

УДК 32.019.51

## “The Chinese Dream” Through the Mirror of Modern Social Research

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Received 12.07.2015, received in revised form 18.09.2015, accepted 16.11.2015

*The 18th Congress of the National Communist Party of China announced a new ideological slogan of the “great dream of China” that includes achievement of moderate prosperity for all Chinese citizens, rejuvenation of the nation and transformation of the country into the most powerful state of the world. The party rhetoric still relies on socialism and Karl Marx. The present article is a review of the modern Russian, Western and Chinese research devoted to the “Chinese Dream”. “The Chinese Dream” ideologeme is associated with another important ideologeme, “harmonious culture”. Modern Chinese researchers understand “harmonious culture” as a triunity of socialistic and Marxist values, traditional national Chinese culture (Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism), and modern global cultural practices and technologies. “Harmonious culture” is a brand new ideologeme the Chinese government wishes to operate in order to change the social consciousness of the Chinese middle class, distracting it from the problems of the rising social contradictions. The government draws academicians, thinkers, and politicians to the development of a new ideological language of “harmonious culture” believing that ordinary people cannot act as cultural policy subjects. The socialistic Chinese society is being transformed into a society oriented at the values uniting global cosmopolite capitalism and traditional national Chinese values. According to modern Chinese government, Chinese “harmonious” culture is intended to spread all around the world by both “soft” and “solid” means.*

*Keywords: China, the “Chinese Dream”, “harmonious culture”, socialism with a Chinese characteristic.*

*DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-2016-9-2-374-393.*

*Research area: culture studies.*

### Introduction

Considering the specificity of modern Chinese political space, we may assume that the basic cultural processes are mainly determined as they are constructed in the national cultural policy. The modern cultural policy of the People’s Republic of China can be referred to as the “Chinese Dream” (Zhōngguó mèng).

### Results and discussion

Even though the motto of the “great dream of China” was announced by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of China Xi Jinping not so long ago, only in March 2013 (Sukhadol’skaia, 2015), the number of researches, analyses, and interpretations of the term is extremely large, including those mentioned in Russian cultural

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studies and foreign Sinology. According to Xi Jinping the "Chinese Dream" consists of the following components: 1) powerful and rich state (*guojia fuqiang*), 2) renewal of nation (*mingzu zhengxing*), 3) happy people (*renmin xingfu*) (Kondrashova, 2014). Xi Jinping clarified the economic basis the "great dream of China" of the renewal of the Chinese nation can be fulfilled on: "The purpose of the struggle before us", he said, "is the following: by 2020, to double the GDP and income of the urban and rural people per capita in comparison with the 2010 indicator; complete building a moderately prosperous society. By the middle of the next century we need to transform our country into a rich, powerful, democratic, civilized, harmonious socialistic state and live the Chinese Dream of the great renewal of the Chinese nation (Xi Jinping, 2013).

It is natural that the association between the "Chinese Dream" and the "American Dream" could not but appear. The Chinese term authors wished for it themselves. Thus, referring to the participation of some Chinese representatives in one of the numerous public events, "The China" magazine wrote: "The dream of the USA to strengthen their state is the quintessence of the Americans' dream to build a career. In its turn, the Chinese Dream is also connected to the fact that each Chinese is ready to demonstrate impressive creativity to achieve his goals, because the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation has to rely on the efforts and innovations of millions of Chinese" (Ot Amerikanskoy...).

Modern China researchers (Kuznetsov, 2015) suppose that The 18th Congress of the National Communist Party of China of November 8-14, 2012, did mark a new era in the country's history. The Congress introduced a new article into the Constitution of the CPC announcing "socialism with Chinese characteristic" to be built in China, though the CPC ideologists call the regime the "initial stage of socialism" and suppose that this

stage may last for at least 100 years. The results will be seen by the centennial of the socialistic state of China establishment that happened in 1949. Leaving aside the economic and political reformations, supported by The 18th Congress of the National Communist Party of China, it is essential to consider that within the next 30 years Chinese cultural policy will be concentrated on constructing Chinese cultural identity (Koval', 2012), which is intended to be as positive as possible (Koptseva and Sereckina, 2013). L.I. Kondrashova suggests that this constructing process may weaken the reliance upon Western philosophical ideologemes typical of Christianity and Marxism and, on the opposite, strengthen the reliance upon some traditional Chinese cultural values associated, first of all, with Confucianism: "The postulate of the "rejuvenation of the nation", included into the "Chinese Dream", should be understood, first of all, as the official rehabilitation of traditional Chinese thought and a sort of Confucianism renaissance" (Kondrashova, 2014).

There are some discrepancies in the interpretation of the "great dream of China" among the Chinese, Russian and other foreign researchers. The Chinese emphasize, first of all, socialistic characteristics of the values that embody the "Chinese Dream". Thus, *Zeng Guoping and Wei Feng in their article "The Realization of the Great "Chinese Dream" and the Establishment of Community Socialist Core Values"* (2015) claim that until recently the socialistic values establishment in Chinese society was only announced, while the time has come to mobilize the whole Chinese society and use all modern tools to bring the basic socialistic values into general practice for the first time in the history of the humankind.

