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Smart power» in the modern foreign policy of China

Muratova Zhansaya Kairtaikyzy

J-Jans@mail.ru

Student of the L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, Astana

Supervisor – Khazhmuratova A.M.

One of the main notions in international relations since the earliest political writings of Thucydides and Machiavelli has been power and it remains perhaps among the most important and least understood concepts in political theory. According to Robert A. Dahl, power is the ability for one actor to influence the actions of another actor that would not have occurred otherwise. In other words, power is the ability to effect the outcomes you want, and if necessary, to change the behavior of others to make this happen. The ability to gain the results one wants is usually associated with the scope of different resources such as territory, population, natural resources, military force, strength of economy, political stability. During the years various types of power have been examined, however the realist point of view on this concept prevailed. The school of realism considers power in terms of military and economic force (or “hard power”), therefore, the only test of “great power” could be “strength for war”. While realists have traditionally looked at the nation’s ability to influence as well as at the function of the tangible and coercive sources of power (threat and force), Joseph S. Nye Jr. has elaborated the concept of the influence that derives from intangible sources, like culture, basic principles and values, public diplomacy defined by him as “soft power”. Then new concept as “smart power” took place. This concept, trying to connect literally both hard and soft sides of power, still puts most emphasis on the latter and thus is consistent with Nye’s previous discussions on soft power—getting desired outcomes by non-coercive means.

Smart power was originally defined in an exclusively American context by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) as being “neither hard nor soft — smart power is the skillful combination of both. Smart power means developing an integrated strategy, resource base, and tool kit to achieve American objectives, drawing on both hard and soft power. It is an approach that underscores the necessity of strong military, but also invests heavily in alliances, partnerships, and institutions at all levels to expand American influence and establish the legitimacy of American action.” China has adopted this American smart power strategy, enhancing China’s influence with its neighbors, as well as challenging U.S. hegemony in the region.

The Chinese historically have had a steady grasp on the usage of soft power. In an interview with the HPR, Professor Joseph Nye, the foremost scholar on smart power, stated that China’s “basic aim is to combine hard and soft power. In 2007, former Chinese President Hu Jintao told the 17th Party Congress that China needs to increase its soft power. If your hard power is increasing, you’re likely to frighten your neighbors, but if you increase your soft power at the same time, you’re less likely to make coalitions against you. In that sense, the aim is a smart power policy.”

The first evidence to show China’s exercise of soft power is the international promotion of Chinese culture, including language, traditional and contemporary art, medicine etc. in recent years, so as to gain favorable feelings from abroad. In a speech at an important foreign affairs meeting in 2006, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao said, “we should expand cultural exchanges with other countries. Cultural exchanges are a bridge connecting the hearts and minds of people of all countries and an important way to project a country’s image...We should use various forms and means, including tour performance and exhibition, Chinese language teaching, academic exchange and sponsoring culture year activities, to promote Chinese culture and increase its appeal overseas”. The Confucius Institute mainly teaches Chinese language, trains mandarin teachers and provides

cultural experience. When Confucius is exported out of China, more and more international students come in to study in Chinese universities. The number of foreign students increased dramatically in recent years, with some enjoying financial support from their Chinese hosts. Another remarkable effort under the auspice of Chinese Ministry of Culture is the China Culture Year event, which has brought since 2003 a splendid combination of Chinese popular and classic performances and exhibitions to many countries including France, Russia, the US, UK, Canada and Japan, etc..

China also tries to transform some of its economic capacity into attraction by overseas direct investment (ODI) and foreign aid in the developing world. China has a long history providing humanitarian and developmental assistance to under-developed countries, especially in Africa. Railways, hospitals, bridges and stadiums have been constructed in Africa by Chinese worker with Chinese money. The rise of Chinese economy during the past 20 years makes it possible now for China to engage the developing countries with more trade, investment and aid, which are sometimes regarded by the recipient as being more in line with priorities of their countries, and in favorable terms most Chinese investment and aid come with China's pledge on respect of sovereignty and non-interference discipline.

Facing the suspicions about how China would use its rising hard power, the Chinese leadership repeatedly promises the peaceful development of China, advocating for a harmonious world. The modest, flexible attitude, combining with what is described as geopolitical acumen and professional diplomacy, contributes to the Chinese soft power competence.

Like a growing organism, China's rise depends on channeling all vigor toward healthy development, avoiding the diversion of precious energy. In order to establish a successful smart power strategy, China has three vital tools to kill off harmful parasites inhibiting its rise: Xi Jinping's executive stance and party cohesion, the traditional Chinese long-term thinking, and international credibility, especially compared to the United States.

