

S. Jakubayeva , D. Zhekenov* 

Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Kazakhstan, Almaty,
*e-mail: duman.zhekenov@gmail.com

SOME ASPECTS OF THE THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL BASE OF CHINESE STATE (foreign policy issues)

The article dedicates on the study of the concepts of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China under the ruling leaders of four generation.

As a communist and closed country like the People's Republic of China, it changed the foreign policy course of development and what changes the concept of foreign policy underwent under the rule of four generations of leaders. The result of all these leaders' efforts is evident. Today, the PRC is one of the most prosperous countries in the world, both economically and politically, and in all aspects of development. The paper considers its foreign policy concepts and diplomatic relations based on the domestic policy of the main leaders of China. It is obvious that it is very difficult to fully reveal the essence of various processes and political events with the participation of China on the international stage, both scientifically and politically. On the other hand, these world-class trends cannot be explained in terms of any theoretical direction in which the theoretical foundations of China's foreign policy are formed. After all, no theoretical school can fully reveal and accurately describe the essence of international trends under the influence of China. Therefore, several theories of international relations were used in the study to consider the theory and practice of China's foreign policy in the context of the impact on the international economy.

The paper used a historical and analytical method and additional other methods aimed at studying the foreign policy and economic relations of China with other countries. The use of this method allowed to study the causes of problems arising from the development of China's foreign economic relations in the system of international relations.

Key words: People's Republic of China, theoretical foundations of China's foreign policy, "Chinese dream", soft power.

С. Джакубаева, Д. Жекенов*

Әл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университеті, Қазақстан, Алматы қ.,
*e-mail: duman.zhekenov@gmail.com

Қытай мемлекеттілігінің теориялық және концептуалдық негіздерінің кейбір аспектілері (сыртқы саясат мәселелері)

Мақала төрт буын билеушілерінің жетекшілігімен жүзеге асырылған Қытай Халық Республикасының сыртқы саясатының тұжырымдамасын зерттеуге арналған.

Қытай Халық Республикасы сияқты коммунистік және жабық елден сыртқы саяси даму бағытын қалай өзгертті және ҚХР төрт буын көшбасшыларының басқаруындағы сыртқы саясат тұжырымдамасы қандай сипатқа ие болды? Осы басшылардың бар күш-жігерінің нәтижесі айқын көрінуде. Қазіргі таңда ҚХР экономикалық және саяси жағынан да, дамудың барлық аспектілері бойынша әлемдегі ең өркендеген алпауыт елдердің бірі болып табылады. Мақалада оның сыртқы саясатының тұжырымдамалары мен Қытайдың басты көшбасшыларының ішкі саясатына негізделген дипломатиялық қатынастары қарастырылған. Ғылыми тұрғыдан да, саяси тұрғыдан да Қытайдың халықаралық сахнада қатысуымен болатын түрлі үдерістер мен саяси оқиғалардың мәнін толық ашып көрсету өте қиын екені анық. Екінші жағынан, бұл әлемдік деңгейдегі үрдістерді Қытайдың сыртқы саясатының теориялық негіздері қалыптасқан бір ғана теориялық бағыт тұрғысынан түсіндіруге болмайды. Өйткені, ешқандай теориялық мектеп Қытайдың ықпалымен халықаралық тенденциялардың мәнін толық ашып, нақты сипаттай алмайды. Осылайша, мақалада Қытайдың сыртқы саясатының оның халықаралық экономикаға әсері тұрғысынан теориясы мен тәжірибесін зерттеу үшін халықаралық қатынастардың бірнеше теориялары қолданылды.

Жұмыста Қытайдың сыртқы саясаты мен басқа елдермен экономикалық қатынастарын зерттеуге бағытталған тарихи-сараптамалық әдіс және басқа да қосымша әдістер қолданылды. Бұл әдістерді қолдану халықаралық қатынастар жүйесінде Қытайдың сыртқы экономикалық байланыстарының дамуына байланысты туындайтын проблемалардың себептерін зерттеуге мүмкіндік берді.

Түйін сөздер: Қытай, Қытай сыртқы саясатының теориялық негіздері, «Қытай арманы», жұмсақ күш.

С. Джакубаева, Д. Жекенов*

Казахский национальный университет имени аль-Фараби, Казахстан, г. Алматы,
*e-mail: duman.zhekenov@gmail.com

Некоторые аспекты теоретической и концептуальной основы Китайской государственности (вопросы внешней политики)

Статья посвящена изучению концепций внешней политики Китайской Народной Республики под руководством правящих лидеров четырех поколений.

Как коммунистическая и закрытая страна как Китайская Народная Республика меняла внешнеполитический курс развития и какие изменения претерпевала концепция внешней политики под правлением лидеров четырех поколений? Результаты всех этих усилий лидеров налицо. На сегодняшний день КНР одна из преуспевающих стран мира как в экономическом и политическом плане, так и во всех аспектах развития. В статье рассматриваются ее внешнеполитические теоретические концепции и дипломатические отношения на основе внутренней политики основных руководителей Китая. Очевидно, что очень сложно полностью раскрыть сущность различных процессов и политических событий с участием Китая на международной арене, как с научной, так и с политической точки зрения. С другой стороны, эти тенденции мирового уровня не могут быть объяснены с точки зрения какого-либо теоретического направления, в котором формируются теоретические основы внешней политики Китая. Ведь ни одна теоретическая школа не может полностью раскрыть и точно описать сущность международных тенденций под влиянием Китая. Таким образом, несколько теорий международных отношений были использованы в исследовании, чтобы рассмотреть теорию и практику внешней политики Китая в контексте воздействия на международную экономику.

