

COOPERATION BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE UNITED NATIONS IN PEACEKEEPING ACTIVITY

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We present a theoretical and practical review of the political and legal aspects of the People's Republic of China's participation in the UN peacekeeping activities and China's policy of peace on the planet Earth. We examine the political and regulatory aspects of China's peacekeeping activity in cooperation with the UN and identify the most pressing problems.

Keywords: peacekeeping; cooperation of the People's Republic of China and the UN; China's white papers; soft power; Sino-American conflict; rule-making.

СОТРУДНИЧЕСТВО КИТАЙСКОЙ НАРОДНОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ И ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ В МИРОТВОРЧЕСКОЙ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ

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Выявляются и изучаются с точек зрения теории и практики важнейшие политико-правовые аспекты участия Китайской Народной Республики в деятельности ООН, связанной с миротворчеством и политикой мира на планете Земля. В рамках исследования рассмотрены важнейшие политические и нормативные аспекты миротворческой деятельности Китая в сотрудничестве с ООН и определены его наиболее актуальные проблемные вопросы.

Ключевые слова: миротворчество; сотрудничество Китайской Народной Республики и ООН; «белые книги» Китая; мягкая сила; китайско-американский конфликт; нормотворчество.

Introduction

In its peacekeeping activity, the UN seeks to protect the rights and fundamental freedoms of every person regardless of origin, citizenship or residence. Peacekeeping is also a complex and highly professional activity that requires significant human, financial and other resources. Involvement of the world's largest countries such as the People's Republic of China (PRC) in UN peacekeeping is essential in this regard, as they are rich in relevant resources and in a good position to mobilise political will, e. g. by promulgating the needed

regulations or participate in negotiations. These were some of the considerations that influenced the choice of the subject of this paper.

The relevant scholarship includes works by the Chinese scholars C. Fung [1], detailing China's role in the activities of the UN, Yin He [2] on the diplomatic discussions at the UN Security Council on territorial integrity, peacekeeping activities, sovereignty and rights of the countries participating in the said integration association. Outside China, notable authors include

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M. Lanteigne [3], and several Russian scholars, such as Ya. V. Leksyutina [4]. T. Liu [5] analyses the tensions between the United States and China in relation to the UN's peacekeeping mandate.

The history of China's involvement in UN peacekeeping operations defies analysis because of a dearth of systematic descriptions of the areas, direction and criteria, motives, reasons, and determinants of China's participation, the significance of peace-building activity for China, and barriers thereto.

Therefore, the aim of this paper is the analysis of the cooperation between China and the UN in peacekeeping activity.

And also we define the objectives of the paper as follows:

- to review the history of cooperation between China and the UN on peacekeeping;
- to describe China's role in UN peacekeeping;
- to identify the Chinese institutions with the greatest influence on China's peacekeeping cooperation with the UN;
- to present a systematic review of the decrees of the Chinese communist party and government and pertinent international instruments on UN peacekeeping;
- to identify problems in China's participation in UN peacekeeping.

Results and discussion

As a general observation, China aspires to follow in its foreign policy a set of principles, referred to five principles of peaceful global coexistence. Conceptually, they form the basis of the Chinese legal and policy framework on peacekeeping, consisting of several policy documents known in the country as China's white papers and governing the engagement of the Chinese armed forces, disarmament¹, and humanitarian issues². The white papers reflect the views of the PRC on peacekeeping activities and give an understanding of the place of peacekeeping among China's foreign policy objectives³.

For example, the White paper on China's national defence names as an objective of the PRC the creation of "an environment of international security characterised by peace, stability, equality, trust, collaboration and mutual benefit enjoyed by the people of the PRC and all other countries of the world"⁴. The document further indicates that China will support "peace arrangements", and enter beneficial international security alliances. In the paragraph on the protection of peace and stability on the planet, it declares: "The forces of the People's Liberation Army of China are prepared to carry out peacekeeping activities, including under the direct auspices of the UN, and to provide appropriate assistance in disarmament"⁵ (hereinafter translated by us. – S. Yu.).

