HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE AND CURRENT STATE OF THE “XIAOKANG SOCIETY” CREATION IN THE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Since Deng Xiaoping first introduced the concept of “xiaokang” in 1979, “creating a xiaokang (moderately prosperous) society” has been the main goal of Chinese leaders’ modernization and reform efforts. The year of 2021 will be a special year in the history of the People’s Republic of China on the road to “creating the xiaokang society”. This year marks the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party, the completion of “creating the xiaokang society” and China’s final victory over poverty. The article examines the theoretical aspect of the formation and practical application of the concept of “creating a xiaokang society”, which is designated as the main goal of China’s development over the past 40 years. Through an overview of the history of the concept formation, the place and role of the concept of “xiaokang” in the strategy of socio-economic development of China will be analyzed. Since it is considered as the main focus of the CPC Central Committee’s work and an important stage in the process of China’s socialist modernization, the study of the essence of the term “xiaokang” is particularly relevant. The concept “Xiaokang has undergone a three-stage transformation in the direction of implementing the party’s policy: “General xiaokang society”, “establishment of a comprehensive xiaokang society”, and “completion of a comprehensive xiaokang society”. The development of the state in this direction has brought great results to China and served as the basis for determining the future development strategy. Through creating the “xiaokang society”, China expresses its desire for global leadership by acquiring wealth and power. Even the COVID-19 pandemic did not appease China, saying that the CPC will keep its promise.

Key words: CPC, concept, xiaokang society, social development, modernization.

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Introduction

Year of 2021 is the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China. The period of analysis of the results of the centenary struggle, centenary development. At the same time, this year will be the year of victory for the party leadership in creating the “xiaokang society” (moderately prosperous society), whose strategic development goal is to radically eradicate poverty in China. The idea of creating a “xiaokang society”, born out of the centuries-old people’s “dream” of the Chinese, is now becoming a big national concept under the party’s rule and occupies a leading position in the country’s socio-economic development. The Communist Party, which aimed at balanced, harmonious and sustainable development uses this concept as the main tool for dialogue with the mass population, turning the idea of creating a “xiaokang society” into its goal. The creation of the “comprehensive xiaokang society” is the party’s political promise to the people and a development program related to national revival. An analysis of the path taken by the CPC leadership and a general understanding of the experience of creating the xiaokang society will be useful for developing countries in the transition period.

Xi Jinping, who was elected Chairman for a second term at the 19th CPC National Congress in 2017, presented a roadmap for the party’s development over the next five years: “socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a new era... We must not only fulfill the goal of the first century, but also move on to the goal of the second century” (Xi, J. 2017). The “goal of the bicentennial” here is to create a “comprehensive xiaokang (moderately prosperous) society” to commemorate the CPC’s centenary (2021) and to create a modern socialist state to commemorate the centenary of the PRC’s establishment (2049). These “bicentennial goals” have had an impact on China’s long-term economic planning programs and macroeconomic policies. In 1997, former Chinese President Jiang Zemin first brought these goals to the forefront, and then in 2002, the bicentennial goals were officially adopted into the party’s Charter. During the implementation of the reforms, all the efforts of the state were aimed at creating the first goal – the “xiaokang society”. Creating a xiaokang society with a developed economy, mature democracy, advanced science and education, a flourishing culture, a harmonious society, and an improved life for the people is not a new goal or task set for China. This slogan, which was raised under Deng Xiaoping, is a big goal that is still at the...
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top of the country’s development agenda by Chinese leaders.

In the “Recommendations of the CPC Central Committee on the 14th Five-Year Plan for Socio-Economic Development (2021-2025) and the development of long-term Goals for 2035” adopted by the 5th Congress of the XIX Congress of the CPC in the first half of 2021, the CPC Central Committee after a systematic assessment and conclusion of the process of establishing a “comprehensive xiaokang society” will officially announce the achievement of this goal. (Russian.news.cn, 2020). This means that Chinese people were very close to completing much of the work of creating the “xiaokang society” under the leadership of the CPC. The concept of “xiaokang society”, which has become a model of socialist development in China, has proved its full viability as a strategic way of modernization. Where did the concept of “xiaokang society”, dedicated to the goal of the centenary attempt, come from, and how large is its historical meaning? How important is this concept in China’s modernization process? What is the practical outcome of creating the xiaokang society? In this article, we will try to answer the above-mentioned questions.