В работе использован историко-аналитический метод и другие дополнительные методы, направленные на изучение внешнеполитических и экономических связей Китая с другими странами. Использование этого метода позволило изучить проблемы, возникающие в связи с развитием внешнеэкономических связей Китая в системе международных отношений.

Ключевые слова: КНР, теоретические основы внешней политики Китая, «Китайская мечта», мягкая сила.

Introduction

The skill of linking the stages of social development of China with its first leader is already formed in China. It also has its own basis. After all, the leaders of each generation in China have left a significant mark on Chinese society. No matter how many twists and turns China travels, it is clear that certain development trends are intertwined. In this regard, we tried to consider its foreign policy concepts and diplomatic relations on the basis of the domestic policy of the main leaders of China. Of course, China's foreign policy and diplomatic relations cannot be divided into mere historical periods during the presidency of its leader. This is because the internal situation in China and the international situation are forcing them to adjust or change their foreign policy. Therefore, the foreign

policy of each generation of leaders in China should be divided into several stages.

Relevance

China is a huge power with a radiant history and civilization of five thousand years, and today it is developing rapidly. Today, China, as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and with a strong economic potential, has a worthy place in the system of international relations and plays a very important role. China's global influence has increased in the last twenty years of the twentieth century, and in the twenty-first century, China's political, diplomatic, trade and economic place and role in the system of international relations is even growing. This, of course, is a natural consequence of the consistent policy of domestic reform and

foreign policy pursued by several generations of Chinese leaders. However, we see significant differences in the domestic policy and foreign strategic positions of the leaders of China in the new century. To understand the meaning and significance of the concept of “Chinese dream”, it is important to look deep into the depths of history and study the foreign policy of the leaders who held the reins of Chinese power, their continuity. In general, the skill of linking the stages of social development of China in connection with its first leader is formed in China itself. It also has its own basis. After all, the leaders of each generation in China have left a significant mark on Chinese society. No matter how many twists and turns China travels, it is clear that certain development trends are intertwined.

Theoretical and methodological bases

It is obvious that it is very difficult to fully reveal the essence of various processes and political events with the participation of China on the international stage, both scientifically and politically. On the other hand, these world-class trends cannot be explained in terms of any theoretical direction in which the theoretical foundations of China’s foreign policy are formed. After all, no theoretical school can fully reveal and accurately describe the essence of international trends under the influence of China. Therefore, several theories of international relations were used in the study to consider the theory and practice of China’s foreign policy in the context of the impact on the international economy. The theory of political realism or neo-realism was used in the study of the foreign policy of the country and the policy of Chinese leaders before the presidency of Xi Jinping, who acted primarily on the basis of their national interests in the international arena. The previous generation of Chinese leaders retained the concept of treating states as the basis of international politics.

In the application of theories of political realism or neorealism, the proponent of this theory, the first US President to pay an official visit to China. Theoretical concepts in the works of Henry Kissinger «World order» (Kissinger, 2015) and «On China» (Kissinger, On China, 2012), winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, who served as an adviser to the US National Security Service since Nixon’s time, and since then as the foreign policy ideologue of many US presidents. We are guided by the theoretical principles of Brzezinski’s «The Great Chessboard» (Brzezinski, 1998).

The “civilizational” approach has been used in the analysis of the traditional ways and traditions of China’s foreign policy strategy, which have been developing historically and culturally for thousands of years. Based on this theory, despite the fact that the situation in international relations is changing from time to time, it allows us to look at the fundamentals of China’s foreign policy as a single political culture and diplomatic structure that retains its features. S. Huntington’s «Clash of Civilizations» (Huntington, 1994) provides a deeper understanding of this theory.

However, China’s rapid economic growth, the impact and influence of the Chinese economy on international processes, China’s increasing political activity, competitive cooperation with major world powers, China’s becoming the world’s largest consumer and producer, thereby increasing its active involvement in global events. Requires the use of “globalization” theory. This theory allowed us to consider and study China’s strategy in relation to international globalization and integration processes, to analyze ways to realize the geopolitical and geoeconomic interests of China.

The study of the foreign policy principles of the fourth generation of leaders and Hu Jintao’s idea of creating a “harmonious world” used the concepts of power in modern theory of international relations. The concept of “soft power”, founded by Joseph, Nye (Joseph S., 2005) is recognized as one of the leading theories in modern world politics and diplomacy. Soft power as a theory of indirect influence on states and other actors of international relations through ideological and cultural means is firmly entrenched in modern political vocabulary.

An objective principle was used to reflect the position and economic influence of China in international relations. It has become the basis for the study of information, research and data from different perspectives related to the research topic.

A systematic approach was used as a theoretical and methodological basis for the study of international relations. Systematic analysis, a synthesis of dialectical methods that allow to recognize the general methods of research, to monitor their changes and development, as well as a set of cognitive-mapping methods that allow to structure the problem under study as a complex system of many interrelated elements. The most widely used form of interdisciplinary research methods, including research conducted by representatives of various sciences (political science, sociology, economics, international law), was used in the conduct of research.

In addition, the paper used a historical and analytical method aimed at studying the foreign policy and economic relations of China with other countries. The use of this method allowed to study the causes of problems arising from the development of China's foreign economic relations in the system of international relations. The diversity of data and information related to the research topic necessitated the use of methods of critical analysis, collection and sorting. These methods helped to use the collected data systematically, to increase the level of accuracy through the comparison of information.

