

Foreign policy of the PRC under the rule of Hu Jintao (2003-2012): features and major events

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Внешняя политика КНР при правлении Ху Цзиньтао (2003-2012): особенности и важнейшие события

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Аннотация: В статье изучается внешняя политика Китайской Народной Республики в годы правления председателя Ху Цзиньтао. В ней рассмотрены основные внешнеполитические концепции, предложенные китайским руководством. Сделан вывод о том, что время правления председателя Ху было своеобразным периодом выработки концептуальных основ более активной внешней политики, чем до этого осуществлял Китай. При этом на практическом уровне внешняя политика КНР оставалась верна выработанным еще в прошлом веке принципам стратегической пассивности и минимальной конфронтационности, то есть продолжала следовать принципу «таогуан янхуэй». В качестве доказательства сохранения статуса-кво приведен пример неудачной попытки формирования антикитайского блока QUAD в 2007 году, который не состоялся в связи с тем, что Австралия, не видя угрозы в Китае, предпочла выйти из объединения и начать шаги по углублению сотрудничества с КНР. Кроме того, победа на президентских и парламентских выборах прокитайской политической силы на Тайване в 2008 году, стала возможным именно благодаря сохранению правительством Ху Цзиньтао прежнего внешнеполитического курса, что так же является важным доказательством сохранения статуса-кво в связи с тем, что внутривнутриполитическое поле острова крайне чувствительно к политике, проводимой Пекином.

Ключевые слова: политика, Китай, иностранные, концепции, политические, государства, председатель, правление.

ՉԺՀ-ի արտաքին քաղաքականությունը Հու Ջինտաոյի իշխանության ներքո (2003-2012). առանձնահատկությունները և հիմնական իրադարձությունները

Բարդակչյան Հովհաննես Խ.

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Ամփոփագիր. Հոդվածում ուսումնասիրվում է Չինաստանի Ժողովրդական Հանրապետության արտաքին քաղաքականությունը նախագահ Հու Ջինտաոյի օրոք: Այն ուսումնասիրում է Չինաստանի ղեկավարության կողմից առաջարկված հիմնական արտաքին քաղաքական հայեցակարգերը: Եզրակացություն է արվում, որ նախագահ Հուի կառավարման ժամանակաշրջանը ավելի ակտիվ արտաքին քաղաքականության հայեցակարգային հիմքերի մշակման ժամանակաշրջան էր, քան նախկինում վարում էր Չինաստանը: Միևնույն ժամանակ, գործնական մակարդակում ՉԺՀ-ի արտաքին քաղաքականությունը հավատարիմ մնաց դեռևս անցյալ դարում մշակված ռազմավարական պատկերի և նվազագույն առնակատման սկզբունքներին, այսինքն՝ շարունակեց հետևել «թաոգուան յանհուեյ» սկզբունքին: Որպես ստատուս քվոյի պահպանման ապացույց բերված է 2007 թվականին հակաչինական QVAD բլոկի ստեղծման անհաջող փորձի օրինակը, որը չկայացավ այն պատճառով, որ Ավստրալիան, վտանգ չտեսնելով Չինաստանի արտաքին քաղաքականության մեջ, նախընտրեց լքել այն և սկսել ՉԺՀ-ի հետ համագործակցության խորացման քայլերը: Բացի այդ, 2008 թվականին Թայվանում չինամետ քաղաքական ուժի հաղթանակը նախագահական և խորհրդարանական ընտրություններում հնարավոր դարձավ հենց Հու Ջինտաոյի կառավարության կողմից վարած արտաքին քաղաքականության պահպանման շնորհիվ, ինչը ևս ստատուս-քվոյի պահպանման կարևոր ապացույց է պայմանավորված այն հանգամանքով, որ կղզու ներքաղաքական դաշտը չափազանց զգայուն է Պեկինի վարած քաղաքականության նկատմամբ:

Հանգուցաբառեր՝ քաղաքականություն, Չինաստան, արտաքին, հասկացություններ, քաղաքական, պետություններ, նախագահ, կառավարում

Hu Jintao came to power in China in 2003 after the resignation of the previous President of the People's Republic of China, General Secretary of the

CCP and Chairman of the Central Military Commission of the PRC Jiang Zemin.