Justification of the choice of the article, goals and objectives

Looking at modern Chinese development from a historical point of view, we can see that the history of the PRC is divided into two major periods: political and economic. The first stage, which lasted from 1949 to 1978, was characterized by a planned economy, radical socialism, and an unsuccessful experience in economics. The second stage, from 1978 to the present day, is characterized by fundamental economic reforms, a gradual transition from a planned economy to a market economy, great economic development and a change in the socio-economic division in society. It is the social changes in the second stage that are of great research value. Because for more than 40 years, when China began economic reforms, embarked on the path of modernization and industrialization, this is a period when it is possible to analyze the changes taking place in society and determine the results. China’s openness to the outside world, the remarkable results of economic development, and the country’s experience in solving domestic and foreign problems are attracting today’s world community. Today, China, using the concept of “Xiaokang Society”, has significantly improved the socio-economic situation of its people and is in the center of world attention with its positive results. Many developing countries are trying to unravel the mystery of the “economic miracle” and study it in detail in order to use the Chinese experience in modernizing their economies. From this point of view, the relevance of the article lies in the study of the main component of the “modernization of the Chinese model – the concept of “xiaokang”, the disclosure of theoretical conceptual aspects and practical application.

Scientific research on the concept of “xiaokang” in China itself has been conducted on a large scale since the early 1990s, both theoretically and from the point of view of the party’s political work Department. The concept of “xiaokang” is studied in detail at the Institute of Sociology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in terms of essence, criteria and evaluation indicators, and annually conducts research in this area and publishes in the form of collections. The Chinese Bureau of Statistics also continuously monitors the performance of the xiaokang society and publishes annual reports. Apart from China, the concept of “xiaokang” has a great interest in the general scientific community. Russian scientists are also publishing extensive research on the role of the concept of “xiaokang” in China’s development. In 2018, under the editorship of AV Ostrovsky, a collection of articles entitled “The 13th Five-Year Plan (2016-2020) – an important stage in the creation of a moderately prosperous society “xiaokang” in China” was published. In 2020, the Center for Political Studies and Forecasting of the Far Eastern Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences organized a scientific conference “The Chinese state at a crucial stage in the creation of a moderately prosperous society”. However, in our domestic field of Chinese studies, the work on the concept of “xiaokang” is insignificant. In 2014, a group of authors led by Professor N.A. Aldabek published a collective monograph “Modernization of China and Kazakhstan”. The monograph considers the term “xiaokang” in the analysis of the theoretical foundations of Chinese modernization. However, these works do not fully reveal the development of the concept of “Xiaokang society” in terms of historical retrospective. Our article aims to fill this gap.

The purpose of the article is to reveal the theoretical formation and practical activity of the concept of “Xiaokang society”, which is an integral part of the “Chinese-style modernization” by analyzing it in a historical retrospective.

The objectives of our article are as follows:
- analysis of the historical source and modern interpretation of the concept of “xiaokang”;

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and the practice of “class struggle” were replaced by economic reforms and political openness. Within the government, there was an occurrence of a large metadiscourse on the choice of development trajectory. Without abandoning the ideas of Marxism, taking into account the situation in China at that time, Deng Xiaoping proposed a new ideology of economic transformation – the idea of “socialism with Chinese characteristics.” This ideology, which was officially adopted at the XII Congress of the CPC (1982), was constantly supplemented and perfected. Defining the goals of economic development, Deng Xiaoping called for “socialism to get out of poverty” and “the first to make some people and regions rich” (Deng, 1994: 33).

