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CHINESE DREAM IN XXI CENTURY

Today, we often hear the idea that the 21st century is the age of China, and humanity is beginning to get used to this information. The path of development of the People's Republic of China, initiated by Mao Zedong, retaining the continuity of generations, continuing today Xi Jinping enters a special period. Headed by Xi Jinping, strengthening their place in the world arena, representatives of the «fifth generation» often talk about the «Great Chinese Dream». To implement this goal, concrete programs and plans have been adopted at the state level, and their phased implementation is expected. Moreover, a specific chronological framework for achieving the result has been approved. If by 2021, to the 100th anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party, it is planned to become a state with an average profit, then by the year 2049, to the 100th anniversary of the formation of the People's Republic of China, it is planned to become a global superpower and fully realize the Chinese dream. Of course, it is important for each nation to have their own dream and better that they will come true. But, how will the «Chinese dream» affect the world? Can the realization of the dream of one nation harm the wishes of another nation!?

Key words: Chinese dream, People's Republic of China, Xi Jinping, China's foreign policy, Clash of civilizations.

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XXI ғасырдағы Қытай арманы

XXI ғасыр – Қытай ғасыры деген ойлар жиі айтыла бастады және бұл ақпаратқа жалпы адамзат күннен-күнге үйреніп келеді. Қытай Халық Республикасының Мао Цзедуннан бастау алып, буындар сабақтастығын сақтай отырып, бүгінгі күні Си Цзиньпиннің қолына жеткен даму жолы ерекше бір кезеңге аяқ басып отыр. Халықаралық сахнадағы орнын күннен-күнге нығайтып келе жатқан Қытай Халық Республикасының Си Цзиньпин бастаған «бесінші буын» өкілдері «Ұлы Қытай арманы» туралы жиі айта бастады. Бұл мақсатты орындау бағытындағы нақты бағдарламалар мен жоспарлар мемлекеттік деңгейде бекітіліп, кезең-кезеңімен орындау көзделіп отыр. Сонымен қатар, нәтижеге жетудің нақты хронологиялық мерзімі де бекітілген. 2021 жылы Қытай коммунистік партиясының құрылуының жүз жылдық мерзімінде, орта табысты мемлекет құру жоспарланса, 2049 жылы Қытай Халық Республикасының құрылғанына жүз жыл толған мерзімде, әлемдік алпауытқа айналып, қытай арманын толықтай орындау көзделген. Әлбетте, әр халықтың өз арманы болғаны және сол армандардың орындалғаны жақсы. Дегенмен, «қытай арманы» әлемге қалай ықпал етеді, бір халықтың арманының орындалу барысында екінші бір халықтың армандарына зиян келуі мүмкін бе?!

Түйін сөздер: Қытай арманы, Қытай Халық Республикасы, Си Цзиньпин, Қытайдың сыртқы саясаты, Өркениеттер қақтығысы.

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Китайская мечта в XXI веке

Сегодня мы часто слышим идею о том, что XXI век – век Китая, и человечество начинает привыкать к этой информации. Путь развития Китайской Народной Республики, начатый Мао Цзедунем, сохранивший преемственность поколениями, продолжающийся сегодня Си Цзиньпинем, вступает в особенный период. Возглавляемые Си Циньпинем, укрепляющие свое место на мировой арене, представители «пятого поколения» часто говорят о «Великой Китайской мечте». Для осуществления этой цели на государственном уровне приняты конкретные программы и планы, ожидается поэтапное их выполнение. А также утверждены конкретные хронологические рамки достижения результата. Если к 2021 году, к 100-летию коммунистической партии Китая, запланировано стать государством со средней прибылью, то к 2049 году, к 100-летию образования Китайской Народной Республики, планируется стать мировым гигантом и полностью реализовать китайскую мечту. Конечно, важно каждому народу иметь свою мечту и лучше, чтоб они сбывались. Но, как повлияет «китайская мечта» на мир, может ли осуществление мечты одного народа принести вред желаниям другого народа!?

Ключевые слова: китайская мечта, Китайская Народная Республика, Си Цзиньпин, внешняя политика Китая, столкновение цивилизаций.

Introduction

The success or failure of the leading economies of the world ultimately depends on the existence of a long-term development strategy, its adequacy to specific conditions and the effectiveness of the ruling elite in the implementation of the target. Only countries with a clear perspective will be able to remain subjects of a constantly changing world order, and not become an object of influence of competitors. Among the world's leading world powers, so far only China has been able to formulate a long-term development strategy. It is called the «Chinese Dream»; it includes several independent strategic concepts, has two control periods, and should be completed by 2049 (Jinping, 2014).

