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POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION OF THE PRC IN THE THIRD QUARTER OF THE XX CENTURY: FROM “NEW DEMOCRACY” TO “CULTURAL REVOLUTION”

Abstract

The purpose of this article is to investigate the essence and destructive consequences of political and economic campaigns carried out in the third quarter of the XX century in China. The author makes an attempt to reconstruct the picture of the political, economic and social development of China in the period under study, to substantiate the specifics of the implementation of reforms in Xinjiang, to trace the interrelationships of economic, political and interethnic relations that are developing both in the region itself and between the central government and national autonomy. This study is aimed at identifying the relationship between socio-economic transformations in China and mass migration of the population, primarily of national minorities, to Kazakhstan. Particular attention was paid to the study of the radical transformations carried out in Xinjiang province since 1955 in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR), since here the general negative consequences were aggravated by the ethno-political factor, increasing the push-out effect of the migration of the indigenous population of the ethnic minorities region. Based on the studied scientific literature, as well as the application of the method of historical detailing, several stages of China's modernization were identified, which were uneven and extremely painful. The features of each stage were studied in details, the accumulated facts were ordered, cause-and-effect relationships were established between the political and economic development of China and the mass migration from China to Kazakhstan in the 1950–1970s. The use of a multifactorial integrated approach made it possible to understand the nature of many phenomena in the economic life of the XUAR and their dependence on political events, solving issues of nation-building, interethnic relations.

Key words: migration, politics, economic development, national minorities, PRC, Xinjiang, Kazakhstan.

Introduction

Population migration, its direction and structure, are peculiar markers of the era. Chinese migration to Central Asia and Kazakhstan during the XIX–XX centuries had several large-scale waves due to historical prerequisites, geopolitical and socio-economic realities. The research within the framework of the research project was carried out in order to identify the connection and the degree of influence of the consequences of political campaigns and economic reforms of the PRC in the period of 1949–1976 on the mass migration of the population, primarily of national minorities, to Kazakhstan. Based on the study of a large array of scientific literature, official documents of congresses and plenums of the CPC, messages from the State Investigative Directorate of the PRC, reference publications, the processes and events that served as the so-called pushing factors of several waves of migration of representatives of national minorities of the PRC, primarily Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Tatars, Dungans to Soviet Kazakhstan. It should be noted that the reconstruction of the picture of the economic and socio-political development of China and Xinjiang in 1949–1976, according to sources is available both in Soviet and foreign historiography, it is complicated by the ideological layers of the past. Some of the materials, although they are valuable, are often politicized and require critical reflection.

Literature review

In the study of the political and economic development of China, the author relied on such generalizing works of Soviet and Russian sinology as “The Social and Economic System and Economic Policy of the PRC, 1949–1975” edited by M.I. Sladkovsky [1], “Economy of the People's

Republic of China: Opportunities and Reality” edited by A.I. Petrov, L.I. Molodtsova [2], “The Art of Mao Zedong’s Political Struggle and Reforms in China” by I.Ye. Pozhilova [3], “CPC. Political and ideological campaigns of 1949–1976” by V.N. Usova [4], “Great Leap Forward» and People’s Communes in China” by Yu.V. Yaremenko. A whole series of works raises problems of the national policy of the PRC and reveals the features of its implementation in national regional autonomies [5–8]. Of the most interesting works on the specifics of the socio-economic, political and cultural-national development of Xinjiang, one should highlight the works of L.I. Molodtsova [9], G. Bakhamov [10], O.A. Omelchenko [11], V.S. Krechetova [12]. In the studies of modern western Sinologists, with the participation of Remy Caste [13], June T. Dreyer [14], James D. Seymour [15], the features of the formation of political organization institutions in Xinjiang after the formation of the PRC, complex interethnic relations developing both in the region itself and between the central government and autonomy.

Methods of research

In the study of the political and economic development of China, the method of historical detailing was used, with the help of which the period of complex socialist transformations was considered in stages, and at each stage precisely those features, events, reforms that entailed negative economic and social consequences, a significant decrease in the standard of living were revealed, and could have influenced the migration sentiments of the population.

