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PERSPECTIVE OF CHINA IN THE CONDITIONS OF A NEW HISTORIC PERIOD: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR UKRAINE

Abstract. The article is devoted to researching the prospects of China's development in the new historical period, which was determined at the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The essence of the historical plenums that took place in the history of China was studied, their influence on the country's development was analyzed, and the significance of the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China for the achievement of historical goals in the development of China for the period until 2050 was clarified. The main conceptual conclusions and program solutions of the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and their place in the concept of building "socialism with Chinese characteristics" were researched.

The role of the current leader of the country is studied, the results of his activities on the example of the socio-economic development of the country during the period of his rule are summarized, and an assessment of his activities is conducted. The article analyzes the state of China's relations with the EU, the USA, and Russia, identifies weaknesses, challenges, and prospects for the development of relations.

China's position regarding the Russian-Ukrainian war was separately investigated. It has been proven that China takes a restrained position regarding the Russian-Ukrainian war, and its foreign policy is based on the fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence established by the UN. The state and development of Ukrainian-Chinese relations are analyzed. The main directions of cooperation between Ukraine and China, the state of trade and investment activity between the countries were studied. Based on the results of the study, recommendations for the development of relations between Ukraine and China as strategic partners were developed.

Keywords: *socialism with Chinese specificity, new era, historical goals, Chineseization of Marxism, cooperation.*

Introduction. From November 8 to 11, 2021, the historic 6th Plenum of the 19th CPC Central Committee was held in Beijing. In the history of the Communist Party of China, many documents have been adopted, but only a few of them refer to the so-called historical resolutions, which indicates their special significance. As a rule, these resolutions were adopted during the period of

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important and sometimes fateful changes in the life of the country and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the so-called new eras (<https://www.washingtonpost.com>).

Chinese society also called the regular 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Communist Party of China of the 19th convocation as historic in view of the decisions that were made there. In particular, the plenum summarized the 100-year activity of the CPC, and also discussed the status of Xi Jinping and his conceptual ideas regarding the development of the country. It is these decisions, according to the Chinese, that will determine the country's development in the coming years.

Analysis of recent research and publications. The decisions of the plenum also attracted the attention of world information sources. In particular, the Deutsche Welle in the "Viewpoint" section defined the resolution: "...as a document that strengthens the power of a person who, according to previous party rules, should have left politics next year after two terms as general secretary". Thus, the tradition of previous Chinese leaders not to remain in office for more than two terms was broken. Evaluating the activities of Xi Jinping, Deutsche Welle often notes that he rules the party with an iron fist and appoints only those he trusts to important positions (<https://www.dw.com>). In public perception, both at home and abroad, Xi Jinping is the guarantor of China's rise, growth and prosperity. After all, he was the one who launched the New Silk Road initiative, which saw China unite Asian, African and Eastern European countries around itself – and in doing so challenged the world order that had existed since World War II (<https://www.chinahighlights.com>).

In Christian Shepherd's article "China passes historic resolution to secure Xi Jinping's indefinite rule", which was published in the "Washington Post", the author, evaluating the meaning of the adopted resolution, does not present his own assessment, but is limited only to quoting from the resolution and the statements of individuals. In particular, he reports the following: "...consolidation of the status of Comrade Xi Jinping as the core of the Central Committee and the core of the entire party... is crucial to the progress towards the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation", "Xi Jinping is the architect of the "new era", "Xi Jinping became the third leader of the country after Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping, which gives an appreciation of the past", etc. (<https://www.washingtonpost.com>).

The Japan Times also published information on the CCP's historic resolution. In evaluating the significance of the resolution and the role of Xi Jinping, the newspaper also often refers to the wording of the resolution. The article, "China's Ruling Party Leaders Pass Historic Xi Resolution", reports that the resolution will help Xi Jinping consolidate his power by cementing his vision for China's future and downplaying the role of previous leaders. Xi Jinping's ideas "are the embodiment of Chinese culture and soul", the text says, adding that his presence at the "heart" of the ruling party is "crucial...to facilitate the historic process of the great renewal of the Chinese nation".

Regarding the assessment of the performance of the leader of the PRC, the article reports that Xi Jinping's tenure in office was marked by extensive anti-corruption repression, repressive policies in regions such as Xinjiang, Tibet and Hong Kong, and an increasingly assertive approach to foreign relations. He also created a cult of leadership that stifled criticism, stifled competition and dissent,

and introduced his own political theory, dubbed “Xi Jinping Ideas”.

Determining the future of the country, the newspaper refers to an excerpt from a report by the Xinhua news agency: “... the Party Central Committee called on the entire Party, the entire army and the people of all ethnic groups to unite more closely around the Party Central Committee, the core of which is Comrade Xi Jinping, for the full realization of the new era of Xi Jinping socialism with Chinese characteristics” (<https://www.washingtonpost.com>).

Analyzing the conclusions of world news agencies, it can be concluded that the world community has a reserved attitude towards the adopted resolution, although to some extent it is critical of Xi Jinping’s establishment of the status of the core of the CPC, and expresses some concern about the future of China. This attitude towards the decisions made at the plenum is determined by the historical experience of other countries, when the concentration of power in “one hands” for a long period often led to social aggravation and tension, which ultimately had a negative impact on social development as a whole.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the decisions made at the 6th Plenum of the CPC, to clarify their historical significance and their impact on the future of the country. In addition, the article examines such issues as: the essence and historical significance of historical decisions made in China starting with Mao Zedong; China’s foreign policy in the context of decisions made at the plenum; peculiarities of China’s relations with the USA, the EU and the Russian Federation; development of recommendations for the development of cooperation between the USA and Ukraine in the context of the decisions made at the plenum.