Long-term planning began in China only in 2012 and is connected with the name of the new leader of the country, Xi Jinping, whose arrival to the supreme party and state power marked the beginning of a qualitatively new stage in the development of the country. Its key characteristic was the transition from medium-term planning (five-year plan) to long-term strategic planning for whole decades (Jinping, 2017).

Speaking just two weeks after the end of the XVIII Congress of the CPC at the end of 2012, Xi Jinping said: «The endless struggle that has been going on since the» opium wars «for 170 years has opened up brilliant prospects for the great revival of the Chinese nation. Now, like at any historical

period, we have been close to the realization of our goal, the great revival of the Chinese nation, and as never before we are confident of our ability to achieve this goal. «Xi Jinping immediately identified the boundaries of achieving the goal: «I firmly believe that the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China (2021) will inevitably be the task of creating a society of medium prosperity. By the time of the 100th anniversary of the founding of the PRC (2049), undoubtedly, the task will be fulfilled to create a rich and powerful, democratic and civilized, harmonious and modern socialist state. The dream of a great revival of the Chinese nation will certainly come true» (Jinping, 2014)

Thus, already in the first public speech before the whole world, as a new leader, Xi Jinping put forward a long-term strategic task to the Chinese nation for almost four decades – for 37 years. Any Chinese ruler did not do this before.

Relevance

First of all to understand the meaning of the Chinese dream and foreign policy can help us the main speeches, conversations, official announcements of the Chinese leader. The book «The Government of China» (Jinping, 2014, 2017) that contain two volumes has given us main information that related with our subject. The first volume of Xi Jinping: The Governance of China collects 81 of Xi's speeches, conversations, instructions and letters. Also first

volume has had a special part about the Chinese dream and rejuvenation of the great China. The second volume of Xi Jinping: The Governance of China collects 99 of Xi's speeches, conversations, instructions and letters, as well as 29 photos of the Chinese leader, between August 18, 2014 and September 29, 2017. The articles are divided into 17 topics and the book adds some necessary annotations to improve readers' understanding, according to the statement. Over the three years since the publishing of the first volume in September, 2014, Xi, also General Secretary of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee, has continued to put forward a series of new concepts, thoughts and strategies, enriching the CPC's theories. The second volume depicts the practices of the CPC Central Committee, with Xi at the core, in uniting and leading Chinese people to uphold and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics in a new era. It reflects the development and main contents of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era. The newly published volume is also expected to help the international community had better understand the path, concept and model of China's development, it added.

Secondly, today we can see huge number of Chinese diplomats, scholars and independent experts from China who 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). In addition, The Chinese Journal of International Politics, Journal of Chinese Political Science and China Daily published lot of articles about the «Chinese dream» and rejuvenation of China. We just collected some of them below: «Socialisation as a two-way process: Emerging powers and the diffusion of international norms» written by Xiaoyu Pu (Pu, 2012), «Continuity through change: Background knowledge and China's international strategy» written by Yaqing Qin (Qin, 2014), «Behind the «Chinese Dream» project is the rising confidence about China's current position and China's future» written by Shiping Zheng (Zheng, 2014) and etc.

However, how do those outside China view Xi's Chinese Dream? The Chinese Dream discourse has been a subject of much speculation in the West. It is commonly viewed as a nationalist doctrine that is likely to hold perilous implications for international security in the future. Western nations are apprehensive about the more assertive and expansionist foreign policy approach seemingly

implied by the Chinese Dream, particularly as it relates to China's increasing military assertiveness in the South and East China Seas. Here we can refer the articles: «The Chinese Dream: Concept and Context» (Wang, 2014), «What Does General Secretary Xi Jinping Dream About?» (Saich, 2017), *US-China 21*. «The Future of U.S.-China Relations under Xi Jinping. Toward a New Framework of Constructive Realism for a Common Purpose» (Rudd, 2015) etc.

Critics also suggest that it will be difficult, if not impossible, to realise the Chinese Dream. This is both due to China's economic slowdown and, more importantly, the reality that it is unlikely that 'each Chinese person' will dream the same dream and that dream will be consistent with that of the Chinese Communist Party.

