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FEATURES OF THE NATIONAL POLICY OF MODERN CHINA AND NATIONAL MINORITIES

This article examines the national policy of the PRC in relation to national minorities and its role in strengthening the unity of the state and interethnic relations. The results of the research can be used in political science related to the analysis of the state's national policy in modern China, and can also be used in further theoretical development within the framework of political knowledge about "national politics"; to improve the effectiveness of national policy for the small peoples of the PRC and other modern multinational countries.

The methodology of the study is based on an interdisciplinary approach that encompasses social and political science. In the course of the research, scientific principles and methods of analysis, synthesis, comparison, as well as a comparative-historical method were used, which as a result helped to reveal the general and specific features of the research subject, prospects and qualitative characteristics of its development.

Key words: national policy, PRC, national minorities.

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Қазіргі Қытайдың ұлттық саясатының ерекшеліктері және азшылық ұлттар

Бұл мақалада ҚХР азшыл ұлттарға қатысты ұлттық саясат және оның мемлекеттің бірлігін нығайтудағы және этносаралық қатынастардағы рөлі қарастырылады. Зерттеудің нәтижелері Қытайдағы мемлекеттің ұлттық саясатына талдау жасайтын саяси ғылымдарда, сонымен қатар «ұлттық саясат» туралы саяси білімдер шеңберіндегі теориялық дамуда; ҚХР және басқа да қазіргі заманғы көпұлтты елдердегі азшыл ұлттарға қатысты ұлттық саясаттың тиімділігін арттыруда қолданылуы мүмкін.

Зерттеудің әдіснамасы әлеуметтік және саяси ғылымды қамтитын пәнаралық тәсілге негізделген. Зерттеу барысында ғылыми тақырыптар мен әдістерді талдау, синтездеу, салыстыру, сондай-ақ салыстырмалы-тарихи әдістер қолданылды, нәтижесінде зерттеу тақырыбының жалпы және нақты ерекшеліктері, даму перспективалары және сапалық сипаттамалары айқындалды.

Түйін сөздер: ұлттық саясат, ҚХР, азшыл ұлттар.

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Особенности национальной политики современного Китая и национальные меньшинства

В данной статье рассматривается национальная политика КНР по отношению к национальным меньшинствам и ее роли в укреплении единства государства и межнациональных отношений. Результаты исследования могут быть использованы в политической науке, связанной с анализом национальной политики государства в современной КНР, а также могут быть использованы в дальнейшей теоретической разработке в рамках политического знания о «национальной политике»; выработке повышения эффективности национальной политики для малочисленных народов КНР и других современных многонациональных стран.

Методология исследования основывается на междисциплинарном подходе, охватывающем социальную и политическую науки. В ходе исследования были применены научные принципы и методы анализа, синтеза, сравнения, а также сравнительно-исторический метод, который в результате помог выявить общие и специфические черты предмета исследования, перспективы и качественные характеристики его развития.

Ключевые слова: национальная политика, КНР, национальные меньшинства.

Introduction

China is a country with a rich history and centuries-old traditions. Chinese society is distinguished by its heterogeneity and cultural pluralism. Ethnic relations at the present stage of development of China are characterized by special complexity. As a consequence, the analysis and study of the national policy towards the national minorities of China is very relevant.

To date, 56 national minorities live in China. In 2000, the proportion of officially recognized small nationalities was 8.41% in relation to the main nationality – Hans (actually the Chinese). However, linguists number in China 236 languages – 235 alive and one disappeared. So the real number of ethnic groups in China is much greater than 56.

The object of the study is China's national policy with regard to national minorities.

The subject of the study is the laws, reforms and concepts of China's national policy with regard to national minorities

The purpose of the study is to examine the existing contradictions in the sphere of Chinese national policy, to determine their causes and the degree of influence on the domestic policy of the state, and to try to give an objective assessment of the problems raised.

Objectives of the study

to consider the concept of a «single multinational China»

to consider the existing contradictions in the sphere of Chinese national policy

to determine their causes and the degree of influence on the domestic policy of the state

try to give as objective assessment of the problems as possible.

The value of the research – the results of the study can be used in further theoretical development within the framework of political knowledge about the “national policy”; to improve the effectiveness of national policy for the national minorities of the PRC and other modern multinational countries.