*Zhang Bo (2015) studies the concept of the "great dream of China" in the context of including the concept into the educational medium of the*

*Chinese state. He supposes that the rejuvenation of the nation is common hope for each and every Chinese, and that this hope is the power and energy required for future development of Chinese society. Therefore, the author defines the "Chinese Dream" as energy, the desired future, and the strength sought by Chinese society to concentrate its resource for the upcoming breakthrough.*

Analysis of the researches explaining the "Chinese Dream" concept demonstrates that the term appeared in the public Chinese consciousness long before it was announced by Xi Jinping. In *The Chinese Dream: a Society Under Construction* (2008) providing rich statistic and analytic material, N. Mars and A. Hornsby study possible reasons of Chinese economic growth of the last 30 years along with the unprecedented social and cultural transformations of the modern Chinese society caused by urbanization. According to the authors, there is no doubt that China is turning into a true universal superpower which is, basically, the Chinese Dream itself.

In 2010 the book *The Chinese Dream: The Rise of the World's Largest Middle Class And What It Means To You* by Helen Wang was published; in the first part of the book the author unveils the causes and factors of the emergence of middle class in modern China: separation of the private sector in the economy, collective identity crisis and great migration. The book is based on over 100 interviews of new middle class representatives. In the book Wang does not define the Chinese Dream; she is more inclined to transmitting hopes and dreams of the Chinese through the intimate portraits of this new growing audience. In the conclusion, Helen Wang regards the "Chinese Dream" as a part of the universal dream. She claims that Chinese society personifies its dream on the basis of such traditional Chinese values as their culture of respect, family, nature, new technologies and creativity development.

In October 2012 popular American economic journalist Thomas L. Friedman in his article *China Needs Its Own Dream* published in *The New York Times* wrote that the "Chinese Dream" term was introduced and popularized by journalist Peggy Liu as a synonym for the "sustainable development of China". Thomas Friedman also writes that the "Chinese Dream" is opposed to the American Dream and is used to contrast and emphasize differences between the two: it shows whether the Chinese youth has a dream different from the American one.

Therefore, the "Chinese Dream" concept is developing in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century in the context of the radical economic, social and cultural transformations of Chinese society caused by economic growth, urbanization, emergence of new social and economic classes and collective identities that are new for China. Zheng Wang in his article *The Chinese Dream: Concept And Context* (2014) studies the historical prerequisites of the concept, its meaning in the national renaissance context and its possible international interpretations.

It is considered inappropriate to understand the "Chinese Dream" as something opposed to the socialistic Chinese doctrine. In May 2013 Xi Jinping called the Chinese youth to dream and work bravely to make their dreams come true and activate the Chinese nation. After that, on June 9, 2013, the *Qiunshi* magazine of the National Communist Party published article titled *Seven Reasons Why The Chinese Dream Is Different From The American Dream* by Shi Yuzhi. The author emphasizes that the Chinese Dream is a dream of socialism, prosperity of Chinese society, collective effort to achieve the prosperity and the national glory of China.

Historically, the "Chinese Dream" term originates from ancient *Classic of Poetry*, or *Shijing*, where the poet wakes up desperate, as the blessed times of the Western Zhou dynasty

have passed. The dream of the ancient poet is the dream to revive the prosperity China lived in the Zhou period. The "Chinese Dream" expression is often seen in the popular patriotic literary pieces of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is considered to have appeared much earlier than the "American Dream" collocation.

Robert Lawrence Kuhn, an international investment banker, explains that the "Chinese Dream" consists of four conceptual elements: 1) strong China (economically, politically, diplomatically, scientifically, militarily); 2) civilized China (equity and fairness, rich culture, high morals); 3) harmonious China (amity among social classes); 4) beautiful China (healthy environment, low pollution). The "Chinese Dream" assumes a "moderately prosperous society" where urban and rural citizens live up to the same standards. Economically, it means doubling the 2010 GDP per capita by 2020 (\$10 000 per capita) and making an urbanization leap so that at least one billion citizens, or 70% of the population, live in cities by 2030.

Foreign analysts emphasize that the "Chinese Dream" is targeted at the spirit of entrepreneurship and creativity development. However, the previously mentioned article by Shi Yuzhi specifically explains that the term should be regarded within the socialistic doctrine framework, which differs it from the so-called "American Dream".

The socialistic context of the "Chinese Dream" is studied by several authors in different contexts. Thus, the book *The Role of Health Care Transformation for the Chinese Dream* (2014) by Soeren Mattke, Hangsheng Liu, Lauren E. Hunter, Kun Gu, Sydne Newberry considers the following problems: 1) the needs of the health care system of China; 2) how China should structure its health care system to satisfy the needs. After successful medical insurance expansion, China still faces the problem of health care efficiency

and ageing of population. The country found itself at a crossroads: it can either copy the Western models with some certain restrictions or choose the ambitious way to create an innovative and sustainable modern health care model. The authors suggest that China should choose the second option to develop and implement a health care system based on public health management principles and sophisticated medical IT. This choice may bring triple dividends: health care boosts employment rate in service industry, stimulates domestic demand and unblocks savings. China can start exporting its health care system capacities into developing countries, thereby demonstrating its success in the critically important infrastructure development. It makes the Chinese Dream come true, the authors say.

