
The economic expansion of China

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China's main geopolitical goal for the near future is to become a leader in East Asia. For two thousand years, China has been an exceptional force in East Asia. In 1842, the Nanking Treaty imposed on China was concluded, according to which China actually fell into dependence on the West and Japan. At present, China wants to regain its historical role, i.e. to become a leader in the region, and thanks to this status, to a greater extent participate in the formation of the geopolitical picture of the world. At present, China has powerful geopolitical resources, thanks to which it can achieve its goal: Demographic - more than 1 billion 300 million people, the territorial 9560 thousand sq. km. Is the third largest in the world second only to Russia and Canada. Geopolitical center: the possession of a large territory and a convenient location in terms of solving geopolitical problems makes China a geopolitical center.

Economic resource: the economic growth rate is very high - 9% -10% per year. In 1950, China accounted for 3.3% of world GDP, in 1992 - 10%, and according to forecasts for 2025 - more than 20%. Since 2005, China has been ranked fourth in the world (ousted Great Britain from this place) after the United States (\$ 13 trillion), Japan (4.464 trillion dollars) and Germany. (2.890 trillion dollars). The volume of foreign direct investment in China is \$ 50 billion. If the growth rates of the United States and China remain the same, by 2050 China's economy will be able to break out in first place. China's currency reserves - 91 billion dollars, are inferior in the world by this indicator only to Japan and Taiwan.

Military resource: at the end of the 1980s, China revised its military strategy, moving from the concept of defense in a big war with the Soviet Union to a regional strategy, in which particular importance was attached to the prospective assessment of forces. The powerful economy of China creates a powerful military force. China is a nuclear power and gradually increases its nuclear missile potential. China now has 300 warheads for strategic missiles. There are about 6000 warheads in the Russian and American arsenals, but according to the agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive potentials (May 2002), their total number by the end of 2012 should be gradually reduced by about three times.

The number of Chinese warheads in the next decade will grow to 600-900 units, that is, China's nuclear arsenal will be comparable to the American and Russian ones. The number of armed forces of about 4 million people: between 1988 and 1993, defense spending rose by 50% in real

terms. At present, according to the analytical services of the Pentagon, China's military expenditures amount to about \$ 90 billion a year. The annual growth of the military budget of China is more than 20%. As a country of an authoritarian regime, China naturally does not disclose the true annual volume of funds allocated by the republic for military purposes officially stating that it amounts to \$ 30 billion a year. Of course, the civilized world is worried about the insufficiently open build-up of military potential.

China is a permanent member of the UN Security Council, has veto power Included in various regional and global intergovernmental organizations.

China's desire for regional leadership is complicated by the following internal problems:

Uneven development of 29 provinces and the possible tensions of interaction between the economy of China, its society and the political system as a result of globalization and rapid economic change. The Chinese economy has been steadily growing for a quarter of a century, but the gap between the poor and the rich is widening. GDP per capita of only 7,600 dollars is the 109th place in the world. According to Chinese data, the most affluent 20% of the population receive 50% of all income, while the poorest 20% are satisfied with 4.7%. Health care and education remain an inaccessible dream for many. In 2004 in China there were about 74 thousand spontaneous popular protests, in 2003 - 58 thousand; Unemployment, the problem of external debt; China's major political challenge is Tibet and Xinjiang, over which China has gained control. Tibet was in fact an independent state until 1959, when Beijing eliminated this independence, brutally suppressing the uprising of the local population. Chinese troops are constantly in Tibet and the policy of Assimilation is being pursued ("Han" is the main nationality of China, making up 90% of its population). This is also the policy of Beijing in Xinjiang inhabited by the Uyghurs. This once nomadic Muslim people have always been to Kyrgyz Republic and Kazakhstan, where in the 1950s more than 2 million Uyghurs left the Chinese oppressors. Now, after the mass resettlement of the Han population in Xinjiang, the Uyghurs in their homeland are becoming an ethnic minority.

The main vectors of Chinese geopolitics: China, like Russia, is actively and persistently upholding the idea of a multi-polar world and is preparing itself for the role of one of the centers of the future multi-polar world. China acts very swiftly and consistently, putting its national interests at the forefront. China's geopolitics is independent and pragmatic. China is already challenging US interests and positions in East Asia. So in 1996-

1999 they showed themselves in this direction during the dispute over the status of Taiwan, democracy in Hong Kong, the future of Tibet, the unification of Korea and control of the islands in the South China Sea. But at the same time, China is very actively cooperating with the United States in the economic and commercial sphere. The spread of the geopolitical influence of China will not necessarily contradict the realization of American interests. In Eurasia, there will be no stable balance of power without a strategic understanding between America and China.

China desired to gain influence in Central Asia primarily with the help of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization of which it is a key player. If earlier, Beijing was primarily interested in resolving disputed border issues and security problems with Central Asian countries, now, considering that these tasks have been largely accomplished, China has embarked on a large-scale economic development of the region, in connection with which it becomes a serious rival to Russia, currently quite firmly entrenched in Central Asia. China pays close attention to the rich energy resources of Central Asia. So far, only Kazakhstan supplies gas to China. However, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan show interest in cooperation with China. Thus, after the construction of the pipeline, carried out by Turkmenistan together with a Chinese company, Ashgabat undertook since 2009 to supply Beijing with 30 billion cubic meters of gas annually. China managed to defend the decision to create in the region a zone of free movement of goods, capital for the next 20 years.

Between the PRC, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan were implemented 87 new transport projects: The main of them is the construction of a “corridor” from the Caspian Sea to China (via Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyz Republic). Beijing also secured the acquisition of a Chinese loan for joint projects and programs within the framework of the SCO. We are talking about loans for \$ 920 million, which the PRC provided in 2007 to Kyrgyz Republic, Tajikistan and Kazakhstan to finance imports from China. Cooperation with China is beneficial for the poor countries of Central Asia, but in the case of the implementation of all Beijing's economic initiatives, the region may well become a raw materials appendage to the PRC. Prevent neighbors (Russia, Japan and India) to unite against him; The Beijing alliance between Japan and the United States, which is now being transformed by the United States into the alliance of the United States, Japan and Australia, is particularly troubling.

Competition with Japan: As Chinese experts say, relations between Beijing and Tokyo are built according to the principle “cooling in politics, and warming in the economy”. China has a huge market, Japan has modern

technology. Countries need each other. Japanese investors are one of the most active in China last year bilateral trade exceeded 170 billion dollars, exceeding the volume of trade between Japan and the United States.

But unlike businessmen, politicians are not ready to compromise. First, China is wary of Japan's desire to legally rehabilitate its military machine (Japan is not allowed to have armed forces to resolve international disputes). Secondly, the Chinese believe that Japan has not learned from history and distorts or ignores the facts of its aggression against Asian countries in the 20th century. For example, the Chinese cannot forgive their neighbor's history textbooks, which omit the details of the Nanking Massacre — the events of 1937 in the city of Nanking, when the Japanese army killed over 300,000 civilians and prisoners of war.