When Hu Jintao came to power, the People's Republic of China entered a period of rapid economic development. Between 2003 and 2012, China's GDP growth increased from \$1.66 trillion to \$8.53 trillion [11]. In addition, the years of Hu Jintao's rule were marked by relative stability in foreign policy and the attempts of major geopolitical players to deepen international cooperation in various areas.

In general, the foreign policy of the PRC for this period was aimed at deepening and developing the results that had been achieved under the reign of Jiang Zemin, since several international formats, such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), where the PRC operated, were founded precisely during the reign of President Jiang. Moreover, the normalization of relations with many regional states such as Japan, South Korea and Vietnam also happened under the rule of the previous Chinese government, so President Hu and his comrades faced the task of consolidating these results.

An important feature of this period was that during the reign of President Hu, several phenomena appeared which over time deepened and turned into the factors influencing the foreign policy of the state and the global political climate as a whole.

In addition to impressive economic results, as part of ideological work, several concepts, theses and political programs were proposed that were supposed to provide a theoretical justification for the foreign policy pursued by the PRC. These concepts created the groundwork for those processes that will take place during the years of the reign of the next President of the PRC, Xi Jinping.

Thus, at the Boas Asian Forum in 2003, the foreign policy thesis of "peaceful rise" was announced. At its core, this thesis indicated that the development of China will be based on its resources, so will not pose a threat to the other states. Next year, the word "rise" was replaced by "development" to show the unsubstantiated rhetoric about the "Chinese threat" that had intensified at that time in the expert community [3, p. 86].

Another curious concept admitted during this period was the concept of a "harmonious world". This concept was first proclaimed by Hu Jintao in 2005 [2]. It includes the following aspects [4]:

In political terms - mutual respect, equal consultations and democratization of international relations;

In economic terms – cooperation, the complementarity of economies, mutual benefits and balanced development;

In cultural terms - mutual exchange, respect for the cultural diversity of human civilization;

In the field of security - mutual trust, peaceful resolution of conflicts and joint efforts to maintain peace and stability;

In the field of ecology - mutual assistance and environmental protection through the joint efforts of all countries.

It should be noted that the concept of a "harmonious world" is a continuation and development of the "new concept of security" officially proposed by the Chinese leadership in 1997-2002 as a fundamentally new approach to the problems of global security. As Jiang Zemin stated in his speech at the 16th Party Congress in November 2002, the PRC's "new security concept" is based on mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination between countries [5].

These concepts were intended not only to justify a more active foreign policy of the PRC but also to show other international policy players that the PRC remains committed to maintaining the status quo that was created in the world. However, in the Chinese expert community appeared an opinion that the role and influence of the United States eventually will decrease, while China's role in foreign policy, on the contrary, would increase.

Thus, the well-known Chinese international researcher, the creator of the concept of "moral realism" Yan Xuetong made the following forecast in one of his articles published in 2011: until 2015, the "rules of the game" will still be formed mainly under the influence of the United States, while from 2025 to 2050 the influence of the PRC will become predominant [10, p. 259]. Moreover, in Chinese expert community was seriously discussing the possibility of the formation of a new bipolar world, in which the United States and China will play the leading role [1, pp. 15-19].

At the same time, the country's leadership itself, represented by Chairman Hu, was not yet going to announce that it had chosen the path of a more active, even confrontational foreign policy. On the contrary, in their official statements, the country's leadership repeatedly emphasized that they continue to act in the spirit of the "taoguang yanghui" (hide one's capabilities and keep a low profile), a setting given by Deng Xiaoping in the 1980s.

However, even such a cautious behavior of the Chinese leadership did not go unanswered by the leading states of the Asia-Pacific region. The emergence in 2007 of the organization QSD (Quadrilateral Security Dialogue), better known as the Quad group of nations (Quad/QUAD), was a reaction to the intensified efforts of the PRC in foreign policy.

