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XII Халықаралық ғылыми конференциясының
БАЯНДАМАЛАР ЖИНАҒЫ

СБОРНИК МАТЕРИАЛОВ

XII Международной научной конференции
студентов и молодых ученых
«НАУКА И ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ – 2017»

PROCEEDINGS

of the XII International Scientific Conference
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«SCIENCE AND EDUCATION - 2017»



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**ҚАЗАҚСТАН РЕСПУБЛИКАСЫ БІЛІМ ЖӘНЕ ҒЫЛЫМ МИНИСТРЛІГІ
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when China accomplishes the four modernizations. You are not like us, we are already old, it doesn't matter to us any more.”[5]

On June 3, Tiananmen Square gathered 10000 protesters, so that night government sent tens of thousands of armed troops to restore order in the country. The next day troops opened fire and started to ‘clean’ the square. It is still unknown how many people died during these ‘bloody’ days, but Chinese government announced about 242 victims without publishing their names. The former General Secretary Zhao Ziyang was imprisoned and died in 2005[6]. The imposition of martial law which led to the bloodshed was highly criticized worldwide. It even affected the economic situation in China. Since tourism revenue decreased from US\$2.2 billion to US\$1.8 billion; foreign direct investment commitments were cancelled and there was a rise in defense spending from 8.6% in 1986, to 15.5% in 1990, reversing a previous 10 year decline.

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CHINESE SOFT POWER AND ITS PROSPECTS

Nuriddenova Aizada Kairatovna

aizhe.nk@gmail.com

Lecturer at the Department of Oriental Studies,
L.N.Gumilov Eurasian National University, Astana, Kazakhstan

Introduction

As we see the continuous growth of China and its active involvement in global affairs in recent years, we are forced to pose more questions related to its soft power that need to be explored. Chinese concept of soft power began to gain momentum in the early years of the Hu Jintao administration that had stressed the concept of creating a ‘harmonious world’ (*hexie shijie*), which in turn, served as the main conceptual foundation for practicing the Chinese public diplomacy in foreign countries. Since 2007 in particular, Chinese government has been focusing on soft power and its major tool – public diplomacy – as one of the dimensions of its foreign policy conduct. In October of 2007, at the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Hu Jintao called for enhancing the Chinese culture as country’s ‘soft power’ (*ruan shili*). To that end, he stressed the role of public diplomacy as the major method which in practice was planned to include the establishment of non-profit cultural programs, the development of cultural industry and creation of a thriving cultural market [1]. Henceforth, nowhere else have the concepts of ‘soft power’ and ‘public diplomacy’ been as widely discussed, formulated, and revised as among China’s mainstream academics and practitioners. Hence, this paper is concerned with the following questions. Has China already acquired soft power in exercising its influence regionally and globally? If so, is the American soft power being replaced by the Chinese one?

When J.S. Nye came up with the notion of soft power there was a popular claim about America’s decline in international affairs and he disagreed with that statement by looking through America’s military and economic capabilities and found out that there was still something missing,

that is “the ability of Americans to get what they want through attraction, persuasion and agenda-setting.” [2] This implies that the global hegemon that had been able to exercise its power since the World War II managed to expand its influence so widely and in a great depth so that even after its relative military and economic decline the world was still occupied with its ideas and values. And this in turn, represented itself in the new type of power which did not require “twisting arms” or “sticks”. Therefore, it leads to the idea that only the state which manages to establish and project its military and economic power globally, will be able to acquire soft power so that when it declines, the soft power could sustain its influence a little longer until it is completely overtaken by a new rising power.

Soft power: A Conceptual Discussion

Among numerous definitions of “power” this paper uses a popular definition provided by D. Baldwin according to whom “power is the situation in which A gets B to do something he would not otherwise do, regardless of how such situations are labeled.” [3, 162-163] One can easily observe that till the recent 1990s the notion of power had been deeply tied to material capabilities and economic or financial might that one possessed in achieving the desired result. However, as the current discussion on soft power indicates, the definition of power is not restricted to its material components. Thus, according to J. Nye, soft power means getting others to want the outcomes that you want. He defines the concept of soft power as “the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment”. [4, 95] following him, it is not just an influence rather it can serve as one source of influence.

If we look at the dimension of soft power in international politics, it is argued that the resources that create soft power are derived from the traditions of an organization or country expresses in its culture, domestic political values and its foreign relations. According to Nye the soft power of a certain country is build around three main resources such as culture (as a source of attraction to other people), political values (which are seen as desirable domestically and abroad), and its foreign policy (as legitimate and containing moral authority) [4, 96]. Although the US was able to spread its elements of culture only to countries which were affiliated with the Western bloc during the Cold War its cultural influence penetrated to the former communist bloc countries with the end of the Cold War. Its political values such as liberalism, sovereignty, individual freedom, and human rights have been accepted by the rest of the world as desirable and indispensable notions. Therefore, if the US does not really follow the path which is consistent with its political values in its foreign policy, it becomes the main target of criticism and earns the reputation of being hypocritical.

The Chinese intellectuals and scholars started to pay heed to the concept of soft power in late 1990s. it can be explained as a result of stable and peaceful foreign policy behavior of China caused by “keeping the low profile” as was advised by Deng Xiaoping, by the status of “responsible great power” after the Asian financial crisis in 1997-1998 and of course by rapid double-digit growth of Chinese economy. Thus, the idea of soft power grew more attractive and suitable to China as viewed by many Chinese intellectuals. Thus it is argued that they sought to come up with a new national strategy that could correspond to the China’s rise from regional to global power. [6, 457] Just as American soft power is based on the notions of democracy and human rights, Cho and Jeong allude that China’s soft power can be dependent of the following resources such as the Chinese developmental model, foreign policy, Chinese civilization.[5, 465] First resource can be derived from the Chinese developmental model in particular, the concept of Beijing Consensus which is distinctive from the Washington Consensus. The second one can be dependent on the theories of peaceful rise that can be accompanies with such principles as multipolarity, non-interference, opposing to hegemony and win-win cooperation. The third resource can rely on the Chinese civilization and its Confucian values that were dominant in East Asia historically during the period of Chinese Tributary system.