Thirdly, the Second World War created preconditions for both countries for territorial disputes. Among them is a dispute over the Senkaku Islands (Diaoyu) under the jurisdiction of Japan. Fourth, China and Japan are the world's leading importers of energy resources. The conflict over oil deposits in the East China Sea is already heating up. The desire to gain greater authority and influence in the developing world and China has always positioned itself as a protector of the oppressed African-Asian and Latin American peoples, as part of the third world.

It is geopolitically advantageous for China to formally remain part of the “developing world” because upon transition to the “golden billion” the organic link between it and the countries of the South can be destroyed. This ideological imperative, reinforced by the current Chinese capabilities, remains a means of global influence of today's China. China has openly announced its intention to make Africa a zone of influence. In November 2006, a two-day China-Africa summit was held in Beijing, to which representatives from 48 countries came from 53 countries of the Black Continent. As a result of the forum, Chinese companies received almost \$ 2 billion in contracts in Africa primarily in the energy sector (a third of the oil consumed by the PRC is imported from Africa). In addition, until 2009, China promised to double the amount of financial assistance to developing countries in Africa and provide loans worth \$ 5 billion.

In June 2006, China offered a fraternal alliance to 22 Arab leaders. China is the main arsenal of the Muslim world. China helped Pakistan create the foundation of its nuclear program and began providing similar assistance to Iran. China secretly built a nuclear reactor for Algeria. China is also actively working in the Latin American direction, successfully using for itself the anti-American sentiments on this continent (Cuba, Venezuela, Bolivia). The logic of China's geopolitics is simple: Beijing takes care of (fighting poverty, development assistance) any regimes without imposing a

political model and not insisting on respecting human rights, and in exchange requires only one thing - guaranteed supply of resources for its growing economy. As a result, countries or entire regions that, for ideological or some other reasons, the West does not want to talk, will go over to Beijing.

Strengthening the strategic presence in Central Asia is not a new concept for Beijing. This region is very important for China, not only as a significant market for Chinese goods, a source of oil and gas for China's power plants, but also as an instrument of national security, especially in terms of the approach to resolving the Xinjiang problem. President Xi Jinping repeatedly over the past year has paid additional attention to the need to strengthen this policy as applied to enhancing security in northwest China. In particular, they directly emphasized that the successful participation of the PRC in economic development, political and military-strategic cooperation with the states of Central Asia should contribute not only to the settlement of the Xinjiang problem, but also turn Xinjiang into an "economic gateway" to Eurasia, as part of a grand vision of China's trade and infrastructure links to Europe."

Cooperating with Central Asia through the Silk Road Economic Belt and the SCO, China builds long-term partnerships with each country of the region separately, due to unresolved intra-regional problems. In March, at the session of the NPC, a new PRC development strategy was promulgated, where the implementation of the Silk Road Economic Belt project and the concept of "going beyond its limits" occupied central places. This means that plans for an even greater transfer of Chinese enterprises to the countries of Central Asia will be carried out more actively in the near future. The G20 summit, planned in September 2016 in Hangzhou, will certainly also testify to the new, increasing role of China in Central Asia. In order to achieve these objectives, China has already invested heavily in the energy and transport infrastructure of the five Central Asian countries.

China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC), a Chinese state-owned oil and gas company, built the Central Asia-China gas pipeline, which transports gas along the Turkmenistan-Uzbekistan-Kazakhstan-China route. In addition to the already existing three branches of the gas pipeline, ensuring the passage of 55 billion cubic meters, with the launch of the new line, gas volumes from Central Asia to China will increase by 30 billion cubic meters, which will amount to 20% of China's forecast consumption by 2020. The same company, CNPC, also participated in the construction and financing of the Kazakhstan-China oil pipeline. Both of these projects connect Central Asia and China through Xinjiang. China actively participates in the development of transport infrastructure in Central Asia,

providing, in particular, a loan of \$ 280 million for the construction of the Dushanbe-Chanak automobile road in Tajikistan and implementing a new foreign policy concept called the Silk Road Economic Belt.

Of the accumulated by 2015 \$ 27 billion of Chinese direct investment in the largest economies of Central Asia, \$ 23.6 billion accounted for Kazakhstan, 98% of which are associated with the fuel complex - the extraction and transportation of oil and natural gas. The volume of mutual trade between China and Tajikistan and Chinese investment in this country are growing. In particular, such major infrastructure projects as the construction of the Dushanbe-2 thermal power plant, the Yavan-Vakhdat railway tunnel, the Khatlon Agricultural Scientific and Technical Garden. China plans to use in the interests of strengthening its strategic presence in this country the complex relations of Tajikistan with certain neighboring Central Asian countries, which periodically turn into a transport blockade, intending to join the construction of a railway that will connect China and Tajikistan. China actively participates in the development of the transport infrastructure of Uzbekistan, partially financing a \$ 350 million loan to lay the Angren – Pap electric railway connecting the Fergana Valley with the main part of Uzbekistan.

The new road, as well as the 19-kilometer tunnel under the Kamchik pass, built with funds from the Chinese company China Railway Tunnel Group, will connect the global network of logistics routes in China and Uzbekistan, as well as the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the PRC with the countries of the Persian Gulf. However, in trade and economic and investment policies in Central Asia, Beijing is aimed at realizing its own interests in the region, and not at supporting local entrepreneurs. The latter, in particular, is due to the fact that the leadership of Chinese companies operating in Central Asia, prefers to employ Han, rather than local residents. In addition, Beijing strengthens the lobbying of the interests of national business in Central Asia, by “encouraging” local high-ranking officials to give preference to Chinese business at the expense of domestic entrepreneurship, which leads to an increase in corruption in the Central Asian countries. In addition to economic relations, a very important part of China’s strategic approach to Central Asia is the development and deepening of cooperation in security matters and the military-technical field.

China is concerned about any instability emanating from Central Asia that could affect the situation in Xinjiang, since Kyrgyz Republic, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan have their Uyghur communities and organizations (in particular, such as “Ittipak” in Kyrgyz Republic) that advocate Uyghur rights. Such “solidarity” outside of China is seen in

Beijing as a potential threat that inflames internal Uyghur activism. Militant organizations such as the Islamic Movement of Eastern Turkestan (IDTF) and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) are also viewed as a direct threat to national security in China, fearing their military support for the Uyghurs who share their religion and its dissatisfaction with the current government of the PRC. Under these conditions, China seeks to deepen cooperation with the Central Asian countries in the field of extradition of individual members of the Uyghur communities to China. In particular, such actions have already been undertaken by Kyrgyz Republic and Kazakhstan on the basis of China's claims that certain members of the Uyghur communities were involved in terrorist activities. However, such steps provoked protests by local and international activists, such as Human Rights Watch.

As a very important tool for strategic penetration and consolidation in the Central Asian region, Beijing views the development of cultural ties, in particular, teaching the Chinese language in the region through the actively expanding network of branches of the Confucius Institute. In addition to educational and cultural programs, the PRC in Central Asia is working to create a positive image through the media. The Chinese state channel CCTV broadcasts on the territory of a number of Central Asian republics, programs about China are regularly broadcast on state channels, news blocks of the Chinese state news agency Xinhua are posted.