Formulation of the main material. The first historical “Resolution on Some Questions of History” was adopted at the 8th Congress of the CPC in 1945. At the plenum, Mao Zedong delivered the famous speech “On a New Stage”, stressing that the Party should strengthen education, research theory, history and practice, including China’s rich historical and revolutionary experience from Confucius to Sun Yat-sen, and put forward the theoretical task of “Chineseization of Marxism”. This resolution recognized the ideas of Mao Zedong as an ideology that combines the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution, as Chinese communism and Chinese Marxism. Mao Zedong’s ideas were presented as the development of Marxism in the national democratic revolution in colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries in the modern era, and were a model of national Marxism. An entry was made in the CPC charter: “The CPC is guided by the ideas of Mao Zedong in all its work...”. In this way, the “Chineseization of Marxism” took place at the congress, which means combining the general essence of Marxism with the specific practice of the Chinese revolution.

The second historic resolution – “Resolution on some issues of the history of the CPC since the founding of the People’s Republic of China” was adopted at the 6th plenum of the Central Committee of the CPC in 1981, in the context of the deployment of the policy of reforms and openness, the “architect” of which was one of the leading leaders of the CPC – Deng Xiaoping. This resolution turned out to be quite controversial because despite the fact that it recognized the mistakes in the activities of the CPC and its then leader Mao Zedong, which they made starting with the “Great Leap Forward” policy and the facts of the most brutal repression, the resolution recognized Mao Zedong as an outstanding

political figure, under the leadership which the CPC won in 1949. The plenum evaluated the role of Mao Zedong as follows: "... his achievements are the main thing, and his mistakes are secondary...". While maintaining verbal and ritual fidelity to the "ideas of Mao Zedong" and Marxism-Leninism, the country's new leadership followed the path of greater de-ideologization of its policy, putting forward only patriotic ideas of building a rich and powerful China. Deng Xiaoping's concept of building socialism with Chinese specifics under the conditions of recognition of Mao Zedong's ideas turned out to be a continuation of the "Chineseization of Marxism" policy.

Given the importance of the issues discussed at the 6th plenum of the 19th CPC Central Committee, held in November 2021, and the decisions that were made, this plenum is considered historic for three reasons. First, the plenary session summarized the 100-year activity of the CPC. Second, the plenum determined the status of the leader of the People's Republic of China, Xi Jinping, as the core of the CPC Central Committee and the entire party, and the resolution affirmed the leading role of Xi Jinping's ideas on socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era (<https://zbruc.eu/node/108660>). Thirdly, at the plenum, the fundamental directions of the CPC's activities regarding the comprehensive construction of a comprehensive modernized socialist state society in the new era were determined.

At the plenum, it was noted that since the day of its creation in 1921, the Communist Party of China has traveled a hundred years. The CPC has always regarded the struggle for the happiness of the Chinese people and the revival of the Chinese nation as its original goal and mission, which has always been established in communist ideals and socialist beliefs, and has rallied and led the country's multi-ethnic people in an unceasing struggle for national independence, people's liberation, wealth and power state and people's happiness.

The CPC, leading the people in the struggle for the power of the Motherland, relying on its own strength, achieved significant success in the cause of socialist revolution and construction, carried out the widest and deepest social transformations in the history of the Chinese nation, made a great leap, thanks to which an extremely poor country in the East of the world with its large population embarked on the path of development of a socialist society. The plenum noted that thanks to the leading role of the Communist Party of China in China, independent and relatively integrated systems of industry and the national economy were created, the conditions of agricultural production improved significantly, education, science, culture, health care, sports and physical education received great development, along with the strengthening of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), its fighting capacity was also increasing, the humiliating diplomacy of ancient China was finally put an end to.

China has made a historic transition from a highly centralized system of planned economy to a viable system of a socialist market economy, from partial or complete closure to comprehensive openness; achieved a historic breakthrough, putting an end to the relative backwardness of the development of productive forces, took second place in the world in terms of the total volume of the economy; made a historic leap, overcoming the shortage of clothing and food in the people's life, reaching the generally average prosperity of the society and proceeding to the full construction of a modernized middle-income society.

The plenum gave a high assessment of Xi Jinping's activities as the

General Secretary of the CPC and the President of the People's Republic of China. At the plenum, it was noted that the country's leader continues to combine the basic tenets of Marxism with the concrete reality of China, with traditional Chinese culture, adheres to the ideas of Mao Zedong, the theory of Deng Xiaoping, the important ideas of triple representation and the scientific concept of development.

Summarizing and using the historical experience accumulated by the party since its founding, based on the new realities, Xi Jinping formulated a number of new concepts, ideas and new strategies for state management in the light of the fulfillment of important epochal tasks, in particular the following: what kind of socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new the era to be championed and developed, and how to do it; what kind of modernized socialist state should be created and how to achieve it; what kind of Marxist party should be built and how to do it. Thus, he was recognized as the main founder of his own ideas about socialism with Chinese characteristics of the new era, which represent the Marxism of modern China, the Marxism of the XXI century, as well as the quintessence of Chinese culture and the Chinese spirit in the modern era, and mark a new leap in the "Chineseization of Marxism". Thanks to Xi Jinping's achievements in the leadership of the Party and the country, the plenum determined the role of Xi Jinping as the guiding core of the CPC Central Committee and the entire Party, and confirmed the leading role of Xi Jinping's ideas on socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era.

The participants of the plenum recognized that China, as before, is and will be in the initial stage of socialism for a long time, remains the largest developing country in the world, and the main contradiction of Chinese society is the contradiction between the ever-growing needs of the people to ensure a decent life and the unevenness and incomplete development of the country.

The plenum also confirmed the strategic goals to be achieved by the CPC in order to implement the two-stage strategic plan, which was approved at the 19th CPC Congress, to realize the goal set for the century of the PRC, namely: from 2020 to 2035 mainly carry out socialist modernization, and from 2035 to the middle of this century, transform China into a modernized socialist state.

