ)

26 ES i SShA v zajavlenii po itogam sammita predupredili ob ugroze kolapssa jekonomiki Ukrainy [The EU and the US, in a statement following the summit, warned of the threat of economic collapse in Ukraine] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://tass.ru/mezhdunarodnaya-panorama/19079709> (the date of referring: 09.10.2023) (in Russ)

27 U.S., European officials broach topic of peace nego-

tiations with Ukraine, sources say // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/us-european-officials-broach-topic-peace-negotiations-ukraine-sources-rcna123628> (the date of referring: 08.10.2023).

28 «Situacija ne patovajja». Zelenskij otvetil na stat'ju Zaluzhnogo o polozhenii del na fronte [“The situation is not a stalemate.” Zelensky responded to Zaluzhny's article on the situation at the front] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.bbc.com/russian/articles/clwpl8n52pro> (the date of referring: 08.10.2023) (in Russ)

29 NBC: SShA i ES podnimajut vopros pored Ukrainoj o vozmozhnosti mirnykh peregovorov s Rossiej [NBC: US and EU raise possibility of peace talks with Russia with Ukraine] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.golosameriki.com/a/western-officials-broach-with-kyiv-issue-possible-peace-talks-with-moscow-nbc/7341593.html> (the date of referring: 06.10.2023) (in Russ)

30 Prezident Ukrainy vstretilsja s General'nym sekretarem NATO [The President of Ukraine met with the NATO Secretary General] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.president.gov.ua/ru/news/prezident-ukrayini-zustrivysja-z-generalnim-sekretarem-nato-86237> (the date of referring: 04.10.2023) (in Russ)

31 Kak Ukraina ubezhdaet mir pomogat' ej oruzhiem i protivostojat' Rossii. Interv'ju Bi-Bi-si glavy ukrainskogo MID Dmitrija Kuleby [How Ukraine is convincing the world to help it with weapons and confront Russia. BBC interview with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.bbc.com/russian/features-64498710> (the date of referring: 08.10.2023) (in Russ)

32 S Predsedatelem KNR obsuzhdalas' realizacija ukrainskoj formuly mira, vozvrashhenie iz Rossii deportirovannykh detej i nedopustimost' postavok oruzhija v RF – Prezident Ukrainy [The implementation of the Ukrainian peace formula, the return of deported children from Russia, and the inadmissibility of arms supplies to the Russian Federation were discussed with the Chairman of the People's Republic of China – President of Ukraine] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.president.gov.ua/ru/news/z-golovoyu-krn-bulo-obgovoreno-realizaciju-ukrayinskoyi-form-82549> (the date of referring: 06.10.2023) (in Russ)

33 Privlechenie kak možno bolee širokogo kruga stran k realizacii Ukrainskoj formuly mira sozdast real'nuju izoljaciju Rossii – Prezident [Involving the widest possible range of countries in the implementation of the Ukrainian peace formula will create real isolation for Russia – President] // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.president.gov.ua/ru/news/zaluchennyya-yakomoga-shirshogo-kola-krayin-do-realizaciyi-uk-85489> (the date of referring: 07.10.2023) (in Russ)

34 Henry Kissinger on a potential artificial intelligence arms race // [Electronic source] URL: <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/henry-kissinger-at-100-artificial-intelligence-global-tensions-and-addressing-his-critics/> (the date of referring: 05.10.2023).

INFORMATION ABOUT AUTHORS

Ruslan Izimov

Senior Researcher, Institute for Philosophy, Political Science and Religious Studies of the CS MSHE RK, Almaty, Kazakhstan, email: izimov2013@gmail.com, ORCID ID 0000-0001-6359-6030

Zhanerke Ospanova

PhD doctoral student, L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, Astana, Kazakhstan, email: zhanera.88@mail.ru, ORCID ID 0000-0001-6312-026X

Изимов Руслан Юсупжанович

аға ғылыми қызметкер, ҚР ҒЖБМ ҒК Философия, саясаттану және дінтану институты, Алматы, Қазақстан, email: izimov2013@gmail.com, ORCID ID 0000-0001-6359-6030

Оспанова Жанерке Егизгазиевна

PhD докторант, Л.Н.Гумилев атындағы Еуразия ұлттық университеті, Астана, Қазақстан, email: zhanera.88@mail.ru, ORCID ID 0000-0001-6312-026X

Изимов Руслан Юсупжанович

старший научный сотрудник, Институт философии, политологии и религиоведения КН МНВО РК, Алматы, Казахстан, email: izimov2013@gmail.com, ORCID ID 0000-0001-6359-6030

Оспанова Жанерке Егизгазиевна

PhD докторант, Евразийский национальный университет имени Л.Н. Гумилева, Астана, Казахстан, email: zhanera.88@mail.ru, ORCID ID 0000-0001-6312-026X