Discussion

The main concepts of foreign policy on the example of leaders first and second generation (from Mao to Deng)

Mao Zedong was one of the founders and the main leader of the CPC and the People's Republic of China, and until the end of his life (September 9, 1976) he headed the supreme power of the People's Republic of China. He was the head of the first generation in the history of the state. Mao Zedong ruled China under a totalitarian regime, all domestic and foreign policy of the country was determined by his ideas and carried out on his instructions.

1940-ies in China in the second half of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) civil war between the troops and the army of the Republic of China has reached its peak. As a result, the CCP won a military victory, and the state system of the Republic of China on the mainland was destroyed (Zhekenov, 2017).

This historical event was influenced by the fact that the people were very tired with the war that has been going on since 1911. From 1911 to 1949, the war lasted for about forty years. The people longed for peace, socio-economic revival and democratic freedom. Mao Zedong promised to establish all this, and the Chinese people, a large part of whom were peasants and the poor, believed so. As a result, in mainland China, the CCP defeated the Chinese Kuomintang and their state structure.

As a result, on October 1, 1949, the People's Republic of China was officially proclaimed in Beijing. On the protection of state independence: "Any state and the UN should not interfere in the internal affairs of China, because China is an independent state, China must decide the affairs of its territory by the Chinese people and government" (Kapitsa, 1979). These policies are, in fact, a foreign policy based on Mao's three major diplomatic principles: "Hang a cauldron, go to one side, and invite a guest after cleaning the house."

«Hang a cauldron» – a simple language of independent diplomatic policy. China took the first step towards a new independent diplomatic policy the day after the founding of the People's Republic of China. The day after the founding of the People's Republic of China, that is, on October 2, 1949, the USSR sent a telegram stating that it recognized China and would establish diplomatic relations. On October 3, China and the USSR officially established diplomatic relations. After the Soviet Union, that is, from October 4, 1949 to January 1950, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the People's Republic of Mongolia, the German Democratic Republic, Albania and Vietnam were recognized by China. established diplomatic relations. This is the result of diplomacy of China to "go to one side", that is, to side with the socialist states.

But the United States and the West have refused to recognize the Chinese government. They continued to view the Kuomintang government, which had invaded Taiwan, as China's legitimate government, and retained its representative at the United Nations. In fact, the United States intended to use the recognition of China as an effective tool for political and economic trade with them. However, the Chinese government was not in a hurry. They began to implement their diplomatic policy.

It was created at a time when the Cold War between China, the United States and the USSR was intensifying, when the world was divided into East and West. In light of this international situation, on the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Mao Zedong, the leader of the CPC, said that the new Chinese diplomacy would use a "one-sided" strategy. In his book, *The People's Democratic Dictatorship*, published on June 30, 1949, he wrote: "We are against the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek, who is on the side of imperialism, as well as against those who are on the third path" (Kapitsa, 1979). This idea was adopted as one of the main conceptual principles of China's foreign policy in the "Gong tong gang ling" adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Congress on September 30, 1949.

Mao Zedong began his first diplomatic visit to USSR. On December 16, 1949, he led a Chinese government delegation to Moscow on an official visit to the USSR. The purpose was to establish a new allied relationship between China and the USSR, to determine the political basis of political and diplomatic relations between the two countries, to obtain economic assistance from the USSR to the

newly formed Chinese government. The leaders of the USSR, led by Stalin, welcomed Mao warmly, but bilateral talks lasted a long time. On January 20, 1950, the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China Zhou Enlai visited Moscow with his entourage (Mukhametkhanuly N., 2013). The two prime ministers reached an agreement through a series of negotiations, and on February 14, 1950 in Moscow, the USSR and China signed a historically important 30-year Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance. Under the agreement, the two countries stated that they would build their relations on the basis of "mutual respect for state independence and territorial integrity." In addition, the Agreement on Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance was the basis for the formation of a mutually beneficial military-political alliance. On the international stage, China and the USSR are recognized as allies. The agreement has been particularly significant in consolidating China's international position and withstanding pressure from the United States. In addition, on August 14, 1945, the "Treaty of Alliance of the Soviet Union of China" signed by the Chinese Kuomintang government and the USSR was annulled. It is believed that the main purpose of the formation of the Union between China and the USSR is to withstand the onslaught of Japanese militarists. In fact, this was the implementation of China's foreign policy against the United States together with the Soviet Union.

Among the agreements signed during Mao's visit were agreements on the return of railway and port rights to China for a limited period of time, which had been granted to the Soviet Union before China.

After the Soviet Union, China was recognized by socialist developing countries such as Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mongolia, and Albania, and began to establish diplomatic relations with China. This has strengthened China's position in international relations, as well as its influence in East and Southeast Asia. In general, China's foreign policy pays special attention to the development of relations with neighboring countries and third world countries, but also places them in the most important and fundamental place in China's foreign policy (Vladimirov, 1984).

The United States, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Greece, Iran, Iraq, Thailand, and other Latin American countries were among the countries that initially did not recognize the establishment of China diplomatically. Nevertheless, the Chinese government has made no secret of its desire to

establish relations with the United States based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence and to strengthen official ties between the two countries. However, the United States ignored China's move and ignored its proposals for diplomatic relations.

The First Constitution of the People's Republic of China was adopted at the National People's Congress (NPC) on September 20, 1954, which approved the principles of domestic and foreign policy of the country (Kapitsa, 1979).

