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CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY THROUGH THE PRISM OF “COMMUNITY OF COMMON DESTINY”

Abstract. Since the accession to power of the fifth generation of rulers headed by Chinese President Xi Jinping, serious changes have taken place in the principle of foreign policy of the People’s Republic of China. The principle “not to be a leader in international relations, be in shadow” which had been strictly observed of Mao Zedong and Ding Xiaoping, was given to oblivion. China has transferred to new principles, now it is ready to assume responsibility in solving the common human problems on the global level sticking to the motto of mutually beneficial peace and politics in order to become “the leader” in their settlement. These changes are vividly seen in the Chinese “Belt and Road” initiative, rejuvenation of “the Chinese dream” and the initiative of “the common destiny of mankind” which have become the motto of foreign policy of Xi Jinping. At any meeting or summit of the global level (bilateral, multilateral, at the sessions of regional and international organizations), Xi Jinping is constantly bringing up the issue of “the common destiny of mankind”. Due to the fact that they do not manifest any visible expansionistic or empirical signs, they gain more supporters of their initiatives by their attractive proposals in tackling such global problems as international terrorism, global warming, ecology, etc. The article analyses the principles of foreign policy of People’s Republic of China by studying the we initiatives focusing on its merits and demerits, advantages and threats to other states.

Key words: The People’s Republic of China, Xi Jinping, Chinese foreign policy, “The common destiny of mankind”, “Chinese dream”.

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Қытайдың сыртқы саясаты: «Адамзаттың ортақ тағдыры» бастамасы

Аңдатпа. Қытай Халық Республикасының сыртқы саясат ұстанымдарында мемлекет басына Си Цзиньпин бастаған бесінші буын басшылары келгелі бері күрделі өзгерістер көрініс бере бастады. Мао Цзедун, Дэнь Сяопинь замандарынан бері қатаң сақталып келе жатқан, «Халықаралық мәселелерде көшбасшы болмау, көлеңкеде болу» сияқты ұстанымдар (принциптер), адамзатқа ортақ халықаралық мәселелерді шешуде Қытай жауапкершілікті өз мойнына алуға, бейбітшілік пен өзара тиімді саясатты ұран еткен «көшбасшы болуға» дайын деген жаңа ұстанымдарға ауыстырыла бастады. Бұл өзгерістерді Қытайлық «Белдеу және жол» бастамасынан, «Қытай арманын» қайта жаңғырту, Си Цзиньпин сыртқы саясатының ұранына айналып отырған «Адамзаттың ортақ тағдыры» бастамаларынан анық байқауға болады. Си Цзиньпин халықаралық дәрежедегі кез-келген кездесулерінде (екіжақты, көпжақты, аймақтың ұйымдар мен халықаралық ұйымдардың отырыстарында) «Адамзаттың ортақ тағдыры» мәселесін тұрақты түрде көтеріп келеді. Анық көрініп тұрған экспанциялық немесе эмпирикалық көріністер болмауы, керісінше, адамзатты жалпы мазалайтын халықаралық террор, ғаламшардың жылынуы, экология сияқты тағы да басқа тартымды ұсыныстардың болуы бұл бастаманы қолдаушы тараптарды көбейтіп отыр. Мақалада Қытай Халық Республикасы сыртқы саясат ұстанымдары осы бастамаларға талдау жасау арқылы талданып, оның артықшылықтары мен кемшіліктері, басқа мемлекеттерге пайдасы мен мүмкін болатын қауіп-қатерлер туралы баяндалады.

Түйін сөздер: Қытай Халық Республикасы, Си Цзиньпин, Қытай сыртқы саясаты, «Адамзаттың ортақ тағдыры», «Қытай арманы».