The study of a large body of scientific literature required the application of the method of critical analysis. Since many scientific publications devoted to the issues of socialist construction in China were written in the 1950–1960s, the research was carried out by the authors through the prism of the prevailing ideology and political course at that time, which often reduced the objectivity of the interpretation of historical events and the conclusions drawn. A critical rethinking of the sources involved contributed to identification of inconsistencies, contradictions, as well as filtering important information, correlating it with reality. An important place in the research methodology is occupied by the multifactorial equilibrium method, which makes it possible not only to consider the complex relationship between politics and economics, but also to introduce other objective and subjective factors into this relationship and trace their interdependence in the course of the historical development of the state and nations. This allows us to understand the nature of many phenomena in the economic life of the XUAR and their dependence on political events, solving issues of nation-building, interethnic relations, external assistance. For example, carrying out the factorial operationalization of the concept of “forced migration”, one can single out both objective factors influencing this process (such as unemployment, poverty, oppression on the basis of ethnicity, political, religious and other beliefs, etc.), as well as subjective characteristics (family reunification, the factor of comfort and attractiveness of life in the USSR, etc.).

Main provisions

Based on the study, several stages of China’s modernization were identified, which were uneven and extremely painful. The features of each stage were studied more deeply, the accumulated facts were analyzed, the cause-and-effect relationships of the political and economic development of China and the mass migration of the population, primarily of national minorities, to Kazakhstan in the 1950–1970s were revealed and characterized.

Considering migration as a social phenomenon and analyzing the migration behavior of the population of ethnic minorities’ region, we have identified extreme stress factors that cause forced migration. Economic factors played a decisive role in making the migration decision. Depletion of material, raw materials and human resources, natural disasters, widespread hunger, a sharp decline in industrial production led to a significant deterioration in the standard of living of the population.

However, the unfavorable economic situation in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, the most “non-Chinese”, atypical peripheral region of China, is aggravated by the ethnic factor. The devastating consequences of economic experimentation during the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution campaigns have been a disaster for the entire population of China, but it is the non-Han

peoples that have suffered the most. During these years in Xinjiang, the process of the artificially created numerical superiority of the Han people, especially in the strategically important areas of Xinjiang from the standpoint of national security, is intensifying. Under the pretext of fighting local nationalism, a massive replacement of national cadres by Han Chinese took place. This was followed by a course of “fusion of nationalities”, as a continuation of the policy of communization, and in fact, the implementation of ethnic assimilation. Under these conditions, another wave of mass repressions is unfolding against representatives of the clergy and local intelligentsia. The language and writing of non-Han peoples is actually outlawed.

All these processes served as pushing factors of migration, the reasons for the massive movements of residents of the westernmost districts of the XUAR of the PRC, bordering the USSR, to Kazakhstan and other Central Asian republics.

Results and discussion

The beginning of a new stage of modernization was establishing of the People’s Republic of China in 1949. A new structure of political power was established in the country, headed by the CCP, which from now on officially became the ruling party. The implementation of the program of building new China continued to rely on the principles of the “new democracy” approved in 1945 at the VII Congress of the CPC, although the “new democratic” term has been falling out of use since 1949.

In the political sphere, these principles proclaimed the transition to a multiparty system with the leading role of the CPC, the creation of a coalition government, and the provision of the rights and freedoms of citizens. The socio-economic program of the new system included development of market relations, protection of private property, including land, stimulation of private entrepreneurship while maintaining the dominant position of the public sector, and attraction of foreign capital. As can be seen from quite liberal orientation of the CCP’s program, Mao Zedong, in his struggle for support not only of the broad Chinese public, but also of western countries, primarily the United States of America, sought to attract influential western allies and their capital to his side. However, later attempts by the chief theoretician and ideologist of the CPC Mao Zedong to become the leader of the world communist community and to speed up socialist transformations through various ideological campaigns led to opposite results. He was not satisfied with the too slow progress towards socialism. The victorious “great helmsman’s correct line,” demanding revolutionary transformations through the complete socialization of ownership of the means of production, plunged China into an endless series of colossal experiments for decades and led to economic collapse by the end of the 1970s. [3, p. 10, 12].

As for the initial period of socialist construction in Xinjiang, the CPC’s transformation in the political structure and economy of the ethnic minorities’ province had some peculiarities. First, all power in Xinjiang was transferred to the military-administrative committees with the broad participation of representatives of the People’s Liberation Army of China (PLA), which oversaw the creation of local government and administration at all levels. The activities of the PLA, which represent the main political force, were more intense and prolonged here than in most regions of China. Secondly, due to the geographical proximity, the coincidence at that time of the strategic plans of the USSR and the PRC, the development of Xinjiang’s industry, the construction of new industrial facilities here, was largely facilitated by the assistance of the Soviet Union. Thirdly, the multinational composition of the province, a strong religious factor, uneven levels of socio-economic development of different districts of Xinjiang predetermined the specifics of the agrarian reform being carried out here. In the fall of 1952, a “united antifeudal front” (UAF) was created in the provinces. It was decided to consider the land and property of religious institutions inviolable, and the reform itself was carried out in stages. Fourth, given the specific conditions for the development of the cattle-breeding economy in Xinjiang, its great role in meeting the country’s needs for livestock products and the fact that for 1950–1954 livestock products accounted for 91.94% of the total export value of the region, the Xinjiang party organization, in order to preserve the farms of large livestock owners, did not speed up the land reform, weaning and distribution of the property of large livestock breeders.