However, this very active rapprochement between China and the countries of Central Asia and the increase in the number of migrants from China cause concern among local residents of the region. As Chinese influence in Central Asia increases, local opposition to "Chinese domination" or "cynophobia" in some parts of the region becomes a key strategic challenge for Beijing. This is the result of China's attempts to get close to host countries when investing, including using corrupt leverage, combined with local fears of a "Chinese takeover". These concerns are also reinforced by the fact that infrastructure projects financed by Chinese companies are usually accompanied by Chinese contractors and management, which do not always take local rules into account. This often leads to local protests and attacks on Chinese workers.¹

There are several reasons for this. First, Central Asia has historically been the sphere of geopolitical and trade and economic interests of China. The busy Great Silk Road once passed through these territories, and hundreds of caravans with European goods were heading for Chinese silk and other unique products. In the 18th-19th centuries, conquering Xinjiang,

¹Vladimir Odintsov, political observer, especially for the online magazine "New Eastern Outlook"

the Qing rulers even pretended on some lands of this part of Asia, up to Lake Balkhash. In the 60s – 70s of the 20th century, in the period of exacerbation of Soviet-Chinese relations, at the suggestion of Mao Zedong in China, the question of “unequal” treaties and territorial claims of China against its neighbors, including the republics of Central Asia, was again discussed.

Secondly, China has a common border with three of the five Central Asian states - Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyz Republic. After the conclusion of the treaties on the border with Kazakhstan and Kyrgyz Republic by the People’s Republic of China, the disputed issues were resolved. With good neighborly relations, geographic proximity, regulated and open borders, as well as established transport communications naturally create favorable opportunities for the development of business and other contacts.

Thirdly, in Xinjiang, which borders on Central Asian states, there is a significant number of Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, and Uzbeks who are related to their relatives in Central Asia. These ties may contribute to separatist sentiment in Xinjiang, which is constantly worried about in Beijing. The essence of the potential conflict is that Beijing could accuse the Central Asian states of providing territories as a base for Uyghur organizations conducting subversive activities against China. There are many publications in the Western press that the emergence of new independent states in Central Asia stimulates in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region the struggle of the related Turkic Muslim peoples, mainly Uyghurs, for national liberation (there are large oil fields in the XUAR of the PRC).

Fourthly, Central Asia is viewed in Beijing as the most important economic partner, and on the cooperation with which the success of national economic development programs of the North-West People's Republic of China depends. China is showing a special and ever-growing interest in oil and gas fields in Central Asia. Beijing’s particular interest in Kazakhstan’s energy carriers is not only due to the fact that this republic borders on Xinjiang, which allows the pipelines to be built directly to China, but also because Kazakhstan is a natural continental bridge leading to Iran and Iraq, i.e. the region where the Chinese are going to soon increase their influence.

And another important fact that cannot be ignored is that, according to calculations by the Chinese scientists themselves, the natural resources and economic opportunities of the PRC within its modern borders can provide, according to the most optimistic forecasts, a population of 1.5 billion people. Thus, China has become a major factor in the new “big game” in Central Asia and is throwing a frank challenge to other leading players -

Russia, the United States, Iran and Turkey. By investing in the oil and gas industry in Central Asia, Beijing is concerned not only about easy access to energy resources to be fully armed in the 21st century, but also about building strong strategic ties with the countries of the region.

Over time, these ties can lead to the fact that Russia will no longer control the situation there, and the United States will face significant difficulties in trying to gain dominant influence in Central Asia. In addition, China is now creating a new zone of influence in the Middle East, developing close relations with Iran and Iraq, in the expectation of energy supplies. He hopes that he will eventually succeed in combining this zone with the Caspian Sea region and forming a third pole in the oil-and-gas-rich Middle East, where the Western and Arab countries have traditionally dominated. China is forced to take into account that the countries of Central Asia are currently oriented primarily towards Russia, then towards the West, the countries of the Islamic world and only then towards China. The essence of Beijing's strategy is as follows:

1. Prevent the dominance of any major power or political ideological force in Central Asia, including Russia, the United States, the rest of the West, and Islamic countries;
2. eliminate the negative ethnic impact of Central Asian countries on the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region;
3. to turn Central Asia into a key supplier of energy carriers and its most important economic partner in general;
4. to achieve in perspective the leading positions of China in the region as a whole;
5. Receive support from Central Asian countries on the issue of Taiwan and Tibet, restricting separatist nationalist activities in China.

In turn, the Central Asian governments expect to use China's prestige to establish closer ties with the world community, especially with countries in the Asia-Pacific region. Beijing is needed by Central Asia in order to balance the Russian and Islamic factors and another important factor - the experience and success of the economic reform in China - a kind of beacon for the countries of Central Asia.

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Is there a return to life of the “Big Game” in Central Asia? Many experts and journalists writing about this region and its significance for the whole world argue in favor of this. Indeed, after the end of the Cold War and the birth of the five republics of Central Asia, for the most part the analysts devoted to the region prevail. In the 30s of the XIX century, the officer of the 6th regiment of the Bengal native light cavalry, Captain Arthur Conolly created the concept of the “Big Game”. Later, in 1901, the English writer Rudyard Kipling perpetuated this term in his novel “Kim”.

At its core, the “Big Game” was simply a struggle for power, control over territory and political dominance that took place in the 19th century between the Russian and British empires in Central Asia. This contest of empires in maneuver and intrigue were ceased in 1907 when both states were forced to focus their resources on more serious threats. The British had to prepare and take measures to curb the elevation in Europe of assertive Germany, while the Russians had a violent struggle with the Japanese in Manchuria.

Today, the US invasion of Afghanistan and the opening of military bases in Central Asia, as well as Chinese economic expansion in the region, have convinced experts that the new “Big Game” is already underway. United States takes part in Central Asian affairs not only to defeat al Qaeda, but also to diversify its sources of oil and gas, and also not to allow strategic encroachments on the part of those who do not share their values. USA and

China were involved in geo-economic rivalry because of the natural resources of Central Asia. The situation in Central Asia seems to be developing in the direction of the new version of the Great Game:²

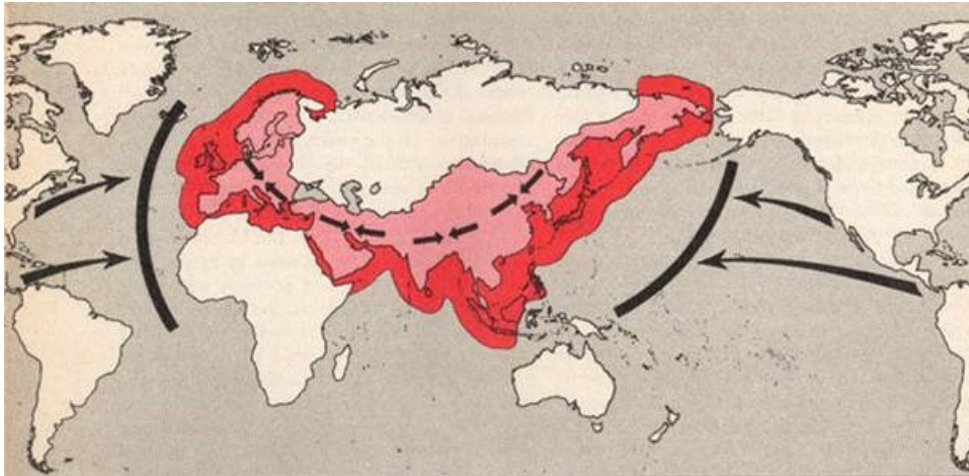
“Heartland and Rimland” theory is the doctrine of American theorist geopolitics Nikolai Spykman developed in the late 30s and early 40s. Unlike Mackinder, who identified Heartland as a key area, N. Spykman attributed Rimland to that in Eurasia. This gigantic arc, including the coastal Eurasian states, is subject to “integrated control”, since this is a confrontation between the USSR and the USA. The geo-strategy of the Atlantists' attack on the Continent was proposed through the creation of outposts in the coastal zone of Eurasia (Rimland). Key to this theory is Eurasia.

