

Foreign Policy and «Diplomacy of the World Power with Chinese Characteristics»: Based on the Report of the CPC Central Committee to the XX Congress

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Abstract: The article analyzes the text of the report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which Xi Jinping delivered at the XX Party Congress, in the context of the current state and prospects of the foreign policy strategy of the People's Republic of China, as well as the challenges to the country's foreign policy in recent years. Based on the results of the analysis of the report, changes in China's strategic positions are discussed. It is concluded that the main strategy of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China as a whole will remain unchanged: the country in foreign affairs relies on the domestic political situation, the ideology of the Communist Party of China and the role of the national leader, openness, modernization of the system and the potential to ensure national security and social stability. The main challenge for the People's Republic of China remains the Taiwan issue, which is supposed to be resolved peacefully in the "one country-two systems" format, but the use of force is not ruled out. Relations with the United States of America are defined as a restrained global confrontation without open counteraction. The Russian-Chinese strategic partnership is understood as the choice of the People's Republic of China, which meets its national interests, which will contribute to the formation of a multipolar model of the modern world. The actualization of the country's foreign policy strategy at the XX Congress of the CPC is shown in its dynamics and comparison with previous strategies.

Key words: XX Congress of the Communist Party of China, Russia, People's Republic of China, USA, Taiwan issue, foreign policy

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Introduction

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of China opened in Beijing on October 16, 2022. Even before the start of the Congress, it was expected that Xi Jinping would be re-elected as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China for his third five-year term, which happened. It is obvious that in March 2023 he will retain the post of President of the PRC.

On the eve of this event, the United States adopted a new National Security Strategy¹, in which Russia and China are named the main opponents and competitors of the United States of America. It is noteworthy that China is named the only rival that has the economic and military-technological capabilities that can change the international order. The Report was expected to present China's vision of its strategic relationship with the US and Russia.

Xi Jinping's report at the Party Congress is a message about the situation in the country and the prospects for its development. Its key messages are: up-to-date presentation of "Chinese-style modernization", high-quality development, openness to the world, a credible national security system, and green transformation.

The report was at the center of attention of China and the whole world, as it formulated the foundations of the domestic and foreign policy of the PRC for the coming years. This determines the relevance of the study of this document.

Russian researchers (K.K. Merkulov) on the eve of the Congress also noted that:

Many experts associate the new goals in the integral social progress of the PRC with the epoch-making historical decisions of the 20th anniversary congress of the CPC, which is to be held in 2022. It seems that the Chinese communists will give a detailed analysis of the existing problems and contradictions on the path of development of the Celestial Empire, will give a refined interpretation of the whole complex of imbalances in the sociodynamics of the PRC, including "the main contradiction of Chinese society", which at the 19th Congress of the CPC called "the problem of uneven and incomplete development ..." (46:25)

The purpose of the study is to analyze Xi Jinping's speech at the 20th Congress of the CPC to identify changes in the foreign policy of the PRC and the relationship of these changes with its general policy. In the context of this goal, attention was focused on the analysis of changes in the following aspects: the policy of China's openness to the outside world, China-US relations and the Taiwan issue, the development of Russian-Chinese relations.

The issues of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China before the Congress of the CPC attracted the attention of a number of authors, in particular, Russian analysts K.K. Merkulov, V.L. Nezhdanov, K.M. Bychkov, Chinese author L. Guanqun, and others, their estimates will be used in this paper (1, 2, 3, 4, 5).

The works of Chinese authors were also involved: Wang Fang, Gao Fei, Sun Zhe, Wu Maochang, Fu Ying, Hu Angan (6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11).

¹ The National Security Strategy. October, 2022. Available from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Biden-Harris-Administrations-National-Security-Strategy-10.2022.pdf>

Materials and Methods

The main source of the study was Xi Jinping's report "Holding High the Great Banner of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, Unitedly Strive for the Comprehensive Construction of a Modernized Socialist State" at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of China on October 16, 2022.

To analyze, compare and identify and understand the historical dynamics in the policy of the PRC, the texts of Xi Jinping's speech on the Taiwan issue on the 40th anniversary of the publication of Letters to Taiwanese Compatriots, selected works of Jiang Zemin, speeches by V.V. Putin were used. Also the following documents were used: the official statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China on "Sino-Russian Relations", made in June 2022, other documents of the PRC government, the Joint Statement of the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China on International Relations Entering a New Era and Global Sustainable Development from February 5, 2022, US National Security Strategy, Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership Agreement.

We used Bloomberg statistics on the dynamics of exports in the world in 2022 to assess changes in world trade.

Also attracted responses to the Report of the CPC Central Committee, published in the Chinese press: expert assessment of "New Signals of Openness to the Outside World in the Report of the 20th CPC Central Committee" in China Daily by Wei Jianguo, Former Vice Minister of Trade and Vice Chairman of the Chinese Center for International Economic Exchanges, reports on meetings between Xi Jinping and V.V. Putin in Samarkand in the China Times, assessments by Chinese and American experts published on the XINHUA, YICAI, PEOPLE.CN resources, materials from the Lianhe Zaobao electronic information resource, news reports on events within the framework of the Russian-Chinese cooperation in the Russian press: RIA Novosti, ITAT-TASS agency, Rossiyskaya Gazeta.