The initial vagueness of the "Chinese Dream" term caused the "political hermeneutics" of the term. It was written by Joseph Mahoney in his article *Interpreting the Chinese Dream: an Exercise of Political Hermeneutics* (2014), where he studied the "Chinese Dream" in the context of a wider historical and political discourse typical of the National Communist Party of China. J. Mahoney suggests that the vagueness is connected to the necessity to outline the major difficulties Chinese society has to go through both economically, and in particular, politically. Resuming the past, present and future, the conceptual term enables Xi Jinping to consolidate political power, fight against corruption, prepare the nation and the Communist Party to the hard reforms.

Zheng Shiping, the author of the article *Rising Confidence Behind the "Chinese Dream"* (2014), writes that starting from November 2012 the Chinese leaders have been calling for Chinese people to build confidence in achieving the "Chinese Dream". Considering the totality of political, economic and social problems China faces and the low rating of China concerning

some global key indicators, one should ask where such confidence comes from. The research contemplates how China looks in comparison with some neighbouring countries. Three largest neighbours of China: Japan, Russia and India were chosen to compare them with China on the basis of seven productivity evaluation criteria: state efficiency, economic confidence, direct foreign investment, trust, intentional homicide, gender gap, international gap and global competitive ability. The author finds that while Japan is still ahead of China from several points of view, China is catching up rapidly. On the other hand, Russia and India drag behind China in the majority of criteria, and the gap is growing. Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century Russia, China and India have been striving to make their dreams come true, to reach prosperity against the background of problematic relations with some Western countries. Today China seems to be one step ahead of others on its way to make its dream come true. The "Chinese Dream" project relies on the growth of the people's confidence in the present and future of China.

Being based on the survey of 17 cities' residents, the research presented in the article by Chunlong Lu *Urban Chinese Support for the Chinese Dream: Empirical Findings from Seventeen Cities* (2015) showed that, firstly, the support for the Chinese Dream is very high; secondly, the Chinese Dream concept has three dimensions (national dream, social dream and individual dream) and performs a strong collectivist function contrast to the individualistic American Dream. According to the author, the Chinese Dream building is based on the traditional Chinese culture: respect to the political power, desire for social order and strong government support. The author arrives at the conclusion that the "Chinese Dream" building should remain and change along with the Chinese social values development.

Zheng Guoping and Wei Feng also underline the socialistic character of the "Chinese Dream". In their article *The Realization of the Great "Chinese Dream" and the Establishment of Community Socialist Core Values* published in January 2015 the authors indicate that the strengthening and creation of community values of the socialistic world outlook may give rise to the ideological and moral qualities of the Chinese, aid the community management system and provide capacity to manage and achieve consensus in the society, giving strong motivation and support for the "Chinese Dream" to come true. By the present time, socialistic community values have been initially created, but the problems of abstract expression of such and lack of administrative attention and propaganda, absence of efficient awareness-raising methods and means still remain. The authors conclude that to improve the socialistic community values' propaganda it is necessary to update the community relation means, create a platform for the realization of the socialistic community values actually, not abstractly.

In his work *Attempt of Integrating Chinese Dream With Online Education of New And Contemporary History of China* (May 2014) Zhang Zi suggests that without the reform of education technology the "Chinese Dream" may be hard to fulfil. According to the author, the most promising ways are the education style transformation, and development of online teaching of Chinese history. As author claims, it is expected to increase the education quality both within and beyond the said system.

Camilla Sørensen studies the significance of the "Chinese Dream" fulfilment processes for the relations of China with some foreign countries. In her article *The Significance of Xi Jinping's "Chinese Dream" for Chinese Foreign Policy: From "Tao Guang Yang Hui" to "Fen Fa You Wei"* (2015) C. Sørensen writes that for better

understanding of the new and more assertive peculiarities of Chinese foreign policy, it is important to study Xi Jinping's "Chinese Dream" and decode how Chinese administration sees itself in the international arena. As a rule, in their speeches and expressions of the "Chinese Dream" the Chinese governors present it as a follow up of the peaceful development strategy of China.

The author draws some early results but emphasizes that the "Chinese Dream" achievement strategy supports gradual development of new thinking and new approach to the foreign policy of China, which indicates major changes in the relations between China and the whole international system. C. Sørensen considers it especially important to concentrate on the consequences of the internal Chinese understanding of its government: attention to satisfaction of the growing expectations of the role China is expected to play in the international arena in the nearest future. In the recent years, the aggressive features of Chinese foreign policy are obviously related to Xi Jinping's striving to satisfy growing internal expectations and stronger calls for a rougher foreign policy and major measures to gain sovereignty.

Another interesting and important question is whether there is any consensus in China among the administration and the Chinese international relations' researchers concerning the objectives of China on the global scale and the interpretation of such. Xi Jinping is the first Chinese leader, forward-thinking and strong enough to start the review of the foreign policy of China. The author believes that China is developing a new kind of thinking towards international policy; it is indicated in works written by Chinese international relations' experts and new strategies in the foreign policy of China run by Xi Jinping.