The reforms initiated by Deng Xiaoping were carried out in a pragmatic spirit. The Chinese version of communism, which was considered the highest ideal of social development under Mao, was recognized as temporarily impossible to reach the level of Datong in the real conditions of China. The country has a much more achievable goal, and Deng Xiaoping called it “xiaokang” (moderately prosperous). For more than 40 years, China has been working hard to achieve this pragmatic goal of “creating a moderately prosperous society.” Deng Xiaoping introduced the concept of “xiaokang” as a feature of China’s modernization, the main goal and the principle of building “socialism with Chinese characteristics.” According to the Russian scholar L.S. Perelomov, “Deng Xiaoping did not renounce Marxism-Leninism in absenta, but returned the country to the path of Confucianism and presented a new national idea to China” (Sharogradskiy A., 2009). Perelomov has a good reason to say so. The concept of “Xiaokang” can be equally applied to the ancient and modern culture of China. It is well known that this concept is closely linked with the traditional socio-political life of China, the Confucian concept of social construction. “Xiaokang” is a complex concept in Chinese culture. The word “xiaokang” first appears in the book “Shi jing” (Book of Songs), which belongs to the golden fund of Confucianism, in the poem’s lines “Min yi laozhi, qi ke xiaokang (Let the weary people gather some strength)” and described the dream of the common people for a peaceful, healthy, politically stable, secure society and giving no economic significance (Chen S., 1991: 398). As an example of social development, “Xiaokang” is described in detail in the “Li Yun” chapter of “Li Ji” (Book of Rituals). In this work, the concept of Xiaokang and Datong was used closely. Datong is described as “Dadao zhi xing ye, Tianxia weigong (when the Great Tao is established, Heaven is common to all)”, meaning “a society of great harmony”,

Scientific research methodology

The theoretical basis of the article is the scientific work of Chinese, Russian and foreign researchers on socio-economic development of China, the theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the concept of “xiaokang”. The sources of the research were, first of all, the treatises of Confucius, a collection of works by Deng Xiaoping and the materials of the Congresses of the Communist Party, and secondly, scientific publications.

In the analysis of scientific works, mainly system-structural, comparative analysis and historical methods were used. The use of these methods allowed to determine the historical evolution of the concept of “xiaokang”, to form a comprehensive picture of the formation of the idea of creating a “xiaokang” society as a program of socio-political development and to compare the implementation of this concept in individual historical periods. The article also uses discourse and content analysis methods to analyze the words of Chinese leaders.

Results and discussion

During the reform period, the Chinese government developed and changed along with social and economic policies. The foundation for the beginning of great changes in China was laid in late 1978, at the 3rd Plenum of the 11th convocation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The search for a way out of the “quartet of gangs” and a way out of the stalemate caused by the “cultural revolution” began. Analyzing the results of the “Cultural Revolution”, Deng Xiaoping said: “The experience of the Cultural Revolution has shown that chaos does not lead to progress, but to regression. If we want to move forward, we need to establish a good order. It is clear that in today’s China, without stability and unity, we can not achieve anything” (Deng, 1994: 24). “Establishing order to get out of chaos (bo luan fan zheng)” demanded political stability and public order. This slogan of the Chinese government has launched a process of social and economic transformation. The prevailing Maoist theory and the practice of “class struggle” were replaced by economic reforms and political openness. Within the government, there was an occurrence of a large metadiscourse on the choice of development trajectory. Without abandoning the ideas of Marxism, taking into account the situation in China at that time, Deng Xiaoping proposed a new ideology of economic transformation – the idea of “socialism with Chinese characteristics.” This ideology, which was officially adopted at the XII Congress of the CPC (1982), was constantly supplemented and perfected. Defining the goals of economic development, Deng Xiaoping called for “socialism to get out of poverty” and “the first to make some people and regions rich” (Deng, 1994: 33).