Research literature in Russian and Chinese has been attracted, but there is not enough of it, since not enough time has passed for solid publications to appear.

The authors used the main general scientific methods of analysis and synthesis (the separate parts of the report were analyzed, which set the tasks of the party in the field of foreign policy and diplomacy, then they were considered in conjunction to formulate the Chinese specifics of the foreign policy strategy). The historical-genetic method was used, which made it possible to identify the emergence and development of individual foreign policy ideas of the CPC, to trace their development in dynamics. The comparative-historical approach made it possible to reveal differences in the approaches of the United States and China to certain foreign policy problems faced by the PRC. The method of systematization was used to formulate ideas about the foreign policy and diplomatic positions of the CPC and the PRC for the period after the 20th Congress of the CPC.

Results

The report consists of fifteen parts, including: a summary of Xi Jinping's achievements in power over the past five years, the main political directions for the next ten years, the Sinicization of Marxism-Leninism, the new mission of the Communist Party of China, a new development model at the economic level, the concept of China's openness, the development of the state through science and education, ensuring the rule of law in public administration, cultural self-confidence, the development of the country and the well-being of the people, green development, national security, national defense and military modernization, reunification of the motherland, the community of the common destiny of mankind, and the full implementation of strict intra-party governance².

The main theme of the Congress was outlined by Xi Jinping as follows:

holding high the great banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics, fully implement the ideas of socialism with Chinese characteristics for the new era, cultivate the great founding spirit of the CPC, strengthen self-confidence and strive for self-improvement, uphold the fundamental principles and innovate, work with enthusiasm, boldly and resolutely move forward, unitedly fight for the construction of a modernized socialist state and comprehensively promote the process of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation³.

Describing China's future foreign policy, Xi Jinping presented an openness strategy more proactive than before to "adhere to new level reforms" and "emphasize national security and social stability." Such formulations were not heard in the report at the 19th Congress of the CPC.

Sino-US relations in the next ten years are assessed as "a relatively optimistic scenario of confrontation and rivalry." At the same time, the main foreign policy problems for China are connected with the solution of the Taiwan issue. The report names the necessary measures to overcome the crisis situation, strengthen national security and social stability.

The Report noted the stability of Russian-Chinese relations and the trend towards their further strengthening.

The Report showed very strongly the influence of Xi Jinping's ideas, which he developed over the past 10 years. As noted by V.L. Nezhdanov, these ideas "represent an integral hierarchical system of concepts and terms related to the sphere of domestic and foreign policy", and "although the content of the ideas was made public only at the 19th Congress of the CPC (2017), the concepts associated with changing political approaches, began to appear immediately after the 18th Party Congress (2012)". It is noteworthy that the ideas of Xi Jinping, which he developed over the course of 10 years, were already reflected in the Charter of the CPC and the Constitution of the PRC. According to V.L. Nezhdanov's forecast, the concepts

² Ibid.

³ Xi Jinping Carrying High the Great Banner of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, to Fight Together for the Comprehensive Construction of a Modernized Socialist State. Report at the XX National Congress of the Communist Party of China on October 16, 2022. Available from: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/rus/zxxx/202210/t20221026_10792071.html

introduced into the political discourse in China by Xi Jinping “leave the potential for evolution in the event of a change in conditions, which will most likely ensure their high significance in the political life of the country after the 20th CPC Congress in the fall of 2022”(5).

China’s policy of openness to the outside world

The main objectives of the openness policy in the Report are presented as follows:

opening up to the outside world, expanding institutional openness such as international rules, regulations, governance and standards, accelerating the construction of China as a powerful trading country, promoting the development of the Belt and Road Initiative and maintaining a stable international economic structure, strengthening economic and trade relations.

The course of China’s openness to the outside world will develop in the following main directions:

Attracting global resources, improving the efficiency of interaction between domestic and foreign markets and resources, improving the quality and level of trade and investment cooperation. The basis for this is “super-scale domestic market, smooth internal circulation of the economy.” The Chinese President pointed out that China should take full advantage of the huge domestic market and, through the prosperity of the domestic economy, give impetus to China’s economic development and promote the recovery of the world economy. It should be noted that China perceives openness to the outside world as a foreign policy guideline, believing that there is a relationship between domestic development and international relations, which should complement each other:

Adhere to the direction of the socialist market economy, adhere to a high level of openness to the outside world, and accelerate the construction of a new development model with the internal cycle as the main element, and internal development and international relations should complement each other⁴.

According to Chinese researcher Hu Angang, the future process of reforms and expansion of openness, China will take more active peaceful steps in foreign policy, contributing to strengthening international cooperation and mutual benefit with all countries, paying special attention to the formation of standards and financing of infrastructure construction. Serious attention will be paid to the internal development of the country: from trade and infrastructure to industry, economy and science and technology, humanities and other fields, which will be the main impetus for China’s openness (11:51).

3. Promoting the optimization and upgrading of trade in goods, updating the development mechanism for trade in services, developing digital trade, “thereby speeding up the process of China’s transformation into a trading power.”

4. Protecting the rights and interests of foreign investors, creating a first-class international business environment, “enforcing market principles and the rule of law.”