The scientist critically approached the assessment of the geopolitical significance of the axial region of the “Heartland” in the constructions of Mackinder, believing that the geographical history of the “inner crescent”, which he renamed “Rimland”, was not formed under the pressure of “nomadic land”, but on the contrary, the continental spaces received energy impulses from sea coasts (coastal zone). Control of this gigantic arc bordering the territory of Eurasia could neutralize the influence of the “heartland”. N. Spykman paraphrased the well-known thesis of Mackinder as follows: “Who controls Rimland controls Eurasia, and who controls Eurasia controls the destinies of the whole world”³. To achieve these goals, the United States must ally with Britain to oppose Germany and Japan in their efforts to jointly control the three main centers of power in Eurasia.

² Johns Hopkins University professor Niklas Swanstrom “China and Central Asia: New Big Game or Traditional Vassal Relationships?” [Профессор Университета Джона Хопкинса Никлас Сванстр «Китай и Центральная Азия: новая Большая игра или традиционные вассальные отношения?»](#)

³ Mack H.J. Mackinder, *Democratic Ideals and Reality* Archived 5 March 2009 at the Wayback Machine., Washington, DC: National Defence University Press, 1996
Kumar Chowdhury, Suban; Hel Kafi, Abdullah. “THE PAPER “Heartland Theory” of Mackinder & its Relevancy in Central Asia Geopolitics”. *IndraStra Global*. Retrieved June 27, 2016.

Brian W. Blouet, “Sir Halford Mackinder as British high commissioner to South Russia 1919–1920”. *Geographical Journal*, 142 (1976), 228–36.



The scientist developed the idea of “anaconda” - the control and strangulation of coastal zones in coastal countries of Africa and Asia, including India and China, emphasizing the role of force in establishing political order. By the end of World War II, it became apparent to identify the “heartland” with the Soviet Union. The defeat of Germany strengthened the reputation of Mackinder's geopolitical concept. Therefore, in the new model of N. Spykmen's world order, the continental power from the “heartland” (USSR) opposes the sea power from the “external crescent” (USA), separated by a contact zone (“Rimland”). In accordance with this model, the postwar policy of restraining communism was formed in the USA. The “fortress” (the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Pact countries) was held by the United States through the formation of anti-Soviet military blocs along the Rimland: NATO in Europe, CENTO in Western Asia, and SEATO in East Asia. Confrontation alternated with large and small conflicts in Berlin, Korea, the Middle East, Vietnam, Cambodia and Afghanistan.⁴ According to the founder of geopolitical science Halford John Mackinder, Central Asia is part of the Heartland, the core of Eurasia. This brilliant theoretician owns the phrase: “Who controls the Heartland, controls Eurasia, who controls Eurasia, controls the whole world”. On this basis, the struggle for this region of the world, which has flared up over the past two decades between Russia, the USA and China, becomes understandable. The problem of geographical definition of Central Asia is actively discussed with the last third of the XIX century and to date both in Russian and foreign scientific literature. This is largely due to foreign penetration in the region, and the rivalry between the powers for influence in it, as well as increased transport and the main resource and the importance of Central Asia. In general, the division of certain regional groupings in the

⁴ *Nicolas Spykmen. Geography of Peace. — New York. — 1944. P. 43*

world political process due to subjective demand for spatial positioning of individual countries or groups of regional or global scale.

The formation of new states in the former Soviet Union has identified the qualitative transformation in the external perception of the once belonged to his region, which resulted in the emergence of new spatial and political concepts and theories, to ensure a structured and holistic approach to the changes in the regional policy of individual States. Clearly above applies to the theory of a number of regional policy powers, the foundations of which were generated in relation to the new geo-strategic region by virtue of the reasons. A notable fact is contradictory, marked since the mid-1970s in the interpretation of the concept of Mainland.

The history of these interpretations is rich in approaches, selection criteria, and used for the identification of ways, ranging from Turkistan to the Central Eurasia. Turkestan, translated in Turkic as “land of the Turks” reflects the name of the historical and geographical region of Central Asia. Moreover, it should be noted that before the arrival of the Turkic tribes in Central Asia in the eastern Iranian region, which lies between the rivers Amu Darya and Syr Darya, called Turan. But after visiting the region, the name of the Turkic peoples of Turkestan superseded name of the tour, although geographically the notion Turkestan covers a much larger area.

The territories of the following modern states were part of Turkestan: Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyz Republic and Kazakhstan, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China, Turkic-speaking regions of southern Siberia and northern Afghanistan and Iran. Conditionally Turkestan divided into West Turkestan (Russian), which coincides with the current region of Central Asia, East (China), South (the northern part of Afghanistan and Iran). In West and East Turkestan inhabited predominantly Turkic populations in the South - Iranian-speaking.

However, ethnic, ethnographic, and partly civilization point of view the use of this term is not justified given that for example Iranian-speaking Tadjiks are Turkic ethnic group, and sedentary Persians (proto-Tadjiks) and Sarts (proto-Uzbeks) were fundamentally different way of life, rather than nomadic Kyrgyz and Kazakhs. In the 1920-25 years term Turkestan gradually fell into disuse and was replaced by the term Central Asia. Historically, in the Russian-speaking Soviet tradition, the name of the region “Central Asia and Kazakhstan” was used in the Soviet Union during the period of 1930 - the beginning of the 1990s in addition to other, specific and functional reasons.

It was the fact that a number of republics located in Asia and part of the USSR (Kyrgyz, Tajik, Turkmen and Uzbek) were considered as

constituting a so-called “Central Asian economic region”, while Kazakhstan stood out as a separate economic region. It is notable that the term “Central Asia” is also ambiguous, and is interpreted differently in different sources. So in a foreign geographical literature sometimes the concept of “Central Asia” and “Inner Asia” do not have a clear distinction. In 1843, the geographer Alexander von Humboldt first identified Central Asia as a single region of the world, including the territory south of the Altai up to the northern slope of the Himalayas. Russian geographers attributed to the natural Central Asia region stretching to the east of the Pamir.