Thus, one can observe that the concept of soft power that originated in the West can be developed and extended in order to accommodate to a global stance of China and its changing role in world affairs.

The Current Stance and Prospects of Chinese Soft Power

As China emerges as the world's second economy and it tries to modernize its military capabilities the topic of Chinese soft power has become a major topic both in academia and in policy making. This kind of reasoning of Chinese soft power seemed to be consistent with its involvement in regional and world affairs especially since China earned a reputation of a "responsible great power" after the Asian financial crisis. The policies with the slogans such as "harmonious society, harmonious world" aimed to assure the world that China can be seen as a "rising peace" based on the doctrine of China's cultural superiority. There are various articles and observations that state that China is actually acquiring soft power by inspiring Africans through generous scholarships and investment projects in the continent. As T.Moss argues in his piece in *The Diplomat*, "Africa is not the only place from which China looks appealing. Its soft power also draws people in Latin America, Eastern Europe and parts of Asia, where the popular impression of China might contrast favorably with the general perception of the West, or where Beijing might be seen as a welcome partner in tough financial times." [6]

However, the claim about establishing Chinese soft power seems to be premature mainly due to two reasons. Firstly, as it was mentioned above, a state can acquire soft power after having established its military and economic power worldwide. China has not fully established its military and economic power worldwide since according to R. Ross China is still a weak state in terms of military and economic capabilities and dependent on advanced economies in order to grow. Therefore it needed to hold a conservative foreign policy in order to develop economically and sustain its regional power.[7, 148] Secondly, the argument made by M. Mancall in his analysis about China and Soviet Union's difficulties in communicating during the Cold War due to their historical and cultural differences seem to be plausible even today. [8, 26] China is so different from many countries in the world linguistically, culturally, and by religious beliefs. Therefore, it poses a great difficulty to China in its attempts to spread its cultural or political values to the countries which are already occupied with Western ideas and values.

Moreover, as opposed to the above discussion provided by Cho and Jeong, China seems to lack three major resources of soft power analyzed by J. Nye. If China only relies on the Confucius Institutes in terms of spreading its culture as a main source of attraction in different countries, it does not seem to bring substantial results since only the students and individuals who are interested in learning Chinese language and history can have an access to their courses rather than wider audience. Chinese movies, songs, pop-culture have less attraction among general audiences across the countries.

There are some Chinese political values that seek to be accepted at home and abroad. According to W.Yizhou from Peking University, in recent years China is trying to spread the new political values both domestically and internationally. Namely, to lessen the place of the state and put emphasis on people's needs, establish a justice in society and reform political structure can be referred to domestic political values; non-interference, good neighborhood policy, and contribution to global governance can be seen as the internationally oriented political values. These policies may widely be accepted by the domestic audience in China however, to disseminate them internationally may require a lot of work since they, especially, good neighborhood policy may not seem to be consistent with the Chinese foreign policy behavior in recent years therefore may have negative consequences on being accepted by international audience. Thus, some aspects of Chinese foreign policy behavior such as the one in South China Sea recently can be considered as harmful to its nascent political values.

As a result, the lack of political values or their nascent state do not even allow domestic and international audiences to adjudicate the Chinese foreign policy behavior as being legitimate or having a moral authority. Moreover, recent Chinese assertiveness in its foreign policy, especially China's stance and behavior in the South China Sea has not been working to facilitate a positive image of China in the region and in the world as general.

On the one hand China cannot exercise its soft power worldwide unless it acquires strong military and economic power that is able to overtake the American influence. On the other hand,

although China does not attract the states that are affiliated with the western ideas and values, China may have some “market” to “sell” its culture and political values in the countries with which it shared a Sino-centric world order. Therefore, China can rely on East Asian regional influence in its bid for global hegemony.

Conclusion

It can be argued with certainty that China has not acquired the soft power yet since its three major resources of soft power seem to be very different from the current established resources and weak to be spread and accepted globally. Therefore, even though if the US is in relative decline in terms of hard power but it's already established soft power will allow America to sustain its influence longer in the near future. Moreover, China attempts to deploy material resources in order to acquire soft power through establishing Confucius Institutes worldwide, providing government scholarships to the students from developing countries and promoting cultural exchanges. This contradicts to the essence of soft power as it is heavily reliant on voluntary appeal and attraction, the material resources and investments will not necessarily result in soft power. Nevertheless, there is a room for hope in China's bid for global or regional hegemony; China can take regional steps in developing and applying its soft power since the past experience of Sino-centric world order may serve as a model.

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СОЦИАЛЬНО-ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ В СОВРЕМЕННОМ ЙЕМЕНЕ

Аипов Нурмухаммед Расулбекулы

Nurmuhammad.kaz@gmail.com

Магистрант 2 курса факультета международных отношений,

ЕНУ им. Л.Н.Гумилева, Астана, Казахстан

Научный руководитель – С.А. Тулеубаева

В настоящее время Йемен сталкивается с целым рядом социально-экономических проблем, мешающих его будущему развитию. К тому же, на фоне этих проблем еще более обострились политические волнения в стране.

В 1990 г., после нескольких лет военных действий и стихийных конфликтов, Север и Юг Йемена формально объединились, чтобы образовать Йеменскую Республику. После унификации страна боролась за преодоление последствий гражданской войны,