One more feature is associated with the functioning of the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XPCC) in the national province since October 7, 1954. It is a special unit of an administrative-territorial nature, formed from several military units and up to 80% subsidized by the central government. At the time of the creation of the XPCC, there were about 100 thousand members, of which 90% were

Han, 1/3 of them began to live in Xinjiang on a permanent basis. The functional purpose of the XPCC included the expansion of arable land, mainly for cotton, irrigation and construction work, assistance in the creation of self-help groups and cooperatives, the production of industrial goods, construction work, as well as ensuring law and order and security in the border area [13, 15].

An important political event of the period under review was abolition of Xinjiang Province on September 12, 1955, and the creation on its territory on October 1 of the same year of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR). However, the essence of the economic strategy in the XUAR remained the same and consisted in carrying out a solid and final integration of this “troublesome,” but strategically important region into the economic structure of the country. In 1958, in the XUAR, as well as throughout the country, a course was taken for a sharp acceleration of economic development, forcing the growth rates of industry and agriculture. The Great Leap Forward policy meant a revision of all planning targets and demanded a change in the methods of economic construction. Now economic construction had to rely not on specialists, but on the broad masses of the people. The large-scale expansion of industrial production was to rely on the forces of the peasantry.

According to the new exchange rate, the growth rate of industrial production in 1958–1962 should have amounted to an average of 45% per year. The total volume of industrial production was supposed to increase 6.5 times instead of 2 times according to the second five-year plan. It was planned to increase the volume of agricultural products by 2.5 times. The average annual growth rate of agriculture was to be 20%. It was planned to develop ferrous metallurgy at a particularly high rate. Steel smelting was supposed to increase more than 18 times, while according to the indicators of the second five-year plan, it increased slightly more than 2 times. It is quite obvious that a sharp increase in the rate of economic growth is impossible without a significant expansion of capital investments and the attraction of additional labor resources. In China, and even more so in the outlying regions inhabited by ethnic minorities, in 1958 there were neither financial nor material conditions for such economic shifts [5, p. 12, 13].

The negative consequences of the policy of the “three red banners», the widespread hasty creation of “people’s communes” in the Xinjiang countryside, and especially in the livestock areas that were less prepared at that time, began to manifest themselves at the beginning of 1959. The policy of forced transformation of industrial and agricultural production was carried out in the national region without taking into account local conditions. Just as in the whole country, “jump” methods and forms of work were imposed. Agriculture in the XUAR has ceased to cope with its main function – food supply of the population. During the period under review, Xinjiang turned from an area exporting food into an area in need of food aid from outside. The seizure of a large share of the production of the communes undermined the interest of the peasants in the results of labor, which affected the decline in discipline and labor productivity. Regional gross income and budgetary receipts fell sharply. The catastrophic consequences of the “Great Leap Forward” became especially noticeable in 1960–1961, the region’s economy as a whole found itself in a deep and comprehensive crisis. Depletion of material, raw materials and human resources, natural disasters, widespread hunger, a sharp decline in agricultural and industrial production have led to a significant deterioration in the standard of living of the population. On the contrary, the intensity of labor costs and the length of the working day were constantly increasing. All this caused a negative reaction from the main producers, which resulted in protests of the local population, uprisings in the oil fields of the XUAR. However, any criticism of the Great Leap Forward course was regarded as a manifestation of nationalism.

It should be noted that in the national region, the general negative consequences were aggravated by the ethnic and political factor. It was during this period that, in order to ensure national security, suppress separatist actions and preserve the state unity of the PRC, the process of the artificially created numerical superiority of the Han Chinese in the national autonomy was activated due to their massive influx into the ethnic minority region. Under the pretext of fighting local nationalism, they began to massively replace national cadres with Han Chinese. All of these processes intensified the push-out effect of migration of the indigenous population of the national region. As a result, in 1961–1962 cases of mass transitions of residents of border areas to the Soviet Union became more frequent.

But the most destructive disaster since the founding of the PRC, according to the country’s historians, is the decade of the “cultural revolution”, which lasted from May 1966 to October 1976 and

brought the most disastrous setbacks and colossal losses. By the start of this campaign, Mao Zedong's personality cult was at its peak.