In his work *Comparing the Chinese Dream with the American Dream* (2015) David S. Pena states that the Chinese Dream has four

main themes: national rejuvenation, common prosperity, democracy, and the people's happiness; whereas, the American Dream emphasizes personal liberty, individual success, and upward social and economic mobility. Investigation of the historical origins and development of the two dreams, conjoined with an account of their aims and purposes, shows that full realization of the Chinese Dream is achieved by successfully building socialism with Chinese characteristics; the American Dream, writes D. Pena, by contrast, serves as an ideological prop for a particularly aggressive, predatory, and imperialistic form of capitalism (2015). A comparison of each dream in actual practice shows that the Chinese Dream of fully developed socialism has been more successful at promoting common prosperity and peaceful, sustainable development, while the American Dream of unbridled capitalism encourages unsustainable development, growing poverty and inequality, and imperialist wars. Finally, an enumeration of the fundamental differences between the Chinese and American Dreams concludes that the Chinese Dream is fundamentally benign, whereas the American Dream is basically malignant. In order for the American Dream to shed its harmful characteristics, it must reject its capitalist underpinnings and adopt socialism as its ultimate goal. The author continues the argumentation to prove the conformity of the "Chinese Dream" to the socialistic ideals. According to the researcher, the obviously critical description of the "American Dream" is not connected to the peculiarities of American culture, but is caused by the regression of the capitalistic method as a whole.

A different approach is presented in the research by D. Owen (2015). In his article *The Impact of Economic Development on Political Interest Across Social Classes in China: Turning the Chinese Dream into a Chinese Reality?* the author unveils some certain points in the modernization

theory, for instance: what conditions are required for the transition to a democratic political system. It goes without saying that where the strong middle class growth is caused by the interest of this class for its political representation, there is an obvious connection between economic and political development. There is another opinion that links modernization to the working class development. However, the existing empirical research shows that both social classes, working and middle, are politically apathetic and do not take any measures to change the existing political regime. According to D. Owen, modern Chinese social classes support the Chinese Communist Party regime in order to make the "Chinese Dream" turn into "Chinese reality".

Do Tui studies the changes introduced by the "Chinese Dream" political doctrine into the international relations theory. In the article titled *China's Rise and the "Chinese Dream" in International Relations Theory* (2015) he links the two ideas: the diminution of the role played by the West and the USA on one hand and the rise of China and all East Asia on the other. The author drives the problem of creating the "non-Western" international relations theory to explain the processes. Simultaneously, he expresses his anxiety that the theory may sound excessively "nationalistic".

One of the most important aspects of the "great dream of China" is the creation of new communities where real socialistic values would truly reign. According to some researchers, the fulfilment of the "great dream of China" may be connected with another political doctrine that states the necessity for a special urbanization inherent to China. Experts remark that modern Chinese urbanization, on one hand, is connected to industrialization and social modernization processes, but on the other hand, there are more positive aspects than in other countries. Thus, urban population growth in modern China does not

lead to the growth of slums and marginalization of new urban dwellers: the rural residents who have just moved and are still seeking for support for their new social status. Experts explain these positive tendencies with a reasonable urbanization policy, when sufficient attention is paid not only to the rapid growth of such metropolises as Shanghai, Beijing, Harbin and other giant cities, but also to the transformation of urban settlements into small but modern towns. In the latter case, the traditional rural community is not destroyed; therefore, catastrophic marginalization of social groups is avoided.

The work *Weaving the Chinese Dream on the Ground? Local Government Approaches to "New-Typed" Rural Urbanization* (2015) by Anna Ahlers studies the connection between the "Chinese Dream" doctrine and the focus on urbanization that began long before the political formulation of the "great dream of China". Anna Ahlers supposes that it is the reliance on the specifically Chinese forms of "rural urbanization" that is used by the Chinese political leaders to model a true possibility that would the "dream" come socially true. The "great dream of China" did not appear out of the blue. Replacing the previous system of macro scale urbanization in favour of a more balanced dissemination of urban infrastructure and a socially more acceptable concentration of resources and the population has been on the political agenda since the mid-2000s. The political documents of modern China speak more of the new type of "rural urbanization", of the necessity to create the "new rural neighbourhoods", "new rural communities".

Anna Ahlers suggests that the "new rural urbanization" processes and arrival of various resources for the rural territory development, along with the opportunities of planning and distributing the resources are profitable for the rural self-government bodies, which is also caused by the launch of land-use processes. She

remarks that the motivation and interests of local governments that shape plans for state-led rural urbanization were quite complex. These are the interests of this social group that are actualized through the creation of new urban services and other public benefits (health care, education, insurance etc.) in the urbanized rural settlements of modern China. Anna Ahlers believes that the logic of the government responsible for certain settlement urbanization requires serious attention. If private interests prevail over public ones, it may require some preventive measures to take.

Thus, according to Anna Ahlers, introduction of the state law of the PRC on the banishment of unlawful land taking helped to significantly decrease the expulsion rate. But possibly, the researcher writes, the political government realizes that the rapid urban population growth may lead to the same drastic changes in political consciousness. Nevertheless, rural urbanization in modern China is announced to be a modern element of the "great dream of China" which is proved by multiple signs, symbols, and images typical of today's China.

