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# АЙМАҚТАНУ/ REGIONAL STUDIES/ РЕГИОНОВЕДЕНИЕ

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# Results of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of China: a new message to the world

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**Abstract.** China is rightfully recognized as one of the largest economies in the world and an important political player in the international arena. The dynamic and continuous development of the country's economic component, even in the post-COVID period, gives China a powerful impetus to further maintain the country's stability and image throughout the world. Today it is impossible not to listen to the events taking place in China. Every five years, China hosts congresses of the ruling Communist Party, at which important vectors of development for the coming years are traditionally determined, urgent tasks are set, and ideological decisions are made. Given the importance of the PRC in the world community, party congresses are increasingly attracting attention and are being vigorously discussed on the sidelines of foreign governments. The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of China has become a resonant and historic event not only for the entire Chinese people, but also for countries that have close ties with China. In this study, we applied the method of modern structural functionalism, as well as political science, historical and sociological research methods. The article attempts to analyse the opinions of foreign experts, through the prism of which it is possible to see the situation in China in more detail. As a result of the research, an understanding of the main priorities of the new administration was reached, which carry important aspects of China's political landscape.

**Keywords:** Communists, new ruling elite, ideology, socialism with Chinese characteristics, congress, Taiwan issue.

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## Introduction

The Congresses of the CPC are considered the main events that carry the key tasks and new stages of China's development. The First National Congress of the Communist Party of China, or First Congress of the CPC, was held at the French Concession in Shanghai, South Lake in Jiaxing, Zhejiang Province, from July 23 to 31, 1921, and was attended by 13 delegates from all regions. The convening of the congress announced the formal establishment of the Communist Party of China. From the founding of the Party to the birth of New China, there was a stage of a new democratic revolution led by the Party. From the founding of New China to the 11th Third Plenum of the CPC Central Committee, it was a stage of transformation from new democracy to socialism and the building of socialism under the leadership of the Party. After the Third Plenum of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee, a new period of reform, opening and socialist modernization began under the leadership of the party. Henceforth, a completely new, united proletarian party arose in China, the leadership of which was Marxism-Leninism. Thus, the Chinese proletariat has a military headquarters, the Chinese working masses have the hope of turning over a new leaf and liberation, and the Chinese revolution has a new look [1].

Today, the CCP has become one of the political giants, with 96.7 million members in its ranks. Since 1977, party congresses have been held every five years. The main congress of the Communist Party of China is held every five years and includes 2296 delegates representing all regions of the PRC [2].

Chinese Premier Li Keqiang and three other members of the Politburo Standing Committee of the ruling Communist Party were expelled from the newly elected Central Committee. 2296 delegates to the party congress elected the Central Committee of 205 people, as well as 171 deputies. The members of the current Standing Committee, Li Keqiang (67 years old), Li Zhanshu (72 years old), Wang Yang (67 years old) and Han Zheng (68 years old) were excluded from the new composition of the Central Committee. Traditionally, Li Zhanshu and Han Zheng were expected to retire due to age norms. Also excluded were Yi Gang, a 64-year-old governor of China's central bank, and Guo Shuqing, a 66-year-old chairman of the banking and insurance regulator. Vice Premier Liu He, 70, who is also called China's "economic czar", was also excluded from the new Central Committee [3].

The decisions of the congresses of the Communist Party, as you know, are prepared in advance, and all the delegates who arrived from all regions of the PRC in the House of People's Representatives know that the main core of the party remains for one more term and listen to the announcement. But it is worth noting that for other states the information remains undisclosed to the last and some intrigue remains. Undoubtedly, in the end, Xi Jinping's leading role in the party was again proven and he was elected for a third term as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

At the congresses, the main course does not change and there are no fundamental changes. On October 23, 2022, at the first plenary session of the 20th CPC Central Committee, the General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, members of the Politburo and the Standing Committee were elected. The next congress symbolizes the completion of the previous five-year cycle in the political process of the PRC and the beginning of a new, already third five-year cycle, the

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main core of which is Xi Jinping. At the congress, the very results of the ten-year policy of the President of the PRC were announced, which were strengthened on the basis of maintaining the previous strategy [4].

The main purpose of this article is to study the voiced decisions of the ruling party of the PRC, to consider the main development trends, in addition to resolving internal contradictions and socio-economic problems, there is reason to believe that this congress carries many prerequisites addressed to certain systems of the world community.