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Внешняя политика Китая сквозь призму «Сообщества с единой судьбой»

Аннотация. В принципе внешней политики Китайской Народной Республики с приходом к власти пятого поколения правителей во главе с Си Цзиньпином стали проявляться серьезные изменения. Принципы «не быть лидером в международных вопросах, быть в тени», которые жестко сохранялись со времен Мао Цзедуна, Дэн Сяопина остались позади, Китай начал переходить на новые принципы, он готов взять на себя ответственность в решении общих для человечества международных проблем, придерживаясь девиза взаимовыгодного мира и политики стать «лидером» в их решении. Эти изменения отчетливо видны из инициатив «Пояса и Пути», возрождения «Китайской мечты» и инициатив «Общая судьба человечества», которые являются девизом внешней политики Си Цзиньпина. Си Цзиньпин постоянно поднимает вопрос «Общей судьбы человечества» на любых встречах международного уровня (двусторонних, многосторонних, на заседаниях региональных и международных организаций). Отсутствие явно видимых экспансионных или эмпирических проявлений, наоборот, наличие привлекательных предложений в решении проблем всего человечества, таких как международный терроризм, глобальное потепление, экология и т.д., увеличивают сторонников, поддерживающих эту инициативу. В статье анализируются принципы внешней политики Китайской Народной Республики путем изучения этих инициатив, излагаются ее преимущества и недостатки, польза или возможные угрозы для других государств.

Ключевые слова: Китайская Народная Республика, Си Цзиньпин, Китайская внешняя политика, «Общая судьба человечества», «Китайская мечта».

Introduction

Since the entry of humanity into the 21st century, deep and complex changes have taken place in the international environment; a new stage in the development of the world's structure has begun. Economic globalization has led to the redistribution of resources throughout the world, the multipolarity of the world – to a deep adjustment of international relations, social informatization – to the unity of the whole world, cultural diversity – to exchanges of many cultural movements. Radical changes in global governance and internationally are accelerating. In this regard, the interconnection and interdependence in relations between all countries is becoming more distinct, greater equilibrium is achieved in the balance of forces at the international level, the general desire for peaceful development is becoming an unchanging trend. These changes indicate the direction of historical progress, affect the well-being of the peoples of all countries of the world and require that we should together defend them. At the same time, the factors of instability and uncertainty that exist in the world have become apparent. There are not enough impulses for the growth of the global economy, the gap between the rich and the poor is expanding day by day, a continuous series of acute

problems spans many regions, and unconventional security threats such as terrorism, cybersecurity, serious infectious diseases and climate change are spreading in the world. Mankind actually faces many common challenges.

In this case, Chinese leaders have been offering acceptable variation of the development of International Relations. Today, President Xi Jinping has given the world a new name – a community of common destiny. For understanding and analyzing this, you should research a foreign policy concept of China. The study of foreign policy discourse today is becoming an important tool for applied political analysis. Various conceptual documents (doctrines, concepts, strategies, etc.), as well as speeches and statements by officials, which allow us to identify both the stable structures of the national foreign policy discourse on the formation of the international order and the dynamics of their perception, can be the object of the study.

Speaking at the 19th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, which opened on October 18, 2017, Chairman Xi Jinping said: “Socialism with Chinese characteristics is entering a new era.”

What marked this new era in China's foreign policy? To answer this question, we can, for example, recall the actions of Xi in the international arena

since 2012, being at the head of the country. None of the Chinese leaders were able to attract so many leaders of foreign states to China. For some five years, Xi has held five major international summits: the fourth summit of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (May 2014), the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Summit (November 2014), and the G20 Summit Hangzhou (September 2016), One Belt – One Road International Cooperation Forum (May 2017) and the ninth BRICS Summit (September 2017). In addition, on September 3, 2015, thirty Heads of state and governments gathered in Beijing to attend a military parade on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of the victory over Japan in World War II. Moreover, none of the Chinese leaders has made so many trips around the world in such a short span of time. Since 2013, Xi has traveled abroad 28 times, visiting five continents, 56 countries, as well as the headquarters of major international and regional organizations.