In reality, there are different approaches to the architectural realization of settlement urbanization. It may be urban style apartment building construction; lately, more and more villas with gardens appear. On the borderlines between regions and in the suburbs, terraced house rows are growing. In any case, as a rule, settlement urbanization signifies the urban infrastructure arrival in the traditional rural settlement. The beneficiaries, Anna Ahlers believes, are the settlement administrators who manage transport, health care and education development, and, first of all, the land use pattern.

There appears a new community type where a traditional rural settlement is modernized with urban infrastructure. This new community may serve as a base to make the "great dream of China" come true. The question that rises is

whether the previous local government bodies remain in the new type communities. A. Ahlers answers that there are three main scenarios: 1) preservation of all sustainable traditional settlement administrators; 2) enhancement of autocracy due to the new opportunities for the traditional administrators associated, first of all, with the land capturing; 3) combination of the first two scenarios in different proportions. Depending on the scenario to exercise, one may judge whether the settlement urbanization will become the main base to make the "great dream of China" come true.

Michael Feng is also cautious in his conclusion considering making the "Chinese Dream" come true. In his article *The "Chinese Dream" Deconstructed: Values and Institutions* (2015) he writes that the emergence of this political doctrine was not an accident. According to M. Feng, a negative economic factor that caused its emergence was the diminution of the economic growth rate in China with the low income level per capita. Entrepreneur enthusiasm in modern China is still high, though recently the economic policy of China has experienced a new wave of nationalism and state monopoly strengthening.

M. Feng confirms that the political doctrine of the "great dream of China" gained much support and led to the rise of a new energetic social enthusiasm wave. For modern Chinese leaders it is extremely important that the "Chinese Dream" does not remain limited to nothing but rhetoric. It launches new economic processes: it is allowed to open private banks, and in certain sectors market economy orientation still prevails. The researcher analyses which values are announced to be the ideological base for making the "great dream of China" come true.

According to Xi Jinping and his supporters, the first and the main value is socialism. Party documents and publications state that the People's

Republic of China will stay at the "initial stage" of socialism development for a long time. This "initial stage" has to maintain for the period of time required for China to achieve economic prosperity for all social groups. The thesis of the "initial stage of Chinese socialism" is the answer to the criticism expressed by the left wing of the Chinese socialists who strive for "orthodox" socialism with no market economy. As China has not achieved the necessary level of economic prosperity yet, it accepts the market institutes and mechanisms, as today's political leaders of China say in their speeches. Nevertheless, socialism was proclaimed to be the main value worth launching all the processes present in Chinese society.

The second value mentioned in modern Chinese political rhetoric is the "socialistic democracy". According to M. Feng, in the political theory of modern China this term has multiple conceptual meanings: it may mean "multiparty elections" to find some "expert assistants" for the political leaders; it may mean strict "proletariat dictatorship", "benignant autocracy", "deliberative democracy". Therefore, multiple positive processes in China may be referred to as "socialistic" if they are positive for Chinese society as a whole.

The third value, which is freedom, has been rarely used in modern Chinese political documents until recently. On the opposite, "liberalism" term had extremely bad political reputation due to the famous article *Combat Liberalism* written by Mao Zedong in 1937. Party documents of November 2012 associated with The 18th Congress of the National Communist Party of China were the first to claim that the CPC had to defend the supremacy of the statute law and guarantee that people exercise various rights and freedoms under such supremacy. The 12 basic socialistic values formulated at The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Meeting of the CPPCC and spread throughout the whole territory of China for the first time

in the CPC history included freedom and again emphasized the supremacy of law in ensuring the people's freedom. M. Feng supposes that it was the "Great leap" in modern CPC ideology which speaks of qualitatively new level of Chinese party ideology development.

The fourth value, "the supremacy of law", also for the first time appears in the directives sent out to the territorial CPC bodies in 2014, though the principle itself was recorded in the Constitution of 1995. The directives require taking a system of measures to ensure the supremacy, which is also claimed to be a significant ideological novelty.

The fifth value, equality, has a special meaning for modern China. It means specific economic equality in the living standards of urban and rural population, as well as living standards in different regions of China. The CPC takes the responsibility to redistribute the income between regions, rural and urban settlements in order to fulfil the "social security" principle.

The sixth value, justice, also has a special meaning for modern China. First of all, it concerns the land use issue, when during intensive urbanization the local authority bodies took the lands of farmers and communal households for the "social needs" paying a very small compensation in return. It caused a peasants' protest, along with social stability loss in some regions. In the context of Xi Jinping's policy the value of justice has a special meaning, i.e. rejection of all unlawfully taken lands. The party documents explicitly stipulate that the "great dream of China" cannot come true without the establishment of social justice.

The seventh value is scientific development. According to M. Feng, this expression means environmentally friendly policy, as Chinese metropolises have been suffering from air and environment pollution for a long time. Xi Jinping confirmed that the new government of the PRC keeps on building an eco-friendly civilization

and that it will allocate great financial funds for the environmental stabilization.