Finally, we can underline interesting overviews from these following publications: «ASEAN still critical catalyst for China's future» (Mahbubani, 2016), «Yes, China is investing globally—but not so much in its belt and road initiative» (Dollar, 2017), «Can China rise peacefully?» (Mearsheimer, 2014), «The contest of the century: The new era of competition with China—and How America can win» (Dyer, 2014).

Theoretical-methodological bases

The ides of «Chinese dream» is not abruptly appeared today. Roods of this idea come from ancient Chinese traditions. Today's Chinese leader have just rejuvenated it. If we really want to understand the meaning of this idea, we have to use a theory of civilization. In this case, we can point out the idea of Samuel Huntington «the Clash of civilizations» (Huntington, 1996). Nevertheless, some scholars have deemed «The clash of civilizations» theory is absolutely and completely dead. We want to meditate from other view like a «The clash of civilization» without collapse and the victory of the East.

Also, it's 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 global project OBOR 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.

Xi Jinping in one of his speech underlined that if Chinese dream will be achieved it will be great not only for Chinese, also it will be fruitful for all nations of the world. It really seems like a theory of «soft power» written by Joseph Nye (Nye, 2005). Xi Jinping said: «We should increase China's soft power, give a good Chinese narrative, and better communicate China's messages to the world» (Jinping, 2014).

Discussion

«The clash of civilization» without collapse and the victory of the East

Every time when people have said about «The clash of civilization», everyone immediately thinks about Samuel Huntington. He has generally mentioned clash of civilization between West and East, but pointed on Muslim's and Christian's. Perhaps it was. However, today we want to say the clash of civilization between West (USA and West Europe) and China and possible leadership of the East in the person of China.

The undoubted success of China's five-year movement towards the realization of the «Chinese Dream» plan opened up new horizons for China. The state, which provided 16.5% of global GDP and about 40% of world growth in 2016, becomes closely integrated into the existing system of global financial, economic and political governance. Proceeding from the achieved successes and adhering to the long-term «Chinese Dream» plan, Chairman Xi Jinping informed the world about his country's intention to play a new, key role in global governance. This happened in September 2016 in Hangzhou during the next G20 summit. Xi Jinping talked about the urgent changes in world governance and China's readiness to play a worthy role in creating a «global community of common destiny» at the World Economic Forum in Davos in January 2017 (Jinping, 2017).

This is unusual for Chinese leaders. Deng Xiaoping had always said do not be a leader in international arena and do not take a responsibility to solve global problems. From the point of view of Deng Xiaoping, China will not be ready to take responsibilities all over the world until the 2049. Nevertheless, Xi Jinping did it and has started to say about the «Wind from East» that can give a new impulse of development of the humanity.

Since 2013, the Chairman of the People's Republic of China is Xi Jinping, who, back in 2012 after his election to the post of General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, brought the «Chinese

dream» to a new level. Xi Jinping said that at the end of November 2012, while visiting the exhibition «Path to Revival» in the State Museum of the People's Republic of China, dedicated to the history of China since the end of the Opium Wars, he noted that the dream is not only for each individual, but also for the nation as a whole. «I think that the great revival of the Chinese nation is the greatest Chinese dream in a new era. Because this dream bears in itself the long-cherished wish of the most diverse generations of our people. It reflects the fundamental interests of the Chinese people and the general expectation of the Chinese nation. History reminds us that the personal future and destiny of each person are closely connected with the future of the whole country. People can live well, only when our country and nation develop safely. This great dream requires the untiring efforts of the next generations of the Chinese people» (Rosen., Snyder, 2017).

Xi Jinping immediately determined the steps to achieve the goal: «I firmly believe that the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party (2021) will inevitably lead to the creation of a «xiaokang, «a society of medium prosperity. By the time the centenary of the creation of the PRC (2049) will undoubtedly be accomplished the task of creating a rich and powerful, democratic and civilized, harmonious and modern socialist state» (Jinping, 2014). In this first public speech to his people and the world as a new leader, Xi Jinping demonstrated the strategic depth of his vision of the history of the Celestial Empire – 170 years ago, from the beginning of the first Opium War (1840), and 37 years ahead, to the centenary of the founding of the PRC (2049). Total – more than two centuries. His ten-year reign – twice five years in accordance with the order of rotation of the highest leader established by Deng Xiaoping – he began with setting up a long-term strategic task for the Chinese nation for almost four decades. Any Chinese ruler before Xi Jinping did not do this.

Is it beginning of the victory of the East or is it usual «Wind from East» that cannot influence for global world?

