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A NEW GLOBALIZATION FROM THE EAST

The development of mankind in the 21st century requires new changes in international relations and questions about the world order. Day after day, the destruction of the borders between the economy and political relations gives new impetus to globalization. In this article, it is planned, based on the examples of European, Soviet, and American globalization, to make a scientific examination of the Chinese model of globalization, which is the subject of hot discussions at present. New globalization from the East is not just a rumor; the People's Republic of China is actually implementing it. At the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, Chinese scientists began to search for the Chinese theory of international relations. If we take into account that the general theory of science can become a common value only when it is accepted by all mankind, it seems that some theories and scientific principles proposed by Chinese scientists are being asked for general use. In addition, Chinese globalization is combined not only from a scientific point of view, but also with global projects such as «One Belt – One Road».

Key words: A new globalization, People's Republic of China, Chinese dream, Xi Jinping, China's International relation theory.

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Шығыстан келген жаңа жаһандану

XXI ғасырдағы адамзат баласының даму бағыты Халықаралық қатынастар және әлемдік тәртіп мәселелеріне тың өзгерістер әкелуді талап етіп отыр. Экономика мен саяси қарым-қатынастардағы шекаралардың күннен-күнге жойылуы Жаһанданудың жаңа серпінін алып келуде. Осы мақала барысында осы уақытқа дейінгі Еуропалық, Кеңестік, Американдық жаһандану үлгілерін мысалға ала отырып, бүгінгі күні қызу талқыға түсіп отырған Жаһанданудың қытайлық үлгісіне ғылыми сараптама жасауды жоспарлап отырмыз. Шығыстан келген жаңа Жаһандану жай ғана қауесет емес, Қытай Халық Республикасы тарапынан нақты қадамдармен іске асырылуда. XX ғасыр соңы мен XXI ғасыр басында Қытайлық ғалымдар Халықаралық қатынастар ғылымының қытайлық теориясын іздеуді бастап кетті. Жалпы ғылымның теориясы адамзат баласына ортақ болғанда ғана нақты ортақ құндылықтарға айналатындығын ескерсек, қытай зерттеушілері ұсынып отырған кейбір теориялар немесе ғылыми ұстанымдар ортақ пайдалануға сұранып тұрған тәрізді. Онымен қоса, Қытайлық Жаһандану тек ғылыми тұрғыдан емес, «Бір Белдеу – Бір Жол» сияқты ғаламдық жобалармен қатар үйлестіріліп отыр.

Түйін сөздер: Жаңа жаһандану, Қытай Халық Республикасы, Қытай арманы, Си Цзиньпин, Қытайдың Халықаралық қатынастар теориясы.

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Новая глобализация из Востока

Развитие человечества в XXI веке требует новых изменений в Международных отношениях и вопросах о мировом порядке. День за днем разрушение границ между экономикой и политическими отношениями придает новый импульс Глобализации. В данной статье планируется, основываясь на примерах Европейской, Советской, Американской глобализаций, сделать научную экспертизу китайской модели Глобализации, которая является темой горячих дискуссий в настоящее время. Новая глобализация с Востока является не просто слухом, она фактически реализуется Китайской Народной Республикой. В конце XX века – начале XXI века китайские ученые начали искать китайскую теорию международных отношений. Если учитывать, что общая теория науки может стать общей ценностью только тогда, когда она принята всем человечеством, кажется, что некоторые теории и научные принципы, предложенные китайскими учеными, просятся в общее пользование. Кроме того, Китайская Глобализация сочетается не только с научной точкой зрения, но и с глобальными проектами, такими как «Один пояс – Один путь».

Ключевые слова: Новая глобализация, Китайская Народная Республика, мечта Китая, Си Цзиньпин, Теория международных отношений Китая.

Introduction

The 21st century is a century of globalization. The mutual interest, universal value, and common destiny of Mankind are the descriptions of globalization. However, with regard to the current processes, it is more correct to speak not about the «globalization», but about the present stage of globalization called as globalism. The concept of «globalization» refers to the concept of «globalism» in much the same way as «empire» to «imperialism.» The empires existed several thousand years ago, and imperialism as a special stage of capitalism arose only at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Moreover, globalization accompanies the whole of history, and globalism as another new stage of capitalism has become a reality at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries.

Let's figure out the stages of globalization and where globalization has come from?