Also the measures of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction prevention follow from China's "five principles", outlined in a separate white paper and

viewed as a part of China's peacekeeping. The white paper defines the position of the PRC on preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and declares China's readiness to cooperate with international organisations, including the UN, in its advocacy of peaceful nuclear disarmament⁶.

The PRC white paper on key areas of arms control and disarmament sheds light on the domestic aspects of national defence. It underlines the importance of maintaining China's "defence stability" and assuring protection of the domestic water, air and land space from external attacks, and ultimately, the safety of the individual citizen and the security of the whole country⁷. The white paper emphasises the external threats to Chinese national defence. It advocates China's assistance to the UN peacekeeping missions and declares China's readiness to finance disarmament projects. Already, the PRC has acceded to a range of international instruments on arms control and disarmament.

Evidencing China's intention to prevent a global arms race, advance disarmament and elimination of nuclear weapons, the white paper proclaims several steps towards the reduction of the People's Liberation Army of China, including decreasing its size by more than one million men, simplifying its structure, contracting civilians, and restricting armaments and military spending.

A review of more than three decades of China's participation in UN peacekeeping operations is presented in the white paper on the political aspects of the peace-

¹China's national defence in 2010 (white paper) [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://www.scio.gov.cn/zfbps/ndhf/2011/Document/883535/883535.htm> (date of access: 21.10.2021) (in Chinese).

²China: arms control and disarmament (white paper) [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://www.scio.gov.cn/zfbps/ndhf/1995/Document/307994/307994.htm> (date of access: 21.10.2021) (in Chinese).

³China's proliferation prevention policies and measures WMD (white paper) [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://www.scio.gov.cn/zfbps/ndhf/2003/Document/307908/307908.htm> (date of access: 21.10.2021) (in Chinese).

⁴China's national defence in 2010 (white paper) [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://www.scio.gov.cn/zfbps/ndhf/2011/Document/883535/883535.htm> (date of access: 21.10.2021) (in Chinese).

⁵Regulations on the participation of the Chinese people's liberation army in United Nations peacekeeping operations [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://www.jodeibel.com/article-19-155460-0.html> (date of access: 21.10.2021) (in Chinese).

⁶China's proliferation prevention policies and measures WMD (white paper) [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://www.scio.gov.cn/zfbps/ndhf/2003/Document/307908/307908.htm> (date of access: 21.10.2021) (in Chinese).

⁷China: arms control and disarmament (white paper) [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://www.scio.gov.cn/zfbps/ndhf/1995/Document/307994/307994.htm> (date of access: 21.10.2021) (in Chinese).

keeping operations of the Chinese army⁸. It was the first Chinese white paper dedicated exclusively to peacekeeping. Beyond successes, it also addresses the commitments and plans announced at the UN Summit on peacekeeping in 2015 by the Chinese leader Xi Jinping.

The white paper reviews China's progress in peacekeeping cooperation, improvements in its peacekeeping missions and accomplishments in building a favourable future for humanity. As suggested by the document, China's participation in UN peacekeeping has evolved since the UN Summit on peacekeeping. Engagements of the Chinese military have included multiple service arms; from support missions, they have advanced to integrated and multifunctional operations. Furthermore, the Chinese operational objectives have progressed from ending an armed conflict to building lasting peace, while the Chinese peacekeeping capacity was improved⁹. By raising its international commitments, China also increased its significance in matters of security. Beyond the political, military and disarmament role, China's peacekeeping engagements also include the financing of peacekeeping missions and provision of financial and humanitarian assistance to countries in crisis and post-crisis situations.

As stated in the white paper, the following modalities of international financial assistance are provided in Chinese law¹⁰:

- grant aid, e. g. towards the construction of health facilities, schools, water or sanitation provision;
- zero-interest loans, e. g. towards the provision of vital public infrastructure;
- concessional loans, e. g. towards programmes to improve the social efficiency of production¹¹.

The PRC finances, inter alia, social and industrial development projects. The PRC monitors progress, as the funding is allocated by the State Council and the National People's Congress. The PRC provides assistance in the form of cargo shipments, technical cooperation, capacity building activities, dispatch of medical teams, urgent humanitarian aid, dispatch of volunteers, forgiveness and cancellation of debt. The recipients are mainly low-income developing countries¹².