In order to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China in a dignified way, the plenum determined the basic directions for the implementation of the national goal, including the following:

- to strictly adhere to the principle of the rule of law in state management, to protect social equality and justice;
- to always implement the system of basic values of socialism;
- to get out of the conditions of a new stage of development, implement a new concept of development, form a new architecture of development, promote high-quality development;
- to consistently ensure and improve the life of the population in the course of development and to promote the improvement of the population's well-being in a coordinated manner;
- continue to support the harmonious coexistence of man and nature;
- to coordinate work in the field of development and security, to accelerate the modernization of national defense and armed forces, to contribute in a coordinated manner to the achievement of the country's power;
- protect social equality and justice, make special efforts to solve the

problem of unevenness and incompleteness of development;

– to protect and develop the fundamental interests of the broadest sections of the people, to unite the multinational people of the country;

– continuously educate and select highly qualified and professional human resources workers, especially the best young human resources workers who have high moral and business qualities.

In order to objectively assess the significance of the adopted historic resolution, it is worth taking a closer look at the traditions of public administration in China and the role of its leaders. In the history of Chinese state leadership, especially after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, there is a tradition of leaving a certain historical legacy. Each of the country's leaders tried to make, first of all, a contribution to the theory of socialism and to consolidate theoretical developments with practical achievements in the development of the country.

As is already known, Mao Zedong developed conceptual ideas for building socialism with Chinese specifics and thus initiated the policy of "Chineseization of Marxism" in 1945. Deng Xiaoping became the author of the theory of socialism with Chinese specificity, adding a new meaning to the policy of "Chineseization of Marxism". The conceptual foundations of the theory were announced in 1981 (<http://by.china-embassy.gov.cn/>).

The next leader of the People's Republic of China, Jiang Zemin, went down in history as the author of the "triple representation" concept, which he announced on July 1, 2001 in a speech celebrating the 80th anniversary of the founding of the CPC. According to this concept, the CPC should represent the interests of the development of advanced productive forces, advanced Chinese culture, and the fundamental interests of the broadest sections of the Chinese population. The concept allowed representatives of both the middle and big bourgeoisie to join the Communist Party. Jiang Zemin used the term "Chineseized Marxism" to describe Mao Zedong's ideas and Deng Xiaoping's theory (<https://chineseposters.net>). The representative of the fourth generation of communists, who led the leadership of the country, Hu Jintao, in a speech at a seminar in the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee in July 2003, dedicated to the 110th anniversary of the birth of Mao Zedong, called the ideas of "triple representation", "a new fruit of the Chineseization of Marxism".

Hu Jintao entered the history of the CPC and state building as the initiator of the concept of scientific development and called on the broad masses of Party workers to master the scientific content and essence of the results of the development of Marxism theory in China, arm themselves with this knowledge, and be guided by it in practice and work (<https://zbruc.eu/node/108660>).

Thus, the desire of the current leader of the People's Republic of China, Xi Jinping, to contribute to the "Chineseization of Marxism" is a continuation of the established tradition of the country's previous leaders to leave their "mark in history". Consolidating the role of the leading core of the Central Committee of the CPC and the whole party for him, affirming the leading role of Xi Jinping's ideas on socialism with the Chinese specificity of the new era, is the embodiment of the mentioned tradition (Kiktenko, 2021). Since the 18th Congress of the CPC, which was held in 2012, socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a new era, the main task of the party in the new era was to realize the goal set for the centennial anniversary of the CPC, to start a new campaign to realize the goal

set for century of the People's Republic of China (2049), continue to move forward to achieve the grandiose goal of the great revival of the Chinese nation. In 2021, China achieved the first centenary goal, namely, it reached the level of a middle-income society (<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn>).

From this time, a new historical period begins, during which China must win a decisive victory in the complete construction of a middle-class society and the beginning of the comprehensive construction of a modernized socialist state. This is the era of the realization of the Chinese dream of the great revival of the Chinese nation by the united efforts of the entire Chinese nation. The new era of socialism with Chinese characteristics occupies a completely new place in the history of China's development. Objectively, this is the most responsible period of the development of Chinese society. This is a period of testing the fairness and fidelity of the theory of socialism with Chinese specifics, and hence "Chinese Marxism". The importance of this period of China's development puts a special responsibility on the top leadership of the country, which leads the people to the dream goal – the great revival of the Chinese nation (Lafferty, 2022).

The country's leadership clearly understands that due to changes in the external environment, aggravation of deep-seated contradictions and problems, many new risks and challenges arise in the work on reforms, development and ensuring stability within the country. The country's leaders see a way out of this situation in a closer grouping around the CPC and its leader, who today is Xi Jinping. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the core of which is determined to be Xi Jinping, believes that he possesses great historical initiative, enormous political courage and a strong sense of responsibility to comprehensively take into account both the domestic and international situation. Therefore, by following the basic algorithm of work, the leader of the party and the country is able to implement the basic theory, basic line and basic strategy of the party, implement a great program, accomplish a great deed and achieve a great dream. In order to predict what policy Xi Jinping will pursue and how it will affect the world as a whole, it is advisable to study the results of his work as the president of the PRC.

After the election of Xi Jinping to the post of President of the People's Republic of China in 2012, the priorities of his domestic policy became the following: scientific and innovative development, the fight against corruption in the ranks of the party and state authorities, the fight against poverty, the development of social protection of the population, strengthening the fairness of income distribution and reducing the income gap. He identified expanding China's role in world processes and strengthening China's participation in global governance as a foreign policy priority (Matusova, 2012).

Since 2012, China has been undergoing a transformation of the economic development model from extensive to more qualitative, which is characterized by a change in the main levers of development from investment and trade to consumption and innovation (Fulin, 2012). At the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of China, held in 2017, it was confirmed that development is the basis and key to solving all problems in China. Development should be carried out on a scientific basis. In the conditions of the new era, the country's leadership is steadily implementing the concept of innovative, coordinated, green, open and accessible development (Zhang Hui, 2017). In 2018, the World Intellectual Property Organization released a ranking of 126 countries on the

Global Innovation Index, in which China rose five points in just one year, from 22nd to 17th, ahead of Japan (16th) and Canada (17th place) (<https://www.wipo.int>).