M. Feng suggests that the "Chinese Dream" concept includes traditional Chinese values connected with Confucianism. The basic traditional Confucian value is "social harmony". The necessity to build a "harmonious" society was first announced by Xi Jinping's predecessor, whose ruling was the time of social and political instability. Today China spends more on internal order maintenance than on external defence (in 2013, 720 000 000 000 and 769 000 000 000 RMB correspondingly). At a closer look at Confucian traditional values we find that they have little difference from traditional Christian or Buddhist ones. They are based on kind-heartedness, truth, etiquette ritual, wisdom, and honesty. The behaviour code also relies on measure, charity, respect, tolerance and consideration.

However, not all Confucian values are universal. For instance, Confucians consider merchants to be "unworthy" people, while "noble people", in their opinion, cannot be engaged with trade or market values. Mencius, the second most famous thinker after Confucius, who predetermined the traditional Chinese values concept, also called for "moderate" prosperity and against concentrating large financial or other material values in one person's hands. Similarly, Confucianism as a whole acts against the priority of individual interests. They should be aligned with social justice. M. Feng suggests that the Confucian ethical principles cannot but make an impact on the peculiarities of business and social relations in modern China.

Serious attention of experts was attracted by such declared value associated with the "Chinese Dream" as patriotism, or nationalism. Xi Jinping put a nationalistic emphasis on two of three aspects of the "great dream of China": "prosperity of the Chinese nation" and "rejuvenation of the Chinese nation", which,

according to M. Feng, may be an adequate answer to the massive increase of nationalistic ideas in modern China. From the point of view of modern Chinese political leaders, reliance on such moods is a way to preserve the territorial wholeness of China. To some extent, patriotism is included into the traditional Chinese cultural values system. In the past, the unity of China was ensured not politically, but culturally. Traditional Chinese culture prevented any assimilation of the Chinese coming from outside. National pride was seriously mortified during the Japanese intervention and Western technological and military influence, including the "opium wars". It was due to the national spirit rise that Mao Zedong ensured his victory, at the same time making a gigantic effort to modernize Chinese society and create a powerful national state. Struggling to restore the national power, modern China still relies on national authority. The success achieved by modern Chinese state is first of all strengthened by state institutions themselves.

The return to traditional Chinese Confucian values in particular means the return to that strong sense of national pride that has to reveal itself in the political rhetoric of the government as well.

M. Feng fairly supposes that the fulfilment of various aspects of the "great dream" requires some modification of the existing social and cultural institutions. Party documents emphasize that the main principle of bringing the "Chinese Dream" to life is the "democratic centralism" principle. Different definitions of the principle indicate that the main point of the "people's sovereignty", "principal position of the people" and "supremacy of the statute law" is the principle of the CPC authority. Nevertheless, in the past three years party journalists emphasize the "supremacy of the statute law" principle more often than ever.

Moreover, in his speeches Xi Jinping names a series of new institutions to push the "Chinese Dream" forward: "people's congresses", "multiparty cooperation", "political consultations", "national regional autonomies", "lower self-government masses" and many others recommended by the party documents distributed between the local party administration bodies. They also proclaim the rejection of labour education, emphasize the necessity of legal support for the party and governmental power along with the new decision-making principle for the party and regional bodies that requires discussing of such decisions at "people's congresses". Alongside with that, the resolutions of The 18th Congress of the National Communist Party of China emphasizes, that the main role in Chinese economy will be still played by the public sector, while the place occupied by private sector is undoubtedly secondary.

Thus, the "great dream of China" in the CPC ideological programme is determined on a socialistic basis. To make this dream come true it is necessary to take up the action plan where socialistic principles are combined with the traditional Confucian ones, including honesty, justice, and patriotism.

Some Russian authors suggest that the concept of the "great dream of China" has the "soft power" aspect used by modern China to create its informational popularity. Thus, A.V. Shalak, analysing a book written by Chinese authors H. Huaguang L. Jianzhang *The 18th Congress of the National Communist Part of China. The Chinese Dream and the World* published in Beijing, 2013, pays attention to the fact that the comparison of the American and modern Chinese "soft power" given at the end of the book is evidently not made in the favour of China. The prevailing development of the American cultural industry, higher education

system, civil society, human rights defence, legal literacy, role of the country in the global world prove that China is still on the developing countries' list. However, the authors recall the saying of Deng Xiaoping that even having become a rich and powerful state, China will still remain in the third world. This thesis by Deng Xiaoping is interpreted as a certain international position of China that contributes such values as "harmony", "international justice", "existence in harmony with those who are different from you", "international pluralism", "right" into the global world. In this aspect, the "soft power" of China may actually turn attractive for the developing countries bringing China new allies and supporters.

M.V. Skripkar' (2015) supposes that the "Chinese Dream" concept has a history of over one hundred years, from Sun Yat-sen to Xi Jinping. The researcher suggests that the given ideologeme is formulated generally and is still vague in details. Currently the concept of the "Chinese Dream" is divided into three aspects: 1) building of a moderately prosperous society; 2) complete rearmament of the army; 3) transformation into world's first economy. But all the mentioned positions are criticized by modern American analysts. For example, they point out that the Chinese middle class growth to 800 million people by 2029 at the consumption level close to that of the American middle class is a planetary threat due to the critical lack of natural and other resources. Therefore, outside China the dream is criticized and interpreted in many different ways.