#### Methodological basis of the study

The article takes as a basis a systematic approach and the method of modern structural functionalism, where the author uses political, historical and sociological methods of research, it is also important to note that in many approaches the author proceeded from the methods of actualization.

#### Discussion

On the first day of the congress, Xi Jinping delivered a speech: "Holding high the great banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics, stand unitedly for the all-round construction of a modernized socialist state" [6]. According to the old tradition, this kind of presentation at CCP conventions became an important report in summarizing the results of the government. However, this report should be taken as a political philosophy followed by Xi Jinping himself and the party.

The main goal of the CCP is to build a "modernized socialist state", which means achieving full socialism with Chinese characteristics by the centenary of the People's Republic of China, that is, by 2049. Of course, there are a number of internal issues in the PRC, this is the fight against poverty and the deep traditions of the Chinese, so Chinese socialism uses market levers and differs from the generally accepted model of socialism.

Since his election as General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee in 2012, Xi Jinping has been a leader who has paid great attention to party building, cracking down on corruption, and redefining discipline. In the past 10 years, the CCP has become stronger.

Xi Jinping, 69, after 10 years at the head of the Chinese Communist Party after the 1st Plenum of the 20th CPC Central Committee, where he was elected General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, again promised to lead the country to national revival along the Chinese path of modernization: "We will firmly mindful of the character and main goal of the party, as well as our own mission and responsibility, we will carefully fulfill our duty and work diligently so as not to deceive the trust of the party and our people in any way [6].

In 2012, Xi Jinping said that he and his colleagues would lead the CCP on the path of national rejuvenation, strive for a better life for the people, and solve problems within the party. In ten years, China under Xi has witnessed a series of historic changes: the size of the Chinese economy has doubled to more than 114 trillion yuan (\$16 trillion), absolute poverty has been eliminated, and average prosperity has been achieved for the country's 1.4 billion people. It

was not without serious trials for China: the COVID-19 pandemic, the trade war with the United States and pressure on the economy became a real challenge for the further development of the Celestial Empire and tested the abilities of the "party core" [6].

# Assessment of the global expert community

Hugo Jones, Assistant Fellow at the London School of Economics and Political Science, stressed the importance of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party, adding that it is probably the most important political event of the century in China. He also noted that there are three main reasons why the 20th Congress is so important. First, it is the most important event in China's political calendar, which happens every five years. Second, it comes at a very important stage in China's "national renaissance" process. This is the first major event since the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. When the CCP celebrates its centenary in 2021, it will announce that it has achieved its dream of building a moderately prosperous society. China is now entering a "new era" and has embarked on a new path towards achieving its second 100-year goal. Third, the Congress is taking place at an unusual time in the world, in a context that the Chinese political narrative calls "the unprecedented changes of the century." The Chinese Communist Party is well aware of the global context, which also influenced the work of the 20th Congress [5].

Robert Kuhn, author of How China's Leaders Think, expressed the opinion that Xi Jinping has an objective and comprehensive understanding of the current situation in China, as well as detailed and rational thinking about the future of the country [5].

Chinese President Xi Jinping consolidated his power with a term extension in 2018. Thanks to these changes, the party leader retains the opportunity to remain in this post for the remaining terms [7]. Thus, the President of the People's Republic of China took measures so that at the congress itself there would be no discussions about the appointment of a new leader, because in the political sphere China is not used to disturb the system, it is necessary to ensure stability and confidence in the future. According to Mikhail Karpov, an orientalist and an expert on China, all the predecessors of the current Chairman, in accordance with the Constitution, could be extended for a second term. Deng Xiaoping became the first Chairman to amend the Constitution to extend his term for two terms. Xi Jinping came to power in the crisis year of 2012: rivalry among political elites, economic crisis, corruption, monetary overhang and many internal contradictions. Xi Jinping and Li Keqiang jointly began work on financial liberalization. However, economic reforms were not so successful, the previous rates of economic growth were not observed, the trade war with the United States and the pandemic, all this became, to a certain extent, the reason for strengthening the position of Xi Jinping, who could become a strong "head of the family." Given that China has a completely different political culture, no one will organize a coup. There have certainly been groups that have been going on since the days of Deng Xiaoping. However, many of them disappeared amid the fight against corruption. In China, it is customary to keep the situation under control, many are afraid of destabilization [8]. It is not for nothing that the PRC has recently begun to often criticize the short electoral cycles in the United States, when each time one has to fight for power with a "wealth game" [9]. Based

on considerations of further stability, Xi Jinping continued the initiated policy of managing the party and the state.