In 2019, China ranked first in the world for the number of authorized patents and inventions and ranked second in the number of internationally cited scientific papers. The volume of financial infusions into research and development reached 2,17 trillion yuan and was 2,19 % of GDP, which is equal to the average level of European countries. The contribution of China's scientific and technological progress to economic development reached 59,5 %. There are more than 24,000 industrial parks in the country. National independent innovation parks and zones for the development of new high technologies have become the main incubators of high-tech industries. The total volume of production of 169 zones of development of new high technologies in the country reached 12 trillion yuan. China has 225,000 high-tech enterprises developing the latest technologies and 151,000 ordinary small and medium-sized scientific and technical enterprises (<https://www.wipo.int>).

During Xi Jinping's tenure as the country's leader, the country's power and market competitiveness have increased significantly. China took first place in the world in terms of trade in goods, and second in terms of trade in services. During the period from 2012 to 2020, China's GDP grew by 72,9 %, while the USA's grew by only 28,9 %, the income per person exceeded 10,000 US dollars, accordingly, grew by 65,6 %, while in the USA it grew by only 8,4 %. The level of the gap between the GDP of China and the US decreased by 42,2 % over the corresponding period, from 90,6 % to 48,6 %. If the current pace of economic development is maintained, China has a chance to become the largest economy in the world (<https://www.macrotrends.net/charts/stock-indexes/>).

China's competitive advantage is that, compared to any other innovative country, the PRC has a significantly larger scientific and technical workforce, a wider range of university disciplines and a significant number of scientific schools, a wide coverage of industrial groups and a rich cultural heritage. During the 14th five-year period and the next 10 years, the government will make maximum efforts to form an innovative state in the following directions: creation of a new type of innovative systems of industrialization, digital informatization, a network of smart cities, and modern ecological agriculture.

Gains in the economic development of the country are accompanied by an active fight against manifestations of corruption. In launching his anti-corruption campaign, Xi Jinping vowed to "slay both tigers and flies", that is, to fight abuses by officials at all levels regardless of rank. After the 18th CPC Congress (November, 2012), 240 party leaders were under investigation. Over the period from 2012 to 2018, audit and disciplinary bodies of all levels initiated more than 1.1 million cases of corruption violations. According to the results of 2017, 71,600 people were punished in disciplinary and administrative procedures for violating the "Eight Rules for Improving the Work Style and Strengthening Relations with the People's Masses", which were adopted in December 2012 and called improve the work of the state apparatus and reduce the waste of civil servants. Offenders were exposed in the illegal issuance of subsidies and aid, receiving or giving gifts and money, organizing feasts at public expense, abuse in the use of official transport, organizing luxurious events, tours around the country and abroad at public expense, etc (<https://www.chinadailyhk.com/>). In

recent years, China's law enforcement agencies have been fighting for the return of corrupt officials who have disappeared abroad. In 2017, about 1,300 people involved in corruption cases were returned to the PRC, including 347 members of the CPC and officials of the state apparatus. The result of these efforts was the return to the treasury of about 980 million yuan (151 million US dollars). At the same time, the total amount of budget funds stolen and taken out of the country is estimated at 126 billion dollars USA.

During the years of reform, China has built the largest social security system covering the largest population in the world, raising the global level of social security coverage by 11 %. As of June, 2018, 925 million Chinese citizens were covered by basic pension insurance, 191 million by unemployment insurance, and 230 million by occupational injury insurance. China's health insurance system, which provides basic health insurance for urban residents as well as a new type of rural health insurance, covers more than 1,3 billion people. A total of 1,15 billion people have social insurance cards, which is 82,81 % of the country's population. China is comprehensively improving its social security system based on economic and social development. Since 2005, pensions for retirees have been increased annually. Per capita subsidies for basic health insurance for urban and rural residents increased from 240 yuan in 2012 to 490 yuan in 2018. In China, the system of providing social services through Internet technologies is developing. In 2016, a system was officially launched, which provides for the use of a social insurance card to pay real-time medical expenses for treatment outside the province where the patient is registered (Gordon, 2020).

Successes in economic development and social protection of the country's population made it possible to reduce the level of poverty by more than 800 million people. Today, the poverty level in China is 0,6 % of the country's population and it is constantly decreasing. The Chinese leadership is convinced that poverty will be eradicated in China during the 14th five-year plan (2021–2025) (<https://chinapower.csis.org>). During Xi Jinping's tenure as the President of the People's Republic of China, he became an active leader in the policy of strengthening China's international presence. He put forward a number of ideas for reforming global governance and initiated several global projects. In particular, Xi Jinping proposed the concept of China's participation in global governance based on three principles "joint discussion, joint construction and joint use". These three principles create an organic system of the Chinese concept of global governance. Joint discussion means that the basic principles, key areas, rules and mechanisms, development plans for global governance are discussed and agreed upon by all participants. Joint construction means the benefits and potential of all parties to jointly contribute to the reform and innovative renewal of the global governance system. Sharing means that participants fairly share the results and benefits of global governance.

The concept of "joint discussion, joint construction and joint use" encourages the joint search for solutions, the identification of the advantages of each side and their use, the joint use of the achieved results, which fully reflects the openness and inclusiveness of China's participation in global governance and corresponds to the development trend of democratization of international relations. The implementation of this concept is to fully reveal the existing potential, first of all, the activity and energy of developing countries, to reflect

the concerns and demands of all parties, to better protect the legitimate rights and interests of all parties, so that all participants feel the improvement of global governance.

China implements the concept of “joint discussion, joint construction and joint use” in global initiatives, in particular, “One Belt, One Road”. The content of the initiative “One Belt, One Road” consists in the coordination of political attitudes, the establishment of road and transport connections, unhindered trade, free circulation of capital and common aspirations of people.

The initiative is not only aimed at comprehensive pragmatic cooperation, but also at creating a community of political mutual trust, economic and cultural integration, a community of common destiny and responsibility. As part of the “One Belt, One Road” initiative, 138 countries and 30 international organizations signed 200 documents on cooperation with China. In order to provide financial support for the One Belt One Road initiative, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, the New BRICS Development Bank and the Silk Road Fund were created at the initiative of China (Oliynyk, 2019).