S.Y. Raspertova (2013) fairly supposes that the core of the "Chinese Dream" concept is the concept of "harmony" which historically originates from musical consonance and symphonic music. The author proves that the "Chinese Dream" has two main strategies: the internal one, which is the building of the moderately prosperous society,

and the external one, which is the "soft power" application, connected with the attractive image of the Chinese society as a socially harmonious society. S.Y. Raspertova names the main components that comprise the social harmony content: ideology, mentality, behaviour patterns, and social mores.

Social harmony relies on the "cultural harmony" concept that also has a series of peculiarities, including the strategic principle "to make the antiquity serve the present". Thus, the moderately prosperous society ideal is directly associated with the Confucian call to build the "society of moderate wealth". Therefore, the harmonious culture idea assumes consonance of certain cultural practices: socialistic, traditional, and modern. It is this integrative concept of harmonious culture that, according to the modern Chinese leaders, contributes to the fulfilment of the "Chinese Dream" as a dream of the "rejuvenation of the nation".

Some Western researchers believe that the "Chinese Dream" can only come true if it obtains real international support. In its turn, the support is only possible when it becomes clear that Chinese patriotism would not turn into aggressive nationalism, as in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries' history the relations between China and modern Western states, Japan and others were not at their best. The fulfilment of the "Chinese Dream" should rely, first of all, on the reform in the fields of education, culture industry, the "supremacy of the statute law" principle, which requires some significant reformer effort, writes American researcher of Chinese origin Z. Wang (2013).

On the other hand, Chinese researchers claim that the "Chinese Dream" is an ideologeme that specifies real ways of the Chinese society towards communism, which is unreachable without a specific economic basis, without some economic development level, where Chinese socialism serves as a prerequisite for China to

front the leading societies following the same progressive path of Communism (Ming, 2013).

We may dispute on the question of the share of traditional Confucian philosophy in the "Chinese Dream" doctrine; but party documents and modern Chinese journalism say that socialistic ideas in China do not and cannot have any alternatives.

To make the "great dream of China" come true, there are multiple economic, social and cultural projects run in modern China. The main concept of the cultural projects intended to bring the "great dream of China" to life is the "harmonious culture" previously mentioned by S.Y. Raspertova. A definition of the term is provided by Sun He (2008) in the article Construction of A Harmonious Culture in the Perspective of Philosophy, where the author claims that the idea of national harmonious culture in China has a universal dialectic philosophic base related to the problem of integrity of society and individual. Building a harmonious society requires spiritual power. Harmonious culture is a "progressive" culture based on the postulate that every person is an essential integral part of the harmonious society. Harmonious culture relies on the underlying convictions of people and includes the most modern cultural forms. According to He, the most important element for the building of harmonious society is the triunity of ancient people's culture, Marxism as a theoretical base and modern cultural forms.

Various methodological bases for the harmonious culture interpretation are developed. The research by Shi Min and Fu Juwen Study on the Construction of Chinese Harmonious Culture and Its Methodology (2015) discusses several aspects: 1) the contents, characteristics and functions of Chinese harmonious culture; 2) theories to rely on in the process of building Chinese harmonious culture, Western culture theory and Chinese national culture theory; 3)

the methods which China government should pay more attention to in order to promote culture development.

First of all, the concept of harmonious culture is hierarchically connected with the concept of harmonious society. With the historical principle, the authors prove that harmony in primitive society and harmony in feudal society are different from that in socialistic society. In socialistic society the subject matter is harmony between different social groups, fractions, and parties. A harmonious society is the society filled with creative power, developing society with an ideal management system, order and stability. There are four components of a harmonious society: 1) harmony between different social elements; this harmony requires different economic processes, such as production, distribution, consumption and accumulation, are under control and continuous scientific analysis. In respect with culture, this aspect signifies that the national traditional culture of China, socialistic regime and cultural diversity need to stay in unity; 2) internal harmony of a person; it means a need for harmonious interaction between collective and individual interests, production and productivity of labour, local, all-nation interests etc. These interests and ways of interaction are also to be continuously analysed and considered, also in the context of continuous transformation and improvement; 3) harmony between the world of people and nature; it includes various environmental principles, such as civilized and environmentally-friendly nature use, sustainable development strategy, balance between the social world and the natural system; 4) harmony between person and society required for the building of socialism; on the social level there still are many problems to solve, such as absence of coordination between economic and social development, gap between the incomes of the urban and rural residents,

high education fees and complexities of college studies, unavailability of medical assistance and retirement payments. These and other problems are a challenge to the harmonious society builders.