The methodology of the study is based on an interdisciplinary approach that encompasses social and political science.

As a result of the study, the following results were obtained:

the basic tendencies of the concept of “single multinational China” have been refined;

the essence of the national policy of the PRC in relation to national minorities was revealed;

the national policy at the present stage was analyzed;

the peculiarities and key elements of the national policy were revealed.

According to the results of the study, the main idea of China's national policy, which is to unite nationalities and oppose separatism, was revealed. This trend in China's national policy does not officially support Great-Han nationalism and the narrow nationalism of the non-Han people, but in practice everything depends on the specific situation.

The national question in modern China

Many studies on China's new history are based on the concept of a “single multinational China”, or the concept of a “single Chinese nation”, developed by Chinese scholars in the 70s. In this concept, two trends are clearly discernible. The first is the desire to build a scientific model for the formation of the current “single multinational China”, acknowledge the evolution of the borders of China throughout its history, the formation of the state as a long and contradictory historical process. The second trend, which was gradually overcome and changed by Chinese historians since the late 1990s, proceeds from the false notions that China has always existed and developed as a single multinational state since ancient times. Within the framework of this concept, the evolution of the country borders, the habitat of any people associated with the Han people is denied, they are perceived as the territories of China. When studying the history of nationalities living on both sides of China's borders with neighboring states – Tajiks, Uighurs, Mongols, Orochians, Dzungars, Kazakhs, Kirghiz and others, it is emphasized that these peoples in the past were completely under the power or influence of the Chinese emperor, and the territories of their residence were subsequently lost to China. Such geographical areas as the Amur River basin, Sakhalin, the territories to the south-east of Lake Balkhash, the Pamirs, the south of Kazakhstan and many others are regarded as forcibly divorced from China. This concept is aimed

at raising the national self-awareness of the Chinese people in order to make popular the idea of unity, strengthening and revival of the country. Such an approach recognizes the status of the nation for all peoples living on the territory of the PRC, but at the same time the concept of the Chinese nation includes all ethnic groups, despite the differences in languages, cultures and mental warehouse. And the only possible and best option for the development of China is the organization of nation-building on the principle of regional-national autonomy, which will be discussed in details below.

The internal national policy of the PRC

China's national policy has evolved over the centuries. Already from the time of the Qin dynasties (221-207 BC) and Han (206 BC – 220 AD), China has consistently pursued a policy of annexing territories inhabited by non-Chinese peoples. To this end, the Chinese state applied flexible methods based on a deep understanding of the differences in lifestyle and level of economic development of the Han people and their neighbors. In the Han time, the political practice of weak leadership of the barbarians emerged, for which special principles of political, administrative and legal regulation were developed. The state doctrine of China proclaimed that the beneficent influence of the Chinese monarch is felt not only by the Han people, but also by distant nations, who themselves obey and come to court with tribute. Therefore, all peoples and tribes that were in varying degrees of remoteness from China were considered real or potential vassals of the Chinese state. Steps aimed at the inclusion of new lands, the official ideology explained either by using ethnic peripheries, or by the need to punish violations of vassal duties. During the Tang dynasty (618-907), the idea of a multi-ethnic, multinational state was first included in the Chinese political doctrine, in which both Han Chinese and "barbarians" lived. This historically established practice of governing the non-Han peoples was seamlessly integrated into the national policy of the Chinese government, although at the official level, guided by the experience of the Soviet Union, the CCP defined the following principles of the party policy in relation to minorities: equality of all nationalities; development of economy and culture of national areas; raising the level of education and training of national staff; respect and preservation of traditions, customs and beliefs of minorities, preservation of language. Of course, the official proclamation of these principles was quite a progressive step, but the essential component of the national concept remained the same – to convince public opinion that

China is the historical successor of the Middle State, historically evolved as a single multinational state, and the Chinese nation is a superethnos. Moreover, as it turned out later, the actual inequality of non-Han nationalities, their significant socio-cultural and economic backwardness in reality did not allow to fully implement the principles of political equality, granting them equal rights and freedoms with the Han people.