The ultimate goal of Chinese foreign policy is to serve the "great rejuvenation of the nation", a word that repeatedly used in official statements but hardly be clarified. Domestically, national rejuvenation may imply to become a developed society which enjoys high degree of both material and spiritual life, and reunification. Internationally, it should expect great respect and admiration from and attraction to other nations as China once enjoyed as a world leader in its historical heydays, as a great contributor to the welfare of global public good. Such a national rejuvenation can not be accomplished with hard power alone. Knowing that day is still far away, however, present Chinese foreign policies are believed to aim at gaining as much as possible a favorable international environment needed for continuous domestic economic and social development. To be concrete:

- avoid being involved into conflicts with major powers and neighbors;
- secure resources and market that support the booming economy;
- take responsibility by coordinating with other countries in solving cross-border problems and regional hot spots;
- prevent separatism in Taiwan, Tibet and Xinjiang;
- improve image, cultivate understanding and defuse suspicion/hostility;

These goals demand considerable diplomacy, communication, education and cultural exchange, with economic and military backup. They appeal for smart power practice.

China's efforts to further support domestic economic growth and nurture international attractiveness would not be something easy. While some Americans are vigilant on the rising Chinese power and its implications for the United States, many Chinese are expressing concerns over the sustainability of China's hard power development and its soft power disadvantages vis-à-vis the west.

Although China has made great achievements in terms of measurable economic might, it suffers a lot from the visible downsides of the "economy first" strategy environmental degradation, income gap, disparity among regions, shortage of energy and natural resources, corruption and value crisis, etc. The Chinese leadership has fully realized these and is promoting the Scientific

Development outlook, trying to change path from investment-dragging and resource-consuming track. China's future economic performance depends very much upon whether or not this change will be successful, and decides its soft power potentials.

Also, "it has been observed that great empires in world history usually possessed not merely powerful militaries and economies but also great 'ideas' that became their greatest exports", but this is where China is presently limited. China enjoys rich traditional culture resources, but it has to firstly recover its cultural heritage destroyed mostly during the last century before turning them into meaningful contemporary concepts. China's mainstream political values and system are sharply distinct from those in most countries and thus hard to be exported, and the Chinese government openly claims not to base its foreign policies on ideology and political values. China's attractiveness and leadership role in the world may be hampered by the perception that China is not democratic. Even in terms of pop culture, China still has a deficit against many western countries and its close neighbors Hollywood and Korean movies prevailed on Chinese screens. Fully aware of this, Chinese leaders urge to "continue the reform in the political system by expanding democracy and improving the legal system so as to enable other members of the international community to better appreciate and accept the path of development taken by the Chinese people", and to "implement a 'going global' cultural strategy, develop culture industry, improve the international competitiveness of Chinese cultural enterprises and products, increase the export of books, films, TV programs and other cultural products, so that these Chinese cultural products and particularly the best of them, will reach the rest of the world".

Meanwhile, China's diplomatic success is being endangered by its neglect of good governance, environment protection, labor/human rights, product quality or food safety. For instance, China's unconditional aid under the non-interference rule to some authoritarian governments has been charged of supporting dictators or suppressing regimes, undermining the legitimacy of its foreign policies; Chinese commercial investment in developing countries is blamed for lack of broad consultation on environment and labor, causing push-backs from local civil societies; China's falling favorite rating in recent years in its neighbors is partly associated with ill-reputed products. It would be difficult to gain the hearts and minds of other people if China is perceived as an irresponsible money grabber.

There is some consensus in China that both hard and soft power are crucial for China to realize the great national rejuvenation, and the Chinese government is making tremendous efforts combining the two domestically and internationally. Cultural, economic and diplomatic measures have been employed, mainly by the Chinese government, to win a favorable international environment with visible success in some areas.

Still, people in China are divergent on the core sources of its soft power and the purposes to practice it, and it is hard to say that the Chinese government already has a proactive, coherent smart power international strategy. China's pursuit for larger soft power influence outside is also constrained by domestic limits and some of its international behaviors.

Much of China's smart power practice is reactive and defensive. It aims to defuse the China Threat argument or to improve what is perceived as the blackened China image because of misunderstanding or misperception. The Chinese government and mainstream intellectuals are very much prudent in promoting its development model the Beijing Consensus by Joshua C. Ramo to the outside world. China's exercise of its power, hard or soft, is also carefully designed not to directly confront American presence.