The first one came from Western Europe and here a great role was played by the great geographical discoveries. This process was accompanied by conquest wars, interpenetration of cultures and the formation of colonial empires: British, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, etc. (Western model of Globalization)

The second stage of globalization came when socialism spread out like a virus around the globe and had existed less than one century. This stage was accompanied with two World Wars in 20th

century and the completion of the territorial division of the world and the beginning of the struggle for its redistribution. (model of the USSR)

The third one came from the USA. When globalization began from America, it acquired a completely different look and a new era of globalization has begun. If the above mentioned two stages were accompanied with wars, conflicts and misunderstandings, the new era has had mutual understanding, mutual benefits and more importantly it has been accompanied with freedom. Therefore, it is much more attractive. (Model of USA or Americanism)

The modern era is characterized by the fact that the extensive forms of globalization are clearly approaching their logical conclusion. The development of «breadth» is almost over; the epoch of development of «depth» is coming. Globalization is moving into its intensive phase. It manifests itself: Global problems arise and multiply, the solution of which is beyond the power of individual states and their regional associations, conversely, requires the joint efforts of all mankind. These are problems of preserving the environment, providing the growing population of the earth with food, finding new sources of energy, preserving peace and survival of mankind in the nuclear age, etc.

The qualitative change in the development of human civilization is in full swing. For it, almost

everything is ready: Mankind can develop only as a whole now; otherwise, it will simply not cope with its problems.

These demands brought back a new globalization from the East and have been accompanied with Chinese global project «One Belt – One Road», rejuvenation of China, «Chinese dream» and the idea of «Common destiny of Mankind» by Xi Jinping. Chinese scholars are actively looking for International relations theories with Chinese characteristics. For instance, the theory of Tianxia (All under heaven) is a responsible system for the whole world rather than just for nation-states. (Chinese model of Globalization)

All these Chinese projects, intentions, and theories are including universal value, mutual benefits and are concerned about the common destiny of Mankind.

We will endeavor to investigate the whole idea of Chinese model of globalization from the view of analyzing the Chinese International relations theories. It is essential to estimate true power of this idea. Studying the issues of Chinese model of Globalization and Chinese theory of International Relations is important in both academic and political sense. In addition, researching this issue is substantial in economic and cultural sense. It requires new theoretical approaches, methodology and new scholarly perception.

Relevance

If our main target is Globalization from East and Chinese IR theories we have to start from the President and Professor of China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU) and Chancellor of China Diplomatic Academy, Executive Vice-president of China National Association for International Studies (CNAIS) and editor-in-chief of Foreign Affairs Review, the academic journal of CFAU and CNAIS, Qin Yaqing. Qin's main academic interest is International Relations (IR) theory and has recently focused on the exploration of Chinese cultural and philosophical traditions for developing IR theory. He has also done research on global and regional governance and China's foreign policy. As a leading scholar and professor in the field of international relations in China, Qin has published extensively, including *Hegemonic System and International Conflicts*; *Power, Institutions and Culture*; *Relations and Process*, etc. We have collected just some articles that were on the focus of our side (Qin Yaqing, 2007., Qin Yaqing, 2009., Qin Yaqing, 2013).

Besides, since 2011, for the first time in Chinese history, exports have begun mainly to the west, own international knowledge. Works have been published in the USA and Europe Director of the Institute of Contemporary International university relations Tsinghua, Professor Yan Xuetong «Ancient Chinese Thought, Modern Chinese Power» (Xuetong, 2011), professor of the Fudan University Zhang Weiwei «The China Wave: Rise of A Civilizational State».

Western political community attentively keeps track of the controversial processes the formation of the Chinese theoretical School of International Relations and successfully engages scientists from China in its academic discourse. We want to point the works of Michael A. Peters, Professor of Education, Beijing Normal University that mainly targeted to compare American dream with Chinese dream. Here we can find lots of interesting state points and new approaches (Peters, 2017a: Peters, 2017b). In addition, it was very helpful to use the research books and articles of the professors of Columbia University, Cambridge University, Princeton University and Cornell University, etc. (Kang, 2007; Tin-Bor Hui, 2005; Milner, 1997; Krasner, 1983; Aaron, 2018; Müller, 2018; Chan, 1999, Callahan, 2001; Geeraerts, Men, 2001; Acharya, 2011; Dellios, 2011; Borah, 2013; Thuy, 2014; Noesselt, 2015).

Russian researchers, mostly sinologists, are also studying the efforts of Chinese colleagues in understanding the world policy and the formulation of independent theoretical concepts (Berger, 2010; Kuznetsov, 2014; Grachikov, 2014)

Theoretical-methodological bases

The methodological basis of the project is supposed to be a multidisciplinary approach based on the use of elements of different theories and methods.