The content of the first Constitution of the People's Republic of China is based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence, such as mutual respect for independence and national integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit. The "five principles" of diplomacy, clarified in 1954, became the foundation of China's foreign policy. These five principles of peace were first proposed by Zhou Enlai (Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China from 1949 to 1976) in December 1953 during bilateral talks with Indian diplomats on the settlement of the conflict in Tibet. These five principles were enshrined in the June 1954 Indo-Chinese Treaty on Tibet. India and China have been at loggerheads over Tibet since 1949. These five principles were introduced into the Constitution of the People's Republic of China in 1982 and became a beacon of Chinese foreign policy (Vladimirov, 1984).

By the mid-1950s, China began to pay more attention to cooperation with Asian and African countries. In this regard, at the initiative of the five largest Asian countries – India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and Pakistan, an important historical international conference was held in April 1955 in Bandung (Indonesia), the main purpose of which was to address important issues of world politics, increasing the role of countries and peoples in colonial oppression in international relations. The People's Republic of China was invited to the conference and the Chinese delegation was headed by Zhou Enlai. The main purpose of China's participation in the conference was to gain the support of Asian and African countries and to gain great prestige among them. Therefore, during the conference, Zhou Enlai announced China's readiness to establish formal diplomatic relations with Asian and African countries, and said that "there is every opportunity to establish friendly cooperation and good neighborly relations with them as a basis for the five principles of peaceful coexistence." Assured (Kapitsa, 1979). The final documents of the Bandung Conference expanded the five principles of peaceful

coexistence and outlined the following 10 principles of international relations and peaceful coexistence.

During this period, the People's Republic of China established trade relations with about 47 countries and regions of the world, and by 1958 this figure reached 94. As a result, China's foreign trade turnover has been growing year by year.

In May 1966, at a meeting of the Central Committee of the CPC, an open struggle was declared against "those who were in power and headed for the capitalist path." After this meeting, a "working group of the cultural revolution" was formed. All political figures who disliked Mao in power began to be removed from office.

The slogan of the "Cultural Revolution" was to forget the past. The attack on the cultural and literary heritage of the country has begun. All ancient classics were collected and burned in public places. The world-famous Chinese writer Lao She committed suicide as a sign of protest.

The "Cultural Revolution" was one of the worst tragedies of the twentieth century. According to official figures, more than 100 million people have died or suffered. These numbers far exceed the number of people killed and wounded in the two world wars of the twentieth century.

In February 1972, US President Robert Nixon paid an official visit to China. He was accompanied by the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Security. The most difficult talks between the two leaders focused on Taiwan. In the end, the United States recognized only one China, recognized Taiwan as part of China, agreed to withdraw US troops and military equipment from Taiwan, and considered ways for bilateral economic trade and scientific, technical, and cultural exchanges.

In 1972, Mao Zedong introduced the concept of the "Three World". Deng Xiaoping explained this view at a special UN meeting in 1974: "Judging by the changes in international relations, there are three interconnected and contradictory worlds in the modern world. The United States, the USSR is the first world, developing countries in Asia and Africa and developing countries in other regions are the third world. Developed countries between the two are the second world. China is a socialist state as well as a developing country. China belongs to the third world". This is China's understanding of the structural nature of international relations. The concept of "Three World" was the cognitive basis of China's diplomatic strategy at that time.

The year 1976 was full of important events. In January, Mao Zedong's most trusted companion, Zhou Enlai, died of complications from cancer. After

Zhou Enlai's death, there were mass protests against the political regime. Authorities cracked down on protesters in Tiananmen Square. A new political repression has begun in the country. Since May, the "great leader" Mao Zedong has been powerless. Marshal Zhu De, who was trying to seize interim power, died of an illness in July (Zhekenov, 2017).

On September 9, 1976, Mao Zedong passed away. During his 27 years in power, the Chinese people have gone through one of the most difficult periods in their history. China also lags behind many developing countries in terms of economic and political development. According to unofficial data, during the reign of Mao Zedong, about 200 million people in China were affected by various causes. During the 20 years between 1958 and 1978, GDP per capita did not increase at all. With the death of Mao Zedong, the era of the first generation of Chinese rulers came to the end.

Foreign policy concepts of the second generation of Chinese leaders

In December 1978 there were 11 convocations of the II Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. This plenum put an end to the controversy between the party leaders after Mao's rule. During the plenum, the names of many politically persecuted people were acquitted. The second generation of Chinese leaders, led by Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaoban and Chen Yun, took office. Another historical aspect of this plenum was the transition from the "revolutionary" direction to the "reconstruction" direction.

According to the Western program "Social Reform, Keep the Door Open" adopted by the Plenum, the Chinese society was transformed from a planned economic system to a market economy by systematically reforming first the agricultural sector, then the trade and industry, and then education and science (Jacques, 2012).

In 1981, at the regular plenum of the CPC Central Committee, Hu Yaoban was appointed chairman of the CPC Central Committee. Hu Yaoban, one of the greatest figures in Chinese history, has been involved in all the internal and external affairs of the CCP since this year. Hu Yaoban was a political figure who was the source of effective reforms in the Chinese economy, agriculture, and democratic relations in China's development.

Under Hu Yaoban, every effort was made to transform China's foreign policy into a modern state policy. The People's Republic of China has expressed its readiness to develop relations with all countries of the world, taking into account the changes in international relations and guided by the

five principles of peaceful coexistence. Thanks to this direction, by the end of the 70s of the twentieth century, China has established relations with many countries. For example, from 1970 to 1980, the People's Republic of China established diplomatic relations with 75 countries, and by the end of 1981, China maintained diplomatic relations with 125 countries (Chuanqi, 1999).