China’s leadership believes that in the current global governance system, developed countries are the leaders in establishing various rules and mechanisms, and are the main beneficiaries of the current global governance system, while a large number of emerging market and developing countries find it difficult to benefit a fair regime. These countries, according to their own strengths, also have difficulties in influencing global governance. Adhering to the correct concept of justice and benefit, and gradually increasing China’s voice and decision-making rights in global governance is not only a basic requirement for China to take on more responsibility, but also the only way to promote global governance in a more just and rational direction.

Thus, China is entering a new historical period with a clear plan for the country’s development and a strategy for reforming the global governance system. The Chinese leadership has a clear idea of the direction in which to develop and how to direct world development to the path of justice and mutual benefit.

The Chinese leadership believes that the urgent need of the Chinese economy and society at this historical stage is the continuation of the policy of multi-level external openness. China, in their opinion, should not only maintain the openness of its economy, but also actively participate in globalization, and such participation lays a strong foundation for the formation of a community with a common destiny for mankind. In continuation of this concept of joint development, a strategy of “double circulation” was developed based on the traditional strategy of external openness. The essence of this strategy is to create a new structure of development, within the framework of which a larger economic “inner cycle” is formed in the domestic market, which is connected with an “outer cycle” that effectively interact and complement each other (<https://www.cfr.org>).

It is expected that as a result of the proposed ideas of joint development, China will double its GDP in 2035 and thus reach the level of 20,000 US dollars per capita income, which will mean that China will finally cross the line between a society of middle and high affluence. This will be an epoch-making achievement for China, which will have serious consequences for all mankind.

The Chinese leadership is convinced that by 2049 China will implement

the plan of the “Chinese dream”, and all mankind will also be convinced that socialism, taking into account national specificities, is the best way of development (<https://odi.org>). In the 21st century China has become an active player on the world stage. China’s achievements in the modernization of the country were recognized by the world community. After China joined the World Trade Organization in 2001, the country began to actively integrate into the world economy. Before joining the WTO, the main sales markets for Chinese goods were developing countries. The WTO membership mandate gave China access to the markets of developed countries, and primarily the European Union (EU) and the USA. Today, China is the largest trading partner for the EU and the USA. The volume of trade in goods between China and the EU (excluding Great Britain) in 2020 amounted to 586 billion US dollars, and the volume of trade in services is 85,3 billion US dollars. As of the end of 2019, the total volume of mutual investments between the countries amounted to 268 billion US dollars (<https://www.bbc.com/>).

In 2020, trade between China and the United States amounted to 659,5 billion US dollars, from which China’s exports amounted to 539,2 billion US dollars, and accordingly, imports – 120,3 billion US dollars.

The volume of American investments in the property rights of Chinese companies amounted to 1,1 trillion US dollars, and 100 billion dollars in government securities USA. In turn, Chinese investors owned property rights of American companies in the amount of 720 billion US dollars, and 1.4 trillion US dollars. US government securities, of which \$1,05 trillion US accounts for US Treasury securities. Despite the trade war that the US started against China in 2019, the volume of trade between the two countries increased in 2020 by 15,2 % compared to 2019 \$ 559,5 billion).

The fact that Chinese exports to these countries are mainly represented by finished products is noteworthy, which is a fact of recognition of the quality of Chinese goods and the competitiveness of Chinese manufacturers. In turn, the lion’s share of American and European imports to China is represented by machines, equipment and technologies, including the most modern ones. For both the EU and the USA, China has remained a net exporter for a long time.

Despite all the contradictions that arise in relations between the EU and the USA, the leadership of China adheres to international law and tries to resolve existing problems exclusively in the international legal field. This behavior of China in the settlement of disputed issues is adequately perceived by both the EU and the USA, which is a sign of the efforts of all parties to reach a compromise and act exclusively in the international legal field. This is an example for the rest of the countries of the world how to resolve controversial issues while maintaining a high level of relations and avoiding confrontation.

It is worth considering separately the relations between China and the Russian Federation (RF). The countries are neighbors and have a long history of bilateral relations, which is characterized by periods of close cooperation and hostile confrontation, and even wars. In 2021, the countries celebrated the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty on Good Neighborliness, Friendship and Cooperation. The main principle that was laid down in the basis of the agreement was defined as follows – “Forever friends and never – enemies” (<https://www.heritage.org>). During this period of cooperation, as of 2019, the turnover between the countries increased more than 10 times, from 10,7 billion

US dollars up to 110,79 billion US dollars.

However, starting from 2020, there is a certain slowdown in trade between the countries. According to the intentions of the leaders of both countries, the parties plan to increase the volume of trade between the countries to 200 billion US dollars. Since 2010, China has remained Russia's largest trading partner. Like most developing countries, most of the exports of the Russian Federation are raw materials. China is an important partner of the Russian Federation in oil and gas transportation. Against the background of the aggravation of relations between the Russian Federation and Western countries, this sales channel for Russian energy carriers is gaining particular relevance.

If in 2009 the Russian Federation exported 15,3 million tons of oil to China, then in 2019 this indicator increased to 75,9 million tons of oil. China is solving the problem of the Russian Federation on the diversification of raw materials that are strategic for the country. Currently, the Sino-Russian gas pipeline has been laid between the countries, crossing 9 provinces, districts and cities of China. In December 2020, the eastern branch of the gas pipeline was put into operation, which made it possible to transport about 4 billion cubic meters of Russian gas. At the same time, the maximum capacity of the branch is 38 billion cubic meters of gas per year. In recent years, the Russian Federation has significantly increased the volume of exports of agricultural products to China. By 2024, the Russian Federation plans to increase the volume of exports of agricultural products by 18,8 % as in 2021 it accounted for 37,1 billion US dollars (<https://meatcommerce.com>).