From Mao Zedong to Xi Jinping

In the speech of October 29, 1955, Mao Zedong said: «Our goal is for our country to be highly developed, that it is much stronger than now, so that the Chinese people become a rich people. Year after year, we will approach this goal; year after year, we will become richer and stronger. Universal prosperity will not come today, but I know that it will come tomorrow» (Zedong, 1969).

These words contain a triple meaning: First, China must change the status of a weak nation to become a truly powerful country in the world; second, the Chinese people must make the path from poverty to prosperity; Thirdly, China must adhere to the socialist path in order to guarantee the attainment of universal prosperity. In addition, Mao Zedong stressed that China with a population of 600 million people should catch up with the US with a population of 100 million people. It will take decades to see the results of the efforts of the Chinese people for at least 50 years, maybe 75 years. According to Mao Zedong, the main factors that will make it possible to achieve the goal and catch up with the level of development of the United States are a large territory of the country, its thousand-year history, natural resources and a large population. An important idea of Mao Zedong was the idea that all sectors of the country, including business circles and democratic parties, should strive to create a prosperous and powerful country from China. In 1956, in the article «In Memory of Sun Yat-sen,» Mao Zedong stressed that achieving a future superiority over the United States is not only possible, but absolutely necessary (Zedong, 1969).

Deng Xiaoping did not mention the goal of catching up with the US in public speeches or in written works, devoting almost all the attention to the «xiaokang» concept. It is believed that for the first time about «xiaokang» Deng Xiaoping mentioned in 1979 in a conversation with Japanese Prime Minister Masayoshi, calling «xiaokang» the dream of educated Chinese for more than one thousand years. Subsequently, Deng Xiaoping clarified the content of the «xiaokang» concept: the Chinese people will radically change the backwardness of their country and make it the advanced state in the world. With the peoples of other countries, the Chinese people will work to jointly promote the just cause of human progress.

In April 1987, Deng Xiaoping presented the steps he had developed to achieve this strategic goal. The first step is to double GNP from 250 to 500 dollars. The second step included doubling the GDP to \$ 1,000. Deng Xiaoping noted that the essence of socialism lies in the general prosperity. «If we reach four thousand US dollars per capita gross national product (GDP), and overall prosperity, then this will best show that the socialist system has an advantage over the capitalist system» (Vogel, 2013).

«Xiaokang» continued to be a central element of the Chinese dream during the presidency of Jiang Zemin, who promised to build a «xiaokang» in 20 years. Jiang Zemin's report at the 16th CPC

Congress (2002) stated that «xiaokang» has so far been built only on a very limited area of free economic zones, major cities and coastal provinces, in the next twenty years the main task of the Chinese people will be the assertion of «xiaokang» on the entire territory of China (Zemin, 2009).

However, the Chinese dream in its current form was formed by Hu Jintao and absorbed all the achievements of all previous leaders of the CCP. Hu Jintao stressed that the Chinese dream is a desire to go one way with the peoples of other countries, to jointly create an even better tomorrow for humanity. «The dream of the Chinese people – said Hu Jintao, – the strengthening of the modernization of the state, the great prosperity of the Chinese nation, along with the peoples of other countries, the desire for peace and progress, peaceful coexistence and harmonious development» (Jintao, 2012).

As we noticed, Hu Jintao was very careful to announce, «Chinese dream» and its ambition. If Joseph j. Nye had mentioned about the «soft power», Hu tried to mention «Harmonized world» along with the peoples of other countries. But obviously «Chinese dream» is not a «Human dream».

Xi Jinping is a new leader of the new generation with great ambition who will not conceal their intention.

Xi Jinping's plan was laid out after the congress of the ruling party was over. However, it was quickly discussed and approved at all levels of party organizations, became a party document. At the shortly held sessions of the Chinese Parliament (NPC) and the Consultative Meeting (VC NCCP), not only the General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee was confirmed as President of the PRC (President of China), but also the approval of the «Chinese Dream» plan. Thanking the people's representatives for their trust, Xi Jinping began to develop the concept of the «Chinese dream», calling the three main conditions for its implementation.

1. Be sure to follow the Chinese way, that is, along the road of socialism with Chinese characteristics. The Chinese nation is a nation of extraordinary creativity. Since we managed to create a great Chinese civilization, we will even more be able to continue and expand the path of development that corresponds to Chinese realities.

2. It is necessary to uplift the Chinese spirit, whose core is patriotism, as well as the spirit of the era, the core of which is reform and innovation.