4 Ibid.

5. Development of the initiative of the joint project “One Belt – One Road”. To this end, the task was set to “strengthen the leading position of the eastern coastal regions in the field of expanding openness, increase the level of openness of the central, western and northeastern regions of China.” In the west of the country, the task was set to “accelerate the construction of a new land-sea intermodal transport corridor”.

6. Expand the globally oriented network of high-level free trade zones.

7. Gradually promote the internationalization of the Chinese yuan.

8. Take full part in the global sectoral division of labor, protect the diversified and stable structure of the international economy and trade and economic relations.

In an expert assessment by Wei Jianguo, former vice minister of trade and vice chairman of the China Center for International Economic Exchanges, “Chairman Xi Jinping’s report to the 20th CPC Congress provides a clear roadmap for China for the future of an open world”⁵.

In his opinion, the outlined strategy gave three important signals that China sent to the whole world.

The first is a course on expanding openness, greater than in the previous ten years.

The second signal: the new concept of openness implies two changes – “the steady expansion of institutional openness in the form of rules, regulations and standards”, which has never been mentioned before. Wei Jianguo believes that:

in the past, rules were mostly mentioned, but now institutional openness is on the agenda, which also includes regulation and standards, indicating China’s desire to accelerate foreign policy openness⁶.

Therefore, for the first time, “maintaining a diversified and stable international economic model” is proposed. The key concepts in this paragraph are diversification and stability. This means that China does not want to promote unilateral protectionism, not trade hegemony, but multilateralism that can be adapted to the current global economic model. At the same time, the international economic model that needs to be supported must be not only diversified, but also stable. The report aims to promote the further development of the Belt and Road Initiative, which means that China should not only promote the construction of a “community of human destiny”, but more importantly, achieve high-quality development for the whole world⁷.

The third signal is the formation by the leadership of the country of public opinion about the obvious achievements of China on the way to external openness. The message noted the obvious achievements of China: “a more active strategy of openness has been introduced and, in particular, infrastructure projects have been jointly built as part of

5 中国日报网。魏建国：二十大报告中对外开放的新信号 [Wei Jianguo: New signals of openness to the outside world in the report of the CPC Central Committee of the 20th convocation. China Daily]. Available from: <https://column.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202210/17/WS634cb6bca310817f312f23c9.html>.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

the “One Belt – One Road” initiative, which has become a platform for international cooperation». The Chinese President explained that:

China has become a major trading partner of more than 140 countries and regions. In terms of gross trade in goods, China ranks first in the world, the country attracts foreign investment, forming an even greater scale of cooperation, and creating an even wider field and deeper model of openness to the outside world⁸.

According to the National Bureau of Statistics of the PRC, in the ten years from 2012 to 2021, China's foreign trade grew from 24.4 trillion yuan to 39.1 trillion yuan, and the international market share increased from 10.4% to 13.5%, China maintained world leader in merchandise trading⁹.

In addition, the structure of China's foreign trade continued to improve, the share of countries along the “One Belt – One Road” in China's total foreign trade has steadily increased, as well as cross-border e-commerce¹⁰.

Although the coronavirus epidemic hindered the economic recovery, Hu Angang estimated that China was able to take advantage of the large domestic market, the focus on which has become the basis of China's economic strategy for the future. This gives impetus to the recovery and growth of the global economy. In a market economy, Chinese private enterprises prefer to be able to “go out into the world” and integrate with the rest of the world (11:50). Economic globalization is still the trend of the modern world with the distribution of production and technological processes and cooperation between countries, mutual benefit. China remains committed to building an open world economy and building a “community with a common destiny for mankind.” Declaring the course of deepening reforms, expanding openness and strengthening cooperation in science and technology, Xi Jinping noted that “we must stand on the right side of history” and “create new advantages for ourselves through openness in international cooperation and competition.”

Interaction with general trends in the global economy will also occur through the “acceleration of the green transformation of the development model” as a key link of “high-quality development”. This will be facilitated by China's activity in achieving carbon neutrality¹¹.

8 Xi Jinping. Carrying High the Great Banner of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, to Fight Together for the Comprehensive Construction Of A Modernized Socialist State. Report at the XX National Congress of the Communist Party of China on October 16, 2022. Available from: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/rus/zxxx/202210/t20221026_10792071.html

9 国家统计局. 党的十八大以来经济社会发展成就系列报告之十六 [GSU of the People's Republic of China. A series of reports on the achievements of economic and social development after the 18th National Congress of the Party No. 16. 2022]. Available from: http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/sjjd/202210/t20221009_1888989.html.

10 新华网. 看习近平这几次重要讲话, 看懂“大循环”“双循环” [Wang Jihui. Watching Xi Jinping's important speeches these few times, understand the “big cycle” and the “double cycle”. Xinhua News Network.] Available from: http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/xxjxs/2020-09/05/c_1126455277.

11 Xi Jinping. Carrying High the Great Banner of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, to Fight Together for the Comprehensive Construction of a Modernized Socialist State. Report at the XX National Congress of the Communist Party of China on October 16, 2022. Available from: [Available from: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/rus/zxxx/202210/t20221026_10792071.html](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/rus/zxxx/202210/t20221026_10792071.html)

China's openness to the world will also develop through "the spread of Chinese civilization and the expansion of its influence." China intends to "demonstrate the spiritual emblem of Chinese civilization and the quintessence of Chinese culture." To do this, a policy will be built on international platforms to "build Chinese discourse and narrative, you need to skillfully tell about China and convey the voice of China, show the world the image of China worthy of trust, approval and respect." This will contribute to building up the potential of Chinese civilization in the field of international communication, increasing its effectiveness, and will allow it to gain authority in the international arena, "commensurate with the combined power and international status of China." To do this, exchanges between representatives of different civilizations will be intensified¹².