As follows from the analysis of the Chinese white papers, engagement in peacekeeping activity is advantageous for China. Such activity brings new allies among developing nations with potential benefits for

domestic development. Beyond involvement in the military operations of the UN forces, it contributes to international peace by financing foreign projects for the benefit of the recipient societies, thus enlarging its circle of friends.

For China, peacekeeping cooperation is a way to project a positive international image in the world as a force for global peace. It also provides the Chinese peacekeepers with an opportunity to learn in combat situations and acquire relevant skills for keeping law and order at home. Politically, peacekeeping is a way for the Chinese government to increase its weight in international political debates and discussions, build positive relations with other countries, strengthen world peace, and exercise its political influence to reduce tensions with other states. Initially, China's views on peacekeeping, and more broadly, on international politics and relations were not always congruent with the UN's international political position on peacekeeping. China's systematic participation in UN peacekeeping was manifest only in recent years, when it reinvented itself as a key player in international peacekeeping [5, p. 43].

During the Korean War in 1950–1953, Chinese “volunteers” fought on the side of North Korea against the UN peacekeeping forces in South Korea, and China viewed peacekeeping operations as an interference in the internal affairs of states and a violation of state sovereignty¹³. Even when China restored its permanent membership to the UN Security Council in 1971, it abstained from voting at the UN Security Council on issues related to peacekeeping operations for many years. It was not until the 1980s that the Chinese government became interested in UN peacekeeping activities. That happened after a significant turn in Chinese foreign policy when the country's leadership chose to seek deeper engagement in multilateral diplomacy, engage more proactively with international organisations and increase its presence in international forums [4, p. 306].

In 1981, the Chinese government made a strategic decision to participate in the UN Security Council, whose functional responsibilities relate to peacekeeping. Symptomatically, China participated in the vote on sending the UN peacekeeping contingent to Cyprus and joined the UN peacekeeping mission¹⁴. In 1982, the Chinese government began to provide financial support to UN peacekeeping missions, and in 1988 it joined the UN

⁸The white paper “The 30th anniversary of the Chinese army's participation in UN peacekeeping operations” [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://www.scio.gov.cn/zfbps/32832/Document/1687750/1687750.htm> (date of access: 21.10.2021) (in Chinese).

⁹The white paper “Thirty years of the Chinese army's participation in UN peacekeeping operations” [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://www.scio.gov.cn/zfbps/32832/Document/1687750/1687750.htm> (date of access: 21.10.2021) (in Chinese).

¹⁰China's assistance to foreign countries (white paper) [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://www.scio.gov.cn/zfbps/ndhf/2011/Document/896983/896983.htm> (date of access: 21.10.2021) (in Chinese).

¹¹China's assistance to foreign countries (white paper) [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://www.scio.gov.cn/zfbps/ndhf/2011/Document/896983/896983.htm> (date of access: 21.10.2021) (in Chinese).

¹²China's foreign aid (2014) [Electronic resource]. URL: http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2014-07/10/content_2715467.htm (date of access: 22.04.2022) (in Chinese).

¹³Bates G., *Chin-hao Huang*. China's expanding peacekeeping role: its significance and the policy implications [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/files/misc/SIPRIPB0902.pdf> (date of access: 03.01.2022).

¹⁴Resolutions adopted by the Security Council in 1981 [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/resolutions-adopted-security-council-1981> (date of access: 21.10.2021).

Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations. A year later, the Chinese government dispatched its military to conduct peacekeeping activities in Namibia.

Starting from the 1990s, the Chinese government had a growing appetite for participation in peacekeeping operations. In 1992–1993, China sent 800 engineering troops to the United Nations Interim Authority in Cambodia and provided financial support [6, p. 87]. In 1988–1998, China deployed 437 military observers to UN peacekeeping operations and voted in support of the UN peacekeeping missions in 36 conflict zones around the world, abstaining only in the second round of the UN's sweeping vote for "forced peace" in Somalia [2, p. 24].