3. It is necessary to unite the forces of the nation, which are born of the great cohesion of 56 nationalities and a population of more than 1.3 billion people. The Chinese dream is the dream of

the whole nation and every Chinese individually (Jinping, 2017).

Conclusion

The Chinese Dream, according to President Xi, refers to the collective aspiration of «the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation» as well as the personal dreams of the individual citizens of China to attain productive, healthy and happy lives. Xi has emphasized that the «China Dream» is a dream of the Chinese people that can only be attained through ‘socialism with Chinese characteristics’.

Internationally, the Chinese Dream can be viewed as a continuation of the country’s peaceful development strategy. It is a key component of China’s soft power campaign, which seeks

to counter the theory that China is a threat to regional peace and security and promote instead a benign and positive image of the country. To quote President Xi: ‘We Chinese love peace. No matter how much stronger it may become, China will never seek hegemony or expansion. It will never inflict its past suffering on any other nation.’ Over the years, China has moved away from Deng Xiaoping’s strategy of ‘lie low, bide your time’ and has adopted an assertive foreign policy approach. The Chinese Dream discourse has been designed to institute a robust foundation for the development of a new overarching diplomatic strategy. The goal is to not only promote a renewal of the nation, but also enhance China’s international appeal to the rest of the world and, in turn, its stature in world politics.

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**HOW DO 'PEOPLE TO PEOPLE' RELATIONS CONTRIBUTE
TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OBOR IN CENTRAL ASIA?**

In 2013, Chinese leader Xi Jinping, during his official visit to Kazakhstan announced, a new concept that is the One Belt One Road initiative (OBOR). While the OBOR covers five objectives, in this article, the aim is to use the ideas of the fifth pillar 'people to people' relations to argue that understanding between people is an important element of strategy, but it is essential to recognize how it contributes to the implementation of the OBOR in the Central Asian region. It is considered that the New Silk Road concept aims to consolidate peripheral diplomacy and create various multilateral relations by pursuing a win-win strategy along the OBOR. In this context, by recognising the significance of soft power, China strives to expand its influence across the Central Asian region to foster people to people connections. Therefore, it will be analysed specifically how China pursues cultural, educational exchange, science, technology and human development in Central Asia. By arguing all the connections and contradictions of China's domestic and foreign affairs, the aim is to demonstrate that 'people to people relations' is crucial dimension in giving an impulse to the OBOR in Central Asia.

Key words: One Belt One Road (OBOR), people to people relations, peripheral diplomacy, multi-lateral relations, soft power.

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**Халықтар арасындағы байланыстар бағыты «Бір белдеу, бір жол» жобасының
Орталық Азия аймағында жүзеге асырылуына қалай ықпал етеді?**

2013 жылы Қытай Халық Республикасының төрағасы Ши Жинпиң Қазақстанға ресми іс сапары барысында «Бір белдеу, бір жол» жобасын жариялады. Қытайдың «Бір белдеу, бір жол» бағдарламасы бес түрлі бағытты қамтиды, дегенмен мақаланың басты мақсаты бесінші бағыт, яғни халықтар арасындағы байланыстарды одан әрі күшейту жайында болады. Осы бесінші бағыттың идеяларын талдау арқылы, стратегияның маңызды бір элементі ретінде ашып көрсету өте маңызды. Сонымен қатар, халықтар арасындағы байланыстарды одан әрі күшейту бағытының «Бір белдеу, бір жол» жобасының Орталық Азия аймағында жүзеге асырылуына қалай ықпал ететінін айқындау қажет. Ұлы Жібек жолы концепциясы өзара тиімді стратегия аясында «Бір белдеу, бір жол» жобасын перифериялық дипломатияны күшейтуге және түрлі көпжақты қатынастарды іске асыруға бағытталған. Осыған орай жұмсақ күштің маңыздылығын айқындай отырып, Қытай Халық Республикасы халықтар арасындағы байланыстарды күшейту арқылы Орталық Азияға өзінің ықпалын арттыруға тырысады. Сондықтан, мақалада Қытайдың Орталық Азиядағы мәдениет, білім және ғылым алмасу үрдістері, технология және адам ресурстары секілді салаларын қай бағытта іске асырып жатқаны нақты талқыланады.

Түйін сөздер: «Бір белдеу, бір жол», халықтар арасындағы байланыстар, перифериялық дипломатия, көпжақты қатынастар, жұмсақ күш.