Modernization of the system of ensuring national security and social stability

Let us note that in the Report these two areas of ensuring China's development are linked: national security and social stability. Although these are issues of domestic policy, they are the foundation of the country's defense against both external and internal threats. In accordance with the text of the Report, China's goal is to build a "calm China" through the creation of high standards, to provide a new development architectonics with the help of a new "security architectonics".

Therefore, ensuring the security of the people is perceived in China as the main goal, which is realized through:

- political security (the foundation of the foundations);
- economic security (foundation);
- military, scientific, technical, cultural and social security (guarantees);
- international security (pillar)

Xi Jinping explained this connection as follows:

National security is the basis of the revival of the nation, and social stability is the prerequisite for the might of the country. It is necessary to implement the concept of national security with unshakable firmness, unswervingly follow the principle of protecting national security in all spheres of party and government activities in order to reliably ensure the country's security and stability in society¹³.

Therefore, China intends to build up the capacity to ensure its security inside and outside its borders, protect the legitimate rights and interests of Chinese citizens and legal entities abroad, "protect China's national rights and interests in the oceans, resolutely guard the sovereignty, security and development interests of our states".

China has put forward the "one country, two systems" narrative, which is understood as "the great undertaking of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the best institution to

12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.

ensure long-term prosperity and stability in Hong Kong and Macao after they return to the fold of the motherland,” so it must be firmly adhered to in the future.

To promote peace and development on the planet, to stimulate the formation of a common destiny for mankind

China sees the future of the peoples of all countries of the world in building a “common destiny for mankind”. The new ideas are aimed at developing a policy whose origins fundamentally go back to traditional Chinese culture enriched by Marxism and to the ideas of the late 1970s, to the theses of President Hu Jintao put forward in his Report to the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of China on November 17, 2012. These ideas demonstrate the unity of Chinese history and culture. Xi Jinping also paid attention to this, which was noted by V.L. Nezhdanov, who concluded that “Chinese international relations and diplomacy are an integral part of the entire system of “Xi Jinping’s ideas”, becoming a mechanism for achieving the “Chinese dream”. It is developed and complemented by the following concepts and initiatives: “Community of the Common Destiny of Humanity”, “One Belt – One Road”, “Two Centenary Goals”, “New Type International Relations”, “Building a Beautiful China”, “Chinese Strength”, “Chinese Spirit”, “The Chinese Way”(5:53).

From the Report, we can conclude that China maintains continuity in its foreign policy and adherence to the five principles of peaceful coexistence. At the same time, it will promote the formation of a new type of international relations, deepen and develop global partnerships based on equality, openness and cooperation, and expand areas of intersection of interests with other countries of the world.

Such a campaign will promote peace and development on the planet. China reaffirms that it respects the sovereignty and territorial integrity and equality of all countries, regardless of whether it is a big or small country, strong or weak, rich or poor. Therefore China

respects the right of the peoples of all countries to independently choose their own path of development and social system, categorically opposes any form of hegemonism and power politics, against the Cold War mentality, interference in the internal affairs of other countries and the use of double standards... follow the concept of closeness, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusiveness, as well as the course of developing friendly and partnership relations with them, deepen friendship and mutual trust with them, promote the integration of interests¹⁴.

Thus, China will adhere to the approaches of the UN in both social, political and economic development, as they are formulated in the UN Sustainable Development Goals. The country is ready to contribute to narrowing the gap between North and South.

China will resolutely oppose protectionism, oppose attempts to create barriers, oppose “disengagement” and “breaking the chains”, and oppose the imposition of unilateral sanctions and

pressure. China is willing to increase resource investment for global development and cooperation, strive tirelessly to narrow the gap between the South and the North, unfailingly provide support and assistance to numerous developing countries to accelerate their development¹⁵.

Therefore, China will strive to contribute to the reform and development of the global governance system, oppose the creation of blocs and groupings of certain countries, but will help expand the influence of the BRICS, SCO, and strengthen international security cooperation.

Sino-American relations and the Taiwan question

In 2010, shortly before Xi Jinping first assumed the presidency of the PRC, China's national strength was already growing rapidly, and China's economy surpassed that of Japan to become the world's second largest economy. The first economy in the world, the United States of America, became wary of China, and as a result, relations between the two countries began to change dramatically. US President B. Obama, at the late stage of his administration, began to adjust his policy towards China, proposed a strategy of "returning the United States to Asia" and began to interfere in the affairs of the countries of Southeast Asia, as described in detail by T.A. Bychkova (2). Since Xi Jinping came to power, he has consistently continued the diplomatic strategies of previous Chinese leaders and proposed a foreign policy strategy characteristic of a major power.

The Obama administration began to shift its strategic focus to the Asia-Pacific region, creating a network of alliances, strengthening the military presence of the American army in different countries. The United States initiated the Trans-Pacific Agreement on Strategic Economic Partnership. All this could not but affect relations with China.