For example, N.M. Przewalsky holds borders Central Asia, in the Himalayas, Pamirs, Western Tien Shan in the east - to the Great Khingan and border ridges China. With regard to the Western interpretation of the concept of “Central Asia”, there is a need to mention the classical vision proposed by R. Frai. The Central Asian region - a “border” area of culture between the principal settled areas of Russia, China, India and the Middle East Semitic, has a number of specific and systemic features, one of which serves Islam. Among the “cross-cutting” features are special forms of irrigation, trade and commerce as a means of survival of the population. It was a vision of a fundamental right before the collapse of the Soviet Union.

In 1991, the President of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev at the summit of Heads of State of Central Asia has proposed to abandon the wording of the Soviet period, “Central Asia and Kazakhstan” in favor of the phrase “Central Asia” as covering supposedly all post-Soviet countries in the region. This identity of the new states that have chosen for their geographical name tracing from the English-language concept of “Central Asia” is un- questionable, it may be noted that in this, as well as in the pursuit of some of the republics to switch to Latin script, partly in sight unwillingness of the elites of the new states to consider themselves part of the Russian civilization⁵.

A number of Russian scientists believe modern science wrong limitation of this region only recently emerged five former Soviet republics. This thesis-founded the fact that long before the formation of the republics for a long time there were and continue to be the region and the states of Central Asia, which includes a broader understanding of the region. A large part of research the various schools leans consider Central Asia is not only the territory of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, but also part of India, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, Mongolia, Russia, in particular, the Altai and others. A number of experts, speaking of Central Asia, meant the huge size

⁵ Oscar Villar

of the territory in which allocated the western and eastern borders of the region.

West Central Asia stretches from the Irtysh to Khorasan and includes a number of sub-regions: the central part of present-day Kazakhstan, Seven Rivers, the highlands of Tien Shan and Pamir, Khorezm, etc. East Central Asia since the late 1990s. Chinese experts introduced in research practice. It can be concluded that the format of Kyrgyz Republic, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Kazakhstan in a single region is incorrect and inadequate physical and geographical content of the concept of “Central Asia”, in this context, some scientists propose to introduce a new term “Central Eurasia”, which would meet both geographically and cultural identity of the region.

It can be concluded that the format of Kyrgyz Republic, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Kazakhstan in a single region is incorrect and inadequate physical and geographical content of the concept of “Central Asia”, in this context, some scientists propose to introduce a new term “Central Eurasia”, which would meet both geographically and civilization identity of the region.

The United States, especially after the events of September 11, became one of the most important actors in Central Asia. Before the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, there was no American military presence in the region. To implement its policies in the region, Washington used only diplomatic and commercial ties. But the September events opened up a new page in the White House’s foreign policy and provided it with opportunities to conduct a more offensive policy in the Eurasian region under the pretext of the war on terror. After September 11, the United States quickly penetrated Central Asia during the conduct of military operations in Afghanistan and the creation of military bases in Kyrgyz Republic and Uzbekistan.

China and Russia, the main regional powers, could not object to this sudden and decisive penetration, and in this situation of freedom the United States managed to implement its policy. Washington’s main goal is to gain greater control over the vast energy resources of the republics of Central Asia and the Caspian region. The United States wants to guarantee the safety of transportation of energy resources of these republics. And an indispensable condition in order to guarantee the continuity of their delivery to world markets is political stability. That is why the United States supports governments that create a favorable atmosphere for the safe transportation of energy resources, even if these governments are undemocratic. In addition, the White House is trying to reformat the region in accordance with its own interests through the concept of the war on terrorism.

The American idea of the “war on terror” gave Russia and China certain advantages. When the only world superpower and its supporters declared war on terrorism, it sowed fears among the players who contributed to the spread of terrorism, and they were forced to reduce support for terrorists. This meant that radical Islamist movements in the Xinjiang Uyghur region of the PRC and the Caucasus could no longer receive financial and material and technical assistance from abroad. This situation weakened the Islamist movements and strengthened the positions of Beijing and Moscow. On the other hand, China used the slogan of the war on terrorism as a pretext to resort to force in the XUAR. The United States used extremely tough means of struggle against Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan and Iraq, and no one even dared to object to their actions, which untied the hands of China, allowing it to act as it saw fit. Beijing condemned every idea opposing it as a manifestation of Islamic radicalism and destroyed it.

On the other hand, the United States supported the policy of China in the XUAR because of the presence of terrorist organizations there, such as Hizb ut-Tahrir. The United States seeks to stop any possible support for the Taliban in Afghanistan and to prevent the emergence of any Islamist organization in the region. But although a number of radical Islamist movements operate in the Xinjiang Uyghur region, it is impossible to define all of them as terrorist. There are various movements that have different goals, including equality with ethnic Chinese and civil rights reforms. In the XUAR, human rights are seriously violated, but neither China nor the United States pay attention to it. It is quite obvious that the presence of the United States in Central Asia creates enormous difficulties for China.

The last thing Beijing and Moscow would like is a permanent American presence in the general sphere of influence of Russia and China. The PRC feels the presence of the USA in its east (Taiwan), South Korea and Japan. If Washington manages to establish itself in Central Asia, China will be surrounded by the United States, just as it was surrounded by the Soviet Union during the Cold War. This creates serious problems for Beijing in terms of security, the economy and, if we take into account American support for Taiwan, territorial integrity. That is why China is cooperating with the Russian Federation to limit or put an end to the American presence in their “backyard”. Both countries are using the SCO in order to get support from the states of the region and create a bloc against the United States. Thus, the SCO was able to achieve the closure of US military bases in Kyrgyz Republic and Uzbekistan.

Beijing cannot allow Washington’s permanent presence in the republics of Central Asia: this would have serious economic and political consequences for the PRC. That is why Central Asia can become an

important area of rivalry between the United States and China, and energy resources are likely to be a key factor in this rivalry. China today is the fastest growing country, and in a few decades it can become a state with the largest economy in the world. The main goal of the Chinese authorities is the sustainability of economic development. The economy is the key that opens the door of the Celestial Empire to become a superpower. In addition, China uses its economic power as a diplomatic weapon against other countries to implement its policies.

Moreover, the armed forces of the PRC are not yet strong enough to serve as a deterrent against the major world powers. That is why China, in relations with relatively small countries, uses its economic power to pull them over and form public opinion against the policies of other major forces. We can observe a similar policy in the countries of Southeast Asia, in which there is a large Chinese diaspora which has enormous lobbying opportunities. On the other hand, these countries are highly dependent on China for their foreign trade.

Beijing seeks, whenever possible, to solve its problems through diplomacy, avoiding armed conflicts in every possible way and economics is a crucial element of its foreign policy. On the other hand, economic development is the basis on which the unity of the Chinese is based. In Chinese society, there are serious social problems arising from the uneven distribution of economic incomes. The gap between the rich minority on the industrialized east coast of the country and the poor majority in the agricultural west is wide. For now, Beijing gives priority to economic development and ignores these social problems. The PRC authorities suppress any social unrest, using force, and do not allow the opposition to pursue their policies. But this situation poses a serious threat to the future of the country and could lead to the disintegration of China, given the problems of Taiwan, XUAR and Tibet.