For many analysts in recent months, it has been a mystery who will become the "Second Person" after Xi Jinping. State Council Premier Li Keqiang was constitutionally unable to be renewed for a third term. Western analysts still expected a neo-liberal direction and agreed that the next premier would be Wang Yang (67), chairman of the People's Political Consultative Council. China [10]. But "the second person was" the 63-year-old Secretary of the Shanghai Party Committee - Li Qiang, who is considered one of the closest to the current Chairman of the PRC. As a result, Li Qiang was appointed Party Secretary of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, who eventually became the new Premier. In addition to Li Qiang, three new members joined the Standing Committee: Cai Qi, former secretary of the Beijing Party Committee, Li Xi, former secretary of the Party Committee of Guangdong Province, and Ding Xuexiang, head of the Office of the Central Committee, who are allies of Xi Jinping.

British edition of The Guardian claims that Xi Jinping has cleared his path of all rivals and bringing in close allies could increase the risk of an attack on Taiwan. They also write that there are no possible people left in the party who could object to the military takeover of Taiwan [11].

The current report of the Chinese leader differed from previous formulations about the market and high rates of economic development, where the main focus was on social development – the human good and its interests. Xi Jinping paid special attention to the fact that the people themselves play the main role in the development concept of the PRC, therefore, importance was attached to health care, insurance, the pension system, the policy of childbearing, and even reducing the load in schools. Of course, these measures will be taken in order to improve the demographic component and prevent social inequality. One of the important points was given to security. In a new report, the President of the People's Republic of China says that along with development, China is facing risks and challenges, as well as hard-to-predict events like the "black swan" and "grey rhinoceros" [12]. This statement, using Western political terms, sounded in vain against the backdrop of the development of the "Taiwan issue".

According to CIA Deputy Director David Cohen, Xi Jinping ordered the Chinese military to develop a capability to take control of Taiwan by 2027. Amid escalating tensions between China and the US, Beijing insists that Taipei is part of its territory and that it will be reunited "by force if necessary". However, the text of the report itself does not contain any country or harsh statements on this issue. To the provocation of American observers, the Chinese edition of the Global Times, in an article titled "Signals sent to the American side by the 20th Congress of the CCP," also paid tribute: "After the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, much attention was paid to the direction of development of relations between the United States and China. The White House and State Department said they will continue to "responsibly manage competition with China," seek cooperation in areas where interests overlap, and ensure that channels of communication remain open. If this is Washington's "standard line", then some US political elites and public opinion are showing a more realistic attitude towards China, preaching the need to prepare for a conflict between the US and China, and escalating the US-China confrontation. But this reflects their inner desire to push the US to "prepare for a conflict between the US and China" [13]. At the same time, the report of the 20th National Congress

also clearly emphasizes that China unequivocally opposes any hegemonism and power politics, unwaveringly opposes any unilateralism, protectionism and intimidation; China opposes the Cold War mentality, interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and double standards. In these statements, no country, including the United States, is named.

Considering the views of foreign analysts, it can be argued that many of them point to the complex political dynamics within the CCP and the importance of Xi Jinping as China's leader, while raising concerns about his next steps in the international arena, especially with regard to Taiwan. Some of the experts believe that the appointment of Li Qiang as Premier and the addition of three new members close to Xi Jinping to the Standing Committee strengthens Xi's position and his control over key positions in the government.

There is concern among some observers about the possible increased risk of military conflict with Taiwan considering the cleansing of the political arena of Xi Jinping's rivals and the consolidation of his power. There is debate within the US about preparing for conflict with China, with some groups calling for a tougher stance towards China. This may reflect internal differences in US policy towards the PRC. However, China has its own view of the situation, and given its restrained but decisive policy in the global arena, there is no rash action in the near future.

### Addressing the issue through the prism of Taiwan

Beijing views the island as an autonomous Chinese province and has long sought reunification though Taiwan sees itself as an independent state. Chairman Xi Jinping said China harbours ambitions of a 'peaceful reunification' with the island but warned it 'must be realised and will definitely be realised' [14].