During Xi Jinping's first term as President of the PRC, the development of Sino-US relations was still relatively stable, although China had minor disagreements with the United States and countries in the Asia-Pacific region on issues such as human rights and geopolitics. Economic and trade cooperation has been recognized as a stabilizing factor in Sino-US relations. The two countries cooperated on issues such as the fight against corruption and human rights, mainly supporting the Chinese model of non-conflict and non-confrontation.

With the election of D. Trump as President in the United States, this stable model of bilateral relations began to be violated. In July 2018, the United States of America announced an additional 25% duty on Chinese exports to the United States, totaling \$34 billion. On the same day, China announced an additional 25% tariff on high-value US imports. With these measures, the Sino-American trade war began. In May 2019, Trump announced an additional 25% tariff on another \$200 billion of Chinese exports to the United States. China has raised tariffs from 5% to 25% on some US\$660 billion worth of goods imported from the United States. In August 2019, the Trump administration expressed dissatisfaction with the purchases of US agricultural products by the Chinese government and announced a 10% duty on all remaining Chinese goods exported to the United States in the amount of 300 billion.

15 Ibid.

At present, although D. Trump was not re-elected to the post of President of the United States, D. Biden, who took this post, did not abandon the policy of tariff sanctions against China, demonstrating his commitment to the “international order based on rules”, continued the strategy of US dominance in the technological sphere, for example, in the field of creating new products, imposing restrictions on the export of technologies. All this has led to even more tension between the two countries, along with ongoing mutual accusations of the artificial origin and spread of the coronavirus. The confrontation between China and Western countries is unabated.

As Sun Zhe noted, this is largely due to the fact that the United States is constantly intensifying Sino-American strategic competition. At the same time, China seeks to avoid the continuation of the “strategic confrontation”, for which it is necessary to get rid of the side effect of the so-called “Thucydides trap” (in political science, a situation in which the fears of a stronger power about the rapid growth of a new rival country in itself escalate the confrontation between them and can become the root cause of a serious conflict) (8). China’s current strategic position, according to Wang Fang, is that the United States is a strategic competitor, not a strategic enemy. Turning the relationship between the two countries into a hostile one is a risk that China tries to avoid in its foreign policy (6).

The position of the current administration in the United States towards China is officially defined by the Chinese Foreign Ministry as “competition that should not lead to a dead end”, and China’s policy towards the United States should be aimed at preventing an increase in confrontation. Relations between the two countries are defined by the term “quasi-cold war”, and this situation is likely to continue for a long time. There are several reasons for such a situation:

both sides are in complex economic interdependence, and the market system has prevented a sharp deterioration in relations between the two sides;

D. Biden does not want to move from competitive relations with China to military confrontation;

the allies of the two countries do not want to participate in the competition¹⁶.

As Xi Jinping noted:

over the past few years, driven by the populism of the United States and the national rise of China, relations between the two countries have shifted from cooperation to full-blown competition and confrontation. However, in the future, the possibility of a full-scale conflict between China and the United States is rather low. The main thing is to find a way to coexist in the face of discord and competition¹⁷.

¹⁶ 习近平称不承诺对台湾放弃使用武力。[2019-09-24]。（原始内容存档于2020-11-02）。外交部台湾问题习近平在《告台湾同胞书》发表40周年纪念会上的讲话 [Xi Jinping said that he would not promise to renounce the use of force against Taiwan. [2019-09-24]. (Original content archived 2020-11-02). Xi Jinping's speech on Taiwan affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the 40th anniversary of the publication of the Letters to Taiwanese Compatriots]. Available from: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ziliao_674904/zt_674979/dnzt_674981/qtzt/twwt/xjpzsjstzyjh/202206/t20220606_10698873.html.

¹⁷ Xi Jinping. Carrying High the Great Banner of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, to Fight Together for the Comprehensive Construction of a Modernized Socialist State. Report at the XX National Congress of the Communist Party of China on October 16, 2022. Available from: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/rus/zxxx/202210/t20221026_10792071.html

Xi Jinping specified China's position on the Taiwan issue as follows:

We insist on the prospect of peaceful reunification, but we will never promise to renounce the use of force and reserve the possibility of taking all necessary measures¹⁸.

Let us pay attention to two theses: peaceful unification and the absence of a renunciation of the use of military force. The first proposal for a policy of peaceful reunification with Taiwan was put forward by the Chinese Communist Party in 1950, and in 1978, the CCP proposed a policy of peaceful reunification and the “one country – two systems” project, which became the basic principles of the People's Republic of China in resolving the Taiwan issue. Xi Jinping's report indicated that peaceful reunification is a promising prospect, but the possibility of using force remains. The first announcement of the possibility of using force was made on January 30, 1995 by Jiang Zemin, then General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, who delivered a speech “Keep Fighting to Help Complete the Great Cause of China's Reunification.» In this speech, eight proposals were put forward to develop cross-Straits relations and accelerate the process of peaceful unification of China, it was also emphasized that:

Adhering to the principle of one China is the basis and prerequisite for achieving peaceful reunification... We do not promise to renounce the use of force, and this is not directed against Taiwanese compatriots, but against foreign forces interfering with Chinese reunification and supporting Taiwanese independence¹⁹.