A more mature smart power strategy appeals for better coordination among different governmental branches.

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Украина дағдарысы: себептері мен сабақтары туралы

Нурманова Айткуль Аскаровна

nurmanova-aitkul@mail.ru

Л.Н.Гумилев атындағы ЕҰУ Халықаралық қатынастар факультетінің Аймақтану кафедрасының І курс студенті, Астана, Қазақстан
Ғылыми жетекшісі – Қ.Ғ. Даркенов

Бейбітшілікке тағы бір қауіп төнді. Бұл қауіп халықтың емес, саясаткерлердің өктемдігі мен мемлекет басындағылардың парасатсыздығынан орын алуда. Билік үшін және геосаясат үшін жанталас тағы бір соғысқа алып баратындай. У. Уэстморланд айтқандай **«Соғысты әскерилер бастамайды, соғысты саясаткерлер бастайды»** дегені де расқа келетіндей. Әңгіме Украинадағы дағдарыс туралы болмақ.

Әлемде болып жатқан оқиғаларды ескере отырып, Украинадағы жағдайды байқамауға болмайды. Бәрімізге мәлім, 2013 жылдың соңы мен 2014 жылдың басында Украинадағы саяси-әлеуметтік жағдай шиеленісіп кетті. Дағдарыс тереңдей түсіп, елде биліктің ауысуы орын алды. Ел халқы бірнеше топқа бөлініп билік үшін, мемлекеттің жаңа саяси даму бағыты үшін өзара күреске түсті. Әлеуметтік және саяси себептері бар наразылықтар мен шерулер ел астанасы Киев қаласының Майдан Незалежности (тәуелсіздік алаңында) басталды. Бірнеше ай бойы алаңда жиналған ондаған мың халық билікке саяси талаптар қоюмен болды. Билік пен халық арасындағы теке-тірес 2-3 айдай уақыт қантөгіссіз болғанымен оқиғаның шырқау шегінде 2 жақ бір-біріне қару қолдануға барды. Деректерге сүйенсек, 2014 жылдың 18 ақпанында президенттік «Бүркіт» арнаулы жасағы Майдан алаңын тазартуға бағытталған операция басталатындығын жария етті. Нәтижесінде 25 адам қаза болып, мыңнан астам адам жарақат алды. Жарты жылға созылған билік пен халық арасындағы теке-тірес қантөгіспен ғана шектелген жоқ. Онсыз да дағдарысқа жақын тұрған ел экономикасын тұрағатты, елдің финансы жағдайы тіптен нашарлап кетті. Украина мемлекеттік біртұтастығынан айырылып, ыдырап кету қаупі келді. Билік дағдарысы саяси-әлеуметтік, экономикалық-қаржылық дағдарыстарға ұласты. Халық жік-жікке бөлінді. Елдің шығысы мен оңтүстік-шығыс аймақтары Ресеймен одақты қаласа, батыс аймақтары Евроодақпен одақтасуды қалады. Саяси даму болашағы туралы көзқарас теке-тірес себебіне айналды.

2013 жылдың қараша айында басталған толқуларға себеп Украина басшылығының Евроодақпен еркін сауда аймағына кіру туралы келіссөзден бас тартып Ресеймен одаққа кіру келіссөздерді бастауы болды. Әлеуметнамалық зерттеулер осы мәселеге қатысты Украина халқының көзқарастарының 2 жаққа бөлінгенін көрсетті. Ел халқының 47 пайызы ерушілерді жақтап Батыспен одақтасуды қаласа, 46 пайызы билікті қолдап Ресеймен одақтас болуды дұрыс санады. Елдің болашағы жайында қоғамның екіге бөлінуі аса қауіпті симптом болды. «Мұндай жағдайға бұл мемлекет қалай жетті?», - деген сұрақ мені мазалаусызда...

Украина халқының ел болашағын таңдауға екіге бөлінуінің терең дүниетанымдық және тілдік себептері бар деп ойлаймын. Украиндықтардың шығыс пен оңтүстік-шығыс аймақтарындағы халқы орыс тілінде сөйлейді, орыс мәдениетін қабылдаған, орыстық дүниетанымдағылар. Бұлай болуы Кеңес Одағының бүкіл кеңес халықтарды орыстандыру саясатының салдары. Батыс өңірлердегі украиндықтар өздерінің ана тілін, ұлттық дәстүрі мен дінін сақтағандар. Бұл өңірлерге Киевтің маңындағы облыстар мен елдің батысындағы