The most important branch of Chinese power is the armed forces. This power was in the hands of the chairman of the military council of the Central Committee of the CCP. In 1981, Deng Xiaoping took over this important branch of government. Until 1989, Deng Xiaoping was a mere member of the party, but in fact was in power above both the Chinese chairman and the chairman of the CPC Central Committee. In other words, the supreme, influential power of the state was in the hands of the leader of the second generation of Chinese leaders – Deng Xiaoping.

Changes began to take place in the main directions of China's foreign policy. Historical experience and the current situation within the country have determined that the former international arena should abandon such areas as world socialism, communism, multinationalism and class struggle. The most important issue now is to address the socio-economic situation in China. Any negotiations and positions in foreign policy should only work to resolve the domestic situation positively. On the international stage, it was necessary to create a new image of China, which would not attack anyone or pose a threat to other countries, and would renounce the Third World War, the thermonuclear war. First of all, the establishment of diplomatic relations with industrialized Western countries has been established. The goal for China's leaders was to move from a self-contained, closed foreign policy to one that is open to the world and allows China to enter the other world freely (especially in science and technology). In general, in terms of foreign policy, there was a complete abandonment of the military policy of the former Mao Zedong and the transition to the path of peaceful development.

In the first years after Mao Zedong's death, the old principles of foreign policy were still maintained. The most influential person in foreign policy at that time was the Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Armed Forces, Deng Xiaoping. Deng Mao Zedong did not want to completely abandon his foreign policy. For example, Mao's legacy was to establish diplomatic relations with the capitalist countries, led by the United States, by pursuing a confrontational course with the USSR.

In 1978, it was announced that diplomatic relations had been established between China and the United States. In 1978-1979, political, economic and other ties began to develop rapidly. Even the possibility of military cooperation was being considered. In January-February 1979, Deng Xiaoping paid an official visit to the United States (Selected works of Deng Xiaoping, 1994).

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Secretary General of the Communist Party of the USSR Mikhail Gorbachev paid an official visit to China on May 15-18, 1989. He held a high-level historic meeting with Chairman of the Military Council of the Communist Party of China Deng Xiaoping. Deng Xiaoping summed up the meeting: "Ending the past, opening the way to the future."

Radical changes in China's foreign policy and the rapid development of the social economy in the 1980s have boosted China's international prestige. China has distinguished itself in international politics.

On the night of June 3-4, 1989, on the written order of Chinese Premier Li Peng, and in fact with the permission of Deng Xiaoping, armed force was used against peaceful protesters in Tiananmen Square, the central square of Beijing.

This day is one of the bloodiest in the history of China. Thousands of innocent young people were killed. The historical responsibility for the bloody events of 1989 will fall on the leader of the second generation of Chinese authorities – Deng Xiaoping.

The day after the incident, US President George W. Bush has imposed sanctions on China. The United States and China have suspended intergovernmental and commercial arms sales to China, inter-military talks between China and the United States, and meetings with top Chinese officials. He also suggested postponing the re-lending of international financial institutions to China. Great powers in Western Europe and Japan have also sharply reprimanded China and imposed sanctions, such as the United States. The European Union has condemned China and imposed a series of sanctions. The leaders of the Seven (Big Seven) Conference (July 16, 1989) also condemned China. International economic, scientific, technical and other conferences planned to be held jointly with China have been canceled. At the same time, it is known that the policy of isolation of China by international organizations has hit China hard, which has just started to develop through reforms (Chuanqi, 1999).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun maintained their prestige among the leaders of the CPC Central Committee. But the relationship between the two men was also growing apart. From this period, the Chinese government began a gradual transition from the second generation to the third generation.

To sum up, the tradition of linking the stages of social development of China with its first leader is formed in China. It also has its own basis. After all, the leaders of each generation in China have left a significant mark on Chinese society. Although China has come a long way, it is clear that certain development trends are intertwined. The second generation of Chinese leaders has made significant progress in the economic sphere and managed to put the country's economy on a path of sustainable development, but in the political arena, it has continued the old way of the first generation.

Foreign policy concepts of the leaders of the third and fourth generation (from Jiang to Hu).

The transition of Chinese power from the second generation to the third generation was peaceful, but it took a long time. From the appointment of Jiang Jiamin to the post of General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee in 1989 until the death of Deng Xiaoping in 1997, the influence of the second generation was very strong in public policy. In all decisions up to 1997, there were traces of Deng Xiaoping's policies.

The period from 1989 to 1991, when the third generation began to take office, was a very difficult political and economic period. The economic sanctions imposed by the United States after the Tiananmen incident, the refusal of the United States to provide the agreed \$ 1.3 billion loan, and the strained diplomatic relations of many countries with China were real criticisms of the CCP Central Committee.

As US-led Western relations and China soured, Chinese leaders began looking for partnerships with the Soviet Union. However, in 1989-90, the domestic political situation in the USSR was experiencing a deep crisis. The political crisis, which began with the perestroika of 1985, continued in Kazakhstan in 1986 with the events of December and spread to other allied countries. After the collapse of the USSR in 1991, 15 allied states declared their independence (Vladimirov, 1984).

This event was considered by the leaders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China as an opportunity for China. The spontaneous weakening of a historically competitive country, on the one hand, and a neighbor that is a constant

threat to China, on the other, has led Chinese leaders to rethink their relationship with the newly formed Russian Federation and China. Zheng Kunfu, a well-known Chinese historian and politician who spoke about the collapse of the USSR, said: "The emergence of new states on the political map of the world has brought relief to China on the one hand, and anxiety on the other. The reason for the relief was the collapse of the USSR, which led to the disbandment of the former Soviet Union's Armed Forces, weakening the military threat to China and increasing its influence in Central Asia. And the main reason for concern is that the independence of the states in the region could lead to the resurgence of separatist activities among ethnic minorities in China" (Smirnov, 2006).