The organization, originally as a platform for dialogue, was created at the initiative of Japanese

Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, with the support of US Vice President Dick Cheney, Australian Prime Minister John Howard and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh [8]. However, at that time, the QUAD countries still had no good reason to oppose Beijing, and therefore the new Australian government left the organization in 2008, choosing to deepen cooperation with China, instead of confrontation, ending the existence of QUAD [6]

The 2008 presidential and parliamentary elections in Taiwan, won by the Kuomintang party and its leader Ma Yingchiu, is an illustration of the calm attitude toward changes in the PRC's foreign policy. The fact is that in Taiwan, due to its ambiguous status as a partially recognized state, there is an extreme polarization in the political field. Two main political forces on the island represent opposed political programs.

One of them is the "Blue" coalition, which stands for the idea of united China and the preservation of the current status of Taiwan. The coalition is led by the Kuomintang party and in many aspects orients toward the central authorities in Beijing.

The second coalition was called the "Green" and stands for the complete independence of the island from mainland China. The coalition is led by the Democratic Progressive Party. This political force is orienting toward the USA and its allies. The researchers noted the interdependence between domestic and foreign policies of Beijing and the attitude that prevails among voters towards the two leading political forces of the island.

Thus, there is an opinion in the expert community that the protests in Hong Kong and their representation in the Taiwanese media caused the defeat of the Kuomintang in the 2020 elections [7]. And the victory of the Kuomintang in the 2008 elections was preceded not only by a large-scale corruption crisis associated with DPP President Chen Shui-bian but also by rapid economic cooperation between the island and the mainland.

For example, China's nominal imports from Taiwan raised from \$30 billion to \$100 billion between 2000 and 2008, despite existing trade barriers between the two countries. And by 2009, already during the reign of Ma Yingchiu, 8% of all imports to China were products of Taiwanese origin [8].

Summing up, it can be stated that the foreign policy of China during the years of Hu Jintao's rule made a big step towards activation at the conceptual and not at the practical level. For the first time since the reign of Mao Zedong in China, at a level that is noticeable to an external observer, the discussion about the intensification of foreign policy began, while at the practical level, we still see the

preservation of the principle of "taoguang yanghui" established by Deng Xiaoping.

An important marker indicating China's adherence to the established status quo for that period was the political situation in Taiwan, with its extremely sensitive to external changes electorate. In addition, the current situation perfectly illustrates the attitude of external players to the processes taking place inside and outside of China. At that time, China was not yet perceived as a threat, and therefore the creation of the QUAD association was postponed until 2017.

The result of discussions and expert opinions, as well as behind-the-scenes agreements, was Hu Jintao's speech at the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of China. Thus, summing up the results of his reign, President Hu outlined the following directions and goals of the PRC in foreign policy [12].

1) Policy towards world powers such as the USA, Russia, the leading EU countries and Japan, countries whose activities in a certain situation could harm the interests and national security of China.

2) Policy towards some regional organizations, such as ASEAN, SCO and BRICS, as well as small states, such as the countries of Southeast, South and Central Asia. Here, Chinese diplomacy faced the task of preventing their involvement in anti-Chinese coalitions and facilitating their participation in such forms of regional integration in which the PRC could play a significant role.

3) Policy toward the developing countries of Africa, Latin America and the Arab world, to provide diplomatic support for the initiatives of the PRC, as well as to ensure the supply of energy resources and raw materials produced by them.

So we can conclude that at the 18th Congress, domestic political players in China generally came to a compromise on the intensification of the country's foreign policy in several areas, including the issues of integration formats, both existing and future. The 18th Congress became a prologue to further actions of the new Chinese administration, which launched many huge political and economic projects, such as "One-belt, one-road".

Thus, the reign of Hu Jintao laid the conceptual foundations for the further intensification of China's foreign policy already during the reign of Xi Jinping and outlined the directions in which Chinese diplomacy will move in subsequent years.

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