Firstly, all of the elements of general scientific methods (analysis, comparison and synthesis) will be used during the study. It is important to use the theories of liberalism, realism and imperialism when we make a comparative analyses of Western model of globalization with Chinese model of globalization. The theory of interdependence, «Soft power» by J. Nye (Nye, 2005), «Clash of civilizations» by S. Huntington (Huntington, 1996) and the ideas of H. Kissinger are very valuable and quite important for our study.

It is important, in our view;

– to use the old Chinese theories as Tianxia (all under heaven), Datong (universal great harmony), jiegui (integrate into the international order);

– to use the ideas from old Chinese thinkers Mozi and Laozi on the level of the system, Guanzi and Hanfeizi on the level of the state, and Confucius, Mencius, and Xunzi on the level of the individualism;

– to compare and find integrity and continuity between the concepts of Mao Zedong (Three World Theory), Deng Xiaoping (Opening-up and Economic Reform, Socialism with Chinese Characteristics), Jiang Zemin (Three Represents), Hu Jintao (Harmonious world and harmonious society) and Xi Jinping (Chinese dream, common destiny of mankind rejuvenation) (Zedong, 1977; Xiaoping, 1984; Zemin, 1992; Jintao 2012; Jinping, 2014).

Discussion

The Silk Road project is transferring the world's center of gravity from the Atlantic to the Pacific, said former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. «The United States and China should seek not only a joint concept of security, but a concept of the joint evolution of two great societies (coevolution) that can exist side by side, sometimes pursuing different goals, but uniting in defense of the common needs and opportunities that are imperative for the 21st century». «Our task is to find a way to combine American exclusivity and the» Chinese dream, «which will create a new world order for the benefit of all,» Kissinger emphasized, adding that «China has pursued its historical goal for two hundred years. Moreover, not all the people who have become witnesses to the development of the PRC in one generation doubt that the country has been realizing its dream. «In addition, by the project «One Belt – One Road» Trade flows, which are now moving from west to east, will change direction to the opposite, to «east-west». This situation can be perceived as an economic breakthrough in the East (Peters, 2017).

However we cannot deeply analyze, we cannot give the real evaluation for this situation, we cannot find the true way to investigate these processes without analyzing, decomposing the old Chinese theories and modern Chinese IR theories or thoughts.

The old Chinese theories

When we have started to say about the Globalization from the East, we want to underline the arising Chinese International relations theories and thoughts. In our view, some of them can be universal and can become the common idea, even the common theory. In this part, we will try to give brief analyses for some of them.

Tianxia (all under heaven). The concept of Tianxia is based on the historical practice of the Zhou dynasties, when a small ethnic group overthrew the Shang dynasty. Chinese professor Zhao Tingyang claims that Zhou was able to establish control over the occupied space, to preserve legitimacy, order and peace only because he created the Tianxia system – a universal system that includes all peoples and peace for all peoples. At the core of this system there were three fundamental ideas: the decision of all problems in politics depends on the generally recognized world system, and not on coercive force and hegemony; such a system is politically justified, since institutional arrangements benefit all countries; the system works, as it creates harmony between all nations and civilizations. It was a system of the world, not states (Tingyang, 2005).

Zhao describes the main features of Tianxia system: it was an open network or world-home, consisting of common world government and other Sub states. The first guaranteed maintenance of order in general, rules, laws, and acted as an arbiter in conflicts between sub-states. The latter had high autonomy, were responsible for their internal political, economic, social and cultural affairs. In addition, people used full freedom of movement and life in any sub-state by their choice. Alleged system Tianxia reflected true peace integrity (worldism 世界性) – a situation of unity in variety. According to Zhao, there was an effective holistic policy of the world that was significantly different from Greek Policy Practices – Policies individual states. Zhao insists that this system is in demand today, because that globalization has created such a worldwide space where policies reflecting interests of nation states are doomed to failure (Tingyang, 2005).

The only solution lies in reconstructing a new «all under heaven» system, a creatively renewed model of the Zhou Dynasty. To turn the non-world into a real world, or to turn the world into a Tianxia system – this is the fundamental requirement for any solution to the global problems we face. It provides a good historical example for establishing a true worldism, a worldview that considers the whole world rather than just the local, and which considers global common interests before local ones. It works according to the principle of family ties, thereby creating a world of universal family ties where hostility is converted into hospitality, harmony prevails, and nobody makes enemies (Yaqing, 2013). The highest achievement is «a mind at peace, free from the trap of thinking in terms of war, enemy, winner and loser. It is a different political mentality,

theoretically speaking, from those of Machiavelli, Hobbes, Marx, Freud, Schmitt, Morgenthau, and Huntington, and different in a practical sense from the hegemonic order of Roman, Christian cosmopolitanism and democratic peace under the US leadership».