26th of April 2022, the Taiwan Public Opinion Foundation, a pro-green organization on the island, released the latest polling data and made an interpretation. As to whether the United States would send troops to "help" Taiwan in the event of a future war in the Taiwan Strait, survey participants used the word "failure of confidence" to describe the situation. The survey shows that Taiwanese people have moved from optimism to pessimism.

The Foundation's latest survey that the proportion of those who believe that the mainland could attack Taiwan in the future increased from 26.6% two months ago to 38.6%, while the proportion of those who believe it is impossible has decreased from 62.9% to 50.6%. According to the chairman of the foundation, the attitude of the Taiwanese people has changed dramatically compared to the survey conducted two months ago, and the gap between the two sides has sharply narrowed from 36.3 percentage points to 12 percentage points, that is, three times. In addition, the poll asked whether the US would "help" Taiwan in its defense. According to the survey, 8.5% believe in it very strongly, 27.8% believe in it very little, 29% believe in it not very strongly, 24.8% do not believe in it at all, and 9.7% have no opinion, do not know or refuse to answer. Most Taiwanese are skeptical or pessimistic about the collapse of confidence and the collapse of hopes for "aid" to Taiwan from the US military.

On further analysis, 24% of neutral voters believe and 61% do not believe; As for the age group, 31% of 20–24-year-old believe and 66% do not believe, 33% of 35–44-year-old believe

and 56% do not believe. Compared to last month, it seems that the attitude of more than half of Taiwanese who do not believe that the United States will send troops to "help" Taiwan's defense has already settled and stabilized by more than half. The formation of such a perception can make the Taiwanese more aware of the reality and how to find an acceptable way to survive and develop through a deep understanding of the international and interdimensional situation [15].

As noted in the report of the 20th National Congress, Chinese modernization is "modernization following the path of peaceful development." The Chinese argue that if a country is strong, it should not be a hegemon. Being a hegemon or a militarist is not in Chinese blood, and Chinese modernization is not achieved by war and plunder.

### Conclusion

Considering that the contours of today's geopolitical world order are gradually emerging under polycentric systems led by Western powers and other countries such as China, the 20th Congress of the CPC has rightfully become the most significant event in the political calendar of the PRC and many states that bind themselves to one or another form with China. The report read out by the Chairman of the People's Republic of China outlined the main directions for further development and solution of the tasks set for the second century of the Celestial Empire. The Chinese Communist Party, of which Xi Jinping is the core, and his policies for ten years have strengthened China's position as a world economic and political giant, whose opinion must be reckoned with. Western analysts are very wary of the signals sent by the 20th Congress of the CCP, and some of them hastily claim that an attack on Taiwan could happen in the near future. To be sure, relations between China and the US deteriorated sharply after US House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan in August . This event became a crisis line between the two states, the entire world community watched the progress of the visit of the American congressman [16]. In turn, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi said that the reunification of the mainland with Taiwan is historically inevitable, the diplomat also added that this process "will end with the rejuvenation of the nation in the future." Wang Yi reiterated that China will not allow Washington to interfere in the internal affairs of the country [17].

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party is the key to understanding China's future and grasping the pulse of the country's main party. The report of the 20th Congress confirms that China insists on developing friendship and cooperation with other countries based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence, promotes the construction of a new type of international relations, deepens and expands global partnership on the basis of equality, openness and cooperation, strives to expand rapprochement interests with other countries. Important and key points of the report were social priorities and the concept of "security" in the era of the new world order.

As a result of analyzing this issue, it can be said that the results of the 20th Congress have a deep historical role, and everything proclaimed was approved at the annual session of the National People's Congress. In the process of cadre renewal from supporters of maintaining relations with the West in the previous forms, it can be assumed that China's position becomes more assertive and confident. After the conclusion of the Congress in March 2023, the annual

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session of the National People's Congress, where the decisions at the Congress became more detailed. It was at the March session that the Congress's personnel decisions were implemented; the head of the State Council and his (first) deputy, the heads of the National People's Congress Post Committee and the All-China Committee of the NPCSC were confirmed in their posts. The seven members of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee elected by the plenum began their work. At the session of the National People's Congress, Xi Jinping was re-elected President of the People's Republic of China and head of the Central Military Commission. Although President Xi Jinping has broken the rules of term limits and remains in power with no apparent loss to his authority, he continues to govern with a fully loyal administrative apparatus. Li Qiang, the new Premier of the State Council, addressed the nation in March and outlined his team's basic principles and goals for the next five years [18]. The prime minister focused on the needs of ordinary citizens, recognizing that quality of life is more important to them than GDP figures, and outlined plans to improve economic development, promote cooperation with Taiwan, and seek to rebuild the country's economy.