The continued increase in China's involvement in UN peacekeeping necessitated the creation of a coordinating department for coordination of peacekeeping activities within the Ministry of Defence in 2001, with several divisions and a clear separation of authority among them. A national procedure was put in place to authorise the deployment of Chinese troops in UN peacekeeping missions, whereby the Ministry of Foreign Affairs first formulates a mission plan for the Chinese forces aligned with the mission plans of the other participating member states and refers it for approval to the Council of State. Subsequent to the approval, the Ministry of Public Security selects qualified peacekeepers.

Despite increased participation in UN peacekeeping, China's peacekeeping representatives at the UN until about 2004 numbered only a few dozen. A short time later, the number of Chinese peacekeeping representatives rose to several hundred, putting it ahead of countries such as the United States or France¹⁵. According to Chinese statistics, throughout the history of its participation in UN peacekeeping mission, China has deployed over 40 thousand military and 3000 police officers¹⁶.

For China peacekeeping is an extension of its foreign policy that relies mainly on the use of its soft power [3, p. 57]. For China to rely on soft power in peacekeeping means to resolve political differences and conflict situations only by peaceful means, through diplomatic discussions and negotiations. Facilitating negotiated settlements by using its soft power constitutes the greater part of China's involvement in the UN peacekeeping efforts.

China's participation in UN peacekeeping is important for the country and equally for the UN. China's growing power and capabilities, its expanding econo-

my, impressive technological advancement and military prowess put China in a good position to add value to international peacekeeping, thus boosting the effectiveness of the UN. For China, peacekeeping underlines its status as an emerging great power that pursues worldwide peace and prosperity and maintains active cooperation with other countries [1, p. 418].

The role of China in UN peacekeeping is also critical in many respects. The Chinese government provides resources for peace-keeping missions, including medical and technological equipment, transport and computers, and human resources (military, police, scientists, medical workers etc.), constituting a large share of the missions' resource components.

Politically, China's peacekeeping engagements are aligned with its "peacekeeping concept", outlined by the president of the PRC Xi Jinping in the fall of 2015. As noted by Xi Jinping, peace should be achieved by negotiations and diplomatic discussions between the UN member states, the use of military power is an exceptional measure and can only be a measure of last resort for the most intractable conflicts, imminent or ongoing. The Chinese president pledged to increase China's involvement in UN peacekeeping by providing resources. Following this statement, China established a Joint Fund for Peace and Development of the People's Republic of China and the United Nations with a capital of 1 bln US dollars and created a peacekeeping force reserve of 8,000 men¹⁷.

The UN Secretary General A. Guterres has acknowledged the significant contribution to the UN effort to keep and build peace worldwide, including the effective provision of the resources for UN peacekeeping activities and direct political participation of the representatives of the Chinese government in political discussions on global peace and international rule-making for peace¹⁸.

Not only China is increasing its role in UN peacekeeping, but its engagement has already exceeded that of the other world powers, including the United States. The American government has been in arrears in its contributions to the United Nations budget for many years. As of 11 October 2021, it owed 1 bln US dollars to the UN regular budget and 1.23 bln US dollars to its peacekeeping budget¹⁹. This situation is already impacting the image of the United States with regard to UN peacekeeping activities. Conversely, the Chinese government already contributes more than 10 % of the

¹⁵Contributors to United Nations peacekeeping operations [Electronic resource]. URL: https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/march2004_1.pdf (date of access: 21.10.2021).

¹⁶Monthly summary of military and police contribution to United Nations operations [Electronic resource]. URL: https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/msr_june_2018_v2.pdf (date of access: 21.10.2021).

¹⁷Китай в миротворческой деятельности ООН [Электронный ресурс]. URL: <http://russian.cctv.com/2016/07/20/VIDEkXwJj-DxcWIV9KNO4swqB160720.shtml> (дата обращения: 21.10.2021).

¹⁸On the 70th anniversary of the first UN peacekeeping operation: Chinese "Blue helmets" show their responsibility [Electronic resource]. URL: https://www.sohu.com/a/233394926_100017627 (date of access: 21.10.2021) (in Chinese).

¹⁹The United States shows its «pseudo multilateralism» for long-term arrears of huge UN budget assessments [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://m.chinanews.com/wap/detail/zw/gj/2021/11-05/9603206.shtml> (date of access: 03.01.2022) (in Chinese).