Russia plays an important role in trade and economic cooperation between China and the EU under the "One Belt, One Road" initiative. Of the 6 economic corridors that operate within the framework of the initiative, 2 pass through the Russian Federation (Ukrainian-Chinese alliance of universities: KhPI concluded a new agreement). Countries are taking active measures to intensify scientific and technical cooperation, primarily in science-intensive industries – aviation and cosmonautics. The parties are developing work on the production of large wide-body aircraft and heavy rotorcraft. Currently, Chinese commercial banks have already established agency agreements with about 200 Russian banks, which stimulates an increase in settlements in national currencies, listing on stock exchanges, development of the insurance business and securities trading.

The Russian Federation is actively involving China in regional cooperation. The parties signed the "Program for the Development of Chinese-Russian Cooperation in the Far East for 2018–2024" and "Joint Plan for the Development of Agriculture in the Far East, the Baikal Region of Russia, and the Northeast of China". The China–Russia Regional Cooperation Investment Fund was created to provide financial support for bilateral cooperation projects.

Against the background of worsening relations with the West due to the military conflict between the Russian Federation and Ukraine, the leadership of the Russian Federation is actively developing relations with China, thus trying to reduce the consequences of the sanctions that were applied by the West as a response to the Russian Federation's violation of the norms of international law during the occupation of Crimea and part of the eastern territory of Ukraine.

Despite the close cooperation between China and the Russian Federation, China shows increased interest in Ukraine as well. Relations between Ukraine and China have acquired the status of a comprehensive strategic partnership,

which is a confirmation of the importance of relations for both countries. China is one of the first countries in the world to recognize the independence of Ukraine. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the countries in 1992, the countries have actively cooperated in various spheres: economic, scientific, cultural, tourism, etc (Oliylyk, 2019).

In recent years, China has become Ukraine's largest trading partner, taking first place among exporting countries and first among importing countries. In general, over 30 years, the volume of bilateral trade has grown almost 65 times – from 230 million US dollars at the time of establishment of diplomatic relations up to 15,4 billion US dollars in 2020 (<https://ukrstat.gov.ua/>).

The parties have held days of each other's culture more than once. In the field of science and technology, the Commission for Cooperation between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of the People's Republic of China has been operating since 2011, as well as a number of specialized Subcommittees. In 2021, the Alliance of Ukrainian and Chinese Universities was founded, uniting 49 Ukrainian and 92 Chinese educational institutions (Ukrainian-Chinese alliance of universities: KhPI concluded a new agreement).

It is important that there are no political claims, demands and contradictions between the parties. The leadership of Ukraine supported China's global initiative "One Belt, One Road" and the parties jointly developed a road map for Ukraine's participation in this global project. Despite the fact that China is one of the largest foreign investors in the world today, the level of investment cooperation between Ukraine and China is too low. The volume of Chinese investments in the economy of Ukraine is one of the lowest among the countries of Eastern Europe and amounts to about 260 million US dollars. The USA, while the volume of Ukrainian investments in the Chinese economy is about 20-30 million US dollars (<https://www.promoteukraine.org>).

This is due to the fact that during the period of relations between the two countries, there were cases when the Ukrainian side did not comply with the terms of contractual relations in the sphere of commerce, which led to losses on the Chinese side. When resolving disputed issues, the Ukrainian side behaved inconsistently, which negatively affected the trust of Chinese partners.

The position of the Chinese leadership on the issue of Ukraine's security is important. The PRC voluntarily provided security guarantees not to use nuclear weapons against Ukraine after its voluntary renunciation of nuclear weapons (<https://news.obozrevatel.com>). The country's leadership did not support the aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine in Crimea and the east of the country and proposed a plan for a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Unfortunately, this plan was not properly evaluated by state institutions.

The political and economic context of relations between China, the USA, the EU and the Russian Federation affects the foreign political and economic situation of Ukraine. This is due to the low number of factors that Ukraine should take into account in its foreign policy activities with China. First of all, having chosen the irreversibility of European and Euro-Atlantic integration, Ukraine has determined its strategic course to obtain full membership in the EU and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which is not unequivocally perceived in the world, and primarily by the Russian Federation (<https://gordonua.com>). If the countries of the West (the EU and the USA) supported Ukraine in its desire to join the community of European countries and its desire to build a common future

together with European countries, the Russian Federation, on the contrary, perceived it as a threat to its national interests and security.

Historically, Russia considered Ukraine to be its patrimony, therefore any attempts by Ukraine to break free from Russian suzerainty are met with resistance and cause aggression from the political circles of the Russian Federation. The leadership of the Russian Federation does not accept the arguments of Ukraine, which is trying to prove that the European integration of Ukraine in no way poses a threat to the national interests and security of the Russian Federation, but on the contrary only strengthens security and stability on the European continent. Therefore, the main vector of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation today is directed at any cost to deter Ukraine from its European integration intentions and to establish its control over the territory of Ukraine. The Russian Federation also uses the Chinese factor to achieve its foreign policy goals.

Secondly, the Russian Federation does not adequately perceive the development of Ukraine's relations with China. The rapprochement of Ukraine and China, the intensification of cooperation between the two countries, the leadership of the Russian Federation perceives this as a weakening of the Chinese factor in the foreign policy of the Russian Federation in order to realize the main goal of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation, namely, the removal of Ukraine from the political arena as an independent player and the preservation of control over political processes in Ukraine. The leadership of the Russian Federation is resorting to any measures to push Ukraine out of the Chinese market and exacerbate relations between Ukraine and China. Part of this has already happened. This is how the Russian Federation provides the main land routes that connect China with Europe within the framework of the "One Belt, One Road" initiative (<https://odi.org>).

On the part of the Russian Federation, measures are being taken to push Ukraine out of the markets in which Ukraine has traditionally held a strong position, in particular such as: military, aviation, metallurgical, mining, machine-building products, etc. Considering that the Russian Federation and China have signed a number of agreements on the joint development of the agricultural market in the Far East, the Baikal region of Russia and the Northeast of China, it can be expected that over time the demand for Ukrainian agricultural products from China will decrease. Ukraine's loss of China's market for agricultural products will have tragic consequences for Ukraine.

