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ТҰҢҒЫШ ПРЕЗИДЕНТІ - ЕЛБАСЫНЫҢ ҚОРЫ

«ҒЫЛЫМ ЖӘНЕ БІЛІМ – 2017»

студенттер мен жас ғалымдардың
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
for students and young scholars
«SCIENCE AND EDUCATION - 2017»



14th April 2017, Astana



**ҚАЗАҚСТАН РЕСПУБЛИКАСЫ БІЛІМ ЖӘНЕ ҒЫЛЫМ МИНИСТРЛІГІ
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TIANANMEN MASSACRE AND THE ROLE OF ZHAO ZIYANG

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The focus of this work is to give an accurate depiction of student demonstrations and subsequent repression in June of 1989 which outraged the whole world society and the role of Zhao Ziyang, a General Secretary of Communist Party of China, during these events.

Tiananmen Square (天安门 – in chinese), which itself means “gate of heavenly peace”, is considered to be the cultural heart of Beijing, the place where all prominent events were held. It was on Tiananmen Square when Mao Zedong in 1949 declared the creation of People’s Republic of China and the events of 1989, which are broadly known as Tiananmen Massacre, were also held on Tiananmen Square.

At the start of 1989 when the whole world was observing the cracks in Soviet monolith which resulted with the fall of the Berlin Wall and eventual disbandment of Soviet Union, the overall situation in China was quite stable. However the student demonstration did not happen out of nothing, the main trigger of it was related to commemoration of Hu Yaobang which escalated into pro-democracy demonstrations.

By the 1980s, leaders of Communist China understood that it was insane to follow Maoism, since they knew the drastic results of “Great Leap Forward” the policy of rapid industrialization in an attempt to surpass Great Britain and the USA in production of steel that actually led to Great Chinese Famine, the years of “Cultural Revolution” that almost destroyed the cultural institutions. Keeping these in mind, Chinese authorities realized that they have to do something to preserve the power. By that time in 1978 Deng Xiaoping became a paramount leader, three years earlier he and Zhou Enlai (prime-minister) pronounced “Four Modernizations”, which were agriculture, industry, military defense, science and education. In response to these modernizations, Wei Jingsheng posted “5th Modernization” on Xidan Wall, asking for democracy. Deng Xiaoping was afraid and after pronounced “Four Cardinal Principles”.

“Four Cardinal Principles” were:

1. China is a communist country and ruled by communist party;
2. China has a dictatorship of proletariat;
3. Leadership of the Communist Party of China;
4. The guidance of Maoism, Marxism and Leninism.

We think Deng Xiaoping had to do these things, since China was just recovering from the consequences of ‘heritage’ of Mao Zedong era. He pronounced the freedom of economy and no democratic solution, because the main aim was to remove the poverty and in 1978 Deng Xiaoping pronounced Chinese Economic Reform “改革开放- gaige kaifang”.

Hu Yaobang became General Secretary of Communist Party in 1980 and along with Zhao Ziyang they were the representatives of first generation of reformers.

However, there were always people craving for political reforms and democracy, and the scenario of 1978 repeated again. In 1987 Fang Lizhi initiated a process supported by students, they were undermining “Four Cardinal Principles”. This dissident movement was supported by Hu Yaobang, as he was also trying to liberalize political system. Because of this, Hu was ousted from his position and accused for being ‘weak’ leader. Hu Yaobang was replaced by Zhao Ziyang, but was remained as a member of the ruling Politburo of Communist Party.

Returning to the issue of the events of 1989, it is absolutely clear that students went to demonstration because they were outraged by dismissal of Hu Yaobang in 1987. Students in Beijing

and other cities took the opportunity to voice their frustration with corruption, inflation, press restrictions, university conditions, and the persistence of Party “elders” ruling informally behind the scenes.[1] This is how it actually started.

When all this started, Zhao Ziyang proposed course of actions, the first thing to do was to persuade students to discontinue their street demonstrations, then, to provide a dialogue on a multiple levels to make possible for students to express their opinions, and the last thing was to take measures to avoid bloodshed. As a result, his suggestions were accepted by every member of the Politburo Standing Committee. After the proposal, Zhao had a visit to North Korea.

The moment when Zhao left, the members of Committee changed their opinions towards his reforms and opposed them, trying to get Deng Xiaoping to their side. It comes to our mind, that this maneuver was made with purpose to dismantle Zhao Ziyang and student demonstration was a good chance. As it is known, in every group, community there is a person who differs from the rest with the bold ideas and openness. We think that Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang were that kind of people, that posed a threat to the authorities of Central Committee.

The scale of the demonstrations, the mess it turned into, and why it happened when it did were all the results of the April 26 editorial. The situation before the publication of the editorial and the situation afterward were different. If the right measures had been taken to direct the situation, then there would not have been such dire results.[2]

The very evening of the day Zhao left Beijing, Li Ximing and Chen Xitong called a meeting to read their report. They presented the situation in another form, actually demonstrations started to calm down. However, they disregarded this fact and even went so far to state: “Nationwide, large-scale demonstrations including the participation of high school students and workers are being organized and are fomenting.” They denounced the extreme opinions of a few students, especially remarks directed specifically at Deng Xiaoping. They presented the demonstrations opposing the Communist Party and targeting Deng Xiaoping personally.[3] This was actually a fabrication of the deal.

Influenced by the report of Li Ximing and Chen Xitong, Deng had to denunciate the demonstrations and called them “premeditated and organized turmoil with anti-Party and anti-socialist motives.” in the April 26th People’s Daily. No doubt that this editorial even more escalated the conflict, number of demonstrators swelled to ten thousands.

However, the only person who was eager to solve the situation was Zhao Ziyang. On May 4, he was delivering speech to the members of Asian Development Bank about student demonstrations. The main point was to prevent turmoil by using principles of democracy and law, even though his views were absolutely opposite to the one that Party elders had.

“My general approach was thus to carry out reform in the areas of concern to people, so that we could reduce the level of dissatisfaction among the people and the students, so as to reduce and end the student demonstrations, and at the same time we could seize the opportunity to boost political reform.” [4]

Students, knowing about the visit of Gorbachev and undermining appeals of Zhao to end their Tiananmen demonstrations and return to classes, started a hunger strike on 13 May, which received support and sympathy across the country. By 17 May, students from across the whole country went the capital in order to support the movement, protests occurred in more than 400 Chinese cities. Since the situation became even more uncontrollable, Party members decided to provide meeting at Deng’s residence on 17 May, where Zhao Ziyang was criticized for his speech to Asian Development Bank where he proposed democratic solutions. The result of that meeting was the imposition of a martial law. However Zhao Ziyang refused to be General Secretary who mobilized the army to crack down on students and eventually resigned from his position. Early in the morning of 19 May, he went to Tiananmen Square with the speech:

“Students, we came too late. We are sorry. You talk about us, criticize us, it is all necessary. The reason that I came here is not to ask you to forgive us. All I want to say is that students are getting very weak, it is the 7th day since you went on hunger strike, you can't continue like this. You are still young, there are still many days yet to come, you must live healthy, and see the day

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

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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,