UN peacekeeping budget and expects to increase its contribution further²⁰.

It is also China's intention to expand its participation in peacekeeping, including by providing finance and resources to UN peacekeeping activities, further strengthening its position in this sphere of international cooperation in comparison with the United States [5, p. 45]. Another source of potential tensions with regard to US peacekeeping is the outstanding issues in the bilateral relations of China and the United States, as evidenced by the following observations.

Firstly, according to the UN Secretary General A. Guterres, the mounting contradictions between the United States and China are posing a threat to world peace (e. g., the conflict over Taiwan²¹). A. Guterres called on Washington and Beijing to avoid an escalation that could potentially lead to a new Cold War. He also said that a second cold war could be far more dangerous than the first, and the image of both countries in UN peacekeeping could change from positive to negative²².

Secondly, there is a small but growing risk in this time of global transition of the planet dividing into two in two opposing worlds led by its two largest economies, each with its dominant currency, political, trade and financial rules, interests, and potential in the field of artificial intelligence, geopolitical and military strategies engaged in a zero-sum game²³. All of this may affect the participation of the PRC in UN peacekeeping negatively. Specifically, the potential for a standoff between China and the United States may undermine China's "soft power" on which its peacekeeping strategy rests.

Accordingly, one of the most important directions of the peacekeeping activity of the PRC's policy within the framework of the UN should be the elimination of conflict situations with such world powers as the United States. The potential for the opposition between the United States and China may have the most negative impact on the participation of the PRC in the UN peacekeeping activities. Furthermore, it may complicate the UN peacebuilding activities, and create more conflicts.

A key source of the Chinese-American opposition is the so-called trade war between these world powers. The trade war was initiated by the white house, when the D. Trump administration increased the import duties on some Chinese goods by 30 %, citing the following reasons:

- the desire of the United States to reduce imports from China and eliminate the trade imbalance;

- supposed lack of intellectual property protection in China, and accusations of producing counterfeit products levelled by the US against China;

- US intention to contain the growth of the Chinese economy and its annual defence spending already ranking second in the world after the United States;

- competition for the title of the largest economy in the world, the struggle for world leadership.

The white house unleashed the trade war in pursuit of its policy to restore the United States to its former greatness. The United States wishes to preserve its leadership in the global economic arena and wishes to move out of its way a powerful competitor like China.

Yet for China, the surest way to maximise its global influence is by engaging politically with the UN. This view is largely shared within the Chinese government and among experts [1, p. 413]. There is no other organisation where China could play an equally prominent role. It is thus essential for China to keep its confidence in the UN, minimise political confrontation with the United States and other world powers and states, and focus instead on seeking negotiated political solutions to problems of world peace.

From the perspective of the Chinese government, the UN is the most prominent and influential international organisation concerned with maintaining peace²⁴. No organisation can rival the UN in its peacebuilding and peace-making capability, as it enjoys a unique position of trust to bring together the world's countries in the pursuit of peace. Therefore, China should aim for a leading role in UN peacekeeping activities to increase its standing and build its positive image in the world as an advocate for peace. While keeping its leadership among the UN member states as a provider of resources for the UN peacekeeping operations, China should aim for greater political participation in peacekeeping work within the framework of the UN. Already, examples of China's work in international norm-setting for peace are following.

Firstly, it is "China's position on UN reform"²⁵, presented in June 2005. Its four sections address areas such as international development, rule of law, human rights, democracy and peacemaking. Special emphasis is made on the need to strengthen the global role of the UN.

Secondly, as the example we can name Chinese proposals on eradicating unilateralism and protectionism, presented by president Xi Jinping in the fall of 2020.

²⁰Is China contributing to the United Nations' mission? [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://chinapower.csis.org/china-un-mission/> (date of access: 22.04.2022) (in Chinese).

²¹КНР назвала действия США вокруг Тайваня опасными [Электронный ресурс]. URL: <https://iz.ru/1239152/2021-10-22/knr-nazvala-deistviia-ssha-vokrug-taivania-opasnymi> (дата обращения: 25.10.2021).