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and Xiaokang is described as “Jing Dadao jiycin, Tianxia weijia (like the Celestial Family when the Great Tao is gone)”, and it has been shown to be an intermediate state of society on the way to achieving that perfect society (Chen S., 1991: 513). It is noteworthy that in this work of Confucianism, “Xiaokang society” was a description of a society that includes economic, social, procedural, structural, and traditional spheres. This notion, which is associated with the name of Confucius, has not escaped the attention of thinkers for centuries and has become a symbol of peace and economic prosperity in the country, and a more prosperous life in the family. Since China embarked on the path of reform, this concept has been actively used by several generations of CPC leaders, evolving from the level of “xiaokang family” to the concept of “mass xiaokang”, “comprehensive xiaokang society”.

The cultural and philosophical content of the concept of “Datong” influenced the rapid establishment of the idea of communism in China and the unimpeded establishment of the socialist system, while the concept of “xiaokang” became a popular term in the country’s transition to a market economy. In 1979, during a meeting with the Prime Minister of Japan, Deng Xiaoping introduced the new concept of Chinese-style modernization – the concept of “xiaokang family” and first used the term “xiaokang”. In the summer of 1984, the President stated that “the Xiaokang we are talking about is to bring the gross national product to $ 800 per capita by the end of this century” (Deng, 1994: 64). Realizing that the development of productive forces depends on a well-organized economic structure, Deng Xiaoping decided to start economic reforms. However, the debate over the nature of a market economy has created great ideological difficulties for the implementation of these reforms. To ideologically legitimize the reforms, Chairman Dan criticized the dichotomous view that a planned economy is socialism and a market economy is capitalism. The plan and the market were recognized only as a way to develop the productive forces, and the socialist economy could move to the market (Deng, 1994: 15). In other words, Deng Xiaoping’s famous principle “it doesn’t matter if a cat is black or white, if it can catch a mouse” was put forward. In the transition to a market economy, the concept of “xiaokang” did not contradict private property, citizens acted in their own interests and made a profit, but rather gave the Chinese a greater impetus to understand the principles of a market economy and perform economic miracles in a short time.

After Deng Xiaoping identified “xiaokang” as an important stage in the development of Chinese-style modernization, “xiaokang” was included in the agenda of high-level meetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In September 1982, at the 12th Party Congress, the concept of “xiaokang” was used for the first time and was recognized as an important indicator of economic and social development of the country. In 1987, at the 13th Party Congress, the “three-stage” development strategy was adopted as an official concept. Based on this strategy, in the first stage, it was necessary to double the GDP compared to 1980 and solve the problem of providing the population with food and clothing; in the second stage, set for the end of the 20th century, to double the GDP and bring people’s lives to the level of xiaokang, ie moderately prosperous; In the third stage, set for the middle of the XXI century, the country should be fully modernized, China’s GDP per capita should reach the level of moderately developed countries, and its citizens should live in luxury (Deng, 1994: 247-248). As we can see, the “Xiaokang Society” is defined in this strategy as the goal of the second stage of development. Thus, the concept of “xiaokang” has fully entered the political discourse of China as an indicator of socio-economic development. Dividing the development process into specific stages and setting goals was a very good strategy, and it was the main reason for China’s rapid growth over the next 30 years.

By the end of the 20th century, China had reached the finish line set by Deng Xiaoping, that is, the gross national product indicator of 800 US dollars per capita (in 1998, this figure was 821 US dollars, in 1999 was 865 US dollars, and in 2000 was 949 US dollars) (Yu C., 2021:38). Great achievements in the field of economic development prompted the party leaders not to abandon the concept of xiaokang, but to further develop it. Subsequent generations of Communist Party leaders, led by Deng Xiaoping, were able to skillfully use the term “xiaokang” as a political maneuver, fully incorporating it into political rhetoric. It was noted that the country is still at the bottom of the “xiaokang” level, and it is necessary to rise from the bottom up. In the 21st century, China has set foot with the goal of creating a “xiaokang society”. China has begun to modernize not only economically but also socially. From the 16th Congress of the CPC to the last 19 Congresses, the main focus was on the creation of the “Xiaokang Society”. This process can be clearly seen in the titles of speeches read at congresses.
In 2002, at the 16th Party Congress, Hu Jintao announced the direction of China’s development for the first 20 years of the 21st century as “the creation of a comprehensive Xiaokang society”. The word “comprehensive” means that urban and rural areas, all segments of the population should reach the level of “xiaokang”. Later, the meaning of the word “comprehensive” was expanded to mean bringing all spheres of society (political, economic, cultural, educational, health, and environmental) to the level of “xiaokang”, not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively. In the 21st century, the concept of “xiaokang society” has been supplemented with the words “comprehensive” and “victory”. Now the government and society have the following tasks:

- Doubling GDP by 2020 compared to 2000;
- Strengthening international competition and national capacity;
- Improving democracy and reforming the legal system;
- Improving the moral, educational and health levels of citizens;
- Capacity building and mobilization of resources to promote the harmonious development of man and nature (Liu An-lin, 2020:9).

It can be seen from the tasks set that the state has decided to strengthen its economic, political, social, cultural, and environmental development. The government has made every effort in this direction and has not stopped moving towards its goal. Significant progress has also been made in the areas of building a strong moderately prosperous society, eradicating poverty, and closing the income gap, which are recognized as the three main aspects of the Xiaokang Society.

Xi Jinping, who became General Secretary of the CPC in 2012 and was later elected President of China in 2013, declared the establishment of the “Xiaokang Society” as his political goal. Introducing the concept of the “Chinese dream”, Xi Jinping said that the main way to achieve that dream is to complete the creation of the “Xiaokang Society”.

In 2016, the state entered a crucial stage in the creation of the “Xiaokang Society”. The 13th Five-Year Plan adopted by the party was the party’s five-year plan aimed at fully implementing the “xiaokang” strategy. Great hopes and great tasks were set for this period. The term “Xiaokang” has become a cornerstone of the party’s economic planning and has become synonymous with Xi Jinping’s rise to power and China’s rise to power on the world stage. This can be seen in the fact that Xi Jinping repeated the phrase “Xiaokang Society” 18 times in his speech at the 19th Party Congress in 2017 (Smith Craig, 2020).

Historically, since the first presentation of the strategy of socialist modernization and the creation of the “Xiaokang” society, China has seen great positive growth in the field of social development. During the 40 years of reform, China has experienced periods of “recovery”, “enrichment” and “strengthening”. China has made historic achievements in building a comprehensive, moderately prosperous society:  

1) China’s economy has grown rapidly. In 2019, China’s share in the world economy was 16%, and GDP per capita will exceed 10 thousand US dollars. The living standards of the population have risen significantly. This process is especially noticeable in the last 13th Five-Year Plan (2016-2020). In 2019, per capita income was 42,359 yuan ($6,229) per year in urban areas and 16,021 yuan ($2,356) per year in rural areas. To be clear, if we compare the figures of 2000 with 6280 yuan and 2253 yuan, respectively, we can clearly see the pace of economic development and the improvement of living standards (Bazhenova E., 2020: 137). Despite the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, China has shown positive growth, with an annual GDP growth of 2.3% (National Bureau of Statistics Of China, 2021).

2) Completed the fight against poverty. At the party’s 19th congress, President Xi Jinping called for the victory of the “three heavy battles” (prevention and elimination of major financial risks, poverty eradication, and prevention and control of environmental pollution) to complete the “creation of a comprehensive moderately prosperous society.” (Xi, J. 2017). Fighting poverty, one of the most important “battles”, was a goal set by Deng Xiaoping. The Chinese leadership is working hard and making great strides to achieve Deng Xiaoping’s principle that “socialism must get out of poverty.” Before the reform, the number of poor people in China was 300 million, but since the reforms, this figure has been declining every year. Poverty alleviation has become a priority of national policy. The poverty alleviation program covered many aspects. Large-scale work has been carried out across the country to build new roads connecting remote areas with the centers, to build electricity and communication networks, to improve transport accessibility and living standards, to relocate people from inaccessible areas, to provide subsidies, to attract businesses to rural areas. In 2019, Premier Li Keqiang said in his report that...
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the number of poor people has decreased to 11.09 million, and the poverty rate has dropped to 0.6% (Lu D., 2020: 4). On February 25, Xi Jinping officially announced that China had eradicated poverty at a meeting to sum up the results of the country’s fight against poverty. “Thanks to the joint efforts of the party and the people, we have lifted 98.9 million villagers and 128,000 villages out of poverty,” said Xi Jinping (Xinhuanet, n.d., 2021). This is a great achievement in completing the creation of the “Xiaokang” society.