Starting with discussions on the problems of literature and art, the campaign has grown into a line of eliminating commodity-money relations by creating so-called "great schools" capable of independently producing everything you need and supplying yourself with everything you need. Mao Zedong saw the future socio-economic model of China's development in the form of "barracks communism." To create an ideal society, it was required to abolish the division of labor, the system of commodity production, to achieve the erasure of distinctions between workers and peasants, town and country, mental and physical labor. Achievement of these goals was outlined by the method of general leveling, as well as by extending military forms of organization to all spheres of society, militarizing the entire national economy of the country. Such utopian designs drew criticism and resistance from many CCP members. Serious clashes began on a wide range of ideological and political problems, irreconcilable confrontation in the upper echelon of power.

An unseemly role in the period of the "cultural revolution" was played by the Chinese youth, brought up in the first half of the 1960s in the spirit of nationalism, "the ideas of Mao Zedong." Having united in the Hongweibing movement, it actively joined in the implementation of mass political terror against party, trade union and Komsomol leaders, cadres, and the intelligentsia.

During the "cultural revolution", from 1.4 to 1.6 million Chinese were killed, more than 6 thousand cultural monuments were destroyed, 2.357 million history books, 185 thousand paintings and scrolls with calligraphy were destroyed, 1 thousand steles were broken, 70 of them which are priceless cultural monuments, previously protected by the state as national relics, 520 thousand residential buildings were illegally confiscated from private individuals [4, p. 347].

The "cultural revolution" also had grave consequences for the socio-economic development of the XUAR. Beginning in 1966, the bias in the direction of the advanced development of heavy industry began to intensify here again. The aggravation of relations between the PRC with practically all neighboring countries, and first of all with the USSR, led to the need for a further build-up of the military-industrial complex of the region, which was considered the "advanced line of defense." Therefore, the main attention was paid to such strategically important sectors of the economy as electricity, mining and metallurgy. And in the development of the light industry of the region, especially the textile industry, there was a deep recession.

In the national policy of the PRC during the "cultural revolution", unfavorable tendencies intensified. It was aimed at creating such a spiritual culture of non-Han peoples, which would contribute to the accelerated modernization of the economy in the national regions. The priority of the national policy being pursued was to change the spiritual culture so as to reduce their cultural differentiation and prevent the threat of the disintegration of China.

The period of the "cultural revolution" was the culmination of the CPC's struggle against such important constituents of culture as language and religion. In the second half of the 1960–1970s in China, national and linguistic development stops. The languages and writing of non-Han peoples are effectively outlawed. Books and manuscripts in national languages kept in libraries and private collections are systematically destroyed, and non-Han literature was declared a "feudal-bourgeois-revisionist black commodity." Mosques were closed and destroyed everywhere. At this time, the central government again advocated the "fusion of nationalities." An offensive against the regional national autonomy begins. Self-governing bodies were replaced by revolutionary committees, which were absolutely dominated by Han people, most of them military. One of the results of the "cultural revolution" and the period of destruction was the adoption of the Constitution of the PRC in 1975. Many provisions concerning the rights and freedoms of non-Han nationalities were excluded from it, for example, the ability to develop their own languages and scripts, preserve and develop ethnic customs [8, p. 41].

Conclusions

The analysis of the peculiarities of the internal political situation in the PRC during the Great Leap Forward (1958–1960) campaigns, the policy of "settlement" of the national economy (1960–1966) and the "cultural revolution" (1966–1976) revealed their destructive consequences for the economic,

social, demographic, cultural spheres of life of the country's population. The focus on the development of heavy industry, adherence to "jump" methods of economic growth, coupled with isolation from the outside world, led to deep imbalances in the national economy, underinvestment in the production of consumer goods, and the collapse of the agrarian reform. The consequences of Mao Zedong's radical experiments on the "communization of the countryside," the "great leap forward" in industry, and the "cultural revolution" led to decline in the standard of living of the population, hunger, repression and many millions of victims.

In addition, the unfavorable economic situation in the ethnic regions of the PRC, primarily in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR), the most "non-Chinese", atypical national region of China, is significantly aggravated by the ethnic factor. The period of destruction in the economy and social sphere, caused first by the "great leap forward" and then by the "cultural revolution", is characterized by harsh repressive measures against the non-Han peoples of the PRC. The intensification of the process of the artificially created numerical superiority of the Han people, the massive replacement of ethnic cadres by the Han people, the toughening of repressive measures against representatives of the clergy, local intelligentsia, the closure of national schools, the destruction of mosques – all this led to ethnic assimilation. This, in turn, served as pushing factors of migration, the reasons for the massive movements of residents of Xinjiang, bordering the USSR, to Kazakhstan and other Central Asian republics.