Xi Jinping, speaking on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the publication of Letters to Taiwanese Compatriots on January 2, 2019, noted that the 1992 consensus is that “the two sides of the Taiwan Strait constitute one China and work together to strive for national unity.” to achieve the goal of “peaceful reunification within the framework of the one-country-two-systems proposal” and to deepen exchanges with Taiwan to achieve the spiritual accord of compatriots. However, the PRC government does not promise to renounce the use of force against Taiwan and reserves the right to take all necessary measures to unify China²⁰.

In a report to the 19th CCP Congress, Xi Jinping reaffirmed the policy of giving up force to ease tensions in the Taiwan Strait. According to Chinese expert Wu Maochang, since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States, the United States has been cautious and sensitive about the Taiwan issue. After George W. Bush came to power, the US began to strengthen Taiwan's military to increase Taiwan's ability to “resist unification by force” (9). Former Commander-in-Chief of the US Army in Japan, MacArthur, said: «Taiwan is the main hub of the US Pacific front and an unsinkable aircraft carrier» (3).

18 Ibid.

19 江泽民文选第一卷，北京：人民出版社，2021年，第4期，第418-423页。[Selected works of Jiang Zemin, Volume 1, Beijing: people's publishing house. 2021; 1:418-423].

20 习近平称不承诺对台湾放弃使用武力。[2019-09-24]。（原始内容存档于2020-11-02）。外交部台湾问题习近平在《告台湾同胞书》发表40周年纪念会上的讲话 [Xi Jinping said he would not promise to renounce the use of force against Taiwan. [2019-09-24]. Original content archived 2020-11-02). Xi Jinping's speech on Taiwan Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the 40th Anniversary of the Publication of the Letters to Taiwanese Compatriots. Available from: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ziliao_674904/zl_674979/dnzt_674981/qtzt/twwt/xjpsjstzyjh/202206/t20220606_10698873.html

The Report proclaimed peaceful reunification as China's main course. It is China's longstanding position that two systems can coexist in the same country. And, in this case, the emphasis was on the interests of one Chinese nation:

The course of peaceful reunification, "one country – two systems" is the best way to unite the two sides of the Taiwan Strait, as well as the best option for compatriots on both sides and the Chinese nation as a whole. We firmly adhere to the principle of one China and the 1992 Accords, and on this basis, we promote in-depth consultations with representatives of various parties, various circles of society in Taiwan on the development of relations between the two coasts and the peaceful reunification of the motherland, so as to jointly promote peaceful development²¹.

Thus, the Chinese policy reflected in the Report is directed against the intervention of external forces and a small number of separatists who advocate the so-called Taiwan independence, and is not directed against Taiwanese compatriots in general.

The United States of America is trying to realize its national interests in the Asia-Pacific region, and for this they use the Taiwan issue to contain China. The China-US game on the Taiwan issue has a significant impact on the development of China-US relations.

Development of Russian-Chinese relations

As two world powers, China and Russia continue to play a key role in the stability and development of the international community.

The Joint Statement of the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China on global sustainable development and on international relations entering a new era, dated February 5, 2022, fixes the joint position of the two countries:

Today, the world is undergoing massive changes, humanity is entering a new era of rapid development and large-scale transformations. Such processes and phenomena as multipolarity, economic globalization, informatization of society, cultural diversity, transformation of the system of global governance and world order are developing, the interconnectedness and interdependence of states is increasing, a trend is being formed to redistribute the balance of world forces, the demand of the world community for leadership in the interests of peaceful and progressive development is growing...

The Russian side highly appreciates the Chinese side's concept of building a "community with a common destiny for mankind" to strengthen the solidarity of the world community and join forces in responding to common challenges. The Chinese side highly

²¹ Xi Jinping. Carrying High the Great Banner of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, to Fight Together for the Comprehensive Construction of a Modernized Socialist State. Report at the XX National Congress of the Communist Party of China on October 16, 2022. Available from: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/rus/zxxx/202210/t20221026_10792071.html

appreciates the efforts of the Russian side to form a fair multipolar system of international relations²².

The high level of Russian-Chinese relations is in the interests of both sides, is a guarantee of maintaining the international strategic balance, peace and stability throughout the world, writes Chinese researcher Fu Ying (10).

According to Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi, during a telephone conversation with Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov on October 27, 2022, China will support Russia in strengthening its status as a major power in the international arena. President V.V. Putin after the end of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of China, sent a greeting to General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee Xi Jinping, which, according to Wang Yi, testifies to “the high level of mutual trust and firm support of Russia to China... China will also firmly support the Russian side in bringing the Russian people under the leadership of President Putin rallied and overcame difficulties, achieved strategic development goals”²³. As each other’s largest, most important and reliable strategic partners, in the face of a complex and constantly changing international situation, China and Russia are working to form a new type of relationship between large countries and a new type of international order that meets the common interests of China and Russia, Russia–China cooperation should become a model of a new type of relations between large countries.