The economy is important not only in terms of national wealth, but also in terms of foreign and domestic policy. Therefore, energy resources are so important for China as they increase the scale of its economy. The fastest growing country in the world naturally needs a lot more energy than other developing countries to feed its 1.3 billion people and provide a powerful industry. This is China's weak point and makes it vulnerable to external influences. To avoid such a situation, the authorities decided to diversify their sources of energy supply and reduce their dependence on one source and the only transport route.

In this regard, the energy resources of the Caspian region, especially Kazakhstan, look highly attractive to China. In the interests of its policy of diversifying its energy sources and reducing its dependence on the Middle

East, dominated by the United States, China is investing in countries in Africa and South America. But the sources of the Caspian region for China are the most realistic and profitable. Geographical proximity, safety of transport routes and the relatively favorable political situation in the region are the main elements that make these sources so attractive for China as a substitute for Middle Eastern oil. On the other hand, the development of relations with China in the energy sector is also beneficial for the countries of the Caspian region.

In this regard, Kazakhstan is the most sympathetic, since it directly borders on China. Economically, Kazakhstan depends on the Russian Federation and, in order to enter world markets, must first send its oil to Russia, since it does not have a sufficient pipeline network. This situation makes Astana very dependent on Moscow and creates great obstacles for the Republic of Kazakhstan to become a truly independent state. In order to stand on its own feet and be independent in all respects in the political arena, Kazakhstan must diversify its customers.

Oil revenues provide the main revenues to the economy of Kazakhstan, which means that customer diversification will create competition in the free market and increase these revenues. The geographical position of Kazakhstan is very favorable for the diversification of customers: it has a long border with China and Russia - two of the main economic and political players in the region, and it is located close to other important economic actors: Japan, South Korea and Turkey.

China is the most suitable of these countries due to its gigantic economy, huge population and energy starvation. In addition, China makes large investments in the energy sector and in other sectors of the economy of Kazakhstan. Beijing does not have a colonial approach towards Kazakhstan and the other republics of Central Asia and it seeks to respect mutual benefits. That is why the authorities of Kazakhstan prefer to receive investments from Chinese companies. The policy of the PRC is part of the "new Big Game" in Central Asia. Unlike the historical Big Game, in this new game the number of players grew all the time, and the game itself shifted from military and political aspects to economic factors. China is trying to maximize its interests and limit the capabilities of other actors. To achieve this, he creates alliances with other participants in the game, such as Russia and Iran. In the new Big Game there are two main blocks: on one side are China, Russia and Iran, on the other - the USA and Turkey.

China is moving towards becoming a superpower, and on this path its economy may be either its biggest advantage or its biggest weakness. If he is able to continue his economic growth and convert it into military and political power, he can easily become a superpower. However, energy is the

most vulnerable and dangerous element in shaping the future of China. If he does not ensure his energy security and the continuous flow of energy resources, his most powerful weapon, the economy, could collapse and become a disaster for the PRC. In today's world, energy issues are increasingly influencing the development of political processes at both the global and regional levels. On the one hand, the energy factor is becoming an important aspect of the foreign policy of a number of countries, and on the other, it begins to influence the formation of the political and economic situation in some regions of the world. This trend is fully characteristic of the People's Republic of China and the region of Central Asia.

6. Geopolitics and Diplomacy of China

The term “force of the Sea” in Chinese appeared during the Sino-French War. In 1885, Chinese Ambassador to Germany, Li Fenbao, translated into Chinese the book *The New Meaning of War at Sea*, which then appeared in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where the term sea power was used for the first time. In 1900 in Shanghai, in the monthly journal *East Asia*, the main content of the work of A.T. Mahan “Influence of sea power on history” which allowed the Chinese intelligentsia to get acquainted with the theory of the power of the Sea. In 1903, Liang Qichao under the pseudonym Liang Qixyun in the *Xinmin Connbao* almanac published the article “Pacific Sea Power and the Future of China”, which emphasized that the state seeking world status should first of all fight for the country's maritime power. In 1907, the Qing official Yao Siguang, who drafted the construction of the Chinese navy, also noted the need for the country's naval strength.⁶

Nation, national interests, nation-state - are the fundamental concepts of geopolitics. The term “Chinese nation” first appeared only in 1902, in an article by Liang Qichao, “The main trends in the development of classical thought in China,” published in Japan in the Chinese magazine *Xinming cunbao*. Then the term was met in 1905 in his article “On the Chinese Nation in History”. In May 1907, Jan Du in the article “Economic and Military Problems” more systematically discloses the content of this concept. After the Xinhai Revolution of 1911, Sun Yat-sen, assuming the position of the first president of China, wrote in his “Declaration” that “the (Chinese) state

⁶ E. Grachikov Series of a complete history of China borders. A complete history of China Areas and territorial seas. *Zhongzhou guji chubanshe*. 2003. P. 435, а также: Лю Чжунминь. *Мировая морская политика и стратегия морского развития Китая*. Изд. «Шиши». Пекин, 2009. С. 25 (*Shijie haiyang zhengzhi yu Zhongguo haiyang fazhanzhanlue/Liu Zhongmin*. – Beijing: Shishi chubanshe. 2009nian. Di 25 ye.).

consists of the Han, Manchurians, Mongols, Huyans and Tibetans who created this country. In other words, they formed a single people, representing the ethnic groups of the Han, Manchu, Mongols, Hui and Tibetans, or a united nation.” The slogan “Republic of the Five Nations” was then popular throughout China⁷.

Over the decades that have passed since then, China has been in a state of permanent civil war (which includes the experiments of the “big leap” and “cultural revolution”) and in fact the survival of the nation. The problems of national interests were not discussed either in the scientific or in the political circles of the country. Chinese society, like 2000 years ago, had the task of uniting the nation. After the proclamation of the policy of reform and openness, many acute political problems began to be studied in China, but a rather broad discussion on the national interests of the country was held only in 2006 on the initiative and with financial support from the PLA (Draft 2110), the results of which were published as a collection. It is necessary to clarify that for the first time, the PLA addressed the topic of China’s national interests back in 1999, when the military-scientific publishing house published Hun Bing’s Theory of Public Interest⁸.

During the discussion, Yan Syuetun, director of the Tsinghua University Institute of International Studies, drew attention to the fact that in order to determine the content, hierarchy and scope of national interests of China, it is first necessary to understand the nature of these interests. We are talking about the usual development of the country or its rise. Simple development does not require overstretching, does not set an ambitious task - to surpass the developed countries. The interests of superiority, expansion are, according to Yan Syuetun, the national interests of a rising country, that is, China.⁹

For a small, from a historical point of view, period after the Cold War, China has been forced to change the hierarchy of its interests several times already. In the 1980s, these were mainly economic interests. At the beginning of the 90s, political interests came out sharply in the first place. This was due to the events on Tiananmen Square in 1989 and the subsequent

⁷ «Национальные интересы Китая и их влияние». Глав. ред. Сюй Цзя. Изд. Шиши. 2006 г. (Zhongguo guojia liyi yu yingxiang. Zhubian — Xujia. Beijing. Shishi chubanshe. 2006 nian)

⁸ Хун Бин “Теория государственных интересов”. Военное научное издательство. Пекин. 1999 (Guojia liyilun/Hong Bing. Beijing. Junshi kexue chubanshe. 1999nian), а также см. статью Чу Шулуна «Национальные интересы, национальная сила и национальная стратегия Китая» в журнале «Стратегия и управление» 1999 г. № 4. С.14()

⁹ Янь Сюетун. Содержание национальных интересов Китая в период подъема. Национальные интересы Китая и их влияние. Гл. ред. Сюй Цзя. 2006 г.

international isolation of China. By 1994, China was able to restore its authority and overcome the effects of isolation, although the embargo on the sale of military equipment to China by Western countries is still in effect and will hardly ever be lifted altogether. In 1996, the Taiwan crisis erupted. The “two China” and “Taiwan independence” policies pursued by Taiwan President Li Dehui received great international resonance and began to threaten the policy of a united China, which Beijing defended.