By the time of the proclamation of the PRC, the share of the non-Han population was approximately 47 million. In such situation, the CCP began to address the national question. The process of forming the Chinese national policy has gone through a difficult and for many non-Han nationalities in a tragic way. Usually researchers distinguish three main stages: [15, p.459]

1) The period of formation of the national policy foundations – 1949 to 1957; 2) The period of destruction – from 1957 to the Central Committee 3rd Plenum of the 11th CPC in December 1978; 3) The period of reasonable construction in the national areas, this has begun in 1980s and continues at the present time.

In the second half of the 1950s, the CCP began to talk about the gradual narrowing in the framework of the national question in the PRC. This was the result of his interpretation as part of the Chinese revolution. The revolution, as was believed at that time, had already brought the country to the borders of communism, and if so, the national question began to lose its significance. The weakening of the attention of the CCP to the national issue has become a serious miscalculation. The following years were even less favorable. During the period of the "cultural revolution", the PRC officially denied "the existence under the socialism of nations and the national question".

For a long time, the situation of national minorities in China was disastrous.

The domination of feudal relations, the backwardness of the production tools and the lack of land caused an extremely low standard of living. The exploitation by the local authorities was aggravated by the predatory policy of the government, which considered the territories inhabited by national minorities as sources of cheap raw materials. Not only the policy of economic robbery of the population of the national suburbs was conducted, but also the national culture, language and traditions of national minorities were suppressed in every possible way. Only in the late 1970s, when there was a sharp deterioration in the national situation, increased tensions in national relations, ethnic outbreaks

increased, the significance of the problem attracted the attention of the CCP leadership. In 1982, the XII National People's Congress of the Communist Party of China for the first time in the history of the party gave an assessment of the national question in China as a problem of extreme national importance. Today, the CPC's position on the assessment of the significance of the national question differs radically from its initial point of view on this issue. A new approach raised the importance of the national question. Indeed, without determining the place and role of the national issue in the country, it is difficult to build a sufficiently valid and effective national policy, which is vitally important for the modern state. The new assessment helped in the 1980s to overcome the nihilistic attitude to this important problem both inside the CCP and in the country as a whole. In many ways, thanks to the efforts of Deng Xiaoping, the PRC took the path of a constructive solution to the national question, and taking into account Chinese characteristics a holistic theory was formed. The national issue received an extremely high status – a strategically important problem. This contributed to the revitalization of the national policy pursued in the PRC, as well as the development of theoretical work in this field in China. Today, the main directions of the national policy of the CCP are problems of cohesion, national equality and welfare of nationalities.

The policy of national autonomy in the PRC

Until 1949, both the CPC and the Kuomintang supported the principle of federalism and national self-determination, even recognized the right of non-Han residents to withdraw from China. However, after the founding of the PRC, the party refused to do this in order to ensure the territorial integrity of the country. As a basis for solving the national issue, regional national autonomy was adopted, this precluded the emergence of any nation from China. At the same time, district national autonomy implies the implementation of regional autonomy in places of compact residence of representatives of national minorities under the unified leadership of the state, self-government bodies are established.

The first of the autonomous regions in 1947 was Inner Mongolia (the capital is Hohhot). After the proclamation of the PRC, the Chinese government began to introduce national regional autonomy in all places of compact residence of national minorities. Broad autonomy began in 1950, but most of the autonomies were small-scale townships and in-district areas. In 1952, the first normative act regulating the policy of the regional national autonomy was adopted: "Basic Principles for the Implementation of District National Autonomy in

the People's Republic of China." The Constitution of 1954 limited the status of autonomies to three levels, compactly residing national minorities (for example, Uighurs, Tibetans, Chuans, Hui, Manchus, Mongols) can create three types of autonomous entities: an autonomous region, an autonomous district, an autonomous county. Autonomous regions below the county were abolished. Such a system of division exists today. In general, the country is divided into provinces, national autonomous regions and cities of central subordination. The provinces and autonomous regions are divided into autonomous regions, counties, autonomous counties and cities. The counties and autonomous counties are divided into township, national parishes, as well as settlements and villages. According to the provisions of the Constitution, the state can, if necessary, establish special administrative regions. In order to improve the efficiency of administrative work, economic development and the promotion of national cohesion, the government can regulate or change the administrative boundaries of autonomous regions. In October 1955, the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region was formed (the capital is Urumqi); in March 1958 – the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region (the capital city is Nanning); in October 1958 – Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region (the capital is Yinchuan); in September 1965 – the Tibet Autonomous Region (the capital is Lhasa). At the end of 2003, 155 administrative units of the national autonomy were created in China, including 5 autonomous regions, 30 autonomous districts and 120 autonomous counties (banners\hoshuns). According to the 5 All-China Population Census in 2000, 44 out of 55 national minorities formed their national-territorial autonomy, 75% of representatives of ethnic minorities of China live there.