China retains some of the legacy of the reform period, but is emphasising technological development, social aspects and the resolution of problems related to economic growth and social injustice.

It can be assumed that despite domestic stability, there will be no significant policy changes expected. There may be personnel and structural changes, but the main strategic courses will remain unchanged.

# **Author Contribution**

The author formed the idea and developed the key aims and objectives of the article, and also collected, analyzed and interpreted the data obtained.

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#### Қытай Коммунистік партиясы ХХ съезінің қорытындылары: әлемге жаңа жолдау

**Аңдатпа.** Қытай әлемдегі ең ірі экономикалық елдердің бірі және халықаралық аренадағы маңызды саяси ойыншы ретінде танылды. Елдің экономикалық құрамдас бөлігінің серпінді және үздіксіз дамуы, тіпті ковидтен кейінгі кезеңде Қытайға елдің тұрақтылығы мен бүкіл әлемде имиджін одан әрі сақтауға қуатты серпін береді. Бүгінде Қытайда болып жатқан оқиғаларға құлақ аспау мүмкін емес. Қытайда бес жыл сайын билік басындағы коммунистік партияның съездері өтіп, онда дәстүрлі түрде алдағы дамудың маңызды векторлары белгіленіп, өзекті міндеттер қойылып, идеологиялық шешімдер қабылданады. ҚХР-дың әлемдік қауымдастықтағы маңыздылығын ескере отырып, партия съездеріне ерекше назар аударылып, шетел үкіметі алаңдарында қызу талқылануда. Қытай Коммунистік партиясының ХХ съезі бүкіл Қытай халқы үшін ғана емес, Қытаймен тығыз байланыстағы елдер үшін де резонансты, әрі тарихи оқиғаға айналды. Бұл зерттеуде қазіргі құрылымдық функционализм әдісі, сонымен қатар саясаттану, тарихи және социологиялық зерттеу әдістері қолданылды. Мақалада Қытайдағы жағдайды толығырақ қарастыруға мүмкіндік беретін шетелдік сарапшылардың пікірлеріне талдау жасалды. Зерттеу нәтижесінде Қытайдың саяси ландшафтының маңызды аспектілерін қамтитын жаңа әкімшіліктің негізгі басымдықтары туралы түсінікке қол жеткізілді.

**Түйін сөздер:** коммунистер, жаңа басқарушы элита, идеология, қытайлық сипаттағы социализм, конгресс, Тайвань мәселесі

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### Итоги ХХ съезда Коммунистической партии Китая: новое послание миру

Аннотация. Китай по праву признается одним из крупнейших экономик мира и важным политическим игроком на международной арене. Динамичное и продолжительное развитие экономической составляющей страны даже в постковидный период дает Китаю мощный импульс для дальнейшего поддержания стабильности и имиджа страны во всем мире. Сегодня невозможно не прислушиваться к событиям, происходящим в Поднебесной. Каждые пять лет в КНР проходят съезды правящей Коммунистической партии, на которых традиционно определяются важные векторы развития на последующие годы, ставятся актуальные задачи и принимаются идеологические решения. Учитывая значимость КНР в мировом сообществе, партийные съезды все больше приковывают внимание и бурно обсуждаются в кулуарах правительств зарубежных стран. ХХ-й съезд Коммунистической партии Китая стал резонансным и историческим событием не только для всего китайского народа, но и для стран, имеющих тесные связи с Китаем. В данном исследовании был применен метод современного структурного функционализма, а также политологические, исторические и социологические методы исследования. В статье предпринята попытка анализа мнений зарубежных экспертов, через призму которых можно более детально разглядеть ситуацию, сложившуюся в КНР. В результате исследования было достигнуто понимание о главных приоритетах новой администрации, несущих в себе важные аспекты политического ландшафта Китая.

**Ключевые слова:** коммунисты, новая правящая элита, идеология, социализм с китайской спецификой, съезд, тайванький вопрос.

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