There are two main principles of harmonious society building: 1) focus on person; 2) social conflict resolution. In order to implement these principles, it is necessary to solve a number of problems, including the problem of harmonious correlation of traditional Chinese national culture and the culture of a modern socialistic society. It raises the following questions: 1) What is the essence of Chinese harmonious culture? 2) What cultural thoughts can China inherit from both Chinese and western traditional culture? 3) What is Marx's harmonious theory? 4) How to develop Chinese cultural industry? 5) What is the development barrier for Chinese harmonious culture? Shi Min and Fu Juwen give the following definition of Chinese harmonious culture: Chinese harmonious culture is a complex system of social ideas which core value is harmonious (2015). The first level of harmonious Chinese culture consists of ideas, conception and consciousness. The second level contains institution, morality and custom. The third level consists of concrete products of culture include various books, sciences and artistic work. At the first level not all social subjects, but only the thinkers, politicians and academicians (scientists) need to develop new terms, concepts, and principles to resolve the social contradictions and lead actions in accordance with the governmental plans. The objective value of harmonious Chinese culture is its universality; therefore, its principles have to be accepted not only by Chinese, but by people all over the world. Chinese cultural values can be and should be, according to the authors, actualized through two types of intermedium, "solid" and "soft". The solid intermedium refers to all the material tools created in the progress

of culture construction, including various stationery commodities, cultural and education facilities, radio, magazines, television, network and so on. The soft inter medium refers to all kinds of procedures, methods, rules, conceptions, categories which can improve or confine the development of subject-object relation.

Secondly, there are several conceptual bases of Chinese harmonious culture: 1) Marx's materialistic dialectics helping them build a socialist culture with Chinese characteristic; 2) Chinese traditional culture, where they find a lot of harmonious elements, the main of which is the theory that man is an integral part of nature; 3) absorbing world's advanced structure, as Chinese harmonious culture cannot exist independent of world cultural technologies; that is why China will reform its cultural institutions in accordance with the most progressive ideas and forms of modern world culture.

The authors outline several functions of Chinese harmonious culture: 1) to enhance national cohesion and build Chinese culture under the guidance of Marxism; to create a conceptual language and proclaim to the non-Chinese world that they never seek expansion or hegemony; 2) to normalize social practices, to create a new moral climate where social collective solidarity makes the cornerstone; to create social unions, a system of ideological and patriotic education at every educational institution of China, in all the enterprise and public institutions there must be a part organization that provides an organizational guarantee to the ideological education; 3) with the social development, many social problems cannot be resolved in a short time, and the government wishes to cultivate their people a harmonious mind, to alleviate the conflict of social contradictions.

Selecting the philosophic and conceptual basis for building Chinese harmonious culture principles, the authors recommend relying on

traditional Chinese philosophy: Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. The conclusion is a fair remark that building Chinese harmonious culture still requires further scientific analysis.

It is worthwhile noticing that both in party documents and research publications Chinese analysts consider it necessary to underline that the Chinese harmonious culture concept is based exceptionally on socialistic ideas, on implementation of Marxism and socialism principles into the social and individual consciousness. Particularly, it is the main point of the research Basis and Course of Formation of Cultural Consciousness of CPC by Xiao Wei (2015).

### **Conclusion**

In modern China the cultural processes are predetermined by some ideological principles, the basic of which are the "great dream of China", "harmonious society", and "harmonious culture". The critical analysis of modern Chinese researches proved that the "great dream of China" and "harmonious culture" are the two inextricably entwined concepts. If the "great dream of China" focuses the society on the "rejuvenation of the nation", economic prosperity and social stability, the "harmonious culture" concept reveals the ways of achieving these ideals. Among these, there are: 1) creation of a new ideological language to neutralize social conflicts and contradictions; 2) achievement of ideological conformity to Chinese traditional philosophy, philosophy of Marxism and socialism; 3) enhancement of ideological influence through the cultural institutions system and moral, through the cultural product in the widest sense of the word; 4) popularization of Chinese cultural values all over the world with the "solid" and "soft" Chinese products.

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## **«Китайская мечта» в зеркале современных социальных исследований**

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*XVIII съезд Коммунистической партии Китая провозгласил новый идеологический лозунг о «великой китайской мечте», которая включает в себя достижение среднезажиточного уровня жизни для всех китайцев, омолаживание нации и превращение китайского государства в самое могущественное государство мира. При этом в партийной риторике китайского правительства сохраняется опора на социализм, на теорию Карла Маркса. В статье представлен обзор современных российских, западных и китайских исследований, посвященных «китайской мечте». Идеологема «китайской мечты» связана с другой важной идеологемой – «гармоничная культура». Современные китайские исследователи понимают «гармоничную культуру» как триединство ценностей социализма и марксизма, традиционной национальной китайской культуры (даосизма, конфуцианства, буддизма) и современных глобальных культурных практик и культурных технологий. «Гармоничная культура» представляет собой принципиально новую идеологему, с помощью которой китайское правительство хочет изменить общественное сознание среднего китайского класса, переориентировать его от проблем нарастающих социальных противоречий. К разработке нового идеологического языка «гармоничной культуры» китайское правительство призывает академиков, мыслителей, политиков, полагая, что субъектами культурной политики не могут быть обычные рядовые люди. Происходит трансформация социалистического китайского общества в общество, ориентированное на ценности, соединяющие глобальный космополитический капитализм и традиционные национальные китайские ценности. Китайская «гармоничная» культура, с точки зрения современного китайского правительства, с помощью «мягких» и «твердых» способов должна постепенно распространиться по всему миру.*

*Ключевые слова: Китай, «китайская мечта», «гармоничная культура», социализм с «китайским лицом».*

*Научная специальность: 24.00.00 – культурология.*

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