Now the interests of the national security of the country have come to the fore. Now we see a different situation - the economic interests of the country are expanding and at the same time the security interests of the country are not guaranteed. China's integrated power does not develop evenly. The economic power of the country is developing faster than the military, and the political force is frozen in place. This uneven development leads to a deterioration in the security of the country. Now the hierarchy of China's national interests is as follows: security interests, political interests, economic interests and only then cultural ones. Economic interests compared with the period of the 80s of the 20th century moved from the first place to the third.

Over these years, the boundaries of China's national interests have undergone significant changes. The sphere of interests or the space of action of interests of China has expanded far from its own borders. Today, the safety of the lives and interests of Chinese citizens abroad, according to Chinese scientists, is not guaranteed. The ability of the armed forces of China to provide this security is still not enough. From a political point of view, China has already become part of the world system, which is fully recognized by other countries. In the 90s of the 20th century, China joined the majority of international organizations. Now there is no question of recognizing the rights of China in these organizations. China is fighting for the right to define and establish new international rules.

In the area of economic interests, China has concentrated its interests on the inflow of foreign capital and technology, and today it sets the task of going abroad, expanding the export of Chinese capital and gaining access to foreign natural resources. In the past, this focused on exporting and expanding the commodity market; now it is an increase in assets in transnational companies through which capital is exported. In the field of culture, China had previously set itself the task of preserving traditional culture, now it is the promotion of Chinese culture abroad.

In the book “Geopolitics and Diplomacy of China” Ye Zicheng conclude that geopolitics is divided into three levels: the “geo-relations” of the state with the border countries, regional geopolitics and the world geopolitics of the great powers. In fact, geopolitics is spreading,

“expanding” from the Center, i.e. China, to the periphery of the world Geopolitics, in his opinion, is an effective method for determining national interests and a way of developing foreign policy and diplomacy of the state.

Ye Zicheng believe that geographic factors influencing state policy are also the specific content of geopolitics. These include: the length of the border, geographical location, natural resources, climatic conditions, population and national composition. The forms of influence of these factors on the development of the country's power are very diverse. The location, topography and climate have a direct impact on the country's potential. If we compare political, economic and social factors with the influence of geographic factors, the latter are fairly straightforward and definite. Ye Zicheng also note that geopolitics has two obvious features.

The first is openness. Geopolitics is a relationship of one state with another, as well as with a region and the whole world, therefore all actions of a state are visible to other members of the international community. The second feature is the relationship and interaction of geopolitics with geo-economics and geo-culture. For example, such important concepts of geopolitics as “East-West”, “South-North”, “Third World”, “Center-periphery” include economic and cultural content. In the book, China’s geopolitics is viewed from ancient times to the present day. Ye Zicheng proposed a land “geo-strategy of three lines: appease the West, rely on the North, fight for the East and the South” (anxi安西 kaobei 北 zhengdongnan 东南), which stands for: establish relations with India, establish strategic relations with Russia and start solving maritime territorial problems in the East China and South China Seas to enter world space.¹⁰

According Ye Zicheng there are seven “patterns” of geopolitics, which also carry elements of Chinese characteristics.

¹⁰ Е Цзычэн — «отец» сухопутной силы Китая. Опубликовано 2014/07/22 автором Евгений Грачиков Е Цзычэн (叶自成 Ye Zicheng) – профессор, декан Института международных отношений Пекинского университета, один из самых известных ученых, в сферу научных интересов которого входит геополитика Китая. Последовательный сторонник приоритетного развития сухопутной силы Китая, автор концепции о третьей власти Суши. Е Цзычэн с 1978 г. по 1985 г. учился на факультете мировой политики Пекинского университета, получил степень магистра права. С 1985 по настоящее время преподает на факультете мировой политики Пекинского университета (с 1996 г. – Институт международных отношений Пекинского университета). В 1988 – 1989 гг. Е Цзычэн стажировался в МГИМО МИД РФ. С 1996 г. – профессор, декан факультета дипломатии и управления внешними делами, директор Центра стратегических исследований Института международных отношений Пекинского университета.

Gulmira Namatova (Kerim)

1. “A rich country and strong army”. Any geopolitical relationship is always the result of a comparison of the state’s forces with neighboring countries. A state possessing power and strength does not necessarily represent a military threat and does not always pursue a policy of expansion and aggression against neighboring countries. On the contrary, force is often the most important guarantee of war prevention.
2. “Influence within the boundaries”. Any state can bring to another state both benefit and damage. But if it is a neighboring country, then both the benefit and the damage can be doubled. Therefore, the distance of a country from a given region is very important.
3. In geopolitics there are no constant friends and constant enemies. In geopolitics, the situation in the border areas is important, where only the natural environment is a constant factor. But the most important is the political environment, which is in a process of constant change. Today's enemies can become tomorrow's friends, and today's friends can turn into tomorrow's enemies.
4. The center of gravity in geopolitics may change following changes in the main trends in the development of geo-economics and interstate relations in the border areas.
5. Seeking the defense of a great power, a small state in geopolitics can act independently. For a small country, the most dangerous state will not necessarily be the largest or strongest, the closest to its borders will be dangerous. Having a special relationship with a great power, which is a border neighbor, a small country can always count on its timely assistance in the event of an attack by another strong power in a given region.
6. Border areas, border, territory are important factors of geopolitics. Geography is primarily border areas and marginal seas, so in a certain sense, geopolitics is border policy, border policy and territorial policy.
7. The balance of power in the region is the goal of political architectonics.

Unlike Western ideas about the power of land, vividly expressed in the theories of Roma and Heartland, in 2007 Ye Zicheng put forward the

concept of the three stages of development of Mainland power¹¹ As a criterion he takes the power with which humanity has overcome Mainland space. “The first power of Mainland” is the period up to the year 1500. It was built on the basis of traditional transport.

Natural force was used as the main force for overcoming this space (bull, horse and man), simple vehicles made of wood and metal were used as a vehicle the main tools of the war were a knife, sword, bow, infantryman, cavalryman, wealth, resources and population. This is the epoch of the beginning of the power of Mainland, where the Eurasian continent was the main living space, and the Mongol Empire was a characteristic representative¹².