In addition, China has never had such an impact on the development of the world economy. Under Xi Jinping, Beijing initiated the creation of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, the Silk Road Fund and the New Development Bank, three international financial institutions with a combined registered capital of more than \$ 200 billion. At the same time, he began the implementation of the “Belt and Road” initiative – an unprecedented large scale plan for the development of transport infrastructure throughout the Eurasian continent. (<https://carnegie.ru/2018/01/23/ru-pub-75325>)

With the continuous expansion of friendly cooperation between China and all countries of the world, the concept of the community of common destiny is finding ever-wider support and approval from the international community. In 2017, the concept of the community of common destiny was consistently written in the resolutions of the UN Commission for Social Development, the UN Security Council and the UN Human Rights Council. At the 19th All-China Congress of the CPC, the idea of forming the community of common destiny was included in the Charter of the Chinese Communist Party. Based on the results of the voting at the first session of the 13th NPC, the decision was made to include the wording “promoting the formation of the community of common destiny» in the PRC Constitution. This reflects China’s unwavering determination and solemn promise, time by time with all countries of the world, “to fight for the cause of the progress of all humankind.”

Relevance

Since the inception of the concept of the Community of common destiny, international news agencies, consultancies and academia have published news coverage, commentaries, reports, and research on the topic. Many of them are mere descriptions of known facts or presentations of opinions and commentaries published elsewhere; also today, we have had many research results, monographs of famous scholars and brainstormings of influential politicians. Even though, we cannot say that the world academia circle has found an answer for describing the main character of New Chinese foreign policy. We still have had so many unanswered questions about this issue. Notwithstanding, we can underline some of the important research papers in our state point below.

Denghua Zhang, professor Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, Australian National University, in his article called “The Concept of the Community of Common Destiny in China’s Diplomacy: Meaning, Motives and Implications” concluded that the final acceptance of the Community of common destiny concept by other states will be at the hands of these countries. It requires Beijing to become more transparent about the motives behind the concept, to put more effort into trust building and to solve disputes with other countries in a frank and equal spirit. Perhaps, a good step might start from addressing the territorial disputes in the South China Sea (Zhang, 2017).

Freelance Researcher of the Mercator Institute for China Studies (MERICS) *Jacob Mardell* in his research works said: “A “community of common destiny” is achieved through creating both a “community of shared interests” and a “community of shared responsibilities.” The “community of shared interests” roughly corresponds to a situation of economic interdependence, or “fulfilling each other economically.” The “community of responsibility” refers to the political and security realms, or a situation of “complete political mutual trust.” (Mardell, 2017) However, these authors could not clarify the challenges and problems of this issue. Everything has pros and cons and this new concept cannot be spared from drawbacks and impediments either.

In addition, help us to understand the meaning of the Community of common destiny and foreign policy of China the main speeches, conversations, official announces of the Chinese leader. The book “The Government of China” (Jinping, 2014, 2017)

that contains a special chapter called “A community of shared future” has given us the main information that is related to our subject. Also, the first volume has had a special part about the Chinese dream and rejuvenation of Great China. Today we can see a huge number of Chinese diplomats, scholars and independent experts from China who are actively writing, investigating, and popularizing the idea of “Chinese dream”. For instance, Fudan journal (China, Fudan University) has published the article “Interpreting and understanding “The Chinese dream” written by Professor Xing Li (Li, 2015).

Finally, we can underline interesting overviews in the articles of the following authors: Callahan AW., “Dreaming as a Critical Discourse of National Belongings: China Dream, American Dream and World Dream” (Callahan, 2017), Godbole A., “China’s Asia Strategy under President Xi Jinping” (Godbole, 2015), Kivimaki T., “Soft Power and Global Governance with Chinese Characteristics” (Kivimaki, 2014), Xing L. “Traditional Chinese Culture and China’s Diplomatic Thinking in the New Era” (Xing, 2015), Zeng L., “Conceptual Analysis of China’s Belt and Road Initiative: A Road towards a Regional Community of Common Destiny” (Zeng, 2016).