Indeed, relations between the United States and China have been strained. Bill Clinton, who was elected President of the United States in 1992, said that in his foreign policy stance on China, the protection of human rights is the most important principle, and in China, the protection of human rights remains at the lowest level.

The 15th Congress, held on September 12-18, 1997, played an important role in strengthening the political authority of the third generation of Chinese leaders. Jiang Jiamin's own political image in the party and in the country as a whole was clarified. The main theme of the final report of the Congress was: "Building a socialism with Chinese characteristics in the XXI century, anchoring the theory of Deng Xiaoping" (Khafizova, 1995). Another novelty of this congress was that Jiang Jiamin took a step towards the rule of law and the creation of a "socialist state based on the rule of law." That is, a number of new reforms have begun in the political system of state power.

The successful steps taken by the third generation of leaders, led by Jiang Jiamin, to increase China's prestige both domestically and internationally during the 1997-1998 Asian economic crisis; Historical events, such as the courageous and tough response to the bombing of the troops, the return of the Hong Kong (Hong Kong) and Macao (Macao) regions to China in 1997, contributed to this.

Despite these significant foreign policy challenges, Bill Clinton and Jiang Jiamin met in Auckland, New Zealand, in 1999 and were able to normalize relations. As a result, in November this year, the United States and China signed an agreement on China's accession to the WTO. Since 2001, China has been an official member of the WTO. These were, of course, the historic achievements of the third generation of Chinese leaders. And this

event has given a new impetus to the already fast-growing Chinese economy.

The third generation of leaders has made great strides on the international stage, in regional relations, in domestic and foreign economic affairs. The average annual growth of GDP was not less than 7%. According to the official data of the State Administration of China, between 1998 and 2001, GDP increased by 33.9%, budget revenues by 89.2%, exports by 45.6%, imports by 71.1% (Portyakov, 2006).

Its foreign policy achievements can be assessed by the establishment of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in 2001, the 2001 Agreement on Good Neighborliness, Friendship and Cooperation between China and Russia, the official demarcation of the continental borders with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Vietnam, and active participation in the UN.

Along with the achievements, there were a number of unresolved internal socio-economic issues. The fact that China remains one of the poorest countries in the world in terms of GDP per capita, the problem of corruption among the top authorities, the uncertain nature of the Taiwan issue were constructive issues for the fourth generation of Chinese leaders.

Foreign policy concept of the fourth generation of Chinese leaders

Hu Jintao was in the spotlight of Deng Xiaoping in the late 1980s and early 1990s as a direct successor to Jiang Jiamin as a promising candidate for the fourth generation of Chinese leaders.

In May 1998, Hu Jintao was elected Vice President of the People's Republic of China, and in 1999 he was appointed Chairman of the Central Military Council (CMC) of the CPC and Deputy Chairman of the EMC of the People's Republic of China.

However, Hu Jintao, who has not yet made a name for himself in the international arena, rose to prominence in 1999 after NATO forces bombed the Chinese embassy in Belgrade and sent an official message to Chinese protesters in front of the US and British embassies in Beijing. Three journalists were killed and 20 were seriously injured at the embassy in Belgrade. The Chinese people protested, demanding immediate revenge on the authorities. The U.S. ambassadors in Beijing were preparing to flee, fearing the threat. Hu Jintao's statement, which was broadcast on television at the time, calmed both sides.

Hu Jintao was elected General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee at the Sixteenth Congress

of the CPC in 2002, replacing Jiang Zemin. This sixteenth congress was left in the history of the CCP with the peaceful transfer of power by the leaders of the ruling party to the fourth generation. This was a sign of the successful implementation of the "inheritance" system formed by Deng Xiaoping. Although all former party leaders resigned legally, they had direct influence over the authorities. At the same time, the party promised to quadruple the annual per capita income by 2020.

In 2003, at the first session of the National People's Congress (NPC), Hu Jintao was elected President of China. In addition, one of the representatives of the fourth generation, Wen Jiabao, was appointed to replace Zhu Rongji, who is the head of the State Council of the People's Republic of China. Although the fourth generation took over many branches of government in 2002-2003, it was too early to say how much power would be transferred to the next generation. This is because Jiang Zemin still hold the leadership of the EMC, the Chinese National Liberation Army (ANLA). The process of transfer of power from Jiang Zemin to Hu Jintao was completed only in 2005, when Hu was appointed chairman of the EMC of the CPC (Galenovich, 2006).

When Hu Jintao rose to the top of power, foreign observers could not give a definite opinion of his personal political identity, only as someone who wanted to reform, and some even wanted to see him as a "great reformer."

China's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 provided a great opportunity for it to become active in the international trade and economic system. Since then, China's foreign economic trade has been developing rapidly. For example, between 2001 and 2005, China's trade turnover tripled. Such rapid development was due to the high growth of gross domestic product (GDP), which was achieved through systematic regulation by market economy methods. Over the years, 600 billion US dollars of foreign direct investment has flowed into China. In the same years, China invested \$ 700 billion in US securities. Only foreign direct investment of Chinese enterprises in 20 years amounted to 37 billion dollars, including 17.9 billion dollars in 2002-2005. Over the years, more than 10,000 different Chinese enterprises have been operating abroad.