From the very beginning, the district autonomy of the PRC had a purely administrative framework-autonomy did not and do not have the status of statehood, all issues are resolved and controlled by the center. Areas of national autonomy are considered as an integral part of a unitary state. The bodies of autonomous entities carry out the usual functions of local authorities of the appropriate level and at the same time are the organs of this autonomous entity self-government. The Chinese management system is stringent, centralized and bureaucratic. Within the framework of the general guidelines dictated from above, autonomy authorities enjoy a certain freedom in choosing the ways to implement these installations, focusing on available resources and national-territorial traditions. The system as a whole is very inflexible and inefficient.

A number of nationalities have created several national entities of various levels. Thus, Tibetans in China live not only in the Tibet Autonomous Region, but also in the provinces of Sichuan, Gansu, Qinghai and Yunnan, where they formed 10 autonomous districts and two autonomous counties. The Mongols, in addition to the autonomous region of Inner Mongolia, created Mongolian autonomous regions and autonomous counties in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, in Qinghai Province and other regions.

From a legislative point of view, there is a system of legal norms in China that regulates all areas of activity in national autonomies. In addition to the Constitution of 1954, the legal status of autonomous entities is regulated by the Law of the People's Republic of China on regional national autonomy of 1964. In addition, later on the basis of the Constitution of the PRC in 1982, a new Law of the PRC on National Regional Autonomy was adopted (this law was adopted by the second session of the National People's Congress May 31, 1984 and revised February 28, 2001). The provisions of the Law are formulated in the form of general principles; they require specificity for implementation in the areas of autonomy in the form of publishing accompanying regulations and rules that contain specific ways of enforcing the law [16, p.72]. The law clearly defines that autonomous administrative units have the right to make independent decisions in the spheres of politics, economy, justice and culture. Also important are the Regulations on each type of autonomy adopted by the autonomous entities themselves and regulating their legal status. The Assembly of People's Representatives of each autonomous entity adopts a provision on autonomy and separately acting provisions. These acts of the autonomous regions are approved by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the autonomous regions and autonomous districts by permanent committees of people's congresses of provinces and autonomous regions and brought to the attention of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

The Law of the People's Republic of China "On National Regional Autonomy" establishes: The Assembly of People's Representatives in the areas of national autonomy, in addition to the rights enjoyed by ordinary local government bodies, also have the right, in view of the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the nationalities in a given locality, to develop autonomy provisions and separately current provisions. "The Law of the PRC "On Legislation" provides: "The provisions on autonomy

and separately acting regulations are allowed, subject to the peculiarities of local nationalities, to change the provisions of laws and administrative rules." "If the provisions on autonomy and separate provisions in accordance with the law amended the provisions of laws, administrative rules and regulations of a local nature, then these changes are valid in this area of autonomy." The Law of the People's Republic of China "On National Regional Autonomy" also states: "If decisions, orders, orders and instructions of higher state bodies do not correspond to the real conditions of the areas of national autonomy, the self-government bodies may, with the permission of higher state bodies, modify them or suspend their execution.

In 87 of the 347 laws and regulations developed and promulgated by the National People's Congress, there are provisions relating to national minorities. In such documents as the Law on Elections to the National People's Congress and Local People's Congresses of China, the Law on the Organization of Local Meetings of People's Representatives and Local People's Governments of the People's Republic of China, the Penal Code of the PRC, the Code of Criminal Procedure of China, marriage, the PRC Law on Military Obligation, the Forest Code, the Steppe Code, and articles were established to ensure national equality and protect the rights and interests of national minorities. In accordance with these legislative acts, the regional national autonomy is one of the important institutions of the political system. The self-governing bodies of autonomous entities have a strategically important duty to preserve the unity of the country.