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XX ҒАСЫРДЫҢ ҮШІНШІ ШИРЕГІНДЕГІ ҚХР-НЫҢ САЯСИ-ЭКОНОМИКАЛЫҚ ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЯСЫ: «ЖАҢА ДЕМОКРАТИЯДАН» «МӘДЕНИ РЕВОЛЮЦИЯҒА» ДЕЙІН

Аңдатпа

Мақаланы жазудың мақсаты – XX ғасырдың үшінші ширегінде Қытайда өткізілген саяси және экономикалық науқандардың мәні мен жойқын салдарын зерттеу. Автор зерттеу кезеңінде Қытайдың саяси-экономикалық және әлеуметтік дамуының көрінісін қайта құруға, Шыңжаңдағы реформаның жұмыс

істеу ерекшелігін қалпына келтіруге, аймақтың өзінде де, орталық билік пен ұлттық автономия арасында қалыптасқан экономикалық, саяси және этносаралық қатынастардың өзара байланысын бақылауға тырысады. Бұл зерттеу Қытайдағы әлеуметтік-экономикалық қайта құрулар мен халықтың, ең алдымен ұлттық азшылықтардың Қазақстанға жаппай көші-қоны арасындағы өзара байланысын анықтауға бағытталған. 1955 ж. бастап Шыңжаң-Ұйғыр автономиялық ауданында (ШҰАА) Синьцзян провинциясында жүргізілген түбегейлі өзгерістерді зерттеуге ерекше назар аударылды, өйткені мұнда жалпы келенсіз салдар ұлттық ауданның байырғы халқының көші-қонына әсерін күшейтетін этно-саяси факторлармен күрделеніп отырған. Зерттелген ғылыми әдебиеттердің, сондай-ақ тарихи талдау әдісін қолданудың негізінде Қытайдың модернизациялануының бірнеше кезеңдері анықталды, олар біркелкі емес, өте ауыр сипатта болды. Әр кезеңнің ерекшеліктері терең зерттелді, жинақталған фактілер тіркелді, Қытайдың саяси және экономикалық дамуы мен 1950–1970 жж. Қытайдан Қазақстанға жаппай көші-қоның себеп-салдарлық байланыстары анықталды. Көпфактуралы кешенді тәсілді қолдану ШҰАА экономикалық өмірінің көптеген құбылыстарының сипатын және олардың саяси оқиғаларға тәуелділігін, ұлттық-мемлекеттік құрылыс, ұлтаралық қатынастар мәселелерін шешуді түсінуге мүмкіндік берді.

Тірек сөздер: көші-қон, саясат, экономика, экономикалық даму, ұлттық азшылықтар, ҚХР, Шыңжаң, Қазақстан.

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ПОЛИТИКО-ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКАЯ ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЯ КНР В ТРЕТЬЕЙ ЧЕТВЕРТИ XX ВЕКА: ОТ «НОВОЙ ДЕМОКРАТИИ» ДО «КУЛЬТУРНОЙ РЕВОЛЮЦИИ»

Аннотация

Цель написания статьи – исследовать суть и деструктивные последствия политических и экономических кампаний, проводимых в третьей четверти XX века в Китае. Автором предпринимается попытка реконструировать картину политико-экономического и социального развития Китая в исследуемый период, обосновать специфику осуществления реформирования в Синьцзяне, проследить взаимосвязи экономических, политических и межэтнических отношений, складывающихся как в самом районе, так и между центральной властью и национальной автономией. Данное исследование направлено на выявление взаимосвязи между социально-экономическими преобразованиями в Китае и массовой миграцией населения, прежде всего национальных меньшинств, в Казахстан. Особое внимание уделяется изучению радикальных преобразований, проводимых в провинции Синьцзян, с 1955 г. в Синьцзян-Уйгурском автономном районе (СУАР), так как здесь общие негативные последствия усугублялись этно-политическим фактором, усиливающим выталкивающий эффект миграции коренного населения национального района. На основе изученной научной литературы, а также применения метода исторической детализации были выявлены несколько этапов модернизации Китая, которые носили неравномерный, крайне болезненный характер. Глубоко изучены особенности каждого этапа, упорядочены накопленные факты, установлены причинно-следственные связи политического и экономического развития Китая и массовой миграции из Китая в Казахстан в 1950–1970-е гг. Использование многофакторного комплексного подхода позволило понять характер многих явлений экономической жизни СУАР и их зависимость от политических событий, решения вопросов национально-государственного строительства, межнациональных отношений.

Ключевые слова: миграция, политика, экономическое развитие, национальные меньшинства, КНР, Синьцзян, Казахстан.