Theoretical-methodological bases

The strong personalization of power has led the official propaganda and Chinese experts close to the establishment, if not about “xijinpingization,” then to the formation of a special system of views of Xi Jinping on the government, which naturally affects foreign policy as well. At the same time, the question remains open whether in the first five years after Xi Jinping came to power, an updated and holistic concept of China’s foreign policy was created, which is based on a fundamentally new understanding of the tasks and goals of diplomacy.

In the Chinese official discourse, the term “Xi diplomacy” (Xi shi weijiao) has been established, and the Xinhua News Agency uses the hashtag #Xiplomacy1 in its English-language channel on Twitter. However, literature does not yet have a unified understanding of China’s modern foreign policy – depending on the views of the researcher, China appears to be either a revisionist power striving to destroy the Western liberal order (Benner, 2017), or a benefactor who brings harmony to the world and generously shares the fruits of his phenomenal growth (Liu, Dunford, 2016).

A Community of common destiny literally refers to a group of people/nations bonded together by

common interests and fate. Scholars of international relations have widely used the term community in such forms as political community, international community and moral community (Agnew 1994, pp. 62–63; Boucher 1998, p. 375). Ernest Haas, for example, referred to like-minded scientists as ‘an epistemic community’ and highlighted their role in transferring new knowledge to international organizations (1990, pp. 40–41). Hedley Bull made a distinction between ‘a system of states’ and ‘a society of states’ in his discussion of international order. In ‘a system of states’, states interact with and affect one another while acting on their own interest and values, but in ‘a society of states’, states conceive themselves to be bound by a sense of common interests, rules, values and institutions (2002, pp. 8–15). This definition of ‘a society of states’ is literally close to a CCD.

In addition, it is time to think about the balance of power theory. Since the 16th century, balance of power politics have profoundly influenced international relations. Nevertheless, in recent years, with the disappearance of the Soviet Union, growing power of the United States, and increasing prominence of international institutions — many scholars have argued that balance of power theory is losing its relevance. However, today, with this Chinese new concept “the Community of common destiny” nobody can say that balance of power is losing its relevance. On the contrary, it is time to point out about new balance of power that in one side China has unhesitatingly appeared.

Discussion

In February 2016, the US Council on Foreign Relations published a report, “Xi Jinping on the Global Stage: Chinese Foreign Policy Under a Powerful but Exposed Leader.” Authors Robert Blackville and Kurt Campbell set themselves the task of analyzing Beijing’s actions on the world stage under the current chairperson of the PRC, whom they call “the strongest leader of China since Deng Xiaoping” (Blackville., Campbell, 2016).

This kind of “analytical note” was written specifically for the new president, regardless of which party he will represent. However, there is no particular disagreement between Republican R. Blackville and Democrat C. Campbell over Washington’s “Chinese politics”. Both experts proceed from the assertion that the PRC is the main geostrategic competitor of the United States, and friction between the two great powers will always exist.

The authors argue that Xi Jinping's actions were not dictated by his personal desires, but by the conditions in which China is today. That is why R. Blackville and C. Campbell characterize Chairman C as a "strong but vulnerable", in other words, "dependent" leader. At the same time, they proceed from the fact that Chinese foreign policy in the upcoming years will be determined by a slowdown in China's economic growth.

For almost thirty years, the country's GDP growth exceeded 10% per year, and today, according to some critical estimates, it has reached 5%. Since an economic success can no longer serve as the basis for the legitimacy of the CCP in power, Xi Jinping will have to rely on new mechanisms to ensure public loyalty. The authors of the report conclude that Beijing has opted for nationalism and even the imposition of the Xi personality cult. All this takes place against the backdrop of the intensification of the anti-corruption campaign, designed to restore public confidence in the authorities and to "clear" the political elite from the opposition.