Thirdly, despite the fact that the Russian Federation is trying to get a comprehensive ally in China, the Chinese leadership does not support these intentions (Fulin, 2012). China's foreign policy is based on two fundamental principles, namely, to adhere to the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations with other countries and to avoid creating alliances. Attempts by the Russian Federation to create a military alliance with China in confrontation with the USA and its allies are not supported by the Chinese leadership. China adheres to the principle of multilateralism in its relations with other countries, therefore it prefers participation in joint associations and international organizations. Therefore, at the regional level, China cooperates with the Russian Federation within the framework of the SCO, BRICS and the CSTO (Collective Security Treaty Organization) (<https://en.odkb-csto.org/>). The joint use of forces is possible only in limited cases, which is provided for by the statutes of these associations, in particular: countering traditional external military threats (drug

proliferation, international terrorism, illegal migration) and combating new challenges and threats (cybercrime, instigation of information wars). Beijing did not recognize Russia's annexation of Crimea, South Ossetia, and Abkhazia, as the actions of the Russian Federation do not fall under any of these threats.

Fourth, the state institutions of Ukraine that are involved in the foreign policy activities of Ukraine should consider any measures taken by the Russian Federation to expand relations with China as an attempt to also weaken the relationship between Ukraine and China, and thus strengthen the Chinese factor in defending the Russian Federation's own foreign policy interests in conflict situations of the Russian Federation with the West.

Fifth, China and the United States are the largest superpowers in the world.

The parties compete with each other for the right to maintain leadership in the world, which leads to open confrontation in both the political and economic spheres. Since 2018, a trade war has been going on between the parties. The parties accuse each other of violating trade rules, protectionist actions in support of the national producer, cyber-espionage, etc. As a result, they introduce both punitive and restrictive sanctions against each other in order to defend their own interests in bilateral relations. However, this does not mean that the US and China refuse to cooperate.

Despite all the difficulties in relations, the parties are trying to resolve disputed issues in the legal field by applying to international courts, as well as by revising existing or signing new agreements. The trade confrontation did not lead to a decrease in trade between the countries, on the contrary, the volume of trade is increasing, although there is a certain change in the structure of trade (<https://fortunly.com/statistics/us-china-trade-war/>).

It is important that both countries do not perceive the leadership of the Russian Federation in the way it demonstrates it. If Russia violates the norms of international law, they react decisively. This is confirmed by the conflict in Kazakhstan that began at the beginning of this year. At the beginning of January, mass protests broke out in Kazakhstan due to a sharp jump in the price of liquefied gas, after which the government resigned, and a state of emergency was imposed throughout the country. States of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). The CSTO Council decided to send peacekeepers to Kazakhstan. Russian soldiers arrived in Kazakhstan as peacekeepers (<https://www.tellerreport.com/kazakhstan.Byg1tYz4hK.html>).

However, Western countries, and primarily the United States, condemned the actions of the Russian leadership and demanded the withdrawal of the Russian contingent from the country. The leadership of China also spoke against the long stay of the Russian military on the territory of Kazakhstan. If the leadership of the Russian Federation did not respond to the statements of the Western leaders, however, after the statements of the Chinese leader, the withdrawal of the Russian military began. The events in Kazakhstan show that the leadership of China is not an undisputed supporter of the policy of the leadership of the Russian Federation. This is also a confirmation factor that China is ready to defend its own interests internationally despite the current state of relations between the countries.

Conclusions. Taking into account the presented facts and the strategic importance of Ukraine's partnership with China, it is advisable to review the state of relations between the two countries and fill them with the real content of a comprehensive strategic partnership. In this context, we suggest taking into

account the following recommendations.

First, to conduct an analysis of the contractual framework between the two countries, identify weak points, facts of violations and develop a set of measures to eliminate them.

Secondly, to introduce a new format of interaction between the governments of countries based on the experience of the EU.

Thirdly, taking into account the European integration interests of Ukraine, it is expedient to join the EU policy towards China for the sake of joint participation of the country together with European and Chinese partners in the development of relations between Europe and China. Today, the EU is actively developing relations with China, and China is the EU's largest partner. The parties have relations of strategic partnership. Since 1998, the EU and China have held an annual EU–China Summit, at which the parties discuss a wide range of bilateral cooperation issues, including strategic partnership, trade, climate change, sustainable urbanization partnership, high-level people-to-people dialogue, enhanced energy cooperation and others. In 2021, the EU and the People's Republic of China concluded a Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (<https://www.globenewswire.com>), which provides the following opportunities: guarantees an unprecedented level of access to the EU for investors from China; allows EU companies to buy or create new companies in key sectors of the Chinese economy; providing assistance to level the playing field for EU companies in China; China's commitment to state-owned enterprise regulations and subsidy transparency.

Ukraine should join all EU–China cooperation mechanisms, in particular the annual EU–China Summit and jointly and participate in all programs and initiatives implemented within this format.

Fourth, the relevant institutions of Ukraine should take a more active and pragmatic position in relations with China, in particular, this concerns Ukraine's participation in the global initiative "One Belt, One Road", the attraction of Chinese investments in the country's economy, the creation of joint science-intensive enterprises, scientific and industrial parks, etc. In the existing conditions, it is necessary to take preventive and anticipatory measures in order to oppose the Russian Federation in its intentions to "quarrel" Ukraine with China. The initiator of the global idea "One Belt, One Road", Chinese leader Xi Jinping has repeatedly stated that China is open to any initiatives from any country to participate in the global project. Considering the current state of Ukrainian–Russian relations, Ukraine should propose the "New Eurasia" project for the construction of alternative corridors within the framework of the "One Belt, One Road" initiative, which bypass the territory of the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan (taking into account the political situation in this country).