Areas of compact residence of representatives of national minorities in China in accordance with the Constitution, the Law on National Regional Autonomy and other laws enjoy full right to self-government. At the same time, self-government bodies exercise the powers of local state bodies provided for in Section 5 of Chapter III of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. In the areas of national autonomy, all nationalities enjoy the right to choose and be elected by electing deputies of the National Council of People's Deputies and creating self-governing bodies to exercise democratic rights to manage internal affairs of their nationality and their region. Legislation establishes certain privileges in the distribution of posts for persons of those nationalities that exercise autonomy. The chairmen of the autonomous regions, the heads of the autonomous districts, the heads of autonomous counties must belong to the corresponding nationalities. Other persons belonging to the governments of autonomous

entities should, if possible, belong to the nationality exercising autonomy and other national minorities. This rule extends to the staff of structural divisions of self-governing bodies of autonomous entities. There are constantly problems, especially in some areas of compact residence of national minorities; the number of Han and other nationalities is greater than the number of national minorities that exercise autonomy. National staff has always been lacking, and the presence of personnel of Han origin in the government often leads to conflicts with the local population. In addition, national minorities elect from their midst deputies of the NPC, thereby exercising their rights to administer public affairs. Among the deputies of the National People's Congress of all convocations, since the first convocation, the proportion of deputies from national minorities has always exceeded the proportion of the population of national minorities in the total population of the whole country. Each nationality is represented by deputies of the National People's Congress, and nationalities with a population of over one million people each are represented by members of the NPC Standing Committee.

The self-governing bodies of autonomous entities have a strategically important duty to preserve the unity of the country. The decision on the establishment of autonomous entities, their boundaries and name is taken by the higher authority in conjunction with the relevant local authorities and after consultation is forwarded to the approval of the State Council. The name of an autonomous entity, with the exception of special cases, is established by the local name, nationality name, administrative status (for example, the Tibet Autonomous Region, Autonomous Region of Inner Mongolia). In the spiritual sphere, the self-governing bodies of the regions of the national autonomy are responsible for the affairs of education, science and culture, collect and protect national monuments, and promote the development of national culture. In the framework of the state system of military construction, self-government bodies may, if necessary and with the permission of the State Council, form public security units to protect public order.

The Constitution imposes on the state the obligation to provide financial, material and technical assistance to small nationalities in order to accelerate the development of economic and cultural construction, and to promote the training of cadres, specialists and skilled workers from representatives of local nationalities.

At the end of 2003, there were more than 2.9 million people in the country and specialists from

among the national minorities. In the areas of national autonomy, a network of universities and institutes for the training of national cadres has been specially created, training in which is either free or much cheaper than in ordinary higher educational institutions. Higher schools and secondary special schools in recruiting new students reduce the criteria and requirements for applicants from among the representatives of national minorities; practice a special approach with regard to those coming from among small nationalities. At the same time, special national secondary schools or national classes in ordinary secondary schools have been opened in the developed regions of the country. With the aim of strengthening the training of top-level staff from among the national minorities, the Chinese government has decided to pilot annually in the national regions 2,500 people in the national regions to study in the doctoral and magistracy, and 5,000 since 2007 and bring their total number to 15 thousand people.

Thus, social tasks and the tasks of personnel training are being addressed.

Out of the number of national minorities, 22 people are minorities – they are people with a population of less than 100 thousand people. Historically, small ethnic groups live on the outskirts of the country, in places with underdeveloped infrastructure.

The main objective, which was originally put by the CCP in its policy towards national areas, was to retain them as an integral part of the territory of the PRC and to implement socio-economic and political transformations as peacefully as possible.

In relation to the rural population of China, which accounts for more than half of the country's inhabitants, national minorities are in a better position. A system of benefits and benefits has been created that contribute to the survival of small ethnic groups. National enterprises are exempt from a number of taxes or pay them at a reduced rate. For those who wish to establish their economy, grants are provided free of charge, free provision of equipment. In the conditions of nationwide birth control, representatives of national minorities are allowed to have two, and families of small peoples – three children. Such a comprehensive concern of the state formally enhances the welfare of national minorities, guarantees their survival, but in fact makes the national autonomies completely dependent on the center. In the People's Republic of China, a nationwide tendency to assimilate small nations is seen.