“The Second Power of Mainland” - this period begins in 1800 and ends with the “Cold War”. This power of Mainland is a new modern era, formed on the basis of science and technology. The main force for overcoming space is water vapor and electricity, the main means of transport are cars, trains, highways and railways, the main weapons of war are a rifle, a cannon, a tank, a rocket, nuclear projectiles, the main goal is to “defeat states”, control land transport ways and strategic areas, in particular, the extraction of natural resources. This is the time of the Mainland force of the new modern era, where Eurasia is also the main living space, and the Russian Empire has become a characteristic representative. After the Cold War, a new power of Mainland began to form.

According to Ye Zicheng, the difference between the new Mainland power and the old one is as follows. The concept of control and power was central to the ideas of the old land forces, and the main content was the army, security, war, and strategy. For the new government of Mainland, the main concept is development, and the main content is complexity. Noting the importance of controlling the main land transport arteries and natural resources, the new concept does not say that this is its only content. Emphasizing the importance of control, it focuses primarily on development of the ability to coexist human society and states in the Mainland area.

Admitting the need for military control of Mainland, it emphasizes the ability of non-military control of this space. Speaking about politics, economics, culture and the environment, and especially about the

¹¹ (The Development of Mainland Power - the Elevation and Decline of the Great Powers: Geopolitical Situation and the geostrategic choice of China’s peaceful development [Книга «Развитие власти Суши — возвышение и упадок Великих держав: геополитическая обстановка и геостратегический выбор мирного развития Китая».](#)

¹² Namatov Mongol Empire

development of the man himself in the land, he also notes that development does not have to form control forces, on the contrary - development itself is the goal of the development of land power. Ye Zicheng believe that the old ideas about the power of Mainland in modern conditions look rather one-sided. Although their content called the interdependence of Land and Sea, nevertheless, the opposite of these two spaces remains more important.

A new look at the power of Mainland has become more multilateral. The old gaze carried a shade of determinism; the new one - emphasizing the importance of the land space, at the same time does not reach such an extent that it asserts that the land itself can play a decisive role. On the contrary, she looks at the theories of the “Heartland” and “Rimland” with the perspective of their development and change. From the point of view of methodology, the old power of Mainland basically relied on the categories of realism and politics from a position of strength, the new one tries to view geopolitics from various angles, including from the standpoint of historicism, constructivism and system.

The old view of Mainland power is a European, Western view that emphasized the importance of Mainland power. The new view does not just mean that the power of the Land is more important than the power of the Sea, but underlines that for many continental countries, although sea power is important, it cannot be the main direction of development. Ye Zicheng emphasizes that the development of views on China’s land power is not a continuation of the West’s ideas on land power or their development in modern conditions. At its core, this is the third, new perspective on the power of Mainland, which was formed on its own Chinese historical, cultural and philosophical roots.

China’s view of Mainland power is a completely new concept. It builds on the following five bases.

1. Earth: An important factor in the development of land power should be the land as its basis and source; it is necessary to strictly observe the tradition “Earth is the mother of wealth”; adhere firmly to the fact that the foundation is the putting in order of the earth and its integrated use and conservation; Earth is the first and main factor in the survival of humanity.
2. Man: As the first task of developing China’s Mainland power is the people, raising its standard of living and quality of life.
3. Development. In the development of China's Mainland power, one cannot blindly follow the western system of land power, which, for example, involves controlling the strategic sense of the Heartland,

Rimland and important transport routes, which is a manifestation of the views of the geo-strategy concept. It is necessary not only to pay attention to the problems of geo-security of China, but also to continue to scientifically use and develop research on various factors of the Mainland area and put them in an important place, in particular, factors preventing them from overcoming, reducing or conquering various natural disasters and environmental pollution of the Mainland area.

4. Eurasia: China is a state of eastern Eurasia. With the states of the Mainland, it needs to develop strategic partnerships of cooperation. China can have comprehensive cooperation only with the states of the Eurasian area, including cooperation with such three centers of power of Eurasia as Europe, Russia and India. Cooperation means the future for China. Only in a peaceful environment on earth can a harmonious (Chinese) World be created.
5. Complexity: In the past, the Land and Sea confrontation was emphasized in the western force of Mainland and the one-sided role of determinism of space factors was noted. In the age of high technology, a one-sided view of space has long gone. Although each space has its own characteristics and patterns, today in the age of information and networks, various spaces have long been closely interrelated. Ye Zicheng pay great attention to the interrelation of internal and external geopolitics and in this context poses the problem of the development of the system (that is, the social and political system of the state).

So, he believes that, although the development of geopolitics is due to many factors such as: territory, population, natural resources, the situation in the border countries, the state system of the country remains the most important. If it develops successfully enough, then the state will be strong regardless of whether it develops sea or land forces. And, on the contrary, “if the state system has big problems, then the foundations of a country's existence may face great threats and even a test of the viability of the state and the nation itself”. He further explains that the term “system development” is mainly a political, economic, and military system of a state.

The most important criteria of the system are: high efficiency, honesty and integrity; the compliance of the system with the strategy of the country's political, economic and military development, the international and domestic situation how quickly government orders will be reached and fully implemented; will capable managers and responsible managers be appointed, will the system be able to cement the people of the country and make it powerful.

The development of the system is an important content of the development of the land power of any state. At the same time, this is also the basis for the development of all other forms of geopolitical power. The development of the system is a priority in any development of geopolitics. If China really wants to become a great power with global influence, then, in addition to developing its economic and military power, it must develop its internal system.

Contrary to conventional wisdom, China's goal in Central Asia is not to play with other regional powers, but to enlist the support of "countries of the region in suppressing the anti-China movement of the Uyghur nationalists", as well as creating conditions for Chinese firms to invest in energy resources of Central Asia. Nature has generously endowed the Central Asian states with oil and natural gas reserves, and China, as a dynamic economic power and the second largest consumer of energy, is clearly interested in increasing its presence in the region.

China's efforts to build highways, improve infrastructure and railways show a growing country's involvement in Central Asia. As China's ties with the Central Asian republics develop, "its relations with major powers, namely the United States and Russia, may suffer," says regional expert Oscar Barosso¹³

While such a turn in the strategy would be premature for China. At the moment, China faces many internal problems. For example, he has to deal with Tibet, Xinjiang and other semi-autonomous regions with separatist sentiments and a desire for independence. The highest priorities of China in Central Asia should be to ensure security, maintain regional stability, pacify Uyghur separatists in Xinjiang and strengthen economic ties in the region. To meet the needs of its 1.4 billion people, China must continuously search for resources around the world. Chinese corporations and state-owned companies are involved in the economic life of the five Central Asian republics, which have vast reserves of natural gas and oil: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.

Given China's keen interest in security issues, as well as its energy needs, its long-term cooperation with the countries of Central Asia will drastically expand. Central Asian states also welcome the growing expansion of China, as they are trying to destroy the monopoly of Russia over transport routes. Even after the founding of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in 2001, China did not stop work on laying a new Silk Road, designed to connect Central Asia and the rest of the world with its northwestern Xinjiang Uyghur autonomous region. The return of the

¹³ Oscar Barosso

The economic expansion of China

Middle Kingdom to Central Asia should in all likelihood make changes in the geopolitical configuration of the region - we would like to hope for the better.