In order to create conditions in which the leader can demonstrate his power, Xi Jinping will need "small victorious wars". In order to fuel the growth of nationalist sentiments and create conditions in which the leader can demonstrate his power, Xi Jinping will need "small victorious wars". American experts expect Beijing to take the path of increasing confrontation in territorial disputes on the border with India, in the South China and East China Seas, and take a tougher stance in dealing with Washington. According to the authors, in this Xi Jinping takes an example from Vladimir Putin, who uses similar mechanisms to increase his rating in Russia (Blackville., Campbell, 2016).

American experts can analyze and can give determination for Chinese foreign policy from their national interest. This opinion can include not full description about the Community of common destiny. In this case, to make opposite parallels for comparison you have to search the state point of Chinese officials.

On March 3, 2019, during the "two sessions", Xiao Jian interviewed the former deputy head of the Department of International Relations of the CPC Central Committee, deputy director of the Association of the Chinese People for Disarmament and Peace Zhou Li. In an interview, he talked about his point of view on pressing issues such as foreign investments of domestic enterprises, the Belt and Road initiative, relations between China and Russia, and the country's diplomatic course.

According to Zhou Li, the successes achieved over the last five years in the field of foreign policy are closely linked with the diplomatic ideas of Xi Jinping. The diplomacy of a major power with Chinese characteristics is an important component of Xi Jinping's concepts of socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era. It is embodied in the following aspects. Firstly, it is necessary to adhere to the principles of mutual respect and mutually beneficial cooperation, to achieve the cohesion of all countries and to jointly follow the path of peaceful development. Secondly, to protect world peace and promote joint development, thereby promoting the development of a community of one destiny. Thirdly, to uphold the concept of justice and equality, as well as direct the process of reforming the global governance system. Fourth, adhere to the principle of "joint consultation, joint construction and joint use of the fruits of development" in order to promote the construction within the framework of the "Belt and Road" initiative. Fifth, based on deepening the diplomatic approach to create a global partnership. Sixth, to consider the protection of national interests as a certain limit, which in no case can be crossed, and to defend the sovereignty, security and national interests of the country. Seventh, to form the unique diplomacy of China, combining the best traditions of foreign policy with the characteristics of the new era (Jian, 2019).

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of China to the Russian Federation Li Hui in his interview expressed three main characteristics or explanations of the Community of common destiny.

Firstly, this is an international situation, the roots of which lie in the era of globalization. The world today has entered a period of great development, big changes, big reconfiguration, the system of international relations and the world order are undergoing fundamental changes. With the deepening and development of multipolarity, the globalization of the economy, the informatization of society, and cultural diversity, a whole host of developing countries and emerging markets have embarked on the path of rapid development, numerous development centers are gradually being formed in various regions of the world, and the trend of peaceful development will not be reversed. With each passing day, the interconnectedness and interdependence of all countries are deepening, there are fewer and fewer opportunities for the isolated development of the state, and the tendency towards mutually beneficial cooperation and joint development is becoming increasingly apparent. At the same time, many difficulties turn into inevitable

for any state, requiring problems to be solved by joint efforts: environmental pollution, food crises, lack of natural resources, climate change, network security, epidemics of dangerous diseases, terrorism, transnational crime and much more. No state can stand aside and only care about its own well-being. Harmonious coexistence and cohesion should become a natural way out.