²²В ООН призывают США и Китай избегать новой холодной войны [Электронный ресурс]. URL: https://tengrinews.kz/world_news/v-oon-prizyvayut-ssha-i-kitay-izbegat-novoy-holodnoy-voynyi-448970/ (дата обращения: 25.10.2021).

²³Генсек ООН опасается раскола между США и Китаем [Электронный ресурс]. URL: <https://ria.ru/20190924/1559075495.html> (дата обращения: 25.10.2021).

²⁴75 years of trials and hardships for the United Nations [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://www.cpifa.org/cms/book/175> (date of access: 22.04.2022) (in Chinese).

²⁵Позиционный документ КНР по вопросу о реформе ООН [Электронный ресурс]. URL: <http://ru.china-embassy.org/rus/jbwzlm/sgxw/t199801.htm> (дата обращения: 25.10.2021).

The global Covid-19 epidemic exacerbated the problems of unilateralism and protectionism in the world. In the document the Chinese leader calls on the UN to defend justice and peace on the planet, and affirm mutual respect and equal treatment of all countries regardless of size or location, in keeping with the basic principles of the UN Charter²⁶. He reaffirms the need for the UN to pursue collective growth through consultation, cooperation and peacekeeping. Xi Jinping also urged individual states to maintain global security, enable a broader representation and give a stronger voice to the developing countries in keeping with the aims and principles of the UN Charter. As underlined by the Chinese president, the UN should promote international cooperation and lead the global effort to

solve the world's problems and promote security, development and human rights in a balanced way²⁷.

Thirdly, in October 2021, China, together with Venezuela and Sri Lanka, proposed a resolution of the UN Human Rights Council urging countries to take action to overcome the legacy of colonialism. The resolution was supported by 27 votes with 20 abstentions, including from France, Great Britain and Germany²⁸. Despite its limited impact, the resolution testified to China's growing influence at the UN Human Rights Council since the United States left it in 2018. The document refers to peacekeeping, with emphasis on the legacy of colonialism such as economic exploitation, systemic racism, and violations of the rights of indigenous and its negative effects on the exercise of all human rights²⁹.

Conclusion

In the conclusion we can mark the following:

1. China's cooperation with the UN on peacekeeping has evolved from cautious and gradual engagement to active involvement. At present, China is providing extensive logistical support for UN peacekeeping activities and also participates in the development and adoption of international norms on peacekeeping.

2. China's growing participation in UN peacekeeping has served to increase its international standing and influence. Its reliance on soft power adds to the international image of China as a great power and supports its effort to build alliances with developing countries.

3. China's peacekeeping activities are institutionalised, as evidenced by several policy documents, including white papers of the PRC ("China's national defense", "China's policies and measures to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction", "The participation of the Chinese army in UN peacekeeping

operations for 30 years", etc.), and international instruments guiding cooperation between the PRC and the UN (e. g., Resolution 495).

4. The leading domestic policy and decision making institutions on China's peacekeeping activity at the UN include the department of peacekeeping activities in the Ministry of National Defence of the People's Republic of China, the Joint Fund for Peace and Development of China and the UN. Internationally, the key decision-making centres are the UN Security Council, and the UN Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, where China maintains a presence.

5. The future of China's involvement in UN peacekeeping may be affected by the growing split between China and the United States. It appears best for China to minimise its conflicts with other world powers within the UN while maximising with and among the UN member states in pursuit of peace and the global society of shared futures.

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²⁷CGTN: Китай вносит предложения касательно роли ООН в эпоху постпандемии [Электронный ресурс]. URL: <https://www.interfax.ru/pressreleases/728306> (дата обращения: 25.10.2021).

²⁸The UN Human Rights Council report [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Annual%20Report%20of%20the%20Human%20Rights%20Council%202021%20%28A-76-53-Add.1%29%20%5BZH%5D.pdf> (date of access: 03.01.2022) (in Chinese).

²⁹Китаю удалось провести резолюцию ООН о наследии колониализма [Электронный ресурс]. URL: <https://newdaynews.ru/inworld/738566.html> (дата обращения: 25.10.2021).