Hu Jintao has taken many positive steps to raise foreign policy to a new level. Thus, China's African policy has added new content. At the 2005 Asia-Africa Summit in Jakarta and the 50th anniversary of the Bandung Conference, Chinese President Hu

Jintao first put forward the idea of a “harmonious world.” He said: “Asian and African countries need to promote the idea of joint creation of a harmonious world in which different civilizations live in peace, equal dialogue, the process of common development and revival” (Sujian, 2008). The source of this idea is the teachings of Confucius and other ancient Chinese thinkers. During Hu Jintao’s visit to Saudi Arabia in 2006, he made a number of proposals for a harmonious world.

This concept aims to create a positive image of China in the world. China also emphasizes the “common tasks and destinies” of all developing countries in order to gain support from the African country. According to Chinese leaders, in the past, China and Africa have come under pressure from the West and have been unable to develop their economies. Therefore, at present, African countries should establish friendly relations not with Western countries, but with China, which is their destiny.

According to the foreign policy of Chinese leaders, China’s interests are considered to be in line with the interests of African countries. The African continent is also “the main force supporting China’s struggle against hegemony and national security” (Portyakov, 2006).

Issues of multifaceted relations between China and Africa are discussed at the China-Africa Cooperation Forum. Therefore, the forum is considered to be “the basis for a long, stable, equal, mutually beneficial partnership between China and Africa.”

In order to protect its regional and international interests, China seeks to deepen its influence in important geopolitical and geoeconomic regions through international and regional organizations, as well as the development of political relations in various areas of the world. On security issues, the Chinese government, led by Hu Jintao, has focused on the development of the military construction sector, which it sees as a key tool in its foreign policy, as well as increasing geopolitical influence and economic development.

From 2002 to 2012, the People’s Republic of China was headed by Hu Jintao, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee. Under Hu Jintao, China’s image on the international stage has changed.

From 2001 to 2005, China’s trade turnover tripled. Over the years, 600 billion US dollars of foreign direct investment has flowed into China. In the same years, China invested \$ 700 billion in

US securities built. Only foreign direct investment of Chinese enterprises in 20 years amounted to 37 billion dollars, including 17.9 billion dollars in 2002-2005. According to reliable Chinese sources, the average annual growth of foreign trade in 2001-2007 was 21.6%. Even in 2008, when the global financial crisis hit, foreign trade growth remained at 17.2%. In 2010, China’s total exports and imports of goods increased by 34.7% (Portyakov, 2006). Experts from the International Financial and Economic Center “Goldman Sach” predict that in 2027 the Chinese economy will be equal to the US economy, and by 2050 it will even double. In making such forecasts, Goldman Sach takes into account all the path of economic development that China has shown in recent decades.

All the positions of the leaders of the fourth generation in domestic and foreign policy, who have achieved such excellent results, are clearly reflected in the new charter and program of the party, approved at the XVII Congress of the CCP on October 15-21, 2007. Hu Jintao’s speech at the congress is an indispensable document in the study of the current situation in China in general.

Conclusion

Hu Jintao proposes to develop through peace, and to achieve peace through development. It calls for mutual agreement in the interstate interests, finding harmony of interests, and gradually establishing harmonious relations in bilateral, regional and global relations. And in the shadow of these global events, Chinese leaders intend to take advantage of the peace situation to resolve all internal issues. For Hu Jintao, preparing for war or taking part in hostilities, even outside China, is completely out of the question. However, the development of today’s world shows that it is possible to conquer, destroy a nation or a language without military action. And China’s refusal to take military action does not guarantee that it will not pose an economic, social or even demographic threat to other countries, such as us. The Chinese philosopher Confucius said, “You can conquer the world by moving a finger (about 1 cm) a year.” Although China’s fourth-generation leader, Hu Jintao, continues the foreign policy stance of his predecessors, he seems to be looking for the source of his political views and ideas in ancient Chinese philosophy.

Today, China has a clear position on relations with any country. It is the establishment of friendly

relations, ensuring peace. It shows that it has five main principles. That is, any state should not exceed the five principles set by China, while maintaining peace in the establishment and development of relations with China.

Developed countries play an important role in China's foreign policy, so the regulation of relations with them is a priority. Hu Jintao pays special attention to developed countries because of his deep understanding of the current state of international relations. Although the CCP's charter, program, and Hu Jintao's official report focus on developed countries, they do not name any countries. For example, relations with the United States are not specified. In this way, the leadership of the CCP shows that it develops cooperation with all developed countries on an equal footing, without giving priority to any of them.

The main content of China's relations with developed countries, strategic negotiations. Only strategic negotiations can maintain peace and sustainable development forever. That is, China will resolve any issues with developed countries only through peaceful strategic negotiations. There are conflicting views with this group of states, and differences of opinion will continue in the future. The Chinese side is trying to resolve these contradictions. It is completely opposed to large-scale political conflicts with this group of states.

The second priority is China's relations with neighboring countries. China attaches great importance to establishing good-neighborly and friendly relations with all neighboring countries.

For China, all neighboring countries are valued as partners. No state is presented as a partner or a state with strained relations. Japan, which is deeply ingrained in the minds of the Chinese people, sees itself as a partner.

In the CCP documents, the third group of states includes developing countries. As China considers itself a leading group of developing countries, the issue of establishing relations with this group of countries has been discussed in depth.

The part of the official report of Chinese President Hu Jintao on foreign policy at the XVII Congress of the CPC ends with the following warm words: "China's development is an integral part of world development, the prosperity and stability of the world is an integral part of China. The Chinese people, together with the peoples of all countries of the world, will make every effort to fulfill the wonderful dreams of all mankind" (Kerry, 2012).