Shortly before the 20th CPC Congress, during the summit of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in Samarkand (Uzbekistan) on September 15-16, 2022, Chinese President Xi Jinping and Russian President Vladimir Putin held bilateral talks, where they analyzed the development trends of Russian-Chinese relations. President Vladimir Putin thanked China for its balanced position on the Ukrainian issue, reaffirming that Russia adheres to the “one China” principle, and condemned the provocations of the United States of America and other Western countries on the Taiwan issue. President Xi Jinping noted:

In the face of the colossal world changes of our time, unprecedented in the history of the world, our Russian colleagues and I are ready to set an example of a responsible world power and play a leading role in putting such a rapidly changing world on a trajectory of sustainable and positive development... China is ready to provide effective support to Russia on issues affecting fundamental interests of the two countries, deepen practical cooperation in trade, agriculture, communications²⁴.

22 Joint Statement of the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China on International Relations Entering a New Era and Global sustainable development. February 5, 2022. Available from: http://ru.china-embassy.gov.cn/rus/zewlzxdt/202202/t20220205_10639068.htm

23 Chinese Foreign Ministry: The Country Intends to Support Russia in Overcoming Difficulties. Available from: <https://ria.ru/20221027/kitay-1827264903.html>

24 Xi Jinping: China is Ready to Support Russia on Issues Affecting the Fundamental Interests of the Two Countries. Available from: <https://rg.ru/2022/09/15/glava-knr-kitaj-gotov-podderzhivat-rossiiu-v-voprosah-zatragivaiushchie-korennye-interesy-dvuh-stran.html>

Table 1. Export dynamics January September 2022

	September export growth	Trade growth since the beginning of the year
Russia	21,1 %	32,5 %
Singapore	81,8	20,1
Netherlands	18,3	19,9
Canada	-22,2	15,6
India	13,4	14,6
USA	-11,6	6,9
Germany	-5,6	0,9
France	-7,6	-0,1
Japan	5,9	-1,4
Great Britain	-11,8	-3,8
Hong Kong	-7,6	-11,8

Source: Bloomberg, General Customs Administration, October 24, 2022²⁵

The deepening of strong personal relations between Xi Jinping and Vladimir Putin is becoming one of the most important factors in the development of relations between China and Russia against the backdrop of China's economic recovery over the past four decades. The Chinese media, after the end of the summit in Samarkand, analyzing its results, give reference expert opinions of Western political scientists based on its results²⁶. Thus, A. Korolev, a political scientist from the University of New South Wales, Australia, noted: "The meeting (between V. Putin and Xi Jinping) showed that China is not only ready to continue its cooperation with Russia, but is even ready to demonstrate support and accelerate the formation of more strong ties with Russia. E. Small from the Research Institute of the German Marshall Fund believes that the meeting between the President of China and the President of Russia is of great symbolic importance, he stressed that "Xi Jinping thereby demonstrates the union not with Western countries, but strengthens the SCO as an organization that opposes the G7 and NATO". After Western countries imposed the toughest sanctions against Russia in modern history over a special military operation in Ukraine, Putin said that Russia «no longer sees the West as a place of economic growth, science and technology, now Russia is turning to Asia.»

Since Europe's purchases of Russian oil and natural gas continue to decline, the policy of Russian President V. Putin is expressed in an effort to increase energy exports

²⁵ 中国海关总署：2021年中俄贸易额1468.87亿美元 同比增长35.8% [The Main Customs Administration of the People's Republic of China: the Volume of Trade Between China and Russia in 2021 will Amount to \$146.887 billion an increase of 35.8% year-on-year. China Government Network]. Available from: <http://www.heihe.gov.cn/info/1185/125163.htm>

²⁶ 中华时报. 第38次“习普峰会”在乌兹别克斯坦古城撒马尔罕举行38 summit President of China Xi Jinping and Vladimir Putin Took Place in the Ancient City of Samarkand, Uzbekistan. China Times. Available from: <https://chinatimes.com.hk/20220916/54646>

to China and Asian countries. This kind of economic and trade support largely offset the economic pressure caused by Western sanctions against Russia and weakened the effect of Western economic sanctions. According to Bloomberg, citing the General Administration of Customs, total trade with Russia this year grew by 32.5% in dollar terms, the most significant increase among major partners (Table 1)²⁷.

Discussion

As far back as 2017, the materials of the 19th Congress of the CPC recorded that China is “increasingly moving closer to the center of the world stage” and it is determined to participate more actively in the life of the international community. Justifying its position in the world, China has increased its investment in global development, and this has manifested itself in the ambitious “One Belt – One Road” initiative, the creation of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and the Silk Road Fund. The Chinese government is pursuing a friendly policy to fill the gaps in the United States of America’s social infrastructure development policy in developing countries; climate change and regional trade, and seeks to create an international order conducive to the simultaneous development of China and the world. The foreign economic policy of the “One Belt – One Road” initiative and the political discourse of the “common destiny of mankind” were included in the founding documents of the CCP at its 19th Congress.