Phases in modern Chinese IR Theories

The Chinese scholars are actively looking for a new idea from old Chinese philosophy and have been attempting to renew or adapt this thoughts to new requirements of international relations in the XXI century.

Qin Yaqing argues that the development of IR as an academic discipline has taken place in three phases in China namely pre-theory (1978-90), theory-learning (1991-2000) and theory innovation phase (2007 till today):

In the pre-theory phase (1978-90), both Marxism and Leninism were dominant and realism was on the rise, due to innovative thinking but no conscious attempt was made to build theoretical paradigm. This was the period when Mao Zedong developed 'Three World Theory', where the first world consists of the US and the USSR; the second world consists of the US and Western allies on the one side and the USSR and East European allies on the other side; and the third world includes Asian, African and Latin American countries. The most significant development was the debate between two different schools of Marxism (Yaqing 2009).

In this phase, we can see the domination of the western IR theories and still using this in the structure of building foreign policy of the country.

In the theory-learning phase (1991-2000), IR discipline evolved as an academic community where liberalism and realism guided knowledge-oriented research. Sudeep Kumar from East China Normal University underlines «The Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of 1978 was a crucial turning point, where Deng Xiaoping adopted the policy of Opening-up and Economic Reform which led to its active participation in the world economy. After the Fourteenth Party Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 1992, Deng Xiaoping's Socialism with Chinese Characteristics became a guiding ideology and special attention was paid to the establishment of IR as an academic discipline for theoretical and empirical research.» Attempts were made to move away from copying the Western international relations classics and to develop distinct Chinese international relations theories by employing traditional Chinese philosophy and Western theoretical achievements because of the tension between dominant Western

international relations theories and endeavors to develop Chinese IR theories. (Kumar, 2018).

Here we can find a new important word «with Chinese characteristics». It can describe all their intentions and directions of the development of the Chinese IR School. A huge number of scholars had started to find something from everything with Chinese characteristics. Obviously, it had started to give the results in the next phase.

Under the theory-learning phase, the deepening stage (2001-07) developed interest in constructivism, which coincided with the debate on peaceful rise of China under the Chinese philosophy of *yi jing* implying that identity and behavior are changeable. This was the phase when Chinese international relations community sought to study practices in international relations by employing methodologies and analytical frameworks borrowed from the United States to explain Chinese experiences and behavior at the international level. The rise of interest in constructivism among the Chinese IR scholars was an outstanding feature of this period. Hence, Chinese IR scholars realized that IR theories were not only a tool for interpretation of foreign policy but also a means to understand the complexities of international politics (Yaqing, 2009).

In the theory innovation phase (2007- till today), the focus is more on how to build Chinese IR theory than whether to develop Chinese IR theory, where 'how to' question tends to mark the very beginning of theory innovation. At the Seventeenth Party Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 2007, Hu Jintao articulated the scientific outlook on development under which emphasis was on harmonious world and harmonious society, which cannot be achieved without peaceful development. This concept revolves around multilateralism for common security, mutual co-operation for common prosperity, spirit of inclusiveness for harmonious world and finally the reforms in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). (Yaqing, 2013).

The success or failure of the leading economies of the world ultimately depends on the existence of a long-term development strategy, creating new conceptual theories, its adequacy to specific conditions and the effectiveness of the ruling elite in the implementation of the target. Only countries with a clear perspective with strong conceptual thoughts will be able to remain subjects of a constantly and rapidly changing world order, and not to 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).

Chinese IR theories are actively developing and are accompanied with great project as One Belt – One Road. It brings to our mind the idea of a new Globalization from East.

Conclusion

The modern era is characterized by the fact that the extensive forms of globalization are clearly approaching their logical conclusion. The development of «breadth» is almost over; the epoch of development of «depth» is coming. Globalization is moving into its intensive phase. It manifests itself: Global problems arise and multiply. The solution of them is beyond the power of individual states and their regional associations, conversely, require the joint efforts of all humanity.

These are problems of preserving the environment, providing the growing population of the Earth with food, finding new sources of energy, preserving peace and survival of humankind in the nuclear age, etc. The qualitative change in the development of human civilization is in full swing. For it, almost everything is ready: Mankind can develop only as a whole now; otherwise, it will fail to cope with its problems.

Mankind needs a new globalization no matter from where, that means to control the further development of humanity. In this sense, Global Chinese projects as «One Belt – One Road», «Chinese dream» that have been accompanied with new Chinese IR theories can play an important role. On the other hand, a variety of strata of the population as politicians, academic circles, researchers are confronted with lots of imperfections of theories and misunderstandings, to say nothing about unilateral directions of China in this aspect.

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