Secondly, it is a Chinese civilization based on openness and inclusiveness. It is typical for Chinese traditional culture to strive for unity, even with differences, to adhere to the principle of reaching agreement in case of disagreement, to perceive the whole world as one family, and thus the goal is equal cooperation and joint progress for the common prosperity of different countries, regions and cultures. In Chinese culture, there are only traditions of “good relations with neighbors”, “consent in the presence of differences”, and historically there is no room for aggression against other peoples and claims for world domination. China does not seek to dominate the world and does not accept the logic of “hegemony of the strong.” There is an ancient expression: “One flower of spring does not, spring comes when all the flowers open.” This is the concept of China’s development and the hopes that China has in the world. An important initiative for the formation of a human community with a common destiny is called upon to establish relations among all such different cultures of the world, guided by the postulate of Chinese philosophy, which says “all principles are implemented together and do not conflict with each other.” It is necessary to promote the resolution at the deep level of conflicts and confrontations that are becoming more acute every day in the modern world, to stimulate cultural exchanges and mutual knowledge by maintaining cultural diversity.

Thirdly, it is the duty and responsibility that China needs to assume. As China’s total power grows continuously, its international position gradually becomes higher, and China needs to clearly explain to the world its own course of action, while the world expects China to play the role of a major power. Although China is the largest developing country, it occupies only the 70th place in the world in terms of per capita GDP. As a permanent member of the UN Security Council and the second largest economy in the world, China intends to assume responsibility in international affairs, commensurate with its position, intends to make an appropriate contribution to the peaceful and harmonious development of the world community. Based on the foregoing, President Xi Jinping of the People’s Republic of China has put forward an important initiative to form a human

community with a common destiny and proposed from five positions at once – politics, security, economy, culture and ecology – to promote the building of a clean and beautiful world community with a lasting peace and general security, common prosperity, openness and tolerance. This is an initiative that corresponds to the course of historical development, meets the requirements of the era, and this is the carefully thought out development option that China is ready to offer the world (<http://ru.china-embassy.org/rus/dssghd/t1642278.htm>).

Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine that Xi Jinping’s personal qualities will have a decisive influence on Beijing’s foreign policy strategy. Even under the radical Mao, Chinese foreign policy was cautious and pragmatic: in relations with the Soviet Union, the PRC dispensed with “Chinese warnings,” and in the midst of the Cold War went on rapprochement with the capitalist United States. Moreover, today, it seems, the “great freedom of expression” that Beijing suddenly began to allow itself is a well-considered strategy that has nothing to do with emotions or psychological complexes. Xi Jinping will bite the hand that feeds, quarrel with the main trading partners of China, either from nationalist considerations or from allied agreements.

Conclusion

In conclusion, from our state points we have witnessed the changes that have happened over the last years. Moreover, what will China’s foreign policy be in the next five or ten years? Xi Jinping’s report at the 19th CCP Congress contains some hints. This important document is not a mere talk about the achievements of the past, but it also outlines the priorities for the future.

The report refers to the “great revival of the Chinese nation” 27 times, and 6 and 5 times, respectively, to the “community of common destiny” and the Belt and Road initiative. However, far more important is the fact that these three formulations are now enshrined in the party’s charter in the form of amendments adopted at the congress. Moreover, the concept of “great power” is mentioned seven times, but nothing is said about “relations of a new type with great powers”. The phrase “international relations of a new type” appears twice in the report.

Taken together, these signs indicate that the “great revival of the Chinese nation” will be Beijing’s top priority until 2049, when China will celebrate 100th anniversary. At this point, the report states, the country will become “a modern, powerful

socialist power.” According to Xi Jinping, “the advent of socialism with Chinese characteristics in a new era means that the Chinese nation is facing a great leap: it has risen to its feet, began to live a better life and is turning into a strong and powerful nation.”

Nevertheless, the Chinese dream of national revival does not come down to restoring the country’s former greatness. On the contrary, Beijing is determined to transform the whole world into a “society with a single destiny,” in particular through

the “Belt and Road” initiative and the creation of a new type of international relations. This plan is not designed for one country, even the largest in the world in terms of population; it is an unprecedentedly ambitious and bold concept for all of humanity. Not a single state in history, including the Roman and British Empires or the United States of America, has offered such a world. The current program is have other than China’s bid for world leadership. Thus, China, having gained wealth and power, will usher in a new era in international politics.

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