Internal changes in China determine the adjustment of the diplomatic course, foreign policy and style of international relations, which is closely related to the growth of China’s economic and military power. The report of the CPC Central Committee to the 20th Congress noted that the coronavirus epidemic has seriously affected the global economy and international order, led to colossal world changes that have occurred for the first time in a century. Western countries, represented by the United States of America, initially failed to cope with the epidemic and the socio-economic problems it caused, which made China more confident in its management system. Wang Jiayi, dean of the Institute of International Strategy at Peking University, noted that over the past ten years, the international status of the United States has declined, while China’s authority, on the contrary, has grown. At the same time, the decline in the importance of the United States is not as rapid as that of the hegemonic countries of the past. As for China, after the 18th Congress of its Communist Party, a system of high centralization of political power was established, which stabilized the political system within the country, influenced international politics, since it actually complements the domestic one. Changes in the domestic political situation require Beijing not to show weakness in resolving contradictions and conflicts with Western countries and even strive for superiority in

²⁷ China's Exports to Major Markets have Declined, Russian Trade is Strong. Bloomberg. Available from: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-10-24/china-s-exports-to-major-markets-slump-russian-trade-strong?leadSource=uverify%20wall>

diplomacy. Thus, as it was before, Chinese diplomacy relies on the internal political and socio-economic situation in their country²⁸.

The firm diplomatic position of China, the pronounced character of its leader will continue to determine the country's foreign policy strategy. In addition to external factors such as the rise of China's national power and changes in the international situation, the progress in Chinese diplomacy during the ten years of Xi Jinping's official rule is associated with the personal characteristics of the President of the People's Republic of China as the leader of a world power. The Chinese media, analyzing the results of the Congress, note that over the 10 years of Xi Jinping's tenure in power, China's foreign policy has gone from Taoism and obscurity to taking the initiative. They refer to the opinions of experts reputable for China: Sun Yun and Drew Thomson. Thus, Sun Yun, director of the China project at the Stimson Center in Washington, states that the rise of China is a necessary but not sufficient condition for China to take a firmer position in foreign policy, but it is precisely the position of China's official leadership that is a necessary and sufficient condition for the formation foreign policy course. Drew Thompson, visiting senior fellow at the School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore, noted that the "new era" of China's foreign policy strategy reflects the position of China's official leadership, which is "based on public safety and the complex international situation." He believes that China's official foreign policy is based on an ideology that determines China's relations with the world. The ideology draws on the unique culture of China and the history of the country, which combines the political structure of Marxism-Leninism with "Chinese characteristics"²⁹.

Thus, after the 20th Congress, the Chinese Communist Party will not fundamentally change the country's foreign policy, since Chinese officials over the past decade have successfully formed the leading role of the party at all levels of social and economic development. The ideological gap between China and the West will not narrow, and the structural contradictions will not disappear.

The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in a June 2022 Sino-Russian Relations statement, noted that "Russian–Chinese relations are experiencing the best period in history." According to the data provided in the document, in 2021, bilateral trade between China and Russia amounted to \$1146.887 billion, an increase of 35.8% year-on-year. China has been Russia's largest trading partner for 12 consecutive years. The statement noted that "China and Russia hold the same or similar positions on a number of major international and regional issues and maintain close contacts and cooperation." Regardless of the outcome of the armed conflict in Ukraine, China will not change its willingness to develop relations with Russia. This is determined by the geopolitical situation, since Russia, the second largest nuclear power, cannot be excluded from the architecture of international relations. China sees Russia as an important partner that can change the international system dominated by Washington.

²⁸ 二十大特稿：习近平主政10年中国外交从韬光养晦走向主动出击[CPC Central Committee of the 20th convocation of special projects: over 10 years of XI Jinping to power China's foreign policy has gone from Taoism and obscurity for initiative]. Available from: <https://www.kzaobao.com/shiju/20221011/125772.html>

²⁹ Ibid.

Conclusion

The report of the Chairman of the People's Republic of China at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of China is an important policy document that defines the main directions of China's domestic political, diplomatic and ideological strategies for the next 5 years. As for foreign policy, from the Report of the CPC Central Committee and other sources of various kinds, from the domestic political and international political context, we can conclude that China will continue to pursue an independent and open policy in the international arena, based on its national interests. The main directions, forms and methods of China's diplomacy are based on the internal political situation, on the desire to harmonize society and improve the life of the Chinese people, so the "internal vector" of foreign policy will become the most important.

The diplomatic challenges identified in the report to the 20th Congress of the CPC are mainly focused on resolving the Taiwan issue, and the foreign policy situation that China will face is likely to become more difficult. The "independence" of Taiwan, used by Western countries as a deterrent against China, remains a problem to be solved. While maintaining the desire for a peaceful settlement of this problem, the President of the People's Republic of China believes that there remains an opportunity for its forceful solution.

Serious competition between leading foreign policy players, combined with differences in political systems, ideologies and values, will make China's relations with the Western world increasingly tense. While the US claims it does not seek conflict or a new Cold War with China, the US government has publicly identified China, judging by its national security strategy, as "the biggest long-term challenge to the international order" and calls the US-China strategic rivalry a "democratic confrontation and autocracy"³⁰. A low-key competitive relationship between the PRC and the US will remain a trend in bilateral relations, with military conflict or any other direct confrontation unlikely due to the strong interdependence of the two economies.

One of the main ideas of the Report is that the Russian-Chinese strategic partnership is China's choice in its quest to protect its own security and fundamental national interests. Therefore, the development of long-term Russian-Chinese relations will contribute to the formation of a multipolar international model. The momentum for developing cooperation between Russia and China will increase significantly against the background of external pressure from the United States, as a response to its policy of containment.

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³⁰ The National Security Strategy. October, 2022. Available from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Biden-Harris-Administrations-National-Security-Strategy-10.2022.pdf>

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