In conclusion, the third generation of leaders has made great strides on the international stage, in regional relations, in domestic and foreign economic affairs. Its foreign policy achievements can be assessed by the establishment of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in 2001, the 2001 Agreement on Good Neighborliness, Friendship and Cooperation between China and Russia, the official demarcation of the continental borders with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Vietnam, and active participation in the UN.

The fourth generation, which harmoniously inherited the succession of power of the third generation, was remembered for its stability, the development of all industries, as well as the desire of Hu Jintao to realize the Chinese dream, this is evidenced by the statement of the ruler himself: "China's development is an integral part of world development, the prosperity and stability of the world is an integral part of China. The Chinese people, together with the peoples of all countries of the world, will make every effort to fulfill the wonderful dreams of all mankind". China intends to develop regional relations. China wants to play a leading role in the development of regional cooperation in all major world centers along the Chinese border. It intends to establish as deep ties as possible in the Central Asian region within the SCO, which was established at the suggestion of the Chinese leadership. China wants to achieve a "paradise" in its border areas, where there is peace, stability, equality and mutual trust. As the Chinese name Hanzusha (Chinese), he dreams of becoming a peaceful central state of the world (Jungo – the central state).

References

- Brzezinski Z. (1998). *The Great Chessboard*. M.: международные отношения.
- Chuanqi H. (1999). *Second Modernization*. Beijing.: High Education Press.
- Galenovich M. (2006). *Девиз ХУ Цзиньтао: Социальная гармония в Китае*. М.
- Huntington. (1994). *Clash of Civilizations*. Polis.
- Jacques M. (2012). *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order*. Penguin Books.
- Joseph S. N. J. (2005). *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New edition. Public Affairs.
- Kapitsa M. (1979). *КНР: три десятилетия – три политики*. М.: Политиздат.

- Kerry B. (2012). *Hu Jintao: China's Silent Ruler*. World Scientific Publishing Company.
- Khafizova, K. (1995). *Китайская дипломатия в Центральной Азии (XIV-XIX вв.)*. Алматы: Ғылым.
- Kissinger H. (2012). *On China*. Penguin books. Reprint edition.
- Kissinger H. (2015). *World Order*. Penguin books. Reprint edition.
- Mukhametkhanuly N.K.Z. (2013). *Қытайдың сыртқы саясаты және Қазақстанмен қатынасы (2000-2010 жылдар)*. Алматы.
- Portyakov V. (2006). *От Цзян Цзямина к Ху Цзиньтао: Китайская Народная Республика в начале XXI века*. М.: Издательство «Наука».
- Selected works of Deng Xiaoping, (-1. (1994). *Selected works of Deng Xiaoping (1982-1992)*. Devote special effort to education (May 19, 1985) // *Speech at a National Conference on Education*, 3, pp. 23-29 pages. Beijing.
- Smirnov D. (2006). *Идейные Истоки и Эволюция Теории Модернизации КНР*. М.
- Sujian G. (2008). *China in Search of a Harmonious Society (Challenges Facing Chinese Political Development)*. Lexington Books.
- Vladimirov O. (1984). *Советско-китайские отношения в сороковых-восьмидесятых годах*. М.: Международные отношения.
- Zhekenov D. (2017). *Қытай Халық Республикасы 4-ші буын басшыларының сыртқы саясаты (2003-2013)*. Алматы.

References

- Brzezinski Z. (1998). *The Great Chessboard*. М.: international relations.
- Chuanqi H. (1999). *Second Modernization*. Beijing.: High Education Press.
- Galenovich M. (2006). *Hu Jintao's motto: Social harmony in China*. М.
- Huntington. (1994). *Clash of Civilizations*. Polis.
- Jacques M. (2012). *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order*. Penguin Books.
- Joseph S. N. J. (2005). *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New edition. Public Affairs.
- Kapitsa M. (1979). *PRC: Three Decades – Three Politicians*. М.: Politizdat.
- Kerry B. (2012). *Hu Jintao: China's Silent Ruler*. World Scientific Publishing Company.
- Khafizova K. (1995). *Chinese diplomacy in Central Asia (XIV-XIX centuries)*. Almaty: Gylym.
- Kissinger H. (2012). *On China*. Penguin books. Reprint edition.
- Kissinger H. (2015). *World Order*. Penguin books. Reprint edition.
- Mukhametkhanuly N., K. Z. (2013). *Kytaidy syrtky sayasaty zhane Kazakstanmen katynasy (2000-2010 zhyldar)*. Almaty.
- Portyakov V. (2006). *From Jiang Jamin to Hu Jintao: The People's Republic of China at the Beginning of the 21st Century*. М.: Publishing house «Science».
- Selected works of Deng Xiaoping, (-1. (1994). *Selected works of Deng Xiaoping (1982-1992)*. Devote special effort to education (May 19, 1985) // *Speech at a National Conference on Education*, 3, pp. 23-29 pages Beijing.
- Smirnov D. (2006). *Ideological Origins and Evolution of the PRC Modernization Theory*. М.
- Sujian G. (2008). *China in Search of a Harmonious Society (Challenges Facing Chinese Political Development)*. Lexington Books.
- Vladimirov O. (1984). *Soviet-Chinese relations in the forties and eighties*. М.: International relations.
- Zhekenov D. (2017). *Kytay Khalyk Respublikasy 4-shi buyn bashylarynyk syrtky sayasaty (2003-2013)*. Almaty.