3) The living standards of the population have improved. “Xiaokang” symbolizes the improvement of living standards for the Chinese people. In Confucian terms, “xiaokang” refers to a life of weaving without worrying about food and clothing, in the modern sense, the term means to get a good education, to use all the benefits of social security, to have access to high-quality medical care, to live a middle-class life as a culturally advanced, spiritually rich person. Leading the dream of “Xiaokang” and the rapid development of the country’s economy has brought many achievements to Chinese society. The standard of living and consumption of the urban and rural population has increased significantly. Since the country’s transition to a market economy, the process of urbanization has been in full swing. Prior to the reforms, the urban population in 1978 was 17.92% of the total population, in 2000 it was 36.22%, in 2016 it was 57.35%, and in 2020 it was 61.4% (Wikipedia, n.d.). The country has joined the ranks of urbanized and industrialized countries. In general, the concept of “Xiaokang Society” has played a major role in the socio-economic development of the country and has become a major driving force for rapid development.

A brief overview of the achievements of the Chinese state shows that the Chinese government has entered a new historical stage in its development on the way to the creation of the “Xiaokang Society” and is successfully implementing socialist modernization. The Chinese government has made the creation of a “xiaokang society” a key area of economic development and has aimed to improve the innovation economy to achieve this goal. By focusing economic reforms on building a moderately prosperous society, China intends to develop its economy from an export-oriented to its domestic market. This in itself proves once again that China is trying to break out of the shackles of a poor developing country and become a great power of growing wealth.

Conclusion

For 40 years, rapid GDP growth has made China the world’s largest economic power. To unravel the mystery of this “economic miracle,” it is necessary to analyze China’s path since 1978. Although turning the country to a market economy is a risky decision, it is clear that Deng Xiaoping made it after much thought. In order to mobilize the people for a common goal, Chairman Dan revived Confucianism, relying on the historical consciousness of the people. Deng Xiaoping was able to use the idea of creating the Xiaokang and Datong societies, inherited from Confucius’s theoretical legacy, in a campaign to explain socialism to the people by comparing socialism and communism. Speaking in plain language, Deng Xiaoping was able to turn the idea of creating a “xiaokang” society into a new ideological weapon. Analyzing the way to create the “Xiaokang Society”, today’s concept of “Xiaokang” is the result of the intersection of the three ideas of Confucianism, Marxism and “socialism with Chinese characteristics.” Although the current meaning of “Xiaokang” has lost its historical meaning, the application of this concept will remain politically beneficial for the Chinese Communist Party. This concept played a legitimate discursive role in China’s transition to the market, which began after the Cultural Revolution. Xiaokang was a convenient way for party leaders to discuss the adoption of capitalist methods.

Despite the difficulties and obstacles facing China, the goal of creating a “xiaokang” society is nearing completion. The social orientation and gradual implementation of the reforms have created a positive environment for the majority of the population of the Celestial Land and made the population an active supporter of change in the country. The concept of “Xiaokang” rose from the cultural-philosophical category to the political-economic category, forming a new model of socialist development. Today, the concept of “xiaokang” includes not only the material side of living standards, but also the political, cultural, social and environmental content. Achieving Xiaokang’s goal strengthens the party’s leadership and lays a solid foundation for the realization of the “Chinese dream”. In short, for Chinese history Xiaokang is the purpose of the millennium, the purpose of the centenary of party rule, the purpose of the last five-year plan, and the achievement of this goal is essential for the CPC.
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