In particular, such corridors can pass through South Asia, the Middle East and Eastern Europe. A potential corridor could be the construction of a railway track in the direction: China – India – Pakistan – Iran – Turkey – Bulgaria – Romania – Ukraine. Given the presence of territorial disputes between India and Pakistan, as well as India and China, it is possible to use an alternative corridor bypassing India, in particular in the following form: China – Pakistan (via Gwadar port) – Iran – Turkey – Bulgaria – Romania – Ukraine. Potentially, this railway branch can be extended through the territory of Poland to the countries of Northern Europe. During the times of the Great Silk Road, Ukraine was the

connecting link between the countries of Northern Europe and the Great Silk Road.

In addition, branching branches from other countries of the South, Middle and Middle East, Eastern Europe and even African countries can potentially be attached to this track. Considering the fact that the region of the South, Near and Middle East has the most powerful reserves of energy carriers (oil and gas), the construction of such a corridor will also allow solving the energy needs of Ukraine and the EU, and thus ensure the energy and political security of Ukraine. The need for such a corridor has been ripe for a long time, but the presence of Russia in Central Asia and its influence on the countries of the Middle and South East, as well as the absence of a strong player in the region, have held back its construction.

Today, such a player is China, which is capable of conducting a foreign policy independent of the Russian Federation, possesses the necessary technologies and financial resources. Moreover, the construction of such a corridor is in China's interests. For the construction of this corridor, it is advisable to create an international consortium with the participation of potential user countries, as well as to create a system of joint management, security and control. The implementation of the project will activate business activity on the Eurasian continent in a new format and increase its importance in the world.

It will also reduce the role of the Russian Federation on the Eurasian continent, which considers itself the center of the continent. The construction of the "New Eurasia" transport corridor will make it possible to use the unique geographical position of Ukraine and turn it into a world transport center that will connect all the continents of the world, which in turn will facilitate the movement of goods, people, capital and investments. The involvement of a significant number of countries in the project will also strengthen Ukraine's security.

Fifth, taking into account Ukraine's need for external investments and financial resources, the country's government should review the package of financial proposals from the Chinese government in the amount of 20 billion US dollars, which was proposed by the Chinese side during the visit of the President of the People's Republic of China Hu Jintao to Ukraine in 2012 and to fill this package with real projects.

Sixth, Ukraine should stay out of the confrontation between the US and China and pursue an independent foreign policy towards each of these countries based on national interests. Ukraine's European integration and Euro-Atlantic progress cannot be a restraining factor in the development of Ukraine's relations both with China and the countries of other continents. The relations between the USA and China should not affect the relations between Ukraine and the People's Republic of China either.

Seventh, Ukraine should initiate cooperation with China in the field of security in order to acquire the last reliable partner and guarantor of national security. China views Ukraine as an important player on the world stage, since Ukraine occupies an advantageous geographical position and possesses unique natural and developed human resources, cooperation with which allows solving two of the most important tasks for China: first, to avoid dependence on the Russian Federation as the only transport land corridor in Europe; secondly, to solve the problem of providing the population with food products, the demand for which is growing every year.

In addition, an important factor is that the level of education and technical training of the labor force in Ukraine is sufficiently high, which allows for high-tech and high-tech investments, as well as the location of science-intensive production of any industry and direction. China faced the problem of underdeveloped labor force in developing countries when it started investing in countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia. This is a restraining factor for placing modern productions in these countries. That is why Chinese investors spend a lot of money on education and training of personnel to work on the objects in which they invest. The problem turned out to be quite acute, but it is gradually being solved.

The country's government must demonstrate readiness to actively develop cooperation with China, as well as a responsible attitude to the agreements already reached between the parties. During a speech at the Bruges College in 2014, the Chinese leader said: "...we want to create a bridge of friendship and cooperation in Eurasia. We need to make joint efforts to build the four bridges of peace, growth, reform and civilizational progress, so as to make the comprehensive strategic partnership relationship between China and Europe even more meaningful and influential" (Xi Jinping, 2014). Ukraine has every chance to become the business center of Eurasia and the main bridge connecting Asia and Europe.

Conflict of Interest and other Ethics Statements

The author declares no conflict of interest.

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Олег ОЛІЙНИК

ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ КИТАЮ В УМОВАХ НОВОГО ІСТОРИЧНОГО ПЕРІОДУ: РЕКОМЕНДАЦІЇ ДЛЯ УКРАЇНИ

Анотація. Стаття присвячена дослідженню перспектив розвитку Китаю в новий історичний період, визначений на 6-му Пленумі ЦК Комуністичної партії Китаю. Досліджено сутність історичних пленумів, що відбулися в історії Китаю, проаналізовано їх вплив на розвиток країни, а також значення 6-го Пленуму ЦК Комуністичної партії Китаю для досягнення історичних цілей у Китаї. З'ясовано розвиток Китаю на період до 2050 року. Досліджено основні концептуальні висновки та програмні рішення 6-го Пленуму ЦК Компартії Китаю та їх місце в концепції побудови "соціалізму з китайською специфікою".

Встановлено роль нинішнього лідера країни, підсумовано результати його діяльності на прикладі соціально-економічного розвитку країни за період його правління, надано оцінку його діяльності. У статті проаналізовано стан відносин Китаю з ЄС, США та Росією, визначено слабкі сторони, виклики та перспективи розвитку відносин. Окремо досліджено позицію Китаю щодо російсько-української війни. Доведено, що Китай займає стриману позицію щодо російсько-української війни, а його зовнішня політика базується на фундаментальних принципах мирного співіснування, встановлених ООН.

Проаналізовано стан та розвиток українсько-китайських відносин. Вивчено основні напрямки співробітництва між Україною та Китаєм, стан торгівлі та інвестиційної діяльності між країнами. За результатами дослідження розроблено рекомендації щодо розвитку відносин між Україною та Китаєм як стратегічними партнерами.

Ключові слова: соціалізм з китайською специфікою, нова епоха, історичні цілі, китаїзація марксизму, кооперація.

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