The term preservation of national minorities is avoided, speaking about their development. In the

presence of declarative provisions on the need to preserve national cultures, traditions, customs and language, the disappearance of national languages is inevitable, and in the near future the complete dissolution of small nations in the great Chinese nation. There is a direct correlation between economic well-being and assimilation processes: the more dynamically the development of the national area, the faster assimilation takes place. The state declares freedom of choice for each nationality, in fact it turns into promoting assimilation.

In Chinese ethnography there is the theory of assimilation, put forward by the scientist Jian Bozan in the 60s of the XX century. According to this theory, a highly developed people, winning less developed, contributes not only to its progress, but also to gradual assimilation. If the conquering people are weaker than the conquered people, both civilizational and spiritual, it will inevitably dissolve itself in the conquered ethnos.

According to most experts, the historical process and the market economy will inevitably lead to the dissolution of small peoples in the Chinese nation. As a result of the state policy, the resettlement of Han Chinese and other nationalities that did not live there (for example, the situation in Tibet or Xinjiang). This is one of the main reasons for the dissatisfaction of minorities in these areas. In fact, the Chinese leadership not only provides these areas with more qualified specialists, but also tries to protect themselves from manifestations of separatism. At the same time, legal provisions on autonomy and personal advantages of local authorities are violated.

Another example is the policy regarding national languages. In general, such a progressive phenomenon as the spread of a national culture and not a dialectal, but a national Chinese language, is often accompanied by a curtailment of the use of local national languages and even their displacement from the sphere of education.

In the official doctrine, these and other similar contradictions are not naturally reflected.

Conclusion

The main goal of this work is to examine the existing contradictions in the sphere of Chinese national policy, to determine their causes and the degree of influence on the domestic policy of the state, and to try to provide an objective assessment of the problems raised. At the same time, the article is educational in nature, does not pretend to complete the research on this topic, the indisputability of the conclusions and judgments made. Based on the analysis of various available sources and specialized

literature, taking into account the point of view of well-known researchers on this issue, it is possible to sum up and say that for China the solution of the national question and a thought-out effective national policy are strategically important issues. Although the national situation and interethnic relations have always been difficult, the implementation of the national regional autonomy played a decisive role in preserving the territorial integrity of the state.

In general, today's PRC policy towards national minorities is aimed at accelerating the economic and cultural development of these peoples, pulling the national regions to the level of the developed provinces of the country, which should contribute to the economic development of the whole country, and also consolidate the nation and prevent possible separatist actions.

At the same time, the ethnic identity of small nations is being pushed to the background. Assimilation is encouraged. There are not a lot of facts of obvious oppression and discrimination of minority rights, they are not officially spoken about, but they are significant, indicative. The discontent of minorities in various regions is manifested regularly and comes through the mass media. Usually illegal actions are justified by good intentions. The ideas of uniting nationalities and opposing separatism are central to national politics. Officially, Great-Han nationalism, and the narrow nationalism of the Non-hans are criticized, condemned, and said that they must be eradicated. In practice it happens in many ways. Of course, in many specific situations, the means and methods of conducting national policies deserve criticism and condemnation. One of the reasons for this is that the Communist Party has always rightly feared that giving too much freedom to the outskirts could undermine its monopoly of power, and the absence of a strong central authority will inevitably lead to the disintegration of the country into several parts. Chinese nationalism in this case has become the main instrument of strict centralization of the state and a means of retaining power. At the same time, only in this way, through the subordination of all regions to the will of the center, China has managed to achieve a modern level of economic development. Perhaps China would never have been able to achieve such results in a different way. All forces and resources were directed to modernization and reforms. Priority of economic tasks dictated and dictates all other directions of development. Preservation of the unity of the state, increased power and influence have become a worthy result. Many researchers argue that the democratic principles of the organization of power,

the way of Western liberal democracy in principle is unacceptable for Asian countries. It leads to anarchy. In China, while there is no question of any democracy, the issues of human rights and freedoms began to rise only recently. But it is impossible to completely ignore the rights of minorities in modern conditions for China. It is important that China declares its intention to strengthen interethnic

relations based on equality, cohesion and mutual assistance. It is much more difficult to implement this in practice. New methods and approaches are needed from the Chinese leadership to solve the national question. Perhaps further economic growth and rising living standards of the population will become a reliable basis for the social stability of Chinese society.

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